BLACK POLITICS
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Build-up of arms ‘alarming’

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. - Anti-apartheid and other groups, with renewed help from Eastern Bloc countries, planned intensified action against South Africa, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis Le Grange, said in Pretoria yesterday.

The groups included the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress.

Speaking at a parade at the Police College to mark the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the South African Police, the minister referred to the increasing interest and actions of the Soviet bloc in Southern Africa.

"There is an accumulation of weapons and surrogate forces around South Africa, from Angola to Lesotho, which is alarming." In different countries land and air forces were strengthened to the extent of several hundred percent by the presence of Cubans, Russians, East Germans and Chinese.

Referring to crime, the minister said international commerce in drugs had already reached South Africa, as well as the sophisticated criminal element which had previously been unknown in South Africa.

Mr Le Grange said the government's constitutional development plans would demand patience, wisdom and tact from everyone. "All these happenings present the South African Police with particular challenges in the future."

The maintenance of internal security and the combating of crime would make unprecedented demands.

Mr Le Grange said the population increase among whites was almost static and demographers estimated that in 50 years' time there would be about 9.4-million whites as against 84-million blacks.

In his address the minister paid tribute to the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, who retired yesterday, and who took the salute at the parade of more than 500 policemen. Mr Le Grange also welcomed the new Commissioner.

General J Coetzee.

1913

The minister traced the history of the force from its inception in 1913. After World War II, he said, some organizations which aimed at promoting certain groups in South Africa were infiltrated by and eventually controlled by communists.

They became nothing more than front organizations for the SA Communist Party. Boycotts, strikes and unrest were organized which caused incidents in Cape Town and Sharpeville. Mr Le Grange said the rash of sabotage incidents, murder and plundering which followed compelled the government to take steps to ensure law and order.
Speakers see Republic Day as ‘mockery’

By JIMMY MATYU

SPEAKERS at an anti-Republic Day rally held in KwaZakhele yesterday described the day’s celebrations and the day as a “mockery”.

They said that after 22 years of the Republic, which was "a day upon the voiceless people without consultation", blacks still had nothing to celebrate.

The rally, which also criticised proposed bus fare increases, was held in the new Daku Hall. Speakers came from the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the Motor Assemblers’ and Component Workers’ Union of South Africa, the Congress of South African Students and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress.

A minute’s silence was observed as a tribute to the Driefontein leader, Mr Saul Mashize, who was shot by a policeman, and the anti-rent increase campaigner, Mr Harrison Dubbe, of Lamontville, who was killed by two unknown gunmen in April.

Mr Fikile Khoese, a Macwusa official, said it was ridiculous for blacks to celebrate Republic Day.

He said this was because they were never consulted, and also because of the “brutal acts” of the Government.

“How can we take part when many of our people are detained and banned, and some are in exile, and when people blacks regard as their leaders languish on Robben Island?” he said.

The Government was well aware that “the people of the country” wanted a People’s Republic where there would be freedom for everybody. To help bring about such a republic, all political prisoners would have to be released. An election would then lead to “an everlasting peace”.

Mr Qagwuli Godololu, president of Peheco, said blacks were still deprived and oppressed in every situation, but they still believed “at this late hour” that the Government could bring about changes.
Clemency plea for condemned 6 gains support

AFTER they have spent almost two years in Death Row, the number of petitions and pleas to help save the lives of the six African National Congress guerrillas is gaining momentum locally and internationally.

The latest appeal was made at the weekend by Amnesty International, group number 21 of the French Section, to the State President of South Africa, Mr. Marais Viljoen, in an urgent appeal.

A copy of the letter dispatched to the State President reads: “I have the honour to write to you to ask you instantly to use your right for mercy on humanitarian grounds, especially on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the Republic of South Africa towards the following six people condemned to death: Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi, Thabo Motaung, David Moisi, Johannes Shabangu and Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe.”

The men now in Death Row since August 1981 were convicted for the part they played in the attacks on Booyens Police Station in Johannesburg and the Sasol Plant near Secunda. Tsotsobe, Moisi and Mosololi were sentenced in August 1981 while Shabangu, Mogoerane and Motaung were sentenced in July last year.

The call for clemency was instituted by the Release Mandela Committee and has received wide support from progressive and concerned organisations around the country. Less than 10 days ago the last of the Labour Party Ministers in Great Britain and six members of the House of Lords appealed to the South African Government to spare the lives of the six ANC men.

In March this year the South African Catholic Bishops’ Conference petitioned the State President to commute the death sentence of the six men. A prayer service organised by the Ecumenical Prayer Group to have been held at the St Mary’s Cathedral, Johannesburg, last weekend was cancelled at the last minute. A pamphlet distributed by the Christian body said such prisoners should be treated as prisoners of war according to the Geneva Convention, to which the ANC is a signatory.

Recently in Cape Town, the mother of Jerry Mosololi, one of the six, got a standing ovation when she addressed a meeting of more than 700 and told them of the strength she had gained from the courage of her son.
Police confirm Pule detention

THE Police Directorate in Pretoria this week confirmed the detention of one of the leading members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Pule Pule.

Mr Pule was fetched from his sister's home in Rockville by the Security Police last week and, according to the Directorate, he is detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act of 1982.

His detention has instilled fear and worry in his parents as he was shot at about three weeks ago by unknown men travelling in a white kombi, causing extensive damage to his car.

Mr Pule, according to members of his family, managed to escape unhurt and reported the matter to the Mowela Police Station.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary, said his organisation was also concerned with the number of times their members have been detained and released by the police in the past.
Pamphlets urge halt to terror executions

By Eugene Saidana

Thousands of pamphlets were distributed in Soweto early today calling on the Government to stay the execution of six African National Congress men sentenced to death for high treason.

The pamphlets claimed a campaign to save the lives of the six was gaining ground both in South Africa and abroad.

The six are Simon Mogoerane (23) Jerry Masoloki (26), Thebo Mobaung (27), Anthony Tsotsobe (21), Lionel Moise (27) and Johannes Shabangu (24) who were sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court last year for acts of sabotage.

The pamphlet urged the Government to treat "ANC men as prisoners of war. The 1977 Geneva Convention says that in a civil war prisoners must be treated as POWs. According to that document these men are not criminals, and therefore should not be hanged."

The African National Congress is a signatory to the Geneva Convention and several appeals have been made by organisations including Amnesty International for the condemned six to be given prisoner of war status.

The pamphlet, issued by the "Save the Six Committee," said a service would be held at the St Francis Anglican Church, Rockville, on June 5 at 3pm.

In London, South African Ambassador Mr Marcel Steyn said no one should urge the granting of prisoner of war status to ANC terrorists convicted in South Africa unless they advocated the same treatment for members of the IRA and similar organisations.

Replying in The Times today to a letter from former Labour MP Sir Richard Acland, and others, Mr Steyn points out that the six men now under sentence of death were also charged with murder, attempted murder, robbery and sabotage.

He says: "Your readers are well-informed about the latest ANC outrage which killed 18 and wounded a further 200. The actions of Messrs Tsotsobe, Shabangu and company also claimed innocent civilian lives."

13 arrested over EP bombings

PORT ELIZABETH. — Seven people have been arrested in the Eastern Cape in the past fortnight in connection with several terrorist attacks. In Port Elizabeth and an arms cache of Russian weapons has also been seized in the area in that time.

A man suspected of having strong ANC attachments, linked to the killing of a KwaZulu woman and described as “extremely dangerous”, is still at large.

The man being sought is Mr Zola Colga Velebayi, who is in his early twenties.

The branch commander of the Security Police, Colonel Gerrit Eresman, says the offer of a reward of R1 000 for information leading to his arrest still stands.

In announcing the detention of six men and one woman, the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, said from Pretoria this week that since May 15 an arms cache of Russian weapons as well as explosives had also been seized in the Eastern Cape.

This brings to 13 the number of men and women detained last month and linked to terrorist attacks like the Constantia Centre explosion in 1981 and this year’s explosion at the Community Council offices in New Brighton.

Between May 10 and 12, five men and one woman were detained for questioning in the Eastern Cape in connection with terrorism.

Mr Velebayi is being sought in connection with the death of Mrs Nonkosi Tshiwela in Kwazulele.

At the time it was suspected that there was a connection between her death and the first detentions.

Acts of sabotage to which the detained men and women have been linked include:

- An explosion on a car ramp of the Constantia Centre on August 8, 1981.
- The discovery of a homemade bomb at the same centre on May 29, last year.
- A bomb blast at the Community Council offices in New Brighton in which a trained ANC terrorist who planted the explosive was killed and several other people were injured on January 25, this year.
- An explosion at a railway line at Swartruggens on April 8, this year. — Espa.
Is PAC losing ground to the ANC?

By David Thomas,
The Star's Foreign News Service

HARARE — The visit to communist China by African National Congress leader Mr. Oliver Tambo could isolate the rival Pan-African Congress.

The visit appears to confirm speculation in Southern African political and diplomatic circles that Peking has been reassessing its traditional support for the PAC.

This view was strengthened in January this year when China's Assistant Foreign Minister responsible for African affairs, Mr. Gong Dafa, said blacks in South Africa should unite with progressive whites to change South Africa's political system.

Although Mr. Gong said his country maintained relations with both movements, his support for white participation in the process of change in South Africa was interpreted as a rejection of the PAC's policy that only blacks should be involved.

Mr. Gong said his Government believed that South Africa should abandon apartheid and form a national government of all races. He emphasised the importance of the country's whites, who he said made up a quarter of the population. "To support either whites or blacks would only create controversy," he said.

Another factor contributing to post-Mandela China's growing disinterest in the PAC has been the recurring leadership disputes within the organisation. China's material assistance to the PAC appears to have declined over the past few years.

Mr. Tambo's trip to Peking, during which he will be conferencing with China's Premier Mr. Zhao Ziyang and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Wu Zue Qian, is expected to result in an increase in material and political aid to the ANC.

Meanwhile, the PAC's internal problems continue to spoil its military ambitions. The most generous estimates give the PAC about 300 guerrillas, whose loyalties are divided among the three factions of the PAC. By American intelligence there are between 1,000 and 2,000 ANC fighters in South Africa.
Accused tells of ANC fear

By MONK NKOMO

A 28-YEAR-OLD man charged with the murder of an SB worked together with the cops, took them to certain places where trained ANC members stayed and even identified others in a police photo album, the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Malesela Benjamin Moloise, who has pleaded not guilty to having murdered Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe (34), at the gate of his Mamelodi house on November 7 last year, said he was afraid of members of the ANC because, "I told police a lot of things about them," under cross-examination by Mr P B Jacobs, for the State.

He admitted to having associated with "trained terrorists" who included Jabu, Jonny, Leo and Markus Motau.

When he came back from Collinson where he had spent two weeks since November 6 last year, he had established that both Jabu and Jonny had disappeared from Stinkwater. "I suspected they had killed Mr Selepe," he said.

He told the court he had taken police to certain places, including a house in Section C, Mabopane (where Jabu stayed), where they could find "trained ANC terrorists."

The East Rand caused a full day's black and white. See page 3.
'Violence is the way of madness'

Can't we stop the world and get off, because at this rate, we, like the Gadarene swine, are hurtling headlong down towards destruction.

No sooner had we been caught napping by the Pretoria bomb outrage and the harsh (SABC-TV described it so in one of its notorious news commentaries) retaliatory strike against Maputo, than we were stunned by the bomb blast in Bloemfontein. We must surely condemn all three actions out of hand.

If the ANC is responsible for the bomb outrages in Pretoria and Bloemfontein, then that organisation must be condemned roundly for what the South African Council of Churches called acts of naked terrorism.

Equally, however, the SADF strike against Maputo must be condemned as well. Firstly, because it is unlikely to win South Africa many friends in the international community. As it is our sad but beloved land was harshly criticised by even her closest friend – the Reagan administration.

Secondly, and in many ways much more seriously, because it just will not do for the SADF blandly to disclaim any responsibility for civilian casualties. It is in large measure precisely the casualties and deaths of innocent civilians which turn the actions of either insurgents or the army into naked terrorism.

Perhaps, finally, it is all to be condemned because that way lies damnation and self-destruction. We will not find a solution to what appears to be the intractable problems of our land. No, that way is the way of madness.

It is not particularly comforting to realise that the recent outrages reveal glaringly the polarised state of our country. We have known that we are a deeply fragmented society.

To solve our country’s problem we are going to have to face quite unpleasant and perhaps shocking truths.

One of these is that blacks and whites on the whole see things from diametrically opposed perspectives. What is meat to the one is poison to the other. For far too long, it has seemed advantage and privilege have accrued to the one, to the extent that they have been denied to the other. And this has helped to determine how we see things.

Although not many blacks have articulated it, you can be sure that many have thought that apartheid and the intransigence of whites have driven the ANC to the desperation of using desperate methods. The ANC, they know had tried peaceful methods since 1912.

They, together with the PAC, were using peaceful means of passive resistance against the pass laws in 1969, when they were arbitrarily banned and forced to choose the option of the armed struggle.

Whites in the whole see them as terrorists manipulated by communists to overthrow law and order and they believe any method (including denying food to countries harbouring them) is justifiable.

Many blacks are glad that the ANC is no longer as inept as was previously thought. They have chalked up the strikes against Sasol II, against Koeberg, against the building in Cape Town housing the President’s Council and now Pretoria and Bloemfontein.

Please, my dear fellow South Africans, we can’t go on like this. We can’t have bomb outrage followed by reprisal, followed by bomb-blast ad infinitum.

This spiral of violence must end or we will have begun the bloodbath, the alternative too ghastly to contemplate will be upon us. Let us deal with the root cause of it all - apartheid.
Call to save ANC six

Pamphlets calling on the Government not to hang six of the members of the banned African National Congress (ANC), have been distributed in Soweto by an organisation calling itself the “Committee of Six”.

The pamphlets come in the wake of an international appeal for clemency for the six, convicted for their acts of sabotage.

The six are: Simon Mogoerane, David Motso, Thabo Motaung, Johannes Shabangu, Jerry Mosololi and Anthony Bobby Tepatsobe. They have been in Death Row since August last year after being convicted for their role in the attacks on the Booyens Police Station in Johannesburg and the Sasol Plant near Secunda.

The pamphlets condemn the South African Government and state that “had it not been for its oppressive and repressive tendencies, the men would not have committed the crimes”.

And as a way of expressing their solidarity with the convicted and their families, the Committee of Six have organised a prayer meeting to be held this Sunday at the St Francis of Assisi Church in Rockville.
ANC says SA is 'ripe'

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — The African National Congress yesterday called the situation in South Africa "ripe" and to justify its actions read out before the Security Council lengthy extracts from the American Declaration of Independence.

Speaking at the wind-up of the council's debate on SWA/Namibia, the ANC also said it had joined forces with Swapo.

"Now that the situation is ripe in South Africa and the ANC has joined them (Swapo) in the trenches, we shall fight side by side until final victory."

But ANC representative Mr Johnston Makatini maintained that the ANC still sought "liberation without bloodshed."

Mr Makatini charged that the South African air strike on Mozambique on May 26 had been in preparation for months and was not retaliation.

Bombing

He also questioned casualty statistics from the Pretoria bombing, charging that the government had failed to produce the bodies of a number of blacks reported killed.

The Declaration of Independence begins by asserting that "all men are created equal ... with certain inalienable rights" and reasons that when faced by "a long train of abuses and usurpations ... it is their duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security".
Music ‘aided ANC’ — band members jailed

JOHANNESBURG. — Two Rastafarian musicians have each been jailed for an effective four years for indirectly promoting the ideals of the African National Congress through their music.

The magistrate, Mr W Aucamp, rejected bail applications pending appeals against the sentence.

Former Mozambican Jose Charles, 24, and Rufus Radebe, of Alexandra Township, were each jailed yesterday for six years, of which two years were suspended for five years.

The two reggae musicians, of the band Splash, were found guilty under the Internal Security Act.

REJECTED

Mr Aucamp rejected a submission by their counsel, Mr G Dyson, that they were non-violent because a basic principle of the Rastafarian cult was a belief in non-violence. Mr Aucamp said they advocated a violent revolution led by the ANC through their stage act before 3,000 people — mainly students from the University of Pretoria, the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of the Witwatersrand. They chanted “Jah (God) Mandela, Jah Tambo, Jah Biko”.

They also asked the crowd: “Who killed Neil Aggett?”, to which the reply was, “It was the police”.

He also regarded a song, Freedom To Man, which they entered at the concert, held at Rieotendaal Amphitheatre, Roodepoort, as an ANC song.

The musicians denied through Mr Dyson that they were pro-ANC. Mr Dyson said many organisations and individuals, world-wide, were advocating Nelson Mandela’s release from prison. Singing the song did not necessarily mean they were promoting the ANC.

He said Rastafarians express their beliefs through reggae music and reading the Bible.

Musicians jailed for ‘promoting ANC’

(Contd from Page 1)

Mr A R van Wyk, for the State, said in opposing their first bail application that they were men of straw who had no fixed jobs or means to pay bail.

Charles was an alien of no fixed abode, illegally in South Africa. He had nothing to lose and was liable to leave the country and extend bail.

Charles told the court he had no intention of leaving South Africa. He could not return to Mozambique because his family was killed during the 1974 Prelimo revolution.

He said his father was a white Portuguese and his mother was a black Mozambican. His father left for Portugal during the Prelimo revolution, and since the age of 18 he had lived as a musician in South Africa. He loved this country.

Both accused said they were prepared to go to jail if convicted; although they both felt they were innocent.

Refusing bail yesterday, Mr Aucamp said it would not serve the interests of justice to release them.
DR AARON Matlhare's posh Beverley Hills house that set tongues wagging in Soweto, is no longer for sale.

The house, which was this year valued at R80 000, was to have been sold by auction at 10am yesterday. The deputy sheriff of Johannesburg, Mr G van Dyk, told The SOWETAN yesterday that the sale was cancelled on Wednesday afternoon by the lawyers representing Dr Nthato Motlana and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Mr van Dyk said he had received several inquiries since the sale in execution was advertised in the local newspapers. He said even as late as yesterday people called to make sure that the sale was still on.

A relative of Dr Matlhare said that the house was not on sale and that it had been bought by Mr Daniel Gumede.

An advert stating the house would be sold yesterday was carried by Johannesburg newspapers. The sale would have been in execution of a judgment of the Supreme Court granted against Dr Matlhare in a suit that was brought against him in 1976 by Dr Motlana and Mrs Mandela.

Judgment was granted in favour of Dr Motlana and Mrs Mandela on May 19, 1981, and Dr Matlhare was ordered to pay both R3 000, including costs of R11 872.

A call to Dr Matlhare in Botswana met with a "no comment" from him.
Ambition Brown slams calls to boycott elections

By SAM MABE

A PROMINENT Soweto community leader and executive member of the Sosasonke Party, Mr Ambassador Brown, has reacted strongly to calls for the boycott of the forthcoming Soweto Council elections.

Mr Brown, who hopes to stand as a candidate in the elections expected to be held in September if they are not postponed again, said he was critical of the present council leadership but believed that boycotting the council was not going to achieve anything.

He said the expansion of the community councils’ powers by the Black Local Authorities Bill, should be hailed as heralding a new era in the lives of blacks living in urban areas.

“We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the Soweto Council as it stands today, has perpetrated a lot of injustices and disservice to their own electorate in the last seven years of its existence.

“It is partly for that reason that here in Soweto elections are becoming more and more an inevitable and desperate necessity because of the poor administration and shaky leadership of the councillors, “The weakness of the present council was demonstrated in their handling of the housing and shack issues. In the forthcoming elections, Soweto residents will be able to get the right leadership to correct the wrongs that have been passing unchecked in the council chamber for the last seven years,” he said.

He added that one blunder for which the Soweto Council should not be forgiven was that of plunging Soweto into a R230-million debt which residents had to pay for despite the fact that they were not consulted when the debt was incurred.

“It is only with good leadership that we can avoid such blunders. And by assuming the status of a town council, blacks will have powers to exercise their self-determination and achieve some of their goals,” he said.

He criticised those who engaged in what he called “mud-slinging” from outside and challenged them to prove their worth by fighting from the same platform as those they opposed.
Protest over ANC six

A MEETING organised by the Save The Six Committee will be held in Soweto on Sunday to protest against the death sentences of six ANC members who were convicted for committing various acts of subversion in the country.

The meeting will be held at the St Francis of Assisi Anglican Church in Rockville and will start at 2pm.

In a statement released yesterday, the committee said South Africa was a society in conflict and that the execution of the six men could only serve to intensify that conflict.
INKATHA BOSS SPEAKS OUT

SOWETAN: Is Inkatha still a cultural organisation we have known it to be or can you say it is a political organisation as well?
Dr Dlamini: Well, I would say both. Politics is not just one of the activities inkatha is engaged in but it is done quite differently.

SOWETAN: Inkatha has had a number of violent clashes with the ANC. You claim that they are friends one day, and enemies the next day, what is actually causing your differences?
Dr Dlamini: I would think that would be caused by the fact that we pursue different strategies towards liberation. Our goal is one, we tend to differ on the question of strategy. We pursue non-violence while they pursue a violent method of that violence, it would appear that sometimes there's a clash of interest and this in turn becomes a clash of strategy as interpreted as a clash of principle.

CLASH
I cannot think of an ideological clash that exists. As far as I'm concerned, it is a tactical clash that becomes more important and is interpreted as an ideological clash or a clash of principle.

SOWETAN: It would appear that Inkatha always wants to draw parallels between itself and the ANC in terms of its support. How do you feel about the ANC's support?
Dr Dlamini: We are very much against the ANC's support of liberation. We have always opposed the ANC's policy of non-violence. We believe in the use of force and we have always opposed the ANC's policy of non-violence. We have always opposed the ANC's policy of non-violence.

INKATHA claims it will soon command the staggering membership of 1 million card-carrying members. Apart from this claim, the organisation is led by the controversial Chief Gatshebuthe, who has always been in the news. Chief reporter of the SOWETAN, Sam Mabuza, has a date with Dr Oscar Dlamini who is considered one of the gurus of Inkatha. This is what Dr Dlamini (left) said to Mabuza in a lengthy interview in Johannesburg.

INKATHA was founded in 1975, so when we compare our membership to that of the ANC, we are doing so in terms of the period during which the ANC could operate openly in South Africa. And we always say that during that period, it was not able to command the type of following that Inkatha commands now.

ANC
SOWETAN: But would you say that the political climate prevailing at the time is the same as that which prevails today?
Dr Dlamini: The climate that prevailed at the time the ANC operated openly is different. Before 1960, there was more conducive to serious political organisation than it is now. From 1912 to 1960, there weren't as many political obstacles towards mobilising the people as there are today. The record of movements that have been banned from 1960 to date also supports my point.

For the period that the ANC operated freely, it was never threatened with banning. It was not the dominant movement, and did not have to compete with a variety of other movements.

Its field of recruitment was far larger than that of Inkatha today when there are so many political organisations competing for membership.

SOWETAN: How far true is the rumour that one has to be a member of Inkatha to get a job or to be allowed to attend school in KwaZulu?
Dr Dlamini: It's not true. I also work in KwaZulu as Minister of Education and Culture and I am quite acquainted with what goes on there.

Inkatha is supported in the schools. We have the Natal African Teachers Union and the Inspectors Association which are affiliated to Inkatha.

Membership is strictly voluntary because we do not believe in a liberation struggle you can coerce people to join because if you do that, you won't be recruiting comrades in arms. You'd in fact, be coerced into becoming soldiers.
Rasta singers get six years

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

TWO rastafarian musicians of the group Splash were convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday and sentenced to six years each, with two years suspended for five years, for taking part in activities of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Mr Joseph Charles (24) address unknown, and Mr Rufus Radebe (18) of Alexandra, who will each serve an effective four year jail term, were found guilty under the Internal Security Act. They had pleaded not guilty before Mr W Aucamp.

The court found that on February 12 this year at the university festival in Roodepoort they sang revolutionary songs advocating violence thereby creating support for the ANC. About 3 000 people were present at the concert.

Evidence in court was that during the concert they had chanted ANC slogans and sang four songs, one entitled Freedom to Mandela. They had also yelled to the crowd: “Who killed Neil Aggett?” and the audience had responded: “The police.”

The two men told the court that their cult was non-violent and did not take part in organised politics. Their movement was open to all races and expressed itself in reggae music. They denied that they had said revolution should come to South Africa to free their brothers.

Mr Charles said they sang about Mandela because he had been in jail for a long time. Mr Radebe said when they sang about Mandela he was not aware it was illegal and he did not regard the song as political.

Mr Radebe further told the court that he actually yelled “Who killed Nugget?” and was referring to a brand of shoe polish and not Doctor Aggett, the late trade unionist who died in detention. The reason for doing so he said, was that he no longer saw the polish in shops or in advertisements, instead Kiwi polish, another brand, was the one easily available in shops today.

In his remarks before passing sentence, the magistrate said State evidence was satisfactory, credible and acceptable. The witnesses called had also made an exceptionally good impression before the court.

The court, he said, could not accept the defence’s argument that one of the police witnesses had deliberately fabricated the evidence to suit the State’s case.

He said the accused had been evasive when answering questions and had contradicted themselves. He said they were pathetic witnesses who told a pack of lies to distance themselves from the charge at all costs.

Residents to meet
Blame 'Christian' State, not Reds—Boesak

By Carina le Grange

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches yesterday dissociated himself from the concept of Christianity held by the SA Government.

Speaking at a meeting organised by the SRC of the University of the Witwatersrand to object to constitutional changes, Dr Allan Boesak said: "We must not blame Communists for what they did not do, whatever other acts they have committed.

"The Communists did not create the Group Areas Act. They did not kill Steve Biko, Saul Mkhize or Neil Aggett. They did not take away our land. All of this was done by the South African Government, which claims to be Christian," he said.

"Outlining the basis on which the proposed new constitution should be rejected, Dr Boesak said there had been an opportunity to reject racism and an unjust system. Instead, he said, apartheid and racism had once again become entrenched in the South African system.

"Apartheid was not abolished, it was only shifted. Basically, nothing has changed. It has now become even more difficult to achieve democracy, and it will do nothing to alleviate our present problems.

"All basic apartheid laws remain — white minority rule especially by the Afrikaner is entrenched, as is the immoral homeland policy with its loss of South African citizenship and forced removal of people."

People rejecting the constitutional changes had been accused of choosing violence, but the choice had been made by those who chose the present unjust system, not by those who rejected it, he said.

"Apartheid is especially violent with deprivation, malnutrition, and violence needed to maintain it. It is also wrong to justify the wrongs perpetrated in the present system, out of fear that they might one day be perpetrated by another government."

"This concern for the future is misplaced. We should be concerned with the present injustice."
Mall Reporter

TWO Rastafarians were each sentenced to an effective four years' jail yesterday after being convicted by the Johannesburg Regional Court of furthering the aims of the African National Congress.

Joseph Charles, 24, and Rufus Radebe, 18, were found guilty of singing ANC songs and chanting ANC slogans at a music festival in Roodepoort on February 12. They had pleaded not guilty.

In passing judgment, the magistrate, Mr W Aucamp, said Radebe and Charles were untruthful and "getting answers from them was like extracting wisdom teeth".

It was clear they had lied to the police and in court and had made untruthful statements for "an assistant magistrate"

"The version given by them of the events on that day was unacceptable," he said.

Referring to the State witnesses, Constable H Nel and Lieutenant J P G Kieyahaha, Mr Aucamp said they were very impressive.

According to Const Nel, Radebe and Charles, who are members of the reggae band "Splash", had performed songs entitled "A Tribute to Martyrs" and "Freedom to Mandela" and had chanted "Jah Nelson Mandela", "Jah Oliver Tambo" and "Amanda".

Lieut Kieyahaha told the court Charles and Radebe had not been assaulted, as Radebe alleged. They had made statements to an assistant magistrate voluntarily and their release had not been promised, he said.

Mr Aucamp found Radebe and Charles guilty under Section 13 of the Internal Security Act.

Before sentence was passed, Mr G Dyson, for the defence, said that as members of the Rastafarian cult, Radebe and Charles did not advocate violence.

"They don't seem to be people who would actively stir up support for a banned organisation. Anyone who did what they did in clearly an unqualified, cunning opposition to law and order," he said.

Mr Dyson pointed out that they had been found guilty of acting in the direct or indirect interests of the ANC and not for taking part in ANC activities.

They were sentenced to six years' jail, two of which were conditionally suspended for five years.

Mr Dyson has lodged an appeal against the conviction and sentence.

Application for bail was refused.
Judgment day in Mpetha hearing

By BRUCE HOPWOOD, Weekend Argus Reporter

A CAPE Town judge begins his judgment on Monday in the marathon Mpetha trial which started more than two years ago and whose printed record is more easily measured in kilograms than pages.

The 18 accused have celebrated two or three birthdays in jail and a legal clerk involved in the proceedings is expecting her second child since the trial began.

More than two years of evidence, cross-examination and argument will climax next week for trade unionists Mr. Oscar Mpetha and 17 others on trial for incidents during civil disturbances in 1980.

When Mr Justice Williamson begins judgment on Monday, it will be the 225th day of the trial. It is believed to be the longest hearing since the four-year trial which saw Nelson Mandela and several others acquitted of charges of treason in 1961.

Mr Mpetha, aged 73, and 14 other men — the charges against one were withdrawn — first appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court in December 1980 when they pleaded not guilty to a charge of terrorism and two charges of murder.

All the men face the same charges but it is the veteran community leader who has attracted the most attention and given the hearing its title — the Mpetha Trial.

Banned

In the 1950s Mr Mpetha was president of the African National Congress in the Cape as well as general secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union (AFCWU).

He was banned for three years in 1954 and for another five years in 1959.

The men were arrested soon after two motorists, Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen, died after their vehicles had been stoned near Crossroads on August 11, 1980.

The court has heard how Mr Beeton, 59, a contract supervisor from Kenilworth, was hit by a brick thrown at

Mr Oscar Mpetha take several of his employees home just before the incident was overturned and had been set alight.

Mr Jansen died in Tygerberg Hospital the next day.

Evidence

The court record is more than 10,000 pages long and about half of these pages deal with a nine-month trial within a trial regarding the admissibility of statements made by 15 of the accused.

Mr Mpetha, who turned 71 a week before his arrest on August 13, 1980, went on to celebrate his 72nd and 73rd birthdays in Pollsmoor prison. Today is his 1,025th day in prison as bail was refused to all the accused.

Hospital

Mr Mpetha, a diabetic, has been admitted to hospital twice, once to have an operation on his toe and the second time for a prostate gland operation.

Security arrangements at the Supreme Court were stepped up as large crowds gathered when the case first
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The court has heard how Mr Beeton, 59, a contract supervisor from Kenilworth, was hit by a brick thrown at him while driving on Old Klipfontein Road at about 3.30 pm that day.

Car alight

A 17-year-old State witness said he saw a crowd of people drag Mr Beeton out of his car and beat him up while others set his car alight.

Constable J F Roussouw said he arrived at Klipfontein Road at 4 pm that day and found Mr Jansen lying on his back in a pool of water.

His head and face were bleeding and his whole body was badly burnt. Most of his clothes had been burnt and pieces of clothing stuck to his burnt body.

The bakkie which Mr Jansen, a Pinelands building contractor, had used to take several of his employees home just before the incident was overturned and had been set alight.

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Mr Mpetha, who turned 71 a week before his arrest on August 13, 1980, went on to celebrate his 72nd and 73rd birthdays in Pollsmoor prison. Today is his 725th day in prison as bail was refused to all the accused.

Hospital

Mr Mpetha, a diabetic, has been admitted to hospital twice, once to have an operation on his toe and the second time for a prostate gland operation.

Security arrangements at the Supreme Court were stepped up as large crowds gathered when the case first opened and at one stage police dogs were used to disperse the crowd in Keerom Street.

Uncomfortable

After one recess Mr Justice Williamson announced that he had inspected the court and found that the benches in the accused's dock were far too uncomfortable for the long sessions and cushions were later provided.

Counsel for the defence say the costs involved are well into six figures.

The court record alone has so far cost more than R2,500 a copy and that is with a large discount negotiated at the start of the hearing. To make a photostat of the record costs more than R500.
Soweto prayer meeting banned

By ANN PALMER

A COURT order was issued yesterday prohibiting a prayer meeting tomorrow at the Anglican Church in Soweto to protest the death sentences imposed on six members of the banned African National Congress.

The Chief Magistrate for Johannesburg, Mr Olof Abraham De Meyer, issued the court order in terms of the Internal Security Act.

He stated in the order he had reason to believe the public peace would be seriously endangered by a gathering to oppose the death sentences.

The meeting was to be held by the "Save the Six Committee" at 2pm in the St. Francis of Assisi Anglican Church in Rockville, Soweto.

In terms of section 48 (1) of the Internal Security Act of 1982, he prohibited that any such gathering should take place anywhere in the district of Johannesburg from the period beginning at 8am on Saturday to 8am on Monday.

Earlier this week, thousands of pamphlets were distributed in Soweto calling on the Government to stay the execution for the six men convicted of high treason.

The six are: Simon Mgonerane, 23, Jerry Masololi, 25, Thebo Mateung, 27, Anthony Tshokozwe, 27, David Moise, 27, and Johannes Shabangu, 28, who were sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court last year for acts of sabotage.
No need for white alarm over Pretoria bombing

A leading British news magazine, The Economist, analyses South Africa's position after the Pretoria bomb blast and the retaliatory SADF raid on ANC targets in Mozambique. It concludes that while South Africa is not as threatened as it apparently thinks.

The Economist observes that the ANC has a lot of non-white support inside South Africa and has not been the Government's immediate reaction has been the bombing of buildings in suburbs of Mozambique's capital, Maputo.

Yet another bombing nor counter-bombing really changes the Southern African balance of power.

The ANC has long been the joke figure of African guerilla movements, if only because of its commitment to non-violent resistance.

Harassment and infiltration by the South African security forces has rendered it unattractive inside the country.

Its occasional propaganda coups are planned and directed from outside by a handful of feeding individuals who have only the hesitant support of their hosts in the countries which give them refuge.

The ANC's leaders have yet to build any concerted political or industrial action on the back of their intermittent bombings.

Indeed, had it not been for the South African Police, whose brutality drove some 5,000 young Swazis with passive and in ANC training camps in 1976-77, the ANC would constitute no conceivable threat to South Africa's security.

These youngsters are believed to have been behind the decision to risk civilian casualties in bomb attacks.

While South Africa has remained astonishingly immune from what even stable democracies now regard as 'normal' pseudo-political terrorism.

The Government has achieved this partly by the ruthless suppression of black opposition and the containment of white dissent.

But it has also done it partly by its non-apartheid policy - co-opting black workers into the economy, proposing modest constitutional reforms for Indians and mixed-race people, and forcibly clearing to the barren hinterland just about everybody else.

This has produced two decades of quiescence which satisfies South Africa's friends and enemies alike.

The bombings in Pretoria and Maputo attracted much more attention abroad than the opening of a new police season for winter clearances of blacks from Cape Town.

For those unfortunate, the ANC provides neither protection nor consolation.

For the time being, the ANC matters mainly for what it does to the tortuous relations between South Africa and the black states round it.

In talking of a "total onslaught on South Africa", that country's Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, credits both the ANC and the front states with a wholly unrealistic strength.

The result has recently become the pursuit of a regional belligerence quite disproportionate to the threat.

The neighbouring black states have all felt an understandable obligation to offer sympathy and hospitality to ANC refugees, but they know the danger.

Zimbabwe and Mozambique deny that their hospitality is of the military sort.

Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho have all ceased to shelter ANC members.

The organisation's guerillas, such as they are, are trained well to the north, though they presumably have jumping-off bases nearer their targets.

South Africa is none the less determined to make all these countries regret even the presence of "ANC suspects" on their soil.

There is an economic squeeze on Zimbabwe, plus some military pincers.

Mozambique is being systematically undermined by a South African-backed resistance movement and its capital has now been attacked for the second time in two years.

South Africa has also taken upon itself the policing of ANC activities in Lesotho.

The South African Government likes to see Israel as its military model, and in those terms its chances of success must seem high.

The ANC is weaker than the PLO.

The states around South Africa are flatter than most of Israel's Arab neighbours.

It is hard to see what more South Africa can realistically do to keep the guerilla wolf from its door.

Flashback to the aftermath of last month's bombing in Pretoria. Policemen search through the wreckage after the massive car bomb ripped through two buildings, one housing the South African Air Force headquarters.
Talks could collapse warns Curry

By HUGH ROBERTON
Political Staff

THE national chairman of the Labour Party and chairman of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac), Mr David Curry, gave the Government a blunt warning today that negotiations on the new constitution might collapse.

And he angrily accused the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, of flouting an understanding reached in March with Assomac and other bodies on the controversial Promotion of Local Government Affairs Bill, which is now before Parliament.

“We understood very clearly that we would have an opportunity to discuss with him the final draft of this legislation before it went to Parliament. Instead, Mr Heunis has just gone ahead without further consultation with us and is now pushing it through its second reading.”

Objection

Mr Curry disclosed that he and the provincial chairmen of the various management committees would be seeing Mr Heunis on Monday to express “our strongest objections” to key aspects of the Bill and to the manner in which Mr Heunis has brought the measure to Parliament.

“There should be no confusion about our stand on this Bill. We don’t accept it in the form in which Mr Heunis has tabled it. We have the strongest objections to aspects of it.

“And the manner in which he is trying to rush it through Parliament, without having consulted us on the final draft — which, incidentally, contains several additional proposals to those we understood were to be included — can only cause a further deterioration in relations between the races.”

Mr Curry added: “If Mr Heunis thinks this is consultation with the moderates in the coloured and Asian communities, then heaven help us all. We have got to negotiate as equals if we are to live under the same constitution.

To the altar

“This is not the way for him to get the bride to the altar. If we are going to be treated in this way, then the negotiations on the constitution will simply collapse. If this is the form negotiations are going to take, then obviously the Labour Party will have to decide what steps it should take to meet the situation.”

Mr Curry said one of Assomac’s main objections to the new Bill on local government was that it envisaged separate local authorities for coloured people and Asians.

(To Turn to Page 3, col 2)
Cahac leadership comes under fire

THE UMBRELLA civic body, the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC), is staying silent on the resignation of three affiliates.

The Manenberg Civic Association, the Parkwood Tenants Association and the Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown and Kew Town (BBSK) Residents Association, announced their resignation at a Cahac general meeting in Lentegeur last week.

In a joint statement which they handed to the meeting, the three organisations listed five "principled reasons" for withdrawing from Cahac.

Reasons given in their statement, related to dissatisfaction with Cahac's leadership and methods of operation.

The civic bodies said they were withdrawing because:
- "Cahac has not provided a forum for united and decisive action.
- "The Cahac leadership has held back the struggle of the worker-tenants.
- "The Cahac leadership betrays the interests of the worker-tenants.
- "The Cahac leadership has flouted principled unity necessary for organisations working together.
- "The Cahac leadership has denied minorities the right to criticise."

BBSK was under suspension from Cahac at the time of the resignation.

Cahac general secretary Mr Trevor Manuel confirmed the resignations, but said he could not comment on the reasons given by the three bodies for their resignations.

DISCUSSED

"The matter was raised at the Cahac general meeting, but like all other decisions within Cahac, it is now being discussed by affiliates and Cahac's position on the matter will emerge when delegates to the next general meeting bring their mandates from their organisations.

"This has always been how decisions have been taken and will be taken within Cahac. We cannot respond to any claims until our general body decides we should do so." Mr Manuel said.

RESPONSE

The three bodies' statement said Cahac had not come up with a consistent response to the Government's proposed sale of 500 000 houses.

"Cahac's response to the PC proposals and the Disorderly Bills has been to propose an alliance with the bosses and their agents.

"After a long struggle with the opportunism of the Cahac leadership, this was the last straw," they said.

The umbrella body recently had a meeting in Hanover Park where about 1 500 people rejected the constitutional bill, pledged support for the people at KTC and demanded that the Government take responsibility for housing."
ANC and ‘liberation army’ face tough police action

Lesotho, SA agree to curb guerrillas

The Foreign Ministers of South Africa and Lesotho yesterday agreed to clamp down on insurgent operations from each other’s country.

The agreement, which was reached during a meeting of the Lesotho Liberation Army and the Lesotho Liberation Army in Johannesburg, is expected to have significant implications for relations between the two countries.

The meeting came at a time when relations between the two countries had deteriorated in the previous week.

The agreement includes measures to control the flow of insurgents across the border, as well as efforts to disrupt their activities in each other’s territory.

In the past, both countries have accused the other of providing sanctuary and support to their respective insurgent groups.

The agreement is seen as a positive step towards resolving the tensions between the two countries.

The foreign ministers also discussed the ongoing conflict in Africa, with South Africa expressing concern over developments in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Both countries agreed to work together to promote regional stability and security.

The meeting was held in the context of ongoing efforts to resolve the conflict in South Africa, with both countries playing key roles in the peace process.

The agreement is expected to be signed in the coming days, with further details to be released at a later date.
Resisting the brutal second stage of attack...

For whites the outrage will polarise the appeaser-ethnic dichotomy I have previously analysed.

Reform will die with each bomb: more and more whites will decide that reform must lead to black rule, a concept increasingly loathed with each ANC horror. The polarisation will become embittered as more of a small but still sizeable white minority are seduced into activism by the ANC's campaign to recruit whites.

But the growing band of resisters, including many non-whites, will scream defiance. Their resistance must depend upon three factors: a unified political movement, an efficient civil service and good troops. Rhodesia had all three, SA has just one: an impressive SADF. And since Pretoria, drones and all, is bent on emulating Israel we could add that Jerusalem, too, has only one of the three: an even better defence force.

Israel plays it tough, but why not tougher before Reagan goes? Why shouldn't America give Israel as many arms as Russia gives Syria? If Syria could march into Tel Aviv, it would do just that. So why shouldn't America let Israel go for it and occupy Damascus?

Let Israel dictate to King Hussein. The Yanks have bent over backwards to compromise, so now let the Israelis run the show and back them to the hilt. The Arabs have an oil glut and, because Russia doesn't want a world war, we can assume that it won't launch one for Syria. So why shouldn't SA act like an African state and go for the jugular blast Maputo and every ANC leader within reach? That will be the eventual gut logic of Pretoria.

We are told that the PLO and the IRA (the models for the new arm's reach strategy) have not succeeded in their countries. Fair point, except that Britain and America (et al) support the system in Ulster and Israel. And, crucially, the potential maximum support for the PLO in Israel and the IRA in Ulster is based on a significant minority of the population.

In contrast, many in the West hate Pretoria more than Moscow does, and the maximum potential of ANC support lies in the great majority inside SA.

It's no good praying that the West will come to its collective senses.

The stark choice is: courageously negotiate from strength with the ANC soon or fight for ever.

The whites lose it will be Nuremberg 1945, not Verwoerd 1982. Yet if they appease they will fail the Greeks of Munich 1933. Most Rhodesians regret Lancaster House. In their hearts many wish they had fought on, and would have too if they knew that Mugabe would have triumphed. They prefer Rhodesia 1979 to 1983.

More and more SA whites will feel exactly the same. They would prefer perpetual war to rule by the ANC bomb brigade dressed up in pin-stripped suits.

Between mad bombers and policemen without heads, we're in terrible danger.
SA USES MUSCLE TO MAKE BORDERS SECURE

SOUTH AFRICA is using all its muscle as a superpower in the region to drive the ANC back from its borders.

Highly placed sources confirmed this weekend that the anti-subversion agreement with Lesotho on Friday is seen as the first fruit of a hawkish new policy aimed at persuading South Africa's neighbours to help contain the ANC threat.

The new policy, which crystallised in the wake of the Pretoria and Bloemfontein bomb blasts, is a formidable combination of tempting carrots and heavy sticks.

It not only uses naked power, such as the air strike into Mozambique, and economic pressure tactics such as the calculated slowdown at Leekho border posts. Its most devastating aspect is that it exploits widespread fears of neighbouring countries that they are themselves vulnerable to subversion.

The anxiety has expressed itself in widespread accusations that South Africa is seeking to 'destabilise' its neighbours. South African denials have not mitigated this fear.

Mozambique has accused South Africa of supporting crippling guerrilla actions by the MNR. whose new leader is former Lieutenant Adriano Bomba, the jet

To Page 2

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New!
South Africa uses muscle to secure border

The big stick — and some carrots...

BY JEAN LE MAY

SOUTH Africa is equipped with a wide range of pressures that it can bring to bear at any stage on all of its neighbours.

Although last week’s traffic slow-down on the Lesotho border was a minor display of economic muscle, the pressures that can be applied, and which would have disastrous consequences on Lesotho and other states, include:

- Repatriating citizens of neighbouring states working in South Africa whose pay — remitted directly to their governments — is in some cases crucial to their economy.
- Adjusting the customs union agreement on which Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana rely heavily for foreign exchange.
- Further traffic slow-downs, which could be vital since Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana get up to 90% of their imports by rail through South Africa, including all their oil.

Economic incentives offered by South Africa in return for anti-subversion pacts could include physical and financial development aid, particularly in the fields of transport and infrastructure.
uses muscle to secure border

against ANC activities. According to one source, cooperation might even extend mutual inspection of one
\textit{et al.'s} territory to establish other hostile forces are

\textit{There}\ when, South Africa has an

\textit{in the} range of other press

\textit{which can be brought bear, ranging from em-

\textit{brary of labour from zambia and Lesotho, to

\textit{with} links, communications and postal services, trade, sharing of customs rev-

\textit{eves, food supplies, cooperation in disease control and general economic co-

\textit{eration.}

The slow-down at the Le-

\textit{soho border is seen as a re-

\textit{minder that, if sufficiently

\textit{provoked, South Africa has

\textit{the capacity to choke

\textit{Lesotho.

\textit{Diplomatic sources com-

\textit{mented that South Africa's

\textit{influence on dissident move-

\textit{ments in neighbouring states

\textit{which South Africa has al-

\textit{ways denied — might not

\textit{extend to being able to put a

\textit{stop to their activities.

\textit{"Usita has its own wide

\textit{base within Angola and

\textit{would probably keep on

\textit{fighting even if the alleged

\textit{South African support were

\textit{withdrawn," said one

\textit{diplomat.

The sources also said

\textit{South Africa shared its

\textit{knowledge of ANC activities

\textit{among its neighbours with

\textit{the "host" countries.

\textit{The agreement reached

\textit{with Lesotho on Friday at a

\textit{meeting between the Minis-

\textit{ter of Foreign Affairs, Mr

\textit{Pik Botha, and a Lesotho

\textit{delegation headed by his

\textit{counterpart, Mr E R Sekho-

\textit{nyana, is expected to be the

\textit{forerunner of a similar

\textit{agreement with Swaziland

\textit{— and possibly with Bo-

\textit{tswana and Mozambique.

\textit{This is clear from the

\textit{carefully-worded statement

\textit{issued after the meeting.

A well-informed source

\textit{commented that South

\textit{Africa has "tacitly" under-

\textit{taken to pull back on "desta-

\textit{bilising" actions in return

\textit{for Lesotho's agreement to

\textit{clean up the ANC.

\textit{South Africa has never ad-

\textit{mitted that it is helping the

\textit{LLA. However, there were

\textit{reports late last year that

\textit{South Africa was attempting to

\textit{persuade Lesotho to hand

\textit{over the principal ANC

\textit{leaders in exchange for Mr

\textit{Ntsu Mokhele, leader of the

\textit{LLA whose aim is to topple

\textit{the Chief Jonathan's

\textit{government.

\textit{This has been denied by

\textit{South Africa, which has

\textit{never admitted that Mr

\textit{Mokhele is in the country.

\textit{However, another source

\textit{confirmed to the Sunday Ex-

\textit{press that at this week's

\textit{meeting, Mr Botha named

\textit{five ANC activists in Le-

\textit{sotho and gave details of

\textit{their activities.

\textit{The Lesotho represen-

\textit{tatives, while expressing "sur-

\textit{prise" at the information, agreed to take action against

\textit{them, the source said.

\textit{But Mr Sekhonyana said after

\textit{the meeting Lesotho was "not planning to expel

\textit{anyone".

\textit{Lesotho gave the congest-

\textit{ion at its borders last week,

\textit{following intensified South

\textit{African customs examina-

\textit{tions after the Bloemfontein

\textit{bomb blast, as its main rea-

\textit{son for going to the negoti-

\textit{ating table.

The big stick — and some carrots ...

By JEAN LE MAY

SOUTH Africa is equipped with a wide range of pressures that it can bring to bear at any stage on all of its neighbours. Although last week's traffic slow-down on the Lesotho border was a minor display of economic muscle, the pressures that can be applied, and which would have disastrous consequences on Lesotho and other states, include:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Repatriating citizens of neighboring states working in South Africa whose pay — remit direct to their govern-
  \item Adjusting the customs union agreement on which Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho rely heavily for foreign exchange.
  \item Further traffic slow-downs, which could be vital since Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana get up to 90% of their imports by rail through South Africa, including all their oil.
  \item Economic incentives offered by South Africa in return for anti-subversion pacts could include physical and financial development aid, particularly in the fields of transport and the establishment of economic infrastructure.
\end{itemize}

Swaziland is said to be eager for the Kangwane Inyawa land deal, since it would gain access to the sea.

Such an agreement involving action against the ANC could become part of the land deal, according to a report by the influential Economist Intelligence Unit.

In Botswana, political tensions generated by about 1 000 "refugees" — many receiving military training from the ANC — could push the country into considering such an agreement in the aftermath of South African action against

Lesotho and Mozambique.

A carrot dangled by South Africa would be the building of a rail link to the Northern Transvaal to enable it to export its coal from the Franzcown area.

An anti-subversion agreement with Mozambique is seen by diplomatic sources as unlikely in the immediate future for political reasons.

However, long-term benefits of an agreement with South Africa could mean a reduction of destabilising activities by the anti-Frelimo MNR — although, once again, South Africa has denied involvement.
The article on the front page of the Sunday Express of May 29 ('Huge ANC army lurks on borders') erroneously quotes me as saying that the ANC had 7,000 trained guerrillas and another 7,000 undergoing training.

In fact, when your reporter asked me how large the ANC's armed wing was, I said that estimates varied between 2,000 and 8,000, and that I favoured the higher figure as it would represent a reasonable proportion of those people who have left the country since 1976.

At no time did I suggest that the ANC's guerrillas totalled 14,000. I said it was more likely that 'several thousand' had been trained and that 'several thousand more' may be in the course of training. I made it clear that I had no certain knowledge of the size of the ANC's army.

The guerrilla force does not 'lurk' on South Africa's borders. Most guerrillas are in camps in Angola, Tanzania and Ethiopia - all a long distance from South Africa. The headline could be used as justification for SADF incursions into neighbouring territories, incursions which I oppose, and I would not like to be associated with advocacy of such action.

A second article on Page 8 ('Portrait of a terrorist') was also erroneous in saying that I had 'done extensive research on the type of person who joins the ANC'. Nor did I suggest that the sort of person described in the article was responsible for the Pretoria blast. (And, for the record, I did not employ the term terrorist in describing members of Umkonto we Sizwe.)

I did not say the ANC's 'most important' camp was in the Ukraine. Some of its more talented recruits attend a specialized military course in the Soviet Union but I did not suggest that the ANC itself ran a training institution there.

A statement attributed to me - 'They (the Soviets) hope that the day will come when they will actually be in a position to set up a Communist state' - is inaccurate. Your reporter obviously misunderstood my argument that the Soviet Union's African policies were pragmatic and opportunistic, and that it did not expect its African allies and beneficiaries to share its own conception of an ideal society. - TOM LODGE, Lecturer, Department of Political Studies, University of the Witwatersrand.

The Sunday Express apologizes for its errors - which appear to have resulted from a misunderstanding between Mr Lodge and the reporter - although they do not alter the thrust of its report.

Whether the ANC has 4,000 men, or close to 8,000, or a lesser number cited by other sources, it does clearly have a formidable force ready to infiltrate across the borders. - Editor.
The Red priorities for Southern Africa

The growing build-up of conventional weapons and surrogate forces in South Africa's neighbouring states is an indication of the Soviet Union's willingness to become involved by supplying military, financial, political and moral support to these states and to the terrorist organisations which they host.

The military threat to South Africa and Namibia centres mainly around the revolutionary onslaught by the African National Congress (ANC), the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Soviet strategy provides in the first instance for a revolutionary onslaught, but at the same time does not exclude action and escalation towards a more conventional onslaught.

Soviet dissatisfaction with the lack of progress with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and attacks by the ANC and Swapo, led to the creation in 1991 of a so-called 'Co-ordinating Committee for Southern Africa' in Moscow.

This committee has reached unanimity on a number of strategic priorities concerning Southern Africa.

These include consolidating Soviet influence in South Africa and Namibia's hostile neighbouring states, developing the military capabilities of these states, giving greater support to the ANC, developing greater internal support for the ANC and SACP, and involving South Africa on as many military fronts as possible.

The Soviet Union is strengthening its position in Angola and Mozambique, and there are continuous efforts to draw into its sphere of influence countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Lesotho.

There is no doubt that there is a fundamental desire by some black states to attack South Africa with conventional weapons.

Hostile neighbouring states have in the past six years expanded their military forces by about 300% to a total of roughly 270,000 troops. At least 10% is made up of surrogate forces, including Cubans, Soviets and East Germans.

The capability of these states, in respect of tanks, has increased by about 300% (a total of 1,000), aircraft strength has increased by 200% (a total of 500). They have also extended their air defence systems.

Conventional military weapons alone, however, do not ensure offensive military capability, and these countries are still experiencing problems in regard to leadership, language, differences in training and standardisation of equipment.

Thanks to South Africa's strong military capability, none of its hostile neighbours is ready to engage in an offensive military struggle.

The threat therefore lies chiefly in the fact that the USSR is actively disturbing the military status quo in Southern Africa by the continuous supply of more modern and heavy arms to neighbour states.

(Excerpts from Strategic Review published by the Institute for Strategic Studies, University of Pretoria.)
AN HONORARY doctorate awarded to Nelson Mandela will be accepted today on his behalf by a top African church official, following foiled attempts to have family members deputies.

Former US Vice-President Walter Mondale is expected at the ceremony, at New York's City College graduation day.

The State Department turned down a request from Dr. Bernard Harleston, City College president, who wanted the US to pressure the South African Government into letting him personally present the degree to Mr. Mandela.

Dr. Harleston failed to obtain a visa to visit South Africa and Mrs. Winnie Mandela and daughter Zindzi were blocked from travelling to New York, university officials said.

The award, a law doctorate, will be accepted by the Rev. Maxime Rafanossa, general secretary of the All-African Council of Churches, who is flying from Nairobi for the ceremony.
Inkatha and violence

Dr Dlamini: No, we draw a clear difference between criticism and vilification. Even Chief Buthelezi has said so himself in the past. We have people who criticised us and we do like to be criticised objectively. We thrive on criticism.

What we object to is for people to vilify us and use what we call pure lies to build stories around Inkatha and its leadership which are ascertainably false. This is no way means that we don't want to be criticised. We know that as a movement we would have faults. Some people even pointed out faults in Jesus Christ.

What we do not want is unfair and untruthful comment on what we are trying to do.

SOWETAN: Would you then consider using violence against people who use what you call unfair comments against you?

Dr Dlamini: No, it is not a question of using violence. I don't think chief Buthelezi meant that we would use violence against such people. He meant that we would in Biblical terms, say an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

That is, if anybody were to report or announce something untrue about Inkatha, we would then take the matter up with them, either personally or through the courts of the land. That is what we mean, not that we will take the law into our own hands and maybe assault anyone.

SOWETAN: but would the people sufficiently before you can embark upon those tactics.

BOYCOTT

We have used them manually by way of conditioning the people that we will call upon them in future to use on a national scale. We have been in the boycott of white bread which...

SOWETAN: Was it a successful boycott?

Dr Dlamini: Oh yes it was successful. If you go to areas like Nata, Zulu land today, you will never find a shop that sells white bread and bakeries have even stopped baking for black people. And the reports we get from the Reef are also positive.

We have used the defiance tactic in a way at our last Alliance meeting. We decided that in spite of the banning of our public meeting at Curries Fountain, we would protect public property against vandalism and from people who do not value the sweat of poor starving people. At that time, there were people who were modern for wanton destruction. They smashed windows of community schools built by the community.

SOWETAN: Now Dr Dlamini, why do members of Inkatha have to carry war certificates. Is it important for them to prove that they are citizens of KwaZulu?

Dr Dlamini: No, it is not so. We believe that they are citizens of South Africa. In fact, that the name citizenship certificate was unfortunate in the first place.

The reason why the KwaZulu Government decided to come up with this KwaZulu citizenship certificate issue was because we objected in principle to our people using reference books to vote in the first KwaZulu elections.

So the cabinet suggested that some form of document should be issued to the voter only, wouldn't the...
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To keep healthy, your stomach should work regularly and Dulcolax is the reliable laxative you can depend on to work everyday.

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Only available at pharmacies.
JOHANNESBURG. — Lesotho and South Africa resolved at a tense meeting of Foreign Affairs delegates in Johannesburg on Friday to heal strained diplomatic relations.

The two countries thrashed out their differences at a rare high-level meeting.

While Mr Botha stated that it was of "decisive importance" that insurgents working against each other should be stopped, Mr Sekhonyana said that his country would make sure no elements jeopardized relations with South Africa.

However, he said that Lesotho was bound by international convention to accept political refugees and that there would be no expulsion of aliens.

Although the banned African National Congress and the exiled Lesotho Liberation Army were not publicly mentioned by the ministers, it is evident that the ANC and LLA were central to Friday's agreement.

South Africa has accused Lesotho of harbouring ANC members in Lesotho, and the Maseru Government in turn has claimed that the LLA is backed by the Republic in its efforts to destabilize Lesotho.

Mr Sekhonyana said his government was capable of preventing the ANC crossing into South Africa. — Sapa
Murder trial ruling today

Pretoria Bureau

JUDGMENT in the trial of the Stinkwater karate instructor who allegedly shot dead a security policeman with an AK-47 rifle will be given in the Pretoria Supreme Court today.

Mr Malesela Benjamin Moloiise, 28, has pleaded guilty before Mr Justice H P van der Merwe to a charge of murdering Warrant-Officer Philipse Selepe, 32, in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on November 7 last year.

W/O Selepe was shot eight times inside his home.

Mr P B Jacobs, Deputy Attorney-General, asked the court to convict Mr Moloiise.

Mr Moloiise in his confession to the magistrate and the police revealed "intimate" knowledge only the killer could have known.

Mr Jacobs said that although Mr Moloiise was not a member of the African National Congress he associated with members of the organisation and must have been a sympathiser of the ANC.

Mr R Selvan, SC, for Mr Moloiise, said the confession by Mr Moloiise to the magistrate was not corroborated by any other evidence. The confession had variations, contradictions and inconsistencies.

Mr Selvan argued that Mr Moloiise, besides being a poor witness, was imaginative and unreliable and might have made the confession for dramatic effect.

When he made the confession to the magistrate on February 18, Mr Moloiise said he killed Mr Selepe after he was promised he would be paid R2000 by the ANC.

In court Mr Moloiise said he made the confession after he had been threatened by the Security Police on the one hand and by the ANC on the other.
CAPE TOWN — Oscar Mpetha (73) was today found guilty in the Cape Town Supreme Court of participating in terrorist activities during uprisings at black townships in August 1980.

The veteran trade unionist was found not guilty on two further charges of murder.

The finding drew no reaction from Mpetha in the dock or the crowded gallery.

Mr Justice Williamson said Mpetha's story of why he went to Reverend Wena the evening before the riots was improbable and unconvincing. He hid the real reason for his visit.

Mpetha had also lied about what led to the use of the church where a meeting was held on August 11.

In his evidence Mpetha had given an explanation for his movements that day which did not coincide with the violent events.

The judge said the whole thrust of his evidence was to distance himself from the happenings of that day.

(Proceeding: ...)
Burial of four bomb victims

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Four cousins who played soccer for one team, worked together and died together when they were killed in the Pretoria bomb blast last month, were buried side by side in a moving funeral ceremony attended by about 1,000 mourners on Saturday.

They were Mr Moses Maimela, Mr Judas Maimela, Mr Sekgotso Magatesela and Mr Thomo Mohlabo, all aged 23.

The funeral was held at Ga-Malekane village in the mountainous town of Steelport in the eastern Transvaal. The Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, and four of his cabinet attended the funeral service.

Colonel J Kriel represented the commander of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant-General M Muller at the funeral.
UDF elects committee

THE newly constituted United Democratic Front (UDF), a body reminiscent of the Democratic Alliance of the 1950s, took a step further during the weekend when it elected its first consultative committee.

The committee will do the planning, take decisions and draw up a programme of action. The UDF is committed to an undivided, democratic and non-racial South Africa. At a meeting attended by about 28 workers', political, civic, church, cultural and student bodies which form the UDF Council, a secretariat was also constituted. The size of the consultative committee will be 13 and will include a member from the United Women Organisation.

Some of the prominent personalities elected to the Consultative committee of 13 include, Dr Ram Saloojee, the chairman of the UDF Interim committee and a top official of the TIC, Dr Nhato Motlan, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, Professor Ismail Mohammed, chairman of the Anti-President Council, Mr Phershaw Camay, general-secretary of the powerful Council of Unions of South Africa, Mr Amos Masondo of the SCA and the president of the Witwatersrand Students Representative Council.

Among the functions to be conducted by the UDF's consultative committee will be to organise other areas; to create other regions, conduct workshops and to hold seminars. Until a secretariat is appointed, the interim committee headed by Dr Saloojee will perform its duties such as the day to day organisational work as well as administrative duties. The meeting which lasted some three hours, was characterised by lots of consensus decisions.
LEADERS SLAM COURT ORDER

The banning of a prayer meeting to protest against the death sentences imposed on the six members of the African National Congress, was strongly condemned by the newly established United Democratic Front at its meeting at the weekend.

The banning was described by some of the organisations at the meeting as "arbitrary and highly undemocratic." One organisation said the hanging of the six men will only lead to more violence in the country.

The meeting, which was to have been held at the St Francis of Assissi Anglican Church in Soweto yesterday, was banned on Friday.

The Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr. Olof Abraham de Meyer, issued a court order in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1982. He stated that he had reasons to believe the public peace would be seriously endangered by a gathering to oppose the death sentences. The meeting was organised by the "Save The Six Committee." The gathering was prohibited to take place anywhere in Johannesburg between Friday and today.

The UDF meeting, which was attended by 28 political, worker, students, civic, church and cultural bodies, felt the hanging of the six men would not solve the problems of the country.

"The real problems in the country are the ones to be dealt with."

Other organisations that voiced their condemnation of the ban were the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), which warned that the hangings would only lead to more violence in the country. In a statement the TIC said: "We join with other progressive organisations in calling on the Government not to hang the six."

The TIC called for a national convention and said there was a need to look at the causes and symptoms of the intransigence in South Africa. The Workers Supporters Committee (WSC) also condemned the hanging as undemocratic and arbitrary. "We view this action as barbaric and primitive, for it will not stop our dedication and commitment to fight for a just cause."

The Transvaal region of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) criticised the banning. It said it did not see the banning of the meeting as contributing to solutions to South Africa's problems. Other organisations which slammed the banning were the Municipal and General Workers Union (MGWU), which said the Government was misusing its power and described the magistrate's decision as, "highly arbitrary and totalitarian."
SA pact with neighbours likely

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa's current carrot-and-stick offensive to flush the African National Congress from its neighboring states could lead to the signing of non-aggression pacts with at least four states, according to informed sources.

According to the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, he is already involved in an "ongoing process" of negotiation with Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique to reach agreement on the non-utilization of each of their territories as springboards for subversion.

Understanding

Mr Botha said a satisfactory "basis of understanding" had already been reached with Swaziland, while Friday's talks with his Lesotho counterpart, Mr E R Sekhonyana, held "good potential" for the implementation of a "clear and concrete" agreement on non-subversion reached at the meeting.

The Foreign Minister said that if this would be difficult to reach an agreement in which countries like Lesotho were demanding the social and economic as well as the political liberation of South Africa and declaring that they were at war with the Republic.

Mr Botha said that while he was not prepared at this stage to say when he would meet with his counterparts in Botswana and Mozambique, satisfactory agreements in principle had been reached with both countries.

He was waiting to hear from them as to how these could be implemented in practice.

While Mr Botha did not elaborate on what form the implementation of non-subversion agreements would take, a diplomatic source said that an agreement could extend to mutual inspection of each of their territories to ensure that hostile parties were not maintaining a presence there.

South Africa has apparently given assurances to its neighboring States that in return for such action, it would pull back on its "destabilizing" tactics.

Mr Botha confirmed yesterday that representatives of the security forces and police of South Africa and Lesotho would have further talks as a matter of urgency this week to find a "practical formula" for implementing Friday's agreement between the two countries to clamp down on insurgents operating from their territories.

Mr Botha said that while the current initiative was in line with the repeated undertaking by the Prime Minister, Mr F W Botha, that he was prepared to sign non-aggression treaties with neighboring States, Mr Botha said he would prefer to call them non-subversion agreements.

The agreement in principle reached between Mr Pik Botha and his Lesotho counterpart on Friday is likely to have far-reaching implications for the activities of the ANC in Lesotho and the Lesotho Liberation Army in South Africa.

Campaign

The diplomatic and military campaigns to Indo back the ANC from South Africa's borders follows last month's bomb blasts in Pretoria and Bloemfontein and the snap South African Air Force strike into Maputo.

However, it is clear that South Africa will also have to work on this machinery to achieve its objectives.

Bid to heal relations

Nine held after demo

Staff Reporters

ONE ANTI-NUCLEAR demonstrator was tear-gassed by a Riot Control Squad policeman and seven others were arrested for allegedly contravening the Internal Security Act during a demonstration in Greensquare Square in the City on Saturday morning.

The demonstration by about 50 Koeberg Alert members to draw attention to yesterday's World Environmental Day included a mime consisting of a "funeral" and "die-in" of actors dressed as mutagens.

A woman was sprayed with tear-smoke from an aerosol can after police had told her and others to disperse.

A witness said yesterday that the policeman had sprayed the tear-smoke from a distance of less than a metre.

Two middle-aged men who watched the incident said the tear-gassing was "totally uncalled for".

Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the nine had been released from custody on Saturday on bail of R100. They would appear in the Magistrate's Court today.

He confirmed that a policeman had sprayed a woman with tear-smoke.

E To page 2
It all points to a ‘keep-off’ pact

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa’s current carrot-and-stick offensive to flush out the African National Congress from its neighbouring states could lead to the signing of non-aggression pacts with at least four states, according to informed sources.

According to the Foreign Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, he is already involved in an “ongoing process” of negotiation with Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Mozambique to reach agreement not to use each other’s territories as springboards for subversion.

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SA has had talks with four

From Page 1

South Africa

The diplomatic and military campaign to drive back the ANC from South Africa’s borders follows last month’s devastating bomb blasts in Pretoria and Bloemfontein and the snap South African Airforce strike into Maputo.

Today the Lesotho Minister of Finance, Mr. K.P. Rakhetla, will have talks with the Minister of Finance, Mr. Owen Horwood in Cape Town.

Talks between the two Ministers are expected to centre on the customs union which South Africa is understood to have told Lesotho is outdated and will have to be reviewed in terms of the proposed Southern African constellation of states.

Lesotho has already felt the effects of delayed food deliveries following the recent security crackdown at Lesotho border posts.

If this was extended to fuel deliveries, it could have a crippling effect on the small landlocked nation.
International demos over ANC death sentences

By Gerald L'Arge
The Star Bulletin

WASHINGTON — African National Congress supporters will demonstrate outside the White House tomorrow against the impending execution in South Africa of three ANC members.

At the same time the British Anti-Apartheid Movement will ask President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to intervene personally.

The three due to hang on Thursday — Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mossoli and Marcus Motaung — were among six ANC members sentenced to death for high treason.

The death sentences on the other three — Anthony Tsetsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise — were yesterday commuted to life imprisonment as no loss of life resulted from their actions.

In the House of Commons five weeks ago, Foreign Secretary Mr Francis Pym said the British and other governments had tried to bring home to South African authorities the strength of public feeling about the proposed executions.

The AAM and its European sister movements will hold continuous demonstrations.

The American State Department, although it has received a large number of telephone calls protesting the executions, has not issued a statement on the matter.
Doomed ANC man asks for family

By Jon Qwelane

An urgent message from Death Row, delivered by a policeman yesterday to the family of condemned African National Congress member Jerry Mosololi, led to his parents leaving for Pretoria today to see him before he hangs on Thursday.

Mosololi will be hanged with Simon Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung for State security offences including the attack on the Moroka Police Station in Soweto during which two policemen were killed and three people were injured.

The condemned man's younger sister, Miss Kuki Mosololi (21), said a policeman came to their Dube home and said her brother wanted to see family members.

"My parents asked why Jerry wanted to see them but the policeman did not give reasons. My father is going to ask the authorities to leave my brother's body for a family burial after he is hanged. Jerry said all along he expected to die."

About 100 m away from the Mosololi home is that of Anthony Bobby Totsobe, who was also sentenced to death in a separate treason trial.

"He was sentenced with two other ANC members, David Moise and Johannes Shabangu. The three won a reprieve from the State President and will now serve life sentences."

Mrs Olive Totsobe (56) said it did not make any difference that her son's sentence had been commuted.

"All it means is that he will be kept away from society for life. It would have been the same if they had hanged him," she said.

Mrs Totsobe said her son had suffered mental torture in the two years he had been on Death Row, because he did not know what to expect each day. She saw him on Friday and he was in a bad mental and physical state.

"Mr Ruthven Totsobe (65) disagreed with this wife. He said anybody given a prison term had a reasonable chance of becoming free some day."

BID TO SAVE THREE

IN A last ditch attempt to save the lives of the three ANC members due to be hanged tomorrow, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan have been asked to intervene following an international campaign initiated by the Anti-Apartheid Movement which also includes demonstrations in the major cities of Europe and the United States.

Speaking from London during an interview, Mr. Mike Terry, executive secretary of the movement, told The SOWETAN that Mr. Michael Foot, leader of the Labour Party, Mr. David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party, and others had also been asked to support the representations to Mrs. Thatcher.

By DERRICK THEMA, SAM MABE and MONO BADELA

DISTRESSED: Mr. Isaac Mosololi ... will demand the body of his son, Jerry Mosololi for burial.
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Speaking from London during an interview, Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the movement, told The SOWETAN that Mr Michael Foot, leader of the Labour Party, Mr. David Steel, leader of the Liberal Party and former president of the movement, and Mr Roy Jenkins, leader of the Social Democratic Party had been asked to support the representations to Mrs. Thatcher.

They had also contacted the United States embassy in London, the American Committee on Africa in New York, the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid in New York and the Washington Office on Africa to pressurise the American Government with the result that Mr. Reagan was due to meet with congressmen early yesterday.

Messages have also been sent to representatives of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa to invoke the condemnation of African states.

Demonstrations lasting 24 hours starting tomorrow morning will be held outside South African embassies in

To Page 2
Moloise gets death

A 28-YEAR-OLD man described as "a strong sympathiser of the ANC" was yesterday sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court for murdering a security policeman at the front gate of the policeman's house in Mamelodi last year.

Malesela Benjamin Moloise of 220C Sonnyboy's plot, Stinkwater, smiled, made a black power salute and shouted "Matla" (power) after Mr Justice H Snyman, sitting with two assessors, announced the sentence.

Moloise was sentenced to death following the killing of Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe (54), who was gunned down with an AK47 rifle at 8pm on November 7 last year.

In his judgement Mr Justice van Dyk said the accused was an unreliable witness and his evidence contrasted with that of two other defence witnesses. The accused had associated with members of the banned African National Congress, including Marcus Thabo Motau who was sentenced to death for high treason last year.

The judge said there was overwhelming evidence that the accused was the person who inflicted the fatal wounds on W/O Selepe. He found no extenuating circumstances.
Climax for two-year Mpetha

Five cleared of terror deaths

Own Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Five accused in the Oscar Mpetha trial were yesterday acquitted in the Supreme Court in Cape Town on two murder counts and on a charge of participating in terrorist activities. They are Mr Vusumzi Mhetha, Mr Fumanekele Fools, Mr Vuyalisa Wilson Maza, Mr Makawa Jabava and Mr Joseph Phike.

The court found there was insufficient evidence. The men, who had been in custody for more than two years, were to be released from Pollsmoor Prison after the afternoon adjournment yesterday.

Their acquittals were greeted with overwhelming joy from the packed public gallery. Today Mr Justice Williamson will continue his judgment regarding the last six accused.

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Shortly before the attack on Mr Beeton two vehicles driven by a black and a coloured person approached the barricade and were allowed to proceed.

It was not long after this that Mr Beeton approached the barricade. He stopped about 75m from the barricade and his vehicle was stoned, overturned and set alight. He was dragged out of the car and left for dead in the road. The judge said it was clear from the evidence that he was stoned to death.

After the attack on Mr Beeton the crowd moved along Klipfontein Road in the direction of Somerset West.

There an attack took place on Mr Jansen who was driving along Klipfontein Road in his bakkie. The bakkie was stoned, overturned and set on fire and Mr Jansen was dragged out of the bakkie.

Terrible injuries were inflicted on him, the judge said. The attack on Mr Jansen, who was found horribly burnt and lying on his back in a pool of water, was stopped when the riot squad arrived. In addition to burns Mr Jansen had numerous fractures of the skull and jaw.

Mr Justice Williamson said one of the major problems he was faced with was the evidence that the riot squad used tear gas and rubber bullets. The judge also said there was evidence that the riot squad had fired rubber bullets at the petrol bombs thrown by the crowd. Mr Jansen was hit by one of the bullets.

The judge said it was clear from the evidence that Mr Jansen was stoned to death.

Morgan Makubala, Peter Kube and Johannes Hlapo were found guilty on all three charges. Mr Justice Williamson found the three men had participated in both attacks on Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen, made petrol bombs and had assisted in the building of a barricade in Klipfontein Road.

Christopher Sparanayi and Alton Sabawa were found guilty of participating in terrorist activities and of the murder of Mr George Beeton. They were acquitted of the murder of Mr Frederick Jansen through lack of evidence.

Aaron Tshangama was found guilty on the two murder charges, but acquitted on a charge of participating in terrorist activities.

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Mr. Justice Williamson said one of the major problems was to evaluate the evidence in this case, as the testimonies were not only to a single event but a whole series of complex events where a large number of people had participated to a lesser or greater extent.

This had caused confusion, forgetfulness and mistakes in their testimony. Many of the witnesses had been detained for long periods which had caused them a great deal of distress and the court would apply the cautionary rule in many of these cases.

Many of the State witnesses were accomplices who had played a leading role in the unlawful activities. Great care was required in assessing the evidence of these accomplices, who were in a good position to tell a story that sounded convincing and fitted in well with the other evidence.

Yet such a witness could also incriminate or exaggerate his role in these criminal activities. Dealing with the first of the State witnesses, the judge said he involved all the accused and had given a detailed description of the events, but his credibility had been destroyed during cross-examination.

After careful reflection it was difficult to disentangle the true from the false, and the witness’s evidence had to be discarded.

The second witness had on the whole been reliable despite certain failings. The second witness had on the whole been reliable despite certain failings. But the most impressive of the witnesses, said the judge, were two young girls who cannot be identified because of their age.

The first girl was a remarkable witness who gave evidence 19 months after the events. She had been in the witness box for eight days and undergone rigorous cross-examination by the four counsel for the defence. Her candour and spontaneity were quite exceptional. Although she had made mistakes the court was completely satisfied that she had told the whole truth.

The other girl had also been a good witness.

The hearing continues.
General Constand Viljoen, chief of the South African Defence Force, believes that by shutting the military wing of the African National Congress out of neighbouring black countries it will be possible to prevent the group from intensifying a sabotage campaign in South Africa.

He said in an interview with the New York Times that this isolation could be accomplished through a combination of military and diplomatic pressures.

"They will be able to have single incidents, but they will not be able to sustain a high intensity of operations for a long time," said the general.

Interviewed at military headquarters in Pretoria, General Viljoen described the situation that would exist if South Africa achieved its "important strategic aim" of crippling the ability of its own exiles to dispatch small units on sabotage and bombing missions from nearby countries.

Interviewed at military headquarters in Pretoria, General Viljoen assessed the security situation in the aftermath of the car bomb explosion two weeks ago that killed 19 people and wounded more than 200.

Asked if the movement would be stopped dead in its tracks if its military wing were to be effectively barred from neighbouring black nations, he replied:

"I think so. Oh yes. I wouldn't say dead in their tracks, but they would just not be able to operate.

"If we deny them bases in all our neighbouring states, either through the co-operation of the states themselves, or by means of military action against their bases, then they have only two ways to come in, by air or sea. It makes it almost impossible for them."

General Viljoen insisted on the accuracy of South Africa's claim that major damage was done to the ANC in a recent air raid.

it was because President Samora Machel had told the United States there were no exile bases
of military action against their bases, then they have only two ways to come in, by air or sea. It makes it almost impossible for them."

General Viljoen insisted on the accuracy of South Africa's claim that major damage was done to the ANC in a reprisal air raid on Maputo barely two days after the Pretoria bombing.

Whole salary

He offered to bet his whole salary that correspondents who went to the scene were steered away from what he called a transit house where "at least 40" of the exiles were killed by rocket and machine-gun fire.

Asked why Mozambique would conceal such casualties, he said it was because President Samora Machel had told the United States there were no exile bases in his country.

"I think Machel would hate to admit that, in fact, he did have ANC bases."

The general was interviewed by The Times Southern Africa correspondent, Joseph Lelyveld. The newspaper said it was the first time in the nearly three years he has commanded the SADF that General Viljoen had agreed to meet a foreign journalist.

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By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

Neighbouring states hostile to South Africa had expanded their military forces by 300 percent in the last six years, said the Chief of the South African Defence Forces, General Constand Viljoen.

Writing in the newsletter of the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Pretoria (ISSUP), General Viljoen estimated the total strength of these hostile forces to be more than 270,000 troops, at least 10 percent of whom are either Cuban, Soviet or East German.

Since 1977, the number of aircraft in hostile neighbouring states had increased from 250 to around 500.

The number of tanks had increased from 350 to 1,100.

These forces, he said, were intended for use in a conventional military onslaught against South Africa.

However, he said South Africa's military capability and preparedness was such that "not one of our hostile neighbours is ready to engage us in a conventional offensive military struggle."

Armies in other African countries were still experiencing problems of leadership, language, training and the standardisation of equipment, he said.

Although they had extended their air defence systems to include radar covers, and more sophisticated weaponry, they still lacked proper military infrastructures.

However, Russian aid to African states meant South Africa could not rule out the possibility of a full-scale conventional war, he said.

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'270,000 troops hostile to SA'
D-day for twilight people

CAPE TOWN - Banned people are waiting on a knife-edge to see if their restriction orders will be reimposed at the end of the month.

About 70 people are still banned and all their orders are to be reviewed by next month.

In terms of the new Internal Security Act, which came into effect in July last year, all restriction orders remained in force for 12 months.

Those 12 months are nearly up and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, will have to reveal his decision soon.

There is mounting speculation that the Government is instituting a new banning policy, easing up on the number of restriction orders imposed.

In contrast to previous years, not even people recently released from long periods of imprisonment for political offences have been banned.

They include Mr Saths Cooper and Mr Muntu Myeza, who are now active in Azapo.

Mr Raymond Suttner and Mr Jeremy Cronin. Among those still banned who will hear whether their restrictions are to be lifted are: Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter Sisulu, who is held at Pollsmoor Prison; and her son, Zwelakhe, the former president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa); Peter Jones, the close friend of the late Steve Biko; Dr Manginela Ramphole, also a close friend of Steve Biko; Dr Beyers Naude; Mrs Fatima Meer, the Natal University academic; Andrew Boraine and "Fink" Hayes, former Nusas journalists, and others like Philip Mtumkulu and Zubeda Mayet, both journalists.
A CROWD of about 50 people marched from the Supreme Court to the Cape Town railway station yesterday after judgment in the Oscar Mptetha trial had been adjourned for the day.

Uniformed police in at least five vans used their vehicles to block certain routes to the marchers so that traffic was not seriously disrupted.

The marchers sang "freedom songs" as they walked along Adderley Street, Longmarket Street and through the bus terminal.

Police made no arrests but monitored the group from the time they left the Supreme Court until they reached the Longmarket Street intersection with Adderley Street.

The group was then stopped from walking in the direction of the Golden Acre and was diverted into side streets.

Earlier, at least 20 policemen — one armed with a sub-machine gun — had been in the vicinity of the court building. Two vans with dogs inside were parked nearby.

All members of the public entering the building were body-searched and policemen checked packages carried into the building.

The public gallery was packed throughout the day and some people were turned away.
Only one of 11 ANC men actually went to gallows

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

ELEVEN African National Congress insurgents have been sentenced to death since the intensification of its underground war after the unrest in black townships of 1976-77, but only one has been executed so far.

The scheduled execution of three ANC men on Thursday will mean that four of the 11 men will have been hanged.

The only ANC cadre to have been executed so far is Solomon Mahlangu, who was convicted of murder for his role in the gun attack in a warehouse in Gocht Street, Johannesburg, in June 1977. Two people died in the attack.

The three ANC men, whose plea for clemency was turned down by the State President yesterday and who will go to the gallows on Thursday, were convicted of high treason in August last year.

The three men are Thello Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Mothung. They were sentenced to death by Mr Justice Curlewis for their attacks on two police stations in Soweto and the Wonderboom police station in Pretoria. Four policemen died in these raids.

Until yesterday they shared death row with another trio of ANC insurgents: Anthony Tsotsope, Johannes Sabangu and David Mose, all of whom were sentenced to death for high treason by Mr Justice Theron in August 1981.

They were granted leave to appeal against the death sentence but their appeal was turned down by the Appeal Court in November last year. The State President, however, commuted their death sentences to life imprisonment yesterday.
New bid to save ANC 3

London and other major cities such as Bonn, Amsterdam, Paris, New York, Washington and Stockholm.

The hangings of Thellem Mogorane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung, have been found in London to be ironic as they are scheduled for the same day on which Britain is to hold elections — Thursday.

Three other ANC members, Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, yesterday had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment by the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen.

Meanwhile the news of the three reprieves and three impending executions was met with shock, anxiety and relief by the families of the men and other commentators.

The families of the two condemned Soweto men, demanded that they be given their bodies for burial. They only got the tragic news from The SOWETAN yesterday, reports MONO BADELA.

A distressed Mr Isaac Mosololi (64), the pensioner father of Jerry Mosololi of Dube, said: "Whether my son, Jerry, was a terrorist or a guerilla, he will remain my son. I love him and he loved us all. He will not be buried by prison warders. He loved and died for us. Therefore he deserves a decent burial. Who can give him that other than me?" Mr Mosololi will be seeing his lawyers about this matter.

Marcus Motaung's father, Mr Frans Motaung, who was terribly shocked, said the same thing. He will also demand his son's body. "I want no interference from the police," he said simply.

Although the State President's decision came as a shock to her, a very courageous Mrs Sarah Mosololi said she had expected the worst. Mosololi's younger sister chipped in: "I am not surprised. I expected it." Mrs Mosololi said she saw her son over the weekend and "he was as full of strength and courage as ever".

Mrs Olive Tsotsobe, mother of Bobby Tsotsobe, whose death sentence was commuted along with those of Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, said: "Kuyafana nje... its all the same. I shall never again live a normal life with my son. The idea that we shall never stay together is out. I am more concerned about the other three men because during the trial and subsequent visits to Death Row, I had become part and parcel of their fate. I shared the trials and tribulations with their parents, that is why I say kuyafana. It is all the same."

Like the others she was also not officially informed on the latest developments.

SAM MABE reports that the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) has made a last minute plea for clemency in a statement.

"The DPSC believes that in a political conflict the death penalty polarises society and makes reconciliation more difficult. Political offences are usually committed by people motivated by a sense of idealism and of deeply felt grievances."
Mpetha found guilty of terrorism

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS
TRADE UNIONIST Oscar Mpetha, 73, was found guilty in the Supreme Court yesterday of terrorism, but acquitted on two charges of murder, following events in Crossroads during August, 1980.

Mr Justice Williamson, who will continue giving judgment today, acquitted five of the other 17 accused on all charges. These men have spent nearly three years in jail awaiting trial and attending the hearing, which has lasted more than two years.

Three men were found guilty on two charges of murder and of terrorism.

Two men were found guilty on one count of murder and of terrorism. Another man was found guilty on two counts of murder, but not guilty of terrorism.

Neither the quiet crowd of about 300 people who packed the courtroom nor the accused showed any reaction during the judgment.

The terrorism charges, brought under the old Terrorism Act of 1967, followed certain actions committed "with intent to endanger law and order" between August 8 and 12, 1980. The murder charges followed the death of Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen in Klipfontein Road on August 11.

Mr Justice Williamson said that although he suspected Mpetha of planning the violence, there was not sufficient evidence to find that he had been the brains behind the events.

'My song'
The court did find, however, that he had stopped his car near marching youths, given a black-power salute and told them to "sing my song". The crowd then sang: "There are guns in Angola, fetch them."

Mr Vusumzi Mbetha, Mr Fumanekile Bole, Mr Vuyisile Mzaza, Mr Makau Jabavu and Mr Joseph Phike were acquitted.

Christopher Sparanyi, who was found guilty of terrorism and one charge of murder, had been a doorman at the Morgan Makubala, who was found guilty on all the charges, had been one of the planners, Mr Justice Williamson said. He had helped build the barricade and had suggested that Sparanyi stop cars.

He had thrown stones at both cars and had set Mr Beeton's car alight.

Aaron Tshangama, on his own admission, had taken part in both attacks. He had later boasted in a shebeen that he had helped "kill Europeans". He was found guilty of both murders, but not guilty of terrorism.

Peter Kubhe had helped build the barricade and had told people in the crowd to arm themselves with stones. He was one of the leaders. He had taken part in both murders and in committing terrorist activities.

Alton Sabuwa had helped build the barricade and had helped overturn Mr Beeton's car.

Johannes Hlapo had taken part in the attack on Mr Beeton and, on his own admission, had stoned Mr Jansen's car.

He had addressed the crowd at the meeting and had helped build the barricade, the judge said. He was found guilty on all charges.

There are two accessory charges pending against a man, who is to be remanded until tomorrow.
found guilty of terrorism

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“My song”

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Mr Vusumzi Mpetha, Mr Fumanekile Ndlovu, Mr Vuyi Zvava, Mr Makawa Jambere and Mr Joseph Phike were acquitted.

Christopher Sparanyi, who was found guilty of terrorism and one charge of murder, had been a doorman at the meeting preceding the march.

The court found that when the crowd reached Klipfontein Road, he had stopped cars in front of a barricade built in the road. He had stopped Mr Beeton’s car, knowing that people in the crowd would stone him.

Morgan Makubala, who was found guilty on all the charges, had been one of the planners, Mr Justice Williamson said. He had helped build the barricade and had suggested that Sparanyi stop cars.

He had thrown stones at both cars and had set Mr Beeton’s car alight.

Aaron Thangama, on his own admission, had take part in both attacks. He had later boasted in a shebeen that he had helped “kill Europeans”. He was found guilty of both murders, but not guilty of terrorism.

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There are two assessors Mr G H Titterton and Mr C J van Gend. Mr CJ van Wyk is appearing for the State. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank, Bernard and Joffe, is appearing for Mr Mpetha. Mr T L Skweyiya and Mr Whitehead, instructed by A M Omar, Vassen and Company, are appearing for the other accused.

Relatives of the men acquitted in the S
the hearing of Oscar Mpetha and 17 other
New turn in Rantho legal dispute

By ALINAH DUBE

THE LEGAL suit against a 44-year-old Atteridgeville widow took a dramatic turn yesterday when lawyers acting for Mr Michael Rantho, said they were going ahead with plans to attach her house.

Mrs Monica Pamela Makabela's house has been under judicial attachment. She has already paid R5,000 to her legal adviser as part of the R106,657 she has to pay Mr Rantho.

This follows an order which was instituted against her husband, Johannes, who died last year before he could settle the matter.

SALE

Mr Seriti told The SOWETAN he had not "received a cent from Mrs Makabela" and that she has to go ahead with the sale.

The lawyers acting on behalf of Mrs Makabela said she still had the money with her.

Mr Rantho's legal adviser had promised to wait until sufficient money was raised. When told that he had made a statement that the house was to be put on sale she said: "I'm sorry, he will have to wait, as was arranged before."

ANC man's family hopes for reprieve

THE Mogoerane family of Vosloorus near Boksburg, has lost hope that their son, Thelle, will escape the hangman's noose tomorrow morning.

Thelle and two other African National Congress (ANC) guerrillas, sentenced to death for high treason, will be hanged tomorrow.

The others are Jerry Motsoli and Marcus Motaung. Three others, Anthony Tsatsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, have had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment by the state president, Mr Marais Viljoen.

APPEALS

The family still had hopes for a last minute reprieve following appeals from abroad.

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

A shocked and worried Mr Tofie Mogoerane, Thelle's younger brother, told The SOWETAN yesterday the family was feeling bad about Mr Viljoen's refusal to grant his brother clemency.

As is with the other Mogoerane and her two family, they will demand that they be given the body of Thelle for burial.

Mr Christinah Mogoerane and his two sons, Thabiso and Thabang and other family relatives, left early yesterday morning for Pretoria to pay Thelle the last visit in the Death Row, before he is hanged.

Fired: Mr Mchhisi Mqha for 20

Brothers in court for murder

By Monk Nkomo

TWO Soshanguve brothers who allegedly robbed and murdered a 75-year-old white woman appeared in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Johnny Msiza (25), and Mr Johannes Msiza (18), pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice H van Dyk, sitting with two assessors, to two counts of murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances.

Both accused are alleged to have robbed and murdered Catherine Cornelia van Buuren at her 717 Frieda Street, Hercules, Pretoria, on August 23 last year.

The investigating officer Lt Paul Loock testified that after receiving information on August 25 he went to a house in Soshanguve where he arrested Mr Johannes Msiza who was hiding behind a TV set. He confessed to having been at the scene of the crime. Lt Loock said the accused had also told him he had covered Mrs van Buuren with a bedspread because they did not want her to see what they were doing. Both accused, Lt Loock said, had not been assaulted or threatened and had also shown him certain articles allegedly stolen from the house.

The accused had then taken him to another house in Soshanguve where he arrested Mr Jonny Msiza who was also hiding. He, too, confessed to having been at the scene of the crime. Lt Loock said the accused had also told him he had covered Mrs van Buuren with a bedspread because they did not want her to see what they were doing. Both accused, Lt Loock said, had not been assaulted or threatened and had also shown him certain articles allegedly stolen from the house.

Mr B J van Buuren, the husband of the deceased, told the court that Mr Johannes Msiza had worked for him. He was not working for him at the time of the crime. The accused had left of his own accord after stealing two gallons of petrol from his premises, said he.

His son, Mr J H van Buuren, who is also a policeman, testified that after receiving information he had rushed to his parent's home at about 4 pm on August 23. All the doors of the house were locked. Together with his father they entered the bedroom.
Protests to go before Executive Council

Govt considers pleas on ANC executions

By Peter Sullivan, Political Correspondent

A joint petition was sent to the Zambian government by the National Council of South Africa, the African National Congress, and the United Nations. The petition asked for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and the end of apartheid. The petition was signed by the leaders of the ANC, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and the South African Communist Party.

The petition was accompanied by a letter to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, asking for international support for the South African people. The letter emphasized the need for a boycott of South African goods and services.

The petition was also sent to the United Nations, calling for a resolution condemning apartheid and support for the South African people. The United Nations agreed to consider the petition and requested that the South African government respond.

In the meantime, demonstrations against apartheid continued, with thousands of South Africans taking to the streets to protest the government's policies. The demonstrations were met with violence, with the police firing upon the protesters and arresting hundreds.

The government responded to the demonstrations by increasing the security forces and imposing curfews in some areas. The government also cracked down on the media, seizing their equipment and arresting journalists.

Despite these measures, the protests continued, with the South African people determined to end apartheid and gain their freedom.

New bid to seek a stay against the planned execution of ANC terrorists

A South African government spokesman said that the government would not provide any comments on the matter. The spokesman said that the government would continue to enforce the law and ensure that all those responsible for such acts would be punished.

The government also announced that it would be stepping up its efforts to combat terrorism, and would be working with international partners to ensure that those responsible for such acts would be held accountable.

The government's announcement followed a series of terrorist attacks in South Africa, which have left many people dead and injured. The government has been under pressure to take stronger action to combat terrorism, and has been criticized for its response to the attacks.

The government's announcement was met with mixed reactions, with some calling for a stronger response to the attacks, while others expressed concern that the government was overstepping its bounds.

The government stated that it would continue to work with international partners to ensure the safety of its citizens.
The death penalty is another issue at stake in mercy plea

The moral issue of capital punishment has surfaced among several people and groups as domestic pressure on the Government to stay the execution of the condemned ANC men mounted today.

Amid the outcry for clemency the director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, Professor John Barratt, said there were two issues involved - the condemned men were members of the ANC and there was the issue of capital punishment. Both issues evoked emotions overseas.

However, an act of mercy would be interpreted overseas as a positive move towards reconciliation, he said.

Professor F W van Oosten, of the faculty of law at the University of Pretoria, said he was personally not against the death sentence.

"But it is a very delicate issue and would require a long detailed explanation of how I believe it should be used as a punishment. Basically, it should be used only in extreme cases."

Professor van Oosten said he could not comment on the sentences handed down to the ANC three because he had not studied the facts of the case.

The Security Forces Support Committee is in favour of the hangings.

Mr Jonathan Leonstain, chairman of the committee, said a hard line had to be taken with terrorism in whatever form it occurred. The ANC men committed acts of terror in which innocent people were killed, so the committee agreed with their punishment.

Professor Deon Fourie, of the Department of Strategic Studies at Unisa, said whatever the Government did would be condemned.

"The Government loses out if the hangings go ahead or if they grant those men a reprieve."

He blamed the ANC for deliberately and callously making it difficult for the Government to grant a reprieve because the Pretoria bomb blast had been timed to go off to influence the punishment of the ANC accused.

He said the bomb and its effects on the ANC men were calculated to further whip up international calls for action and demonstrations of disapproval against South Africa.

Pretoria was caught between playing into the hands of this propaganda trap or reprieving the ANC men and not being seen to deter others who might have similar plans to commit acts of terror and violence.

Among the strongest pleas for the men
Death penalty becomes an issue in plea

From Page 1

necessary because the executions coincided with the anniversary of the June 1976 Soweto riots, he said.

Archbishop Philip Russell, head of the Church of the Province of South Africa, said he would be seeking an audience with the State President. His church deplored capital punishment on the grounds that only God gave life and only He could take it.

A spokesman for Lawyers for Human Rights said that although the three ANC men convicted of murders, it had to be recognised there was a large section of the community which believed they were engaged in a just struggle and that they should be treated as prisoners of war.

Better served

Lawyers for Human Rights believed that the cause of peace and reconciliation in South Africa would be better served by commuting the sentences to life imprisonment.

Mrs Hazel Moolman, acting director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said that although the institute condemned the acts of violence the three men committed, it did not believe any purpose would be served by hanging them.

The South African Council of Churches announced today that it would hold a prayer meeting for the condemned men during the lunch hour tomorrow.

The meeting will be held at Khotso House in De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

is Father's Day

From Page 1

to be spared were those of church leaders in South Africa. However, in line with official church policy, spokesmen for two Afrikaans churches could not comment directly on demands to commute the death sentences.

Lecturer in theology at the University of Pretoria Professor Johan Heyns explained that the official church view is that comment on the matter fell outside the NGK's competence since it did not have access to all the facts of the case.

The NGK has always believed that there is room for the death sentence but it was not up to the church to comment on an individual case such as this.

The moderator for the Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, Professor Bart Oberholster, said the church should remain silent on issues such as this and "carry on with its work." It was not within the powers of the church to tell either the State or the legal fraternity what to do, he said.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, pleaded with the State President to grant a reprieve.

It was tragic, he said, to see young men going to the gallows for actions which, though in themselves reprehensible, flowed from frustration, humiliation and desperation.

A reprieve was even more
Survey findings not reliable says NIC

Mercury Reporter

The Natal Indian Congress yesterday reacted angrily to survey findings which showed them trailing badly behind the South African Indian Council in a Chatsworth poll of political groups.

The sample survey by Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, also rated SAIC executive chairman Amichand Rajbansi as 'highly regarded'.

It showed that 29 percent of 449 Chatsworth residents interviewed backed the SAIC, 21 percent liked the Southern Durban LAC, 17 percent preferred the NIC and only 3 percent had accepted the Reform Party.

Dr Farouk Meer, acting chairman of the NIC, said, 'As they do not tally with the kind of responses we are getting in the community, we cannot accept them as scientific or reliable.

No real leader

What is more, Prof. Schlemmer put the SAIC on top when in fact it was widely rejected in its first elections,' he said.

The survey found that 35 percent of the people interviewed backed Mr Rajbansi, only 2 percent preferred Mr J N Reddy, former SAIC executive chairman, who also lived in Chatsworth, and 16 percent said the Indian community had no real leader.

Emphasising that the estimates applied only to sprawling Chatsworth, Prof Schlemmer said many of the more prominent NIC leaders lived outside Chatsworth.

It was very difficult to infer the relative strengths of the SAIC and the NIC from the results as many people would not say which political group they felt was best for Indians in Durban.
Reprieve hope for three fades

THE three ANC men will almost definitely hang tomorrow morning despite clemency pleas from several government representatives abroad and local organisations, churches and unions.

The Pope has also been asked by the ANC to plead with the South African Government to treat the three as prisoners of war.

Almost all of Britain's opposition leaders, Mr Michael Foot, Mr David Steel and Mr Roy Jenkins, have, according to the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, sent clemency appeals to the Prime Minister P W Botha.

The West German Foreign Ministry has instructed its ambassador in South Africa to take up the matter with the South African Government. The Austrian Chancellor has also sent pleas for clemency to Mr Botha.

Several demonstrations lasting 24 hours have been planned to start today outside the South African Embassies in different cities of the world.

In London's Trafalgar Square, people such as Sir Hugh Casson, president of the Royal Academy, Sir Alan Sapper, former chairman of the Trade Union Congress and Opposition spokesman on Southern Africa, Mr Stanley Clinton-Davis, will join in on one of the demonstrations.

In Hanover where a Christian Conference is in process, expatriate Barney Pityana, a former official of the banned South African Students Organisation (Saso) and Reverend Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, are almost certain to raise the hanging issue.

The ANC, which called on the international community to help save the lives of Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung, is today gearing to stage a demonstration outside the White House in Washington.

The Reverend Khosa Mgojo, head of the Methodist Church in Southern Africa, said hanging was another form of retribution. He called on the Government to give the three a chance to live and repent because, "their crimes were committed under severe stress and forced by circumstances".

The Reverend Winston Dungane, liaison officer for the Church of Province in Southern Africa, while welcoming the reprieve of the three other ANC men, called on the Government to uphold the sanctity of human life.

"God alone has the right to give and take life," he said.

The Anti-President Council Committee chairman, Professor Ismail Mohammed appealed to the State President to spare the lives of the three and said that the hanging would not solve, but compound the problems of the country, leading to more violent confrontation. He said that the Geneva Convention demanded that liberation fighters be treated as prisoners of war.

The Dean of Johannesburg, Father Merwyn Castle, called on the Government to review capital punishment.

The Federation of South African Women expressed its condemnation and called for prayer meetings by women in churches all over the country. The newly formed United Democratic Front, the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) and the Black Sash also added their pleas for clemency and condemnation of capital punishment.
SA’s plan to drive out ANC

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — The chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, says he believes that a joint military and diplomatic strategy will drive out ANC guerrillas from neighbouring countries. General Viljoen made this prediction in the first interview which he has granted to a foreign journalist. He recently spoke to the New York Times correspondent Joseph Lelyveld.

General Viljoen is quoted by Mr Lelyveld as saying that a civil war in Zimbabwe is a certainty and that South African forces should have pressed on and “gone to Luanda” in the 1975 Angolan war.

The ANC “will be able to have single incidents, but they will not be able to sustain a high intensity of operations for a long time”, he is quoted as saying. Once the ANC’s military wing was shut out of the region, “they would just not be able to operate”.

Surprised by ANC

According to Mr Lelyveld, Viljoen said that if the ANC were denied bases in neighbouring territories they would only be able to infiltrate by air or sea. He said that those routes would make it almost impossible for them to infiltrate.

General Viljoen is said to have insisted on the accuracy of South Africa’s claims regarding the recent air raid on a Maputo suburb. The Defence Force claimed to have hit an ANC transit house, killing at least 40, and neutralizing a missile site.

He said the South African Government had been surprised by the ANC’s readiness to risk civilian casualties in the Pretoria bombing, for which the air raid had been a reprisal, writes Mr Lelyveld.

He said General Viljoen indicated that new security arrangements were in hand and that the armed forces would not present the same concentrated number of soldiers in such a position again. He said that very close to half of the Pretoria bomb casualties had military associations.

General Viljoen cited 80 attacks since 1981 and said the sabotage campaign was causing a lot of damage. He said that he was scared that the Pretoria bombing might have been the work of non-South African professional terrorists because it was slightly too professional for the ANC. He said this supported South Africa’s contention that the ANC had links with organizations like the PLO.

He called the 1975 Angolan war a disaster and said “we should have gone to Luanda” instead of pulling back.

General Viljoen said South Africa had a lot of sympathy for the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM), but that the Republic could never give them complete tactical support.

He said the MRM was now self-generating, but he strongly denied that Pretoria sought the military downfall of the Machel government.

He predicted a national reconciliation in Angola if the Cuban troops departed, but he said that civil war in Zimbabwe was “sure to come”.

He said that the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, would soon be completely Russian-orientated.
Security Council plea for ANC trio

Own Correspondent
NEW YORK. - The Security Council last night called on the South African authorities not to execute the three ANC terrorists who are due to be hanged tomorrow.

The council declared in a unanimous vote that hanging Simon Mogoerce, Jerry Mosololi and Thabo Motauang "will aggravate the situation in South Africa."

The council’s resolution also urged "all states and organizations to use their influence and to take urgent measures" to save the three men's lives.

It was the council's third appeal on behalf of the trio in eight months — a gesture without precedent.

- The Seychelles Government offered yesterday to set free four condemned mercenaries and two others serving long-term prison sentences if the three ANC members are reprieved.

- The four mercenaries were sentenced to death in July last year for their part in the ill-fated Seychelles coup attempt led by Colonel Mike Hoare in November 1981.

"Ready to die"

They are South Africans Jerry Puren, Britons Bernard Carey and Roger England and Zimbabwean Aubrey Brooks.

- The three ANC men stopped their lawyers yesterday from applying for a temporary stay of execution, giving up their last chance to save themselves.

Lawyers said yesterday that the men had told them they were ready to face the hangman, and delay and uncertainty would only make it more difficult. They said they had prepared themselves for death and their strong spirit would be broken if there was a further delay.

This follows the State President's reprieve on Monday for three other condemned ANC men.

- The planned execution tomorrow would only embitter the majority of South Africans and would heighten the conflict in the country, according to a spokesman for the United Democratic Front (UDF).

- The UDF is a newly-formed umbrella organization which has as its members more than 30 organizations, including the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Soweto Civic Association and the South African Council of Churches.

- The Cape Times political staff reports that the governments of the 10 nations comprising the European Community yesterday made a last-minute bid to save the men.

A petition was delivered to the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hans van Dalsen, by the German Ambassador, Mr. Carl Lahusen.

- Sapa-AP reports from Lusaka that the ANC appealed yesterday to the Vatican to ask South Africa not to hang the men.

The organization's Lusaka office said the three men should be treated as prisoners-of-war under the Geneva Convention.

Vigil

- An all-night vigil for the three will be held at St. Mark's Church, Church Street, Athlone, starting at 9 tonight.

Organized by the Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso), the vigil would be observed by a "broad range of organizations", a spokesman said.

"We recognize that the three young men facing execution have been motivated by the highest ideals for a free and democratic South Africa. No matter how the government identifies them as 'terrorists', many people in this country view them as products of a violent and unjust system," a statement said.
Three ANC men get reprieve from noose.

Sentences commuted to life in prison.

Protest banned.

Mosholi and Mabandla admitted during their trial that they took part in the attack on Orlando Police Station when two constables were shot dead and two others wounded.

Two judges also participated in the attack on Wonderboom Police Station in an attack on Wonderboom Police Station.

Mosholi also admitted he was partly responsible for blowing up the New Canada railway line and the Carlton Park Power Station.

Mabandla also participated in the attack on Wonderboom Police Station when two constables were shot dead and another wounded.

Mr Obed de Klerk, a member of the Johannesburg City Magistrates' Court, said a weekend statement that banning constituted the anxiety in South Africa and the rest of the world over the execution of the six men, it seems to add its voice to the evidence for their release.

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Conference aims to form united front

A MAMMOTH two-day solidarity conference aimed at ending interorganisational hostilities among various black activist groups in South Africa will be held in Hamanskraal at the weekend.

The conference, expected to attract hundreds of trade unionists, church, cultural, sport, civic and political organisations from all provinces of the country, will be the first of its kind to be held on a national basis in South Africa.

The idea of organising the conference was conceived by the National Forum Committee (NFC), which consists of various black leaders who are concerned about the deteriorating relationship between black opposition groups in the country.

A spokesman for the NFC, Mr Saths Cooper, said the committee had 16 members who include among others, Dr Allen Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Bishop Tutu, Dr Manas Buthelezi, Dr Neville Alexander, Mrs Emma Mashinini, Messrs Ishmael Nhabela, Don Mattera and Piroschaw Camaay.

Mr Cooper said that so far, over 100 organisations had already accepted invitations to participate in the talks which are to run from 9am on Saturday to about midday on Sunday.

“We have set no political programme as a pre-condition for attendance and we expect nobody to be compromised in any way. We only need to come together at this period of crisis to map out the basis for a closer working relationship of all organisations notwithstanding their ideological orientation.

“We believe that there are more issues that bring us together than those that separate us. These are the issues we need to stress more especially when we have to face PW Botha’s new deals and the Koornhof Bills.

“So, there will be no political strings attached to what we will be doing, because as the NFC, we are not working in opposition to any organisation or structure that is working within the oppressed community.”
THE Government has made a final decision on whether to execute the three African National Congress men due to be hanged tomorrow. But it has not disclosed its decision.

The decision was taken today by the Executive Council of the Government, consisting of the Cabinet sitting with the State President.

There have been many appeals for clemency for the three men. Among them is a statement that the Seychelles Government would "probably" free six mercenaries involved in the abortive coup in 1981 in return for the lives of the ANC trio.

Seychelles Information Director Mr Antonio Beaudoin said today: "This is not official. It is just the feeling in high places here."

Referring to the appeals for clemency, a spokesman for the Executive Council said today: "Representations of this nature and similar content have already been considered by the Executive Council and a final decision has been taken."

He would not disclose the decision.

Protests against the decision to hang the three have come from the European Community of Ten Nations, the United Nations Security Council, American congressmen and senators, and British MPs.

Three of the six condemned ANC prisoners were reprieved earlier this week.

**Gain immeasurably**

Thelle Simon Mogoerane, 23, Jerry Semano Mosolo, 23, and Marcus Thabo Motau, 27, are due to hang tomorrow for their involvement in the attacks on the Wonderboompoort, Orlando and Mafikeng police stations and the sabotage of the Capital Park power station and New Canada railway line.

Yesterday, the German Ambassador, Mr Carl Luhusen, delivered a petition signed by 10 European governments to the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hans van Dalen.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Opposition's police spokesman, speaking in her personal capacity, said: "I am against the death penalty. I believe South Africa would gain immeasurably if the sentences were commuted. The men will not go without punishment. The alternative is life imprisonment."

From Washington, The Argus Foreign Service reports that more than 50 congressmen and senators, including three Democratic presidential candidates, have cabled Prime Minister F.W. de Klerk urging him to spare the men's lives.

Many senators and congressmen have also cabled Secretary of State George Shultz calling on the Reagan Administration to urge Mr. de Klerk to stay the execution.

**Cables to PM**

Cables were sent by Senator Mondale, the leading contender for the Democratic Party presidential candidacy, and Senator Edward Kennedy.

And the Reagan government said in a statement the executions would not help in the search for peace in Southern Africa. A spokesman said the US had made its concern known to the South African government.

A demonstration is also planned outside the White House tomorrow.

The United Nations Security Council has been urged to act to save the lives of three ANC members.

In London, last-minute efforts to save the three continued today.

A deputation from the British Council of Churches and the Anti-Apartheid Movement met Foreign Office officials to persuade the British Government to intervene.
Workers, churches get together

WHAT do the Durban Housing Action Committee, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Islamic Council of SA have in common? The answer is straightforward: they all oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and are members of the United Democratic Front.

The dozens of groups that belong to the UDF across the country represent a wide range of workers, students, churches and community organisations. In the Transvaal alone, more than 30 organisations have joined the UDF.

Workers are represented by the Council of Unions of SA, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, amongst others. Communities are represented by the Soweto and Vryburg civic associations and the Soweto Committee of 10. Nssas, Azanian Students' Organisation, the Black Students Society and Young Christian Students represented the youth.

The Church was represented by the Witwatersrand Council of Churches and the Catholic Bishops' Conference; women by the Federation of SA Women, teachers by the National Educational Union of SA; the Indian community by the Transvaal Indian Congress. The Detainees Aid Movement and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee are also taking part.

The first UDF was formed in the Eastern Cape in January, when a local co-ordinating committee was formed. Eastern Cape member organisations include the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the EP Council of Sport, the Eastern Cape Council of Churches, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union, the General Workers' Union of SA and the Congress of SA Students.

On May 14, a Durban branch was formed under the chairmanship of Mr. Archie Gumede, of the Release Mandela Committee. It includes the Natal Indian Congress, the Democratic Lawyers' Association, the Islamic Council of SA and the Durban Housing Action Committee.
Anti-pass law declaration does rounds in Transvaal in the wake of Rikhoto

Labour Correspondent

IN the wake of mounting worker interest in the landmark Rikhoto judgment, thousands of Transvaal workers are being asked to sign a declaration which charges that the pass laws are being tightened by the Government.

The declaration also rejects in its entirety Dr Piet Koornhof's Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill and calls for the scrapping of all controls on workers' freedom to seek jobs where they choose.

It has been adopted by the Transvaal region of the Federation of SA Trade Unions which is circulating it among all workers at Fosatu Transvaal factories.

The declaration is framed in the form of a petition to Dr Koornhof and will also be presented by Fosatu to employers at all factories where a majority of workers sign it. Fosatu says it will publicise “employers' responses.

Details of the declaration were released yesterday. Fosatu sources say it was adopted by worker meetings before the recent Rikhoto judgment but had taken on added impetus since the court decision.

It says workers must be free to seek jobs where they choose and employers free to employ whoever they choose without interference from “pass offices.

All South Africans should have equal citizenship rights and workers the right "to live with their families in decent housing within a reasonable distance from their place of work."

The document then goes on to reject:

- The fact that section 6(1)(b) of the Black Urban Areas Act, which the Rikhoto judgment upheld, compels black South African migrants to work for one employer for ten years to earn city rights "while white foreigners need only three years to qualify for full citizenship;"

- The unwillingness of the authorities to grant workers even the right to quality for city rights after ten years.

- Increasing restrictions on migrants, such as the fact that the "special" system, which allowed migrants to seek work in cities before they acquired a job, was no longer being used.

- The refusal of "pass offices" to allow migrants who lost their jobs to stay in the cities and seek other work.

The declaration also attacks key aspects of the Orderly Movement Bill.

These include heavy fines on "illegal" workers and their employers, a curfew on blacks, and a provision robbing migrants of their city rights if they lose "approved accommodation" — even if they retain their jobs.

The declaration also cites the destruction of township shacks and the increase in pass law arrests as evidence of a tightening up of influx control.

The document rejects the Bill in its entirety as well as all official moves to tighten up influx control ahead of the Bill.

Rikhoto decision defended

Mail Reporter

ATTEMPTS by the Government to block the implementation of the Appeal Court's Rikhoto judgment expose the dishonesty of its reform plan, says the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The UDF is a newly formed umbrella body including over 30 opposition organisations.

It says they are angered and disgusted by reports that the Government is attempting to block the implementation of the ruling.

"This Government is trying to slip out of adhering to laws which were formulated by this very same Government," it said in a statement yesterday.

"Apart from being audacious, it clearly exposes the so-called reform which the Government is trying to implement.

"The majority of people have a deep-seated suspicion of our rulers.

"The attempts to block migrant workers from getting their rights would only serve to further expose the cunning dishonesty of the Government," the statement said.
THE Government's constitutional proposals have sparked off the formation of a broad-based national resistance front - the largest South Africa has seen in at least two decades.

Dozens of opposition organisations, representing workers, students, communities, churches and women from all over the country - have come together in recent weeks under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In Johannesburg, for example, the UDF was launched two weeks ago by more than 30 organisations voted for a pledge "to fight together side by side against the Government's constitutional reform proposals".

Similar steps are being taken in Durban and the Eastern and Western Cape.

The most striking feature of the Johannesburg meeting was the wide range of organisations taking part, representing a clear attempt to unite resistance across racial and class barriers.

And coming a mere 18 months after a major Security Police crackdown on many of the leaders and activists of non-racial opposition politics, it is also a clear sign that this opposition group has not only survived but has emerged as strong and growing.

Many of the prominent names in the UDF - such as Mr Ismail Momoniat and Mr Samson Ndou - were amongst those held by the Security Police in their crackdown in the last few months of 1981.

They were all released at various stages during the last year, and the fact that they remain a force to be reckoned with is shown in the number of opposition organisations that have sprung up in recent months.

In the Transvaal alone, three major bodies have been formed: the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, active largely in coloured areas, and the Anti-Community Council Committee, active largely in Soweto.

The idea of the UDF was originally floated by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in a passing remark during a National Anti-PC conference in February.

"We are all committed to the struggle for a non-racial, open, democratic South Africa, a unitary state in which all the people will have the rights accorded to them by God.

"There is, therefore, no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not unite on this issue, pool our resources, inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name and expose those plans for what they are," Dr Boesak said.

"This is the politics of refusal, and it is the only dignified response black people can give in this situation," he said.

The Anti-PC conference formed a committee to investigate the feasibility of this suggestion, and within weeks steps were being taken to form a united front in various parts of the country.

In the Transvaal, the inaugural meeting formed a central council of two representatives of each member organisation.

This council should be meeting soon to elect an executive and a secretariat.

An organisation of such proportions particularly under a non-racial rather than Black Consciousness banner, has not been seen in this country for many years.

The only comparison is the Congress Alliance, which was led by the ANC and which went into exile in the early Sixties.

But it is not easy to bring such a wide range of people together. The organisation has to accommodate an enormous variety of interests and views.

To accommodate this, the organisations have left the aims of the organisation fairly vague.

The broad principles of UDF, as stated in a declaration adopted at its inaugural meeting are:

- An unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non-racial, unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations.
- An adherence to the need for unity in struggle, through which all democrats - regardless of race, religion or colour - shall take part.
- A recognition of the necessity to work in consultation with and reflect accurately the demands of democratic people wherever they may be.

The constitutional proposals, the declaration said, have been imposed without genuine consultation with the people of the country.

The proposals make race and ethnicity the only criteria for participation in Government and do not begin to redress economic and social inequalities that are the result of centuries of white domination, the declaration said.

Although this wide range of people are united in their opposition to these proposals,
the usual
there are already signs of the strain of such a broad umbrella body.

For example, the member organisations vary enormously in size, but are equally represented on the central council.

This means that large trade unions with 10,000 or more members will have the same say as small community organisations without indefinite membership numbers.

UDF organisers are quick to point out that they are not a political party and are merely a grouping of different organisations.

This means that it will be an association of leadership, and the bulk of members will be organised in separate organisations as workers, students or members of a specific community.

The key to its importance will lie in its ability to mobilise at a grassroots level. This is being done not by the UDF itself, but by its member organisations and since many of these are new, they have not yet tested their ability to mobilise popular support.

If the UDF passes this test, the Government may be in for a tough battle over its constitutional proposals.

A SEPARATE bid for unity has been started by the National Forum Committee (NFC), made up largely of black consciousness groups and including some United Democratic Front members.

The NFC, according to Mr Ish Mkhabela, of Azapo, is not an organisation but only a committee intended to facilitate joint discussions among black groups.

It is "quite unlike UDF" and is only intended to provide a forum to bring together a broad spectrum of groups and individuals "who are not in Government structures" and to promote their solidarity, according to Mr Mkhabela.

It is to hold its first set of discussions at Hammanskraal this Saturday.

The meeting is intended to help various opposition groups and individuals crystallise their thoughts on issues such as education and resettlement.

It will be addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Mr Lybon Mabasa, national president of Azapo.

To think of organisation along the lines of the UDF would be premature from our point of view, Mr Mkhabela said this week.

"While unity is needed, it should not be imposed because that could bring more problems rather than enduring unity.

"We would like to think of unity as an ongoing pro-cess rather than as coming through a two day seminar. It must be principled and clearly defined. Unity around ad-hoc issues can mean only temporary unity.

"We fully support what UDF is working for and cannot undermine their constituency. We have looked at the possibility of cooperating with them, but we need clarification of what they say and what they believe," Mr Mkhabela said.

Ironically, with two separate organisations attempting to create unity, the oldest split in South African opposition politics - between those who believe the fight should be along non-racial lines and those who believe it must be led by black organisations and individuals - is likely to be reproduced.

But the situation is complicated by the fact that some organisations - such as the Soviet Committee of 10 and the Council of Unions of South Africa - are taking part in both the UDF and the NFC.

**United ... at the UDF's inaugural meeting**

**And BC groups make a bid**
Clemency appeals at eleventh hour

UP TILL last night only hours before the expected hanging of the three condemned ANC guerrillas, several black and white leaders made last-minute appeals for clemency while the government's refusal to change its mind on the hanging.

The Black Sash sent a telegram to the State President, Mr. Marais Viljoen, begging for clemency.

The President of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), Archbishop Denis Hurley, released a statement asking for God's mercy to inspire the State President to review his decision.

"When there is a denial of human rights and one side makes rules and the other must conform or suffer the consequences, it is sad to see young people going to the gallows for actions that though in themselves reprehensible, flow from certain circumstances induced by frustrations, humiliations and desperation."

SOWETAN REPORTER

"Bearing this in mind, on behalf of the SACBC, I earnestly plead with the State President to grant a reprieve to these three ANC men. This is all the more necessary in this tension-filled month of June, when people's minds are filled with bitter and tragic memories of Soweto 1976," the Archbishop said.

After a meeting held in Durban yesterday morning, the Catholic clergy of the Archdiocese also appealed to the Government to grant a last minute reprieve to the three men.

"This is on the grounds that the execution will exacerbate feelings, intensify conflict and further reduce hope for reconciliation. In the name of Christ, the meeting appeals for mercy," the statement said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said the Government would be credited a lot if it were to commute the death sentence.

"We have to point out that in many ways the odds are stacked against blacks in this country. The laws are in the first place not made by us and even without questioning the integrity of court officials who deal with such matters, it has been pointed out that a white man cannot jump out of his skin when trying to kill a black man.

"The value systems he upholds are those of the community from which he comes and for a country like South Africa, it would take a very exceptional situation for a person in that position not to yield to all the subtle pressures of his community," he said.

The Save the Six Committee, whose prayer service for the condemned men was banned last Sunday, said the three men should not die because "they are not criminals, they should be treated as combatants in a civil war."

Dr. Nhlanhla Motsana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten said: "Even at this late hour, we black South Africans join other people in the world in urging the Government to stop the judicial killing as it serves no purpose whatsoever.

"Life is very precious and should be preserved at all times. This was not ordinary murder. We therefore urge the state President to exercise his powers to commute the death sentence even at this late hour."

Mr. Ishmael Mktaba, Azapo's publicity secretary said the execution was an indictment of a Government based on racial hatred and the interest of the minority.

"Blacks are going to view the death of the three men in the same light as numerous deaths in detention which are a violation of justice and respect for human life.

"Their death is not in vain. This present action should fuel the liberation movement. South Africa has once again shown itself to be insensitive to the call of world communities and this puts into question its relationship with America and Western countries which continue to support it to maintain racial oppression and exploitation."

Meanwhile, a night vigil was to have been held at the Dube YWCA last night. At 11pm today, Bishop Desmond Tutu will officiate at a lunch hour service to be held at Khosho House, and another prayer service will be held at the Methodist Youth Centre in Central Western Jabavu at 7 o'clock tonight.
ANC executions — protests gain a global momentum

Mail Reporters

THE British Government, the Southern African Catholic Bishops’ Conference, Italy’s President and Canadian students yesterday joined the growing local and international chorus for clemency for three African National Congress members who are due to be hanged in Pretoria this morning.

The British Foreign Office yesterday wired urgent orders to its embassy in South Africa to plead with the Government for their lives.

It also announced that the hope of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Francis Pym, that the executions be reconsidered had been made known to the South African Chargé d’Affaires in London.

The three African National Congress members, Thobile Simon Mogoane, 23, Jerry Semane Moololo, 25, and Marcus Tsabo Motaung, 27, were convicted on charges of high treason and are to hang today.

- Italy’s President Sandro Pertini yesterday sent a message to President Marais Viljoen asking him to spare the prisoner’s lives.
- In a statement in Pretoria yesterday, the President of the SABC, Archbishop Denis Hurley pleaded with the State President to retrieve the three. This was all the more necessary in a tension-filled month when people’s minds were full of memories of the June 1976 Soweto riots.
- In a separate statement, the Durban Archdiocese of the Roman Catholic Church warned that the executions were “inseparable from political context and will exacerbate feelings, intensify conflict and further reduce hope for reconciliation.”

- Canadian Students Organisation members serving in Mozambique yesterday sent a telex to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, expressing “our firmest opposition” to the executions.
- A statement issued by the Nucas head office yesterday called for the condemned men to be granted prisoner of war status “following the Geneva convention.”
- Professor John Dugard, Director of Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand said yesterday, “In terms of the Geneva Convention of 1977, which South Africa did not sign but in terms of which the ANC has filed a declaration, the ANC is engaged in a war.”
- “If the South African authorities refuse to treat ANC members as POWs, there is a very real danger that SADF Defence Force men abducted by the ANC will be treated the same way,” he said.
- Mr Mike Cowling, a senior lecturer at the University of Natal said, “The South African Government is making the same mistake Ian Smith did in Rhodesia. He refused to accord any status to the guerrillas so was never able to negotiate with them.”
- Today the South African Council of Churches will hold a service for the condemned men. It will take place at Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street at 1pm. Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, will conduct the service.
- Sapa reports that 20 organisations representing the church, community, student bodies and trade unions will meet in Durban today to call for a reprieve.
How SA can get tough

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Political Editor

immediately after the Masera raid, the then South African ambassador to the UN, Mr David Stewart, said: "Most recent figures reveal that 141 000 Basotho are employed in South Africa, of which 110 000 work in the mining industry... The remittance of their wages makes up more than 40% of the Lesotho gross national product."

The dependence of Lesotho's fellow neighbouring states on South Africa is less marked. South Africa provides work to nearly all of Botswana nationals, 15 500 Swazi nationals and some 59 500 Mozambique nationals.

Then Malan, senior research officer at the South Africa Institute, estimates that about BLS15-million was remitted in 1981 by migrant workers in South Africa to neighbouring states.

TRADE: South Africa is the dominant trading partner in the sub-continent and all of its neighbouring states are dependent on a greater or lesser degree on it.

The BLS countries obtain more than 90% of their imports from South Africa, much of it food, on which their survival depends in the most fundamental sense.

South Africa serves as a market for goods from Botswana and Swaziland. Only a minute quantity of Lesotho products are sold in South Africa. Her main export commodity is her labour force.

South Africa is Zimbabwe's main trading partner, supplying more than a quarter of its imports and buying more than a quarter of its exports.

South Africa is also important to Malawi and Zambia as a trading partner, being the single biggest supplier of goods to Malawi and the second biggest source of imports to Zambia (with whom trade dealt by 15% in 1980 after President Kaunda re-opened Zambia's border to Zimbabwe and hence to South Africa).

Rampant inflation and raising transport costs push black-rulled countries toward increasing trade with South Africa.

As a geographical proximity and its efficient railway service means it can deliver goods at lower cost and higher speed than it can do otherwise.

TRANSPORT: South Africa, which possesses 75% of the Southern African railways, a large proportion of its main highways and its most efficient ports, dominates the transport complex.

It is along South African-controlled railways and roads and through South African ports that a large share of imports and exports are to and from black-rulled states.

Of the neighbouring countries only Zimbabwe has succeeded in reducing dependence on South Africa's transport network to a marked degree. In 1980 South African ports handled nearly 90% of Zimbabwe's trade, but by 1982 the proportion had fallen to 66%. It could drop to 35% if plans to improve and upgrade Mozambican ports are successful.

Zimbabwe's fellow black states, however, remain heavily dependent on South Africa's transport network and ports to handle their exports and imports.

It is true, of course, that the relationship between South Africa and its neighbours is one of inter-dependence and that South Africa would itself suffer in any sustained campaign of applying economic pressure to force its neighbours to close their doors.

But South Africa, as the paramount economic power in Southern Africa, is far better equipped to absorb the damage.

Though South Africa appears to have all the trump cards, it cannot be sure of total victory in the use of economic pressure in the game of machiavellian unfolding in the sub-continent.

Apart from moves by the neighbouring states to lessen their dependence on South Africa through the non-member Southern African Development Coordinating Conference, the risk of policies not achieving the intended result.

South Africa, it may be remembered, has helped the Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, come to power by making maize available to him to distribute in Lesotho. It has party officials access to Basotho workers on South African mines.

But in the end, Chief Leabua can did not grow into a pliable moderate. Instead he became a hostile and vociferous opponent of South African race policies.

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, it will be recalled, closed Rhodesia's border with Zambia in the firm belief that it would drive President Kaunda to his knees and cause him to expel Zimbabwean insurgents from Zambia.

It is a matter of history that Mr Smith miscalculated and that when he reopened the side of the border Zambia failed to reciprocate and continued to offer sanctuary to Zimbabwean fighters.

As Professor Deon Goldenbears of Rand Afrikaans University, has noted of attempts to pressure neighbouring states into economic sanctions, the target state's government might become even more hostile, or intransigent under South African pressure. It might, in other words, react irrationally by to means unknown phenomena in international politics.
11th hour calls for clemency

DURBAN — In an 11th-hour attempt to save three young men from the gallows, more than 50 people from 20 community church, student and trade union organisations held a meeting at St. Anthony’s Church here last night.

Speakers at the meeting, calling for the death sentences on Mr Simon Mogorane, Mr Jerry Mosoloi and Mr Marcus Motuag, to be commuted, included Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front, and Mr Jerry Coovadia, chairman of the Natal Indian Congress.

The 20 organisations, which formed the Joint Committee for Clemency, also sent a telegram to the State President asking for the death sentences on what are known as the “ANC three” to be commuted.

Archbishop Phillip Russell, head of the Church of the Province, and a delegation of church leaders added their appeal to the State President to commute the death sentences.

The Joint Committee for Clemency said in the telegram that many South Africans regarded the ANC as prisoners of war who should be treated as such.

“The courts will only serve to increase the bitterness and frustration prevalent in our land. While there is time we urge you to stop this senseless killing — for the sake of our country’s future.”

In the Cape, an all-night vigil to plead for clemency for the three men was held at St Mark’s Church, Church Street, Athabone.

Organised by the Azanian Students Organisation, the vigil was observed by a “broad range of organisations,” a spokesman said.

“We recognise that the three young men facing execution have been motivated by the highest ideals for a free and democratic South Africa. No matter how the government identifies them as ‘terrorists,’ many people in this country view them as products of a violent and unjust system,” a statement said.

In Johannesburg a newly-formed organisation, the United Democratic Front, said the planned execution of three ANC members would only embitter the majority of South Africans and would heighten the conflict in the country.

A spokesman said the 1976 hanging of another ANC insurgent, Mr Solomon Mahlangu, had shown that this did not deter those involved in armed activity against the state.

The joint called on the State President to commute the death sentences.

The organisation has as its members over 50 opposition bodies, including the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Soweto Civic Association and the South African Council of Churches.

“In the eyes of the oppressed these men were prepared to sacrifice everything to fight for their freedom. The execution of these men will in no way solve the problems faced by this government,” its statement said. “On the contrary, it can only serve to heighten the conflict. The oppressed masses do not regard the three men as enemies of the people but rather as enemies of an unjust government.

“While the hanging of these men will appease the white community, it would only embitter the majority of people. In their last public statement during their trial, the three ANC men said they considered themselves to be ‘soldiers, fighting for the freedom of our people.’

“They also argued that they had not themselves pulled the triggers that led to the four deaths during their attack on the Wonderboom Police Station.

“While giving evidence in mitigation of sentence all three gave detailed accounts of their upbringing in South Africa and their experiences during the uprising of 1976 and their reasons for leaving the country for military training.

“They referred to the poor quality of the education they had received, the pass laws and unequal living facilities as the reasons for joining the ANC.

“Mr Mosoloi said his experience in the 1976 uprising had the effect of ‘reinforcing the hatred I already had for the government. I could not develop an attitude of liking these people. Nobody wants to suffer. I hate the things that are happening.’

“We decided it was pointless taking papers and making placards, because one would be shot whilst doing so. I decided to go out of this country to go and get myself a gun to fight these people,” he said.

“Mr Mosoloi said many of his friends were shot during 1976. “I decided that we had tried to talk to the government and to bring to its attention how we viewed Bantu Education. But because of the police action against us, I decided that the government was not prepared to talk to us. We then decided to leave the country.”

“Mr Motuag said he had become interested in joining the ANC because of the poverty of his people and the poor education he received.

“Mr Motuag said this was caused by racial discrimination and had begun to find out if there had ever been an attempt to rectify it. When he learnt about the history of the ANC, he wanted to join it.

“The events of 1976 hardened his resolve, and made him decide he just had to fight for the liberation of the black man.” The imminent executions also attracted attention.

Reacting to the State President’s denial of clemency for the three ANC men, the US State Department said: “We do not believe that further deaths will contribute to the bridging of the problems of Southern Africa.” — DDC.
Heavy guard at Pretoria jail

ANC 3 die as last-minute appeals fail

The three ANC terrorists who failed in their Supreme Court bid last night for a stay of execution were hanged this morning in Pretoria’s Central Prison after international appeals for clemency had been rejected by the Government.

The three men, Simon Mogerane (23), Jerry Mosololi (23), and Marcus Motaung (27), were convicted of murder and high treason after a series of attacks on police stations between 1979 and 1981 in which four policemen were killed.

As dawn broke over the prison, the men were led to the gallows from the cells they had occupied since they were condemned in the Pretoria Supreme Court on August 6 last year.

At 5 am church bells tolled throughout Soweto in sympathy.

About 100 policemen in camouflage uniform stood guard outside the Pretoria prison, armed with 9-mm hand carbines, and kept a group of newsmen and photographers 100 m away from the walls. Passers-by were stopped and questioned on what they were doing.

Church Square, including the Palace of Justice where last night’s bid to stay the execution failed, was sealed off by a tight security cordon.

About 12 police vehicles containing dogs were posted around Potgieter Street near the prison.

Traffic officers diverted all traffic headed for Church Square.

Photographs of the hanged men and notices confirming their execution were expected to be posted at the Pretoria Magistrate’s Court later today.

The divisional inspector of police in the Northern Transvaal, Brigadier Albie Fourie, confirmed today that Mr Justice Dave Curlewis and the Acting Judge President, Mr Justice Jaap de Villiers, were under police protection.

Mr Justice Curlewis sentenced the three men to death and refused the stay of execution last night. Mr Justice de Villiers condemned another three ANC terrorists responsible for the attack on Soekmekaar police station. Their sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

A spokesman for the Prisons Department refused to release details of today’s hangings. He said only officials directly involved had witnessed the event.

Neither would he disclose details of the burials. At the discretion of the Commissioner of Prisons, bodies of executed prisoners were either privately buried or buried by the local prison authority.

"But the families’ needs are taken into account."

It is understood that legal representatives of the three men were negotiating for release of the bodies in accordance with the parents’ wishes.

The men were executed despite appeals for clemency from the UN Security Council, the 10-nation European Economic Community, Amnesty International, the Christian Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, the Southern African Catholic Bishops’ Conference and 20 other South African organisations.

There were no early reports of trouble in Pretoria, but it is believed the police ‘riot squad is on standby.

WASHINGTON — The impending execution of the three condemned ANC members was hotly debated in a live radio programme last night when South Africa’s Ambassador to the United States, Mr Brand Fourie, answered questions telephoned in by members of the public.

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Ambassador in heated debate over executions

By Gerald L’Ange, The Star Bureau

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South Africa's policies came under hostile attack by most participants, some of whom had earlier taken part in a demonstration outside the White House against the death sentences.

At one stage Mr Fourie said that the recent car bomb attack in Pretoria indicated the part that Communist-oriented people overseas were playing in directing such attacks.

The ANC, which had no bases inside the country, was able to carry out such attacks only because it had bases in neighbouring states, he said.

At another stage Mr Fourie, in a discussion with a listener about moves in Congress to restrict trade with South Africa, said that if the United States were to embark on trade restrictions, it would be a "sad and disastrous route to follow".

In a world where so many countries were today ready to threaten each other with embargoes "the only salvation for the free world is through an honest race of free trade", he added.

One caller said it was "insulting that this man" (Mr Fourie) should be allowed to put out "propaganda" on the radio only a few hours before the ANC men were to be executed.

The caller, Mr Fred Fish, a black man, hotly defended the ambassador's right to speak and the value of such exchanges in promoting understanding.

During the demonstration outside the White House, in which about 60 people paraded peacefully with placards, the public were told through a megaphone that the South African Ambassador would be appearing on the radio show and were urged to phone in with hostile questions.

Mr Fourie came to the radio debate well prepared. He was able to read out part of the judgment of the court that condemned the ANC men to death to rebut an argument advanced by a caller who had quoted at length from the court record.

The caller was Miss Gay McDougall, director of the Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which organised the demonstration outside the White House.
A LAST-MINUTE appeal to save three condemned members of the African National Congress failed this morning.

Political Staff

Last night and they are due to be hanged tomorrow.
Capital Park power stations and the New Canada railway line. 

Four people died as a result of these incidents.

Mr Justice Curlewis found the three men guilty of high treason, murder (four counts), attempted murder (10 counts), robbery with aggravating circumstances and contravention of the Terrorism Act (five counts).

Last-minute protests against the decision to hang the condemned ANC men also came from the United Nations Security Council, United States congressmen and senators and British MPs.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday the European Community's decision to make a further bid for clemency was in line with the European convention condemning capital punishment and in recognition of the fact that blacks in South Africa had no constitutional channels through which to express their political grievances.

The Seychelles Government has also held out a carrot that it would "probably" free six mercenaries involved in the abortive coup in 1981 in return for the lives of the ANC trio.

Three other condemned ANC members were reprieved earlier this week when the Executive Council decided to commute their death sentences to life sentences after representations from various organizations and governments.

Three other ANC members, Anthony Tlotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise, also sentenced to death for high treason, had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment on Monday.

The National Union of South African Students (Nusas) has added its voice to the calls for clemency.

The State's decision to execute the three would contribute nothing towards the solution of the political problems confronting South Africa and would only serve "to further inflame the anger and despair felt by millions of South Africans and to perpetuate the cycle of violence", the Nusas statement said.

SA troops can expect 'the same'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. - If South Africa continues to hang ANC terrorists, it can expect the same treatment for captured SA soldiers, according to specialists in international law.

Professor John Du- gard, director of legal studies at the University of Witwatersrand said: "In terms of the Geneva Convention of 1977, which South Africa did not sign but in terms of which the ANC has filed a declaration, the ANC is engaged in a war. If the South African authorities refuse to treat ANC members as POWs, there is a very real danger that SADF men abducted by the ANC will be treated the same way."

Mr Mike Cowling, a senior lecturer at the University of Natal who is writing a PhD thesis on the question of international legal regulations with specific reference to South Africa, said the cornerstone of international regulations for warfare was that participants be made prisoners of war.

"If you hang these men there can be no amnesty and you create martyrs."

Mr Cowling said there had recently been a few cases where the courts had not imposed maximum sentences but they were the exception rather than the rule.

Mr Nico Steyler, a senior lecturer in criminal law said the government's decision must have been "a totally political one".

Martyrs

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Scenes of anger greet news of hangings

NATION WEEPS

By SAM MABE

Meanwhile the Supreme Court judges who refused the three ANC men a stay of execution on Wednesday night, Mr Justice D J Curlewis, and the acting Judge President Mr Justice P O de Villiers, are reported to have been placed under police protection yesterday.

During the executions which took place at 7am, Pretoria’s Central Prison was heavily guarded by dozens of policemen in camouflage uniforms and Pretoria’s Church Square, opposite which the Palace of Justice is situated, was cordoned off by police.

All the demonstrations followed night vigils which were held in various parts of the country from Wednesday evening. At about 5am yesterday, church bells tolled throughout Soweto and a number of youths stood in silence while holding their clenched fists in the air in a salute to the hanged trio.

This was after an emotional and anxiety-filled vigil held at the Dube YWCA where mourners chanted songs and delivered speeches praising the heroism of the three men and condemning the Government’s decision to execute them.

The black, green and gold national flag used by the outlawed ANC was displayed in the hall and speeches were punctuated with shouts of “Amandla” and “iAfrika izwelethu”.

The mourners also danced inside the hall while chanting freedom songs praising the leadership of the ANC’s acting president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

The hanging of the three men was the talk of Soweto and other black townships throughout the country. The ANC’s Lusaka headquarters yesterday strongly condemned the hanging of its members and also conveyed condolences to the families of the
ANC men executed

From Page 1

A Prisons Department spokesman declined to say whether the three ANC men had gone defiantly or quietly to the gallows, but their attorney said they were in good spirits.

He believed that the men had resigned themselves to the fact that they were going to die.

Also, in London on Wednesday, a 24-hour vigil was held outside the South African Embassy and a letter signed by more than 100 people urged the United Kingdom's Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to request the South African Government to call off the hangings.

During the vigil, nine people, including Amanda and Stephen Kistin, whose father is in jail in South Africa for sabotage, were arrested by London police.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement called on the British Government to withdraw the British ambassador to South Africa and urged the British Government to undertake a review of British policy towards South Africa.

Demonstrations are also believed to have been held at Glasgow, Manchester and Newcastle.

Meanwhile, various newspapers reported incorrectly yesterday that the Executive Council decided finally on Wednesday that the execution of the three condemned ANC men should go ahead as scheduled, according to the secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister.

In a Press statement yesterday, Dr J P Roux, secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister, said the Executive Council had not taken a final decision on the fate of the three men on Wednesday. A statement said that "a final decision has been taken" referred to a decision already taken by the council on a previous occasion.
Unions warned by Le Grange

OWN CORRESPONDENT
PRETORIA. — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned last night of tough action to combat the increasing politicization of certain areas of the trade union movement.

Speaking at an Iscor function in Vanderbijlpark, the minister also warned of the machinations of the ANC/SA Congress of Trade Union Alliance.

What, he asked, should the police do when confronted by the real danger of subversion, infiltration and manipulation of, in some cases, yet unSophisticated trade unions.

Urgent attention was being given to the danger.

The aim was clear — to seriously disturb the economy through unrest to an extent that it collapsed, and that the government would be forced to its knees.

The ANC/SACTU aimed to alert the total work force as an important component, and unfortunately some people and organizations, however well-meaning, played directly into the hands of the alliance.

The minister referred to the outcry over the “so-called” detention and harassment of trade union members, while the fact that the detentions and interrogations without exception had to do with the country’s security was lost sight of.

The trade unions were being seized on by the communist-oriented ANC as an instrument of incitement.

Significant was that local trade unions and trade union umbrella organizations were similarly busy with unity initiatives, and it could only be hoped they would be alert to a possible ANC/SACTU combination, and the serious danger of revolutionary manipulation.

One of the primary cornerstones of ANC/SACTU propaganda was the mobilization of the work force in South Africa against the existing order.

There were already examples of certain overseas organizations and trade unions making common cause with the ANC and SACTU.

The International Labour Organization was one of these, and its support of the ANC/SACTU was well-known.

The government was aware, however, of the scheming behind the scenes.
A decision on whether anything should be done about the proposed busfare increases proposed by the Port Elizabeth Tramways will be taken at a meeting organised by the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) on Sunday.

The meeting to discuss the increases will be held at the Roman Catholic Hall, Seyiši, Kwanakale, at 2pm.

Mr Vuyisile Oliphant, secretary of Pebco, said it was decided at a recent report-back meeting on discussions his organisation and trade unions had with the managing director of PE Tramways, Mr Carl Coetzee, that the matter be discussed on Sunday.

"The proposed black "city councils" would also be discussed."
Hangings described as 'vicious'

**Tutu slams executions**

THE GENERAL secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Bishop Desmond Tutu, was yesterday applauded when he told an audience of about 800 people that he was committed to freedom and justice in South Africa at any cost.

The bishop was speaking at a prayer service held for the three ANC guerrillas who were hanged at the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday for their role in attacks on various police stations in which about four policemen were killed.

He described the hangings as a vicious penalty which may soon suffer from the law of diminishing returns. He said there was a time when in England people could be hanged for stealing a sixpence.

This, he said, made them even more desperate and they decided to commit more serious offences to make their hanging more worthwhile.

"Those who have opted for armed struggle, whom blacks regard as freedom fighters, and those who are prepared to make the supreme sacrifice, will say 'we must perpetrate the worst possible damage because we are going to hang in any case.'"

"The problems of our country cannot be solved by violence. Why don't the authorities hear us when we say they should go to the conference table before we reach a point of no return when the bloodbath becomes inevitable," Bishop Tutu said.

In his speech, which was punctuated with shouts of "Long live the Freedom Charter", and "Afrika izwelenzethu", Bishop Tutu said most whites believed that violence was something introduced into South Africa from outside.

"What blacks will tell you is that the real violence in South Africa comes from the legalised institutions. Apartheid is a daily total onslaught against blacks.

"It is a total onslaught against black children in the form of a deliberate, inferior travesty of education called Bantu Education to prepare blacks for perpetual servitude.

"It is a total onslaught in the form of the migratory labour system which condemns men to an unnatural existence in single sex hostels — an onslaught deliberately armed at destroying black family life.

"So many of our people have said: 'What must we do to reclaim our lost birthright? These have opted for armed struggle. We support them in their aim for a democratic South Africa. We do not support their methods,' he said.
Ban slapped on pro-ANC meeting in Soweto

23 held after protest march

Mail Correspondent

DURBAN.

CHARGES under the Internal Security Act are being drawn up by police against 23 people arrested in Durban while protesting against the hanging of the three members of the African National Congress yesterday.

The people were arrested when police stopped a protest march of about 200 students and workers which began at St Anthony's Catholic Church in Centenary Road, where about 200 people held an all-night vigil on Wednesday for the three men.

Meanwhile the Government yesterday clarified the circumstances surrounding the Executive Council decision not to re-instate the three ANC members, ROB NUTTALL reports from Cape Town.

In a statement Dr J P Renz, Secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister, said newspaper reports which said the Executive Council had met on Wednesday to take a final decision on the fate of the men, were incorrect.

Police last night prevented a political meeting by the Save the Six committee in the Methodist Youth Centre in central Western Jabavu, Soweto, half an hour after the meeting was supposed to have started.

The decision by the Executive Council had already been taken on a previous occasion, the statement said.

"The Executive Council consists of the State President and a number of Cabinet Ministers involved or interested in a particular matter and not the State President and the whole Cabinet," said Dr Renz.

"There was no special meeting of the Cabinet on Wednesday to discuss the matter as this kind of decision rests solely with the Executive Council."

In the Durban protest march police also confiscated banners made up of the colours of the banned ANC when they stopped the procession in Sydney Road and ordered the marchers, who were singing and chanting, to disperse.

The arrested people, mostly Indians including some women, were taken to C R Swart Square police headquarters and were later released.

Brigadier Theo Scherman, Divisional Commissioner of Police for Port Natal, said yesterday charges under the Internal Security Act were being formulated.

Mr Taffy Keeran, director of Diakonia, said yesterday the protest marchers had obeyed a police order to stop singing but the police had then attacked and arrested about 15 students.

And in the Ciskei police were called out to Port Hare University when a crowd of students gathered on the campus late on Wednesday night.

A police spokesman at Alice said about 700 students were creating a disturbance and singing freedom songs.
21 held in protest against hangings

ALICE — Twenty-one students were detained at the University of Fort Hare in the early hours of yesterday morning after a demonstration against the hanging of three members of the African National Congress.

This was confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief of Student Security in Ciskei, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe.

Students said there was a "total boycott of classes" yesterday in protest against the hanging of Mr Thelle Simon Mogerane, Mr Jerry Semano Mosoloi and Mr Marcus Thabo Motuang.

And later yesterday, representatives from the University's Athletics Union and its Central Cultural Committee said they met with the rector, Professor J. Lamprecht, to discuss the detention of their colleagues.

Prof Lamprecht was not available for comment last night.

Students spoken to yesterday said the detained students had been taken from their hostel rooms about half an hour after the demonstration at the university entrance, in which one car was overturned and the campus security office was stoned.

They said 2000 students were involved in the demonstration. This was disputed yesterday by the university's public relations officer, Mr M. Holliday, who said 400 students had been involved.

In a statement, Mr Holliday said the "mob" of students had "broken a few windows" after overturning the car and "stoned several others".

Mr Holliday also said he was "unaware" of a boycott of classes.

"As far as I know things are normal," he said.

Lecturers spoke to said they had not given any classes yesterday.

Students said male students had marched to the security gate in the early hours of the morning and were confronted by a group of security guards.

Students said stones had been thrown at the campus security officers, who had then fled. The male students marched to the women's hostels, from where they moved back to the security gate.

Police arrived soon afterwards, they said, and the group dispersed. About half an hour later, police visited the hostels and detained 21 students.

General Sebe said last night that Ciskei's attorney general would receive information on the detentions today and make a decision "soon" on whether to prosecute.

In Umtata a memorial service was held at the University of Transkei last night for the three executed African National Congress men.

A message condemning the execution on behalf of the SRC was read at the well-attended meeting.

Charges under the Internal Security Act are being drawn up by police against 23 people arrested in Durban yesterday after police stopped a march of about 200 students and workers protesting against the hanging of the three ANC terrorists.

In another protest demonstration at the University of Zululand at Ngobe on Wednesday night about 700 students went on the rampage and caused about R50,000 damage to the campus.

They set a police vehicle alight, broke into the campus tuckshop and shattered numerous windows with stones. No one was injured and no arrests were made.

In the Durban protest march police also confiscated banner slogans made up of the colours of the banned ANC when they stopped the procession and ordered the marchers, who were singing and chanting slogans, to disperse.

The arrested people were taken to C. R. Swart Square police headquarters and were later released after being questioned.

In London, nine people appeared before Bow Street magistrates following the 24-hour demonstration outside the South African Embassy on Wednesday night.

Steve and Amanda Kitson, whose father David is serving a 20-year sentence for treason in Pretoria Central Prison, were among the group charged with obstructing police and using threatening behaviour. Their cases were postponed to June 30.

Anti-apartheid activists gathered in several European capitals yesterday to pay tribute to the three dead men. There was a memorial service at a church near the South African Embassy.

The British Government, one of many which appealed to South African authorities to grant clemency, had no further comment yesterday.

The Dutch Government condemned the hangings, and in a statement from The Hague said:

"We deeply regret that these executions were carried out and we fear that they will escalate the chain of violence in South Africa." Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Bert Wildenburg said. — DDR-DDC.
Song vigil in prison

Own Correspondent

PRISONERS at Pretoria Central Prison sing throughout the night before a hanging, to give support to those who are about to die.

The singing starts when the condemned prisoners eat their last meal - a special supper prepared by the Prisons Service.

It goes on through the night and reaches a climax when they are taken out of their cells at dawn.

Few details of the ritual of a hanging are known to anyone but those who have witnessed it. The Prisons Service will not give many details, saying they have to respect the prisoners' last moments.

They will only say that "food-stuffs additional to the normal meals are provided at the State's expense."

If the prisoner wishes, he may ask the district surgeon to prescribe a sedative for him.

Probably the only people present at the execution are a district surgeon, a priest and a couple of prison officials.

It is believed that the rope is used only once and a new one supplied for each person hanged, but the Prisons Service would not comment on this.

The family has to wait outside the prison until the district surgeon pronounces the prisoner dead and officials post at the gate a notice of the execution.

The Commissioner of Prisons then decides whether his department will bury the body at the place of execution or release it to the family for burial.

Post Breyten Breytenbach, recently released from Pretoria Central Prison, created a controversy about the last meal.

White prisoners were given a whole chicken, black prisoners only half a chicken, he wrote recently. The Prisons Service denied there was any difference between the last meals of black and white prisoners.
Focus on black unity

Since the philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC) took root in South Africa in the 1970s, it has been a political force. However, the situation changed after the mass bannings of black organisations in 1977. BC was overtly the dominant force in many spheres of political life among blacks and the Black People's Convention (BPC) was the mother body of all organisations subscribing to BC.

When a number of organisations were formed later, the emergence of ideological hostilities came to the fore. This led BC to become more of a political force in the 1980s. The tendency for BC to remain a first faction is a Press statement or to book a venue for the holding of whichever service, to assume an upper hand during that service and to exclude speakers from the opposing group from the day's programme.

One of the groups has gone as far as barring the singing of certain freedom songs at services it has organised in the past. It was agreed that without necessarily forsaking their ideologies, the groups could work together in the interest of the common goal they pursued.

One speaker said that by highlighting their differences, the groups would succeed only in creating disunity among blacks. "This has the obvious effect of twisting the minds of the people to leave them with a strong belief that we are indeed not one nation," said one speaker.

Another speaker said that while an ideology was important in shaping the policy of any liberation organisation, especially in a country as complex as South Africa, differences in ideology should not be over-emphasised as they diverted attention from the real enemy of the people, which is apartheid.

The acceptance of invitations to participate in the talks by various organisations has been as an acknowledgement of the fact that there is conflict among black organisations in this country. And the conference can best serve the interests of the struggle if it will not hold a trial to crucify those seen to be responsible for the conflict, but work out a nationally accepted approach which will make it possible for all to work together in pursuing the common goal.
Two-day meeting sees BC as unifying formula for liberation

MORE than 1000 people from activist organisations re-endorsed black consciousness as a vehicle for liberating and uniting the black oppressed.

The two-day conference held at Hammanskraal's St Peter's Seminary was opened by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, who said blacks could use their consumer power to attain freedom.
More terror to come?

The likelihood of further ANC terror bombings, like that in Pretoria on May 20, would seem to depend on the outcome of an internal debate within the ANC itself. The indications are that the hardliners are gaining the ascendancy over those favouring a strategy that avoids civilian casualties.

Pretoria certainly seems to believe they are — judging from official warnings that similar attacks can be expected. However, the chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, told the New York Times this week that while the ANC could cause “single incidents,” they would not be able to sustain high-intensity operations for a long time to come.

The change in ANC tactics seems to follow a debate on the organisation’s options that began in 1981. At the time, according to a paper delivered in Washington by Wits University’s Tom Lodge, elements in the ANC, including a group at leadership level, pressed for the soft-target approach — which means less caution about civilian casualties.

Until the Pretoria outrage, State installations were sabotaged primarily for symbolic “armed propaganda” value, and a avoidance of indiscriminate killing characterised ANC terrorism. Even before Pretoria, however, Lodge pointed out that the ANC seemed to be taking “less care . . . to avoid civilian casualties.”

Despite official ANC policy, last year’s explosions in administrative buildings “during working hours” and the attempted derailment of a passenger train in the eastern Transvaal “may reflect rank and file impatience with such a policy or inadequacies in the training of insurgents,” said Lodge. This suggests that the carnage at Pretoria could have happened earlier. Another view is that the Pretoria blast was to avenge those killed in the SADF raid on ANC houses in Maseru last December.

It should also be pointed out that the May-June period has in recent years seen an annual peak in armed attacks — probably designed to coincide with Republic Day, the anniversary of the Soweto riots in 1976 and the Freedom Charter commemorations.

The change in ANC strategy, if such it is, would seem to reinforce an early 1981 report (denied by the ANC at the time) of “an undercurrent of change flowing through the movement.” The report, in an authoritative international newsletter, said the ANC was becoming “increasingly sensitive to the wishes of thousands of young black South Africans who have swelled the terrorist ranks since the Soweto upheaval of 1976.” It suggested that as part of this change, the ANC’s “white military supremo,” senior SA Communist Party (SACP) man, Joe Slovo, could be moved sideways in favour of a younger black activist and possible future leader of the ANC, Thabo Mbeki.

Whether this key leadership post in fact changed is not known — except that the highest council of the ANC is made up of blacks alone. Slovo, who is high up in the revolutionary council, is said to spend some of his time in Maputo, which is regarded as the ANC’s military headquarters.

Slovo is credited, in a recent report, with having organised a build-up of arms caches and an “embryonic guerrilla network” inside SA. This supposed build-up leads observers of the movement, such as Mike Hough of Pretoria University’s Institute of Strategic Studies, to expect attacks to continue for some time in spite of successful SA talks with neighbouring states about curbing terrorism launched from their borders.

US intelligence estimates of the number of ANC terrorists inside SA were recently reported as between 1,000 and 2,000.

The 1981 report claimed that the “surge of up to 8,000 militant refugees from Soweto and elsewhere” since 1976 had “placed new pressures on the ANC hierarchy,” and “forced Umkonto to begin thinking like an army about to do real battle.” (Umkonto we Sizwe — Spear of the Nation — is the armed wing of the ANC.)

Foreign journalists quote ANC sources as predicting that the armed struggle, in which lives would be lost, would be stepped up. Certainly the geographical spread of attacks — a classic pointer to stepped-up guerrilla war — seems to have widened, with a notable increase in previously “neglected” areas such as the OFS. It also seems likely that an ANC cadre was on its way to blow up the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly building before being apprehended two months ago.

In his review of the ANC from 1976 to 1982, Lodge concluded that the “success of this early phase of ‘armed propaganda’ has been evident both within the country and externally.” Opinion surveys and “massively attended funerals of ANC activists and veterans,” said Lodge, bore witness to the ANC’s “rising popularity amongst urban black South Africans.”

According to Lodge the influx of young people to the ANC “has not led to a questioning of the authority of the movement’s leadership and ideology.” It was interesting, he said, that a large proportion of new recruits arriving in training camps expressed interest in Marxism.

Externally, the ANC has been accorded “sole legitimate representative status” in several frontline African states and, Lodge noted, “its leaders are listened to with increasing seriousness in European countries and America.” Whether this still holds post-Pretoria remains to be seen.

A significant new factor is ANC leader Oliver Tambo’s trip last week to Peking. His meeting with Chinese Premier, Zhao Ziyang, is expected to bring the ANC material and political support. As important seems to be the waning of Chinese support for the rival black exclusivist body previously under Peking’s wing, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which is in disarray and out of favour.

Lodge pinpointed some ANC weaknesses. Its political dimension inside SA, in particular, appeared weakly developed. There was also something of a spontaneous resurgence inside SA of groups influenced by the Congress tradition. And the Barbara Hogan trial last year revealed that attempts, initiated in Botswana and Lesotho in 1978, had been made to construct a permanent internal organisation. Its role was partly to infiltrate legal mass organisations. Hogan’s arrest in 1981 was a setback.

Lodge concluded that because of the ANC’s “militaristic tendencies” of the past, and if its resources continue to be channelled into armed attacks, the movement may become “increasingly elitist” in character.
Renewed storm of protest faces SA

South Africa today faced fresh protests over yesterday's hanging of three African National Congress guerrillas after worldwide appeals for clemency were rejected.

The three members of the banned ANC, convicted of high treason and murder, were hanged at dawn in Pretoria Central Prison.

Church bells throughout Soweto tolled in sympathy with the executed men — Marcus Motaung (27), Simon Mogoere (23), and Jerry Mosololi (25).

Later in the day, police arrested 20 people when about 400 students and workers marched through the streets of Durban carrying ANC banners and protesting against the executions.

In a Durban church hall, about 200 people of all races attended an all-night vigil. Police sprayed teargas into the building after the crowd started singing revolutionary songs.

Police were yesterday also called to the University of Zululand in Northern Natal, where about 700 black students demonstrated.

A police van was burnt and R50 000 damage done before the crowd dispersed. No arrests were made.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said South Africa’s rulers should reform apartheid before conflict became inevitable.

He told a memorial service: “South Africa is going to be freed through bloodshed and violence, or through negotiations.” — Sapa-Reuters.

Wreaths for ANC trio hung on rails at SA Embassy

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Three wreaths with photographs of the African National Congress men executed in Pretoria were hung on railings near the main entrance to the South African Embassy yesterday as a crowd of several hundred sang ANC songs.

In the crowd were several young white women wearing “Release Nelson Mandela” T-shirts.

The wreaths were carried in procession from nearby St Martin’s-in-the-Field Church, where a service had been held for the men — Jerry Mosololi (25), Thelle Mogoere (23), and Marcus Motaung (27).

During the service, Father Michael Lapsley, who once ministered in South Africa, said: “Today we salute our fallen heroes and call on all Christians to join us in our just struggle to rid the world of apartheid.”

The Rev David Haslam, a prominent member of the End Loans to South Africa campaign, said afterwards that the service had been organised by Christians associated with the ANC who had wished to express in a Christian way that they accepted the sacrifice made by the three men.

“We believe their sacrifice was in the same line as that of Christ himself.”

Mr Haslam said he sympathised with the relatives of those who had died as a result of the three men’s actions.

“But I would say that those actions were brought about by the intransigent policies of the South African Government and not by the young people who reacted against them.”

Nine people who were arrested during an all-night demonstration outside the embassy have been remanded on bail. They are charged with obstructing the police, using threatening behaviour, and highway obstruction.

In Washington on Wednesday, ANC supporters staged two demonstrations outside the White House. Several congressmen and their staff held a candlelight vigil on the steps of the House for the condemned men.

Magistrate bans Soweto ‘Save the Six’ meeting

The Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr J P M Duvenage, last night banned the proposed meeting of a Save the Six Committee to be held at the Methodist Youth Centre, Central Western Jabavu, Soweto.

The ban has been extended to include any other meeting of this organisation in Soweto from 6 pm on June 9 to 6 pm on June 11.

The banning was made in terms of article 46(1) of the Act on Internal Security 1982 (Act 74 of 1982). In a statement to the Press Mr Duvenage said that the meeting was banned because he had reason to believe it would seriously endanger public peace.

Star’s first edition headline was misleading

A headline in the first edition of The Star on Wednesday incorrectly stated: “Govt to decide on reprieve for 3 today”. The error was corrected in all subsequent editions, but it is necessary to clarify the misleading implications of the headline.

The Reuter via Sapa news agency stated that the three ANC members were hanged at dawn in Pretoria Central Prison.

But the report stated that the crowd was killed by police who sprayed teargas into the building.

In fact, the report said, the police had dispersed the crowd after they started singing revolutionary songs.

A police van was burnt and R50 000 damage done before the crowd dispersed. No arrests were made.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said South Africa’s rulers should reform apartheid before conflict became inevitable.

He told a memorial service: “South Africa is going to be freed through bloodshed and violence, or through negotiations.” — Sapa-Reuters.

Dr J P Roux, Secretary of the Prime Minister’s Department, points out that there was no special meeting of the Cabinet on that day. He makes clear that decisions concerning capital punishment rest solely with the Executive Council. The Executive Council never acts on instructions from the Cabinet and the Prime Minister never sits as a member of the Executive Council. Thus the State President does not act as chairman of the Cabinet.

The Executive Council cannot impose sentences, but can grant clemency under certain circumstances.
Organising to resist - a broad 'No' to new deal

By ANTON HABER

THF Government's constitutional proposals have sparked off the formation of a broad-based anti-apartheid resistance front ... the largest South Africa has seen in at least two decades.

Dozens of opposition organisations - representing workers, students, communities, churches and women from all over the country - have come together in recent weeks under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

In Johannesburg, for example, the UDF was launched two weeks ago, when more than 30 organisations signed a pledge to "fight together and side against the Government's constitution and reform projects".

Similar steps are being taken in Durban and the Eastern and Western Cape.

The most striking feature of the Johannesburg meeting was the wide range of organisations taking part, representing a clear attempt to unite resistance against racial and class barriers.

And coming more than 18 months after a major Security Police crackdown on many of the leaders and activists of non-racial opposition politics, it is also a clear sign that this opposition group has not only survived but has emerged strong and growing.

Many of the prominent names in the UDF - such as Mr. Insautl Motlumela and Mr. Samuel Mhloyi were amongst those holding the Security Police in their crackdown in the last few months of 1982.

They have been released at various stages during the last year but have been required to be reconciled with is shown in the action of opposition organisations that have sprung up around the UDF.

In the Transvaal alone, three major federations have been formed: the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee, active largely in coloured areas; and the Anti-Community Council Committees, active in townships.

The aims of the UDF were originally raised by Dr. Albert Bosch, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in a passing remark during a National Anti-SAC conference in February.

"We are all committed to the struggle for a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa, a state in which all peoples will have the rights accorded to them by God."

Thus, there are no reasons why churches, civic associations, trade unions and student organisations and sports bodies should not unitc on this issue, pool our resources, to form the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name and expose those plans for what they are," Dr. Bosch said.

"This is the politics of renaissance in its truest sense and is the only way forward for all black people.

The UDF conference formed a committee to investigate the feasibility of this suggestion, and within weeks, steps were being taken to form a united front in various parts of the country.

In the Transvaal, the inaugural meeting formed a central council of two representatives of each member organisation.

This council will meet soon to elect an executive and a secretariat.

An organisation of such proportions, particularly under a non-racial rather than Black Consciousness banner, has not been seen in South Africa for many years.

The only comparison is the Congress Alliance, which led by the Afri-can National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and which went into exile after its banning in the Sixties.

But it is not easy to bring such a wide range of people together. The organisation has to accommodate an enormous variety of interests and views.

To accommodate this, the organisations have left the door open to all those who wish to join.

The broad principle of UDF as stated in a declaration adopted at its inaugural meeting are

- An amicable conservation in the creation of a non-racial state in South Africa undisturbed by racial or ethnic considerations;
- An adherence to the need for unity in struggle, through which all democracy - regardless of race, religion or colour - shall take part;
- A recognition of the necessity of work in consultation with and reflect accurately the demands of democratic people wherever they may be.

The constitutional proposals, the declaration said, have been imposed without genuine consultation with the people of the country.

The proposals make race and ethnicity the only criteria for participation in Government and do not begin to redress economic and social inequalities that are the result of centuries of white domination, the declaration said.

Although this wide range of people are united in their opposition to these proposals, there are already signs of the strain of such a broad and inclusive body.

For example, the members organisations vary enormously in size, but are equally represented on the central council.

This means that large trade unions with 12,000 or more members have the same say as small community organisations with inadequate membership.

UDF organisae are quick to point out that they are not a political party and are merely a grouping of different organisations.

This means that it will be an association of leaders in which the bulk of mem-

bers will be organised in separate organisations as workers, students or mem-

bers of a specific community.

The key to its importance will lie in its ability to mobilise at a grassroots level. This is being done not by the UDF itself, but by its member organisations and since many of these are new, they have not yet tested their ability to mobilise popular support.

If the UDF moves this test, the Government may be in for a tough battle over its constitutional proposals.
And now Black Consciousness gets into step

Workers, students, churches, lawyers — joining for unity

A SEPARATE bid for unity has been started by the National Forum Committee (NFC), made up largely of Black Consciousness groups and including some United Democratic Front (UDF) members.

The NFC, according to Mr Ish Mkhabela, of Azapo, is not an organisation but only a committee intended to facilitate joint discussions among black groups.

It is "quite unlike UDF" and is only intended to provide a forum to bring together a broad spectrum of groups and individuals who are not in Government structures and to promote their solidarity, according to Mr Mkhabela.

It is to hold its first set of discussions at Hammanskraal this Saturday. The meeting is intended for opposition groups and individuals to crystallise their thoughts on issues such as education and resettlement.

It will be addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Mr Lyson Mabasa, national president of Azapo.

"To think of organisation along the lines of the UDF would be premature from our point of view," Mr Mkhabela said this week.

"While unity is needed, it should not be improvised because that could bring more problems rather than enduring unity.

"We would like to think of unity as an ongoing process rather than as coming through a two-day seminar."

"It must be principled and clearly defined. Unity around ad-hoc issues can mean only temporary unity.

"We fully support what UDF is working for and cannot undermine their constituency. We have looked at the possibility of co-operating with them, but we need clarification of what they say and what they believe," Mr Mkhabela said.

Ironically, with two separate organisations attempting to create unity, the oldest split in South Africa opposition politics — between those who believe the fight should be along non-racial lines and those who believe it must be led by black organisations and individuals — is likely to be reproduced.

But the situation is complicated by the fact that some organisations — such as the Soweto Committee of 10 and the Council of Unions of South Africa — are taking part in both the UDF and the NFC.

WHAT do the Durban Housing Action Committee, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Islamic Council of SA have in common?

The answer is straightforward: they all oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and are members of the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The dozens of groups that belong to the UDF across the country represent a wide range of workers, students, churches and community organisations. In the Transvaal alone, more than 30 organisations have joined the UDF.

Workers are represented by the Council of Unions of SA, the SA Allied Workers' Union and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, among others.

Communities are represented by the Soweto and Vryburg civic associations and the Soweto Committee of 10. Nusas, Azanian Students' Organisation, the Black Students Society and Young Christian Students represent the youth.

The churches are represented by the Wittwatersrand Council of Churches and the Catholic Bishops' Conference, women by the Federation of SA Women, teachers by the National Educational Union of SA, the Indian community by the Transvaal Indian Congress. The Detainees Aid Movement and the Transvaal Anti-PC Committee are also taking part.

The first UDF was formed in the Eastern Cape in January when a local coordinating committee was formed. Eastern Cape members organisations include the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, the EP Council on Sport, the Eastern Cape Council of Churches, the Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union, the General Workers Union of SA and the Congress of SA Students.

On May 14 a Durban branch was formed under the chairmanship of Mr Archie Gumedo, from the Release Mandela Committee. It includes the Natal Indian Congress, the Democratic Lawyers' Association, the Islamic Council of SA and the Durban Housing Action Committee.
Church service for three hanged ANC men banned

By Trevor Jones

A commemorative service for the three ANC members hanged this week, due to be held at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg today, has been included in a ban on meetings connected to the hangings.

This is the first time a church meeting in central Johannesburg has been banned.

The dean of Johannesburg, Father Mervin Castle, described the ban as "a damn shame". The notice prohibiting the service was delivered to him by security policemen yesterday.

The banning order was granted yesterday by the acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr J P M Duvenage. It specifically mentioned a prayer meeting scheduled for the Iswa Centre in Lenasia at 2 pm tomorrow.

A security policeman who delivered the prohibition notice to The Star last night said, however, the St Mary's Cathedral meeting was included.

This was confirmed by a senior police spokesman who said "bona fide" church services were not banned unless they were connected to the hanging of the three ANC men.

The three men, Simon Mogorane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung and two other men convicted of criminal charges were hanged at 7 am on Thursday.

Mr Duvenage also prevented the holding of "any gathering of the same nature, class or kind anywhere in the district of Johannesburg".

The meetings were banned from 6 am today until 6 am on Monday, extending an initial ban on meetings from Thursday until 6 pm today.

On Thursday night police prevented a political meeting due to be held at the Methodist Youth Centre in Western Jabavu by the Save the Six Committee.

The Lenasia meeting was organised by the Transvaal Indian Congress and a spokesman said the ban clearly indicated the National Party was well aware the "barbaric execution" only caused greater polarisation "between the oppressed people and the white community".

"We appeal to all religious organisations to observe the day with prayer. We appeal to all businessmen to keep their businesses closed on June 16 to observe the day," the TIC said.
Sorrow, anger as ANC 3 die

JOHANNESBURG. — The first ANC members to be hanged in South Africa in four years went to the gallows at dawn yesterday as bells tolled in sympathy throughout Soweto and world governments condemned South Africa’s rejection of pleas for clemency.

Marcus Thabo Motaung, 27, Thelle Simon Mogoerane, 23, and Jerry Sampson Mosololi, 29, were executed at Pretoria Central Prison at 7am in spite of a last-minute bid by lawyers for a stay of execution and an international appeal for mercy.

The ANC men were convicted of treason for attacks on police stations, a railway line and a power station in which four policemen were killed and a number of civilians injured.

With murderers

Two convicted murderers — Eric Marshall and Telele Kunene — were hanged alongside Mogoerane. Mosololi and Motaung.

In a statement from Lusaka the ANC denounced the execution of its members as a flagrant breach of international law and vowed revenge.

Zimbabwe said South Africa was cheating by treating freedom fighters as criminals.

The executions were also sharply condemned by the governments of Sweden, France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy.

The Soviet news agency, Tass, called the executions “murder in cold blood.”

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that a declaration of “deep sorrow and dismay” from the Security Council and an expression of shock and sadness from Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar capped United Nations reaction to yesterday’s hangings.

Groups of protesters demonstrated in several cities, including New York, Los Angeles and Washington.

A last message said to have come from the men was circulated and broadcast on some black radio stations. It declared: “The struggle of all oppressed peoples throughout the world should continue until the world is a peaceful place for all.”

There was no immediate comment from Britain or the United States.

In South Africa, news of the executions was met with demonstrations in Durban, Alice and the University of Zululand.

Reports in Pretoria yesterday said Mr. Justice DJ Curilewis — who rejected a last-minute appeal for a stay of execution on Wednesday night — and the acting Judge President, Mr. Justice PO de Villiers, had been placed under police protection.

Strict security was enforced at the Central Prison yesterday while policemen in camouflage uniforms sealed off Church Square.

UK protest

In London, nine people appeared before Bow Street magistrate following a 24-hour demonstration outside the South African Embassy on Wednesday. Steve and Amanda Kitson, whose father David is serving a 20-year sentence for treason in Pretoria Central Prison, were among the group charged with obstructing police and using threatening behaviour. Their cases were remanded to June 30.

An order was issued by the acting chief magistrate of Johannesburg last night banning under the Internal Security Act meetings of the Save the Six Committee until tomorrow.

— Own Correspondent and Sapa

The leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Mr. Michael Foot, Labour
Newborn baby survives crash

By DIANNA GAMES

A NEWBORN baby, only hours old, was in the back of an ambulance that was hit by the trailer of a lorry truck yesterday afternoon.

Nobody was injured in the incident but on the busy Heidelberg road near Alberton — in spite of extensive damage to two of the vehicles.

Nigel’s Fire Chief, Mr Louis Pretorius, said a haulage truck, a Ford Louisville carrying a load of steel tubes, had allegedly not stopped at a red light, hit a stationary police car in the same lane and went out of control.

It then hit another haulage truck turning across the lights and the back of it jackknifed into the front of the ambulance at the intersection with its emergency lights on.

The ambulance was carrying a baby born by Caesarin section only hours before from Nigel to the South Rand Hospital. A second ambulance was called after the accident to take the baby to the hospital.

It’s a pity about the accident because the ambulance was practically brand new, it only had 300km on the clock,” Mr Pretorius said.

He said the ambulance’s driver, Mr G Groene, from the Nigel Fire Department, had tried to reverse when he saw the back of the truck swing towards him but did not have time.

The truck’s driver, Mr Andries Motel, said he had been travelling at about 60km/h and when he saw a stationary car in front of him he applied the brakes but was not able to stop in time.

By ANTON HARBER

FAMILIES of the three African National Congress men hanged in Pretoria yesterday declined an offer to attend a prison funeral and asked for the bodies to be returned to them for burial.

Last night lawyers for the families said they were still uncertain whether the three had been buried or whether the bodies would be released.

The Commission of Prisons has the power to make the decision.

The three were Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Motololi and Marcus Motung.

During the families’ last visit to their sons on Wednesday they were asked if they wanted to attend a funeral for the three men 

All three families declined the offer and said they wanted to bury their sons in the traditional way.

Yesterday the lawyers sent a telegram to the Commissioner of Prisons asking for the bodies and another to Prison Services asking for access to the graves of the three “who have already been buried”.

Mr Rish Naidoo, one of the instructing attorneys, said the families had no idea what was happening, but said he would be surprised if the bodies were released.

The three ANC men were executed in a line alongside two murderers.

A small crowd of local and international journalists stood outside the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday morning as the three were hanged.

The only other sign of anything unusual was a massive police presence.

Police in camouflage uniform and carrying arms patrolled the surrounding streets and stood guard on all corners.

They prevented the journalists from approaching the prison and cars turning off the main road towards the prison were turned back.

A Rand Daily Mail photographer had a roll of film confiscated by a policeman. The film was later returned.

Most of the journalists were present before the sun rose and they wanted in the cold until a prison official came out to tell them the executions had been carried out. The families were not present and nothing further would be happening.

At least 200 people — including parents of the three — attended a prayer meeting at the headquarters of the SA Council of Churches in central Johannesburg.

The crowd, wearing black arm bands, heard Bishop Desmond Tutu general secretary of the SACC, and the Rev Frank Chikane pay tribute to the four men as heroes.

Such penalties would soon suffer from the law of diminishing returns, Bishop Tutu warned.

“Our people have been wonderfully patient and peace-loving and they have been rebuffed at every turn.

“We support them in their aim, but we do not yet support them in their methods,” Bishop Tutu said.

The Transvaal Indian Congress (ITC) issued a statement saying the Government had brought disgrace to the very idea and that it is pledged to uphold.

The parents of two of the hanged men — Motololi and Mogoerane — will speak at a PAC mass meeting at the

Jewish Centre in Lenasia on Sunday at 2pm.”
ANC 3 families ask for bodies

--Own Correspondent--

JOHANNESBURG — Families of the three African National Congress men hanged in Pretoria yesterday declined an offer of a prison funeral and asked for the bodies to be returned to them.

Lawyers for the families said last night that they were still not certain whether the men had been buried or whether the bodies would be released.

The Commissioner of Prisons has the power to make the decision.

The three were Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung.

The offer of a Prisons Service burial was made during the families' visit to their sons' Wednesday. All three families declined, saying they wanted to bury their sons in the traditional way.

Yesterday, the lawyers sent a telegram to the Commissioner of Prisons asking for the bodies, and another to the Prisons Service asking for access to the graves if they had already been buried.

Prison vigil

A small crowd of local and international journalists kept a vigil outside the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday morning as the men were hanged.

Armed police in camouflage uniform patrolled the surrounding streets and stood guard on all the corners.

They prevented the journalists from approaching the prison.

At least 200 people — including parents of the three — attended an emotional prayer meeting at the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches in central Johannesburg.

The crowd, wearing black armbands and chanting "Long live the Freedom Charter", heard the SACC general-secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, pay tribute to the men.

Parents of two of the men — Mosololi and Mogoerane — will speak at a TIC mass meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia on Sunday at 2pm.

The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev M E Castle, announced that a Requiem Mass would be held in St Mary's Cathedral on Saturday at noon.
NEW DELHI — The Indian Government yesterday condemned the execution of three African National Congress members in South Africa.

The hanging "was in total disregard of the fervent appeal for clemency voiced by the international community and the United Nations Security Council."

"The continuation of the oppressive policies and destructive actions of the apartheid regime adds fuel to the already explosive situation it has created in the region and may pose a threat to international peace and stability," it said.

India called on the international community, "particularly those wielding considerable leverage with the Pretoria regime," to "oblige it to heed and respect international opinion and observe the basic tenets of human law, justice and international behaviour." — Sapa-AP
Post Reporter
THE president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco), Mr Mkhuzeli Jack, today called for the immediate and unconditional release all the organisation’s members from detention.

He said Peyco had been watching the “police harassment” of its members and executive in the past four months with great concern.

“Peyco is aware of the overall security police campaign of intimidation, which is aimed at disrupting the official launching of the organisation on June 19.

“Peyco will not be intimidated by such action. Continued detentions can only worsen the already explosive situation in the townships.”

Members of the organisation said to be in detention are two former Robben Island prisoners, Mr Tuli Bobo and Mr Nceda Faku, and Mr Michael Xhengo.

Mr Faku and Mr Xhengo were detained on June 1.

Mr Bobo was detained earlier under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.
The newly-formed National Forum aimed at promoting unity among blacks, is to hold a two-day conference at St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, starting on June 11.

Representatives from over 10 community organisations are expected to attend the meeting — the first since the body was formed about two months ago.

The President's Council's constitutional proposals, the Black Authorities and Orderly Movement bills will be under the spotlight at the conference.

Committee members of the new body, who have been drawn from 12 organisations, include the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches. Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches, Mr Frans van der Horst, president of the South African Council of Sport, and the national president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Lybon Mabasa.

Mr George Wachope, a NF member, said yesterday: "The formation of the new organisation follows a resolution by Azapo earlier this year, that there was an urgent need for a joint front to fight matters of common interest."

He said new strategies would be formulated in preparation "for the hardships and challenges that lie ahead".
Similar order was delivered last Friday, banning a similar meeting scheduled for the St. Mary's Cathedral, al-

banning an order to the Band Daily Mail. Three security bulletins were allowed. The acting chief magis-

trate, Mr. John Meyer, said he had been informed that a requir-

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Forum to fight new Bills

A NATIONAL Forum of black political, sporting, civic, trade union, educational, cultural and religious groups will be held in Hammanskraal this weekend to work out a response to the Government's new constitution and "Koornhof Bills".

The forum was initiated by the Azanian People's Organisation and is convened by Azapo vice-president Saths Cooper.

Mr Cooper said in a statement: "All organisations working within the oppressed community and run by the oppressed themselves would be welcome to send delegates to air their views fully on how to mobilise and consolidate the oppressed people.

CRISIS

"This is necessary to meet the national crisis caused by PW Botha's reform proposals and the Koornhof bills.

Interested organisations and individuals are requested to contact Dr Neville Alexander ☏ 73 4936, Nombulelo Melane ☏ 77 0358, the organising secretary George Wachoppe ☏ 011 29 8033 or write to P'O Box 347 Johannesburg."
Focus on
education
evenings

THE Western Cape Youth League will be having a "focus on education" on the evening on June 13 and 14 at the Catholic Hall, Manenberg.

They also intend having a cultural program in July but the venue has not yet been finalised. The programme will include music, dancing, drama and poetry reading.

The league, which was formed by seven youth groups in March, now has 10 affiliates.

They invite all community organisations and individuals to attend their activities.
All meetings on hangings banned

By MONTSHIWA MOROKE

All meetings scheduled for this weekend in protest against the hanging of three African National Congress (ANC) men in Pretoria this week have been banned under the Internal Security Act.

The men were Thabie Simon Mogoerane, Semano Jerry Mosotoli and Thabo Marcus Molaung.

This means that altogether four meetings called by the "Save the Six Committee" and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) have now been banned in a period of one week by either the chief or acting chief magistrate of Johannesburg.

The parents of Mosotoli and Mogoerane were to speak at a TIC mass meeting at the Jiwa Centre in Lenasia tomorrow. Ms Zinsi Mandela, daughter of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was also due to speak.

Security Police yesterday delivered an order to the Rand Daily Mail offices prohibiting the Lenasia meeting "or any gathering of the same nature in the district of Johannesburg" effectively from 6am today and will remain in force until 6am on Monday.

ANTON HARBER reports that there is still uncertainty over whether the bodies of the three ANC members hanged on Thursday will be returned to the families for burial.

Late yesterday afternoon the Department of Prison Services and the Commission of Prisons had not replied to telegrams sent by a lawyer for the families asking for the bodies.

Students continued to boycott lectures at the University of Fort Hare at Alice yesterday in protest against the detention of 27 students during demonstrations against the hangings.

And more than 2 000 University of the North students staged a two-hour march on the campus on Thursday night.

ANC and SWAPO members, led by a member of Lusaka's ruling UNIP central committee, Mrs Chibesa Kanka, held a demonstration yesterday.

The ANC has vowed to avenge the execution.

The Unesco director-general, Mr Amadou Mahatir M'Bow, said yesterday that the executions were part of "an infernal cycle of violence" set up by the South African Government that could lead to a general world condemnation.

"These executions should mark the beginning of new world awareness of the reality of apartheid," he said in a statement. — Own Correspondents, Sapa, UPI.
Order returns to Fort Hare

ALICE — Lectures were held "as usual" at the University of Fort Hare yesterday. Students said they had attended lectures as planned after a one-day boycott in protest against Thursday's hanging of three members of the African National Congress. The 21 students arrested on Thursday will probably appear in court on Monday, according to a police spokesman here. He said they would probably appear in the Alice magistrate's court on charges of public violence. — DDR

Missiles: Nato warns Moscow

PARIS — The NATO Alliance, in a final challenge to Moscow, warned yesterday that new US missiles will be installed in Western Europe in six months if arms negotiations remain deadlocked.

The US Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, said the West was resolved to go ahead with the basing plan unless concrete results could be achieved in US-Soviet talks in Geneva.
Buthelezi call for West to assist Inkatha

Mercury Reporter
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi has called on the Western world to recognise Inkatha and support it in bringing about change in South Africa.

At the meeting in Bonn yesterday, he appealed specifically to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs for West Germany to help in guarding against racist excesses which he said were represented in the South African Government's constitutional proposals.

Chief Buthelezi said the West had so far exerted very little pressure on South Africa to set its affairs in order. This was most vividly illustrated by the freedom with which the Government was rewriting the constitution to enshrine racism.

He emphasised that black South Africa was committed to non-violent solutions, but added: 'Politics in South Africa will in future be characterised by an African and.'

As leader of Inkatha hope, a black drive, not only to achieve the vote but to do so in a State which we will have to reform. 'Black politics will in future be aimed at changing the nature of the State and not simply gaining access to the corridors of power in it,' he said.

[signature]
Musicians guilty in ANC trial

JOHANNESBURG

Two Rastafarian musicians were today jailed for six years (two years of which were suspended) for advocating violent revolution led by the African National Congress.

The magistrate, Mr W Aucamp, said that Jose Charles, 24, and Rufus Radebe, 18, had indirectly promoted the ideals of the outlawed ANC at the University of the Witwatersrand reggae concert in Roodepoort on February 12. They had pleaded not guilty to charges under the Internal Security Act.

Mr Aucamp said that the two musicians, members of the band Splash, had sung a song “Freedom to Mandela” and chanted: “Our music is revolutionary and will free our brothers through a revolution led by the ANC”.

They had also chanted before 3 000 people: “Power belongs to us” and shouted slogans about Mr Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.

Mr Aucamp dismissed a submission by the musicians’ attorney, Mr G Dyson, that one of the principles of the Rastafarian cult was a belief in non-violence.

After sentence was passed, Mr Dyson immediately applied for bail pending an appeal against the sentence.
600 for 'new deal' summit

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

NEARLY 600 delegates representing about 100 organisations are expected to attend one of the most diverse meetings of blacks in South African political history at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, today.

The delegates, representing a wide range of movements in the religious, cultural, sporting, trade union, civic and political fields, will converge on the seminary at Hammanskraal for a two-day meeting, or National Forum, on the initiative of the National Forum Committee.

The National Forum Committee, whose 17 members reflect a broad spectrum of interests, has organised the meeting to provide a forum for black leaders to discuss the position of blacks in the "new deal" being promoted by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

"The committee feels we are confronted with a crisis in the face of the 'new deal'," Mr Saths Cooper, a member of the committee and a former Robben Island prisoner, said yesterday.

"The main purpose of the National Forum is to look at ways and means of achieving closer working relationships between organisations within the black community.

"We will be looking at ways and means of consolidating and mobilising the people against the 'new deal.'"

Members of the committee include Bishop Desmond Tutu of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Mamas, Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Mr Phinashwayama of the Council of Unions of South Africa, Mr Frank van der Horst of the South African Council on Sport, Mr Lybou Mbaso of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Tom Manthata of the Soweto Civic Association, and Mrs Emily Mashinini of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa.

Before dividing into working groups to consider specific issues pertinent to the unification of blacks, several keynote papers will be delivered to the forum as a whole.

Bishop Buthelezi will speak of the role of the church in promoting unity, Dr Neville Alexander, distinguished scholar and former Robben Island prisoner, will talk on the dangers posed by ethnicity and tribalism and Mr S E Moshidi of the University of the North, will deliver an address on comparative education.

Three men — Mr Mbaso, Mr Manthata and Mr Lehman Schidi, of the Soweto Committee of 16 — worked together on a paper which zones in on the core of the issue. Entitled "The Need for National Unity," it will be delivered on behalf of the three authors by Mr Mbaso.
A UNIVERSITY of Cape Town student has been arrested in Worcester under Section 23 of the Internal Security Act.

Major George Kerhoff, police liaison officer for the Boland, today confirmed the arrest of Mr Saleem Badat, 25, who is studying for a master's degree in economic history.

The UCT Student's Representative Council has strongly condemned the detention of Mr Badat, vice-chairman of the university branch of the Azanian Students' Organisation.

The SRC has demanded his immediate release.

The Azanian Student's Organisation (Western Cape) has deplored the detention.

"We know Saleem to be a freedom-loving democrat dedicated to the cause of justice in our country," a statement says.
Body to tackle youth issues

BY SYLVIA VOLLENKOVEN

UNEMPLOYMENT, sex discrimination and even awkward library hours are all problems which young people can tackle, according to a recently-formed youth body.

And the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) — formed at a recent mass meeting — plans to get down to every issue that affects their members, ranging from parent-child relationships to the constitutional proposals.

"When it comes to the proposals, our emphasis will be on the question of coloured conscription, because this is what will affect the youth."

"Generally these proposals fall far short of the demands of our people," Cayco president Trevor Oosterwyk said in an interview this week.

This fledgling organisation, which already has 35 local branches and a full-time paid organiser, has provided a united platform for the various Western Cape youth movements that have sprung up since the 1980 schools' unrest.

From the experience students gained during 1980, they realised the need for co-ordinated youth movements.

Cayco is the first big youth organisation in the Western Cape and branches stretch from Ocean View and Hout Bay, across the Peninsula including Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu and the Boland.

"We will work closely with church youth groups. Cayco is a non-racial organisation and we aim to unite all youth in the Cape," said Trevor.

Membership is open to youth of all races and Cayco already has a few white members.

The aims of the newly-formed youth congress include:

- Taking up demands and realising the social, cultural, political, educational and economic aspirations of the youth
- Forming links with other organisations committed to a truly non-racial democracy
- Instilling a proper understanding and acceptance of the equality of men and women and eradicating sexual exploitation.
- Educating youth to value the dignity and meaning of labour and working towards the elimination of artificial divisions — for example the divisions between manual and mental labour.
- Normalising relationships between youth and their parents.
ANC Restructures Its Operation

The outlawed African National Congress has undergone major organisational changes over the last few weeks, according to sources in the Frontline States.

Although it is understood that the ANC's major allies, the South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, have surrendered all decision-making powers on the ANC's external military operation, several leading communists will continue to serve under the new operational system.

The old ANC structure, set up after the ANC's consultative conference in Tanzania in 1969, has now been dismantled.

The major change has been the dismantling of the ANC's Revolutionary Council -- formerly its operational arm -- and its replacement by a series of political, military and co-ordinating committees.

The Revolutionary Council was previously the site of the ANC's formal alliance with the SACP, and used to oversee the activities of the military wing. Umkhonto we Sizwe. Under the new structure, members of the SACP will continue to serve -- under the direct authority of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

The sources said the new structure represented no change in the political line within the ANC or in its alliance with the SACP and SACTU.

The ANC's external operation now consists of four committees to replace the old Revolutionary Council.

A Political Committee under the chairmanship of National Executive Committee member and former ANC representative to Mozambique John Kadalie, has been set up to monitor political and worker activities inside the country.

Parallel to it is a Military Committee, chaired by Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, whose job is to oversee the activities of the ANC's military wing, estimated by the South African Defence Force to be about 7,000 guerrillas.

Co-ordinating the activities of these two committees is a joint Political-Military Committee, comprising the executives of the two.

Linking the joint Political-Military Committee to the National Executive Committee of the ANC is a Working Committee. Both the ANC National Executive and the Working Committee are chaired by ANC President Oliver Tambo, alternatively ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo, the sources said.

Other known members of the Political Committee include ANC National Political Commissar Andrew Masondo and former head of the ANC's International Department: (Foreign Affairs) Joe Jele.

ANC United Nations representative Manfuli (Johnny) Makutini has taken over Jele's old post as foreign affairs head. All three remain on the ANC National Executive Committee.

Umkhonto we Sizwe political commissar Chris Hami, the former ANC representative to Lesotho who survived a number of assassination attempts, is thought to be a member of the Military Committee, but this could not be confirmed.

A new propaganda post -- that of publicity secretary -- has been created and filled by Thabo Mbeki, son of imprisoned ANC leader Govan Mbeki. A national executive committee member, Thabo Mbeki was until recently political secretary to ANC president Tambo.

A Youth Secretariat was also set up at an ANC youth conference held in Tanzania last year. And a long-standing women's section is charged with promoting women's interests in the organisation.

As far as can be ascertained, the make-up of the ANC's national executive committee is: at present, Oliver Tambo, president and chairman of the executive and 'working committee', Alfred Nzo, secretary general; Thomas Nkobi, treasurer; Maxwell Masilo, a special aide to Tambo; Andrew Masondo, national political commissar Manfuli (Johnny) Makutini, head of the International Department; Chris Hami, Umkhonto we Sizwe political commissar; Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; John Kadalie, chairman of the 'political committee'; Joe Jele, a member of the 'Political Committee'; Thabo Mbeki, publicity secretary; Gertrude Shope, head of ANC Women's Section; Florence Mopho-

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Weekending 12 June 1983

Produced by Barry Steen, 36 Woodside Road, Talmontskloof, Cape Town 8061, April

1983
ANC men go calmly to the gallows

THE LAST MINUTES

CP Reporters

PRETORIA — The three ANC men went to the gallows calmly yesterday, according to their attorney who was not allowed to visit them on the morning of their execution.
day, according to their attorney who saw them less than 12 hours before they died.

They were hanged together with a white and a black murderer.

Attorney Krish Naidoo, who battled until the 11th hour to save the lives of Marcus Motaung, Thelle Mogoerane and Jerry Mosoli, said: “The way they faced death was the bravest thing I have ever seen.”

“When we wanted to apply for a stay of execution on Tuesday they were not interested,” said the attorney. “But I told them to think it over.

“On Wednesday morning they said I could go ahead. But they were not optimistic.”

Mr. Naidoo said when he consulted with them, the trio “acted collectively and made their decisions quickly. No-one seemed to be the leader.”

“The prospect of death did not seem to frighten them,” he said.

Last time

When Mr. Naidoo saw the men for the last time on Wednesday evening shortly before the urgent application was brought before Mr Justice Currell in the Pretoria Supreme Court, he found them quieter than usual.

Yesterday the prison was heavily guarded and soldiers were barred from the area.

Church Square, opposite which the Palace of Justice is situated, was cordoned off by police who were reported to be on standby in other parts of the city.

Four charges

The men were sentenced to death last August after being found guilty on four charges of murder, one of attempted murder, terrorism and treason.

Yesterday, the families of the three men said their sons were grateful for the support they had received from those who had tried to save them from the noose.

Mr Daniel Mogoerane said his son had told him they should not cry over his death.

“He said he was prepared to die,” said Mr Mogoerane.

Meanwhile a battle for the bodies of the three hanged ANC men failed yesterday when lawyers for their families were told that they had been burned an hour after the executions.

Since 1978, families of hanged men cannot reclaim the bodies.

The families were invited to attend a service in Pretoria at 9 am ... after the men had been burned.

The families declined.

Attorney Krish Naidoo said: “The families wanted to bury their sons according to custom.”

DURBAN – Police arrested 23 people when 400 students and workers marched through the streets of Durban yesterday—waving banners of the colours of the ANC.

Police with dogs and batons broke up the march in Sivuyile Road.

Police were called to the University of Zululand on Wednesday night where about 700 students demonstrated against the hangings.

A police vehicle was burnt and damage done to the tuck shop area.

LAW SUIT WO N'T DIE WITH HIM

PRETORIA: Marcus Motaung's lawyers say they will continue the case against the Minister of Police and the policemen who shot him at the time of his arrest.

Motaung was claiming R10,000.

His complaint against the Medical and Dental Council will also be pursued.

Motaung alleged that Dr. Magdalena Snyman, a district surgeon, who examined him two hours after he was shot, gave him only painkillers and allowed police to take him away.

Motaung, who later underwent an operation, was shot in the genitalia and in the lower part of his body.
No freedom yet for 6 in Seychelles

The Star's Foreign News Service

NAIROBI — After the failure of his bid to exchange three jailed mercenaries for the three ANC men executed in Pretoria last Thursday, the Seychelles leader, Mr. Albert Rene, has begun reviewing the cases of seven of his soldiers who have been detained after a mutiny last August.

But Seychelles sources say he is unlikely at this time to review the cases of the six white mercenaries who were captured after taking part in a Seychelles coup attempt mounting from South Africa in November 1981.


They escaped from their cells in Mahe jail when it came under mortar fire from the mutineers, but when offered freedom in return for their support, they refused.

Then Dolinchek released a captured Seychelles army officer and helped direct a counter attack which resulted in the prison's recapture.

Conditions for the mercenaries have since improved and they were allowed visitors.

Search still on for

The Star's Foreign News Service

PERTH — The search for British rower Peter Lawrence off the Great Barrier Reef continues.

Mr Bird (36), a London photographer at August 23 last year to try and become the first person to row across the Pacific, has been in radio contact with the Australian authorities.

He said yesterday that his boat, Helleor, was due to sail this Saturday. The boat is built at Cockle Bay at World War 2 lifeboat and is self-righting.

Several boats left to Lizard Island in the late afternoon.
Calls for release of student

Staff Reporter

DR STUART Saunders, vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, yesterday called for the immediate release of Mr Saleem Badat who was arrested under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on Friday.

Mr Badat, 25, a master's degree student in economic history, was arrested in Worcester. He is vice-chairman of the university branch of the Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso).

In separate statements at the weekend, the Western Cape branch of Azaso and the UCT Students' Representative Council also demanded the unconditional release of Mr Badat and all other political prisoners.

Dr Saunders said the courts of the land were available to bring to justice those accused of an alleged crime.

"Detention without charge or trial has no place in a civilized society and when it affects a member of a university community it compromises the work of all universities.

"I object most strongly to the detention of Mr Badat and call for him to be charged and brought to trial or to be released immediately."

The Western Cape branch of Azaso said the detention of Mr Badat was "another attack by the State on democratic organizations opposed to apartheid."

"We know Saleem to be a freedom-loving democrat dedicated to the cause of justice in our country," the statement said.

In a statement calling for his release, the UCT SRC also demanded that all security legislation be scrapped.
BLACKS CAN CRIPPLE ECONOMY SAYS BUTHELEZI

THE HAGUE — Blacks had a stranglehold on the South African economy which they could use to eliminate the apartheid system, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at a press conference in The Hague on Friday.

Chief Buthelezi, chief minister of Kwa- zulu and leader of Inkatha, said blacks "already have a stranglehold on the economy. They can use their economic clout in their country to liberate themselves."

The Chief, who is on a tour of European capitals, added that the recent legalisation of black trade unions could swell economic power once the unions acted together.

He pointedly refused to condemn black nationalist violence, such as the recent Pretoria bomb attack, but added that "the situation in South Africa is such that if violence is pursued by any side, there won't be any victors or any vanquished."

However, he characterised the government's proposed constitutional reforms as a "recipe for violence," that "slams the door completely" on the possibility of peaceful negotiations for change.

"They are saying in a sense that you (the black majority) should have no hope of ever appearing in the decision-making machinery of the country," Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi, who has held meetings with foreign ministry officials in West Germany and the Netherlands described Western government attitudes toward South Africa as "hypocritical."

He charged that they "condemned apartheid, but offered no financial aid to help blacks struggle against it."

After talks with Dutch Foreign Ministry officials, which he described as "non-committal," Chief Buthelezi said "I think it would be a good thing if Holland puts its money where its mouth is and not just condemn South Africa."

He called for increased Western aid to improve the educational, economic and cultural well-being of blacks in South Africa.

"Our people have sought friendship in the East because the West has not played ball with us," he said, apparently referring to the banned Africa National Congress' ties with East bloc nations.

Chief Buthelezi said he opposed international economic sanctions against Pretoria as ineffective, and added that he recognised other countries "have got their own interests regarding South Africa."

He is scheduled to visit London, and plans to visit Geneva before returning to South Africa. — Sapa-AP.
Battle against councils grows

Cusa supports anti-council body

The 100 000 strong Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa), emerged at the weekend in full support of the newly established Anti-Community Council Committee, urging Soweto residents to boycott the forthcoming community council elections.

In a statement the union said: "Cusa wishes to endorse the call of the Anti-Community Council Committee to boycott the elections in September. Cusa believes in common citizenship in an undivided land and the separate community councils are in conflict with this.

"Instead we call for municipal rights for everyone. Community councils, like homelands, are farcical and do not even remotely fulfill the civic and political aspirations of black people."

"Cusa repeats its call to its members and other workers to increase their commitments to their communities through participation in activities aimed at creating a just society."

Cusa said this could be demonstrated by refusing to vote in all future community council elections. "We therefore support the efforts of the Anti-Community Council Committee to boycott the forthcoming elections," the statement concluded.

Last month the Soweto Civic Association headed by its chairman Dr Nthato Modiano fired the first shots against the proposed new Black Local Authorities Board which will soon be tabled before Parliament.

An Anti-Community Council Committee (ACCC) which is to campaign vigorously against the participation in the forthcoming elections, was formally constituted in Soweto.
Mother claims she was fired over politics

THE MOTHER of one of the three ANC men who got a last minute reprieve, Mrs Olive Tsotsoe, claimed yesterday that after working for 25 years, she was "summarily fired" by her employer, the Soweto Community Council, because of her son's political activities.

Mrs Tsotsoe, the mother of Bobby Tsotsoe, who with Johannes Shabangu and David Moise had their death sentences commuted to life sentences by State President Mr Marais Viljoen, said she had worked first as a social worker for the Johannesburg Municipality then the West Rand Administration Board and later the Soweto Community Council.

She was posted at the Zondi Township Welfare Offices until January 7, 1982 when she was summoned to the office of the chief personnel officer and had to account for her, as well as her son's political activities.

She claimed she was forced to resign from her job on the spot despite her pleas that she be given a three months notice to sort out her financial obligations.

"I was forced to resign over my son's political activities. I did not get my benefits. I was told I would receive leave money due to me after a thorough investigation into the sick leave I took in 1981. I have been unemployed for 18 months and up till now, have not received my pension benefits," she said.

Mrs Tsotsoe, whose husband Ruthven was paralysed in December 1981, is a very bitter woman. She said they lived on the mercy of others.

She has been looking for employment but because of her age has been finding job-hunting difficult.

Mrs Tsotsoe said the decision of the State President to reprieve her son made no difference to her life because she knew she would never live a normal life with him again. "Kuyafana nje. It is all the same," she commented.

She was one of those who addressed a night vigil organised by the Save The Six Committee held at the Dube YWCA centre last Wednesday.

Mr Isaac Germihuys, Chief of Personnel at the offices of the Soweto Community Council, denied that Mrs Tsotsoe was fired. He said he believed that Mrs Tsotsoe resigned from the council. "However I am not prepared to discuss the domestic affairs of the council with the Press. If you want to take up the matter you can make an appointment with the Chief Executive Officer, Mr Nico Malan," said Mr Germihuys.

Mr Malan was not available for comment.

UNEMPLOYED: Bobby Tsotsoe's mother.
Cops keep watch on St Mary’s

BAN ANGERS CHURCHMEN

THERE was a high concentration of both the Security Police and high-ranking uniformed policemen with two-way radios and cameras at the St Mary’s Cathedral, Johannesburg, where a prayer meeting for the dead ANC men was called off after it was banned.

"The church has to decide whether to obey God or man," agreed churchmen. The security police mingled and watched people arrive at the St Mary's Cathedral where the Dean of Johannesburg, Father Merwyn Castle was to have conducted a requiem mass.

Scores of mourners expressed disappointment when they learnt on their arrival that the service had been banned by the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg in terms of the Internal Security Act of 1982.

Father Castle told the SOWETAN that two high-ranking security police, Colonel Malan and Captain van Wyk had brought the order, signed by Mr J P M Duvenage, the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg to his office late on Friday. The order banned any service or protest meeting held in Johannesburg for the men between 6 am on Saturday and 6 am today.

The banning of the requiem mass and a commemoration service at the Jiswa hall in Lenasia was strongly condemned by church, community and political leaders.

"I do not think any Christian would condone violence for the sake of violence. Sometimes you are driven to a point where there is no alternative," said Father Castle.

The Rev Frank Chikane said: "I am deeply shocked that we are stopped from praying. To me, this is a direct assault on the church. The church has no alternative but to listen to God rather than man."

Mr Chikane said reactions such as banning church services and meetings embittered people more and convinced the oppressed masses that there was no peaceful alternative for bringing about change in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), whose planned commemoration service for the three hanged ANC men scheduled for Jiswa Centre yesterday was also banned, said: "The government knows..."
THE HAGUE. — Blacks had a strangegold on the South African economy which they could use to eliminate the apartheid system, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at a press conference here on Friday.

Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, said blacks "already have a strangegold on the economy. They can use their economic clout in their country to liberate themselves".

The chief, who is on a tour of European capitals, added that the recent legalization of black trade unions could swell that economic power once the unions acted together.

He pointedly refused to condemn black nationalist violence, such as the recent Pretoria bomb attack, but added: "The situation in South Africa is such that if violence is pursued by any side, there won't be any victors or any vanquished".

However, he characterized the government's proposed constitutional reforms as a "recipe for violence" that "slams the door completely" on the possibility of peaceful negotiations for change.

Chief Buthelezi, who has held meetings with Foreign Ministry officials in West Germany and Holland, described Western governmental attitudes toward South Africa as hypocritical.

He charged that they condemned apartheid but offered no financial aid to help blacks' struggle against it.

He said: "I think it would be a good thing if Holland put its money where its mouth is and not just condemn South Africa." He also called for aid for education.

Chief Buthelezi said he opposed international economic sanctions against Pretoria as ineffective, and added that he recognized that other countries "have got their own interests" regarding South Africa.

He is scheduled to leave tomorrow for London, and plans to visit Geneva before returning to South Africa. — Sapa-AP
Riots, 3 hangings are linked

By Michael Tissou

The seventh anniversary of the 1976 riots is commemorated on Thursday, it is bound to carry over the tension of events surrounding last week’s execution of the three African National Congress men. The three were among the thousands of young people who left the country as a result of the upheavals that tore the country apart after June 16 of that year.

The three — Thosie Magoerane, Jerry Oloei and Marcus Mataung — told court before they were sentenced, they left the country to wage the armed struggle against South Africa.

The troubles of 1976 can be traced to a crisis started in 1974 when the regional director of Bantu Education for the Southern Transvaal, Mr W.C. Ackermann, issued a directive that Afrikaans and English were to be used on a 50-50 basis in junior secondary schools. At the time, all subjects were taught in English.

The directive met with numerous protests from many educationalists. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said four black educational bodies called on the government to change the language ruling. But, he added, the Government had the right to determine what the medium of instruction should be.

Members of various school boards were sacked when they refused to obey the directive. The entire school board of Meadowlands Towana School resigned in sympathy.

Bishop Desmond Tutu told divided black delegates to a “national forum” at the weekend that they had to be like the fingers of a hand — in the shape of a fist that “is difficult to break”.

Seven years ago South Africa was shaken by the ferocity of the Soweto riots. Among the young blacks who fled to join an armed struggle against the Government were the three men executed in Pretoria last week.

On May 17, 1976, the students made their stand on the language issue when Form 1 and Form 2 scholars at Phefeni Junior Secondary in Orlando West refused to go into class until their demands to have Afrikaans dropped as a medium of instruction were met.

Within a week, three schools joined Phefeni and the number of scholars boycotting classes swelled to 1,600. By the end of May more than 2,000 students were involved in the boycott.

The turning point of the protest came on the morning of Wednesday June 16 when a 13-year-old pupil, Hector Peterson, was shot dead by police at Orlando High School.

The dimension of violence was then added to the language issue. The day wreaked a heavy toll when 23 people including two whites who were in the township, were killed. The two, Dr Melville Edelestein and Mr Nola Esterhuizen, worked for WRAB at the time.

On the same day, about 220 people were injured with 69 of them suffering from bullet wounds. Ten WRAB offices were burnt down. Two hostels, an office of the Urban Banut Council, six liquor stores and two schools also went up in flames.

Twenty other buildings were damaged. Twenty police and eight Banut Affairs Board vehicles and a private car were also damaged. Four Police buses and a road scraper were also burnt out. Two police dogs were hacked to death with pangas and burnt.

About 10,000 students who gathered at Phefeni School, faced a contingent of armed policemen. Violence broke out there where a teargas canister was thrown to disperse the students and the students retaliated with stones.

About 1,000 heavily armed policemen were massed in the township that day. Troops at Doornkop military base near Soweto were put on standby.

The Prime Minister, Mr B.J. Vorster, said the Government was not going to be intimidated and that the police should maintain order at all costs.

The Minister of Justice and the Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, warned that the police were going to act “very firmly”.

He blamed the South Africa Students’ Organisation, the Black People’s Convention and the African National Congress for the unrest which was spreading country-wide.

On June 22, Mr Kruger announced in Parliament that 140 had died in the violence with 1,129 people injured. Putco lost more than R1 million in burned and wrecked buses.

The Soweto circuit inspector, Mr Thys de Beer, advised the Banut Affairs Board that it should not be pushed any further on the language issue. “If we give in to student power on this issue they will be in no time be demanding something else,” he said.

On June 23, Soweto school principals called on the government to scrap Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. They also put the blame for the riot deaths squarely on the shoulders of BArch which they said refused to listen to pleas to stop teaching in Afrikaans.

The riots were sparked by children who hated the imposition of a language they resented.

Former Robben Island prisoner and national vice-president of Azapo, Mr Saths Cooper, is held shoulder high by some of the participants at the Hammanskraal gathering.
ANC in UN bid for radio

By Richard Walker

NEW YORK — An African National Congress request for a powerful radio transmitter to beam at South Africa is to be circulated to all United Nations’ agencies.

The decision was taken by a panel of the UN decolonisation committee, along with a recommendation that governments should also be handed a hefty inventory of communications equipment requested by the ANC.

The list includes smaller mobile transmitters, a large printing press, 20 portable projectors, 15 telex machines, 10 duplicating machines and five movie cameras.

The powerful transmitter was needed “for internal and international communications”, the decolonisation committee’s sub-committee on petitions, information, and assistance reported. It would be positioned in Southern Africa and operated by ANC personnel.

The printing press was needed for “large-scale production of educational and publicity material, for distribution both inside and outside South Africa,” the committee stated.
THE CALL BY the rector of Medunsa for students to return to classes today following the closure of the university last week, was yesterday rejected by the entire student body who pledged to stay away until the two student leaders are reinstated.

A meeting attended by more than 400 people, including students, parents and organisations such as Azaso, United Democratic Front, the Black Students Society, Witswatersrand University SRC and the Conference of Academics for a Democratic Society, at the Khotsos House, Johannesburg, condemned the suspension of student leaders Mr Paul Sefuloro and Mr Confidence Moloko by the rector, Professor Thomas Dunston.

The medical university near Pretoria was closed after more than 800 students went on strike following first the expulsion and then the suspension of the two student leaders.

The meeting rejected the rector’s call to return to campus without the suspended students, who are to appear before the university’s disciplinary committee which will sit after July 5.

A statement released by the meeting yesterday said:

- We, noting that the rector has not met students’ demands that the two suspended students be reinstated unconditionally;
- that the suspension was unjust and unwarranted as Professor Dunston failed to prove allegations of intimidation of some students by the two; and
- that the sitting of the disciplinary committee will only take place after July 5 and therefore the academic careers of the two students will be adversely affected;
- that the students of Medunsa are morally bound to support the suspended students because they were elected by them to execute the very duties for which they were victimised, resolve not to take part in any academic activities until they are reinstated unconditionally.

The meeting also resolved that four parents, including a parent of one of the suspended students, should meet and inform the rector of this decision and to enlist the support of staff members at Medunsa, parents and public to secure the reinstatement of Mr Sefuloro and Mr Moloko.

If, at the report back of the parents, the two are still excluded, the students will continue with the boycott.

The action of the university was described as “highly provocative and insensitive” compared with the attitudes of other university authorities at Fort Hare, Turfloop and Ngweke.

Schoolgirl beheaded

By TOM GWEBU

THE head of a Pretoria schoolgirl was cut off completely from its body in one of the most gruesome accidents in the area on Friday afternoon.

Eight-year-old Mandovu Hilda Mathibela of 197 Moree Street, Atteridgeville was knocked down, then dragged for about 17 paces before the car came to a standstill.

Blood patches on the car road told the woeful tale.

An eye-witness and cousin to the dead girl, Phindile Skosana related the accident.

**Car**

The dead girl was crossing Moree Street to a nearby playground. She was about five paces into the street when a car hit her.

“W hen the driver finally stopped, after dragging her body underneath the front part of the car, I saw a lot of blood. I was confused,” she said.

Other people rushed to the scene. They gave help. The head was found later, separated from the body and also badly crushed.

Hilda was a Standard Two pupil at the Bud Mhelle Lower Primary School. No funeral arrangements have been made.

The matter has been reported to the police, who are investigating.
Mandela’s fame grows as the long years roll on

NELSON Rolihlahla Mandela, 64, South Africa’s most celebrated black prisoner and leader of the African National Congress (ANC), has had an impressive list of honours conferred on him since 1944.

Mandela, a BA graduate of the University of South Africa, presently in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town, has not personally received the more than dozen honours because he has been in prison for 19 years.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for plotting the overthrow of the Government by revolutionary means.

Topping the list is the honorary Doctorate of Laws degree awarded to the ANC leader last week by the City College of New York, for his “unselfish commitment to the principle of freedom and justice”.

Other honours for Mandela include:

- In February the City of Rome conferred honorary citizenship on Mandela in “tribute to a man who is paying the price for struggling for freedom”.
- In March he was declared honorary citizen of the Greek village of Ancient Olympia, original site of the Olympic Games.
- In 1982, the Leeds City Council named the gardens in front of the city hall after the ANC leader in “tribute to a man who is paying the price for struggling for freedom”.
- In 1981, the Austrian government conferred the Bruno Kreisky Foundation Award for “meritorious work in the field of human rights”.
- In the same year, he was granted the Freedom of the City of Glasgow, Glasgow’s highest honour.
- He became the winner of the 1979 Jawaharlal Nehru Award, for his support of African Liberation struggles – an award to honour people who have made outstanding contributions to the promotion of international understanding.
- Also in 1979 he was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Laws by the National University of Lesotho.
- An honorary life membership was conferred on him by the University of London Union in 1975, “in recognition of the historic role he has played in the world-wide fight against racism”.
- A nuclear particle discovered by Leeds University was named after him in 1973.
- In 1965, he was made honorary president of the Leeds University Union, and
- In 1964 he was made honorary president of the University College of London.

Other honours include a street in Camden, North London, where the Anti-Apartheid Movement has its headquarters, to be renamed Mandela Street.

The South African Government has refused permission for some of the awards to be conferred on the ANC leader at Robben Island or Pollsmoor. The Government has also refused to ease restrictions on banned and banned Mrs Winnie Mandela, his wife, to travel outside the country to receive the awards on his behalf.
A, Socialist, SA is the aim

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Tutu says total freedom is the only goal

Forum appeals for black unity

By Jon Qwelane

Total freedom was the only goal of the black people and they would not ask whites for it because it was their inalienable right, Bishop Desmond Tutu said at the first gathering of the black National Forum at Hammanskraal on the weekend.

Bishop Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, is a member of the forum committee.

Other members are the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, the national president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Lybon Mabasa; the secretary of the Committee of Ten and the Soweto Civic Associations, Mr Tom Manatha; the general secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union, Mrs Emma Mashinini; and Dr Neville Alexander of the Cape branch of the South African Council for Higher Education.

About 800 delegates took part, representing more than 170 black organisations including lawyers' groups, domestic workers' organisations, sporting bodies, trade unions and political and student organisations.

It was described as the first time that blacks not "operating within the system" had gathered in such numbers to iron out their differences.

Bishop Tutu said: "We have been created free, for freedom's sake. That is why we are not asking the whites' permission to be free.

"Even God, who has the sole right to be totalitarian, has given us freedom.

"He would rather have us go to Hell of our own free will than go to Heaven by force."

He urged the groups to unite because what mattered ultimately was strategy in reaching the common goal, the total liberation of the black people.

The Bishop said he would not like to think there would be civil war after liberation because of differences among blacks.

"I believe we are divided because we have not suffered enough. If we had, we would be holding hands together in brotherhood.

"Let us resolve our differences so that when we leave here we will be new people."

The Lutheran Bishop of Southern Africa, Dr Manas Buthelezi, said that in any quest for unity there were certain non-negotiable points. One was the rejection of racism and all the institutions that entrenched it.

Bishop Buthelezi said it was in the interests of black people to limit, as far as possible, potential enemies within black ranks.

"In South Africa apartheid is a way of life based on fear of neighbours. As in all forms of human behaviour motivated by fear, distance becomes the measure of security in the instance of apartheid.

"But the security of distance does not solve the problem of deep-seated fears which racism tries to resolve," the Bishop said.

"Instead racism denies itself the opportunity of neutralising fear by transforming the imagined enemy into a friend. It is natural for the minority to fear the majority — but I know of no shortcut solution other than that the minority should make friends with the majority," Bishop Buthelezi said.

* See Page 7, World section.
Black unity talks show up gaps of dissension

By Jon Qwelane

Black unity, or disunity, was highlighted at Hammanskraal at the weekend when more than 170 black organisations conferred.

The participants comprised representatives of political groups, trade unions, sporting and student organisations, lawyers, academics, civic and church bodies, and domestic workers' groups.

The single important factor about the conference — dubbed a national forum — was that differences expressed were not between organisations working “within the system” and those working outside it, but between organisations united under the umbrella of the Black Consciousness philosophy.

That there are differences between groups on strategy and policy — on the very interpretation of the Black Consciousness ideology — has been evident for some time.

Two years ago, during a service the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto to commemorate the uprisings in June 1976, matters came to a head when speakers from the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) were apparently excluded from addressing the crowds by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which had convened the gathering.

The students took umbrage. The situation was saved in time by the general secretary of the SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, who appealed for calm between the students and Azapo.

Again, when the Sharpeville shootings were commemorated at Dube VWCA in Soweto in March, speakers under the Black Consciousness banner criticised “charterists”. They said that, unlike the “charterists”, Azapo's policy was not directed from plush suburbs like Lower Houghton. This was intended as a criticism of those black groups willing to work with white liberals.

The label “charterists” has seemingly been applied to those groups which have declared that they accept the Freedom Charter, adopted 23 years ago by, among others, the outlawed African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats (whites), and the Coloured People's Congress.

CO-OPERATION

The “charterists” refer to themselves as “progressive forces of the liberation struggle”, and advocate co-operation with those whites committed to dismantling apartheid.

On the other hand, Azapo and the staunch adherents of Black Consciousness hold that while their movement is pro-black, it is not necessarily anti-anybody — and if co-operation with whites cannot be avoided, it must be kept at a minimum.

Azapo is the eminent exponent of Black Consciousness still operating legally inside South Africa.

TWO CLASSES

The fundamental pillar of Black Consciousness is that in the South African context there are two classes of people: the oppressor and the oppressed.

The oppressed and exploited are the disenfranchised, and can therefore not join hands with whites — no matter how sincere those whites may be.

That is the crux of the differences among the organisations which met in Hammanskraal.

At the end of the talks it was agreed unanimously that the only way to fight apartheid was by presenting a united front.

In his address, Bishop Tutu emphasised to delegates that they had to be like the fingers of a hand.

"Outspread, those fingers can be easily broken, but clenched into a fist they are very difficult to break."
School in Highlands North, Johannesburg, cluster underneath their giant-size broily like elves under yesterday's welcome rain. The rains were not enough to break the severe drought, however.

EVEN FRIEDMAN

Correspondent

All meetings of the Metal and Allied Workers Union have been postponed indefinitely until new negotiators are appointed. The union's representatives, who attended a union meeting last week, said negotiations to open a new round of negotiations were not possible until new negotiators were appointed. The union's representatives, who attended a union meeting last week, said negotiations to open a new round of negotiations were not possible until new negotiators were appointed.

Mawu members instructed the union's negotiators to continue to press the company to accept their demands. They added that they would not accept a 10% increase in wages. The union's representatives, who attended a union meeting last week, said negotiations to open a new round of negotiations were not possible until new negotiators were appointed.

The resolution was adopted by the union's members. The union's representatives, who attended a union meeting last week, said negotiations to open a new round of negotiations were not possible until new negotiators were appointed.

Metal union wants more

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Groups plan to mark June 16

Mail Reporter

CHURCH BELLS are expected to ring throughout the country at 6am on Thursday June 16, anniversary of the outbreak of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

A number of organisations have arranged commemoration meetings for Thursday or next weekend, many of them also dedicating their services to the three ANC men hanged in Pretoria last week.

The United Democratic Front has declared Thursday a "Day of mourning for the ANC men" and has called on individuals, as well as churches, sports bodies and traders to observe the day in the proper way.

In a joint statement yesterday, the Azanian Students Organisation Azaso and the Congress of South African Students Cosats warned that with recent political developments "the number of people on the edge".

They called on the Government to exercise restraint in this "crucial period".

The day would highlight the number of people who had died under apartheid, including the recent deaths of Mr Saul Khizek and Mr John Dube, a community leader in Durban, and the ANC three.

Azaso and Cosats also demanded the banning of commemoration meetings for the ANC three last week. Their demands represent an under-stated state of emergency and an over-reaction by the state, they said.

The UDPS has respaced a meeting that was banned last week. The meeting, to be addressed by the country's prime minister, will now take place at the Ndebele Hall in Lenasia at 3:30pm.

Miss Zintzi Mandela and Dr E Jassat will also speak. Other communiques issued for Thursday:

...
Midweek Homefinder tomorrow
IN Midweek Homefinder tomorrow: New R20-million townhouse plan for Hout Bay.

Armed ANC men arrested
Political Staff
TWO African National Congress insurgents who infiltrated South Africa from Zimbabwe over the weekend have been arrested in a joint police Defence Force follow-up operation, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, announced last night.

Mr Le Grange said in a statement that the two men, who were in possession of Soviet-made arms and ammunition, had been identified as ANC terrorists.

Four people had entered the Messina district on Friday after cutting through the border fence. Follow-up actions were launched by the police and the Defence Force leading to the arrest of two of them on Saturday.

The other two insurgents had escaped to Zimbabwe. Mr Le Grange said the four insurgents had flown from Maputo to Harare on Wednesday last week after which they had travelled to the South African border.

During the follow-up action, two AK-47 rifles, four AK magazines, 2133 rounds of AK ammunition, three Soviet-made handgrenades and four backpacks containing food and clothing had been seized.

Viljoen defends quota bill
Political Staff
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, last night rejected calls for universities to be allowed to de- side which students they would admit without regard to race.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Universities Amendment Bill, he said the quota system was not a method of excluding students or of erecting barriers as the Progressive Federal Party claimed.

He repeated the allegation by Dr Alex Boraine (IFP, Pinelands) that the quota system was similar to anti-Jewish measures imposed in Hitler’s Germany and Stalinist Russia.

Full report, page 4

Insurrection upset by violent
ARTHIN WELLS
Insurrection South Afri- cy Federation team, a “violent” match against South Africa on Saturday, are a complaint with the y Board. The Federation intends lodge complaint about playing matches. In Windhoek, manner in which Sat- urday's game was refereed.

In an interview last night, Mr Cuthbert Loriston, the vice-president of the federation, said he had been “very deeply upset” since the match. He said the referee should have climbed down earlier, instead of allowing numerous infringements, and the harassment of Federation players.

“There are some people who make it as hard as possible for others to play. This has happened to us so many times in the past, that we lose by a few points in the last moments of a game.”

Contacted in Windhoek last night, the president of the SWA Rugby Union, Mr Gert Muller, said he did not know what the Cape side were going to complain about as they had chosen the referee, Mr Jan Augustyn of North West Cape.

“Their players taunted and swore at the referee, who kept his cool,” Mr Muller said. When they missed a goal kick, for instance, they said they wanted another try.”

SWA won the match 13-12 after a disputed try — scored by SWA fullback Andre Stoep in the seventh minute of in-
Two ANC men held in SA, two in Zimbabwe

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE - Two African National Congress insurgents, one wounded and one being held by the Zimbabwean authorities at Beit Bridge on the border with South Africa, according to sources here.

They are believed to be the two who escaped a South African security force follow-up operation in which two other insurgents and an assortment of Soviet-made weapons were captured at the weekend.

There is no indication here yet what the Zimbabwean authorities intend to do about the two ANC men who, according to South Africa's Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis Le Grange, were members of a band of four who infiltrated the Republic after cutting the border fence.

SERIOUS MESSAGE

News of the Zimbabwean arrests came soon after Mr. Le Grange told The Argus Political Correspondent that there was a serious message for Zimbabwe in the arrest of two ANC "terrorists" in Northern Transvaal.

Mr. Le Grange said this was one specific instance where terrorists had crossed the border in a planned and calculated way. This was shown by the weapons and ammunition they brought.

They went from Maputo to Harare and from there to the South African border near Messina without being identified.

PROTESTS

This was an indication of what was going on in Mozambique in spite of the protests of its Government that it was only harbouring refugees.

Mr. Le Grange said he was not blaming the Zimbabwean Government at this stage, but he hoped it would get the serious message of how its territory had been used by "terrorists".

South Africa is likely to make representations to Zimbabwe about the incident, the first involving that country.

According to Foreign Affairs sources, Zimbabwe has, in spite of other tensions between itself and South Africa, so far not harboured terrorists.

FOUR ARRESTED

Mr. Le Grange said four insurgents, two of them positively identified as ANC terrorists, were in the Messina district.

It was discovered on June 13 that four people had entered South Africa from Zimbabwe after cutting the border fence.


c:

A committed, remorseless...

Naked body of teenage girl found near railways

Staff Reporter

The trussed, naked body of a teenage girl has been found in a ditch next to the railway near Newlands station.

The girl, about 18, is believed to have been strangled.

A piece of material was tied round her neck. Her ankles were tied together with another piece of material.

Police have begun investigations into the death.

The regional chief of Railways Police, Brigadier J. D. Malan, said the body was found yesterday afternoon in a ditch between the Campground Road bridge and Newlands station.

A post-mortem would be held to find out if the girl had been sexually molested.

He appealed to parents of missing teenage girls to contact the nearest Railways Police office. He declined to give the girl's name.

Mr. Le Grange was seen walking to the toilets from which the group was working.

Mr. Olivier, foreman, Mr. Hendricks, who was Railways Police.

Mr. Goldenhuyz's knew by the color of the hand striking the plastic foam supervisor, who was dead.
The Argus Political Correspondent that there was a serious message for Zimbabwe in the arrest of two ANC "terrorists" in Northern Transvaal.

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**FOUR ARRESTED**

Mr le Grange said four insurgents, two of them positively identified as ANC terrorists, were in the Messina district.

It was discovered on June 10 that four people had entered South Africa from Zimbabwe after cutting through the border fence.

Joint follow-up action by the police and the Defence Force led to the arrest of two of the insurgents on Saturday, but two others fled back to Zimbabwe, Mr le Grange said.

The two who were arrested were trained in Russia, Angola and East Germany, among other countries.

**ASSAULT RIFLES**

The Minister said that according to information the four flew from Maputo to Harare last Wednesday.

Two AK assault rifles, four magazines and 2,000 rounds of ammunition for them, other ammunition, hand-grenades and other equipment were seized.

Sources in Harare said one of the two men held by the Zimbabwean authorities was wounded, though not seriously.

Although Zimbabwe supports what it calls South African liberation movements diplomatically, it has not in the past allowed them to operate militarily from here.

Both the ANC and Pan-African Congress have a low-profile diplomatic representation in Harare.

It is understood that the men held in Zimbabwe were not carrying weapons when they were picked up.

**RODNEY AX, who was sentenced to death**

**Naked body of teenage girl found near railway tracks**

Staff Reporter

The trusted naked body of a teenage girl has been found in a ditch next to the railway near Newlands station.

The girl, about 18, is believed to have been strangled.

A piece of material was tied round her neck. Her ankles were tied together with another piece of material.

Police have begun a murder investigation.

The body was partly concealed by grass. A pile of clothing was neatly stacked on the girl's back.

The regional chief of Railways Police, Brigadier D F Malan, said the body was found yesterday afternoon in a ditch between the Campground Road bridge and Newlands station.

A post-mortem would be held to find out if the girl had been sexually molested.

He appealed to parents of missing teenage girls to contact the nearest Railways Police office. He declined to give other details.

The ditch is in an overgrown area next to a parking lot frequented by vagrants.

The body was found by railways workers walking to the toilets. The gang was not visible.

Mr Olivi, the foreman, and Mr Hendriks, walking past, spotted it.

Mr Geldenhuys, the foreman, said he knew the gang by the electronic plastic box near the body. The head was dashed.

He saw some words on a head injury:

"I have a story, but the time I have across is this," he said.
Manhesto damn.

‘racial capitalism’

Johannesburg. — Eight hundred blacks, representing about 200 organizations, unanimously adopted a manifesto at the weekend identifying “racial capitalism” as the real enemy and pledging them to work for the establishment of an “anti-racist, socialist Republic”.

The manifesto was adopted at a conference at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria, convened by the National Forum Committee, whose 17 members represented a wide spectrum of black leaders drawn from all spheres of community life.

The conference, whose keynote speakers included Bishop Desmond Tutu of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Mathews Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Dr Neville Alexander of the South African Council of Higher Education, and Mr Lynton Mabasa of Azapo, was called to unite blacks against the the Prime Minister's pending “new deal”.

"Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism, which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of white capitalists and their allies, the white workers and the reactionary sections of the black middle class," the manifesto said.

"The struggle against apartheid is no more than the point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism.”

The manifesto included a list of fundamental principles, which, it was hoped, would secure the "liberation struggle" from capture by "treacherous opportunists" posing as leaders.

These included anti-racism, non-collaboration with the "oppressor" and refusal to serve in any of his political institutions, and opposition to all alliances with "ruling class parties”.

The socialist tenor of the manifesto was reflected in its call for control by workers of the “means of production, distribution and exchange”.

The itinerary of demands embraced, however, many of the objectives of non-socialist opponents of apartheid, including abolition of influx control and resettlement and reintegration of the “bantustans into a unitary Azania”.

Own Correspondent
Heavily-armed ANC pair captured near Messina

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN. — Two African National Congress insurgents who infiltrated South Africa from Zimbabwe over the weekend had been arrested in a joint follow-up operation by the police and the Defence Force, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced last night.

Mr Le Grange said in a statement that the two men, who were in possession of Soviet-made arms and ammunition, had been positively identified as ANC terrorists who had undergone their training in Angola, Russia and East Germany.

He said that four people had entered the Messina district illegally on Friday after cutting their way through the border fence.

Simultaneous follow-up actions were launched by the South African Police and the SADF, leading to the arrest of two of the insurgents on Saturday.

The other two had succeeded in escaping to Zimbabwe.

Mr Le Grange said that according to information at his disposal the four ANC members had flown from Maputo to Harare or Victoria Falls the previous week... At about that time they had travelled to the South African border.

During the follow-up actions two AK-47 rifles, four AK magazines, 2,112 rounds of AK ammunition, 16 rocket-propelled grenades, three Soviet-made hand grenades and four back packs containing food and clothing had been seized.

The infiltration of ANC insurgents from Zimbabwe marks a departure from the recent pattern of ANC infiltration into South Africa.

Zimbabwe has specifically not been one of the targets of South Africa’s recent diplomatic and military squeeze on its neighbours to flush out the ANC.

It is known that the Government regards relations with Zimbabwe as cordial on this crucial level and that daily meetings take place between South African representatives and senior Zimbabwean Cabinet Ministers at the trade mission in Harare.

If the latest infiltration of ANC insurgents from Zimbabwean soil is indicative of a new trend it would be in line with the renewed tension between the two governments and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, could find himself in the receiving end of South Africa’s hard-line crackdown on neighbours that harbour subversive elements.
Prisons Dept buries ANC 3

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The parents of the three ANC members hanged in Pretoria last week have been informed that their sons will be buried by the Department of Prison Services and they will be told the location of the graves "at a later stage".

A telegram from the Prison Services to lawyers for the families yesterday ended their uncertainty since the executions on Thursday.

The telegram said the parents had been given the option of attending a memorial service at Pretoria Central Prison shortly after the executions, according to Mr Krish Naidoo, one of the attorneys.

The parents declined and asked for the bodies to be given to them for traditional burial.

The telegram said the department would bury the three and give full details of the graves to the families at an unspecified later date.

The three — Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosioli and Marcus Motau — were executed for treason for their part in a number of attacks on police stations, a power station and a railway line.

The government banned a number of commemoration meetings for the three over the weekend, including a Requiem Mass at the Anglican Cathedral.
MORE than 100 placard carrying kids, most of them school children, took to the streets of Voslooors, Boksburg, at the weekend in protest against the hanging of the three ANC men last week.

Earlier the group attended a vigil service held at the Vosloorus home of Thelle Mogorane, one of the executed men. The two other men executed were Marcus Motaung and Jerry Mosololo.

The crowd is said to have stoned passing cars, smashing a few windscreen windows while marching to the police station.

Colonel Wallis, a district commander for the Kempton Park Police, said yesterday that the police were not aware of the incident. He said: "There is nothing I can say at the moment because this matter has not come to the attention of the police."
EAST LONDON — An appeal to Britain’s Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to expel African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP) representatives from London has been addressed to her from South Africa.

A copy of the letter, signed by Mr J. J. Leontsinis in his capacity as chairman of an organisation based in Lyndhurst, Johannesburg, and called the Security Forces Support Committee (SFSC) was sent to the Editor of the Daily Dispatch.

The letter expresses the SFSC’s anguish over the Pretoria car bomb explosion set off by the ANC.

Mr Leontsinis said although the atrocity had been condemned “right across the political spectrum in South Africa”, the ANC and the SA Communist Party were allowed to occupy safe sanctuaries in their respective headquarters in London.

Mr Leontsinis complained that the carnage caused in Pretoria had been defended in a British Broadcasting Corporation world service interview with Mrs Ruth Mompadi, the London representative of the ANC.

The letter asked Mrs Thatcher to expel Mrs Mompadi and other active ANC and SACP “terrorists” and “terrorist propagandists” from the United Kingdom.

Mrs Thatcher was also asked to close the UK offices of the two organisations and to enforce strict visa control against would-be visitors “from the ranks of active terrorists”.

The letter also suggested steps should be taken to ensure that no British money was donated to “the terrorists and their propagandists”.

A fifth request was for Mrs Thatcher to launch an unequivocal condemnation of the ANC and the SACP and of the Pretoria bomb attack.

“We believe these requests are in the interests, not just of the South African people, but also of the people of the entire free world.”

The letter to Mrs Thatcher had attached to it a question and answer transcript of the “no regrets” BBC interview Julian Marsh had with Mrs Ruth Mompadi of the ANC about the Pretoria bomb attack — DBR.
Two more ANC men held at the border

The Star's Foreign News Service

HARARE — Two African National Congress insurgents, one of them wounded, are being held by the Zimbabwean authorities at Beit Bridge on the border with South Africa, according to sources in Harare.

They are believed to be the two who escaped a South African Security force follow-up operation in which two other insurgents and an assortment of Soviet-made weapons were captured at the weekend.

There is no indication yet what the Zimbabwean authorities intend to do about the two men, who, according to South Africa's Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, were part of a band of four who infiltrated into the Republic after cutting the border fence.

In Cape Town Mr le Grange today warned Zimbabwe that there was a serious message for it in the arrest of the two alleged terrorists in the Northern Transvaal.

He said this was one specific instance where terrorists had crossed the border in a planned and calculated way.

This was shown by the weapons and ammunition they had brought with them.

They had come from Maputo to the capital of Zimbabwe, Harare, and had from there found their way to the South African border near Messina without being identified.

On the one hand this was an indication of what was going on in Mozambique in spite of the protestations of its Government that it was only harbouring refugees.

Mr Le Grange said he was not blaming the Zimbabwean Government at this stage but he hoped it would get the serious message of how its territory had been used by terrorists.

South Africa is likely to make representations to Zimbabwe about the incident, the first involving that country.
Boycotts ‘perhaps led to Klipfontein violence’

By CAROL GEF VAN PITTIUS
Supreme Court Reporter

THE bus boycotts in 1980 could have been a contributing factor to the violence at Klipfontein Road in August of the same year, the Supreme Court was told today.
Day of remembrance

THE COMMEMORATION of the 16 June 1976 students' uprising in Soweto this year will be the biggest since 1977, with at least 12 services planned for all over the country.

The main service in Soweto will be at the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church, and the programme for all services has been drawn up by the Congress of South African Students. Several church, student, worker, civic and political organisations including the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo, whose three year banning order expired last month, will break his long silence by addressing the service at the Turloup University of the North.

The full programme will be as follows (speaker in brackets): Regina Mundi (A. Mogasi); Vaal Triangle: Roman Catholic Church (Amanda Kwadi of the Women's Federation); Alexandra: N.G. Kerk (Eric Molobi); Pretonia: Mamelodi St Francis Church (Tshedisa Matona, Cosas); Krugersdorp: Lutheran Church (Frank Chikane, Apostolic Church Mission); Ikageng (Potchefstroom): Methodist Church (Samson Ndou, President Gawa); Jouberton (Klerksdorp): Roman Catholic Church (Bogosi Mogale, Azaso); Khama (Stilfontein): Church of Christ.

Other services will be held at: Mohlakeng (Randfontein); Roman Catholic Church, (Diego Moseweke, Black Students Society chairman); Duduzi (Nigel); Roman Catholic Church (Ivan Phakga, Cosas); Pietersberg: Turfloop Campus (Curtis Nkondo); Benoni (Donavan Mateman).

In a statement the Transvaal Indian Congress (Tic) called upon all businessmen to close their businesses for the day.

Meanwhile the police have offered to make special arrangements for reporters and photographers covering the anniversary to facilitate such coverage.
Nun gives evidence in trial

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

A DOMINICAN nun told the Supreme Court yesterday that the attitude of blacks towards whites changed during the “crisis” of August 1980 when “the suppressed anger they had to carry all the time” emerged.

Sister Aine Hardiman, who has worked as a teacher in the Cape townships for more than 10 years, was giving evidence in exculpation for 10 young men found guilty of murder following events in Crossroads in August 1980.

The charges followed the stoning and burning of cars and the death of two motorists.

The men were charged with murder and terrorism with 73-year-old trade unionist Oscar Mptaha and seven other men.

In the judgment last week, seven men were acquitted and Mptaha was found guilty of terrorism, but not guilty of murder. Nine of the young men convicted of murder were also found guilty of terrorism.

“Crisis”

Sister Hardiman said there was great evidence of a changed attitude towards whites in August 1980 because it was a time of crisis August 11 was a day of commemoration for those who died in the 1976 unrest, while a bus and school boycott were in progress.

During that time, children who would normally greet her, adopted threatening attitudes when they saw her, she said.

The bus boycott created “a great deal of anger” in all the sections of the community that she was involved in - the church as well as people she met in the street.

Sister Hardiman took part in the boycott - walking each day from her convent in Elsie's River to St Mary’s School in Nyanga, where she was working at the time.

There was general resentment at what the people felt was the police support for the bus company, she said. She once saw an incident in which a pirate taxi was stopped by another car. A young white man, who was not in uniform, leapt out and chased the passengers of the taxi, who had started to run away.

“It made a deep impression on me,” she said.

Memorandum

A memorandum compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations to present to the then Minister of Transport, Mr Chris Heunis, during August 1980, was handed in to the court as evidence.

It stated: “The insensitive and provocative manner in which Road Transport regulations are being rigorously enforced has changed a patient, good-humoured protest against high fares into one of anger and resentment.

An incident in which riot police had “man-handled commuters” from taxis to empty buses “could well have contributed to the resentment behind the terrible violence which erupted that evening and the next day”, it stated.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice Williamson sat with two assessors, Mr G H Titterton and Mr C H van Gend. Mr C J van Wyk appeared for the State. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank, Berndt and Jeffe appeared for Mptaha. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Shweyza appeared for the other men.
Tight security for Mpetha

Staff Reporter

More than 50 policemen blocked traffic to Reckrom Street yesterday afternoon while the prison van carrying Oscar Mpetha and the 10 young men convicted of murder and terrorism left the Supreme Court on its way to Pollsmoor Prison.

The van, which has travelled unaccompanied between Pollsmoor and the Supreme Court since March 1981 - when the trial began - was escorted by two traffic policemen on motor-cycles and a traffic car with blaring siren. A police van followed.

A large crowd lined the street and joined the convicted men in a "freedom song" as the van drove off. One of the men saluted the crowd through the mesh.

A group of about 50 people then marched from the court to the station, singing "freedom songs".

During the hearing, about 12 armed policemen stood outside the court building - one with a sub-machine gun. A further group of 12 or so stood in the entrance to the building and in court one, where the trial was held. A police car containing dogs was also parked outside.

Hundreds of people queued outside the building to get into the packed public gallery.

As they entered the court yesterday morning the young men gave "black power" salutes while shouting "Power" in unison.
Soweto riots commemoration: appeal for calm

By JIMMY MATYU
CIVIC, political and youth leaders in Port Elizabeth townships are urging people to mark the seventh anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots with "calmness, sobriety and dignity" tomorrow.

The period of commemoration this year is from tomorrow to Sunday.

The South African Council of Sport (Sacas) has asked its affiliates to cancel fixtures arranged for tomorrow and Friday, but those planned for the weekend could go ahead.

Sacas also asked its affiliates to remember the day by observing a moment's silence before the start of matches on June 18 and 19.

Roots, a cultural movement, has appealed to all churches in Port Elizabeth to observe tomorrow by ringing their bells at 6am.

"We also appeal to the community to remain calm and dignified, and for the police to exercise restraint in this crucial period," said Mr Mzunzima Mayekiso, a Roots council member.

Commemoration services have been arranged nationally for tomorrow.

In Port Elizabeth, the Congress of South African Students will hold a service in the new Daku Hall, Kwazakhele, at 5.30pm.

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold a service in the Roman Catholic Church Hall, Stofple Street, Kwazakhele, on Sunday at 3pm.

The president of the Port Elizabeth and Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce, Mr Monwabisi Mkasa, has appealed to traders to close their shops from noon to 3pm tomorrow.

"I want to make it clear that we have not been pressurised or ordered to do this. It is a decision our chamber executive took on its own, since June 16 is regarded nationally as a mourning day," he said.

Mr Welcome Duru, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Tavener's Association, has made a similar call to their members to observe tomorrow.

"We will take a final decision whether to close for the whole day or for certain hours at a meeting today," he said.

COSAS has arranged a three-day programme of seminars starting today at the Centenary Small Hall at 5.30pm.

Commemoration services are also to be held in East London, Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Uitenhage and in Soweto tomorrow.
Student detention: ‘Detrimental’ effect

Staff Report

The detention of a post-graduate University of Cape Town student, Mr Saleem Badat, could have long-term effects detrimental to his health and studies, a spokesman for the Department of Economic History at the University said yesterday.

A statement issued on behalf of the Department of Economic History, and endorsed by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor C de B Webb, called for Mr Badat’s immediate release and condemned his arbitrary arrest and detention.

Mr Badat was arrested and detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in Worcester on June 9. He is presently writing a thesis on population relocation in South Africa.

“We wish to express our opposition to detention in principal and also to register our concern that detention may have longer-term effects, detrimental to Mr Badat’s health and his studies. We call for his immediate release,” the statement said.
TOMORROW, thousands of blacks in Soweto and elsewhere around the country will be mourning. They will be recalling the tragic events of June 16, 1976, a day that has since become a significant item on the agenda of the liberation struggle and on the calendar of black education in South Africa.

In the beginning the day was no different from any other day, except that it started with a protest march by Soweto students whose intention was to demonstrate their abhorrence for the system of Bantu Education.

But their contact with armed police who were allegedly trying to halt the march and disperse them succeeded only in setting the whole country alight.

POLICE

The events of the day, the weeks and months that followed and the police detentions and harassment of those suspected of involvement saw hundreds of youths fleeing the country to join the military wing of South African National Congress (ANC), Umkhonto we Sizwe, to receive training in subversion.

Earlier, many youths had been impatient with the process of change, but had still accepted the idea of peaceful change.

But after the uprisings during which hundreds of pupils were killed, the youth started seeing the answer to the country's problems in terms of a Russian AK-47 rifle which has become a symbol of hope in the eyes of proponents of violent change.

Determined to get things moving fast, the dust had hardly settled when some of these former pupils started filtering back into the country to commit acts of subversion like the Carlton bomb blast by the now imprisoned Isaac Seko and the Gogh Street shooting by Solomon Mahlangu, who has since been hanged.

This heralded a new era in the ANC's strategy of violence. Since then, the banned movement has claimed responsibility for a number of bomb attacks in many parts of the country.

Some of the major acts of subversion during the last four years are as follows:

1979: • Attack at Moroka Police Station in Soweto where one policeman was killed.
• Hand-grenade attack at Orlando Police Station — two policemen killed.

1980: • Bomb blast at the Sasol petrol plant.
• Silverton siege — two people including a policeman killed.

1981: • Attack at Voor- trekkerhoogte Military Base in Pretoria.
• Attack at Sibasa Police Station in Venda — two policemen killed.

1982: • President's Council offices in Cape Town bombed — one person killed.

By SAM MABE

KOEBERG nuclear Power Station in the Cape bombed.
1983: • Military headquarters in Pretoria blasted — 19 people killed.

Between 1979 and 1982 there were 118 acts of sabotage altogether, including assassinations of so-called sell-outs and collaborators.

After the Pretoria attack, Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said more similar attacks should be expected in future.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, lecturer in Political Science at the University of South Africa, says there is going to be an escalation of violence in South Africa unless there is more meaningful change than there has been so far.

CHANGE

He says the 1976 uprisings generated some change whereby a few blacks could now own houses. Whites were rubbing shoulders with blacks in theatres, on sports fields and were sharing a few public facilities with them.

"But this is too minimal, too peripheral to secure a future in terms of peaceful co-existence between race groups in this country. If the pace of change does not improve, we may be heading for a serious situation in this country. We are sitting on a volcano whose explosion could result in many deaths," he said.
ANC burial puzzle

THE DEPARTMENT of Prison Services, which is to bury the three ANC men hanged in Pretoria last week, declined yesterday to say when and what time they will be buried.

Replying to a request by The SOWETAN to furnish the information, a spokesman for the Department said: "It is a long-standing policy of the South African Prison Services to furnish this information only to the nearer relatives and only on receipt of a written request by them."

On Friday lawyers representing the families of the three, Simon Mogoerane, Marcus Motau and Jerry Mosololi sent a telegram to the Commissioner of Prisons requesting the release of the bodies of the men.

LOCATION

In reply, the parents were told their sons would be buried by the Department Prison Services and that they would be told the location of the graves "at a later stage."

SERVICE

According to Mr Krish Naidoo, one of the attorneys, the parents had been offered the opportunity of attending a memorial service at Pretoria Central Prison and they declined the offer. Instead they asked for the bodies of their sons.

According to Mrs Sarah Mosololi the three had agreed that they be buried in one grave.
Zimbabwe denies SA’s ANC claim

By David Thomas
The Star Bureau

HARARE — The Zimbabwe government has officially denied charges by Pretoria that two African National Congress insurgents crossed into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe’s Minister responsible for security, Mr Emmer- son Mnangagwa, said last night of South African claims: “They are a flimsy excuse to unleash aggression on us.”

Mr Mnangagwa was responding to a statement by South Africa’s Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, which said SA security forces had captured two ANC insurgents near Messina after they had crossed the border from Zimbabwe.
Ciskei woman flies out to exiled husband

EAST LONDON — An Mdantsane woman flew from here yesterday on the first leg of a journey to join her exiled husband in London.

Mrs Nonothando Keke, once Mdantsane, wife of a former Duncan Village man, Mr Zolile Hamilton Keke, left with their 22-month-old son, Khanyisa, who was born after his father left the country via Leopoldville in 1981.

Mr Keke, a former Robben Island prisoner, was in the marathon trial of PAC members, heard in Pretoria in 1978-79. He was found guilty of furthering the aims of a banned organisation and was given a five-year suspended sentence.

He was serving articles with a firm of attorneys when he left the country.

Mrs Keke said she was going for an indefinite stay in London.

She is travelling on a Ciskei passport and her visa is due to expire in September.

She resigned her job as a nursing sister in Mdantsane recently in preparation for her departure.

She said she was looking forward to her reunion with her husband who had only seen his son on photographs.

A large contingent of friends and relatives were at the airport when Mrs Keke, who was late for the flight, was allowed to go through a few minutes after other passengers had boarded.

A spokesman for South African Airways said this was common practice when passengers were not too late.

The spokesman added that where they could help people they always tried to meet them.

"If anything was done for her it was done in the normal way, we handle our passengers who are late," he said. — DNR
ANC seeks more UN aid

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK.—The African National Congress is seeking increased support from the United Nations and has presented the world body with a "shopping list" of priority needs — starting with a powerful radio transmitter.

Its appeal, and similar approaches from Swapo and the Pan-Africanist Congress, flies in the face of heated United States objections to the UN giving them direct aid of any kind.

The US said last year it would cut its share from programmes that benefit Swapo.

One consequence was to hold up for a year a $500,000 contribution to the UN Institute for Namibia.

'Support'

But yesterday, a UN sub-committee was asked to advocate support for "all forms" of struggle directed at seizure of power in the Republic and SWA/Namibia.

Most forceful was the presentation of the ANC, which concluded with a list of "resources" required on a priority basis.

They included:
- A 500kW radio transmitter to be stationed in Southern Africa and operated by ANC personnel.
- Smaller mobile transmitters.
- A printing press for large-scale production of documents and publicity material.
- 20 film projectors, 15 telex machines, ten duplicating machines and five movie cameras for shooting ANC publicity films.

The ANC is also seeking expanded educational support from the UN.

Subjects listed range from mining and civil engineering to hotel management and catering.

South African officials say the UN channels about R20m a year to the three movements — most of it to Swapo — but figures are in dispute because of the large amount that is in the form of general refugee aid.

Refugees

Swapo told the UN panel yesterday that 80,000 refugees were now in its care in Angola, while seven UN agencies and departments were said to be providing technical, financial and other assistance to the PAC.

The panel was told of PAC concern over long delays in some programmes and the shelving of others, while there was also a complaint of pro-ANC bias in UN radio broadcasts.

The major funding agency is the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), while others are largely executing agencies.

A few days ago it was reported that the ANC and PAC would have their own vocational training centres in Tanzania, financed by the International Labour Organization at a cost of R7.6m each.

The ANC centre will be built in Morogoro, nearly 200km from Dar es Salaam, while the PAC centre will be at Bagamoyo, about 60km from Dar es Salaam.
June 16 services

TODAY'S commemoration services at Regina Mundi, Soweto is expected to be the biggest of its nature since the 1976 student unrest.

An impressive array of speakers from a cross-section of political and student organisations has been lined up. This was told to The SOWETAN by the vice-president of Azapo, Mr Saths Cooper last night.

Among the speakers will be Mrs Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon Mahlangu, the ANC man hanged on April 6, 1979 for the Goch Street shootings, will speak at the St Bernard's The Martyr Anglican Church, Athieder-ville at 7 p.m. today.

Other services Regina Mundi (12 noon); Roman Catholic Church, Shappelle (1 p.m.); Alexandra (1 p.m.); Bophelong Methodist Church (1 p.m.); Jabulani Roman Catholic Church (1 p.m.); Stilfontein (Khamo) (1 p.m.); Roman Catholic Churchgodina, Night (1 p.m.); St Barnabas Anglican Church, Kem- Thema, Springs (1.30 p.m.);

Reformed Lutheran Church (1 p.m.); Makwasseng Lutheran Church (2 p.m.); St Francis, Mamelodi (2 p.m.); Krielshong Methodist Church (2 p.m.); Turfiway Campus (2 p.m.); St Scolaste Anglican Church, Voe- boers (5.30 p.m.); Iziko Centre, Le- ndale (5.30 p.m.); St Bernards, Ar- ridgeville (7 p.m.).

There will be services in the Eastern Cape, Western Province and Natal at the weekend.
SA seeks Zimbabwe assurance on ANC

CAPE TOWN — South Africa is seeking renewed assurances from Zimbabwe that it will not harbour African National Congress insurgents.

This comes after the capture near Messina, Northern Transvaal, last week of two armed men who are said to have been sent to South Africa by the ANC.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said they came from Mozambique through Zimbabwe, but Harare has denied the South African charges.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed today that South Africa had been in contact with Zimbabwe but refused to give details.

Despite other tensions between the two countries, Foreign Affairs sources said that, so far, there had been no indication that Zimbabwe was actively harbouring terrorists.

If Zimbabwe responds to the South African message, the two countries may get together to discuss the matter.
Kangaroo "tribunal" ordered him to flee

Pretoria Correspondent

Mr Cedric Radcliffe Mayson (55), who fled South Africa during his high treason trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court, was forced to leave by a "people's tribunal".

Reliable sources say the tribunal ordered the former clergyman to leave South Africa to protect people associated with "liberation politics".

Damaging evidence was believed to appear in notes Mr Mayson sent to South Africa addressed to a fictitious Denise Fogherty.

The notes dealt with an alleged meeting between Mr Mayson and a member of the ANC Revolutionary Council, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in London in 1981.

The names of more than 100 people were recorded in the cryptic notes on which an expert was to have been called to give his interpretation.

The tribunal is believed to have consisted of at least three people associated with white "liberals".

Mr Mayson allegedly came before a kangaroo court after leaving his Yeoville home on April 14 and before he crossed the border at dawn the following day.

In February this year Mr Mayson was granted bail of R1 000 when the case was postponed for two months after a key State witness, Mr Auret van Heerden, was thought to have disappeared.

On the eve of the resumption of his trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court Mr Mayson fled to London, leaving a personal letter addressed to the trial judge, Mr Justice P J van der Walt, explaining why he had left. The contents of the letter have not been disclosed.

NEWS CONFERENCE

On his arrival in London Mr Mayson told a news conference he did not leave South Africa because he was scared to face trial or was forced to leave.

He said he fled to prevent Dr Beyers Naude and other friends going to jail. It had been a firm principle in liberation circles that no one in any circumstances would give evidence for the State against a colleague.

The Deputy Attorney-General, Mr J A Swanepoel, leading the prosecution, told reporters Dr Naude had made a statement to the police and he understood the defence was prepared to admit certain aspects to save Dr Naude the embarrassment of being called as a State witness.

Other witnesses subpoenaed by the State included banned lawyer Mrs Priscilla Jana, former Nsus president Mr Auret van Heerden, his banned brother Mr Clive van Heerden and "other members of white liberation politics".

Mr Mayson's flight from South Africa left friends and family stunned. Mr Mayson, a former Methodist clergyman, had said repeatedly during his trial that he wanted to be brought to court to put his case.

He testified that when he realised the notes had been intercepted by the Security Police he knew he would be detained. Then he made his choice between exile and detention.

When he was granted bail Mr Mayson said he had every intention of seeing his trial through, according to a statement released by his family after his flight.

It was during these two months that the decision was taken to leave the country which had been his home for 30 years.
Call for peace on 1976 riot anniversary

JOHANNESBURG. — On the eve of today’s commemoration of the Soweto disturbances seven years ago, black leaders last night called for “a peaceful day of rededication to our ideals”.

Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the newly-established National Forum, said he hoped “employers and others in authority” would recognize the solemnity of the occasion “and not provide provocation...”

Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, appealed to people “to bear themselves with the necessary decorum, and rededicate themselves to the struggle to weed out racism and apartheid in our society”.

Both men are among speakers at today’s major commemorative service which starts at noon at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto.

Among the speakers are Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the Azanian People’s Organization (Azapo), and Mr Tiego Moseneke, representing the Cosas and Azaso student organizations.

Trade unionists who will speak are Mr Letsatsi Mosala, president of the Black Mining Construction Workers’ Union, and Mr Sidney M sería, secretary-general of the General Allied Workers’ Union.

In a statement yesterday, the Cosas and Azaso student organizations condemned “the senseless killing of our people”.

“The challenge June 16 throws on our shoulders is to carry on the fight of those who died in 1976,” the statement added.

The United Democratic Front has called for church bells to be rung.
Warning on June 16 services

Mail Reporters

POLICE would keep a low profile during today's June 16 commemoration services, the Soweto Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier D J D Jacobs, pledged yesterday.

However he warned that his men would take action if the services "got out of control" or were "misused by vandals and for political gain".

As Brig Jacobs spoke, police were manning roadblocks on all roads leading to Soweto. Occupants were ordered out of their cars while police in camouflage uniform searched the cars thoroughly.

The Soweto police chief warned at a Press conference yesterday: "People can go on with their meetings as long as they don't misbehave because police will be obliged to act.

Black leaders last night called for "a peaceful day of re-dedication to our ideals".

Mr Sales Cooper, convener of the newly-established National Forum, said he hoped "employers and others in authority will recognise the solemnity of the occasion and not provide provocation..."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, appealed to "people to bear themselves with the necessary decorum and dedication, and to re-dedicate themselves to the struggle to weed out racism and apartheid in our society."

Both men are among speakers at today's major commemorative service at Regina Mundi church in Soweto. The service starts at noon.

Other services are at Alexandra township (1pm), Coronationville (2pm), Lenasia (3.30pm) and Kwa Thema (1.30pm).

Shababaz and sporting bodies especially have been asked to suspend business for the day.

All business houses and concerns in black areas have been asked not to defy "this national day" and have urged them "to release all their workforce on this most important day".
ring a fixed deposit to a home of her own
Calm as Soweto riots are marked

It was quiet throughout the country today at the start of the seventh anniversary of the outbreak in Soweto of the worst riots in South African history.

Police on the alert for trouble in the major centres reported calm.

In Johannesburg a call for a stay-away from work by black workers has apparently failed.

Before the riots petered out in 1977, 375 people had died. Of the nation's major cities, only Durban escaped unscathed.

In Port Elizabeth a contingent of security police arrived before the start of a seminar in New Brighton's Centenary Hall last night. The seminar on the riots was organised by the Congress of South African Students. The police left before the start of proceedings.

The acting police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Major Annelize Melville, said today there had been no reports of any kind and "it was all quiet".

The letters 'ANC' were painted on a wall at the Big D shop in the Greenacres complex. Some other buildings in the city were also daubed.

In Cape Town, scene of some of the worst clashes, two major trading associations asked members to observe the anniversary by closing their shops.

The Athlone Business and Professional Association's 113 members would close their shops from 2pm as a mark of respect for those who died in 1976, a spokesman said.

The Western Cape Traders' Association asked its 2000 members to close between noon and 3pm something they did last year.

In Johannesburg, where the Azanian Peoples' Organisation asked Sowetans to boycott work today, thousands of blacks streamed to the city unhindered.

Local and foreign journalists were not permitted to roam individually in Soweto, but were conducted by police on a bus tour.

The Soweto Divisional Police Commissioner, P J Jacobs, said I would keep a low profile at meetings or commemorating the uprising.

In Soweto a service was held at the Regina Mundi Church. Among the speakers were the chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, and Mr Saths Cooper, the convener of the newly formed National Forum. All was peaceful in Pretoria's black townships.

Shops, cinemas and other cultural centres were closed as a mark of respect.

Early-morning rail commuters to Cape Town were met by Black Sash protesters holding posters.

In Port Elizabeth a service will be held by Cosas in the New Daku Hall in Kwa-zakhele at 5.30pm. -- Sapa
CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI yesterday warned that insulting comments by the Azanian People's Organisation's Saths Cooper would be faced with the wrath of Inkatha.

Condemning the recent hangings of the three ANC members which, as a black leader, made him sick as there was no retribution from other countries abroad, he said the situation could be like the Irish Republican Army if his 750,000 strong Inkatha members opted for violence.

"But while we believe black people are angry, I would not lead black people to death. Non-violence has been pursued by the late Chief Albert Luthuli and the ANC. I would not allow black people to be mowed down by the arsenals of Mr P W Botha as shown by the two attacks on Maputo and in Lesotho in which innocent people were killed," he said.

Mr Botha, he said, was smiling all the way to the political bank because of mud-slinging among blacks.

The remark by Azapo's Saths Cooper in a Johannesburg newspaper that Inkatha was a collaborationist organisation, was not to be taken lightly by Inkatha, especially the Durban members, but was an insult to 750,000 people, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said on his arrival from Overseas yesterday.

"Coloureds and Indians have always been better off than Africans. Their salaries and schools and the fact that they do not have to carry passes around, is proof of this. That is why they are now being co-opted into Parliament," he said.

However, he regretted the fragmentation of the people be-
They came in their thousands, but teargas brought agony to many...

June 16 service ends in stoning, teargas in Soweto

TEAR GAS: Miss Stella Mokwena in the SOWETAN's car in a state of collapse.

ATTENDED: Miss Mokwena of Rockville, being attended to by mourners outside Regina Mundi.

BETTER: Miss Mokwena feeling a little better after her ordeal at the June 16 service.

CHAOOS

VIOLENCE ERUPTED in Soweto yesterday when hundreds of youths went on the rampage burning and stoning vehicles, including buses, after an emotional service attended by 4,000 people at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville.

Uniformed and camouflage police, wearing masks and carrying truncheons, who had earlier watched proceedings from a distance, used sneeze machines and fired teargas to disperse.

SOWETAN REPORTERS

tions, some turned round and stoned the police vehicles. The commemoration too yesterday marked the return of the dreaded "hippo" and several other shielded police vehicles. A police helicopter flew around the township and seemed to be monitoring scenes of violence.

Several people, including Mr George Wauchope, an executive member of Azapo, were taken away by police.

HELIO
SHOE BOUTIQUE
WE ARE THE ONLY IMPORTERS OF GENUINE CHARLES SHOES

R64,95
R59,95
VIOLENCE ERUPTED in Soweto yesterday when hundreds of youths went on the rampage burning and stoning vehicles, including buses, after an emotional service attended by 4000 people at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville.

Uniformed and camouflage police, wearing masks and carrying truncheons, who had earlier watched proceedings from a distance, used sneeze machines and fired teargas to disperse the youths.

As hundreds of youths scattered in different directions, some turned round and stoned the police vehicles. The commemoration too yesterday marked the return of the dreaded “hippo” and several other shielded police vehicles. A police helicopter flew around the township and seemed to be monitoring scenes of violence.

Several people, including Mr George Wauchope, an executive member of Azapo, were taken away by police.

To Page 2 →

FIRE: Members of the fire brigade extinguish a truck that was burnt by youths after the commemoration service yesterday.
Youths stone police cars

During the pandemic, six people were injured and treated at Baragwanath Hospital. Also injured was Warrant Officer T. Twala, who was cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle.

West Rand Administration Board policemen, who had reinforced the SAP and Security Police contingent were seen sjambokking three youths before throwing them into the van.

As smoke billowed around Regina Mundi, members of the Soweto Police Field Force battled frenetically to extinguish the numerous burning vehicles, which comprised company and WMR trucks. The service was emotion-packed with hundreds of people hanging on windows and others milling around outside the church.

Mrs Sarah Mosololi, the mother of Jerry Mosololi, one of the three ANC men hanged last week, was given a thundering applause when she related events leading to her son's hanging by the country.

She was one of the main speakers in a service which was marked by the chanting of slogans and the singing of freedom songs. The end of speeches was marked by the raising of clenched fists.

Commuters returning from work during a day when many stayed away, were stranded when Putco buses dropped people on the outskirts of the township. This was after several buses, estimated at 30 by Putco spokesman, were stoned.

Buses entering the greater part of Soweto were re-routed around Baragwanath Hospital, Dobsonville Police Station, New Canada and at No 17 Shaft on the Soweto Highway.

Police also used a helicopter in Alexandra township where people attending a service were closely watched by cops who surrounded the Methodist Church.

A Black newspaperman and a white were earlier taken away by police.

The Josia Hall in Lenasia, was packed to capacity and was addressed by Miss Poppie Buthelezi, crippled during the June 16, 1976 riots and Mrs Don Mathe.

In Cape Town there were sporadic cases of stone-throwing on the N2 National Road past the D F Malan Airport, the SABC reported. A traffic spokesman said that its 113 members would close their shops after 2pm "as a mark of respect to those who died in 1976."

In Durban, roadblocks were set up at the entrance to Lamontville, police said there was stone-throwing in the township on Wednesday night. One of their vehicles was set on fire and they had to use teargas.

Most businesses in Soweto, Lenasia, Newclare, Bosmont, The Plaza and many others were closed. Clinics in Soweto closed early.

A spokesman for the Athlone Business and Professional Association said that its 113 members would close their shops after 2pm "as a mark of respect for those who died in 1976."

He then walked out of the hall followed by a group of sympathisers.

Other services:

- Kagiso — St Mary's Catholic Church had a peaceful service with police in camouflage watching from a distance.

Reports by SAM MABE, LEN MASEKO, NKOSANE MAKOBANE, MONO BADELA, ELLIOT TSHINGWAL, SELLO RABOTHATA, JOSUA RABOROKO, ALINAH DUBE, HORATIO MOTHUWA and MZIKAYISE EDMON.
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The police, however, said generally the other townships in Durban were quiet. Shops in Clermont closed for the day yesterday, while those in Klaarwater and Chesterville were open.

A spokesman for the University of Zululand said the campus was quiet and about 30 people attended an all-night vigil in Durban on Wednesday.

Teargas was used to disperse hundreds of people who attended the service at the Roman Catholic Church in Sebokeng Zone 17.

Several vehicles were stoned by mobs outside the church, but there were no injuries. Vaal Transport buses used different routes to avoid driving, past the scene. Most residents returning from work were later left stranded as buses off-loaded outside of the township. Shops closed early and the atmosphere was tense.

A service in Mamelodi nearly came to an abrupt end when a local doctor, Dr Fabian Ribeiro refused to address the gathering of 200 people because he "would not share a platform with people who sell their brothers".

Dr Ribeiro was to have given the main speech at St Francis Anglican Church. He said there were people who normally attended political gatherings knowing that they were representatives of the system. He called on the audience to take all informers out of the hall and said he would not continue if they did not do so.

He then walked out of the hall followed by a group of sympathisers.

Other services:
- Kagiso — St Mary's Catholic Church had a peaceful service with police in camouflage watching from a distance;
- Bekkersdal — the service was peaceful at the Methodist church;
- Mokhale — the meeting was not held as people did not turn up;
- Atteridgeville and Salsville were quiet during the day;
- Western Coloured Townships — all shops were closed and at the meeting held at Methodist Church in Coronationville, The Rev Cecil Begbie said he had received anonymous calls to halt the meeting;
- In Welkom Cosas held the meeting in a house as there was no accommodation available;
- Three hundred people attended the St Barnabas Anglican Church service, which ended peacefully.
UK warned SA activists to quit

Schoons flee from Gaborone

The Star's Foreign News Service

Two prominent South African political activists who have been living and working in Botswana since 1977 have left the country on the advice of the British Government.

Mr Marius Schoon (45), who served 12 years in jail in South Africa for sabotage, and his wife Jeanette, who was detained in 1975, have not disclosed their destination.

A spokesman for the Foreign Office in London confirmed that the Schoons had moved as a result of a British warning.

Asked if the warning had been prompted by fear of South African action against the couple, he said: "I can't go into that. I have to leave you to draw your own conclusions."

He said Britain was concerned about the safety of all young British volunteers in Botswana because the security situation in the region was clearly dangerous.

The Schoons were employed in Botswana by the International Volunteer Service, a British-sponsored organisation similar to the United States Peace Corps.

A letter to members in Botswana said the Schoons feared that Marius's association with the African National Congress put not only their own lives in danger, but those of other volunteers.

'Hot pursuit' fears

Botswana's fear of South African "hot pursuit" raids was reflected earlier this week when President Quett Masire said there was suspicion that South Africa was preparing the world psychologically for a cross-border attack.

The Schoons fled to Botswana in June 1977 — five years after Marius had finished a 12-year jail sentence for his part in sabotaging the Hospital Hill Police Station in Johannesburg.

Mrs Jeanette Schoon (formerly Curtis) was once archivist at the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg. She was detained for two months in 1975 after the arrest of poet Breyten Breytenbach.

Last night in Leicester, England, IVS secretary Mr Nigel Watt said he did not know where the Schoons had gone. "They were on a contract which was due to finish anyway in the near future, and security reasons have prompted them to finish it earlier."

He would not elaborate on the security reasons, but said: "Obviously, we are conscious of dangers in all countries of the region."

Other volunteers work in Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique.

Asked to comment on the possibility of a South African attack, an official in the Office of the President in Gaborone said: "The possibility is always there. You have seen what they have done in other countries."

The possibility of disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University
Tutu tells 4 000: We’re most important

-important was a Bishop of the he people, said

Bishop of the people, said.

He said there was “no doubt whatsoever” that blacks would be free, and asked the congregation to commit themselves to freedom.

The chairman of the Committee of Ten and executive head of the Soweto Civic Associations, Dr Nthato Molana, said the total onslaught facing South Africa did not emanate from Russia but from white racism.

“We suffer as black people in South Africa. When we think of those in exile, on Robben Island and those who have died from police bullets, what is our response?”

“Our response must be to identify the enemy, as the children of 1976 did, and bring racism down on its knees,” Dr Molana said.

The vice-president of the Azanian People’s Organisation, Mr Saths Cooper, said all institutions which entrenched racism should be boycotted.

The former senior member of the Azanian People’s Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo, told a commemoration service at the University of the North (Turffontein) that no education system was ideal in South Africa, including the exclusive white system.

He said: “Black education is designed to domesticate blacks like cats. It makes them sit and memorise lies. On the other hand the so-called national education for whites brainwashes the pupils with its Herrenvolk mentality.”

The hanging of the three ANC men last week was condemned at a commemoration service held at the St Barnabas Anglican Church in Kwa-thema yesterday.

About 250 people at a commemoration service in Coronationville were told that the recent execution of the three ANC men showed the battle lines were drawn.

A Co-ordinating Residents’ Action Committee member, Mr Elvis Daniels, said it was common knowledge that the survivors of the 1976 unrest had swelled the ranks of the military wing of the ANC and the “hands which held stones now hold AK 47s and RPG 7s”.

A standing ovation was given to Mrs Paulina Moloi whose son, Molebola Ben Moloi, is awaiting execution.

She said: “We should not cry for those who are being hanged. We must continue the fight for freedom that they were engaged in.”
Mob violence erupts on Soweto riots anniversary

Mobs hurled petrol bombs at policemen and stoned and set fire to vehicles yesterday in incidents around the country on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots. Forty-one people were arrested and five detained.

The Divisional Commissioner of the Soweto Police, Brigadier DJD Jacobs, said today that during yesterday's stone-throwing incidents in Soweto, 25 police cars were damaged, six private cars were burnt and 60 Putco buses were damaged.

Last year 20 buses were damaged on June 16.

He described yesterday's rioting as vandalism. He said he congratulated the Soweto public for not participating in the riots and described them as law-abiding citizens.

"I would like to emphasise that the riots were perpetrated by minority groups in the various townships," he said.

Out of a population of 2 million people in Soweto and Lenasia, only 5,000 people attended the service and only a few were involved in the stone-throwing incidents, he said.

Police were compelled to take action after youths scattered stones at them near Regina Mundi Church after a service to commemorate the 1976 riots.

An SADF helicopter was used by the police to disperse bands of youths around Regina Mundi and Moroka Township, Brigadier Jacobs said.

At least five people were detained by the Soweto Police in connection with the riots.

The brigadier said that all those detained might appear in court not later than Monday to face charges of incitement or public violence.

He added that while these people were being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, the police were compiling their docket and would hand them over to the Attorney General who would decide whether to go ahead with the charges or not.

Staff Reporters

Blacks constituted the most important group in South Africa and that was a fundamental statement of fact, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said yesterday.

He was addressing about 4,000 people crowded inside the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto, to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the Soweto riots.

Banner inside the church proclaimed that blacks would be free, that the ANC men who were hanged last week would be avenged and that they had not died in vain.

"The black, green and gold flag of the ANC was held aloft by two people while three others held burning candles to symbolise mourning for the three as well as those who died during the unrest.

"We are important because if we were to disappear now there would be nothing the whites would talk about in Parliament. They spend 89 percent of their

Brigadier Jacobs also confirmed two Rand Daily Mail journalists were held for about seven hours at Protea Police Headquarters and statements were taken from them. They might be called in as State witnesses should the five detainees be charged.

Colonel Leon Mellett, the Chief Press Officer of the Minister of Police said one member of the police was slightly injured and 41 people arrested for various offences, including stone-throwing. Police used teargas to disperse the stone-throwing crowds.

The commemorative service was addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Nhato Motlana of the Committee of Ten, Mr Saths Cooper of the Azanian People's Organisation and Mrs Finini Mosoloi, mother of Jerry Mosoloi, one of the three ANC members hanged last week.

The injured policeman was Warrant Officer S Twala, whose vehicle's windscreen was shattered by a stone. A black bus passenger was also injured.

A white man is also believed to have been injured when the bakkie he was driving along Roodepoort Road was stoned by youths. An eyewitness saw a rock go through the man's windscreen and hit his face.

Police used teargas to disperse mobs in Durban after petrol bombs were thrown at members of the force.

"No one was injured.

At Klaarwater, near Pinetown, police dispersed crowds of stone-throwers with teargas but no serious damage was reported.

In the Cape Peninsula, sporadic stone-throwing occurred at Nyanga and Settlers Way. A few cars were damaged. - Own Correspondents and Sapa.
Fire bombs, stones in June 16 unrest

PRETORIA — Mobs hurled petrol bombs at policemen, stoned vehicles and buildings and set fire to a bus and other vehicles yesterday in incidents on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

Colonel Leon Melett, the chief press officer of the Minister of Police, said a bus driver was reportedly killed in an incident in a remote part of Inanda, near Durban. The bus was set alight.

About 30 buses had been damaged in Soweto, Colonel Melett said.

In all, 23 SAP vehicles were damaged and six private vehicles were burnt. One member of the police was slightly injured and 41 people were arrested in Soweto for various offences, including stone-throwing.

Colonel Melett said.

Six blacks were injured in Soweto and police used tear smoke to disperse stone-throwing crowds in the township.

Among those arrested in Soweto were four senior members of Azapo, a spokesman for their lawyers said last night.

They are the president of Azapo, Mr Lybon Mabasa, the organisation's vice-president, Mr Saths Cooper, Dr Abu Bakar Aswat and Mr George Wauchop.

Mr Cooper and Dr Aswat were released later.

Police headquarters had up to 10 pm last night received no reports of shots being fired by the SAP.

Soweto was "quiet and under control" at 10 pm, Colonel Melett said.

In Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, sporadic incidents of stone-throwing occurred after a meeting late last night. A shop was plundered and windows broken in the local post office.

Police used tear smoke to disperse mobs in Durban after petrol bombs were thrown at members of the force on two occasions. No-one was injured by the bombs.

Shops in Lamontville, Umlazi and Chesterville were closed yesterday after mobs threatened to destroy businesses that opened.

In the Cape Peninsula, sporadic stone-throwing occurred in Nyanga and Settlers Way. A few cars were damaged but no-one was injured.

In Queenstown, hundreds of students attended a memorial service at the Shanty Hall in the Mlungisi Township.

There were no incidents and the students dispersed peacefully at about 4 pm.

No incidents or stay-aways from work were reported in East London or Mdantsane.

Port Elizabeth was also reported to be quiet. — SAPA-DDR
SEVERAL political documents have gained the significance of landmarks in the history of black politics in South Africa. Among these were the Freedom Charter and the Committee of Ten’s blueprint.

The Manifesto of the People of Azania, adopted at the solidarity conference held in Hammanskraal, makes claims to such significance but history alone will tell. The manifesto will be reviewed when the National Forum Committee (NFC) convenors of the Hammanskraal conference, hold its second indaba in Easter next year. This was announced by Mr Saths Cooper, vice-president of Azapo and a member of the NFC who said that the more than 150 organisations which participated will have had the whole year to critically assess the manifesto.

The manifesto is based on four principles:
- Anti-racism and anti-imperialism;
- Non-collaboration with the oppressor and its political instruments;
- Independent working-class organisation;
- Opposition to all alliances with ruling-class parties.

The Hammanskraal conference decided that it was in accordance with those principles that in its manifesto it demanded the following:
- The right to work;
- The right to form trade unions that will heighten revolutionary worker consciousness;
- The establishment of a democratic, anti-racist worker republic in Azania where the interests of the workers shall be paramount through worker control of the means of production, distribution and exchange;
- State provision of free and compulsory education for all, geared towards liberating the Azanian people from all forms of oppression, exploitation and ignorance;
- State provision of adequate and decent housing;
- State provision of free health, legal, recreation and other community services that will respond positively to the needs of the people;
- Development of one national progressive culture in the process of struggle;
- The land and all that belongs to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people;
- The usage of land and all that accrues to it shall be aimed at ending all forms and means of exploitation.

The conference also pledged to “struggle tirelessly” for the abolition of all laws that discriminate on the basis of sex, colour, religion or language and the re-integration of the “bantustan human dump” into a unitary Azania.
Harare in dilemma over ANC ‘tourists’

By David Thomas, The Star Bureau

HARARE — Whatever feelings of solidarity the Zimbabwe Government may espouse towards the South African revolutionary movements, pragmatism still prevails over ideology when it comes to the crunch.

The Harare Government’s swift and vehement denial of being used as an infiltration route by four South African revolutionaries this week must have given some comfort to Pretoria but little to the African National Congress.

It was almost as if the incident had been set up to test the Zimbabwe Government.

Pretoria’s version, as put by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was that four ANC insurgents flew from Maputo to Harare, made their way to the Limpopo, cut the border fence and crossed into the Northern Transvaal.

A follow-up operation by the South African security forces led to the capture of two insurgents. The other two fled back to Zimbabwe, according to Mr le Grange.

It was also claimed that Soviet-made weapons were found, including two AK-47 rifles, ammunition and RPG rockets.

Harare, through State Security Minister Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, officially denied the whole thing suggesting that it was invented as a “tinsy excuse” by Pretoria to “unleash aggression on us”.

The ANC reaction was to deny that it had any military personnel in Zimbabwe.

But reliable sources indicated that two South African blacks, claiming to be refugees who had been in a skirmish with South African security forces, gave themselves up to the Zimbabwe authorities in the Beit Bridge area. One of them was wounded, though not seriously.

Their appearance coincided with the alleged incident across the border.

The sources further disclosed that the four may have flown to Harare from Maputo and entered as “tourists” without the knowledge or help of the government.

It is understood that the Zimbabwe Government is now in a dilemma as to what to do with the two men, who are still being held by the authorities.

The significance of the event is the speed with which the Zimbabwe Government moved to distance itself both from the action and the ANC.

At the time Mr Mnangagwa made his denial, a government spokesman elaborated on the ruling Zanu (PF) has never had a working relationship with the ANC.

He also dissociated the government from the ANC.

Zimbabwe Government connections with the South African revolutionary movement appear to be limited to the Pan Africanist Congress whose present military capability is insignificant.
Problems of blacks 'caused' violence

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

The violence on August 11, 1980, which resulted in the death of two motorists was understandable when viewed in terms of the grievances of black people, Mr T L Skweyiya, defence counsel, said in the Supreme Court yesterday.

He was presenting his argument in extenuation for six of the 10 young men convicted of murder following events in Klipfontein Road during 1980 in which Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen were killed.

The 10, with 73-year-old trade-unionist Oscar Mpetha and seven other men, were charged with murder and terrorism.

7 acquitted

Seven men were acquitted last week. Mpetha was found guilty of terrorism but not guilty of murder. Nine of the young men convicted of murder were also found guilty of terrorism.

Mr Skweyiya submitted that the violence could not be viewed in isolation, but should be seen against a background of the plight of blacks. One of their difficulties was a lack of proper communication with the authorities.

Western Cape blacks were in a worse position than those in the rest of South Africa, because of the application of the laws, he said. There was great frustration among children who wanted to become professional people, but were unable to play a role in society.

"In these circumstances, what chance does an uneducated black youth have in Cape Town?" he asked.

Boycotts

Circumstances which should be taken into account were the ongoing school boycott, red meat boycott and bus boycott. The situation had been summed up by Sister Re Hardiman when she said: "Black people have to live with constant suppressed anger."

The youth and standard of education of the men made them more susceptible to influence in a crowd, he said. The violence they carried out was of a general nature, and not aimed at a specific person.

Mr John Whitehead, arguing in extenuation for four of the young men, said the court should accept that in the circumstances they had specific difficulties in obeying the law. In a similar situation, a group of youngsters from Constantia would be far more morally blameworthy because of their different circumstances, he said.

The four men, whose ages presently ranged from 18 to 20, were immature and could not be expected to show the stability, restraint and responsibility of older men. The highest level of education between them was Standard 5, he said.

"They are all unsophisticated and don't qualify as standard political activists."

They had all been influenced, not only by their peers, but by the attitude of authority and whites in general. The court had found that none of the 10 men had the direct intention to kill.

Motive

Their motive was also not one of personal greed, but a political objective, which could not be ignored in a time of political strife.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice Williamson sat with two assessors, Mr G H Tittenton and Mr C H van Gend. Mr C J van Wyk appeared for the State. Mr J Fairam, SC, instructed by J Whitehead, instructed by Frank, Berndt and Joffe, appeared for Mpetha. Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya. Instructed by A M Omar, Vassen and company, appeared for the other men.
Defence
Role of Industry

SOUTH AFRICAN industrialists will have to provide their own "first line of defence" against terrorist attacks, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.
Addressing a meeting of the Industrialists' Association at Kempton Park, General Malan said the country provided such a multitude of possible targets that the government's security organizations could not provide proper protection without the help of the industrialists themselves.
He prefaced his remarks by stating that the external threat to South Africa consisted of two parts:

Threat

- The Angolan-based "current terrorist threat... and projected conventional attacks against South West Africa and South Africa".
- Russian support to "certain neighbouring countries" which enhanced their ability to "provide sanctuaries" for terrorists and weapon stockpiles.

The internal threat consisted of attacks on both rural and urban targets, and "terrorism, though it may seem so, is never senseless violence. It is a symbolic act directed at objects such as buildings or people, or both". General Malan said.

Targets

He noted that black leaders were all targets for assassination and so, it appeared, were "other politicians and military leaders in South Africa".
However, "the terrorist leaders and those who house and actively help them must not harbour no illusions about the consequences that assassination attacks in South Africa will have for them", "because the consequences on the South African population... will set in motion a reaction for which the murderers and the lands which give them sanctuary cannot make allowance".

South Africa was not "a Portugal, an Angola, a Mozambique or a Rhodesia". Terrorism would not bring solutions.

Destabilization

 Industrially, South Africa "presents hundreds of potential targets to terrorists, where you are especially threatened because you as industrialists stand in the way of economic destabilization..."

"The range of targets in a highly-industrialized country such as South Africa, and the limitations of manpower and finance, however, make it impossible for the government's permanent security agencies to provide an impregnable defence.
"Therefore the first line of defence, namely the protection of your premises, should be provided for by yourselves."
As police vehicles patrol the Soweto main roads and commuters return from work, a gutted truck stands testimony to a day of stoning and burnings in the township.

Many remember Soweto 1976

Mail Reporters

AT least 20 meetings were held throughout the Reef yesterday to commemorate Soweto 1976. More than 5 000 people crammed into the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto to bear the mother of one of the three ANC men hanged last week say her son had comforted his parents during their last visit to him.

Mrs Sarah Musoloi said she was not mourning for her son, Jerry, because he had told her not to.

"When he kissed me, he said: 'Be brave. We are prepared for this.' He said we should tell the nation that he was happy, that we should thank them for their support and should carry on if they can," she said.

Speaker after speaker called for opposition groups to unite against apartheid.

"If we remain divided, then we are unworthy of those who died, those who are in jail, those who are in exile and those who gave their lives last week," Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said.

"If we remain divided, then it means we have not suffered enough. The only thing that will defeat us is if you and I are divided," he said.

Bishop Tutu called on the crowd to commit themselves unreservedly to the "total liberation struggle".

Dr Nthato Motlana, head of the Soweto Committee of 10, said the reality of South Africa was that while "those who rule us are speaking about change, we say the changes have been for the worse".

In Coronationville, the mother of another of the hanged ANC men told a meeting her son's last message before his death: "Carry on the fight for us. We have opened the doors for you to follow us.

Mrs Pauline Manyeung was addressing a quiet commemoration service at the Coronationville Methodist Church.

Speaking through a translator, she said she had seen her son, Marcus, the day before his death last Thursday. "In his last days he said we should not stop fighting for freedom. We must carry on the fight for them after their death."

A young Soweto woman crippled during the 1976 uprising told a meeting at the Jasa Centre in Lenasia that they should not feel pity for her because her injuries were a symbol of the struggle.

The woman, Miss Poppy Bothelo, is confined to a wheelchair and is a member of the Black Women Unite group.

In Alexandra, the offices of the Liaison Committee and many shops were closed.

At St Barnabas Anglican Church in Kwa Thema, Springs, Azapo members pledged their support for the striking students of Meduna and praised them for the stand they had taken on behalf of their suspended colleagues.

In Maseru, a June 16 solidarity service was held at the United Nations Information Centre.

Several anti-South African speeches were delivered by various speakers including representatives of the ANC and PAC.
Isolated outbreaks of violence mark June 16

The president of Azapo, Mr Lybong Mahasa, and the organisation's spokesman on sport, Mr George Wauchope, were also arrested.

Police reported one injury. Warrant Officer S Twala, who was cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle at Regina Mundi Church.

Several police vehicles received minor damage in the stone-throwing.

The day of commemoration services began quietly, with both police and press keeping a low profile at the Protea Police Station surrounding Soweto.

Azapo had called on Sowetans to boycott work yesterday and to attend memorial services for the people who died in 1976, when riots were sparked by dissatisfaction over a Government stipulation that Africans be taught at black schools.

The AZAPO leader added: "We are not afraid of them. We want them", and surged towards them.

The police continued to take pictures and stones were thrown. The police drove off and returned a few minutes later with reinforcements and a crane, which dispersed the crowd. The crowd pelting the police vehicles with stones.

More reinforcements, including another crane, arrived. As the crowd moved away from the church, a number of teargas canisters were fired, some from a helicopter hovering overhead.

Several police vehicles received minor damage in the stone-throwing.

Yesterday morning reporters noted a markedly smaller crowd than usual leaving for work, although some were reported. There was less traffic than usual and most people preferred to stay home.

As Press members were taken in early in the day, police vehicles were in constant surveillance and a helicopter flew overhead on the lookout for "trouble spots".

Before the Regina Mundi service ended, a Visnews film team drove into Protea with teargas canisters from their eyes. They had apparently been filming independently at Regina Mundi, when spotted by police keeping surveillance on the crowds, and told to report to the station.

All trains were running on schedule yesterday, according to a spokesman for South African Transport Services.

A spokesman for the Department of Information said that a number of trains were damaged, some extensively, by groups of youths.

In Pretoria, black townships observed June 16 peacefully as people attended the farming activities.

Gerhardt's trial will be secret, say experts

Mail Correspondent

Commodore Dexter Gerhardt, former commanding officer of the SA Naval Dockyard Simonstown, and his Swiss-born wife Ruth, are expected to appear in court soon in connection with allegations of espionage.

But legal authorities are of the opinion that, as the charges are likely to deal with classified Defence information, the trial — or much of it — will be held behind closed doors.

And although a judge of the court will not be a public figure, there are fears that Gerhardt might be charged with a capital crime.

But in Cape Town, the Minister of Justice, Mr Koos Coetzee, said no guarantees had been given to the Switzers.
Vehicles stoned in City, Soweto

Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

At least 30 buses were damaged and four trucks destroyed by fire in Soweto yesterday when violence broke out after a June 16 commemoration service at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church.

And in the Peninsula, a private car, a bus, two Post Office vehicles and an Administration Board vehicle were damaged in sporadic stone-throwing, although there were no injuries and the police took no action.

Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said last night's incidents occurred in the Nyanga area near Lansdowne Road and near Settler's Way.

Sporadic violence was reported at several points around the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto. Several people were arrested, including the president and the sports spokesman of the Azanian People's Organization, who had attended the service.

During the emotion-charged service, the crowd heard speakers from a wide range of black organizations call for unity against apartheid.

As the 5,000-strong crowd left the church after a three-hour service, plainclothes policemen took pictures from across the road. A small part of the crowd began to chant "We are not afraid of them. We want them" and surged towards them.

The police continued to take pictures and stone-throwing began. The police drove off and returned with reinforcements and a sneeze machine. The crowd pelted the police vehicles with stones.

More reinforcements, including another sneeze machine, arrived. As the crowd moved away from the church, teargas canisters were fired at them, some from the helicopter overhead.

Locked door

Police entered the churchyard and apprehended about 10 people. They were driven away.

About 100 people who had re-entered the church when the teargassing started, locked the door and ignored police demands to open it. Teargas drove them out and they were lined up while police took their particulars and pictures.

The president of Azapo, Mr Lybon Ma-basa, and its sports spokesman, Mr George Wauchope, were apprehended outside.

Police, who took the press into the township in an armoured car, reported that Warrant-Officer S Twala had been cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle.

Youths set up drum roadblocks to slow traffic into the township. Some streets were littered with stones thrown by small groups of passing cars.

At sunset, police patrols were still sweeping up the narrow sideroads and main feeder inlets to Soweto.

Pretoria quiet

Puto's public relations officer, Mr Pat Rogers, said about 30 buses were damaged by groups of youths.

* In Pretoria, black townships observed June 16 peacefully as people attended services. Shops and cinemas were closed.

* In Durban, police set up two roadblocks at the entrance to Lamontville, Sapa reports. Earlier, people had gathered in the road outside singing and chanting.

Police said there was stone-throwing last night in the township. One of their vehicles was set on fire and they had used teargas. Durban's other black areas were generally quiet.

* In Cape Town, early-morning commuters to the City were met by lone Black Sash protesters holding posters saying "One People, One Land".
In the Cape Peninsula sporadic stone-throwing occurred in the rush-hour yesterday afternoon on the national road to Somerset West near D F Malan airport, and in Lansdowne Road.

Ten vehicles, including an Administration Board van and six City Tramways buses were damaged.

The man killed was an off-duty bus driver who was battered to death in Inanda, Natal, last night.

Looting

Also in Natal, a Lamontville man was shot and wounded. Shops were looted, and petrol bombs were hurled as unrest spread through townships in the Durban area. Police used tear gas and rubber bullets, and a police dog was stabbed and seriously injured.

In Soweto, 60 Putco buses were damaged in stone-throwing which spread to other areas after clashes between police and people who attended a commemorative service at the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church.

Colonel Leon Mellett, the Chief Press Officer of the Minister of Police, said 25 SAP vehicles were damaged and six private vehicles were burnt. A member of the police was slightly injured and 41 people were arrested for various offences, including stone-throwing.

Six blacks were injured.

Emotional

Police moved in on the Regina Mundi Church with a helicopter and riot control vehicles after an emotion-charged service in which speakers from a wide range of black organisations called for opposition groups to unite against apartheid.

As the 5 000-strong crowd left the church, plainclothes policemen took pictures. A small part of the crowd began to chant: "We are not afraid of them. We want them", and surged towards the police.

The police continued to take pictures, and stone-throwing began.
which is fuelled by capitalism. We see racism and capitalism as twin evils. Ours is not purely a race struggle, and it is certainly not purely a class struggle. There is a symbiotic relationship between the racism and capitalism in SA.

Cooper admits that capitalism does not necessarily imply racism, but says SA faces an “existential problem of racial capitalism.” Azapo, he says, “is working towards a futuristic, socialist, democratic anti-racist Azania where all Azanians will have full and equal rights.”

He denies that Azapo’s black exclusivity is itself racist because Azapo does not have the power to oppress anyone — which power he holds to be an ingredient of racism.

Of the socialist society envisaged for SA, Cooper says it will be a society “where the means of production will be utilised for the benefit of the whole, not merely for parts of it. People will have the right to work and to work where they want to, the right to decent and adequate housing, free and compulsory education, transport and a national health service. Considerations of race, sex, class, colour and language will play no part.”

This translates as the standard utopian socialist vision. Cooper did not go into how the rights to free education, medicine, housing and so on were to be paid for.

However, he did not see an immediate and “traumatic” transformation to socialism — even after the advent of majority rule. “It has to be worked for through a process of struggle,” he says. “The populace at large has to be educated to see the socialist alternative as the only correct one, where all Azanians can play their full role in the growth and development of this society.”
Manenberg denies Cahac withdrawal

THE Manenberg Civic Association have denied that they have broken away from the umbrella civic body, the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac).

A statement released after an emergency meeting of the association's executive committee on Sunday said that three members of the civic body would face disciplinary action for linking the association with the breakaway.

It was reported in Cape Herald recently that three civic bodies—the Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown and Kew Town Residents' Association (BBSK), the Parkwood Tenants' Association and Manenberg—had announced their resignation at a Cahac general meeting.

The MCA statement, signed by the secretary, Mr. David Meyer, said they "took exception to the incorrect press statement where the association was included in the breakaway alliance from the Cahac forum".

ILLEGAL

"This decision was illegal and unconstitutional and was taken at an illegal meeting in Manenberg on May 17.

"The people who spearheaded this illegal meeting must still appear at a board of inquiry of the association.

"The present position of the Manenberg Civic Association is that we are still affiliated to Cahac as history has shown that unity is strength and only through unity can battles be won.

"The executive of the MCA therefore reiterates the rejection of the statement released and we now bluntly restate that the MCA has never formed an alliance with BBSK and Parkwood to withdraw from Cahac."
Meetings banned after unrest

LAMONTVILLE Post Office was fired by youths yesterday in the third day of unrest around Durban, and one leader appealed to youths and police for calm.

Rioters pulled people from cars and assaulted them, and police confirmed a number of charges had been laid by civilians, although the situation in Inanda, Klaarwater and Chesterville was said to have cooled.

Meanwhile, police disclosed last night that all memorial services relating to the 1976 Soweto unrest or to the execution of ANC members or any other convicted terrorists had been banned until 6 a.m. on Monday in the magisterial districts of Durban, Pinetown and Umzimkulu, Inanda and Verulam.

A memorial service for trade unionists, Pat Msomi and Jabu Mthilane, and a mass meeting in the Gandhi Hall, Lorne Street, were also prohibited.

The areas affected included Lamontville, Clermont, Chesterville and Klaarwater.

In Lamontville on Thursday night, a man was shot and wounded by police after he had allegedly stabbed a police dog and then attacked the handler.

A man had been arrested.

The Rev Meebisi Xundu last night appealed for peace and calm.
Jail for PAC man

UMTATA — The court had to beware of becoming involved in emotional arguments about banned organisations, the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Hefer, said yesterday when he sentenced a terror trial accused to an effective four years in prison.

Mr Lawrence Vumankosi Nkikine, 25, was found guilty on the main count of having taken part directly or indirectly in the activities of the banned Pan Africanist Congress.

He was also found guilty on the alternate counts of possession of a firearm and 13 rounds of ammunition without a licence and of theft of nine blank Transkei travel documents and two official stamps from the offices of the Butterworth district commissioner.

Granting leave to appeal, the chief justice said it was a difficult matter to consider as he had "to sit in judgment on my own judgment."

Mr Justice Hefer sentenced Mr Nkikine to four years on the count on the PAC and theft, six months for possession of the firearm and ammunition and 18 months on the count of theft of the Transkei travel documents and stamps.

The chief justice said passing sentence in this type of case was difficult for several reasons.

Firstly the very act in terms of which the accused is charged and convicted contains a number of offences varying from petty to serious. To say a man participated in activities of an unlawful organisation does not exactly say what he did.

"Another reason it is not an easy matter is that these so-called political cases are in themselves emotional."

"The result is that there are people in Transkei clamouring for heavy sentences. Others are clamouring for lighter sentences and go to the extent of saying the unlawful organisations should be unbanned."

"The court must be careful not to become party to any emotional arguments and against siding with any party."

The court must take into account what the accused tried to do and the fact that he did not succeed.

It also had to take into account that what he did not reach the stage of violence.

Pleading in mitigation earlier, Mr Justice Postwa said Mr Nkikine personal circumstances should be taken into account.

As a result of his eight months in detention, he had sustained injuries. The court could not be unmindful of his suffering.

During his arrest, he made no attempt to use the firearm.

Earlier Mr Justice Hefer said he felt it was unjustified to order an inquiry into the police assaults as there was a civil case pending.

"It is far better to let the civil action take its course," he said. — DDB
UN appeals for unity in ending apartheid

NEW YORK — United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has appealed for east-west unity in support of "the just struggle of the people of South Africa to reclaim what is their birthright."

He told a Soweto Day hearing that it was the UN's "special responsibility" to devise peaceful ways of terminating apartheid "and ending the consequent suffering" of South Africans.

Later, more than 30 organisations had supporters gathering outside the offices of the South African Mission to the UN, prior to marching across Manhattan to demonstrate at Madison Square Garden, where WBA junior middleweight champion Davey Moore was boxing Roberto Duran in a bout originally scheduled for Sun City.

Their target was fight promoter, Bob Arum, who was held up as a symbol of unwelcome "constructive engagement" with South Africa.

The march and demonstration was the product of a month's organisation by the Soweto Solidarity Coalition, a group embracing a wide range of trade union, church, political, civil rights, women's, student and community organisations.

They ranged from nationwide bodies such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) to groups opposing American policy in Central America.

The African National Congress and Swapo participated, but not the Pan-Africanist Congress.

— DDC
THE Government's draft constitution, the "Koornhof Bills", racism and the hanging of three African National Congress members were condemned at a national forum of black organisations in Hammanskraal this weekend.

About 800 people, representing about 170 organisations, attended the conference, which had been convened by a National Forum Committee initiated by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

**ABSENTEES**

The conference adopted a "Manifesto of the People of Azania" which will be reviewed when the committee meets again during the Easter weekend next year.

The manifesto has as its basis principles of anti-racism and anti-imperialism. It calls for an anti-racist, socialist republic.

Although the theme of the conference was the uniting of all organisations against the Government's apartheid policies, notable absentees included the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

**IN-FIGHTING**

In an opening address, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said that the black people of South Africa had one goal which was total freedom and they would not go to the whites to ask for it because it was their inalienable right.

He said that by in-fighting, groups with different views were betraying a trust, because among themselves they had people who had suffered, and outside the country there were people who were there not by choice.

Committee convenor and Azapo vice-president, Saths Cooper, said on Monday that he was satisfied with the outcome of the forum.

"Organisations from across the political spectrum, whether they be progressive democrats or black consciousness, were represented.

"This historic conference showed a resurgence in the unity of oppressed and exploited people. An open invitation is extended to all organisations who were not able to attend the conference, to fit into a conference of this nature."
EAST LONDON — A former national general secretary of the African National Congress, the Rev A J Calata, died at his Cradock home early on Thursday morning, aged 88.

Mr Calata, who also served as president of the ANC in the Cape before it was banned, was born in Rabual, in the Keiskammahoek district.

He served for many years as Anglican priest in Cradock and was a national figure in the ANC in the forties and fifties.

Mr Calata was one of 156 South Africans arrested at the end of 1956 and charged with treason. He was in the final group that appeared in the Supreme Court and was cleared of high treason in 1950.

Mr Calata was banned for many years.

He is survived by three daughters and many grand- and great-grandchildren. Mr Calata will be buried in Cradock next Saturday.
‘Innocents victims of grievances’

THE 10 young men convicted of murder after rioting in Crossroads in 1980 might have had real grievances but had directed their violence against innocent people, Mr C J van Wyk, for the State, argued in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Van Wyk was arguing that extenuating circumstances were not present. The murder charges followed the death of two men after the stoning and burning of cars in Klipfontein Road on August 11, 1980.

The men were charged with murder and terrorism with 73-year-old trade-unionist Oscar Mpetha and seven other men. In the judgment last week, seven men were acquitted. Mpetha was found guilty of terrorism but not guilty of murder. Nine of the young men convicted of murder were also found guilty of terrorism.

Mr Van Wyk said he accepted that the men probably had political grievances. However, these were not extenuating factors.

Their actions were not aimed at the authorities against whom they had grievances, but simply against white people whatever their possible political sympathies.

Possible police provocation

The possible provocation caused by police and road transport officials in their handling of the bus boycott could also not be accepted as extenuation, he said.

The violence had occurred on August 11 and while most of the police action had occurred on the same day, the court had found that the violence had been pre-planned.

The fact that the men had not directly intended to kill the motorists, was not, per se, an extenuating factor. Their actions had come too near to a direct intention to count in their favour.

He conceded that extenuating circumstances existed in the cases of Christopher Sparans, Jeffrey Baardman and Philiip Konygwana, on the grounds of their extreme youth. However, the actions of the other young men — all leaders and planners — showed them to be mature men.

The hearing continues on Wednesday.

Mr Justice Williamson sat with two assessors, Mr G H Titterton and Mr C H van Gend. Mr I Farlam, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank Berman and Joffe, is appearing for Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya, instructed by A M Umar, Vassen and Company, are appearing for the other men.
WARNINGS AFTER ANC men hanged

The singing continued throughout the night. The songs were those normally sung at mass political or community meetings.

But this time, it seemed there was much more emotion, restrained emotion, not with the normal exuberance that has become a part of protests, meetings in the Western Cape, and throughout South Africa. And yet the people were protesting. This time, though the issue was not high rents, low wages or bad amenities.

The broad spectrum of people—mothers with babies, workers, students, priests, community workers—had all gathered at the Mayville Catholic Church Hall in Athlone last Wednesday night in a last desperate protest against the execution of three young African National Congress members convicted of high treason.

COMMITMENT

It was a cold night, bitterly cold. And still they came. Throughout the night. About 800. It was part of their commitment.

But their protest was in vain. And when at seven o'clock last Thursday morning, when Simon Thelle Motsoaleng, 23; Jerry Semano Mosoeti, 25; and Marcus Thabo Motau, 27, were being hanged in Pretoria, emotions reached a peak at the church hall as several people broke down and cried uncontrollably.

Church bells tolled throughout Soweto to coincide with the time of the hangings.

The scene at the church hall—the tension, singing, countless speeches and messages from organisations condemning the executions—summed up the dramatic international campaign to save the six condemned men.

By RYLAND FISHER

IMAGINE

In what could be seen as a great blow to South Africa's image abroad, the campaign hit the headlines internationally. Even in South Africa—where ANC has become a swearword in certain circles—the last minutes attempts to save the three men received prominent coverage every day.

It was evident, though, that not everyone sees the ANC in this light.

On the one hand they are considered to be terrorists interested only in violent change. Thus, the South African Government ignored the many petitions to the State President, and protests in Cape Town, elsewhere in South Africa and internationally.

But to others, the ANC is seen as a band of freedom fighters and heroes, struggling for the liberation of their people and their homelands.

MARTYRS

To the ANC, those who are executed become martyrs. This was the case with Solomon Mahlangu whose execution was followed by an international outcry. A sabotage squad and an army in Tanzania have been named after him. South African courts have heard that the task of the Solonco, Mahlangu Squad was to sabotage installations in South Africa.

Support for the "Save the Six" campaign came from prominent church leaders, representative local organisations and international voices like the United Nations Security Council, the European Community of Ten Nations, several governments and American congressmen and senators.

The campaign was partially successful when three of the six ANC members who had been convicted for high treason had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment. The State President, Mr. Marais Viljoen, announced last Monday morning that Anthony Totsosobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise would be spared.

CONDEMNED

The Government's decision to continue with the hangings of the other three despite the international call for clemency was condemned worldwide and locally.

At lunchtime on Thursday, hundreds of people attended a protest meeting at the University of the Western Cape, called by the Azanian Students' Organisation (AzaSo). In March the organisation drew more than 800 people to a meeting in Hanover Park to call for clemency for the ANC men.

Athlone poet James Mathebe read one of his poems as a tribute to the three men.

An expert in international law, Professor John Dugard, Director of legal studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, warned last week that in terms of the Geneva Convention of 1977, South African Defence Force soldiers could expect the same treatment from the ANC if the Government continued to hang ANC members.

DANGER

"If the South African authorities refuse to treat ANC members as POWs, there is a danger that South African soldiers abducted by the ANC will be treated the same way," Professor Dugard said.

He was supported by Mr Mike Cowling, a senior lecturer at the University of Natal, whose PhD thesis is on international law regulations with specific reference to South Africa.

"In terms of South African law, ANC members are classified as terrorists but the ANC is a liberation movement in terms of international law. "If we are hanging ANC members, what kind of stand are they going to take in respect of captives of the SADF forces?" he asked.

But last week Benjamin Molosie was sentenced to death for the killing of a Mamelodi security policeman. The court heard that he had trained with ANC guerrillas. The spiral of violence continues.

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City Press Reporters

SOWETO — Angry crowds set fire to a bus after yesterday's emotion-charged June 16 service at Regina Mundi.

Police used teargas and baton-charged part of the 5,000-strong crowd as they left the church after the biggest service since 1977.

And scores of people returning home from work were attacked by angry crowds.

After the service, part of the crowd began stoning passing vehicles and forced a bus to stop. The set it ablaze.

Other groups spread through the streets, stoning other vehicles. Riot squad reinforcements arrived and dispersed the crowds with teargas and a baton charge. The police sneeze machine truck also moved in.

When Wasp cops armed with rifles and batons arrived, they were met with a hail of stones and rubbish bins were hurled into the street to block their paths.

The cops then threw teargas canisters at the crowd, clearing the area.

Throughout the drama, a police helicopter hovered overhead.

Roads, covered with splattered blood, were strewn with bodies as groups attempted to barricade the streets against police.

During the clashes, police and photographers from City Press photographer Mike Mzileni, while Rand Daily Mail journalist Stan Hope and a TV
team were detained briefly.

Soweto police chief Brigadier D J D Jacobs said there were about 6,000 people at the church meeting at Regina Mundi — 4,000 people inside and 1,000 outside.

"After the service, people started stoning vehicles passing on Roodepoort Road. They set a bus on fire and damaged a police vehicle."

The police dispersed the crowd with tear gas.

He did not know yesterday afternoon whether any people had been detained by the police.

Earlier, the huge crowd at Regina Mundi heard Mrs Phebuy Mosololi, whose son Jerry was hanged for ANC activities last week, describe June 16, 1976, the day her son left the country.

"I prayed day and night for his safety wherever he was. When I read in the paper that my son had been arrested, I considered him dead," said Mrs Mosololi.

Dr Nthato Moltana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said there had been no fundamental change in the country. He appealed to people to identify the enemy and stop fighting over petty differences.

"Those who rule us tempt us with the crumbs from the table," he told an applauding crowd.

He added: "There has been no progress in the struggle since 1976."

Batons come out after churchgoers burn bus and stone police

Throughout the day, services focused on the ANC fighters hanged last week.

And in Alexandra, Rand Daily Mail journalists Mike Lawrie and Greg English were held by police as they left the June 16 service at the township's Methodist Church.

The police sealed off Durban's strife-torn Lamontville township, where angry crowds seized a police vehicle and set it ablaze.

PUTCO STAYS OUT

JO'BURG — Putco has stopped its buses from entering the central areas of Soweto following stoning incidents and clashes between protesters and police near the Regina Mundi Church yesterday, a spokesman for Putco said.

Windows on about 30 company buses had been broken by stone throwing, the spokesman said.

Putco was now turning its buses around at Baragwanath Hospital, the Dobsonville police station, New Canada station, and at No 17 Shaft on the Soweto highway, the spokesman added. — Sapa.

Silence at soccer

SOWETO — A minute's silence will be observed before all NSPL games this weekend to commemorate June 16. This was confirmed by Mr George Thabe, chairman of the NSPL transvaal promotion league and Johannesburg Football Association fixtures have been postponed to next weekend.
The proof was there at Hammanskraal

By KHULU SIBIYA

THE formation this week of the National Forum, a black consciousness movement, has given birth to three major political fronts in the country.

The new dramatically re-styled BC movement has jerked BC out of the doldrums in which it has been languishing for some time now.

It also marks the formation of a third major black political force. The others are the United Democratic Front, a non-racial organisation adhering to the Freedom Charter and the South African Black Alliance, under the leadership of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

**Struggle**

The more than 800 people, representing 200 organisations at the first seminar in Hammanskraal, was proof enough that those subscribing to BC philosophy had to change their strategy.

The rebirth of BC could be attributed to people like Saths Cooper, Strini Moodley, Muntu Myeza, who were recently released from Robben Island and the likes of Dr Neville Alexander, also a former Island prisoner.

The National Front in one of its resolutions rejects all organisations that work within the Government and those who “collaborate with the system” — a clear reference to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi’s SA Black Alliance.

Although some members and organisations belonging to the UDF, also serve in the NF, the non-racial body also came under heavy attack.

The Soweto Civic Association, the Council of Unions of SA and the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers’ Union, three powerful bodies, owe their allegiance to both the UDF and NF.

Dr Neville Alexander, who is the power behind the NF, sums it up by saying: “In this struggle the idea of a single nation is vital because it represents the real interest of the working class, and therefore of the future socialist Azania.”

“The black working class is the driving force in South Africa.”

Although both the UDF and the NF have been at each other’s throats because of differences in political outlook, they however believe that the total liberation and national unity is in the hands of the working class.

BC, unlike in the days of SASO, BPC and to an extent Azapo during its earlier days, seems to be undergoing a change in its outlook by analysing the struggle in a broader way.

**Freedom**

This was evident at Hammanskraal by the number of different organisations and delegates who questioned the role of BC.

BC still believes that the interests of the “oppressed and exploited” are best kept by the oppressed and the exploited themselves and within the confines of Azania itself.

The UDF believes in the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by the outlawed African National Congress, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1955.

A common factor between the UDF and the NF is that both believe that the land and all that belongs to it will be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people.

Delegates are united at the formation of the National Forum.
Top U.S. finance men told of ANC 'duping'

BY FICKS CHETT

Many Western leaders were being "duped" into regarding the African National Congress as the only authentic organisation fighting for liberation in South Africa, influential American financiers were told this week.

The group of about 40 bankers and investors were brought to South Africa by a New York brokerage firm.

President's Council member Mr Mamoo Rajab told the group at a closed-door meeting that the ANC "led by the South African Communist Party" planned "a totalitarian regime - based on the Russian model" in this country.

"The ANC leadership therefore aims to bring this country into the orbit of Soviet influence," Mr Rajab said.

He added that if the West shut its eyes to peaceful change in South Africa and neglected those striving for such a change, "it does so at its own peril".

Struggle

Rejecting calls for disinvestment, Mr Rajab said overseas investors should not ignore the political struggle taking place in South Africa "for the hearts and minds of the African population".

Referring to Prime Minister Mr P W Botha's constitutional reform initiative, he said:"I believe this cannot be a government effort alone.

"The South African and the international private sector must play a decisive role in this effort."

He said while he appreciated efforts to bring about change, he stressed that "any attempt to exclude Africans from the new political dispensation must lead to conflict in the long term".
Blacks mobilise against Bill

Reform Bill
Scatterings of Africa... "Juluka" has refused to bow to union pressure but has received favourable publicity in the British Press.

Africa then their whole stand becomes meaningless. "They cannot seem to give recognition to any part of the fight against apartheid... and it seems that their interpretation of the cultural boycott against South Africa is terribly wrong." And in a hard-hitting letter to the union, Jonathan said that he appeared from the IPT statement, that they would be "happier if the group disbanded and some of its members became political refugees".

"Juluka, in furtherance of the internal cultural boycott, has turned down - and will continue to do so - significant amounts of income offered by venues which support the apartheid policy of fragmentation. Some of your most respected members perform in these very venues without being expelled.

Different

"Juluka is an expression at a musical level of all that Sipho (Mchunu, co-founder of the group with Clegg) and I have undergone to overcome the barriers which apartheid places between people of different races and cultures. For two hours on a stage a South African audience can see what a non-racial tomorrow can look like. "It is almost certain that I shall not return to England and that Sipho, I and the other members of 'Juluka' will continue to play our music in South Africa. I would therefore earnestly ask the union to reconsider their present position which has now involved us in a double struggle: for we now not only have to fight to maintain our non-racial principles in South Africa but also strive for the support of those who oppose apartheid but who would on current policy prefer to turn their backs on us, so leaving us in a political wilderness without any international support."
Multiracial group rejects ultimatum and faces TV ban

Juluka defiant

THE multiracial pop group "Juluka" has refused to bow to an ultimatum from a British trade union and sacrificed a chance to appear on television and radio.

After a lengthy wrangle, the British Musicians' Union agreed this week to allow the South African group to appear on radio and TV on condition that any fees they earned were donated to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The union also warned the group's leader and co-founder, Jonathan Clegg, who came from Britain and held a union card, he would lose his membership if he returns to play in South Africa.

But yesterday Jonathan accused the movement of double standards by not banning other members who had played in South Africa and said the group would now not appear on either radio or TV.

"Juluka", who arrived in London earlier this week, has received widespread, and mostly sympathetic, coverage in the British Press over their wrangle with the musicians' union.

Typical of the Press reaction, is the comment in the big-read pop column of London's evening newspaper, The Standard, which described the "Juluka" ban as "ridiculous".

The band, who are in the UK for a concert and promotion tour, were forced to cancel several top radio and TV appearances because of the MU's initial ban.

But they are going ahead with their tour, which will include club gigs in London, Leeds, Bournemouth and Manchester.

They will also be appearing at an open air concert in Hamburg, supporting the chart-topping "Men At Work" from Australia, and in Holland where they will do radio and TV work.

Their LP, "Scatterings of Africa", and a single, "Impi", were both released in Britain this week.

Clegg, who has been refused a meeting with union leaders despite several requests to put his case, said: "The union does not know the history of Juluka" and came to a decision without going into the facts.

"They do not know what we are up against as a mixed group in South Africa... police harassment, censorship, arrest and the danger of our non-segregated concerts being closed down.

"The union would like me to give up Juluka and return to England. But what Juluka is doing in South Africa is far more important to me than to give it up because they say I must.

"The union is arguing against apartheid from a moral point of view... but if they are unable to distinguish between people fighting against apartheid in South Africa and those who are doing so by musical means, they cannot help Juluka."

By RAY JOSEPH  London
Botha denies
Zimbabwe
ANC charge

From ANDRE VILJOEN
HARARE. — The South
African Foreign Minis-
ter, Mr Pik Botha, had
accused Zimbabwe of
actively supporting the
armed insurgency of the
African National Con-
gress, the Zimbabwean
Security Minister, Mr
Emmerson Munangagwa
said at the weekend.

Mass rally
The accusation, a pre-
text for an attack, was in
a letter he had received
from Mr Botha last
Thursday, he told a
mass rally near Gweru.

Sapa reports that Mr
Botha said yesterday
that in view of press re-
ports of this allegation
and of Mr Munangag-
wa's claim that the
South African note ac-
cused Zimbabwe of "ac-
tively supporting the
liberation war being
waged by the ANC", he
had no choice but to re-
lease the text of the
note.

Text of note
The text reads: "On
June 10, it was discov-
ered that four persons
had entered the Repub-
lic of South Africa ille-
gally from Zimbabwe.

"During follow-up op-
erations, two of these
persons, who were
armed with weapons of
Soviet manufacture,
were apprehended on
June 11, but the other
two managed to escape
back to Zimbabwe.

"Since then, the two
who were captured have
been identified by fin-
ger-print experts as M
Morake and F Ranoto,
two ANC terrorists who
had received training in
Angola, the Soviet
Union and East Ger-
many.

"Ranoto has subse-
quently indicated that
he was the leader of a
group of four terrorists
who had travelled by air
from Maputo to Harare
on June 8.

"They stayed in Har-
are for a day before
travelling by car to a
point near the place
where they crossed the
Zimbabwe/South Afri-
can border.

Fired shots
"He has also con-

firmed that they were
discovered by the South
African Police after
having crossed the bor-
der and that they fired
number of shots at the
police.

"The Government of
the Republic of South
Africa wishes to extend
an invitation to the Gov-
ernment of Zimbabwe to
send police officials to
South Africa in order to
verify the information
now at South Africa's
disposal.

"The South African
Government would also
appreciate confirmation
of reports to the effect
that the Government of
Zimbabwe will not al-
low ANC bases on its
territory, that it will not
allow members of the
ANC to operate from its
territory, and, that it
will not allow members
of the ANC en route to
or from South Africa to
cross its territory."
Harare admits getting ANC note from SA

The Star Bureau 28

HARARE—Zimbabwe's Minister of Security, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, has confirmed that his Government received a letter from the South African Government last week concerning alleged infiltration of ANC fighters across the Limpopo.

Earlier, a Zimbabwean Government spokesman had denied the receipt of any communication from Pretoria.

Mr Mnangagwa told a rally at the weekend that South Africa had accused Zimbabwe of actively supporting the liberation war being waged by the ANC.

He said South Africa was trying hard to find an excuse to attack Zimbabwe and claimed that groups of South African-trained saboteurs had moved into tribal areas in Matabeleland.

Zimbabwe has strenuously denied that it has allowed ANC guerrillas to use its territory as a base from which to attack South Africa.

Yesterday the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that, in view of Press reports of Mr Munangagwa's claim that South Africa was trying to build up an excuse before launching an attack against Zimbabwe, and because of the claims that the South African note accused Zimbabwe of "actively supporting the liberation war being waged by the ANC," he had no choice but to release the full text of the note.

The main points of the note were:

"On June 10 it was discovered that four persons had entered South Africa illegally from Zimbabwe.

"During follow-up operations two of these persons, who were armed with weapons of Soviet manufacture, were apprehended on June 11 but the other two managed to escape back to Zimbabwe.

"Since then, the two who were captured have been identified as M Morake and F Ranoto, two ANC terrorists who had received training in Angola, the Soviet Union and East Germany.

"Ranoto has subsequently indicated that he was the leader of a group of four terrorists who had travelled by air from Maputo to Harare on June 8.

"They stayed in Harare for a day before traveling by car to a point near the place where they crossed the Zimbabwe/RSA border.

"He has also confirmed that they were discovered by the South African Police after having crossed the border and that they fired a number of shots at the police.

"The South African Government would also appreciate confirmation of reports to the effect that the Government of Zimbabwe will not allow ANC bases on its territory, that it will not allow members of the ANC to operate from its territory, and that it will not allow members of the ANC en route to or from South Africa to cross its territory."
Johannesburg — Mozambican authorities have arrested a man allegedly sent by South Africa to spy on the ANC in Maputo.

Radio Maputo, monitored by the SABC, said the man had been arrested in April, during what was described as his second mission to spy on ANC exiles.

Radio Maputo said the man, who was not named, had been instructed by South African security forces to gather information on “South African refugees in Maputo”.

Reacting to the broadcast, a spokesman for the South African Defence Force said in Pretoria that it was not policy to comment on allegations about intelligence-gathering. — Sapa
Pik's ANC claim 'a pretext for attack'

By ANDRE VILJOEN

HARARE — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had accused Zimbabwe of actively supporting the armed insurgency of the African National Congress into South Africa, the Zimbabwean Security Minister, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, said at the weekend.

Mr Mnangagwa said the accusation contained in a letter he received from Mr Botha last Thursday, was a South African pretext for attacking Zimbabwe.

He told a rally in the midlands town of Gweru that the letter also claimed ANC guerrillas had crossed recently from Zimbabwe into South Africa.

Mr Botha's office announced last Tuesday that he had sent a diplomatic note to the Zimbabwean Government following the arrest in the Masvingo district of two heavily armed ANC guerrillas who had entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

Mr Mnangagwa said the same day that no ANC guerrillas had passed through Zimbabwe and on Thursday a Zimbabwean Government spokesman denied the government had received any communication from South Africa.

Mr Botha's office repeated on Friday that it had sent a note to Zimbabwe which had been delivered to "the responsible Minister" and added that it had "contained no particular warning".

There is genuine concern in Zimbabwean Government circles that the South African charge that the guerrillas went through Zimbabwe could prejudice an attack.

Although observers believe it highly unlikely that Zimbabwe would allow the ANC military to pass through its territory, they consider the ANC would cross through Zimbabwe if it believed it could do so undetected by the South African or Zimbabwean governments.

Meanwhile, Mr Botha yesterday issued the full text of last week's letter to the Zimbabwean Government.

He said the letter was being released in view of accusations by the Freeland and by Mr Mnangagwa, reports Sapa.

The letter says that after the two ANC terrorists were captured near Masvingo on June 11, they said they and others had flown from Maputo to Harare on June 8, then spent a day in Harare before driving to the South African border where they crossed.

It concludes: "The Government of the Republic of South Africa wishes to extend an invitation to the Government of Zimbabwe to send police officials to South Africa in order to verify the information now at South Africa's disposal."

"The South African Government would also appreciate confirmation of reports to the effect that the Governments of Zimbabwe will not, allow the ANC to pass through its territory, that it will not allow members of the ANC to operate from its territory, and that it will not allow members of the ANC to route through South Africa to its territory."

Maize arrives from US

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The first shipment of 20,000 tons of maize imported from the United States was offloaded in the Cape Town docks on Saturday morning.

It was the first delivery of 60,000 tons of maize to be imported from America and Argentina for the next six to seven months to cope with the food shortage caused by the drought.

The manager of the Maize Board, Mr Hennie Nel, said in Cape Town yesterday that most of the present import, yellow maize, would be used for animal fodder.

However, from July 1 some of yellow —

Nkomo 'ready to return home'

London Bureau

LONDON — Supporters of Mr Joshua Nkomo, the Zimbabwe opposition leader who fled from his country in March to seek refuge in London, believe that he will fly home within a few days to claim his seat in the Harare Parliament.

Reports from Harare that he might have flown home with Mr Robert Mugabe, the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, who has been visiting Europe, could not be confirmed.

A spokesman at Gatwick Airport said neither of the two leaders was on the passenger list for an Air Zimbabwe flight to Harare on Saturday.

Mr Nkomo disappeared several days ago from the London flat where he has been staying for several weeks. It was thought that he was still living low in London, where he has a permit to remain until July.

Parliament is to resume on Thursday after a four-month recess. Mr Nkomo has been warned that he will then have 21 days to put in an appearance. If he fails to do so, he will lose his seat.

A delegation of supporters is believed to have flown to London recently to persuade Mr Nkomo to return.

Mr Mugabe said recently that Mr Nkomo was welcome to return. He has been under investigation over allegations of illicit emerald dealing and currency smuggling.

Mystery over nurses' arrests

Mail Africa Bureau

HARARE — A row is brewing in Harare over the recent arrest and detention of three white nurses at a private clinic in the city.

The Sunday Mail yesterday reported the nurses had been detained under emergency powers regulations following allegations of discriminatory practices and had been released last week on order of the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Simon Muzenda.

But a police spokesman in Harare yesterday called the report "slanderous and
Services remember riot victims

THE daughter of Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who spent most of his life sentence on Robben Island, was the main speaker at the commemoration service held at the Jiswa Centre, Lenasia yesterday.

The service, which was banned last week by the Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, was one of several held in Johannesburg and Pretoria yesterday to commemorate the June 16, 1976 uprising in Soweto.

The Jiswa Centre service also commemorated the death of Simon Mogoerane, Marcus Motau and Jerry Mosololi, the three ANC men hanged in Pretoria on June 9.

Other speakers included Dr Essop Jassat, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), Mrs Sarah Mosololi, mother of Jerry Mosololi, Mr Daniel Mogoerane, father of Simon Mogoerane, and his elder brother.

Miss Mandela was greeted with shouts of "Amandla" when she told the packed hall that the banned African National Congress was the future government of South Africa whether people liked it or not.

She strongly condemned those who, on ideological grounds rejected the "people's constitution", the Freedom Charter which was drawn up in Kliptown on June 26, 1955.

"We regard it as treason to turn against the people's demands in exchange for a dictatorship constitution," she said.

Mamelodi, near Pretoria, also commemorated the students' uprising. Mr Kanakana Matsena, who addressed the meeting, said it was up to the people to abandon the yoke of suffering or face another 300 years of bondage.

The educated few had the task of enlightening the less fortunate masses and not isolate themselves by forming elitist groups where good English was the order of the day.

Others to address the big crowd at St Francis Anglican Church were Titus Mamabolo who delivered the same message.

About 200 people attended another service in Kathlehong, near Germiston where Mr Leonard Mosala of the Soweto Committee of Ten and Mr Moshe Mashabane of Azapo addressed the meeting.
HE IS a martyr.
His execution has strengthened the winds of change blowing through the politically sleepy township of Vosloorus on the East Rand.

Telle Simon Mogoe-
rane, one of the three African National Congress (ANC) members executed for their role on the attack on various police stations and killing of four policemen, was born and bred in Vosloorus.

Vosloorus youths and residents praised and hailed him as “hero” during the June 16 commemoration services held at the township last week.

Murmurs of political change started in Vosloorus, and black consciousness found its roots, when residents formed the Civic Association which operates along the same lines as the Soweto Civic Association.

Even long before that, Vosloorus had caught “a political cold” in 1976 when black anger flared countrywide after Soweto had sneezed. A community hall and other buildings were razed in the turmoil that followed.
A series of other political events swept through the township, including the boycott of classes by hundreds of students and the Putco bus strike early this year.

While these events were growing unabated, the Mogoe family was worried about their son’s life after he was sentenced to death for political activities.

The family believe that their son died for a good cause following discussions they held with him on Death Row.

“My son did not show any sign of remorse for what he was accused. He was in high spirits and advised us to be courageous, because he believed ‘one day we shall overcome’,” his mother, Mrs. Mapela Mogoe, said.

The SOWETAN this week.

Her son was educated in Vosloorus and later at QwaQwa where he disappeared in 1976 after the reopening of schools. “I was told he had gone to Botswana. Until then police had been paying frequent visits to my house,” she said.

“I am particularly proud that the stance he took — he did not back track on his convictions. He was an inspiration to the youth in Vosloorus before and after his death,”

Mrs. Mogoe said her family was “dissatisfied with the way we have been treated by the authorities so far. We do not know where our son is buried.

“According to our custom we are supposed to visit his grave and pay respects. We actually intend unveiling a tombstone. But we are puzzled as we do not know where he was buried.”

Mr. Thekiso Mogoe-
rane, Simon’s elder brother, said: “My brother’s sentence was severe. His death will bring change to our family in that we shall miss him. Vosloorus will also miss him.”

“They will kill my body, but my spirits are high,” Simon told his family before his execution.
Zimbabwe admits presence of ANC

HARARE — The Zimbabwe Government has admitted that two members of the African National Congress who escaped from a skirmish with South African security forces are in Zimbabwe.

But, according to a report today in the Bulawayo Chronicle, the Minister in charge of security, Mr. Emmerson Munangagwa, said the ANC men had not entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

INTERVIEWED

Mr. Munangagwa said they had been interviewed and had said they had originally entered South Africa from a country other than Zimbabwe.

The issue was mentioned low down in a long interview with Mr. Munangagwa about dissident activity in Matabeleland confirming observations that it is now being treated as a non-event publicly.

The Pretoria invitation to Zimbabwe to send police officers to South Africa to verify allegations that the ANC had infiltrated through Zimbabwe has been ignored publicly.

CAPTURED

Pretoria maintains that the two insurgents escaped into Zimbabwe after a contact with security forces in which two other members of their band had been captured.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange, said the two captured admitted that they had infiltrated the Messina area through Zimbabwe.

The main thrust of the Minister's interview was that the Botswana Government was co-operating with the Zimbabwe Government in preventing Matabeleland dissidents from operating from its territory.
Inkatha ‘heading for 1 000 000 members’

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Inkatha movement was heading for a paid-up membership of 1 000 000 by the end of the year. This was said yesterday by Mr Z Khumalo, administrative secretary of the cultural and liberation movement which already has a membership of 750 000.

Mr Khumalo said another count of paid-up members would be made after the annual Inkatha conference which begins at Ulundi on Friday night.

There were 2 000 branches of Inkatha throughout the country and 2 000 delegates would be present.

He expected another 3 000 people to attend as observers of the three-day event.

He said the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the movement, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, would address the national council — the highest policy-making body of Inkatha — at 5 p.m. on Friday.

Mr Khumalo said Chief Buthelezi would open the annual conference on Saturday morning.

During the past year, the chief has twice visited Britain and the United States to rally support against the Government’s constitutional proposals.

He has just returned from a 10-day visit to West Germany and Switzerland where he spoke against the tricameral system for whites, coloureds and Indians envisaged by the Government.

The new constitution Bill has been referred to a select committee following its first reading in the House of Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi is on record as saying that Inkatha’s primary objection to the proposals is that they exclude Africans from decision-making.

According to Inkatha sources, the Ingxwuma controversy last year helped boost the strength of the movement from 375 000 to 750 000.
The National Forum brings black organizations nearer to unity

By PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor of the Rand Daily Mail

The National Forum Conference, the two-day conference at Hammanskraal attended by some 200 black leaders that undoubtedly succeeded in its primary aim of promoting closer working relations between black movements operating outside government-approved institutions.

The conference — or national forum — ended with the unanimous adoption by about 800 delegates of the “Manifesto of the Azanian People” as a unifying and over-arching declaration of objectives.

Endorsed

Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the Azanian People’s Organization and a member of the National Forum Committee, said last week that it was endorsed by at least some members of movements subscribing to the Freedom Charter.

It thus helped to narrow differences between black consciousness movements and the Charterists.

Those who voted for the manifesto included members of the South African Allied Workers’ Union, the General and Allied Workers’ Union and the Congress of South African Students — all strongly Charterist in outlook as well as “leading personalities” of the United Democratic Front, Mr Mabasa said.

Formed last month, the United Democratic Front is an umbrella organization of 20 organizations, most of which subscribe to the Freedom Charter, which was originally adopted by the Congress Alliance in June 1955.

The now outlawed African National Congress was a member of the Congress Alliance, as was the recently revived Transvaal African National Congress, which played a leading role in the formation of the United Democratic Front.

A factor which will unquestionably work strongly to promote close lines between black consciousness organizations — of which Azapo is perhaps the foremost exponent — and the Charterists are those movements which are members of the United Democratic Front.

They include the Council of Unions of South Africa, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union and the Soweto Civic Association.

Leading members of these movements — Mr Phiroshaw Camay, of Cusa, Mrs Emma Musimini of the CC&WU, and Mr Tom Manthata, of the SCA — are all members of the National Forum Committee.

In addition there is the influence of men such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, of the Council of Churches, who have already urged black leaders to forget their ideological differences and work together on a common programme of agreed objectives.

Bishop Tutu, a member of the National Forum Committee, was a keynote speaker at the national forum.

A point of ideological convergence between the two camps is that the “national liberation” struggle is not merely against apartheid and racial discrimination but also against capitalism as the perceived primary cause of oppression of blacks.

Few Charterists would quarrel with the opening sentences of the two camps is that the “national liberation” struggle is not merely against apartheid and racial discrimination but also against capitalism as the perceived primary cause of oppression of blacks.

Few Charterists would quarrel with the opening sentences of the manifesto which says: “The distinguished scholar and former Robben Island prisoner, Dr Neville Alexander, spoke quietly but forcefully against automatic exclusion of whites.

He told the conference: "There are many people among the whites who are committed to the ideal of liberating this is the classical position of the national liberation struggle.

He was revelling a section of the audience that he had earlier identified the theory of anti-semitism as one which had replaced the ideology of race after the war had been responsible for the capitalist-apoltheist system.

Referring to Mr Ya-Coob’s statement, Dr Alexander said: “The doctrine inherent in this kind of talk is that simply implies that it makes room in theory and in practice for the preaching of ethnic separatism.

‘Ethnic’ or national group approaches are the thin edge of the wedge. The Charterist movements and civil rights movements are essentially about the liberation of the black peoples from the yoke of white domination and control.”
Two leading student organisations in the black community, the Congress of South African Students and the Azanian Students' Organisation, have joined forces with the Federation of South African Women in organizing two services to commemorate the adoption of the Freedom Charter 28 years ago.

The charter was signed in June 1955 in Kliptown, outside Johannesburg, by more than 3,000 people of all races. They represented organisations such as the African National Congress, the Congress of Democrats (whites), the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the Trade Union Council of South Africa.

The first service will be held tonight at the Dube YWCA and will be addressed by a former inmate of Robben Island maximum security prison now working for the South African Council for Higher Education, Mr. Eric Molobi. He will speak on "The national question and the Freedom Charter."

The second service will be held tomorrow night at the same venue and will be addressed by Mr. Dliza Matshoba, a field worker for the South African Council of Churches. Mr. Matshoba will speak on "The Freedom Charter — a perspective on liberation."

The organisations which have called the meetings noted that, 28 years after the signing of the charter, "none of the people's basic demands has been met. Instead the ruling class in this country has enacted more repressive measures to continually subjugate the oppressed."

"Increasing rents, forced removals and bad living conditions in the black communities go to show that there is no comfort and security for South Africa's majority," the organisations said.

The services begin at 7.30 pm. More are planned for the weekend.
Rees supporters racists — Tutu

Mr Rees, a former general secretary of the SACC, was recently fined for theft and fraud involving R296,000 of the council's money.

Bishop Tutu said the trial had not been political, and the prosecution had been scrupulously fair.

"Those who want Mr Rees to be a martyr must look for another cause," he said.

Bishop Tutu attacked those who had vilified him for his treatment of the case, saying they must acknowledge that it was Mr Rees and not himself who had defrauded the council, betrayed its trust and lied.

"What more could we have done to show our support for John than to have refused to lay charges against him despite the strong evidence that police produced of a felony having been committed?" he said.

"We are accused of handicapping Mr Rees's defence by not giving him access to documents he had requested. That is a lie. I hope Mr Rees and his defence team will one day tell the world the truth," he said.

Bishop Tutu said he had refused to provide financial assistance for Mr Rees's defence because his case had been an ordinary criminal case and did not fall within the ambit of the Asingeni Fund.

Mr Rees had already indicated that he did not want assistance anyway, he said.

The SACC was asking Mr Rees for the money back because restitution was an important part of Biblical repentance.
Schoons are still in Botswana

The Star's Foreign News Service

GABORONE - African National Congress supporters Marius Schoons and his wife Jeanette have not yet decided when they are going to leave Botswana, a source close to the couple said here today.

Their contracts with the International Voluntary Service, a British assistance programme similar to the US Peace Corps, were terminated last week after the British government told IVS that their lives were in danger.

The couple moved out of their Gaborone home and were reported to have left Botswana. However, they are now staying in a hotel in the city.

A report due to be published today concerning the activities of the Schoons has been withheld by The Star in terms of the Security Laws.
Train crushes exiled man's son

THE son of a member of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and a former Robben Island prisoner died under the wheels of a fast-moving train in Tshiamo at the weekend.

Mr Stanley Rehumile Mashaba of 4146 Tshiamo, whose father Andrew fled the country two years ago and is now living in exile, died after he was run over by a train at Tshiamo Station on Sunday night.

Mr Mashaba (senior) was one of the people who were charged with high treason at the Nelson Mandela trial in the 60s. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison and served his sentence on Robben Island. When he was released in 1980, he was slapped with a two-year banning order.

He escaped before the banning order expired and he is believed to be living in one of the African states.

His wife, Caroline, who participated in the anti-pass laws march to Pretoria in 1958, was banned for a total of 10 years until 1980. She is a member of the Women's Federation of SA and is still active in community work.

Stanley, described by family members as a "troubled" person, was earlier seen by members of the Railways Police lying across the rails of an oncoming train. The train driver spotted the figure lying on the rails and sounded his alarm. With the help of the two policemen he was removed from the rails and cautioned. Minutes later he was killed by a goods train coming from the opposite direction.

Mrs Cynthia Hlopho, the dead man's sister, told the SOWETAN about her brother's troubled life. Stanley left school after the riots in 1977 at Form 3. He found a job but did not earn enough to provide a comfortable life for his wife and two children on the one hand and his family on the other hand. Mrs Hlopho said he was always quarreling with the family over money but never told them about his intentions to commit suicide.

On the day before he was killed, he had quarreled with a relative over some money he had borrowed and promised to repay back that day. When the family confronted him, he flew into a rage and locked himself in the bedroom.

Some time later he came out and left without a word. He later told a friend that, that was the last time he was seeing him. Later that day his family was informed of his death. Stanley will be buried next week but the family has not yet finalized burial arrangements.
Freedom Charter 28 years old

By SAM MABE

A NUMBER of meetings by students and women’s organisations will be held throughout the country this week, to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, adopted at a meeting held in Kliptown, near Johannesburg on June 26, 1955.

The first of such meetings will be held at the Dube YWCA tonight at 7.30. It will be addressed by Mr Eric Molobi, former Robben Island prisoner, who will speak on “The National Question and the Freedom Charter”.

Tomorrow another meeting will be held at the same venue at 7.30pm and the main speaker will be Mr Dipana Matshoba, who will speak on “The Freedom Charter — a perspective on liberation”.

Venues of other meetings planned for the weekend will be announced during the course of the week.

According to a joint statement released by the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Federation of South African Women (Fedswa), none of the minimum demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter have been met by authorities.

The statement says that the ruling class has enacted more repressive measures to continually subjugate the oppressed.

“The Charter says that there shall be houses, comfort and security for all, but the existing backlog for houses for blacks is about 221 000. Ever increasing rents, forced removals and bad living conditions in black communities, are evidence that there is no “comfort and security” for South Africa’s majority.

“The Quota Bill, the permit system, the De Lange Commission and universities like Vista are not attempts to create a relevant, free and democratic system of education, but quests to sugar-coat a bitter pill that students in 1976 and 1980 refused to swallow.

“In this light, it must be made clear that the Freedom Charter is a living document. The daily struggles of the people in the work place for higher wages, better working condition, decision-making powers, lower rents, transport and foodstuffs, reflect that the struggle for liberation centres around the Freedom Charter.

“We call upon the people of this country to treat with suspicion any document emanating not from the people, but a group of ideologies who seek to divert the people rather than concentrate their efforts to working for the eradication of oppression and exploitation,” the statement said.
ANC 2 in Zimbabwe admits govt

By David Thomas,
The Star Bureau

HARARE — The government has admitted that two African National Congress men who escaped during a skirmish with South African security forces are in Zimbabwe.

But a report today in the Bulawayo newspaper The Chronicle said the Minister of State Security, Mr. Emmerson Munangagwa, claimed the men had not entered South Africa from Zimbabwe.

Pretoria maintains they escaped into Zimbabwe after contact with security forces when two other members of the band were captured.

The South African Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange, said the captured men had admitted that they had infiltrated into the Messina area through Zimbabwe.

Mr. Munangagwa said the two ANC men now in the country had been interviewed and had said they originally entered South Africa from a country other than Zimbabwe.

A Pretoria invitation to Zimbabwe to send police officials to South Africa to verify allegations that the captured men had infiltrated through Zimbabwe was ignored publicly.
Mosala: SA belongs to blacks

Black South Africans would never have respect for the South African flag under the existing political order, a Soweto civic leader said last night.

Mr Leonard Mosala, a former member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, was addressing several hundred people in the hall of the Dube YWCA last night at a meeting convened by the Congress of South African Students, the Azanian Students' Organisation and the Federation of South African Women to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown.

"It is an indisputable fact that this land belongs to us, though we stand committed to a non-racial society and to the principle of an equitable distribution of the wealth of this country among all its citizens," Mr Mosala said.

Student leader Mr Kehla Shubane traced the events leading to the signing of the Freedom Charter. He concluded by saying it was a lie that the document was solely the work of the African National Congress. He said the charter was drawn up by the ANC, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats (whites) and the Trade Union Congress of South Africa.

"The meeting held in Kliptown was so representative that even the National Party had been invited to send its delegates. It did — it sent 200 armed policemen mounted on horseback. The defunct Liberal Party was also invited, but it declined the invitation on the grounds that the Freedom Charter was a communist-inspired document. That was not true," he said.
ANC, PAC want to oust Transkei Govt’ says Chief

MTATA–The Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, yesterday warned his country to prepare for an increase in terrorist activity.

Chief Matanzima, who is also Minister of Police, said in his policy speech on the police vote in the National Assembly that it had become clear the main threat of African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress terrorism emanated from neighbouring Lesotho.

He said both the ANC and PAC were intent on creating internal unrest with the aim of eventually toppling the Transkei Government.

Their activities covered the whole of Southern Africa and they were supported morally and logistically by all the communist countries, the Organisation of African Unity and a number of Western countries. Chief Matanzima said.

Their numbers were growing, their training abroad was becoming more intensive and sophisticated, and they had considerable amount of military equipment at their disposal, he added.

Considerable information has been gained and it is clearly evident the main ANC and PAC threat emanates from our neighbouring country, Lesotho, which has allowed terrorists to use it as a staging point to enter Transkei and South Africa to commit acts of sabotage.

Giving figures on the detention of political suspects, Chief Matanzima said that, of 41 people held last year, five had been convicted. 33 had been released and only one was still in detention.

– Sapo
Montsisi 'kicked out' of hospital

By MONO BADELA

DAN Sechaba Montsisi, former leader of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC), recently released from a four-year imprisonment on Robben Island, yesterday alleged that he was "kicked out" of the Natalspruit Hospital.

Montsisi, who was admitted for a knee operation on June 14 after an injury sustained while playing soccer on Robben Island, claimed that he was thrown out after protesting to the matron, Mrs W du Plessis against what he called "appalling conditions".

The matron, he alleged, called him a "prisoner" and accused him of being an agitator.

NO CRUTCHES

But Dr A F Chemaly, the superintendent of the hospital, yesterday denied this and said Montsisi had been discharged at the insistence of his private doctor, Dr A L Orford.

Montsisi, who said he was not given crutches when he left and was not provided transport home although he was still unable to walk, claimed that patients, especially from Ward 21, were made to wear soiled and dirty pyjamas for two weeks.

The hospital, he said, was plagued with hordes of cockroaches which "invaded our lockers at night".

TERRIBLE NOISE

The patients, he alleged, could not sleep at night because of the "terrible noise" caused by the heating system. The food, too, left much to be desired.

He said that complaints were met with arrogance. Dr Chemaly said the hospital was short of linen because of the financial crisis in the country which resulted in the hospital budget being cut drastically.

"We have to skimp here and there to make ends meet. At the moment we are experiencing overcrowding," he said.

AGITATOR

He said the heating system would be fixed and as for cockroaches, "even five star hotels do have them".

Asked about the matron's allegations, Dr Chemaly explained that Montsisi was "a deputy of Tsietsi Mashinini during the Soweto riots.

"You could see that the man is an agitator and a troublemaker," he said.
‘Anger erupted in time of crisis’

Supreme Court Reporter

MR JUSTICE Williamson yesterday found ex-teminating circumstances in favour of the 10 young men convicted of murder in the trial of trade unionist Oscar Mpetha.

The judge said they had experienced feelings of suppressed anger which erupted in a time of crisis.

However, the riots in which they took part were not an eruption of mob violence, but were planned beforehand. An aggravating factor was that two innocent people were killed.

‘Differences’

Mr Justice Williamson also said: “We have carefully considered the individual differences of the accused.

“We think that the cumulative effect of their sense of grievances, whether justified or not at the time of the riot, must be viewed against a background of poverty and hardship.”

The school bus and red meat boycotts and the commemoration of the 1976 riots had heightened and inflamed people’s feelings.

Mr Justice Williamson said the court could consider extenuating circumstances in cases where the accused was under 18 or when there were factors which could reduce the moral blameworthiness of the individual.

In such a case the court should concentrate on the subjective nature of the accused and not the horrifying aspects of the crime.

“Although the approach of the court is one of perceptive understanding of the human frailties of the accused, they have made the task of the court more difficult when the four of them who testified told the court a pack of lies,” Mr Justice Williamson said.

Appearing for Mpetha, Mr J Farlam, SC, called a specialist physician from Groot Schuur hospital, Dr P B Disler, who had treated Mpetha, to give evidence in mitigation of sentence.

Severe diabetes

Dr Disler told the court that Mpetha’s life expectancy, as far as it could be determined, was probably no longer than a year. He was suffering from severe diabetes, had gangrene of his left leg and walked with great difficulty.

The doctor said that Mpetha’s left leg might have to be amputated in the future, and he would be left with a painful right leg. Mpetha had to take insulin regularly and watch his diet carefully.

Mpetha might even have to take six light meals daily. “This would be very difficult to arrange in prison,” Dr Disler said.

Mr Farlam argued that the court was not obliged to pass the obligatory five-year sentence prescribed by the Terrorism Act. He said Mpetha was found guilty under the old Terrorism Act of 1957 and had not committed any crimes of violence.

The court found in earlier judgment that Mpetha had stopped his car near marching youths, gave the black power salute and told them “to sing my song.”

The crowd then sang “There are cops in Angola, fetch them.”

Mr Farlam argued that the old Terrorism Act should be applicable to Mpetha, and it could be extended artificially.

He referred to numerous court decisions both in South Africa and overseas to make the point that Parliament had adopted a new approach to sentencing.

“Parliament trusts the courts to impose the right sentence with due regard to the three important factors: the crime, the criminal and the interests of society,” Mr Farlam said.

He said Mpetha was an old man near his end of life and suggested to the court that a suspended sentence would be an adequate penalty because Mpetha had already been jailed for three years.

Other men

Last week Mr Justice Williamson found the other 10 men guilty of killing two men. Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederik Jansen, in an incident at Klipfontein during which cars were stoned and burned.

Two other advocates Mr T L Skweyiya and Mr J Whitehead who are appearing for the other accused are expected to argue mitigation of sentence for them today.

Mr Justice Williamson is sitting with two assessors Mr C B Van Gend and Mr G H Titterton. Mr Farlam and Mr Whitehead are instructed by Frank Berman and Joffe. Mr Skweyiya and Mr Whitehead are instructed by Oscar, Vassen and Company.
1948 boycott theory wins some support

By Staff Reporter DAVID BREIER

ACADEMIC opinion has come out in partial support of the current Labour Party theory that a coloured election boycott in 1948 enabled the National Party to defeat the Smuts Government and to introduce apartheid into South Africa.

This theory is being wielded by the LP and its leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, to attack the present-day boycotters who refuse to participate in the Government's constitutional proposals.

On television

Mr Hendrickse has used this argument from platform to platform, and aired it on SABC television recently to explain why the LP was participating in the constitutional scheme although it opposed the proposals.

In an interview with The Argus, Mr Hendrickse said that in 1948 when the coloured people were on the common voters' roll, the Unity Movement and the Teachers' League of South Africa urged a boycott of the crucial general election.

He said that the thinking at the time was that it would be better if the National Party came to power as its policy of discrimination would create dissatisfaction and would bring nearer the day of liberation for the black people.

Treuernicht

This strategy was in line with the views of present-day leaders such as Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who said that if Dr Andries Treurnicht came to power, this would bring forward the liberation date, Mr Hendrickse said.

But this thinking enabled the NP and its ally, the Afrikaner Party, to scrape home by five seats against the United Party in 1948, he added.

Coloured voters who boycotted the election would have voted for the UP and their vote would have made a difference in 12 seats such as Worcester, Paarl and Uitenhage where the NP won by default because of the coloured stayaways, Mr Hendrickse said.

He said that while Smuts had planned to introduce segregation and the UP itself was responsible for much discrimination, the NP regime set a course that eventually led to the removing of the coloured people from the common voters' roll.

This was achieved with the tacit help of the coloured people themselves because of their boycott, he said.

Mr David Scher of the History Department at the University of South Africa, who is researching a thesis on coloured politics, said Mr Hendrickse exaggerated the facts, but his theory was essentially true.

Divided

Mr Scher said that in 1948, as now, the coloured people were divided, with the Coloured Peoples' National Union of George Golding supporting the UP and the Unity Movement and Teachers' League proposing an election boycott.

He said it was an exaggeration to say the coloured vote made a difference in 12 seats. But with the NP/Afrikaner Party majority only five, the UP needed only three more seats to retain power.

One such seat could have been Paarl which had 2,673 coloured voters, but which the NP won by 367 votes.

Mr Scher pointed out that Smuts had wanted to give four seats to the Indians on a separate voters roll. This was rejected by the Indians.

However if the Indians had accepted the offer of four seats, and if only one other seat had remained UP, the NP would have failed to win a majority and the course of history might have been different.
Dube killing: ‘2 men hired’

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — Mr Moonlight Gaza, 54, chairman of the Ningizimu Council, and three others pleaded guilty in a Durban Regional Court yesterday to murdering Lamontville community leader Mr Harrison Dube in April this year.

Mr Gaza told the court of “trouble” Mr Dube had caused in the council.

Mr Dube allegedly began spreading slanderous reports among the community that Mr Gaza was an informer for the special branch police and was being paid by the Fort Natal Administration Board.

“He said Mr Dube had told residents it was Mr Gaza who was responsible for the Lamontville rent rises and increased taxi fares.

Mr Gaza said he had suffered as a result. His house was often stoned and he was assaulted by residents.

Two men who owned taxi services in the township, Mr Mahlaba and Mr Ebenezer Mnonge, approached him with complaints about Mr Dube.

They said he had organised taxi operators from Umlazi to run services in Lamontville.

The Lamontville operators had complained to Mr Dube of losses to themselves because of the influx of new taxis. Their appeals were ignored.

Mr Gaza, Mahlaba and Mr Mnonge had agreed to “get rid” of Mr Dube, the court was told.

Mr Gaza said that although this decision was made, the method, time and place for the killing was not discussed.

A few days later he was told of Mr Dube’s death.

The second accused, Mr Mnonge, 59, of Lamontville, told the court that he had sent a Mr Mpondonk Mbwula to Bizana to find killers.

The third and fourth accused, Mr Vuku- teghwa Yalo, 37, and Mr Julius Juja Ndodana, 70, both of Bizana, were brought to Durban.

‘Unwanted person’

Mr Yalo told the court he had not known why he was taken to Durban. He said he was unhappy when he learnt of the plan to kill this “unwanted person”.

Mr Yalo said he was assured not to worry as the police knew of the plan and white municipal authorities would pay them for the killing.

Mr Mnonge told the court he was awakened one morning and told Mr Dube was dead.

The unrest which followed had forced them to return to Bizana.

Mr Ndodana returned later for the money. “Mpondon” had been given R500 each by Mr Mahlaba and Mr Mnonge, but R500 was outstanding from Mr Gaza.

The hearing continues today before Mr B J C Willemsen.

Mr “Mpondon” Mbwula is to appear in court on July 8.
The Zulu national cultural liberation group Inkatha, the largest organised-political movement in South Africa, meets for its annual conference this weekend with black politics as divided as ever over strategy and principles. ANTHONY DUGAN reports.

Inkatha: taking issue with the ANC

When the expected 5,000 delegates arrive in Ulundi, kwaZulu, today for the two-day Inkatha national conference they will meet at a time when other groups—some of them pulled together under the umbrella of the recently formed United Democratic Front—will be preparing to celebrate "Freedom Day." This is June 28, the 28th anniversary of the signing of the Freedom Charter, policy credo of the African National Congress (and the other congress movements).

Inkatha has allied itself over the years with the aims of the ANC—one man one vote in a non-racial state—while eschewing its strategy of violence. Recently, the differences between the two bodies have come into the open clearly and underscore the deep divisions in black politics as those who regard themselves as what may be called the "purified nationalists" and politicians who have decided to use platforms recognised by the establishment.

The ranks of those aligned against Inkatha, homeland leaders and urban community councillors are themselves rent by adherence to opposing ideologies—black consciousness or the non-racial Freedom Charter.

Inkatha's weapon in the fray is its numerical strength—claimed to be 750,000 paid-up members—and its disciplined organisation which links urban and rural grassroots.

In kwaZulu political circles the belief is now strong that the real battle for the minds and hearts of black South Africa has shifted to a contest between the ANC and Inkatha.

The proponents of this view point to the Russian arms caches found in Ulundi (kwaZulu's capital) in March and the insurgents, allegedly on their way to assassinate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who were picked up by Security Police earlier this year.

In his policy speech to the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly this year, Chief Buthelezi spent a long time giving the background to the disagreements that have sprung up between Inkatha and the external wing of the ANC which has formally spurned the recent approaches from Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

Shortly before this Chief Buthelezi had handed a letter to a member of the ANC executive in Maputo complaining about the "continuous sniping" taking place against him in the ANC bulletin, Sechaba, and "The African Communist".

"If this is a declaration of war on the Zulu people and on Inkatha, let us know and we are going to make the people aware of the intentions of the SA Communist Party and the external mission of the ANC that you are no longer fighting against the racist regime but against me and the black people of South Africa," he wrote.

The theme of the Inkatha conference is "Retaining Hope and Avoiding Despair in the Midst of a Violent and Desperate Situation." Besides discussion on the ideological confrontation between Inkatha and the ANC, Chief Buthelezi will undoubtedly argue again for non-violence as Inkatha's political strategy.

He will also possibly lay his remarks with warnings about the looming options for violence which some see as the final strategy in the power game.
THE ADOPTION of a manifesto by a conference convened by the National Forum Committee (NFC) in Hammanskraal recently, took a dramatic turn yesterday when two leading trade union and two student organisations said they disassociated themselves from it.

In a joint statement released to The SOWETAN the South African Allied Workers’ Union (Sawwu), General and Allied Workers’ Union (Gawu), Cosas and Azaso, said they could not be party to the adoption of the manifesto because they were still committed to the Freedom Charter.

“We reiterate our uncompromising commitment to the historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the liberation struggle. It stands out from all other alternatives for change in South Africa, not only because of the manner in which it came into being, but also because of the demands reflected in it.

“It can, therefore, never be substituted without the will of the majority. Any attempt by an individual or group to discredit or undermine it can only be seen as an act of betrayal to the aspirations of all the people of South Africa,” the statement ended.

Manesto under attack
Mpetha trial: Call for death sentence

Supreme Court Reporter

THE State has asked for the death sentence to be imposed on six of the convicted men in the marathon Mpetha trial.

Mr C van Wyk said in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, that the community called for retribution and maximum protection, notwithstanding that the court had found extenuating circumstances.

Sentence will be passed on ailing veteran trade unionist, Oscar Mpetha, 74, and 10 other accused on Tuesday.

Mr van Wyk said the death sentence should be passed on Morgan Maku-

bala, Aaron Tshangama, Peter Kube, Johannes Hilpo, Vuyisile Diba and Richard Mapondo.

Their extreme actions during riots in the townships in August 1990, in which two motorists lost their lives, stood out above the rest of the accused, he said.

They had acted more unluckily than the others and their comparative maturity also increased their moral blameworthiness.

Hilpo was one of the leaders and had hit Mr Frederick Janse, a motorist, with a brick and had licked the blood off a knife used in the assault.

They had killed men regardless of their political convictions. This they had done in a cruel and inhuman manner, leaving the men to die.

On the terrorism charge, Mr van Wyk said the old Terrorism Act, No 83 of 1967, which prescribed a sentence of not less than five years, was applicable in the present case.

Terrorism was an extremely serious offence and had recently become more prevalent in more serious forms.

Punishment should be severe to act as a deterrent.

He conceded Mpetha's age and poor health was a mitigating factor. But the seriousness of the crime called for a long imprisonment.

Mpetha, a respected member of his community, had encouraged the young people to commit violence. The court had to keep in mind that there had been great loss and damage during the riots.

Mr Justice Wilkinson is sitting, with two assessors, Mr C H van Gend and Mr C H Theron. Mr J G Farlam SC with Mr Joan Waitesead represents Mpetha. Mr Waitesead and Mr T L Skweyiya appear for the other accused.
Mpetha sentence on Tuesday

Supreme Court Reporter
IN THE Supreme Court on Tuesday, Mr Justice Williamson will sentence trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, 74, and nine men found guilty of murder for killing two motorists in 1980.

Mpetha has been found guilty only on a charge of terrorism and not murder.

Mr C J van Wyk, who appears for the State, has asked the court to sentence six of the men to death. He said they were more closely involved with the killing than the other three.

These men are Morgan Teboga Makabala, Aaron Tshangama, Peter Vusumzi Kube, Johannes Hlapo, Vuyisile Venson Diba, and Richard Raymond Bongani Mapondo.

The other three men found guilty of the same murder are Christopher Sidlayiya, Alton Siphiwa Sabuwa, and Phillip Nyongwana.

Cars stoned, burned
Mr Justice Williamson found them guilty of of killing Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen in an incident at Kliptfontein during which cars were stoned and burned.

Mpetha was only found guilty of taking part in terrorist activities. He had stopped his car near marching youths and encouraged them to sing: “There are guns in Angola, fetch them.”

Mr Van Wyk told the court that Makabala had acted in a cruel and callous way in setting Mr Beeton’s car on fire. Mr Van Wyk claimed that Hlapo was the leader of the men who had organized the road ambush. He had dragged Mr Jansen from his car and had made a number of petrol bombs.

Makabala had shown visible signs of pleasure at the sight of Mr Jansen’s death and had even licked his blood from a knife, Mr Van Wyk said.

Diba, who was 21 at the time of the killing and Mapondo, who was only 18, had killed Mr Jansen with a knife.

Mr Van Wyk said all the accused men had planned a course of action. They left a church in a group and proceeded to Kliptfontein Road.

The trial, one of the longest in South African history, has been going on for more than two years, and there have been a number of trials within the trial to determine the admissibility of statements made by the men.

Policemen, some of them armed with sub-machine guns, have been keeping a constant vigil on both sides of the Supreme Court. At least two or three policemen, similarly armed, have been on guard near the court room.

A number of them are in constant touch through two-way radios and visitors to the building are carefully searched at both court entrances.

Pensioner
A pensioner who has taken a keen interest in the case has turned up almost daily for the past two years, and sits in one of the benches which were used by juries many years ago.

He collects newspaper cuttings of the hearing and “checks” on the reports written by the court reporters.

A court official said yesterday that the transcriptions of the proceedings were about four metres thick and might have to be studied by judges of the Appeal Court should there be an appeal.

Mr Justice Williamson is sitting with two assessors, Mr C H Van Gend and Mr G H Titterton. Mr I Farlam, SC, appearing for Mpetha, is instructed by Frank Bernard and Joffe and Mr J Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya appearing for the other men are instructed by Omar, Vassen and Company.
SACC chooses a man for a crisis

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Lutheran Bishop Manas Buthelezi (right) is the new head of the South Council of Churches and his soul-leaded authority will be invaluable in guiding the council through the crises it has faced — and still has to face.

Lutheran Bishop Manas Buthelezi (right) is the new head of the South Council of Churches and his soul-leaded authority will be invaluable in guiding the council through the crises it has faced — and still has to face.

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Lutheran Bishop Manas Buthelezi, muzzled by the Government a decade ago, was chosen this week as head of the South African Council of Churches.

Dr Buthelezi, whose activities have straddled theology and practical community work, believes the church has a duty to society as well as to its individual members. But by this he does not mean a slavish duty.

"The context of people's lives has a lot to do with their needs and personal problems. To keep helping the needy without asking about the social conditions that make for need may be futile," he says.

Dr Buthelezi (46), now based in Soweto, served as director of the Christian Institute in Natal until the organisation was declared affected in 1976. During this time he was issued with a five-year banning order under the Suppression of Communism Act.

His ban raised cries of outrage at home and abroad and, six months after its issue, the restriction was lifted without explanation.

Perhaps the most public indication of Dr Buthelezi's social commitment has been his chairing of the Black Parents' Association, a response to the devastation of Soweto families in the 1976 disturbances. The organisation was banned in October 1977.

Less conspicuously, Dr Buthelezi had, for years, been addressing political and social issues — at church meetings, political gatherings and on university campuses nationwide.

His creed was that of black theology and his political counterparts were Black Consciousness proponents.

But he pursued a path of dialogue with white organisations, acknowledging those contributing to social justice.

Yesterday Dr Buthelezi was reluctant to spell out options for direct Christian action for change but he said he believed the churches had a dual political role.

The first involved independent action based on Christian morality — speaking, preaching and seeking to influence "those who may go beyond ordinary church means".

The second was less direct, aiming to enhance the effectiveness of political organisations.

"The church is not a political party but this is God's world and the church is the custodian of God's will to everyone," he said.

Consequently, the church owed "prophetic ministry" to political organisations, he pointed out.

The bishop is acutely aware that the eyes of Christians cannot be sighted only on the goals of justice, overlooking the immediate victims of the social and political system.

The SACC programmes to aid political prisoners, their families and political trialists are among those closest to his heart. Other priorities which spring readily to his lips when discussing the tasks of the SACC are "healing" and "reconciliation".

At his induction as president earlier this week, Dr Buthelezi spoke of breaking barriers between races groups: between the rich and the poor, and between the powerful and those they govern.

He has shown an interest in black political unity and he attended the National Forestry Committee meeting — a mass gathering of organisations falling broadly into the Black Consciousness (BC) group — two weeks ago.

Speaking of the rift in black politics between the BC group and the non-racial Charterists, Dr Buthelezi expresses the belief that co-operation on specific issues could be achieved, although fundamental differences exist.

The bishop will be guiding the SACC through a crucial period.

He knows that the Eloff Commission finding could destroy the SACC but shows no apprehension. The council is merely an agent of the churches, he points out, and its work will not be stamped out.

He is aware of the division sown in the council by the fraud trial of a former general secretary, John Rees, and speaks of acting to "heal wounds on the body of the SACC itself".

Again the prospect does not disturb him. "There's nothing strange in working for an organisation facing a crisis — life is full of them."

SACC conference delegates said that those who voted Dr Buthelezi into office chose him for his cool-headed authority rather than for his string of degrees from famous universities, nor for his international connections.

But no one is denying that these, too, are assets to the council he heads.
Charter services

MEETINGS organised throughout the country for the holding of services to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter and speakers to address them on Sunday are as follows:

- **Roman Catholic Church in Philo, Soweto** — Dr Nthato Motlana of the Committee of 10.
- **St Francis Church, Mamelodi, Pretoria** — Mr Bogosi Mogale.
- **Methodist Church, Alexandra Township** — Mr Shepherd Mati, President of Cosas.
- **Roman Catholic Church, Kagiso, Krugersdorp** — Mrs Greta Ncapayi of Fedswar.

- **Hlubi Church, Vry-
burg** — Mr Elliot Shabangu of the General and Allied Workers’ Union (Gawu).
- **Methodist Church, Ikageng (Potchef-
stroom).**
- **Roman Catholic Church, Lenenyne Township, Tzaneen** — Mr Samson Ndou of Gawu.
- **St Josephs, Acton-
ville, Benoni.**

In Bloemfontein the service will be at the Roman Catholic Church in Batho Location. It will be addressed by Mr Tshediso Matona, national organiser of Cosas.

All the services start at 1pm.
SIR — I refer to the letter from Dr F M Meer under the heading 'Rajbansi's leadership challenged' in the Natal Mercury on June 15, 1983. This is nothing new from Dr Meer and what Chief Gatshe Buthelezi has correctly described as a small coterie of bandwagoners in the Natal Indian Congress.

When a person, especially one of Dr Meer's standing, indulges in vituperation and personality attacks, he shows how bankrupt his dwindling NC's leadership is and how sound arguments against the constructive work of the South African Indian Council.

Democracy requires that each one should respect the efforts of others without insulting others' efforts. Dr Meer's Natal Indian Congress is a pale reflection of what it was two decades ago.

**Weaknesses**

Perhaps a series of personal attacks against me is designed to divert the attention of the masses away from the weaknesses of people like Dr Meer who have no record of any worthwhile contribution for the public except to campaign and react to events, make public statements and hold meetings in front of self-created audiences, etc.

Perhaps he is envious of the growing popularity of the South African Indian Council and the National People's Party. The poor attendances at his recent meetings at Shallcross, Port Elizabeth, and Morton (Chatsworth) are typical examples.

_**Editorial Note:** This cover shows the number of the question you answered._

2. Blue or black ink must be used for writing answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only undeliberately 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 examination book (s) are used.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to possible exclusion from the examination.
Buthelezi lashes out at the 'Marxist' ANC

BLACK South Africans would never swap "white apartheid masters for black Marxist masters".

This message was spelled out at Ulundi in KwaZulu yesterday by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the 750,000 strong Inkatha movement.

He was addressing 3,000 delegates and observers attending the ninth national conference of the organisation.

Chief Buthelezi said the prime object of the members of the external mission of the African National Congress was to establish themselves as a future government in South Africa.

"They will attempt to prolong the struggle for as long as it is necessary to do so," he said.

He also said there was no prospect of a future for South Africa without national reconciliation and the whole population "heading towards building a new future".

The Inkatha president said the ANC was a group of ideological puritans along Marxist lines.

Better off

"The more misery we're in, the more unemployment there is, the more squatter camps there are, the less land we have, the poorer our education is, the worse our social and health services are, the better off they will be,"

Chief Buthelezi said it suited the interests of the external mission of the outlawed organisation to produce turbulence in South Africa.

He said Press reports that the leadership structure of the external mission was being revamped filled him with "foreshadowing".

"With Mr Thabo Mheki now occupying a newly created post of publicity secretary of the ANC, we can anticipate a great deal more political vitriol against every organisation and everybody who does not toe the line of the external mission," he said.
Curtis Nkondo gets Peyco off to a dramatic start

PORT ELIZABETH - Before an audience of about 800 people at the Great Centenary Hall, Peyco, the newly established Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, was officially launched.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, the former president of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), was one of the many guest speakers, including the national organizing secretary of the Congress of the South African Students (Cosas). Mr Tsediso Madons, Mr Nkondo hit at those who believe in black consciousness as it "encourage racism."

"Anyone who says that whites should be driven to the sea when we get our freedom is speaking through his hat. I have never heard of yellow consciousness or green consciousness. I am surprised that there is black consciousness," said Mr Nkondo.

Mr Nkondo attacked millionaires who never give alms to the poor while thousands of children are dying of kwashiorkor and other diseases related to malnutrition.

Trade unions, civic representatives as well as student leaders echoed Mr Nkondo's call for a non-racial stand against apartheid.
LONDON — The African National Congress (ANC) in London has been alarmed by the theft of numerous documents from the Zambian High Commission and is blaming the South African security services.

Scotland Yard's Special Branch, anti-terrorist branch and CID units are investigating last weekend's break-in.

Police sources said the embassy premises were "really turned over" and they suspect "foreign hostile agents".

The police units involve top officers who are still investigating a break-in at the ANC-aligned Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) offices in London earlier this year.

It is known that the ANC in London has frequent contact with the Zambian High Commission. Several ANC units are now said to be established at Lusaka and ANC men move frequently between the Zambian capital and London.

A raid on the Zambian High Commission could have revealed valuable intelligence to the South African secret services.

This has led to suspicion that a South African spy unit, not connected with the South African Embassy here but controlled from Pretoria, could be behind the two raids this year.
IF IGNORANCE is bliss, then sometimes our Government appears as the embodiment of the policies of joy. It wallows on the edge of schizophrenia with both its friends in the West and its enemies in the Frontline states.

In fact, the Frontliners are more alike than enemies even though Pretoria depicts them as the springboards of the total onslaught. Dire warnings are thundered about a conventional military Armageddon striding down from the north.

This misperception is caused by diagnosing the complaint as external South Africa's war lesters from within, not without. The danger lies in secret internal military bases and from the ANC's ideological allies in the trades unions. Hence, the significance of Fanie Botha's union reforms.

They go hand-in-hand with attempts to co-opt the Indians and coloureds into the larger. The recent unique deal with black miners is in option of sorts, a diversion like the political seduction of the Labour Party.

The linking with the outside comes from the ANC's funneling of partisan power through the Frontline states, as happened with the incursion from Zimbabwe last week. The Frontliners feel morally obligated to support the ANC but fear the consequences of guerrilla bases; and so they will give clear signals that guerrilla bases will be met with desertions from the refugee camps.

It is not only for the SADF, but for both Pretoria and Pretoria in the same camp.

Both sides dread a major military escalation, and many black leaders fear the increased Russian penetration. They do not want to see a sub-continent in ruins. Even if miraculously, the Frontliners emerged unscathed, they do not want South Africa shattered a violent seat for the future. By that time, the Frontline states are the victors of the Frontline states' economic association, SADCC. They cannot trade for hours, from the Azania in the rubble.

Sure, some African leaders seem to suffer from parkour and unstable learning curves when it comes to applying the lessons of history. And, yes, some of the same leaders were prepared to roll the dice of disaster by backing a crazy Cuban plan to introduce regular communist block to Angola and Rhodesia in 1979. They would have been matched by the dollars of SADF intervention to the all-out war.

Since then some of them have taken a second and third look at the Russians, especially after experiencing their heavy-handed company. First, and Afghanistan.

The conservative Frontline states fret about further radicalization and even within the ruling cliques of the radical states powerful elements feel the Russians and the Cubans must not oversell their welcome. More war will provide more opportunities for either the USA or South Africa to manipulate dissidents into government-topping destabilization. Thus the Frontliners serve as buffers to keep out over Russian involvement, and a cautious Kremlin might prefer to use them as catspaws against the SADF.

The Frontliners have also prevailed upon the Russians to forge a common policy in Western and UN bloc to cure Namibia. Even the radical Frontliners have been anxious to secure direct American diplomacy and, unlike in the Middle East, to keep Russian meddling at arm's length.

Pretoria looks to the Israeli model and in this external context things look good for South Africa. The ANC is much more amenable to the PLO. The Frontline states are much more fair to their Arab neighbours and the mailed fist of Russia is much further away.

Indeed, the conventional military threat is insig-
D-day for twilight people

CAPE TOWN — Banned people are waiting on a knife edge to see if their restriction orders will be reimposed at the end of the month.

About 70 people are still banned and all their orders are to be reviewed by next month.

In terms of the new Internal Security Act, which came into effect in July last year, all restriction orders remain in force for 12 months.

Those 12 months are nearly up and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, will have to reveal his decision soon.

There is mounting speculation that the Government is instituting a new banning policy, easing up on the number of restriction orders imposed.

In contrast to previous years, not even people recently released from long periods of imprisonment for political offences have been banned.

They include Mr Saths Cooper and Mr Muntu Myeza, who are now active in Azapo.

Mr Raymond Suttner and Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Among those still banned who will hear soon whether their restrictions are to be lifted are: Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the late African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter Sisulu, the ANC prisoner held at Pollsmoor Prison, and her son, Zwelakhe, the former president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa); Peter Jones, the close friend of the late Steve Biko, Dr Mandla Gwede, also a close friend of Steve Biko; Dr Beyers Naude; Mrs Fatima Meer, the Natal University academic; Andrew Boraine and Nicholas "Fink" Haysom, former Natsa presidents, and others like Philip Mthembu and Zubeida Mayet, both journalists.

Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned ANC, addressing a June 16 commemoration service at the Jivva Centre in Lenasia. She spoke strongly against those who criticise the "Freedom Charter."

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Ciskei too hot for a Soba
Anti-Bill blacks in bitter row

By BRIAN POTTINGER
A BITTER row has erupted in two Black political organisations opposed to the Government's constitutional proposals.

Spokesmen for the two-week-old National Forum this week attempted to patch over the differences between it and the United Democratic Front by declaring an "open door" for talks between the two organisations.

But unity between the two major Black umbrella bodies is likely to remain elusive.

A forum spokesman for the Freedom Charter last week accused the NF of being "ideologically lost political bandits".

The difference between the two movements - jointly representing scores of community, trade unions, cultural and sports groups - is now at the centre of a raging debate in black ranks.

Mr Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the banned ANC leader, last week accused the NF of being "ideologically lost political bandits".

Service for being "ideologically lost political bandits".

Points of difference between the two movements are now based on founding charters, the participation of liberal groups in the struggle, the role of ethnicity in mobilising community against the constitutional proposals and the term Annisa.

Spokesmen for the Freedom Charter have sought to downplay the differences between the groups, and this week Mr Malan Kombrinck, secretary general of the Human Rights Commission, said the doors of the government's constitutional proposal were always open.

But Mr Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the banned ANC leader, lashed out at the NF by implication at a June 18 commemoration service for being "ideologically lost political bandits".

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Blacks are at loggerheads over how to gain freedom

THIS week marks the 30th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, a document that has bitterly divided politics ever since it was drawn up. The focal point of the controversy between the Freedom Charter is the question of black political participation.

In this context, the question of black political participation is the most controversial.

The Charter states that black political participation is the right of the majority of the people. Opponents of the Charter argue that it is a document of the Freedom Charter, but that it is not the Charter for blacks.

The Charter states that the majority of the people shall have equal rights to use their own languages and develop their own culture, and that all black political participation shall be protected by law. The Charter also states that all black political participation shall be protected by law against any interference in their race or national pride.

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Black Politics
1983

JUNE – 31 JULY
African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The ninth annual conference of Inkatha has accused administration boards in South Africa of being 'pigheaded' in increasing rents during a time of economic recession and high unemployment.

In a resolution issued here last night, the movement said the boards had been 'provocative' and 'unsympathetic' in raising rents at this time.

The responsibility for the loss of life and limb and the destruction of property and general destabilisation of black society that has so far followed these rent hikes must be laid squarely on the pigheadedness of the administration boards,' the statement said.


It said it was 'disgusted' that such laws were allowed to remain on the statute book while the Prime Minister and the Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, Mr Chris Heunis, tried to convince South Africa and the world that they were engaged in a programme of reform.
Regional Affairs

The big stick at work

Pretoria's tough military and economic approach to neighbouring states shows signs of succeeding in its aim of limiting the facilities given to ANC terrorists. Certainly, there seems a quiet air of satisfaction at SADF headquarters and at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

However, some commentators emphasise the policy remains "a high risk approach" that could still blow up in SA's face. The Institute of International Affairs' Michael Spicer agrees the policy has had successes but feels it should best be categorised as "a mixed success."

The major targets of Pretoria's campaign to deny foreign sanctuary to the ANC are Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. Swaziland, which offers a natural ANC infiltration route, has always done much to limit terrorist activity and has recently toughened its approach.

SA has had the most success in twisting Lesotho's arm - despite Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's rhetoric and his parading of an alleged SA spy.

Since the SADF raid on Maseru last December a substantial number of ANC activists are known to have flown out of the country - including it is believed the hard-line military organisers.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's meeting with his Lesotho counterpart is claimed to have been most successful and Maseru is currently emphasising economic links with SA. There have been official appeals for private SA investment (See P1534) and Maseru and Pretoria are jointly financing a feasibility study of the Highlands Water project.

Jonathan is, of course, continuing with his familiar policy of playing every side to his own advantage. While busy recognising
SOCIALISM

The elite of Hammanskraal

All societies, regardless of how their economies are ordered, are run by elites. It is thus nonsense to talk, for example, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or rule by “the workers.”

We heard a good deal of this claptrap from the black National Forum which met at Hammanskraal recently. As reported in the Rand Daily Mail, one delegate, Neville Alexander, said: “They (the whites) must be allowed to play a part in the struggle, but the leadership of the struggle must remain with the black working class.”

What does this mean? Surely it is to men of education and learning that society looks for its leadership? We guess that most of those taking part in the Hammanskraal debates are possessed of soft hands more accustomed to bearing pens than shovels.

What happened at Hammanskraal was a gathering of an intellectual elite. Its aim, which is a legitimate one, is to gain political control of SA. But it is not being honest when it talks of “the leadership . . . of the black working class.” Nor will it bring either freedom or prosperity to the land.

If majority rule, as the Hammanskraal crowd perceive it, comes to pass, we are willing to bet that the working class, black and white, will be among the first economic and political casualties. We say this with confidence, simply because black intellectuals, ignoring all evidence to the contrary, believe that a system of centralised economic control, with the ownership of factories, farms, businesses and so on all in the hands of the State, is the best way to run the SA economy.

Leadership, in the SA envisaged at Hammanskraal, will certainly not be in the hands of the workers. It will be firmly in the grip of an intellectual elite believing, as do our present rulers, that they know best what is best for the rest of us. And that intellectual elite, having ruined the economy and destroyed jobs wholesale, will, out of desperation, inevitably indulge then in the sort of behaviour we now see in Marxist Mozambique, where Samora Machel’s regime has just issued this statement:

“The excessive number of unproductive residents in the cities lies at the root of various sorts of crime and delinquency and is a threat to the public order and tranquillity.”

The official who issued this statement added that those who refused voluntary removal to the countryside would be evacuated “by coercion.”

Nice, isn’t it? Sounds just like what Andries Treurnicht would order.

Attempts, such as Machel’s in Mozambique, or the National Party’s in SA, to order and control peoples’ lives are an affront to liberty. But this is precisely what SA, black and white, will inherit should the intellectual elite, as represented at Hammanskraal, ever come to power in this country. However unpalatable NP rule might be, it is far less coercive than Marxist rule.

At Hammanskraal, the enemy was identified as “racist capitalism.” This is a contradiction in terms. Capitalism has as its cornerstone the belief that there should be no barriers to entry to the economy. And as the Father of Capitalism, Adam Smith, held, it must be a man’s inviolable right to sell his labour to whomever and wherever he wishes without hindrance.

Our real enemy is the belief among some elites, such as those who met at Hammanskraal, that they know what is best for us and, come hell or high water, they’re going to see that we get it. Freedom of choice has no role in a collectivist society.
Govt vague on Reds

By Eugene Saldanha

The South African Government had good reason to believe there was a Communist threat, against the country, a senior Rand Afrikaans University lecturer said today.

But at the annual conference of RAU's Centre for the Research of Revolutionary Activity Mr D de Vries added that it was debatable what its extent was as the Government's concept of a Communist threat was vague.

Mr de Vries, a lecturer in the department of government studies, said: "If one talks of the African National Congress's (ANC) alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Communist threat is brought nearer the South African situation."

Mr de Vries said Cabinet Ministers made serious blunders when they spoke untruths about revolutionary movements like the ANC as it gave legitimacy to many ANC claims.

Mr de Vries said the ANC's leadership repeatedly justified the use of violence by saying South Africa had institutionalised violence.

"This is done to lend legitimacy to their armed struggle. Even if the ANC were to assume power in South Africa, they would not continue to allow violence within the country's borders," he said.

The Freedom Charter was an important ideological weapon for the ANC-SACP alliance.

"Democratic principles like equality, freedom and justice feature prominently in the charter. The democratic nature of the ANC's principles is probably the movement's strongest drawcard among the masses."

"Although the charter's demands are not always specific it proposes a much more just system than many have at present," he said.
Priest makes call on church to give its support to ideals set out in Freedom Charter

A ROMAN Catholic priest, Father Chris Langenhoven, yesterday called on the church to stop speaking the language of morality and ideals, but to address itself to the Freedom Charter, which he said gave historical flesh and content to the liberation struggle.

He was speaking at his church in Phiri, Soweto, where a service to commemorate the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter was held. He said the church had spoken very vaguely about a number of burning issues in the lives of many people in South Africa.

DEMANDS
One speaker, who would not be named, said the Freedom Charter was not a communist document as had been claimed by the Government. He said if demands for housing, education and democracy as were enshrined in the Charter made one a communist, then all peace-loving people in South Africa were communists.

Mr Elliot Shabangu, who said he was a participant at the meeting where the document was adopted in 1955, told of the Defiance Campaigns of the early 1950s and the stay-at-home strikes called by the banned ANC, which set the stage for the drafting and adoption of the Freedom Charter.

He added that the first anniversary of the Freedom Charter was commemorated by about 600 people at the same ground where it was adopted in Kliptown. During the second anniversary, about 75 percent of the workforce in Johannesburg did not go to work.

"The Freedom Charter will one day triumph over apartheid because the Charter stands for democracy. Apartheid on the other hand, killed Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung," he said.

Mrs Gretta Ncapaya, executive member of the Federation of South African Women (Fedswa), said South Africa was a big country that could accommodate all her inhabitants and had all the wealth to enable everybody to get enough food.

She described the Freedom Charter as a harmless document which the Government should have seen as another way of advocating dialogue, rather than to have jailed some of the people who adopted it.

She said police action against advocates of justice had forced many youths to opt for violent methods of bringing about change in South Africa.

Pamphlets containing extracts from the Freedom Charter were distributed at the meeting. Security police in two cars kept a close watch at the meeting and took photographs of delegates attending the meeting.
Cradock funeral for ex-ANC man

CRADOCK — The former secretary-general of the African National Congress, the Rev James Calata, was buried in Cradock on Saturday.

Thousands of mourners carried ANC flags.

Mr Calata, who died on June 16 at the age of 89, was the secretary-general of the ANC and Eastern Cape president of the now-banned organisation during the 1980s.

Several organisations and black leaders paid tribute to Mr Calata.

The chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Archie Gumede, once a cellmate of Mr Calata, cried as he spoke of their days together.

Other tributes were made by representatives of the General Allied Worker's Union, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Congress of South African Students.

Messages of condolence were received from the ANC journal, Nikululeko, the president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, and Mrs Helen Joseph.

Plainclothed policemen followed the procession at a distance. — Sapa
Funeral of former ANC man

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — More than 3,000 people braved mid-winter weather in Cradock on Saturday to bury a well-known clergyman, schoolmaster and former secretary-general of the African National Congress, Canon James Arthur Calata.

Mourners from many parts of the country gathered in an open area in Lingelihle township listening to tributes to Mr Calata by representatives of various organizations.

Mr Archie Gumede, Natal chairman of the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Committee, said: "Of the many sons and daughters of Africa, Mr Calata was surpassed by a few in nobility and patriotism."

He described the late churchman as a negotiator who was committed to a peaceful and democratic settlement.

"But in the course of time, he too became disillusioned with the unwillingness of authorities to engage in any dialogue with blacks.

"The call for unity alone was not advancing the cause of the African in the land of our forefathers. As a result he became one of the signatories of the 1949 Programme of Action which was formulated largely by the ANC Youth League.

Mr Calata was born in Keiskammahoek in 1885. He attended St Matthew's College where he qualified as a teacher. He taught at St Matthew's for a number of years before coming to Port Elizabeth in 1921 to become principal of the St Cyprian's Mission School at Korsten.

He became a deacon soon after and was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1926. After ordination, he served at Somerset East and was transferred to Cradock in 1928 where he served until his retirement in 1970. He rose to the rank of Canon in the church.

Mr Calata died on what speakers at the funeral described as a significant day in the political history of South Africa — June 16.
THE CHAIRMAN of the Vosloorus branch of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Ntsele Manaka, yesterday alleged that three security policemen left him a R20 "gift" after questioning him at his home about his organisation's activities.

The gift, he said, was left on his bed when he refused to accept it. The security policemen — two white and one black — questioned him at length about the June 16 commemoration service held in the township two weeks ago. He was asked who the speakers were and how many people had attended.

He alleged that they told him about the violence that followed the Soweto service and thanked him for keeping peace and order during and after the Vosloorus service.

The police arrived at his home at 10am and when they left at 11.30am, they left the "gift" on his bed and allegedly threatened him with detention if he approached the Press.

Attempts to get a comment from the Germiston Security Police proved a failure.
ANC, Nats ‘share love of violence’

African Affairs Correspondent
ULUNDI—The National Party and the external mission of the banned African National Congress made ‘bizarre bedfellows’ but they were, in fact, bedfellows.

This point was made at Ulundi at the weekend by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha movement, was addressing 5,000 delegates and observers attending the ninth national conference of the organisation.

Chief Buthelezi said it seemed that the two groups concerned were having ‘a love affair of violence and non-violence’.

Stepped-up counter violence on the part of the ANC’s mission in exile at the present was a ‘god-send’ to the ‘warmongers’ of Pretoria.

Chief Buthelezi said the purpose of the Pretoria Government was to destabilise the whole of Southern Africa while it attempted to impose on the land ‘the harshest form of apartheid in the history of the country through the tripartite parliament’.

He said the best course for Inkatha in the present political circumstances was to maintain calm and not to abandon hope.

Default

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that Inkatha was now expected to bear the brunt of black opposition to the policies of the South African Government.

‘It is tragic that the ANC in exile has abandoned democratic internal opposition in favour of the kind of bandstand policies in which we observe them to excel in international forums,’ he said.

‘It is tragic that the Labour Party and the Black Consciousness movement have also, by default, left us to shoulder the burden.

The Chief Minister appealed to Inkatha members to do everything ‘humanly possible’ to woo their Indian and coloured brothers away from acceptance of the Government’s constitutional proposals.

If Inkatha and KwaZulu continued to reject any kind of quasii independence ‘black South Africans will still outnumber white South Africans in so-called white South Africa’, he said.

Then the early National Party ‘dream’ of ridding the body politic of South Africa of blacks would be smashed.

Chief Buthelezi maintained that the vast majority of blacks in the so-called independent States rejected their ‘quasi independence’ as much as KwaZulu did.

‘We belong together in our rejection of apartheid and so-called independence,’ he said.

Inkatha in its organisation and structured form was only the visible tip of an iceberg.

The Inkatha president said the movement had not yet organised itself properly in Soweto. Kwa Mashu, Chesterville near Durban or Madadeni near Newcastle.
Cops keep watch as Calata is laid to rest

THE FORMER secretary-general of the African National Congress, Reverend James Calata, was buried in Cradock on Saturday. Thousands of mourners carried ANC flags and banners and sang tributes.

Mr Calata was one of the accused in the 1956 treason trial of Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and others.

Several organisations and black leaders paid tribute to Mr Calata in an emotional service. The chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Archie Gumede, and cellmate of Mr Calata, cried as he spoke of their days together.

"During his time he was the spine of the African National Congress and he never changed his mind until the last day of his life," Mr Gumede said.

Other tributes were made by representatives of the General Allied Worker's Union, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Congress of South African Students.

Messages of condolence were received from the ANC journal, Nikululeko, the president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak and Mrs Helen Joseph.

Armed plainclothes policemen followed the procession at a distance.

— Sapa.
3 000 mourn at former ANC man’s funeral

CRADOCK — More than 3 000 people attended the funeral of a former secretary-general of the African National Congress, Canon James Arthur Calata, here at the weekend.

Mourners braved chilly weather and heard numerous speakers pay tribute to the 88-year-old retired minister of the Anglican Church who died on June 16.

Among the speakers was his fellow detainee during the 1956 ANC trial, Mr Archie Gumede, a Durban attorney who spoke on behalf of the Release Mandela Committee and the United Democratic Front.

Other speakers were Mrs Victoria Nxenge, wife of the murdered Durban attorney, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, the former president of Azapo, Mr Curtis Nkondo, and a former president of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr S. Gqubela.

Speakers called Canon Calata a “gallant warrior in the struggle for freedom of the black man from discrimination laws.”

Busloads of mourners came from Port Elizabeth, Mantsane Zwelethu and King Williams Town.

Canon Calata’s coffin draped in the black, green and gold colours of the ANC, was carried shoulder-high to the graveyard.

A number of mourners carried ANC flags and sang freedom songs as they marched.

Police kept a low profile and watched the proceedings from a distance — DDR.

Dry air follows cold front

EAST LONDON — East Londoners who prepared themselves for a wet weekend were left disappointed.

The cold front which moved from the Western Cape failed to bring rain when it passed over East London on Saturday because of dry air behind it, a weather bureau spokesman said yesterday.

The cold front brought heavy rain to the Western Cape last week, and has now moved away from the East London area, therefore rain cannot be expected today, he said — DDR.

Weather

France tests neutron bomb

HAMBURG — The French Defence Minister, Mr Charles Hernu, has acknowledged that France exploded a neutron bomb in the Pacific and is considering producing the weapon.

In a wide-ranging interview with the news magazine Der Spiegel, Mr Hernu was quoted as saying: “I wouldn’t be giving away any French defence secrets when I tell you we have tested the new weapon.”

Mr Hernu said he was on Mururoa Island when the bomb was tested. He did not say when the test was.

He stressed that President Francois Mitterrand had not yet decided whether France should build the neutron bomb, but said the 1984-88 military programme did not rule out such a decision.

He said France has set aside an undisclosed sum for further research and testing of the weapon in the next five years.

“Should the president decide in favour of production, we could transform it promptly into action,” Mr Hernu said — SAPA-AP.

Friend saw man swept out to sea

DURBAN — A man watched in horror yesterday as his friend was swept out to sea by a huge wave. The sea was too rough for me to jump in.
UNITE: The Rev Eddy Thobejane.

Call for unity

BY NKOANE MAKOBANE

THE ongoing attacks on each other by supporters of the Freedom Charter and those of the manifesto recently adopted at the conference convened by the National Forum Committee was a setback to the struggle.

The Rev Eddy Thobejane of Soweto who describes himself as a staunch supporter of black consciousness, said he was disappointed that some individuals and organisations were criticising one another when they should be rallying together against the enemy.

He told The SOWETAN that he was surprised that some organisations were saying they could not be party to the adoption of the manifesto because they were still committed to the Charter.

“My appeal is that instead of lambasting each other, especially through the Press, those people who have misgivings about either the Charter or the manifesto should arrange for a convention soon where all the disputes could be settled.

“The reports of the past few days are only pleasing the enemy who is given time to strengthen himself. At the same time this is a drawback to the unity we are striving for and the masses are left confused,” he said.
'Jopie Fourie's words used to laud ANC man'  

By PATRICK LAURENCE

AFRICANER nationalist rebel's words to his executioners were attributed to a hanged African National Congress insurgent, in an illegal ANC pamphlet, a Security Police officer said.

His statement came by way of an interjection during an address yesterday by Mr D de Vries, of the department of political science at Rand Afrikaans University, at a RAV conference.

Mr De Vries was describing how the ANC had hanged Solomon Mahlangu, who was hanged in 1979 for the killing of two civilians in 1977.

According to the pamphlet Mahlangu met his death defiantly with these words: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruit of freedom."

At that point Colonel H J Oosthuizen, of the Johannesburg Security Police, interjected that the words had actually been used by Jopie Fourie when he was executed for his role in the 1914 rebellion.

Mr De Vries was dealing with the question of how revolutionary movements strive to attain and increase legitimacy.

Apart from projecting cultured and executed leaders and cadres as heroes and martyrs, the ANC stood out.

- Insisted that the present system rested on violence and that the ANC had no option but to oppose the status quo with violence.
- Used ideology to project itself as the custodian of true democracy, freedom, equality and justice.

In a paper on newspapers in pre-revolutionary circumstances, Mr Ken Owen, editor of the Sunday Express, referred to the conviction of editors in South Africa under various laws.

"We are reaching the stage where an editor can be defined as the criminal in charge of a newspaper."

"When moderate, civilised, thoughtful and principled men like Mr Terrius Myburgh and Mr Tony Vosloo and Mr Harald Paden and Mr Rex Gibson and Mr Harvey Tyson are declared by this society to be criminilises, then a criminal conviction has become a badge of honour."

In pre-revolutionary situations neither the men opposed to the regime nor the regime itself wanted truth - they wanted the editor to put his newspaper at their disposal.

"The editor who pleads the truth, public interest, balance, fairness, objectivity or accuracy, or even respect for the law, may condemn his newspaper, and sometimes himself, to death at the hands of the mob."

In the context of South Africa's current volatile situation, the editor who pleads the truth may face a similar fate."
A work stoppage by more than 200 workers at three Coca-Cola depots in Johannesburg yesterday came to an abrupt end following calls from black conscious movements and a trade union. The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, Azapo's publicity secretary, Ishmael Mkhabela and the Food and Beverage Allied Workers Union, had appealed to the management to reinstate three workers sacked for not coming to work on June 16.
BLOODBATH: Bodies lie scattered in the streets outside the Sharpeville Police Station.

SOME STILL SHOW THE SCARS OF SHARPEVILLE

SO you think you have trouble? How would you like to spend 23 years of your life with three bullets lodged in your right leg, have several operations and spend over three years in hospital?

That is the fate of Mr Adam Malefane, 51-year-old Sharpeville man and father of five, who, in his way, is the living monument of the tragedy of that historic day, March 21, 1960.

Crippled, and yet full of fight, Mr Malefane recalled that fateful afternoon when no less than nine bullets from a sten gun were pumped deep into his right leg. With scores of others he remained in hospital longer than three years.

Some twenty-three years after March 21, 1960, a team from The SOWETAN visited Sharpeville and talked to several casualties of the day. Mr Malefane gave a vivid account of the events that led to the massacre, which saw 69 men and women dead and some 177 others maimed for the rest of their lives. The shooting resulted in Mr Malefane remaining in hospital until October 15, 1963.

Today he is totally crippled and can only get around with the aid of crutches.

He said he had been given time off by his employer so as to be home early that day. "I had a burning hatred for the pass law system. For years the Africans had hated and endured the pass law system. I, like all blacks, hated the "dompas" as it had become almost a physical shackles to us. At 12 noon I decided to join the thousands of protesters who gathered near the police station."

He said he responded to the call which was made by the new militant Pan Africanist Congress to descend on the local police station and without a pass book, without arms, without violence, he and thousands others demanded they be arrested.

"At first everything was relatively quiet near the police station. Soon Sharpeville was to become a household name all over the world."

He said about 20 policemen locked themselves "nervously" inside the station. "Theyaved the big crowd as it grew minute by minute. At about 1.20pm some 150 police reinforcements, trucks, pickup vans, cars and supported by four armoured cars were rushed in."

He said the police called the leaders as they wanted to explain a point. The crowds swarmed behind the leaders towards the fence. At 1.40 the blow-up came. When the police tried to seize an African near the gate, there was a scuffle which was followed by the battle of sten guns and a hail of bullets.

"As I turned my back to the scene, a bullet hit me in my left knee from the back. I stumbled and fell. As I struggled to get up, nine other bullets were pumped into my right leg hitting me on the thigh and knee. I hobbled and fell over a dying woman. Wailing and cries of agony rent the air, as dead and battered bodies lay sprawled all over the place. It was like another Vietnam as the smell of death, blood and gun powder permeated the place."

The injured, he said, were removed to the hospital. When the dead were buried only their wives and relatives were allowed to attend their funerals.

He said since that afternoon he had undergone several operations on his legs, the most recent one in January this year. X-ray results revealed that three bullets were still lodged in his right knee.

He said in Winter his legs swell up and become painful. There is no other operation that can help him now. His blood stream has been poisoned by gun powder, he claimed.

Mr Malefane said that despite this, he did not regret joining the masses in protest against the pass law system. "As long as we carry the 'dompas' the black man will remain angry and dissatisfied, and incidents such as Sharpeville cannot be ruled out. The reference book is like a rough chain on the black man's neck."

PROTEST: A solitary BLACK SASH member holds a poster commemorating the Sharpeville shooting 23 years ago this year.
Oscar Mpetha, 74, the ailing trade unionist and community leader, was sentenced in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, today to the mandatory minimum five years in jail on a charge of terrorism following violence in the black townships in August 1980.

Crowd sings anthem after court sentence

Passing sentence in the packed court, Mr Justice Williamson said he would not have jailed Mpetha if he had not been bound to do so by law.

Mpetha is old and very ill. He is suffering from diabetes and its complications and is due to have a leg amputated. His life expectancy is limited and at best he has only a couple of years to live, even with the best medical treatment, the judge said.

Justice does not require imprisonment, and because of Mpetha's very special circumstances compassion is the overriding consideration.

Obliged

The judge said he would have suspended the whole sentence if he was not obliged by law to enforce the minimum five-year jail sentence for terrorism.

The men convicted of terrorism with Mpetha and also sentenced to five years are

Judgment in terrorism trial

"We cannot but sympathise with people who suffer such grievance and frustration, but the court can only strongly condemn the manner in which the grievances were expressed."

On a point of law, Mr I G Farlam, SC, for Mpetha, had argued that with the repeal of the Terrorism Act and its replacement by the Internal Security Act, the court no longer needed to take note of the minimum sentence required by the old Act.

No discretion

But the judge concluded that he had no discretion and that he had to impose the five-year minimum sentence.

He said of the murder charges that murder was a serious crime — "More appalling was the fact that the unfortunate victims were in no way responsible for the grievances felt by the accusers."

While the victims had gone about their lawful business, they were set upon and killed in the most horrible way. Stoning, sadly enough, was not an infrequent occurrence.

(Turn from Page 11)
GENERAL VILOJEN:

Cross-border operations against terrorists' bases in neighbouring countries are an important element of South Africa's military counter-insurgency action.

Support is directed against those who have caused or are about to cause loss of life among our own population.

The SADF avoids contact with or hostile action against the security forces and civilian populations of those neighbouring states which, wittingly or unwittingly, harbour our enemies.

Neighbouring countries are repeatedly warned by the South African Government of the consequences of allowing terrorists to establish a presence on their territory.

Denied bases, they would have to infiltrate South Africa by air or sea - which would enable us, by any means necessary, to prevent or bring down such activities.

Terrorist deeds are politically inspired to create a psychological impression of uncertainty and an eventual climate of collapse and surrender.

South Africans must be prepared to accept levels of discomfort, disruption and even violence in their daily lives.

It is imperative that they prepare themselves psychologically without becoming alarmist or becoming despondent.

Irregular warfare does not only mean a change of government but total change... a total inversion of the governmental system, the community, all human relations and everything that people perceive as being of value.

We can only offer resistance if we are psychologically prepared and if everyone grasps the reality of what we are all about to lose if a small, ruthless minority were allowed to gain control and establish a Marxist, one-party state to serve their bedfellows.

(Right) South African communist parties mainly aim Russian imperialism.

It is time for all to wake up to the facts of the threat, to stand united and to join hands, hearts and minds in the common purpose and pursuit of victory to ensure peace, prosperity and happiness for all.

GENERAL COETZEE:

Uncontrolled ANC terrorism would lead not to the establishment of an ideal constitutional democracy in South Africa, but rather to a prolonged and bloody civil war which, if the South African Communist Party and the SACP were ultimately to win, would result in the establishment of yet another African Soviet satellite state, such as Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia.

The South African Communist Party has described in graphic terms the bloodshed they hoped to unleash through the ANC-SACP alliance.

"We make only one demand - freedom or death. There is no middle course. Where there was a sign there must now be a hand grenade. Where there was an iron bar or a stick, there must now be a rocket." The SACP official organ proclaims terrorist actions of the ANC, acting with the SACP, have escalated in South Africa in recent years.

The Pretoria bomb blast on May 20 was the 16th incident this year and there were 29 such incidents in 1983.

The statistics do not reflect police success in solving crimes. When an incident falls through the cracks, we would have to expect terrorism in the worst possible form.

The Pretoria bomb blast, which killed 19 and wounded 218, was as well-executed and costlier in damage as any of the more serious urban terror attacks.

The statistics show that the more violent the attack, the greater the number of deaths and injuries.

It is ironic that while some 76 people were killed in the Pretoria blast, some 76 people were killed in an attack on a government building in Cape Town.

South African officials have revealed that the Pretoria attack was a joint operation by the ANC and South African communists.

The statistics show that the more violent the attack, the greater the number of deaths and injuries.

The government has responded with a strong military and police presence in the affected areas.

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hand in hand
facing SA

... the menace as a result of incidents of violence were made worse by the fact that the... of George...

The Pretoria bomb blast which killed 19 and wounded 151, as well as causing extensive... the most serious incident... Africa's history.

Gen Coetzee listed some of the so-called "spectacular" incidents in recent years. On October 20, 1981, two policemen killed and the Sibasa police station destroyed in a rocket attack.

December 26, 1981. A group of terrorists attacked Wonderboompoort police station with an RPG-7 rocket and hand grenades, killing one policeman and injuring four others.

June 4, 1982: A man killed by a bomb in a Cape Town shop, in the building housing the President's Council.

February 18, 1983: Bomb exploded in an abattoir block of the Free State Administration Board office in Bloemfontein, injuring 76 people... 18 of them seriously. Two subsequently died.

January 15, 1980: The Volksbank's Silvertown branch taken over by three heavily armed terrorists, who took 25 hostages. The siege lasted nearly six hours, until the terrorists were overcome by the South African Police. Four deaths and a number of injuries resulted.

May 27, 1981: A bomb blew up the SADF recruiting office in Durban.

September 2, 1981: Terrorists armed with Soviet-manufactured weapons attacked Malboume police station, killing two policemen, a civilian and a child.

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER:

Terrorism is an indispensable tactical and strategic tool in the Soviet struggle for power and influence within and among nations.

The statistics are staggering.

From 1970 to 1982, 15,782 domestic and international terrorist incidents occurred. A total of 20,956 people were killed and another 15,889 wounded, with property damage of about $2 billion.

According to a recent report issued by the United Nations, 746 international terrorist incidents were recorded. This was 10% greater than the average for the previous five years.

During the first quarter of 1983, the number of terrorist acts totalling 824, surpassing the record of 698 for the last quarter of last year.

The most dramatic terrorist operations in 1983 were the car bombings at the US Embassy in Beirut and South Africa's air force headquarters in Pretoria, with a combined toll of about 200 dead and injured.

Prof Alexander said the tragic takeover of the US Embassy in Tehran and the-protracted 444 days of crisis that followed is using the heretofore passive terrorism with continuous media coverage can become a devastating political weapon.

On the Russian influence in expanding terrorism, Prof Alexander said that even before his inauguration, US Secretary of State designate Alexander Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Soviets were "training, financing, manning and equipping the terrorist forces of liberation or terrorist forces throughout the world".

Gen Haig had also stated: "When you get to the bottom line, it is the Soviet Union which bears a major responsibility today for the proliferation and the haemorrhaging of international terrorism."

The support provided by Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, North Korea and Vietnam to various communist and non-communist terrorist movements in both developed and developing countries is generally attributed to the decision makers in the Kremlin.

In dealing with terrorism as a supplementary instrument, Moscow aimed at achieving strategic ends when the use of armed might was deemed either inappropriate or ineffective.

Thousands of Palestine Liberation Organisation members had been trained by the Soviet and satellite instructors. The USSR was the chief supplier of weapons to the PLO.

During and after hostilities in Lebanon last year, Israeli forces were surprised to discover that the actual amount of arms seized was enough to equip several infantry brigades and artillery units and needed 4,339 truckloads to transport the equipment to Israel.

As a surrogate of the Soviet Union, the PLO constituted the central link in the international terrorist network.

It supported the world's subversive movements by facilitating training and by offering arms supplies as well as operational assistance.

Moscow was using the PLO to widen the cracks within the Western Alliance and to inflict serious damage on Western interests.

The strategic thinking of the Soviet Union called for manipulation of terrorism as a suitable substitute to traditional warfare, which became too costly and too risky to be waged on the battlefield.
Crowds of people gather outside the Supreme Court yesterday before the prison van, bearing Oscar Mpetha, 74, and the murderers left after sentence was passed.

Mpetha jailed for five years

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS

Oscar Mpetha, 74, was sentenced in the Supreme Court yesterday to five years in jail — the compulsory minimum — on a charge of terrorism.

The 10 young men convicted of murder in the trial, nine of whom were also found guilty of terrorism, were given sentences ranging from seven to 20 years in jail.

'Old, ill'

Mr Justice Williamson said that Mpetha was 'old and very ill' and was suffering from diabetes and its complications. He was due to have his leg amputated because of gangrene.

'His life expectancy is limited and, at best, he only has a couple of years to live, even with the best medical treatment.'

Justice did not require that he be sent to jail and he would have preferred to give him a total suspended sentence. However, he was bound by the Terrorism Act.

Mr Justice Williamson said it was clear that the crimes had flowed from a sense of grievance and they had been involved in the stoning and burning of cars or the incitement to commit acts and the resultant death of Mr George Beeton and Mr Frederick Jansen on August 11, 1980.

'We cannot but sympathize with people who suffer such grievances and frustrations,' he said. 'But we have only the strongest condemnation for the manner in which these grievances were expressed.'

The judge said he had taken into account their personal backgrounds, their youth, lack of previous convictions and deterrence. He was satisfied that the men saw themselves as heroes and were totally remorseful.

He also took into account the three years the men had spent in jail before and during the marathon trial. The sentences on the different charges would run concurrently in every case, he said.

Aaron Tahangama, who was a 'mature man', was sentenced to 15 years on both murder charges. He had been acquitted of terrorism.

All nine of the other men were sentenced to five years on the terrorism charge.

Christopher Sparanyi, who was a 'cripple and easily influenced', was sentenced to seven years for murder. Morgan Makubala, who 'played a leading role in the events', was sentenced to 15 years on both murder charges. Peter Kube, who told the crowd to arm themselves with stones, was sentenced to 18 years on both murder charges.

Alton Sabuwa, who had a 'lesser role', was sentenced to 12 years on one murder charge. Johannes Hlapo, who had been 'particularly cruel and callous' towards Mr Jansen, was sentenced to 20 years on two murder charges. Jeffrey Baardman, who was 'easily influenced and immature', was sentenced to 10 years on one murder charge.

'Evil'

Vuysile Diba, a 'natural leader of high intelligence', was sentenced to 15 years on one murder charge. Raymond Mapondo, an 'evil young man' who had stabbed the 'helpless' Mr Jansen, was sentenced to 20 years on two murder charges. Phillip Nonygwana, who was 'vulnerable to emotional stress', was sentenced to 10 years on two murder charges.

Counsel for the defence applied for leave to appeal for all the men. Mr Justice Williamson will give judgment on this point today.

The two assessors were Mr C H van Gend and Mr G H Titterton. Mr Tariq, SC, assisted by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by Frank Bernardt and Joffe, appeared for Mpetha. Mr Whitehead and Mr TL, instructed by Omar Vassen and Co., appeared for the other men.

Street march after trial

Staff Reporter

A CROWD, at some stages several hundred strong, marched through the City centre yesterday after the Mpetha terror trial had ended.

The march, the fifth since the trial started, was closely monitored by many police who directed it but made no arrests.

A large crowd gathered outside the Supreme Court before the case was due to start at 10am. People entering were frisked in the presence of police. Dog squad members were on duty outside.

The court was packed with about 200 people, who were quiet throughout the hour-long sentencing.

As the judge left court, the convicted men gave black power salutes and shouted:

'The crowd sang freedom songs while the men filed out. Outside the court, many chanted and some began walking away singing but they were warned to disperse by a police officer using a loud-hailer.

They then gathered on the steps of the court building. About 20 minutes later, a van containing the sentenced men drove off. The men yelled out and their shouts were echoed by the crowd which then marched into Burg Street.

Police vans directed the march into Longmarket Street, and police closed roads so that the crowd could move unimpeded. The people marched to the railway station where they sang for some minutes before dispersing.
The ANC's changing image

LONDON — The African National Congress's recent Pretoria car bomb and the visit of its president-general, Oliver Tambo, to China earlier this month, have set South African diplomatic and exile circles buzzing with talk of a possible change in ANC military tactics and defections in its foreign alignment.

The fundamental question supposed pundits on South Africa still dread, however, is quite simply. "How long will white rule last?" Wise ones fudge the answer. South Africa's military colossus, it's still vibrant economy and vast powers of population control are second to none in Africa.

The need to expand and modernise the economy is sure to bring more and more blacks into the heart of economic and political life, but maybe over a period of at least a generation.

And yet, bearing in mind the sort of explosion that overthrew the Shah, there is a nagging feeling that if and when the smouldering anger of the black millions is cleverly stoked up and catches alight, the place could go up in smoke remarkably quickly. and multi-racial labour movement which, partly as a result of reforms enacted by the Prime Minister, PW Botha, has expanded fast, but so far without much ANC direction, if any. Indeed the ANC's own trade union affiliate was slow to acknowledge the potential of legal trade unions.

DEBATE

The ANC's tactical and ideological debate has sharpened since the exodus of thousands of angry young blacks from Soweto after the riots of 1976. These more recent exiles were more confident and much more numerous than earlier ones. Indeed the ANC's own trade union affiliate was slow to acknowledge the potential of legal trade unions.

The ANC has long been subject to black nationalist pressure for a more "exclusivist" (blacks-only) approach, as adopted after 1960 by the breakaway Pan-Africanist Congress and by black consciousness leaders after 1976. Such pressure is often directed against the South African Communist Party, which plays a significant part within the ANC. It has recently been surmised that the ANC leadership may try to restore a more traditionalist black African image. Oliver Tambo, a practising Christian, has attempted to keep the ANC a broad non-sectarian movement, though it has moved far to the left from its reformism of 30 years ago.

It will probably stay highly centralised, methodical, clandestine, cautious, and perhaps with that tendency towards the doctrine that afflicts most exile movements. Its ability to remain a broad church, rather than become a purely revolutionary movement strongly influenced by the SACP, will be tested.

As the South African regime comes under pressure to make concessions and gradually to share power, the true nature of the ANC as a potential negotiator will come under scrutiny.

The balance of power within it is now something of a mystery, but it would be a mistake for the West to view the ANC as pro-Soviet through and through. PRACTISING CHRISTIAN: Oliver Tambo.

Inkatha slams 'racist' reform

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has called on Inkatha to fight South African Government attempts to include black local authorities in the new constitution.

He further urged the KwaZulu government to spell out alternatives to the proposed triametal arrangements once these were laid before Parliament.

Addressing the ninth annual conference of Inkatha in Ulundi at the weekend Chief Buthelezi said Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, intended to proceed with the reconstitution of black local authorities and hoped for elections to support it as early as September.

Fighting this development should be raised to the highest level of priority, he told delegates.

"The local authority systems which Dr Koornhof has said he is going to introduce are in fact extensions of the racist machinery first heralded by the President's Council and later confirmed in the triametal arrangement," Chief Buthelezi said.

KwaZulu's Chief Minister said those who participated in the newly-perceived black city councils would gain influence at the expense of power. He condemned those who sought influence for their own selfish ends and said Inkatha would seek to eliminate them from its ranks.

"I believe that participation in black local authority structures linked through the political system, may prove to be as treacherous as was the Labour Party's decision to accept a role within the new constitution innovations," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said all races were inextricably bound up together in Natal and any government step to alter provincial administrative or local authority structures affected black and white alike. There was thus an immediate need to establish a think tank to explore every avenue of opposition and resistance to these measures.

More importantly, he said, black South Africa should not reject the triametal arrangement negatively. It must spell out alternatives.

Once the final outcome of the constitutional developments were known, it was vital that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly be called into session to debate them and then write an alternative for South Africa's constitutional future based on the realities which would emerge in time to come.

A black initiative to reconstitution should be one of "a non-racist response to the deeply offensive racism contained in the Prime Minister's constitutional proposals", Chief Buthelezi said.

To this end he urged Inkatha to make a concerted national effort to professionalise the administrative and political development of the movement.

"It would be utterly useless for us to have the right sentiments and not the basic competence to translate those sentiments into effective action."
Row over 'apartheid trials

Political Staff
TEMPERS flared in Parliament last night on the eve of the adjournment after allegations that government policy was a crime against humanity.
Mr John Malcomess (PFP Port Elizabeth Central) sparked the row when he predicted that the Nuremberg Trials which followed World War II and the Nazi atrocities, South Africa might one day have to witness apartheid trials.
He charged that the Cabinet could not escape blame for the May bomb blast in Pretoria which claimed 19 lives and injured more than 200 people.
He said the question must be asked 'what turns a young man into a terrorist?'

'Recruiting'
He asked what ministerial action finally decided the men responsible for the horror of the Pretoria atrocity to commit the crime.
The Cabinet should ask themselves whether each and every one of them was not guilty of recruiting a terrorist.
"If you answer yes then you share the responsibility for the death toll in Pretoria," said Mr Malcomess.

The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Pietie du Plessis, amid one of the session's most heated debates, accused Mr Malcomess of playing into the hands of anti-South Africans like Colonel Gadafi of Libya, the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP).
He was asked by the Speaker to withdraw the remark that Mr Malcomess was a follower of the ANC and SACP.

Challenge
He challenged the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, to tell the House whether he considered government policy as a crime against humanity.
Dr Slabbert indicated he would reply to the question today.
But the Conservative Party's nominated MP, Mr Louis Theuning, reminded the PFP, saying the policy of apartheid was a policy of liberation.

Mr Du Plessis charged that the allegation would be used against South Africa through "the length and breadth of the world."
He said that far from being a crime against humanity government policy was an honest attempt to meet the aspirations of all people.

Mr Michel Buzman (PFP Houghton) said certain aspects of government policy formed a crime against humanity.
She listed the 200,000 people jailed for pass offences while looking for work.

Probes into colour-bar acts

Political Correspondent
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
A parliamentary select committee is to consider whether the anti-miscegenation provisions of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act should be amended.
Other laws connected with them.
He said these terms had been agreed with the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the Conservative Party and the New Republic Party. All opposition parties had, however,
Labour reacts to vote ruling

By JANE ARBOUS

The Labour Party does not accept the final refusal by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to allow coloured people direct representation on existing local authorities.

Labour Party chairman, Mr David Curry said yesterday that the Party would also not accept separate coloured municipalities — a possible government option in terms of the new Local Government Affairs Bill.

Fraudulent

However, coloured civic leaders from Atlantis to Schotsche Kloof said Mr Heunis' latest views undermined the "fraudulent" new dispensation, and said there was nothing in it for those who wanted to participate in local government.

Mr Curry said that direct representation for all races was "impossible" and economic realities would force the government to bow to a new system of local government.

Reacting to a statement by Mr Heunis that he would not consider a Cape Town City Council proposal for a common voters roll and direct representation, Mr Curry said Mr Heunis was speaking in terms of "current" government policy.

If separate coloured municipalities were created, they would have to be subsidized. Would whites be prepared to pay the extra rates Mr Curry asked.

It was unthinkable that while we all assist in the economy of Cape Town, coloured people, Asians, and blacks should be limited to representation of their own areas.

Mr Willie S. Rhodes, the chairman of the Civic Umbrella organisation which is still discussing the implications of the Bill — the Cape Area Housing Action Committee — said a municipal franchise on the basis of colour was unacceptable.

The Local Government Affairs Bill has also caused a split in opinion within the Association of Cape Management Committees.

A spokesman for management committees in the Peninsula said yesterday that the region had rejected the Bill and its proposals at the association's congress last week.

However, the Peninsula representatives were outvoted by the "patriot leaders led by Mr Curry," who is president of the association.

Preval in time

The deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the City Council, Mr Dick Friedlander, said he hoped the council's views on direct representation for all races would prevail "in time."

The council believed that the system of coloured councillors on the council would work as well as it did before 1972 when government legislation removed direct representation.

Apart from the voting issue, the council is concerned over the implications of the Bill and the proposed co-ordinating council as a central advisory authority for local government functions, namely that it conflicts with the government's declared policy of promoting devolution of power and self-determination of local authorities.

Housing situation meeting

Municipal Reporter

The housing shortage in the Western Cape has become so serious that the Cape Town City Council has taken the unprecedented step of...
Surgeon says accused told of an assault

ZWELITSHA — An acting district surgeon told the Supreme Court yesterday that one of the accused persons in the terrorism act trial told him he had been assaulted when he examined him while he was a detainee.

Dr Leon Albert of East London was giving evidence in a trial-within-a-trial to determine the admissibility of alleged confessions.

Mr William Duna, Mr Dumisani Manjinjwa, Mr Bayi Kwele and Mr Luyanda Mayekiso, all of Mdantsane, have been charged with participating in terrorist activities, being members of the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training and possession of banned literature.

They have pleaded not guilty before Mr Chief Justice De Wet.

Dr Albert said Mr Manjinjwa told him he had been hit on the face with an open hand. He noted slightly swollen orbits on his eyes which were red.

Asked by the defence if the signs were consistent with being hit on the face, he said it was possible.

Under cross-examination by the Attorney General, Mr W. F. Jurgens, he said the red eyes could be related to lack of sleep. He would have seen a cut lip if there was any and would have noted it down.

He said he had examined Mr Duna several times but saw no assault marks nor did he complain of assault.

Mr M. I. K. Moerane, for the defence, told the court that he had not had time to consult fully on the doctors' reports because the South African prison authorities had refused the defence access to the medical records.

The men were detained in East London during their interrogation.

The Chief Justice said he had no say on the refusal because the prison authorities belonged to another country.

Mr Moerane also placed it on record that it was common cause that Dr Wingreen had examined one of the defence witnesses, Mr Siseko Vanyaza, at the Cambridge offices of the security police and had compiled a report. That report was nowhere to be found.

Both counsel for the defence and the State will argue today on the admissibility of the statements — DDR.
By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

SESHEGO — The Chief Minister of kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was cheered in the Lebowa Legislative Assembly yesterday when he said the ANC had no mandate from the country’s black community to use violence in the liberation struggle.

Dressed in colourful traditional attire, and wearing his distinctive necklace of lion claws, Chief Buthelezi also referred to Lebowa’s Chief Minister Dr Cedric Phatudi as his elder brother.

He recalled the days of Sekhukune and Cetewayo when the two leaders of old shelved their differences to fight a common enemy.

It was the first time the leader of another black state had paid an official visit to the Lebowa assembly. Chief Buthelezi and Dr Phatudi hailed the event as historic.

Identifying apartheid as the common enemy, Chief Buthelezi spoke at length about black unity and the African National Congress, rejecting violence as a means to bring change in South Africa.

He said he had been repeatedly accused by ANC leaders of upsetting the applecart by speaking too often about non-violence, but he believed it was his democratic right to work for a new South Africa through recognised constituencies.

“The ANC has no mandate from the blacks within South Africa to pursue the liberation struggle through violent means,” he said amid cheers.

Black unity did not mean the rejection of one’s heritage, but blacks in this country stood together in their abhorrence of a system which denied them equal rights, he added.

“The struggle is not for an empty ideological victory. We also want to free our people from poverty and suffering. This poverty has been dramatised by the present countrywide drought,” said the Chief.

He hinted at the possible use of the combined worker power of blacks to bring the country’s economy to a halt, “in order to make the whites talk to us”.

He added that in a racial war in South Africa “nobody will be the winners — there will only be ashes. We need the whites and they need us”.

Chief Buthelezi also touched on the trend towards regarding disinvestment as a means of change. Rejecting such moves, he said the method was detrimental to all concerned.

“I do not criticise my brothers Robert Mugabe, Samora Machel and others for retaining their trade links with South Africa, because they recognise the realities of providing food and employment for their people,” he said.

Chief Buthelezi called for a total rejection of the Government’s proposed new constitutional deal, saying it was based on racism.

He believed blacks would reject the plan even if it included a fourth parliamentary chamber for blacks.
LUSAKA — The African National Congress yesterday claimed responsibility for the two bomb blasts that wrecked government offices at Roodspoort this week.

A brief statement sent to the Lusaka ANC office from the ANC chief representative in Dar-es-Salaam said units of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) carried out the sabotage attack.

Two bombs went off five minutes apart, the first at 12.40 a.m. in an unguarded building housing offices of the Internal Affairs Department in Roodspoort, 20 km west of Johannesburg.

No one was injured, but the blasts caused an estimated R100 000 damage, destroying a number of offices. — Sapa

AP
Swaziland government snubs the ANC in favour of Pretoria

Five years after banishing the Pan Africanist Congress, Swaziland has neutralised the African National Congress in favour of a more lucrative and secure relationship with a white-rulled South Africa.

According to sources close to the ANC, increasingly close co-operation between the two governments has effectively eliminated the ANC's exile mission in Swaziland and infiltration through the kingdom had been made almost impossible.

The present nadir in the ANC's Swaziland government relationship (especially since the death of King Sobhuza II last year) and the kingdom's tough stance on guerrillas operating from its territory represents the second major setback to exiled nationalist groups fighting white rule.

In 1978, Swaziland expelled more than 40 prominent PAC members, a move that significantly weakened the organisation's Southern African base. The sources pointed out, however, that the clampdown did not necessarily spell good news for South Africa.

They said it had helped strengthen the case of hardliners pushing the ANC to adopt a more effective weapon against National Party rule. Attacks like the recent Pretoria bomb blast would become the pattern, while symbols of western investment in South Africa would increasingly become targets, they said.

The past year has been an unqualified failure to ANC planners, who had counted on Swaziland playing a more prominent role in the subcontinental power struggle. Conversely, relations between South Africa and Swaziland have never been better, observers say.

"In terms of ANC strategy, Swaziland was very important until a year ago. It was convenient for guerrillas coming from Maputo, its borders were largely unguarded and it was relatively easy to infiltrate into Natal and the Eastern Transvaal, said one observer, who receives reliable information from the ANC in Mozambique.

The organised ANC infrastructure in Swaziland has been crippled. Although the South African community is a few thousand strong, the proportion involved in ANC activities is a handful, fewer than 30.

Recently, the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told The Times of Swaziland that South Africa would not launch a military strike against Swaziland as the kingdom was taking active steps to curb the ANC.

Although observers discount the possibility of any written agreement between the two countries at this stage, they feel an agreement was probably reached during extensive negotiations over the transfer of land.

Although the clampdown began in earnest after the Maseru raid, observers see as significant a number of developments that actually preceded the renewed and more immediate threat of South African retaliation.

The most significant development that gave early warning that the kingdom intended shifting from its declared policy of neutrality in Southern Africa came when the ANC's chief representative, Mr Stanley Madzibela, was expelled. He has not been replaced.

Shortly afterwards, another prominent activist and regional head of the South African Council of Trade Unions, Mr Petrus Nezima, was killed by a car bomb near Manzini.

Without their two influential executives ANC guerrillas came under increasing pressure as the judiciary began handing down stiffer sentences to refugees caught in possession of arms of war.

The ANC also suffered another serious setback when King Sobhuza died in August. Although the king had always been careful not to be seen giving active support to the organisation, he knew and respected its leadership and had sufficient status to often withstand South African pressure.

His death allowed a deeply conservative element within the Government to push through its revised hardline policy on the ANC in return for a more comfortable relationship with Pretoria.

It's hand was further strengthened by the Maseru raid, which sparked widespread arrests and deportations of ANC activists. The South African strike on Maputo was followed by yet another spate of arrests.

The firing of former Prime Minister Prince Mahanda Dlamini probably removed the last remaining influential ANC sympathiser within the Government.

Observers feel Swaziland will not go far as actually banning the ANC from its soil and point to its standing within OAU and Third World circles as the reason.
ANC in UN bid for radio

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — An African National Congress request for a powerful radio transmitter to beam at South Africa is to be circulated to all United Nations' agencies.

The decision was taken by a panel of the UN decolonisation committee, along with a recommendation that governments should also be handed a hefty inventory of communications equipment requested by the ANC.

The list includes smaller mobile transmitters, a large printing press, 20 portable projectors, 15 telex machines, 10 duplicating machines and five movie cameras.

The powerful transmitter was needed "for internal and international communications," the decolonisation committee's sub-committee on petitions, information, and assistance reported. It would be "positioned in Southern Africa and operated by ANC personnel.

The printing press was needed for "large-scale production of educational and publicity material for distribution both inside and outside South Africa," the committee stated.
Managers must run security

Pretoria Bureau

Many company managements are abdicating responsibility for security precautions within their operations, leaving the duty to security managers with little authority.

This was one of the messages to come across at a security conference held in Pretoria today.

Saanbou Naisonale Bouwerengig's general manager, Mr Botha Strydom, said managements should create security awareness but many did not want to become directly involved.

They also did not want to pay for the necessary intensification of security measures, he said.

It was "vital that comprehensive security strategies be formulated by those at top managerial level. It should be clear to everyone in the organisation that senior management have given authority to those employees carrying out security functions".

Managements should also set up control committees to co-ordinate emergency activities, he said. Contingency plans for every building should be drawn up and all measures should be co-ordinated with the local civil defence network, he said.

The protection services adviser with Shell South Africa, Brigadier H Roos, said security managers were often treated just as "glorified office boys".

They should be senior employees with access to everyone in the company and the ability to negotiate, he said.

"The security manager must be readily acceptable to allow him to motivate at director level," Brigadier Roos said.

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Blacks are the ANC's terror targets as well, says professor

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

Blacks in South Africa must realise that ANC military activity was also aimed at them, the director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough, said today.

Addressing a security conference in Pretoria, Professor Hough said the ANC claimed it was multiracial and therefore that its activities were not aimed at whites as such.

He described the bomb blast in Pretoria on May 20 as a "deliberate and obvious act of indiscriminate terror".

Although the ANC claimed it had aimed at a military target, it was clear the organisation was now seeking to cause chaos and panic among civilians.

Blacks could expect to be caught up in this.

Professor Hough gave a detailed analysis of acts of terrorism and sabotage in South Africa during the last four years (see graph), saying this seemed to demonstrate that in the past the ANC's policy involved only strategic and economic targets.

This had brought the movement a measure of external support, he said. Radical pressures within the ANC, however, were causing it to swing away from this approach.

"Terrorism is supposed to escalate to a point where - combined with other activities - it will cause the target government to collapse, if necessary by means of a final conventional war," Professor Hough said. The Geneva Convention, which the ANC claimed to subscribe to, provided a measure of legal protection for terrorists.

The alternative for South Africa was the stepping up of counter-insurgency. Reform in South Africa would not make the ANC disappear but could make it more difficult to infiltrate and recruit members, he said.

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THE TOLL OF VIOLENCE

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2 tell court of ANC training

Pretoria Correspondent 20/6/87

The 1976 Soweto unrest led him to join the African National Congress (ANC) to receive military training, an alleged member of the movement told a Pretoria magistrate yesterday.

Mr Jacob Molefe (23) was appearing on a charge of high treason along with Mr Alpheus Zacharia Molotsi (28). Both men pleaded not guilty.

Magistrate Mr C S van Loggerenberg referred the case to the Pretoria Supreme Court, where Mr Molefe and Mr Molotsi will appear on September 19.

They will remain in custody until then.

In explanation of plea Mr Molefe said he had seen police shoot a nine-year-old boy between the eyes in 1976. He had then left the country to join the ANC. He admitted receiving military training in Angola between 1976 and 1982, and planning and preparing deeds of warfare against South Africa.

He denied knowledge of weapons such as bayonettes, AK-47 rifles, hand grenades and ammunition mentioned in the charge sheet.

Mr Molotsi said he had become dissatisfied with law and order in South Africa and had joined the ANC. He said he had received military training in the Soviet Union and Angola, but denied launching an armed attack on the South African Police on February 16 this year.
Some rebanned in terms of the new security Act

By JIMMY MATYU

A FORMER president of the Port Elizabeth branch of the outlawed Black People's Convention, Mr Benuale Mokolate Cekusani, of Walmer township, was today rebanned for three years in terms of the new Internal Security Act.

According to his younger brother, Mr Vuyisile Cekusani, Mr Cekusani was picked up by the security police at his upholstery workshop in Korsten today.

Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, head of the security police in the Eastern Cape, today confirmed that another restriction order had been served on Mr Cekusani.

He added there was another trade unionist served locally with a new order but he could not recall who it was.

Two others who were rebanned this week were Mr Dumile Makanda, former president of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa), and Mr Max Madlingozi, an official of Macwusa.

Both were still under two-year banning orders and the new orders are for three years.

In terms of the new order Mr Cekusani has to be indoors between 6pm and 6am, and is not to leave his home on public holidays or weekends.

He cannot attend gatherings, cannot enter educational institutions and cannot enter any other black township other than Walmer township.

A Sapa report says that many of the banning orders due to expire this weekend will be allowed to lapse, but Mrs Winnie Mandela will remain banned.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr L. le Grange, confirmed in Pretoria yesterday that the banning order on Mrs Mandela had already been renewed under the new Internal Security Act.
FORMER president of the banned Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), Mr Sechaba Montsisi, recently released from Robben Island, will be among the main speakers at the third annual congress of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) to be held in Cape Town next week.

The congress, which will be opened by Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), will start on Sunday evening and will end on Thursday.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, former Soweto school teacher whose three-year banning order expired recently, will also deliver a paper at the congress.

Mr Montsisi, together with Mr Terror Lekota, former national organiser of the South African Students Organisation (Saso), and Dr Diliza Mji, former president of Saso, will participate in a panel discussion on the student movement in South Africa.

A prominent Durban advocate, Mr Zak Yacoob, will speak on the National Question. The theme of the congress will be “Education for Democracy”.

Buses going to Cape Town will leave Khotso House at 6pm on Friday.
Tears after release from jail

By JO-ANNE RICHARDS
OSCAR MPETHA, 74, broke into tears and expressed total disbelief when released from Pollsmoor Prison on R1 bail yesterday, after spending nearly three years in jail.

Mpetha was granted the nominal bail yesterday pending an appeal against his sentence of five years' jail on a charge of terrorism. He and 10 young men were sentenced on Tuesday.

"I can't believe it," Mpetha said, gazing at the bail receipt held by his attorney, Mr Brian Lutomo. "I have spent three years in jail and have been convicted and sentenced to five years, and now I get R1 bail."

Tears streamed down his face as he greeted the large crowd of family and friends who met him outside the gates of the prison.

"When they told me, I thought they were fooling me," he said. "When I had fetched my parcels from the cell and started signing forms, then I began to believe that I was going home.

"I really thought they would give me bail of about R500 000 just to stop me getting out. Now, I'm really going home after three years."

When he finished speaking, the crowd broke into song. Mpetha gazed around at members of the crowd and wiped the tears from his cheeks. "I have been wondering who would be here to meet me."

Mpetha, who has diabetes, will be admitted to hospital on Friday to have his left leg amputated.

As Mr Lutomo prepared to drive Mpetha home, a police car drove up at speed. A police captain asked the meaning of "this gathering" and told the people to disperse.

Oscar Mpetha, who was released on R1 bail yesterday pending an appeal against his five-year jail sentence, holds up his bail form outside Pollsmoor prison where he was greeted by friends and family. Cape Times Newscolour: Ivor Markman
Most blacks 'reject new Govt proposals'

Mercury Reporter

THE majority of black South Africans rejected the Government's new constitutional proposals because 'its first guiding principle is racism'.

This was said by Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Gatsha Buthelezi, in his address to the Lebowa Legislative Assembly yesterday.

'We reject it because we or anybody else could not build a secure future on racist foundations. We reject it in part and in total and even if we were offered a fourth chamber we would refuse to participate in it,' Chief Buthelezi said.

In his address, called 'black hope, courage and responsibility in the struggle for liberation', Chief Buthelezi condemned violence as the main vehicle for bringing about changes.

'We hope for a better future and we pursue that future with courage and we do so with responsibility.'
DURBAN — Inkatha has called on the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, seriously to reconsider calling a national convention to work out a new constitution for South Africa.

In a series of resolutions adopted this week, the general conference of Inkatha endorsed the warning by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of Inkatha and chief minister of kwaZulu, that the only alternative to such a convention was an escalation of violence.

The movement rejected Mr Botha’s constitutional proposals outright and reiterated its firm belief in an undivided South Africa.

“Even at this late hour the Prime Minister should seriously reconsider his options and make preparations for the calling of such a convention,” one resolution said.

Inkatha confirmed its strategy of non-violence — “in spite of the apparent hopelessness of the situation” — and urged its members to avoid despair.

It further rejected with conviction “fraudulent pseudo-independence” for kwaZulu and condemned the coloured Labour Party’s participation in the Government’s tri-cameral arrangements which had weakened the struggle of the South African black alliance.

The general conference endorsed Chief Buthelezi’s call for the incorporation of Lamontville into kwaZulu and his plea to Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, for a total freeze on township rent hikes at a time of economic recession.

“Responsibility for the destabilisation of black society following these rent hikes must be laid squarely on the pig-headedness of the administration boards,” it said.

It resolved that the first Sunday of every July be set aside as a national day of prayer dedicated to peaceful liberation.
Mpetha, nine others given leave to appeal

Supreme Court Reporter

OSCAR MPETHA, 74, who was recently convicted of terrorism, was yesterday granted leave to appeal against his five-year sentence by a Supreme Court judge and released on R1 bail.

Mr Justice Williamson also granted nine other young men leave to appeal against their five-year sentences on the same charge. They are Christopher Sparanyi, Morgan Makubala, Peter Kube, Alton Sabuwa, Johannes Hlapo, Jeffrey Baardman, Vuysile Diba, Raymond Mapondo and Philip Nonywans.

A tenth convicted man, Aaron Thangama, was acquitted of terrorism and was not affected.

Refused

Mr Justice Williamson refused leave to appeal against the convictions of all the men. He also refused leave to appeal against the sentences of the 10 young men convicted of murder. Their sentences on the murder charge are to run concurrently with those on the terrorism charge.

Granting leave to appeal against the sentence on the terrorism charge — which carries a five-year minimum sentence — Mr Justice Williamson said he would have preferred to give Mpetha a wholly suspended sentence and the other young men sentences of three years.

He said it was possible that an Appeal Court might come to a different decision over whether the men should have been sentenced in terms of the Terrorism Act — now repealed — or the existing Internal Security Act, which did not carry a minimum sentence. The men were charged under the Terrorism Act.

This was a difficult legal argument in which Mr J Farlam, SC, had argued that the Internal Security Act was, in effect, an amendment of the repealed act and could therefore be used to sentence the men.

"This matter should be authoritatively settled by the highest court.

Mr C J van Wyk, for the State, did not oppose Mpetha's bail application. Mr Justice Williamson said he was setting only a nominal amount as bail as there was "no question" of his running away.

Mr Farlam was assisted by Mr J Whitehead and instructed by Frank Bernadt and Joffe. Mr Whitehead and Mr T L Skweyiya instructed by Omar, Van Zyl and Co. appeared for the other men."
**IO LIVED NOT KILL**

Marcus Motsau, weeps in Soweto on Thursday for his son, who was killed by police for being shot in the leg. The police fired shots into the air when he was just two years old.

**Natal Hearing Aids**

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GRIM WARNING ... ANC armed struggle will intensify after shake-up

By Howard Barlow

"AWAKENING on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth." So said Sol Plaatje, author and first secretary general of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1913. In 1923, the Natives Land Act passed three years earlier.

The ANC, which had come into being in 1912 as a sort of "Parliament" of Africans to oppose the Act and other moves by the white government, said that it now witnessed a process of alienation that was leading to civil war. The organization has since undergone a major organizational shake-up.

The armed struggle will be stepped up, warned the organization. Since then, the lot and scale of discriminatory laws against blacks have grown.

S. Tribune 19/05/83
MIGRANTS GET COUNCIL VOTE

By KHULU SIBIYA

THOUSANDS of migrant labourers from the homelands will be allowed to vote in the forthcoming Soweto Community Council elections — provided they have been in the prescribed area for 12 months.

This was revealed yesterday by a spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development, Mr J Oosthuizen.

He said unlike the previous elections, which were held in 1978, contract workers from the homelands would be eligible to vote in all Community Council elections throughout the country in November this year.

This, he said, will include workers from the independent states like Venda, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, provided they can prove that they have been in the council area for 12 months or more.

"Mr John Mkhabela, Azapo’s publicity secretary, said Azapo was committed to boycotting the elections.

"Why do they refuse people permanent rights in an urban area, and at the same time allow them to vote? The Government is actually practising double standards," Mr Mkhabela said.

Meanwhile the Anti-Community Council Committee, formed a month ago to oppose the elections, has called for a mass meeting of all Soweto residents to form a strategy to boycott the elections.

The meeting will be held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday at 1pm and will be addressed by Dr Nthato Motlana, among others.
JOHANNESBURG — The Labour Party would not participate in the proposed tricameral Parliament if half the coloured people voted against the new constitution in a referendum, the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendricose, pledged here.

At the same time he reaffirmed his belief that the Labour Party could do more for the coloured people by participating than by boycotting the new deal.

Mr Hendricose's pledge to honour the wishes of the coloured people in a referendum follows a similar assurance by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Speaking in Parliament, Mr Botha said he would respect a "No" vote by whites in the coming referendum and would not proceed with the new constitutional changes if a majority opposed them.

No date has been set for either a white or a coloured referendum, but observers believe that they may be held in November.

The Government agreed earlier this year to referendums being held in the white, coloured and Indian communities.

The Labour Party's stand means that a major political stalemate could arise if whites support the constitution, but a majority of coloureds vote against it.

Addressing the South African Institute of Race Relations conference last night, Mr Hendricose defended the Labour Party's decision to participate in the planned tricameral Parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

But he said the Labour Party would refrain from filling seats in the coloured chamber of the "new look" Parliament if half of the coloured people voted against its participation.

The Labour Party stood for one-man, one-vote in a unitary nation, but believed it could do more by participating in the proposed Parliament than by standing on the sidelines, he said.

The move was an attempt to become part of the "dismantling of apartheid", Mr Hendricose said. Participation would give the party greater political leverage.

"Mr P W Botha is going to need me and the Labour Party more than ever before — he can't afford to have the whole thing collapse," he said.

Mr Hendricose asserted that the Labour Party, in its politics of persuasion, had "realised power as a constituent of the black community". Its stand had been made in the light of the coloured community's affinity to both the black and white groups, he said.

Despite his statements of concern for the voiceless black majority, Mr Hendricose drew criticism from the floor that the Labour Party had betrayed its allies in the Black Alliance. He did not respond to the accusation. — Sapa
Reform strips blacks of status, says writer

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Denationalisation of black South Africans is as much part of constitutional change as the three-chamber Parliament, from which blacks have not been merely omitted but deliberately excluded, journalist John Kane-Berman argues.

He put this view to the annual conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg last night.

Mr. Kane-Berman highlighted the fact that eight million blacks in the four independent homelands had already been deprived of South African citizenship without any say in the matter.

He pointed out that this fundamentally changed the question of their franchise. "Whites are no longer just saying 'No' to blacks' request to vote but are saying they haven't the right even to make this request."

He added: "The upshot of the twin processes (of denationalisation and parliamentary change) is a huge new stumbling block — black foreigners — in the path of a common society."

The constitutional plan could not even be regarded as a starting point for those who believed in a non-racial South Africa, Mr. Kane-Berman asserted.

It undermined the goals of common citizenship, elimination of racial discrimination and a say for all in the central political institutions of the country "not by default, but consciously."

"It has no more legitimacy than Soviet rule by proxy in Poland," he said.

Mr. Kane-Berman dismissed as irrelevant the view that the Nationalists had a hidden political agenda which included a fourth chamber for selected blacks.

He pointed out that if those to be accommodated in the fourth chamber were people linked with homelands which refused independence it was likely they would also refuse parliamentary privileges denied to other blacks.

Mr. Kane-Berman acknowledged that the Government had created a significant division between "urban blacks" and homeland dwellers.

He warned liberal opinion against colluding with this division by agitating for the inclusion of only urban blacks in the central political structure.

Labour won't fill seats if most say no — Hendrickse

The Labour Party would refrain from filling seats if the coloured chamber of the new look Parliament if 50 percent of the coloured people voted against it taking part, party leader the Rev. Alan Hendrickse pledged in Johannesburg last night.

His promise came during discussion after his address to the South African Institute of Race Relations conference.

Mr. Hendrickse defended Labour's decision, reached at Eshowe in January, to take part in the planned tricameral Parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

He said Labour stood for one man one vote in a unitary nation but believed it could do more by taking part in the proposed Parliament than by standing on the sidelines.

The move was an attempt to become part of the "dismantling of apartheid", Mr. Hendrickse said. Labour believed that by taking part it would have greater political leverage. "Mr. P W Botha is going to need me and the Labour Party more than ever before — he can't afford to have the whole thing collapse."

Mr. Hendrickse said that Labour, in its politics of persuasion, had "realised power as a constituent of the black community". Its stand had been made in the light of the community's affinity to both the black and white groups.

Despite his statements of concern for the voiceless black majority, Mr. Hendrickse drew criticism from the floor that Labour had betrayed its allies in the Black Alliance. He did not respond to the charge.

The Labour leader attacked proponents of the Freedom Charter as taking an inherently ethnic approach. This and his criticism of efforts to mobilise outside State-created bodies evoked heated reaction from Indian Congress members.
the Freedom Charter as the constitution of the militant black opposition and of attempting to usurp the ANC’s role as the premier organisation in “the struggle” against Pretoria’s policies.

This would seem to be the role of Steve Biko’s Black Consciousness (BC) heirs — specifically, those at the helm of the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo). They led the formation of the National Forum Committee at Hammanskraal on June 12 to produce an alternative blueprint which they called the “Manifesto of the Azanian People.”

The cudgels were quickly taken up by Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, who castigated “ideologically lost political bandits” for diverting the struggle by rejecting the Freedom Charter and seeking to impose their own manifesto on the people.

Anniversary

Obviously aimed at the Forum, her attack came on the eve of the 28th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the “congress of the people” in at Kliptown on June 26 1955. Among the Congress Alliance signatories of the charter were the ANC (banned in 1960) and the now-revived Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC).

In May the TIC formed the United Democratic Front (UDF), the first umbrella body (the Forum is the second) against government’s constitutional plans. UDF members are dedicated to the roughly social-democratic Charter which Forum opponents see as middle class, white-inspired and too preoccupied with “nationalism.”

Some civic, trade union, church and student bodies have participated in both the UDF and the Forum. Where they, and especially the trade unions, finally stand will be important in SA’s political evolution. However, the SA Allied Workers Union and the

General and Allied Workers Union, recently joined the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) in rejecting the Forum manifesto. They reiterated their “uncompromising commitment to the historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the struggle … It can therefore never be substituted without the will of the majority. Any attempt by an individual or group to discredit or undermine it can only be seen as an act of betrayal to the aspirations of all the people of SA,” they said.

The Hammanskraal manifesto (Current Affairs June 17 and 24) adopts a black “workerist” position, contains a hefty dose of utopian socialism and identifies “racial capitalism” as the chief enemy of SA blacks.

Forum convener, Saths Cooper, tells the FM that his organisation is loath to respond to critics “who recognise us as a threat to their little hegemonies.” However, he says the divergences are not new. “In the history of the struggle there have traditionally been different types of tendencies. One of the key factors of the struggle is the existence of such tendencies. These should be respected by democrats. The hysteria about it is reminiscent of a fascist backlash.”

If people attack the Forum manifesto, they in effect attack the people, Cooper claims.

BLACK POLITICS

Split grows bitter

The ideological split among black opposition groups is growing more bitter. One group stands accused of trying to supplant...
Statements made freely?

ZWELITSHA — Statements made by three of the four people charged under the Terrorism Act trial were made freely and voluntarily, the Attorney General, Advocate W. F. Jurgens who is prosecuting told the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Arguing for the admissibility of the alleged confessions, he said the accused's allegations of coercion, inducement and undue influence had been disproved beyond any reasonable doubt.

Mr. Jurgens further said that Mr. Mabone Duna and Mr. Dumisani Maniniwa failed to prove upon a preponderance of probabilities that their statements were made freely and voluntarily, even if their allegations were found to be reasonable and possibly true.

Mr. Duna, Mr. Maniniwa, Mr. Bavi Heve and Mr. Luvaenda Mayekiso, all of Mdantsane, are being charged for participating in terrorist activities, being members of the ANC, recruiting people to undergo military training and possession of banned publications.

They have pleaded not guilty before Chief Justice Lebo Wezi to all the charges.

At present there is a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of the statements made by Mr. Duna, Mr. Maniniwa and Mr. Mayekiso.

Mr. Jurgens submitted that the fact that Mr. Duna made his statement while detained under the Terrorism Act did not, in itself, render the statement inadmissible due to the statutory duty to answer questions.

The fact that Mr. Maniniwa was detained under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act when he made the statement and Mr. Mayekiso under proclamation R525, likewise did not render their statements inadmissible.

He said Mr. Duna alleged that he was subjected to a series of assaults, torture and threats which culminated in him being coerced to make a bogus confession to a magistrate.

These allegations had been denied by Capt. Van Wyk and other witnesses, who alleged that he was questioned on a number of subjects, a number of which culminated in him making a statement to police and that he thereafter, of his own volition, asked to be taken to a magistrate to make a statement.

Mr. Jurgens said that Warrant-Officer Muller had proved that he was attending a course at the time he was alleged to have taken part in Mr. Duna's assault.

This also applied to some days he claimed Capt. Van Wyk participated in his questioning.

The allegations of Mr. Duna that the warning and certain of the preliminary questions to his confession were not put to him, and that certain of his answers were incorrectly recorded were denied by both the magistrate and the interpreter, he said.

"It is respectfully submitted that Mr. Duna was not a good witness and that he was shifty and evasive under cross-examination.

Mr. Maniniwa, he said, invented all the lies during cross-examination in order to bolster his earlier evidence that he was deliberately kept from sleep for two days when he alleged a serious assault in the mortuary.

Mr. Jurgens submitted that the real reason he decided to make a confession was to be found in his answer to the magistrate that he expected his "colleague" to be discharged and then, in response over the fact that others were arrested and detained as a result of his activities, he wanted to accept and confess liability so that his colleagues need no longer be detained.

He said Mr. Mayekiso's pivotal allegation that he was interrogated at Cambridge for three weeks prior to making a statement had been disproved.

The serious allegations that he completed his confession before a magistrate at the Cambridge security office was not only denied by all concerned but conclusively disproved.

"It is submitted that Mr. Mayekiso's evidence is riddled with improbabilities and far-fetched allegations."

Mr. Jurgens argued that the alleged assault and torture to obtain information from other persons detained in connection with the case were not proved at all because the evidence tendered could be relied on as true and the existence even if belief to establish a systematic course of conduct could not swing the scales in favour of the defence in the light of the very strong case built up by the State against the individual accused as set out above.

Defence counsel Advocate M. T. K. Moerane will reply today.
Reforms won't move ANC: Hough

JOHANNESBURG — Reforms in South Africa would not make the African National Congress disappear, the director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing a Security Association of South Africa seminar he said reforms could, however, make it more difficult for the ANC to infiltrate recruits.

Countries in Southern Africa would hopefully realise that those who supplied military facilities to the ANC would pay a high price.

Hopefully too, Prof Hough said, South Africa's black population would finally realise that ANC military activity was just as much aimed at them and that the "freedom" promised by the ANC was a self-destructive and unrealistic kind of freedom.

The ANC had attempted to create the impression that its military activities were primarily aimed at the government and military and economic targets.

This was part of the quest for legitimacy and external support.

Statistics indicated there seemed to have been some concentration on certain strategic and economic targets. The ANC's hope was that the government would over-react and cause dissatisfaction among the population.

Attempts by the ANC to create the impression of guerrilla warfare and not terrorism had failed.

This was clear, Prof Hough said, from the Silverton Bank attack, the explosion in the southern Free State administration offices and from the Pretoria bomb blast on May 20.

The Pretoria attack was a deliberate and obvious act of indiscriminate terror.

"This was not armed propaganda but naked terrorism aimed at intimidating and causing chaos and panic," Prof Hough said.

Speaking at the seminar an oil company security officer, Commandant A. B. Kitshoff said the time had come in South Africa for the three defence fronts — the security profession, the police and the SADF — to join forces. — DDC
WILL the real Manenberg Civic Association please stand up?

Cape Herald has in recent weeks been approached by two groups, both claiming to be the Manenberg Civic Association.

The confusion (at least for us and some of our readers) started when we received a statement from the Manenberg Civic Association, the Bokmakierie, Bridgetown, Silvertown and Kew Town Residents Association and the Parkwood Tenants Association saying that they had withdrawn from Cabac.

They listed five "principled reasons" for withdrawing.

Shortly afterwards we received a statement signed by Mr David Meyer, as secretary of the Manenberg Civic Association, saying that they had not withdrawn and three members would be disciplined by the association.

Mr Meyer's statement said: "This was illegal and unconstitutional and was taken at an illegal meeting in Manenberg on May 17.

"The people who spearheaded this illegal meeting must still appear at a board of inquiry of the association.

"The present position of the Manenberg Civic Association is that we are still affiliated to Cabac as history has shown that unity is strength and only through unity can battles be won.

"The executive of the MCA therefore reiterates the rejection of the statement released and we now bluntly restate that the MCA has never formed an alliance with BBSK and Parkwood to withdraw from Cabac."

DISCIPLINED,

One of the members to be disciplined, according to MR Meyer, was MR Keith Dumas, who later brought us another statement refuting Mr Meyer's statement. He said Mr Meyer was the former secretary of the MCA and had been expelled with two other people.

Mr Dumas signed the statement as general secretary of the MCA.

Both Mr Meyer and Mr Dumas used the same stamp on their letters.

According to Mr Meyer, Mr Dumas was a youth representative on the association.

INITIATED

Mr Dumas denied that the move to withdraw from Cabac was instigated by three individuals and said Mr Meyer underestimated the "intelligence of the rank and file."

He said the meeting on May 17 was, in fact, "illegal" and was attended by Mr Meyer who was not able to convince the people of his views.

Mr Meyer said the meeting was attended mostly by youth who could outvote the older residents in the MCA body. He said the older residents were dissatisfied with the youth taking control of the civic association.

ENTERED

Mr Dumas said the alliance entered into by the MCA, BBSK and Parkwood and the Bishop Lavis Action Committee (BLAC), was a recommendation flowing out a joint general meeting of the organisations.

"The new alliance is one forged on the basis of principled unity and not where bureaucratic decisions are being made, as in the case of Cabac," he said.

BLAC is believed to have also withdrawn from Cabac. There are still about 20 organisations affiliated to Cabac. A new affiliate in the Cabac ranks is the Ravensmead Civic Association.
NOW seems to be a recipe for violence.

Excerpts from an address given to South African editors in Durban last week by Chief GATSHA BUTHELEZI, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, president of Inkatha and chairman of the South African Black Alliance.

UNDER the guise of bringing about reforms, the Prime Minister has entrenched racism in the very constitution of the country and laid the foundations for such political conflict as has never been seen here before.

This piece of legislation, in one fell swoop, attempts to destroy the very basis of black democratic opposition to apartheid.

It immeasurably increases the weight of argument of those blacks who opt for violence because they see no prospects of fundamental changes being brought about by any other means.

In it we see an already powerful Prime Minister being elevated to the dizzy heights of personal power which will be the characteristic of the new executive president.

Entrenchment

In the constitutional move we see in actual practice the entrenchment of the National Party and the translation of its narrow ideological approach into the values of the State enshrined in the constitution.

If ever there is going to be a political Armageddon in the country it is being heralded by the constitutional crisis into which we have plunged.

A great many million black South Africans who comprise one-fifth of the population, aims to control and enjoy 87 percent of the land and its wealth and to enjoy exclusive control not only over that 87 percent, but in effect over the remaining 13 percent and more — in actual practice over the whole of Southern Africa.

Confrontation

If the constitution represents a final African political apartheid extravaganza then total black opposition to it represents the final confrontation with evil on which the very honour of all the future generations of this country depend.

Even newspaper editors who claim to reject violence now seem to die rather than be committed to perpetuity to desperate poverty and disease in many states like South Africa, because of which, if they are to be effective, their death knell of hope to move away from poverty, want and disease on the part of the vast majority of black South Africans.

The new constitution provides only for white power because the much-hailed so-called "little step in the right direction" on the part of the Prime Minister is nothing of the kind.

Coloured and Indian participants in the tricameral Parliament will be immune only from white political domination within the narrow confines of welfare and cultural fields.

Inclusion

Whereas black South Africans ever since the Act of Union in 1910 fought and strove for inclusion in the State, black South Africans now have the prospect of either voluntarily participating in their final subjugation or working for the dismantling of the State and its reconstruction in an entirely different form.

I am now being shaken to the core of my political being by the present Government's attitudes and strategies.

CRISIS

Apartheid have in one breath condemned the exclusion of Africans as 72 percent of the country's population, and in the next breath have described Mr. P.W. Botha's tricameral parliametary system as "the first step in the right direction".

One would almost believe reading this that coloureds never had a vote before in South Africa.

If coloureds and Indians were being placed on a common roll I would still be as vociferous in my anger at black exclusion as I am today, but it would make much more sense than now to talk of that as a step in the right direction.

Reform stride

People who misled the Prime Minister into believing that he is taking a giant reform stride when he in effect is doing no more than ensuring the consumption of classical apartheid, would have a lot to answer for. If there was any future judgment on the Prime Minister's political conduct at this time,

The Prime Minister's constitutional plans are no more than a recipe for violence.

Those of us who pursue nonviolence have, as it were, the rug pulled from under their feet.

The only people who will have any doubts for the Prime Minister's political blundering are those who have voted for violence as the only solution for the resolution of the country's problems.
Labour a target in ‘onslaught’
— Le Grange

PRETORIA — Labour had been targeted as one of the most important areas for the onslaught against South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange, said here yesterday.

“Our enemies know the strength and the potential of the South African economy and they realise only too well that they will score an important victory if they undermine our economic strength,” the Minister said.

Mr. Le Grange was speaking here at an Iscor function.

He said the International Labour Organisation and other foreign organisations were interfering in the South African situation.

It was a well-known fact, he said, that these organisations associated with and supported the ANC and Sactu.

“The Government is fully aware of the scheming behind the scenes and can give the assurance that wherever subversion is involved, it will be fought with every possible means,” Mr. Le Grange warned.

Although the police — out of respect for the concept of freedom of association in a democratic state — normally stayed out of bona fide trade unionism affairs, they would not hesitate to step in situations involving unrest, he added.

He said it had to be questioned whether the authorities could allow the increasing politicising of the trade union set-up, which would have an adverse effect on the free market system.

Mr. Le Grange warned against the danger of subversive infiltration and the manipulation of unsophisticated and naive trade union members.

He added that it was the duty of every employer and worker to ensure healthy labour relations. — Sapa
Govt plans tough action on unions

PRETORIA — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned last night of tough action to combat the increasing politicisation of certain areas of the trade union movement.

Speaking at an Issor function in Vanderbijlpark the Minister also warned of the machinations of the ANC/SA Congress of Trade Unions alliance.

"What will it help that our sons fight and die on the border if we allow white-anting on the home front and on the factory floor?"

What, he asked, should the police do when confronted by the real danger of subversion, infiltration and manipulation of, in some cases, yet unsophisticated trade unions.

Urgent attention, the Minister said, was being given to the danger.

Fortunately some people and organisations, however well meaning, played directly into the hands of the evil alliance he said.

The Minister referred to the outcry over the "so-called" detention and harassing of trade union members, while the fact that the detentions and interrogations without exception had to do with the country's security was lost sight of.

He warned that the labour field had been selected as one of the most important, if not the most important, area from which to attack South Africa.

"Our enemies know the power and potential of the South African economy, and they realise they would achieve an important victory if they could undermine our economic power."

The trade unions were being seized on by the communist orientated ANC as an instrument of incitement.

The latest indications were that the ANC and its labour wing, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, were intensifying their efforts through the trade union movement, and the non-white workforce.

Of significance was that local trade unions and trade union umbrella organisations were similarly busy with unity initiatives, and it could only be hoped they would be alert to a possible ANC-Sactu combination and the serious danger of revolutionary manipulation.

One of the primary cornerstones of ANC/Sactu propaganda was the mobilisation of the workforce in South Africa against the existing order.

There were already examples of certain overseas organisations and trade unions making common cause with the ANC and Sactu.

The International Labour Organisation was one of these, and its support of the ANC-Sactu was well known.

The government was aware, however, of the scheming behind the scenes, and could give an assurance that wherever subversion lurked it would be fought with everything at the government's disposal.

Mr Le Grange said although the South African Police refrained from interfering in bona fide trade union affairs it should be realised that it might be necessary when strikes were accompanied by riots, or where lives and property were threatened, for the police to intervene.
Complaints about Pollsmoor

Mandela and Suzman in frank talks

Political Staff

MRS HELEN Suzman has told of "uninhibited" talks she had this week with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other prisoners at Pollsmoor.

She said Pollsmoor Prison offered them fewer facilities than their former "home" on Robben Island — but they said the food was better.

Mrs Suzman, the official Opposition spokesman on prisons, asked for the get-together after receiving information that conditions at Pollsmoor were unsatisfactory.

90-minute visit

She said: "I had a 90-minute visit with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and four other prisoners, all except one of them jailed for life.

"It was a very full and open discussion, despite the fact that both the commander of Pollsmoor and the regional commander of prisons were present. There were no inhibitions.

"It is clear to me that Pollsmoor, as a closed maximum-security jail as far as these prisoners are concerned, is less open and offers fewer opportu-

MRS Helen Suzman

portunities than did Robben Island.

"On Robben Island there were better facilities for recreation — for example tennis and football.

One large cell

"Although the men are together in one very large cell (on Robben Island they were in single cells), I was not very impressed with the structure of the single cells now being built at Pollsmoor.

"I hope very much to persuade the authorities to make changes.

"All six men are studying for degrees.

"They have no complaints about medical or dental treatment and said the food was, in fact, an improvement on what they received on Robben Island.

"They were in good health and in good spirits.

"Depressing"

"They did have a number of complaints which, I am told, are being attended to.

"The yard where they exercise and spend most of the day is certainly a rather depressing place with very high walls, and I can see that this would be very dispiriting for men who at present have no hope of remission of sentences.

"The library facilities are rather limited but, I believe, will be improved.

"They used to have a weekly film at Robben Island. It is hoped that facilities for documentaries from the library will be made available.

"Well-educated"

Mrs Suzman said the men were not ordinary prisoners but highly intelligent and well-educated.

"The fact that they have spent such a great part of their lives in jail cannot but command compassion," she added.

"It's high time the Government considered remission of sentences for these people, who, by any normal standards, have been punished for their offences."
Unions warned by Le Grange

Own Correspondent
PRETORIA. — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned last night of tough action to combat the increasing politicization of certain areas of the trade union movement.

Speaking at an Iscor function in Vanderbijlpark, the minister also warned of the machinations of the ANC/SA Congress of Trade Union Alliance.

What, he asked, should the police do when confronted by the real danger of subversion, infiltration and manipulation of, in some cases, yet unsophisticated trade unions.

Urgent attention was being given to the danger.

The aim was clear — to seriously disturb the economy through unrest to an extent that it collapsed, and that the government would be forced to its knees.

The ANC/SACTU aimed to alert the total work force as an important component, and unfortunately some people and organizations, however well-meaning, played directly into the hands of the alliance.

The minister referred to the outcry over the "so-called" detention and harassment of trade union members, while the fact that the detentions and interrogations without exception had to do with the country's security was lost sight of.

The trade unions were being seized on by the communist-oriented ANC as an instrument of incitement.

Significant was that local trade unions and trade union umbrella organizations were similarly busy with unity initiatives, and it could only be hoped they would be alert to a possible ANC/SACTU combination, and the serious danger of revolutionary manipulation.

One of the primary cornerstones of ANC/SACTU propaganda was the mobilization of the work force in South Africa against the existing order.

There were already examples of certain overseas organizations and trade unions making common cause with the ANC and SACTU.

The International Labour Organization was one of these, and its support of the ANC/SACTU was well-known.

The government was aware, however, of the scheming behind the scenes.
ZWELITSHA — A ruling on the admissibility of statements made by the accused in Ciskei's first Terrorism Act trial was reserved until August 1 by Chief Justice De Wet in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Four Mantisane men, Mr Melbane Duna, Mr Deumissi Maninjwa, Mr Bayi Keye and Mr Luyande Mayekiso, have pleaded not guilty to participating in terrorist activities, being members of the banned ANC recruiting people to undergo military training and distribution of banned literature.

In a trial within a trial Mr Duna, Mr Maninjwa and Mr Mayekiso claimed that they did not make their statements freely and voluntarily.

The Attorney-General Advocate W. F. Jurgens, who is prosecuting, has argued that they were made freely and should therefore be accepted by the court.

The defence counsel, Advocate M. T. K. Moerane, has contended that the accused were forced and unduly influenced to make the statements which should therefore be rejected by the court.

He argued that Section six of the Terrorism Act trial Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act and Proclamation R252 under which the accused were detained were gross departures from criminal law which gave a person the right to refuse to answer questions and entitled them to a legal defence.

A detainee under these laws was kept in solitary confinement with no access to his legal adviser and the psychological life support system. The purpose of this was to induce him to speak.

Mr Moerane said Section six was more stringent and drastic because a person was held incommunicado and removed from the jurisdiction of the court. Inherent in the section was pressure to induce a person to speak against his will and interest, in violation of the common law and fundamental right to remain silent.

Even the act of isolation acted as an inducement. That was why up until the date it was unheard of for Section six statements to be found admissible by the Appellate Division.

In Ciskei rights of individuals were guaranteed in a chapter dealing with fundamental rights in the constitution.

The fact that the detainees' statements were made while detained under the various sections mentioned made the statements inadmissible.

He said Mr Duna's statement was made after 40 days of intensive interrogation. Warrant Officer Elsdon described the process whereby information was "extracted" from Mr Duna.

Mr Moerane said the officer knew English but chose the word "extract" as against a more neutral word than "question." He was trying to tell the court exactly what happened at the police station.

He said Mr Duna's statement that he wished the law should be handed in court raised the proposition that benefit was expected.

Mr Maninjwa's statement that he expected his colleagues to be released when asked if he expected any benefit also raised the possibility of inducement.

Mr Moerane said the evidence of Brigadier Tamsanga who took part of Mr Mayekiso's statement should be rejected.

Brigadier Tamsanga could not take a statement although he was a brigadier.

He said promotions in Ciskei went by leaps and bounds and people were promoted at a phenomenal rate.

Mr Moerane said the calling of witnesses who were potential state witnesses proved the pattern of interrogation.

These people were held in solitary confinement and had no access to the accused.

They told the court they were assaulted by the police in more or less the same manner, same time and same place as the accused.

Czech's freeze Vatican ties

VATICAN CITY — The communist government in Czechoslovakia, nervous over the role of the Catholic Church in Poland, has frozen relations with the Vatican, Vatican sources said yesterday.

Ties with the Holy City and Czechoslovakian authorities have always been among the most difficult in the East Bloc, but the sources said they had recently worsened and dialogue had been broken off.

SAPA-RNS.
Call to curb white racism

IF SOUTH AFRICA could not curb the "monstrous crime" of white racism, it would destroy the country, Dr Frans Auerbach told the annual conference of the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg last night.

"Dr Nthato Motlana (chairman of the Committee of Ten) was right when he said on June 10 that the total onslaught on South Africa was not Communism, but white racism. If we cannot curb this monstrous crime against our common humanity, it will destroy us," Dr Auerbach said.

He was giving his presidential address — entitled "Racism, Youth and the Future" — at the two-day conference of the Institute, which ended last night.

The theme of the conference was "Towards an undivided South Africa: A challenge to the new propossals".

Dr Auerbach said the increase in violence in the last 10 years would escalate even further in the next decade if the social conflict in the country did not diminish.

"It seems that we are trapped in a deadly lit cave in which each side reacts to violence with more bombs, more suspicion, more abuse and yet more killings.

"The least we might do is light up the cave so that we can see more clearly. With more light, we might become aware that on so many key issues we are very severely misinformed," Dr Auerbach said.

He added that many people believed race classification was a foolproof system.

"The system should be scrapped, for it is inhumane."

Dr Auerbach said all peaceful approaches to eliminate legalised racism in South Africa had been tried unsuccesssfully.

However, passive resistance, he said, might be the answer to achieving freedom and justice in the country.

"Perhaps we need to look once again at the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi... and study how it might help to stem the escalation of catastrophe which has already begun."

"We must go on speaking out against oppression and injustice, because silence will be taken as consent."

"We dare not remain silent at the ravages of a system that hurts millions from the time they are little children — a system based on the evil practices of race classification," Dr Auerbach said.

Dr Auerbach called on all South Africans to work together to eliminate apartheid.

"History would one day sweep it (apartheid) aside, " he added, and the Institute of Race Relations would do all it could to ensure that "the sweeping is done in peace and goodwill".

Unfortunately many white South Africans had an overall picture of incompetence regarding Zimbabwe, but this was not true, Dr Auerbach continued.

He said that during a recent visit to Zimbabwe, he had been heartened by the spectacular progress made in the field of health and education during the three years since the country became independent.

"The overall picture of the incompetence existing in the minds of many white South Africans about Zimbabwe — and largely conveyed by our Press and other media — is not true."

"My general impression of a people on the march, self-confident and friendly to strangers, is different from the impression gained by most South Africans from what they hear and read," Dr Auerbach said.

He said Zimbabwe officials he had encountered were competent, the government was well informed and the country was "greatly interested" in South Africa. — Sapa.
Football

Helen with Mandela

spends an hour

SUNDAY TIMES

BY BRIAN FENNELL

Mandela's one of the most brilliant kickers I've ever seen," Robben Island prison<br>governor Tricot said yesterday.

"I think he could have easily made a living out of football."

Tricot was speaking after Mandela, who was in good form yesterday, had a football match with members of his soccer team at Robben Island prison.

The 71-year-old former president, who is serving a 15-year sentence, was not visibly affected by the cold at the match, which was watched by a large crowd of prisoners.

He was accompanied by his son and daughter, who are visiting him at the prison.

Tricot said that Mandela, who has been in prison for 27 years, was doing well and that he was in good health.

He added that Mandela was still very active and that he was still playing rugby and cricket.

"He's still a very active person," Tricot said.

Mandela, who is known for his love of sports, has played rugby and cricket in his time at Robben Island.
Dispenation an '18th century Voortrekker dream', says Buthelezi

By Eddy Andries

KWAZULU is so opposed to the Government's planned constitution that it will not participate in it even if a fourth chamber, for blacks, is created in the future.

The new dispensation was "nothing more than an 18th century Voortrekker dream" of white Afrikaners who sought to entrench their own domination over South Africa's other race groups, Chief Gatshe Buthelezi told the Lebowa Legislative Assembly this week.

"We would reject this corruption of a constitution even if tables were turned and we replaced whites in the trikameral Parliament. A secure future just cannot be built on racist foundations."

Calling for national tribal unity, Chief Buthelezi said it was time blacks realised their numerical strength and considered such "hard line political action" as mobilisation of the massive power of black workers and consumers.

The National Party was prepared to do all in its power to divide the country's blacks and to counter such unity, but each ethnic group had a common role to play in opposing these efforts.

He warned that anger and despair at the Government's heartless treatment of blacks who had driven many into believing democratic opposition should be abandoned and that their future could be secured only through an armed struggle.

"No matter how archaic it will become and how long it will last, we harbour a vision of an open and race-free society, and it is this which holds us together in the hope that we will ultimately triumph and eradicate the scourge of apartheid."

The irresponsibility of racist white attempts to enforce separate development meant they were destroying the very future to which they were purportedly working, Chief Buthelezi said.

However, he also slammed the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress - "our brothers and sisters in exile" - for assuming self-appointed leadership of committed anti-apartheid campaigns.

"They ignore the fact that we must reject violence as a preferred strategy because it is both morally wrong and logistically impossible in this country. They pursue their ends as though they were the sole representatives of black South Africa.

"They think those who are not for them are against them."

It had to be recognised that one minority of black opinion had fled abroad to establish the armed struggle and another minority had fled into so-called "white" homelands to pursue their political ambitions there.

This was the reason why the majority who stayed in the country had to unite.

Chief Buthelezi said one of the political scars bore was the Government's successful propaganda campaign against him - mainly through SABC - which gave the impression that he advocated "Zulu imperialism", when nothing could be further from the truth.

"Even if Zulus are the single largest ethnic group in South Africa it does not mean we can dominate other tribes. We need to be part of one force... to oppose the new constitution and attempts to force us apart.

The Government could very effectively be caused to abandon the mobilisation of blacks and their unfounded support for trade unions and other black organisations.

South Africa needed to be spared the race war which was inevitable as a result of Government measures. Chief Buthelezi proclaimed.

The spectre of civil wars in other regions of Africa was a haunting one and it was imperative for blacks' survival that unity be preserved no matter what cost.

"Years of suffering at the hands of whites had not robbed blacks of hope or courage," he said.
MILITARY MUSCLE ROLLS

BACK THE BORDER THREAT

Botha's policy takes fight to ANC

Dr Peter Vale...outlined the new 'Botha Doctrine'.

AN EXPERT in international affairs says that South Africa has developed a new regional policy to make it as difficult as possible for the African National Congress to operate from beyond its borders.

Dr Vale, director of research at the SA Institute for International Affairs, outlined the new policy, which he described as the 'Botha doctrine', at a meeting in Johannesburg this week of the Witwatersrand branch of the institute at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He said the 'Botha doctrine' had developed in three stages. These were:

- The 'pre-Angola', 1975 phase.
- A search for a security policy, and
- The new policy, the aim of which is to seek and destroy the ANC wherever it is operating in Southern Africa - even beyond the borders of South Africa.

The 'pre-Angola' phase was marked by the vigorous use of Pretoria's economic muscle to achieve certain strategic goals in the defence of its perimeter, said Dr Vale.

He defined the perimeter during the years of Mr John Vorster's premiership as Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

These borders provided a form of security because South Africa, through a 'carrot-and-stick' diplomacy, established an economic foothold.

Pretoria's goal was to keep the outer reaches secure: the phrase 'total onslaught' was not part of our political lexicon at that time.

But this was changed by what took place in Angola in 1975, when South Africa was forced to withdraw its forces.

'It became obvious that South Africa could no longer call the shots, and was under pressure from a new and aggressive extra-regional competitor - the Soviet Union, which was bent on changing the regional complexion.

There were few economic levers left and the perimeter was shrinking: South African control had waned - it was known it had lost the war in Angola.

Then came the new Marxist-inclined governments in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and this growing instability was in turn reflected in the Soweto riots of 1976.

So South Africa, in its search for a new doctrine for the region, started with a massive military boost, involving a quantitative and qualitative change in its weapons system from 1976 to 1979.

'It seems to me that Pretoria has increased its arsenal 300% since Angola,' said Dr Vale.

The next aspect of the policy was to seek a careful line between the need to show movement towards domestic reform and the need to put the ANC firmly on the defensive. This was what Pretoria saw as the main stream of international conservative thinking.

By the early 1980s, Pretoria came to see itself as an anti-Soviet agent in what it regards as an strategically important part of the world.

The anti-Soviet rhetoric of, at first, London, and subsequently of Washington and Bonn, were a 'welcome oasis' for South Africans, said Dr Vale.

But the extent of the Soviet Union as the main enemy was not clear and there was, at that stage, some confusion.

'While South Africa's capacity to control regional events was clear, the target was not. Was it the Soviets, the Cubans in Angola, or the governments of its neighbours, some of which were clearly ill-disposed towards South Africa?'

At this stage, said Dr Vale, the ascendancy of the military in many aspects of our national life became a reality.

'The Republic has developed a much more hawkish regional image under Mr PW Botha and General Magnus Malan than under Mr Vorster and Mr Botha. When international opinion began to speak out the growing effects of regional destabilisation - which Pretoria has denied - the next step was the appeasement of the formal doctrine.'

This emerged in February this year during the debate in Parliament on the Prime Minister's vote, said Dr Vale.

Offers of reconciliation with South Africa's neighbours were evidently falling on deaf ears, said the PM, and 'if these gentlemen want their territories to become gathering places of ANC and SWAPO terrorists, I say here today, we shall remove these nests for you... Every country which offers shelter to anti-South African terrorists will have to deal...'

This was the strategy which needed to be called 'the Botha doctrine' said Dr Vale.

'Where previously South Africa was content to let the ANC come to it, it had now quite clearly taken the conflict to the ANC.'

In real fashion, South Africa has re-established the perimeter defence. It has taken things back to where they were pre-1975-6, Dr Vale said.
UNGAAGED!

For the first time in nearly 15 years, the full executive committee of the Natal Indian Congress was able to meet this week in Durban.

During that time the committee could not get together because most of the members were banned. In terms of the restrictions imposed on them they could not talk to one another.

But at midnight on Thursday night their banning orders, along with restrictions imposed on 55 other people throughout the country, were lifted in the single biggest withdrawal of banning orders by the Government.

The NIC executive committee members, who are now allowed to meet one another and travel freely, are Mews Ramgobin, the first executive committee member to be banned in 1955, George Sewpersad, who succeeded him as leader of the organisation until he was banned in 1959, J.F. Naidoo who took over from Sewpersad until he too was banned later that same year, and the youngest member of the committee, Pravin Gordhan, who had served 13 months of his two-year banning order.

In a statement issued by the executive committee, the NIC expressed its solidarity with the 10 people who have been re-banned. They include Rowley Arenstein of Durban, one of the longest-suffering in the history of the banned in South Africa, being first banned in the late Sixties, and Winnie Mandela, wife of former leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence for his political activities.

In addition 134 people, listed in Friday’s Government Gazette, are prohibited from publishing, printing, disseminating material or being quoted. Many of them have fled South Africa.

This list has caused some confusion among those who were “listed” in terms of the old legislation.

Yesterday veteran campaigner, Helen Joseph, whose name appears on the old consolidated list, was confused and anxiously contacted lawyers and others in an attempt to discover what her position was, whether or not she may now be quoted as her name does not appear on the list of people who may not be quoted.

The NIC says in its statement that it does not interpret the unbannings as a “change of heart on the part of the regime.”

It said the re-bannings and unbannings came amid “unprecedented state attacks upon our people.”

“This is demonstrated by the deaths and brutality in Chesterville and Lamontville, violent removals in KTC, Inanda and Clairwood and other areas, rising unemployment and escalating rent, food and transport costs.”

The banning orders were lifted in terms of Section 73 (2) of the Internal Security Act which specifies that unless the banned person is served with a new banning notice his previous order, imposed under the old legislation, will lapse exactly 12 months after promulgation.

Many of those whose banning orders expired greeted the news at first with disbelief.

Professor Fatima Meer, who has been banned for nine years and still has three years to serve on her last banning order, said the dropping of the ban was a “surprise to some degree — but then I never understood why I was banned in the first place, or for that matter why it is now lifted.”
People's priest laid to rest

By KOOS COETZEE
PORT ELIZABETH — More than 3,000 people from all over the country walked to the grave of Canon Arthur James Calata, a former secretary-general of the banned African National Congress, at Cradock in the Eastern Cape last Saturday.

Canon Calata, reaching the nineties, died on June 16, the day on which the outbreak of the Soweto riots was commemorated.

Mourners heard in an open area in the Lingelihle township tributes paid to Canon Calata by representatives of various organisations.

Mr Archie Gumede, Natal chairman of the United Democratic Front as well as theRelease Mandela Committee, described Canon Calata as a negotiator committed to a peaceful and democratic settlement in South Africa.

"But in the course of time he too became disillusioned regarding the willingness of the authorities to be engaged in any dialogue with the black people.

"From then on the call was for deeds and not only words. Deputations, petitions and resolutions," Mr Gumede said.

Mrs Nonyameko Mxenge, wife of slain lawyer Griffiths Mxenge, said: "Calata did not divorce Christianity from the liberation struggle. He realised that he could not attain the freedom of his people through prayer alone.

"Calata realised that the Kingdom of God is an extension of a freedom realisable in this world and consumed finally in heaven.

"For one of the characteristics of God is freedom."

Canon Calata was among the 156 black leaders who stood trial in the marathon treason trial of 1956. He was later banned and placed under house arrest.

His coffin, draped in the colours of the ANC, was carried by youths singing freedom songs.
The Freedom Party (FP) and the People’s Congress Party (PCP), are planning to merge in opposition to the Labour Party.

FP leader Mr Charles Julies and PCP leader Mr Peter Marais this week confirmed they had already held preliminary discussions.

They said their parties had decided in principle to merge to oppose Labour in the election for the new House of Representatives under South Africa’s new constitution.

It is expected that the election will be held in the first half of next year.

Provision

The Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill makes provision for the election to the House of Representatives of 80 members — of which 60 will be from the Cape, 10 from the Transvaal and five each from Natal and the Orange Free State.

By NORMAN WEST

Full-scale talks to iron out preliminary details will take place in Port Elizabeth soon, to be followed by a final round of talks in Cape Town. I was told.

The question of who the national leader and national chairman of the new party would be, as well as a possible new name for the party, are among the “delicate” issues still to be hammered out.

Griqua

The merger could also mean the reunification of the Griqua under one umbrella body. At present, the Griquas are split into rival factions under the separate leadership of the Le Fleur brothers.

Mr Charles Julies, leader of the Freedom Party.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the People’s Congress Party.

One group, the Griqua National Congress led by Mr J. A. S. le Fleur, is affiliated to the Freedom Party.

The other, the Griqua National Council led by Mr Eric le Fleur, is affiliated to the People’s Congress Party.

While Labour has refused to disclose its membership strength, Mr Julies claims his party has more than 160,000 members on its books. Mr Marais’ PCP has 11,000 paid-up members.

“Stooge”

For the Freedom Party — which still suffers from a “stooge” label because of its Federal Party heritage, the merger would also mean a brand-new image.

For the PCP, it would mean an immediate acquisition of tens of thousands of members and, together, they could form a formidable coloured political alignment.

Both the PCP and the FP intend opposing Labour’s more-moderate “negotiation strategy”, and have condemned the Government’s constitutional proposals.

Mr Julies has made it clear the FP accepts the Government’s proposals as a “good beginning”, but declared his party to be against the “racist policies”.

He said: “Let me make it quite clear, my party finds a lot of fault with the proposals, and we do not believe they go far enough in mapping out our future at central decision-making level.

“My party also rejects the total exclusion of the black man in the..."
What is best plan to unite people?

Professor RICHARD van der ROSS, Rector of UWC, has his say.

IN the midst of the avalanche of opinions presently being expressed on the constitutional proposals, one finds it extremely difficult to say anything new. And to try to crystallise anything like the Coloured people's opinion is impossible, simply because of the wide spectrum of opinions held.

It is important to note, however, a re-grouping that is taking place, especially in the generic "black" sector. It is in this re-grouping that many of the coloured people who do not feel comfortable in the present constitutional debate will seek a political home.

Thus far, two main streams seem to be emerging. One is the "grassroots" type of organisation, with community, civic and welfare-orientated groups in the lead; the other is the more ideologically-orientated type of organisation seeking national rather than local unity.

Meaningful movement
Protest politics of the SACP variety may be placed under the former type: firstly, because it is more at community level, and secondly because it does not effectively reach out to the black (African) sector. But because these community-based groups do not really aspire to bring about political changes at national level — at least not in the first place — this article will deal more with the second type.

In this regard, the recent conference at Hammanskraal where the National Union of Coloured Workers (NUCW) of a generic black (African, coloured and Asian) groups, was founded — deserves mention. Although it did not receive a great deal of prominence in the media, one notes the attempt of people with serious political intentions to create a basis of unity across the traditional colour lines. Even whites were included — at least they were not written off.

Now, such a movement has meaning. While so much attention is being focussed by and through the media on parliamentary or establishment attempts at reform and the rejection thereof, the above-mentioned developments are a reminder that these are not the only efforts and that the debate does not end there.

Vital aspect
Extra-parliamentary yet legal organisation must surely be a vital aspect of constitutional development in a situation such as ours, especially if it does not fit into the neat framework planned by the establishment. It certainly is premature to judge the new group, but it is not premature to sound a few warnings.

Basically, our politics lacks a framework of reference. The Government's could be summed up as apartheid on the social-political side and free market on the economic side. Liberal white politics also claims to espouse free market economics, but lacks the dedicated drive which motivates the National Party.

Playing politics
Coloured politics fails to thrive because it has not defined itself in economic terms. Consequently its present activities are directed at a bread-and-butter survival and improvement level, with reaction to the NNP as its tactics. It would do much better if it firmly accepted either free market (but then sell it out), or socialism (also sell it out) or any combination of these or any other economic ideology, clearly worked out for all to see and, of course, spell out for the entire country and all its people.

The Labour Party, for instance, has a constitution aimed at the worker, but none of its public statements give evidence of this. This reduces all the other carryings-on to a kind of playing politics, as long as no economic theory is advanced and defended.

Our history in this regard is not very inspiring, either. We come to ask how we (coloured people) have related to blacks (Africans).

Dr Abdurrahman went along with the general idea of free market capitalism and also tried to establish a (coloured) federation of trade unions. Trade unions were white-dominated, so there were some coloured members. The exclusion of blacks did not seem to trouble coloured artisans much. This persisted even in the legal Communist Party, which tried to enrol blacks in the party but could make no impact on the white-dominated trade unions.

After 1943 the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) constantly attacked and denounced imperialism and capitalism. But it never spelt out its alternative economic plan, although communism was still legal.

Grave differences
The NEUM had grave differences with the Communist Party of South Africa (CPUSA), and would not collaborate with it. Neither would it have any part of black organisations such as the ANC of Chief Luthuli or Nelson Mandela. When later the Pan African Congress (PAC) arose under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe, and after Sharpeville, it attacked the PAC for its "adventurism" in bringing Sharpeville about. It also refused to be part of the Congress Alliance which produced the Freedom Charter, denouncing the South African Indian Congress, the ANC and the Congres des Coloureds (Congress of Coloureds) and the COD (Congress of Democrats: white former Communist Party) as racists.

The only significant alliance the NEUM formed with blacks was with the All African Convention (AAC). But this federated union came to an end when in 1958 the AAC diverted from Point 7 of the NEUM's basic Ten-point Programme.

And it was precisely on the matter of economic policy that they came. The AAC declared that it wished to acquire land according to the system of capitalism! The acceptance of this hated concept caused the NEUM to attack the AAC faction with all its force, so that the Unity Movement split into two sections, unfortunately in colour lines, each claiming that it was the true NEUM. The rift was never healed.

Not enough
I wish to put forward the thesis that the mere use of blanket words like "Unity", "Black" or "National", the more saying that the split recognise no colour, is not enough. Indeed, saying that we recognise no colour could itself be a way of recognising colour itself.

Probably the best way to unite people is to have an economic plan or theory which they find acceptable. Against such a theory, they may learn to handle ethnic concepts which then become less important and less divisive. Maybe then we could graduate from playing politics into real politics.
Reform Bill: ‘A classic attempt to storm the Kingdom of God’

The National Party’s new constitution has nothing to offer those whose hearts incline to an undivided South Africa, most participants at the two-day national conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations agreed.

A wavering voice among the critics at last week’s Johannesburg gathering was that of Labour Party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse. He conceded the constitution did not allow membership of a unitary state for all South Africans, but felt that joining the proposed structures of government would give the National Party a good opportunity to work for a true federal nation state — not to be confused with the NPF’s much-vaunted federation of states.

Not least of those anxious to disburse Mr Hendrickse was Nationalist political commentator Otto Krause. He soundly boxed the ears of supporters of an undivided South Africa for seeking foreign solutions unsuited to local demands before declaring: “Clearly any settlement with blacks will not be on the basis of a constitution because that implies acceptance of them within a nation state.”

Mr Krause spoke caustically of the use of “foreign ideology” by those who suggested South Africa should resort to political assimilation (various shades of “left” opinion) and those who advocated partition (the far right wing). He denied that both had ulterior political motives.

Mr Krause argued South Africa was unique. “A land of nations without borders...we fit nobody’s book.”

He asserted that, in framing the new constitution, the National Party, “shedding the ideology of the right and returning to pragmatism, is rediscovering its genius”. He believed that by putting the emphasis on people rather than on territory it was progressing to a point “where no group dominates the other”.

Challenges to Mr Krause’s argument were inherent in earlier papers delivered — notably that of a sharer of the Calvinist tradition, the Rev Shun Govender, a minister of the Reformed Church in Africa and secretary of the Broederkering.

Mr Govender argued that, far from stripping itself of ideology, the NP used declarations of Christian faith to “sacrifice” a strategy for continued minority rule.

Quoting from the preamble to the Constitution Bill (“In humble submission to Almighty God, who controls the destiny of nations and the history of people, who gathered our forebears together from many lands and gave them this, their own...”) and pointing to later provisions for self-determination of population groups, Mr Govender said: “The acts of the Almighty Christian God in world history are intimately joined (in the Bill) to the national history of the people who produced this document. And His dealings are not associated with the purposes of the ruling powers to guarantee ethnic self-determination.”

He commented: “This is a classic attempt by man to storm the Kingdom of God.”

Black speakers at the conference, Mr Gibson Thula, chairman of Inkatha, and Mr Steve Kgabe, president of the Urban Councillors’ Association of South Africa, made it clear they did not see the new constitution as a move away from domination by one group.

Mr Thula said the key issues in South Africa were political participation and common citizenship.

Mr Kgabe predicted the new constitution would make black people more determined to resist domination. “The inclusion of a small few million coloureds and Indians won’t soften hostility.”

Unlike Mr Krause, who dismissed the land issue as “recalcitrant” but open to negotiation, Mr Thula regarded the proposed constitution as a key to maintaining the lean ration of land for blacks.

Mr Kgabe, a participant in the revamped deal for urban blacks — the community council system — declared the experience had awakened him to his powerlessness.

His opinion on further efforts within Government-created bodies: “Why play the game? It’s futile. Let us find ways and means of dismantling apartheid — then we can talk.”

Auerbach pleads for ‘light’

Misinformation and ignorance are increasing suspicion and reinforcing violence in Southern Africa, outgoing president of the South African Institute of Race Relations Dr Franz Auerbach said at the weekend.

In his annual address to members, he said: “It seems we are trapped in a dimly-lit cave in which each side reacts to violence with more bombs, more suspicion, more abuse and yet more killings. The least we might do is light up the cave so that we can see more clearly.”

“With more light we might become aware that on so many key issues we are severely misinformationed,” he said. Some of the fallacies whites were prone to, he said, were:

- Exiles were necessarily bent on violence. In contrast Dr Auerbach spoke of the spiritual loneliness of exiles and their longing to return.
- There were moves from Government quarters to “win the hearts and minds of the people”, when actions such as the drawing up of the constitutional proposals patently contradicted this.
- There was little mass support for guerrillas. Mr Auerbach pointed to Zimbabwe as a signal lesson in misinformation by the State.
- Neighbouring black states were incompetent. “During my recent visit to Zimbabwe I found that the overall picture of incompetence existing in the minds of many white South Africans about Zimbabwe, and largely conveyed by our press and other media, was not true.”

Dr Auerbach said he found Zimbabwean officials competent and was heartened by progress in the fields of health and education. He acknowledged the Matabeleland problem and Press censorship, but maintained, “My general impression of a people on the march, self-confident and friendly to strangers, is different from that gained by most South Africans.”
Firm relents on stay-away

A strike at Reef depot, triggered by the dismissal of three workers who stayed away on June 16, the management of Coca-Cola have agreed that some workers may justifiably be unable to get to work on that day.

A company spokesperson said the firm had agreed to carefully consider the cases of workers who stayed away on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising. The dismissed men were reinstated.
Expert reviews sabotage claims

In 1979 the African National Congress accepted responsibility for 13 attacks on South African police stations by its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, a Johannesburg regional magistrate was told yesterday.

Mr Izak de Vries, a lecturer in the department of State affairs at the Rand Afrikaans University and an expert on the ANC, was giving evidence for the State in the trial of two Soweto men charged with furthering the aims of the banned ANC.

Mr de Vries said the ANC in its official organ Sechaba in January 1983 contended that "the armed struggle against South Africa escalated" between January 1977 and October 1982.

During that period the ANC claimed attacks on 23 railway lines and 25 industrial establishments.

The ANC also accepted responsibility for 15 bombings in 30 places in South Africa during 1979.

Mr de Vries quoted one of several interviews with Mr Oliver Tambo, exiled president of the ANC, who said those inside the country who were against the ANC's revolutionary aims would be punished.

The people listed include policemen, former ANC members and those who testified for the State in ANC trials.

- The accused are Mr Peter Thabo Moloi (29) and Mr Jacob Mashego (24) both of Soweto.
- They have pleaded not guilty to taking part in ANC activities between September 1 and November 8 1982.
- Mr Mashego admitted possession of a tape recording. He said he was not aware that the recording, which he played for friends at the Diepholof Hotel, was prohibited.
- The tape carried songs by exiled musician Miriam Makeba and American singer Harry Belafonte. On the other track were slogans and music.
- The lines included: "We will destroy Smith and Vorster with grenades and guns."
Typing error, says SP man of 19 extra lines

A security policeman said yesterday that a typing error had resulted in his inserting 19 lines into a transcription of a tape recording which allegedly incited support for the African National Congress (ANC).

Colonel A M Heystek was testifying before a Johannesburg magistrate in the trial of Mr Peter Tuabo Moloi (22) and Mr Jacob Mashego (24), both of Diepkloof, Soweto. They are charged with participating in the activities of the outlaw ANC and playing an ANC tape.

At a previous hearing, Colonel Heystek admitted under cross-examination by Mr D Kuny defending, that the 19 lines on the transcription were not on the tape.

The case was postponed until July 27.
Botswana frees SAP officer

The Star's Foreign Service

GABORONE — A South African policeman who was jailed in Botswana for trying to bribe a local policeman to spy on the ANC has been freed and allowed to return to Pretoria.

A Botswana government spokesman confirmed today that a senior South African policeman, identified only as "Mr Steenkamp", collected Warrant Officer Jacobus Martinus Kok (44) on July 6 and brought him back to South Africa.

The spokesman said the balance of Warrant Officer Kok's sentence — it is believed he had five months left to serve — had been remitted but he did not say why.

The officer was arrested in July, 1982, and was convicted several days later of "official corruption".
Court told of ANC

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) has in recent years increased its actions against the South African Government by using strikes and demonstrations to achieve its goals, the Johannesburg Regional Court was told yesterday.

The outlawed organisation, the court heard, believed that an all-round offensive against the enemy means that all possible avenues should be used such as trade unions, school children, religion and women.

EXPERT

Professor L D de Vries, a lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) and an expert on revolution in South Africa, was testifying before Mr IJJ Luther in the trial of two Soweto men charged with taking part in activities of the ANC.

Mr Peter Thabo Moloi (29) and Mr Jacob Mashego (24) both of Diepkloof, have pleaded not guilty to playing an ANC tape recording in a Diepkloof hotel lounge on November 8 last year or alternatively of advocating and encouraging its achievements and objectives.

STRUGGLE

Professor De Vries, in his lengthy evidence, quoted Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, and the organisation's secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo, on what they said about the movement and its struggle against the Government in the organisation's mouthpiece, Sechaba.

* He said further the organisation was spreading its message through various ways. It told its members and supporters to give or pass on to friends any of its publications like Sechaba, Dawn, and Voice of Women.

The case will continue on July 27.
A SECURITY policeman said 19 additional lines in the transcript of an alleged African National Congress cassette were the result of an error made by a typist and not himself.

Colonel A M Heysteck said this under re-examination in the trial of two Diepkloof men charged with taking part in the activities of a banned organisation — alternatively advocating or encouraging the objectives of the organisation — and being in possession of ANC cassettes.

The State alleges that Mr Peter Tshabo Moloi, 26, played the recording at his home while Mr Jacob Mathogo, 24, played it at the Diepkloof Hotel. They have pleaded not guilty to the charges, which are alleged to have taken place between September 1 and November 8 last year.

The tape includes recordings of music and slogans such as: “We will destroy Smith and Vorster with grenades and guns.”

During cross-examination at the previous hearing, Col Heysteck said he could not explain the additional 19 lines added to the transcript that were not on the recording.

Yesterday he said after reading the first typed transcript he sent the transcript back to the typist to make certain changes, which included removing the 19 additional lines.

He said he did not read the transcript after sending it back to the typist.

Another State witness, Mr Isaac Daniel de Vries, a lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University, who has done a masters degree thesis on revolutionary parties in Southern Africa, said that from the official literature of the ANC, the ANC was at present engaged in an armed struggle aimed at the overthrow of the South African Government.

Quoting extensively from ANC literature and reports, he said the ANC engaged the enemy on all fronts, including strikes, school boycotts and struggle on the religious front. They avoided direct confrontation and hit at the weakest point, he said.

He said the struggle of the ANC was aimed at all people who upheld the present Government. He said even persons who testified against the ANC at inquiry commissions were regarded as the enemy.

The trial was postponed to July 27.
LEADERS of the Natal Indian Congress who have been just unbanned, yesterday rejected outright the Government's constitutional proposals and called for one man, one vote in South Africa.

Mr George Sewpersadh, NIC president, and Mr M J Naidoo, senior vice president, who returned to the congress leadership after their banning orders had been lifted, said the NIC was committed to the freedom charter in which the constitutional proposals were out of place.

"In no ways can the Indian community accept them," they said.

Mr Sewpersadh and Mr Naidoo, both lawyers, said the NIC would decide soon if the Indian community would take part in any referendum on the promised political dispensation.

They also rejected as 'completely unacceptable' a recent survey by Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, which found that more Chatsworth residents favoured the South African Indian Council than the NIC.
Calling for national tribal unity, Chief Buthelezi said it was time blacks realised their numerical strength and considered such “hard line political action” as mobilisation of the massive power of black workers and consumers.

DIVIDE
The National Party was prepared to do all in its power to divide the country’s blacks and to counter such unity, but each ethnic group had a common role to play in opposing these efforts.

He warned that anger and despair at the Government’s heartless treatment of blacks had driven many into believing democratic opposition should be abandoned and that their future could be secured only through an armed struggle.

“No matter how arduous it will become and how long it will last, we harbour a vision of an open and race-free society, and it is this which holds us together in the hope that we will ultimately triumph and eradicate the scrouge of apartheid”.

He said he did not condone violence as a means to obtain acceptable political solutions, but neither could he condemn “the frailty” of those whose expressions of anger led them to violence.

Blacks could no longer afford what he termed the luxury of protest and rhetoric when what they required was more organised constituencies and the establishment of resistance movements with proper branches and leadership structures.

The irresponsibility of racist white attempts to enforce separate development meant they were destroying the very future to which they were purportedly working, Chief Buthelezi said.

ANC
However, he also slammed the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress — “our brothers and sisters in exile” — for assuming self-appointed leadership of committed anti-apartheid campaigners.

“They ignore the fact that we must reject violence as a preferred strategy because it is both morally wrong and logistically impossible in this country. They pursue their ends as though they were the sole representatives of black South Africa.

“They think those who are not for them are against them”.

By Eddie Andries
KWAZULU is so opposed to the Government’s planned constitution that it will not participate in it even if a fourth chamber, for blacks, is created in the future.

The new dispensation was “nothing more than an 18th century Voortrekker dream” of white Afrikaners who sought to entrench their own domination over South Africa’s other race groups, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told the Lebowa Legislative Assembly last week.

“We would reject this corruption of a constitution even if tables were turned and we replaced whites in the tri-cameral Parliament. A secure future just cannot be built on racist foundations.”
A man who was allegedly found in the possession of clothes bearing the colours of the banned African National Congress (ANC) appeared before a Krugersdorp magistrate yesterday charged with being a member of the organisation.

Mr Isaac Genu (30) of Kagisi, Krugersdorp, appeared before Mr T J La Grange. He also faces alternative charges of being in possession of clothes and a publication which indicated he was a member of the ANC, and with taking part in activities of the ANC.

He pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Captain P A J Kruger said Mr Genu's house was searched at 4 am on March 4.

Police found a T-shirt depicting a woman with a gun and men carrying spears, a second shirt with the slogan "Mayi-buye", and another shirt with a map of Africa.

Also found were two children's shirts bearing the slogans "Viva Mandela" and "Aluta continua" (the struggle continues), and two head scarves.

All the items bore the colours green, yellow and black.

"The colours used and pictures depicted are used from time to time by the ANC in its propaganda war waged against this country," said Captain Kruger.

The case continues.
PAC on a first visit to Maputo

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK. — The Pan Africanist Congress is about to make its first formal visit to Mozambique, with a delegation headed by the president, Mr Nyati Pokela.

Expected within a week, it is being billed as evidence of the movement's recovery from the dire straits of a year ago, when de-recognition by the Organisation of African Unity loomed as a threat.

The aim now is diplomatic parity with the African National Congress and any measure of recognition from the Maputo Government would be regarded as a step in that direction.

The PAC is also trying to counter the ANC's much more potent international image by seeking to associate itself with the national movement in South Africa, to the exclusion of the PAC.

In May, Mr Pokela ventured into other territory generally regarded as an ANC preserve when he made a Scandinavian tour.

He also seized the opportunity of the Non-Aligned Movement summit in New Delhi to make overtures to India.

Earlier, the PAC had failed an ANC bid for full Non-Aligned membership by posting its own membership application.

Group rules allow only one member a country and the matter was left in limbo.

A driving force behind the PAC fight-back is the foreign affairs director, Mr Gera Ebrahim, a doggedly persistent personality who bases himself at the United Nations, where the ANC has dominated in the four years since the murder of an ANC predecessor, Mr David Sibeko.

Nagging insistence on equal treatment — the PAC and ANC have the same observer status at the UN — has helped stop the rot there, though PAC aspirations to open offices in India, Algeria and other ANC strongholds are not taken seriously by the ANC camp.
Black ideals: the new battle lines are drawn

By PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

The lifting of banning orders on clampdown on black leaders will provide a powerful impetus to black political movements operating outside officially sanctioned institutions, and will almost certainly have a direct bearing on the incipient ideological struggle between leaders of the black consciousness movement and champions of the Freedom Charter.

Restrictions on orders at least 10 people, many of them prominent figures in the black community, were allowed to expire last weekend. They include outspoken men and women who were otherwise prominent in black consciousness or nationalist activities. Leaders of the Freedom Charter before they were banned as well as people who solidarity both camps.

Former black consciousness figures who are now free to speak out include Mr Kenneth Dlamini, former president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, and the late Mr Samihlontsia Simon, who was an active member of the Alliance of Black Consciousness. Steve Biko, until his death in 1977, is another example.

His followers and successors are no less passionate but were now free to speak out without the threat of banning orders.

The Freedom Charter before they were banned as well as people who solidarity both camps.

Typical of those who had the conditions before they were banned was the late Steve Biko, a poet, intellectual and to many a symbol of the struggle.

...the British government's decision to ban the African National Congress and its political arm, the South African Communist Party, is a blow to the struggle for liberation.

In broad terms, it encouraged a process of cooperation between ANC leaders and to many people as a whole.

The attempt was made at a unity conference attended by more than 200 black organizations.

The African National Congress was a significant to the Freedom Charter and today it is still valid.

The Freedom Charter was strong by rejected by Africans within the ANC, who later formed the Pan-Africanist Congress and whose followers today are as potent ideologically as the black consciousness movement.

Shortly before the restrictions on the ANC banned people expired last weekend, however, enhanced leaders of the black consciousness movement made it clear that the rule of the black community by themselves and supporters of the Freedom Charter.

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Poor will die at home, says Azapo of new hospital rule

The new hospital ruling in the Transvaal that out-patients must pay bills in full before treatment will result in poor people staying away and dying at home, Azapo claimed today.

The health secretary, spokesman of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr. Abu-Baker Asvat, was commenting on the new payments policy announced by the Director of Hospitals, Dr. Hennie Grove.

The policy is that in-patients, to whom a day tariff is applicable, must pay a deposit on admission. Where a non-recurrent tariff applied, as with out-patients, the patient "will be expected to pay the full amount on admission." A patient will not be refused treatment if he cannot pay — but will be expected to arrange payment as soon as possible.

The ruling would increase hardship in the townships, particularly among "people who are battling to make ends meet and who are living a hand to mouth existence," Dr. Asvat said.

Health services should be the duty of the State — available to one and all, and free of charge, he said.

Mr. Isaac Mogase of the Soweto Civic Association said the ruling was "a terrible situation".

Mr. Tom Manthatha of the Soweto Committee of Ten said the ruling was "ugly and inhuman".

People attacked in the street or involved in serious car accidents were not likely to have cash on them when taken to hospital, he said.

"The ruling is a horrifying idea. The Government is responsible for the health of its citizens," he said.
Political dispensation for SA blacks must be found — Rosholt

Finance Reporter

A POLITICAL dispensation acceptable to South African blacks would have to be found if they were to support the free enterprise system and share in it, warned the chairman of Barlow Rand, Mr Mike Rosholt, yesterday.

He was speaking on the challenges and opportunities for black business development in Southern Africa at the 19th conference of the National African Federation of Commerce at the Good Hope Centre.

"History tells us in many examples that economic parity can never be achieved without some share in political decisions," Mr Rosholt said.

"It follows that in this country some form of political dispensation and one acceptable to them will have to be found for the blacks if they are to support and share in the private enterprise system."

He also said that to redress inherited inequalities and to avoid the "very grave danger that free enterprise would be rejected by the majority group", an economic system of compromise would have to be found.

This would have to be "based on a mixture of unrestrained free enterprise and enlightened social responsibility".

Distributing the benefits of the system more fairly would be lengthy, but in the short-term steps to demonstrate bona fides would have to be taken.

These would include:

- Eliminating discriminatory laws as quickly as possible;
- Educational reform;
- Public and private employers accepting equality of opportunity and treatment in labour practices and pay;
- Promotion on merit;
- A "major reform" of influx control laws and their administration.
Botswana invites SA to identify ANC bases

By Brendan Nicholson,
The Star's Foreign News Service

GABORONE — Botswana has issued a standing invitation to South Africa to identify any African National Congress bases on its territory.

Since the South African attacks on targets in Mozambique and Lesotho there has been considerable concern in Gaborone that Botswana might be next on the list.

The fear was reinforced when South Africa's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, warned on May 22 that Botswana was one of three countries which provided "conduits" for ANC guerillas and should expect retaliation.

Mr Lebang Mpotokwane, the Administrative Secretary in the office of the Botswana President, emphatically denies that the ANC has any military bases or training facilities in Botswana.

Botswana had a strict policy of not allowing its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on its neighbours and anyone preparing to attack South Africa would be apprehended by Botswana security forces, he said.

"We have given a standing invitation to South Africa to come and show us where the ANC have any such facilities in Botswana but Pretoria has not responded.

"If they can give us such information we will act on it," Mr Mpotokwane said.

The possibility of a South African raid into Botswana is being taken seriously by the British Foreign Office. It advised two South African political activists, Mr Marius Schoon and his wife, Jekesile, to leave.
Members of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) and the Inkatha Youth Brigade held successful talks in Pretoria at the weekend and have agreed to form a joint committee to tackle special projects.

In a joint statement yesterday the two student organisations announced they hoped their joint committee would be functioning by the end of August.

Discussions between the two groups were largely concerned with the planning of joint projects.

The ASB has invited Mr Musa Zondi, a member of the Inkatha Youth Brigade executive, to address the ASB during its annual congress from July 10 to July 14.
RESIDENTS of New Brighton were told at a meeting last night to brace themselves for a tough fight against the increased bus fares.

The meeting, organised by the action committee of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) to investigate ways of effectively opposing the bus fares, was held in the Great Centenary Hall, New Brighton.

It was chaired by Mr. Qaqawuli Godolozi, president of Pebco.

Mr. Mhuselel Jack, a member of the action committee and president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Organisation (Peyco) said today the meeting was called to tell residents of the steps taken so far.

He said strategies and plans to fight the busfare increases were put to the people and a final decision when to launch these plans, which would call for "sacrifices" from all residents, would be taken at a mass meeting to be held at a later date.
"Azaso to continue backing of UDF"

Education Reporter

THE main task facing student organisations in South Africa was to fight for a free and democratic education system. Mr Eddie Moseleke, the newly appointed president of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso), said today.

Interviewed after the five-day Azaso conference in Cape Town, Mr Moseleke said free and equal education was not possible in an undemocratic society.

"Our conference, therefore, unanimously resolved to work actively in the broad democratic movement in South Africa, especially within the United Democratic Front (UDF)," he said.

DRAMATIC

The UDF is the coalition of labour, student, youth, community and women organisations formed earlier this year to oppose the proposed new constitution.

Mr Moseleke, a second-year B Comm student at the University of the Witwatersrand and president of the Black Students Society on the campus, said Azaso had grown "dramatically"

"Our continued growth will undoubtedly mark an upsurge in activity on the campuses where we are organised," he said.

In an interview the outgoing president, Mr Joe Phaalha, predicted that the growth of the student movement would go "hand-in-hand with a harsher clampdown on student leaders" by the authorities of more conservative universities as well as the security police.
THE VAAL branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has expressed great concern over the death of their member and popular artist, Mr Michael Oupa Ditabe, who was found hanging from the rafters of his home on Friday last week.

A statement released by the organisation yesterday said: "The death of Michael Oupa Ditabe of Zone 7, Sebokeng left us with a question: Why did he do it after suffering all the harassment and detentions since the Vaal branch of Cosas was formed in March 1980? We do not know who is going to follow him. Since the organisation was formed in the Vaal, five members have died. The first was Sihle Khambule of Evaton, Dillo Khubeza of Evaton, Oupa Morekisi and Richard Pheto, both of Sebokeng, and now it is Michael. In his speech at the June 16 commemoration service which was held at the local Roman Catholic Church, Ditabe called on all parents and students in the Vaal to carry on with the struggle because some of us were not going to reach that end. Now we can understand why he said those words."

The organisation also expressed concern and worry about the contents of the letter which was reported to have been found next to Mr. Ditabe's body. Cosas said regardless of how he died the organisation is going to bury him as a hero. The Vaal branch is also drawing a programme for the funeral.

Speakers at the funeral will be from Cosas, Vaal Youth Organisation, the newly formed Women's Federation of South Africa in the Vaal and the Vaal Civic Association. The organisation said it has received messages of condolences from various people and organisations and those who want to send messages are asked to contact Mr. Geina Malindi, at 2175 Zone 13 Sebokeng and Simon Nkosi at 68 De Korte Street, Braamfontein or phone 724-4441, mornings only.

Mr Ditabe, who is survived by his parents, two sisters and two brothers, will be buried at the Evaton cemetery tomorrow. According to his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Ditabe, Michael had been sick in recent days and was receiving treatment from a local doctor. He complained of a severe headache. He was found hanging with a piece of rope around his neck from the rafters in his bedroom which was locked.
Azaso backs Freedom Charter

CAPE TOWN. — The Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) this week pledged to work actively with other organisations towards achieving a democratic society in South Africa.

In particular, Azaso pledged its full support for the United Democratic Front — a coalition of labour, student and community organisations which was formed earlier this year to oppose the constitutional proposals.

At the end of the five-day Azaso conference held in Cape Town this week, the students committed themselves to the aims of the Freedom Charter and thus also to working within the UDF.

The conference also pledged support for the community in Lamontville, Durban, which has been the scene of much violence since the Port Natal Administration Board announced a rent increase three months ago. The delegates have called on the board to reduce the rentals.

Veteran trade unionist and community leader Oscar Mptaha, who is currently on bail pending an appeal against his five-year conviction under the Terrorism Act, had to cancel his address to the students because of his poor health.

Instead, he sent a message saying the students had an important role to play in fighting for a free and democratic education system. The unity shown by students had to be extended to include those inside and outside universities, as well as to the community at large.

His message was received with a standing ovation and a resolution, calling on the State to withdraw Mptaha's conviction, was passed. It said Mptaha was “one of the leaders of the community and of the people”.

The conference condemned bannings and detentions and resolved to popularise the campaign to establish an education charter on which a democratic education system could be founded.

Azaso's new national president is Mr Tiiego Moeletelo, a BComm student at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mr Abba Omar, an honours student at the University of Durban-Westville, is the new vice-president.
**Hendrickse in new pledge**

The Labour Party would refrain from filling seats in the coloured chamber of the newlook Parliament if 50 percent of the coloured people voted against it participating, party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse pledged in Johannesburg last week.

His promise came during discussion after his address to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Mr Hendrickse defended the Labour Party's decision reached at Eshowe in January, to take part in the planned three-chamber parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

He said the Labour Party stood for one-man-one-vote in a unitary nation but believed it could do more by participating in the proposed Parliament than by standing on the sidelines.

**Clarified**

The move was an attempt to become part of the "dismantling of apartheid", Mr Hendrickse said. He later clarified that the party believed participation would give it greater political leverage.

"Mr P W Botha is going to need me and the Labour Party more than ever before - he can't afford to have the whole thing collapse."

Mr Hendrickse said that the Labour Party, in its policies of persuasion, had realized power as a constituent of the black community.

He added that its stand had been made in the light of the community's support for both the black and white groups.

**CRITICISM**

Despite his statements of concern for the voteless black majority, Mr Hendrickse drew criticism from the floor that the Labour Party had betrayed its allies in the Black Alliance. He did not respond to the charge.

The Labour leader attacked proponents of the Freedom Charter as taking an inherently "white" approach. This and his criticism of efforts to mobilise outside State-created bodies evoked bitter reaction from Indian Congress members.

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**Specials**

**NIC BAZAARS**

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**Advertised**

*Susan Venter advises...*

**Trying to lose weight and win back my husband.**

**Q** I'm desperately unhappy as my husband and I recently got divorced. I was shocked to discover that he was taking out a slim young girl. I still love him very much and would do anything to win him back, but I realize that I am very overweight and unattractive. Being unhappy makes it more difficult to do something about my figure. How can I lose weight and regain his love and admiration?

**A** There's only one way you can regain your self-respect and your husband. You have to become the attractive woman he married and that means losing weight. A safe and easy way to do that is by using Slimming Dragees. One tablet twice a day is enough to suppress your appetite and help you eat less... they give you the willpower you don't have yourself.

They've been clinically tested and I've even used them myself with great success. Get your Slimming Dragees today from any pharmacy. And enjoy your courting days all over again!

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Classification: A11.3501 Both dragee types contain Ephedrine HCl 17.5mg Caffeine 50 mg Phenylpropanolamine 0.4mg (S001816)
The meeting, which started the third annual congress, was addressed by recently unbanned Mr Curtis Nkondo, the past president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The president of Azapo, Mr Joe Phaalal, said the organisation's congress was being held at an exciting time in South Africa's history.

"The student movement can only be relevant if it is part of the broader progressive movement under the leadership of the workers."

STRUGGLE

"Our struggle is against the system of apartheid capitalism and not against white people," he said.

Mr Phaalal said Azapo joined the United Democratic Front (UDF) because they felt that was the only means of opposing the constitutional proposals.

He called on students to be committed and disciplined.

"There is no doubt that the masses of our people are thirsty for freedom but they need to be organised.

"The future of our country is in our hands but it will depend on what we do with it," he said.

Mr Trevor Manuel, general secretary of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, said the constitutional proposals were "clear attempts to disorganise our ranks.

"We must not only oppose the proposals. We must take the struggle forward from here," he said.

Throughout the meeting, the audience of about 700 broke into spontaneous singing and applause.

Posters on the walls called for support for the UDF, the Freedom Charter and a democratic system of education.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, was supposed to address the meeting, but had to cancel at the last minute to attend to other problems.

'Enew deal' is a fraud says former Azapo head

EVEN if Africans were included in the Government's constitutional proposals, the situation in South Africa would not be changed, recently unbanned Mr Curtis Nkondo said in Hanover Park on Sunday.

Mr Nkondo, the past president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), was addressing the third annual congress of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso).

"The constitutional proposals and the President's Council are frauds and people who accept this fraud, go into it for their own benefit.

"Even if some Africans are drawn into the President's Council, our conditions will not improve. They will not deliver the goods, because they are not meant to do that. They will be co-opted as sub-oppressors.

He said South African society was full of contradictions.

"I've learnt to fear reforms, because it always happens that behind reforms, there is repression.

"The Government builds beautiful schools, but they still give us gutter education.

"They talk about reforms and at the same time they tell us to go to the homelands. We must not be misled by these things.

"We are not interested in reforms. We want liberation," he said.

Mr Nkondo said the constitutional proposals were being imposed from the top and were not drawn up by the majority of the people.

"We don't want big words to confuse us. We want simple statements that reflect the demands of the people and can be understood by all. The Freedom Charter is such a document," he said.

The Freedom Charter was drawn up in Kliptown in 1955.
WHILE white eyes focussed on the shifts in political allegiances during the Battle of the Berge, significantly, the black eyes were also watching the scenes in black politics.

Splits have arisen among the organisations which identify with the non-racial political tradition established by the now-banned African National Congress (ANC), leading to some surprising changes of alliance. At the same time there has been a renewal of Black Consciousness activism focused on the black exclusive tradition represented by the Pan-Africanist Congress.

These developments could have considerable importance for, they involve the two most powerful forces in black politics: "outside the system." The clashes between the non-racial organisations are essentially over who will control the ANC which members have sown is the most popular political movement among blacks. For the Black Consciousness Movement, the issue is whether it can reconstitute itself as a credible alternative to the non-racialists.

In 1980-81, a loose alliance of black trade unionists, student and trade union organisations publicly emerged which rejected the black Consciousness approach dominant during the 1970s. They rallied instead to the Freedom Charter, a social democratic programme endorsed by the ANC and allied organisations since the 1950s. They also accepted political ties with left-minded whites, anathema to Black Consciousness supporters.

Now, divisions have emerged within the non-racialist movement, between the students and community-oriented groups on the one hand and the two key trade union organisations on the other. These unions, the 25 000-strong Food and Clothing Workers (FCWU) and the 9 000-member General Workers Union (GWU), have agreed in principle to unite with the country's largest black worker body, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu).

With several other unions joined as well, the likely result is the creation of a new black union federation - the most powerful single body in South Africa's history, with a potential industry-wide presence in at least six major industries.

This marks a turnaround for the FCWU and GWU, who (along with the other pro-Charter groups) clashed with Fosatu during 1980-81. However, the community and student bodies have privately expressed hostility to the drive to create the new union federation.

The split reflects, in part, differences in political strategy between the unions and community bodies.

The community-oriented organisations are broadly "rationalist" in approach, seeking to unite blacks across class lines using sympathetic whites around civic issues in black townships. The GPWP has gone along with a popular, grassroots-oriented style. Cape Town: coloured civic groups launched petition drives to change the electricity billing system, while the ACTSA Indian Council committee stormed the Transvaal to organise the boycott of the 1981 Council elections.

All this is reminiscent in flavour of the tactics of the ANC and its allies of the 1950s.

The Fosatu position, on the other hand, is that industrialisation since those days has created a far stronger black working class, which needs a workers' political movement centred around factory organisations. The FCWU and GWU stand somewhere in the middle.

The clashes also reflect the differences in aims and background between the New Left of the 1960s and 1970s (a force in the unions) and the Old Left (which enjoyed influence in the ANC and allied bodies up through the 1950s).

In the trade unions, a crucial role has been played by white student leaders from the late 1960s and early 1970s. They grew up in an era in which the ANC and the pro-Soviet Communist Party (CP) had smashed, and their views were shaped by the overseas student rebellions of the 1960s and the humanistic New Left thinkers like Herbert Marcuse.

"They would look to Solidarity for inspiration, not the Soviet Union," says one academic close to them. The classic exposition of their views was the late Rick Turner's "The Eye of the Needle," a call for a democratic, socialist South Africa based upon worker self-management.

By contrast, the leadership of the community and student bodies contains figures from Congress-related movements of the 1950s. Most of these organisations' younger activists have been drawn from the post-1976 generation, which moved against a background of riots, strikes, school boycotts, and ANC guerrilla attacks.

During this period, the prestige of the ANC and CP has risen among blacks, so it's hardly surprising that they look for guidance from figures reared in the older tradition.

The split began to emerge during 1982.

After the large-scale detentions of trade unionists in late 1981 and the death in detention of Dr. Nell Aggett (an FCWU organiser) in early 1982, the FCWU and GWU gave a favourable response to unity moves from Fosatu. Like Fosatu, they had established industry-wide shopfloor organisations, and they decided to seek their differences to defend their hard-won bases against the onslaught. Fosatu, for its part, took a more political stance, finding a few good words to say for the ANC and pledging to campaign against the new constitutional proposals.

However, the unity initiative received a chilly response from other non-racial unions who were relatively weak in the factories and strong on community issues, such as the SA Allied Workers Union (Sawu). Organised primarily through township mass meetings rather than at plant gates, they seemed to have more in common with the community and student bodies than with industrial unions like Food and Canning or those of Fosatu. Although Saawu and other unions from this group agreed to sit on a committee set up in April this year to study the new federation, a big question mark hovers over whether they will actually join the new grouping.

It became clear that their scepticism was shared by many of the community and student organisations at two meetings called by the FCWU this year to discuss the unity initiative. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC), sole surviving co-signatory of the Freedom Charter, registered particularly strong opposition. These groups evidently feared that the FCWU and GWU, by joining the new federation, would be lost to the "charismatic" movement and strengthen the Fosatu camp.

The continuing rift was evident at the 1 Lenasia meeting to re-constitute the Transvaal Indian Congress - a sister body to the NIC defunct for 20 years. Though representatives of student and community bodies were present, the only unions to send messages of support were Saawu and two small left-minded unions. The keynote speaker, Advocate Zac Yacoob of Saawu, launched an unmistakable attack on "workerists," a small group of Indian activists sympathetic to Fosatu.

Likewise, at the meeting a few weeks later to establish a United Democratic Front against the government's constitutional plans, community, student, and...
Shaking on it

A JOHANNESBURG journalist reports an unexpected experience.

He had occasion to speak to Bishop Tutu. The only time available was at a lunchtime interview at the Eloff Commission hearings. The journalist duly made his way to the cathedral and ascended Tutu on his way out of the building. Tutu walked him to a nearby church where he was apparently his habit while in Pretoria to pass the lunch-hour in solitary prayer.

Returning, the journalist was surprised by a mid-aged black man rushing towards him. For a moment, he thought a mugging attempt was about. But the man stopped and said, "Please may I shake your hand?"

Holding out his hand, the journalist enquired why.

"Because you were walking with Bishop Tutu. I want to shake the hand of a man who is a friend of the Bishop."

"Fine, but why don't you shake his own hand?"

The man averted his eyes, looking bashful. "I cannot do that," he said, "I am not worthy. But I will be pleased if I can shake the hand of the man who is his friend."

THE SIMPLE matter of shaking hands is not always, in South Africa, as simple as meets the eye.

A once-in-a-lifetime tells the story of how once he was to pick up a black man at the airport. The black man was not fit to qualify for a home of his own and rented premises (unknown to the household) from the live-in chauffeur of a wealthy industrialist.

The businessman arrived and feeling slightly awkward, made his way to the servants' quarters. There he found Sipho sharing a dingy room with the chauffeur, who was introduced as "Edmund." Throwing nothing of it, he did what in normally did on being introduced to anyone, which was to shake hands. As Sipho then went about their business.

Soon afterwards, Sipho moved to other pastures. Some three years later, the businessman bumped into him by chance.

After greetings were exchanged, Sipho reminded him of that day. "Edmund, I was always asking after you," he said, "It's always wanting to know if I have seen you and wanting me to send his regards."

"What?" said the businessman. "Why, I've hardly met him."

"Yes, but you have a special place in his mind. You're the only white man who has ever shaken his hand."

THEN AGAIN, there are some people whose hands you never get to shake at all.

Like the hand of one Lucas Mangupe, as a recent visitor discovered.

The visitor had arranged an appointment, several weeks in advance. This was confirmed in writing, and then, close to the Great Day, again confirmed by telephone.

But the black man, himself out of his Johannesburg bed somewhat earlier than is good for mental health, set off on the three-hour drive to Mafikeng. Arriving in good time, he was greeted by aides and assistants and introduced to the interior of the imposing presidential suite, whence a striking portrait of Siyabonga, in the numerous advancements given forth at the assembly politicians.

Some 90 minutes later, he was finally invited to embark on the next three hours of driving at His Excellency the President would not see him.

"Why not?" No reason. Evidently "The President", living up to the worst image of pompous dictators but also to the despotic nature suggested by his facial demeanour had simply decided he had other things to do. These included lunching at the Mabatho Sun.

The visitor recorded his opinion that this summary decision represented an extremely low level of civility on the President's part. An outraged official, whose colleagues had spent the best part of the morning briefing him, about Sophathawana's terrific record on civil rights, promptly threatened to call the cops.
Generations of resistance:

Student leaders spanning two decades traced developments in the education struggle at the six-day Azasou congress in Cape Town, which ends today (Friday). From left: former Nasas president and detainee Auret van Heerden; former Saso permanent organiser and Robben Island prisoner Tiso Lekota; former Saso president Diliza Mji; Azasou executive member Abba Omar; Azasou president Joe Phahlisa; and former Soweto Students Representative Council leaders recently released from Robben Island: Sechaba Montusi and Murpheson Morobe. The entire Cosas executive was also present. Veteran Cape Town community and union leader Oscar Mpele recently released on bail following his conviction under the Internal Security Act, was due to address the congress last night.
ANC plans to beam propaganda into South Africa as part of the overall liberation struggle.

By ANDRE VILJOEN

The banned African National Congress (ANC) has asked the United National to set up a powerful radio transmitter in Southern Africa.

The transmitter would beam propaganda broadcasts into South Africa as part of the overall liberation struggle.

The meeting is regarded as one of the most important recently held by the ANC command.

It was called specifically to deal with the situation following the Pretoria bomb blast.

Informed sources say an important new stage in the "propaganda offensive" is perceived after the bomb, and the debate in Lusaka centred mainly on this.

The Lusaka conference was opened by Zambia's Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. Malambo Tshibamba, and ANC President Mr. Oliver Tambo.

A Swapo propaganda spokesman also spoke.

It is believed the ANC's new information chief, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, will seek support for the conference recommendations at a frontline states Information Ministers' meeting soon in Harare.

The ANC has long placed heavy emphasis on publicity.

Now, at a time when it has greater international support than at any previous period in its 71-year history, the ANC is clearly determined to capitalise on any opportunity to improve its propaganda machinery.

This week's conference reviewed the ANC radio plans, and the work of the ANC film unit and of ANC publications, including the journals Sechaba, Mayibuye, (Youth) Forward, the Voice of Women, Dawn, as well as related journals such as the South African Congress of Trade Unions publication Workers' Unity, and the African Communist, a quarterly of the banned South African Communist Party.

All these banned in South Africa, the after bomb blast in the last few weeks, and the ANC now has enjoyed a radio and television platform.

But it is not that the ANC has now.

Malan warns Press

By DIRK VAN ZYL

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, yesterday made a veiled threat against newspapers which "serve the public lies and blatant propaganda" about South Africa's alleged destabilisation of its neighbours.

Speaking at a "Commando Day" at Kempton Park he said: "The First Commissioner of Police, Mr. P. D. du Toit, said "I believe this country has the will to defend itself. Should our assumptions about this country not be found to be in the interests of our country.

All South Africa's neighbours had to do was examine themselves and if they were sure that they were not engaged in subversive activities "with the Russian Imperialists and their agents" then they need not fear the reaction from South Africa.

South Africa's changing self-confidence and its ability to defend itself posed no danger to its neighbouring states, he said.

It had no desire to attack its neighbours, it simply had the will to defend itself.

GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN

Allegations and half-truths

By DIRK VYL

The question of Press in Africa will be examined at Pretoria on Thursday.

Presented by the Pretoria Press Club, Windhoek, the five-day international media conference will include State inter-media, professionalisation SABC as political inform.

Seventy speakers will attend the conference which is being held in South Africa's own freedom surviving in the individual Press.

Speakers are: Mr. Justice Louis Nel, MP, Professor Pretoria University, Mr. Editor of Sunday Times, Mr. Editor of the Vrad, Mr. Editor of the Star, Mr. Editor of the Star, Mr. Jan van Zyl.
ANC plans to beam propaganda into SA

1 African National Congress (ANC) has decided to intensify its programme of broadcasting made by the ANC over the official radio stations in Lusaka, Dar-es-Salaam, Luanda, Brazzaville and Kinshasa. The plan was disclosed at a major, five-day meeting of the ANC leadership which took place in Lusaka this week.

The meeting is regarded as one of the most important recently held by the ANC command. It was called specifically to deal with the situation following the Pretoria bomb blast. Informed sources say an important new stage in the "propaganda offensive" is perceived after the bomb, and the debate in Lusaka centred mainly on this.

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All these publications are banned in South Africa.

In the aftermath of the ANC bomb blast in Pretoria Mr. Tambo has enjoyed a major platform on radio and television networks around the world from which to assert an ANC strategy and policy.

But it is in South Africa itself that the ANC most clearly wants a platform.

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Alan warns Press

"Blatant lies and propaganda" come under heavy fire

By ANDRE VILJOEN

Harare

The reaction of De-Magnus Tshwete, who heads the ANC's propaganda section, was daily confronted by reports dealing with South Africa's alleged bid to destabilize Southern Africa.

"It is interesting, however, to note how many of our neighbours are now sending allegations into the world that we intend attacking them."

They have to know that we don't, and won't, act against them, but only against terrorist acts -- and we will continue with this should it be found to be in the interests of our country.

All South Africa's neighbours had to do was examine themselves and if they were sure that they were not engaged in subversive activities "with the Russian imperialists and their agents" then they need not fear action from South Africa.

South Africa's unchanging self-confidence and its ability to defuse itself posed no danger to its neighbouring states, he said.

"It had no desire to attack them, but only against terrorist acts -- and we will continue with this should it be found to be in the interests of our country."
Why black teacher will not go back...

THE STRAPPING young visitor shuffling his feet respectfully in the doorway of the Eldorado Park house was received with all the graciousness of a monarch holding court.

"Follow the noise through the house and you'll find my son," Mr. Curtis Nkondo told him gently.

The man quickly complied and Mr. Nkondo returned to the business of the interview.

The graciousness was still there, but the kindly voice of the school teacher had been replaced by the emphatic cadence of the political convert.

Mr. Nkondo, the controversial first president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), is wearing a new political coat.

A former school principal and teachers in 1977, he has veered away from the principles of black consciousness towards the tenets of the Freedom Charter.

His intensely articulate speech is now peppered with the two words representing the blueprint that has divided racial groups since it was adopted at Kliptown 20 years ago.

"I want to see free and compulsory education for everybody because the Freedom Charter said the doors of learning and culture should be open to all," he says firmly.

That is Mr. Nkondo's first and foremost consideration — that he is a teacher.

For him, the crisis in English education is the crisis of a grimace and a wary shake of the head.

He believes the English language will remain South Africa's vehicle of communication, but that the concept of separate education for English speakers is a colonial anachronism.

"What impresses me is that English-speaking people have become more progressive," he said this week.

After training for three years at the De la Rey North School, he had to be an indication of their true history and geography, but he finally switched to English.

"I was very lucky in that the principal of my school at that time was very understanding, and allowed me to try and make English more interesting," said Mr. Nkondo.

"I scrapped formal essay writing and told students that they could write what they wanted.

"There was only one condition. Their writing had to be an indication of their true history and geography, but he finally switched to English.

"I was very lucky in that the principal of my school at that time was very understanding, and allowed me to try and make English more interesting," said Mr. Nkondo.

"I scrapped formal essay writing and told students they could write what they wanted.

"There was only one condition. Their writing had to be an indication of their true history and geography, but he finally switched to English.

"We want good education now, and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon," he told the students at the time.

His three years banning order came the following month.

In October 1977 — the month of the mass bannings of 19 black consciousness organisations and two newspapers — Mr. Nkondo was deposed for eight months under Section 18 of the Interim Constitution, which states that the banning of individuals and organisations is for the promotion of national unity and the protection of national security.

"We still have gutter education, and only the names have been changed," he said.

Currently working on developing computer-based educational programmes with a Sandton firm, he said he would return to the profession only if the principles of equal opportunity and education were only another part of the total strategy to fight the struggle for liberation; said Mr. Nkondo.

Until May this year Mr. Nkondo's three-year banning order prevented public airing of his new beliefs, but since its lapse he has re-entered the fray with enthusiasm.

One of the first organisations to feel his eloquent tongue was Azapo, and last month he used a Fort Elizabeth meeting to lash out at his former organization's "insensitiveness" black eye.

Report by ARLENE GETZ
The man quickly complied and Mr Nkondo returned to the business of the interview. The graciousness was still there, but the kindly voice of the school teacher had been replaced by the emphatic cadences of the political convert.

Mr Nkondo, the controversial first president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), is wearing a new political coat.

A former school principal who led the mass walk-out of about 600 Soweto teachers in 1977, he has waved away from the principles of black consciousness in the name of the Freedom Charter.

His intensely articulate speech is now peppered with the two words representing the blueprint that has divided rival black groups since it was adopted at Kliptown 28 years ago.

"I want to see free and compulsory education for everybody because the Freedom Charter said the doors of learning and culture should be open to all," he says firmly.

That is Mr Nkondo's first and foremost consideration - that he is a teacher.

Perhaps a teacher in limbo since his suspension from the profession after he chaired the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, nevertheless an educator.

Yet his firm belief that education is inextricably linked with politics means that even if he could, he now would not enter another classroom until some of his criteria were met.

For him the crisis in English education is the subject of a grime and a wary shake of the head.

He believes the English language will remain South Africa's vehicle of communication, but that the concept of separate education for English speakers is a colonial anachronism.

"What impresses me is that English-speaking people have become more progressive," he said this week.

After training for three years at the Pretoria Normal College, Mr Nkondo began his teaching career at Pinelville High School in 1973 - the same year the Bantu Education Act prescribing different education for blacks and whites became law.

"I felt that teaching was the best way to solve the problems of the people," he said in this week's interview. He began as a teacher of history and geography, but he finally switched to English.

"I was very lucky in that the principal of my school at that time was very understanding, and allowed me to try and make English more interesting," said Mr Nkondo.

"I scrapped formal essay writing and told students they could write what they wanted.

"There was only one condition. Their writing had to be an indication of their true feelings and relevant to the struggle for liberation."

His face alight with the enthusiasm that characterises his discussion of teaching, he continued: "However, I told them that they must not write that whites were bad.

"The Animal Farm syndrome which categorises those with four legs as good and those with two legs as bad is rubbish," he said.

"By all accounts he was a superb teacher, but his criticism of teachers resignation after the 1978 Soweto riots incurred official wrath.

"The then principal of the Lamula Secondary School, he was suspended from teaching.

In October 1977 - the month of the massive bannings of 19 black consciousness organisations and two newspapers - Mr Nkondo was detained for eight months under Section 16 of the Internal Security Act.

Five days after his release he was detained again, this time for 45 days under Section Six of the Terrorism Act.

In April, 1980 Mr Nkondo was detained for the third time soon after he had condemned the South African education system at a mass meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"We want good education now, and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon," he told the students at the time.

His three year banning order came the following month.

At the time Mr Nkondo was conducting English lessons for matric pupils on Sunday mornings in Soweto, but the banning barred him from Soweto and forbade his teaching anyone other than his own children.

"In this way the banning order was a disadvantage because my not being able to teach caused a reduction in student numbers," he said this week.

The former principal is still bitter about his 1977 suspension, for "misconduct", by the Bantu Education Department.

"The teachers had given me a mandate to act for them, and this does not constitute misconduct," he said.

However, he is not interested in returning to his earlier posts.

"I feel there is no use in the whole education system is wrong.

"We still have better education, and only the names have been changed."

Currently working on developing computer-based educational programmes with a Sandton firm, he said he would return to the profession only if the principles of the Freedom Charter were met.

"We must have a democratic system of education, which involves everybody on equal terms."

"I am not prepared to fight for white education, which perpetuates white supremacy by indoctrinating children, creating a war psychosis and preparing them to manage and to rule."

The De Lange report on education was only another part of the total strategy to define the struggle for liberation in Mr Nkondo.

Until May this year Mr Nkondo's three-year banning order prevented public appearances, but since his release he has entered the fray with enthusiasm.

One of the first organisations to feel his eloquent tongue was Azapo, and last month he used a Port Elizabeth meeting to lash out at his former organisation's "misleading" black consciousness ideology.

The attack was the latest move in the chequered relationship between Azapo and Mr Nkondo, who was ousted from the presidential post only five months after the disastrous election for allegedly violating principles and policy.

Some of the alleged infractions included his violation of an Azapo resolution that statements be issued only to members of the blacks-only Writers' Association of South Africa and his meeting with an American senator despite Azapo's no-dialogue policy with officials of the Western Five countries.

Another reason for his dramatic expulsion in January 1980 was his "nullification of the principle of non-negotiation" by asking PFP Mr Mzimela to help secure the release of his brother Zinjiva, a poet who was detained when his Swazi father flight was forced to land in Bloemfontein.
Student body supports UDF

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

A LARGE student body has joined opposition to the Government's constitutional proposals and this week pledged support for Dr Alan Boesak's United Democratic Front (UDF).

The Front was recently initiated by Dr Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and so far about 40 organisations have backed it.

At the annual congress of the Azanian Student Congress (Azaso) held in Cape Town this week black leaders said the reform plans were riddled with "discrimination and contradiction".

Azaso is the most widely-supported black student body in the Western Cape and about a thousand delegates and observers from all over South Africa attended.

Delivering a keynote address at the week's congress, blind Advocate Zac Yacoob called for equal rights for all "national groups" in South Africa.

According to Mr Yacoob — an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress and chairman of the Democratic Lawyers' Association — people needed to ask themselves what kind of change they were looking for.

"In general terms, we work for the removal of injustice, poverty, violence, and exploitation in South Africa," he said.
There can be no future built on racism

It is a step being taken by the Government to make the idea of a confederation or constellation of mini-states more possible. The Government’s policy of confederation was weakened by the fact that Indian and coloured people could not fit into the scheme. The Government has agreed to again that there is no basis for a coloured or Indian homeland. Therefore, they were defenceless when they were attacked for a policy which could not accommodate people without a homeland. This step, then, is a way of taking a weak element out of a policy mainly designed to rob Africans of their rights.

Urban

In this regard let me say that in a much less obvious way the Government is trying to do the same thing with so-called urban Africans. They are trying to get South Africans to see urban-based Africans as different to so-called homeland Africans. They are trying to do this by tinkering away at the hated “pass law” system so as to give urban Africans a different status to other Africans. This is another strategy of trying to remove a weak link from the overall policy of separate development. It also serves the purpose of their divide and rule technique which is the core of their policies.

In response to each of these reasons we would not see any fear of contradiction that the Government is taking this step so as to reduce pressure on it to include Africans. This so-called step does the following things for the Government:

It opens an opportunity for Indians and coloureds to join the whites. It is an invitation to add numbers to the larger of people determined never to share power with the majority.

It is intended to win some relief from overseas pressures. It is a ploy, a strategy of confusion.

Weakened

Gibson Thula, Inkatha’s chief urban representative, hit out at the Government’s constitutional plan in this address to the Institute of Race Relations’ 53rd annual conference recently.

Descent

We in Inkatha will resist the descent into the hell of racism. Many Africans in South Africa, however, will start thinking in racial terms. Hence the proposals are inviting race polarisation.

The proposals avoid the main issue facing South Africa, that of the constitutional future of the South African majority, the Africans. By avoiding it, they make that issue even more of a source of conflict than it already is.

We reject this constitution because its first guiding principle is racism. There can be no future built on racism.

Rejects

Inkatha would reject the present constitution even if the tables were turned and whites replaced blacks in the strategic parliament. Inkatha rejects it because blacks or anybody else could not build a secure future on racist foundations. Inkatha rejects it in part and in total and even if we were offered a fourth chamber we would refuse to participate in it.

Inkatha views the proposed tricameral parliament as a total strategy to limit blacks to 13 percent of the land area of South Africa and the small white group in effective control of 87 percent of South Africa.

It is in the interests of all people and organisations that are opposed to the new constitutional proposals and apartheid in general.
be no future built on racism

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It is a step being taken by the Government to make the idea of a confederation or constellation of mini-states more possible. The Government's policy of federation was weakened by the fact that Indian and coloured people could not be fitted into the scheme. The Government has spelt time and again that there is no basis for a coloured or Indian homeland.

Therefore they were defenceless when they were attacked for a policy which could not accommodate people without a homeland.

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They are trying to do this by tinkering away at the hated "pass law" system so as to give urban Africans a different status to other Africans.

This is another strategy of trying to remove a weak link from the overall policy of separate development. It also serves the purpose of their divide and rule technique which is the core of their policies.

In response to each of these reasons we in Inkatha have the following responses. Firstly we say that adding numbers to the mass of white domination will not make a jot of difference to the vulnerability of whites. Whites are obsessed with numbers.

Hostility

Surely they should realise that both their strength and their weakness lies not in their numbers but in their arms, their technology and their strategies.

Secondly, the inclusion of a few million Indian and coloured people will not soften the hostility towards the white-dominated government. It will in the end simply make the exclusion of the majority of blacks more noticeable.

Thirdly, the lack of a "homeland" for coloureds or Indians is also no real argument. In fact, the Zulu-speaking people and most other Africans do not really have a "homeland". Zulus live all over South Africa, and so do members of all other African language groups.

Frustration

There is simply no logic in the Government's scheme. It is no more than a confused response to the rate of development. It will be a constant reminder to us of the gaps the Government has taken to keep us out of the system of white privilege.

Another danger is that we Africans in the major resistance movements, have always been non-racial in our approach.

By trying to divide Africans from other blacks, the Government is in fact pushing us in the direction of racism.

Descent

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The proposals avoid the main issue facing South Africa, that of the constitutional future of the South African majority, the Africans. By avoiding it, they make that issue even more of a source of conflict than it already is.

We reject this constitution because its first guiding principle is racism. There can be no future built on racism.

Rejects

Inkatha would reject the present constitution even if the tables were turned and we blacks replaced whites in the trincameral parliament. Inkatha rejects it because blacks or anybody else could not build a secure future on racist foundations. Inkatha rejects it in part and in total and even if we were offered a fourth chamber we would refuse to participate in it.

Inkatha views the proposed trincameral parliament as a total strategy to limit blacks to 13 percent of the land area of South Africa and the small white group in effective control of 87 percent of South Africa.

It is in the interest of all people and organisations that are opposed to the new constitutional proposals and apartheid in general to know that they are nothing but the final solution of South Africa's problems without Inkatha participation.
ANC men apply for political asylum

MBALANE - Two members of the South African guerilla organization, the African National Congress, have appealed for political asylum in Swaziland after fleeing across the border from the Republic. Their official request must be made from jail.

where the men were sent last week pending trial on arms charges. Police said they had 10 hand-grenades, two pistols, three machine gun magazines and 17 rounds of ammunition. Raymond Kekonyatsi of Daggaskraal and Maxwell Dlamini of Soweto told a court they had fled to Swaziland because they had spent time in detention in South Africa for their activities with the outlawed ANC. They demanded asylum from the dock.

They were fined R200 for illegal entry and were remanded in custody for 30 days to await trial on possession of arms of war.

A court official later said the men would have to appeal to the Deputy Prime Minister's office for asylum within the next 30 days. If it was refused, he said, they would be sent back to South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.
Many coloured people confused about the PC

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Argus Political Staff, reports the results of a survey

CONFUSION and uncertainties among many coloured people about the role of the President’s Council has been shown in a survey done by researchers of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

A large proportion of the people questioned were unable to form an opinion even on some of the most elementary aspects of the President’s Council as an institution.

It was found that to a large extent they were so ill-informed that they could not decide about the merits or demerits of the Council.

The survey could provide a broad indication of the kind of response the Government could receive in the forthcoming referendum on its constitutional plan.

If the survey is any guide, the Government’s referendum question — no matter how elementary — could in effect fall on deaf ears as far as a large part of the South African electorate is concerned.

Not only coloureds, but also many whites and Indians are likely to be in this category unless politicians can perform an educational miracle by making the masses understand the constitutional complexities almost overnight.

Baffled

Without such magic a substantial part of the response to the Government’s referendum question will come from an ill-informed, baffled or confused electorate.

A key question in the HSRC survey was “Do you think the President’s Council will succeed as an instrument for a peaceful solution to South Africa’s racial problems?”

The largest proportion (43.1 percent) of the respondents to whom the question was put were unable to form a clear opinion. They could not say “yes” or “no” and chose “uncertain” as their answer.

Of those questioned 32.9 percent replied “yes” and 24 percent said “no”.

Rejected

Significantly, the survey showed a clear tendency among coloured people on the higher educational levels to reject the President’s Council outright.

Nearly 80 percent of those with at least three years’ post-matric education or training said “no” to the question above, while none of the respondents on this educational level thought the President’s Council would succeed.

About 21 percent of the respondents in this category were unable to form a clear opinion and replied “uncertain”.

The investigation, conducted by researchers of the HSRC’s Division of Conflict Studies, was originally planned for the white, coloured and Indian population groups. But the survey report says that because of “circumstances beyond the control of the HSRC” data was collected among coloured people only.

The report is based on a sample survey conducted among a cross-section of coloured people aged 18 years and older and living throughout the Republic of South Africa. There were 1,070 respondents and their educational qualifications ranged from none to three years or more post-matriculation training.

Only 40.7 percent of those questioned were in favour of the creation of the President’s Council. Forty-three percent declared they were “uncertain” while 16.3 percent were against the President’s Council as an institution.

About one-third (33.9 percent) of all the respondents regarded black representation in the President’s Council as essential if it were to succeed in its aims. Forty-five percent were uncertain and 20.9 percent did not think black representation was essential.

The survey findings indicate that a startlingly high proportion of coloured people know little or nothing about the purpose and aims of the President’s Council.

As many as 60 percent of respondents on the lower educational levels below Standard Two chose “uncertain” as their answer to basic questions about the Council.

An overwhelming majority (78.9 percent) of respondents on the post-matric level said the coloured representatives on the President’s Council were not acceptable leaders. Only 5.3 percent of the respondents in this category accepted the Council’s coloured members as leaders.

In the overall survey most of the respondents who accepted the Council’s coloured members as leaders were in the lower educational categories.

The pattern was somewhat similar in regard to the acceptability of white and Indian members of the President’s Council. But the white members seemed to be more acceptable than the coloured members to respondents at all educational levels.

A basic lack of knowledge about the composition and purpose of the President’s Council was revealed by replies to a series of questions designed to test the knowledge of the respondents.

When they were asked whether blacks were represented on the Council, 17.2 percent wrongly replied “yes” and 33.5 percent were uncertain.

When asked whether the President’s Council could make laws, 33.9 percent wrongly replied “yes”, 26.3 percent said “no”, 33.7 percent were uncertain and 6.2 percent did not answer.
Mandela Street

A LONDON Council's decision to name a street in honour of imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, has run into opposition from residents.

Camden Council, controlled by the Labour Party, decided on the name change last month after the anti-apartheid movement shifted its offices to the street — which was, and maybe still is, called Selous Street.

The AAM said the name might associate them with the Selous Scouts, the former Rhodesian counter-insurgency unit. The street was, in fact, named after a 19th century English painter, Henry Selous, who lived in the district.

The Council has put up new name plates — Mandela Street — but has left the previous ones in place because a final decision has not been taken.

Residents have formed an association to protest against the name change, saying businesses with premises in the street will have to pay thousands of pounds to change letterheads and brochures. — Sapa.
MIGRANTS GET COUNCIL VOTE

BY KHULU SIBiya

THOUSANDS of migrant labourers from the homelands will be allowed to vote in the forthcoming Soweto Community Council elections provided they have been in the prescribed area for 12 months.

This was revealed yesterday by a spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development, Mr J Oosthuizen.

He said unlike the previous elections, which were held in 1978, contract workers from the homelands would be eligible to vote in all Community Council elections throughout the country in November this year.

This, he said, will include workers from the independent states like Venda, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, provided they can prove that they have been in the council area for 12 months or more.

"Mr. Mahmoud Mkhabela, Azapo's publicity secretary, said Azapo was committed to boycotting the elections.

"Why do they refuse people permanent rights in an urban area, and at the same time allow them to vote? The Government is actually practising double standards," Mr Mkhabela said.

Meanwhile the Anti-Community Council Committee, formed a month ago to oppose the elections, has called for a mass meeting of all Soweto residents to form a strategy to boycott the elections.

The meeting will be held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday at 1pm and will be addressed by Dr Nthato Motlana, among others.
LESOTHO LEADER RAPS ANC

The leader of the Lesotho United Democratic Party, Mr Charles Mofeli, said yesterday the African National Congress should not be allowed to conduct clandestine and subversive activities against South Africa from his country.

Speaking in a radio interview monitored by the SABC in Johannesburg, Mr Mofeli said the ANC's activities were bringing about confrontation between South Africa and Lesotho.

Turning to the situation in Lesotho, Mr Mofeli said members of the ANC were regarded with suspicion and as a nuisance in the villages there, because they looked down on the customs and traditions of the Basotho nation.

Mr Mofeli accused the Prime Minister, Dr Lesiba Jonathan, of leaning on communist support to establish a dictatorship.

Speaking on the same programme, Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Evaristus Sekhonyana, said that if South Africa could show its government any ANC terrorists who had attacked South African targets from bases in Lesotho and prove that the Lesotho government had connived with them, the Lesotho authorities would publicly apologise to the Republic — Sapa.
Azapo says new health tariffs will cause suffering

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE TRANSVAAL executive of the Department of Health Services' decision to charge in-patients between R20 and R175 on admission to all provincial hospitals will bring untold suffering to most people.

In a statement to The SOWETAN yesterday, the Azanian Peoples Organisation's Health Secretary, Dr A Savat, said that in future patients would be reluctant to go to hospitals and clinics for fear that they would be turned away if they did not have money.

Azapo was reacting to a statement by the Director of Hospital Services, Dr Hennie Grove, that the advance payments expected from in-patients to whom a non-current amount applied would be between R5 and R35.

CASES

According to a directive it will also be expected of out-patients including emergency cases, to pay an amount ranging between R2 and R13 before treatment.

Dr Grove has also said that a patient is classified in a specific tariff group on the basis of the family's total income and the number of persons constituting the family.

Azapo says that the decision was taken without considering the untold suffering it would cause to all concerned.

MONITOR

However, the statement says Azapo will monitor this decision and keep the public informed about its consequences.

"The standpoint of the organisation is that health services are a basic right which should be available to all free of charge," the statement says.

Meanwhile patients at Baragwanath Hospital have been asked to bring reference books or medical aid membership cards to the hospital.

This scheme, according to sources, is likely to bring about a lot of inconveniences to people who might get ill while not in possession of their documents or money.
Court told of Mozambique visit

ANC wanted list of Security Police

By Themba Molefe

A Soweto mechanic was told by the African National Congress (ANC) to frequent shebeens where he could obtain names and addresses of members of the Security Police and supply them to the organisation, a Johannesburg Regional magistrate was told yesterday.

Mr Moses Langa (39) of Zone 4, Meadowlands, has been charged with illegal possession of a weapon, a Russian 9mm Makarov pistol, with intent to commit acts of terrorism and, alternatively, to endanger law and order.

He is also charged with gathering information within the country and supplying it to the ANC.

Mr Langa has pleaded not guilty to all the charges before Mr J van Dam.

He said that during his 1981 visit to Mozambique, where he was born, he met two men who said they were members of the outlawed ANC. They said that when he returned to South Africa he should send them names and addresses of security policemen.

One man also showed Mr Langa the Makarov pistol which he promised to send to him once he was back in South Africa.

Mr Langa said he had agreed to furnish the men with the names and addresses but had not intended to be the ANC’s informant. He did not think they would send the pistol.

Late in 1981 a young man had brought the pistol to Mr Langa in Soweto. The man said it was from two men in Mozambique.

Mr Langa said he went to a friend, Mr Sam Minza, who sold the firearm for R300. Mr Langa got R150 from the sale.

Mr Langa said he wanted to get rid of the pistol that day because he had no intention of keeping or using it.

He admitted that the ANC “possibly wanted to eliminate” the security policemen whose names he could supply but he did not give the ANC the list nor did he intend doing so.

On returning to Mozambique, Mr Langa said the man who had supplied him with the firearm threatened to kill him when he learned that he had sold it.

Mr Langa is in custody. The case continues today.
ANC is a nuisance, says Lesotho leader

THE leader of the Lesotho United Democratic Party, Mr Charles Mofeli, said yesterday that the African National Congress should not be allowed to conduct clandestine and subversive activities against South Africa from his country.

Speaking in a radio interview monitored by the SABC in Johannesburg, Mr Mofeli said the ANC's activities were bringing about confrontation between South Africa and Lesotho.

Turning to the situation in Lesotho, Mr Mofeli said members of the ANC were regarded with suspicion and as a nuisance in the villages there, because they looked down on the customs and traditions of the Basotho nation.

Mr Mofeli accused the Prime Minister, Dr Leabua Jonathan, of leaning on communist support to establish a dictatorship.

Speaking on the same programme, Lesotho's Foreign Minister, Mr Evaristus Sekhonyana, said if South Africa could show his government any ANC terrorists who had attacked South African targets from bases in Lesotho, and prove that the Lesotho Government had connived with them, the Lesotho authorities would publicly apologise to SA. — Saps

Four killed in Cape

CAPE TOWN. — A man was killed and four other people were injured — three of them seriously — when a car and an ambulance collided near Kynsna on Sunday morning.

The driver of the car, Mr Nicolaas Gerhardus Strobel, 21, of Nelson Street, Kynsna, was killed.

Meanwhile, Beloand police yesterday released the names of the three people killed in a car which was involved in a collision with a bus near Touws River on Sunday night.

They were Mr Cedric Engel, 18, of Sibernand Avenue, Mitchells Plain, Miss Dorothy Akers, of Stellen Road, Mitchells Plain, and Mr L. Lodewyk, of Athlone.
The right of appeal to the courts on constitutional matters or a special constitutional court has not been considered.

The political structure of local government is non-racial based, and the association as the economic and social group involvement in the political process is also not clear. It needs to be streamlined to make it clear to the non-elected representatives.

The current form of representation is clear but no provision for direct representation of associations to the assembly.

The memorandum argues that if the assembly can have a direct provision for local, economic, and social groups, it would address the current problems.

It states in a memorandum that the party has considered a direct representation of associations in the assembly.

The memorandum also mentions that the local representatives have no role in the current assembly. The memorandum argues that the current form of representation is not clear.

The memorandum concluded that the current form of representation is not clear and that the assembly only be an amendment to the present constitutional system and not replace it entirely.

This memorandum was presented by Mr. David Currie, national chairman of the Labour Party, to the parliamentary select committee on the new draft constitution in Cape Town.

By Tos Wenzel, Political Correspondent.
GOODBYE ASVAT

MORE than 500 people from the community of Mochaeneng, who have been living with Dr Abu Baker Asvat, a self-styled doctor, will be left on their own when he vacates his surgery at the end of July.

Dr Asvat, who is the chairman of the health committee of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), has received a final notice from the West Rand Administration Board (Wrab) informing him that his lease for the surgery will be terminated on July 31. Dr Asvat has been practising at this surgery since 1972.

The news of Dr Asvat's move from Mochaeneng, which is opposite Regina Mundi, has been met with dispair by the small community of this area and his more than 18,000 patients. Many of his patients came from the nearby townships of Rockville, Dlamini, White City Jabavu and Soweto.

Dr Asvat, together with the Witwatersrand Council of Churches, played an important role in helping the shack people who had been evicted from the townships and were squatting around Mochaeneng. He had highlighted the plight of these people and helped in getting them accommodated in tents. Dr Asvat was always on hand to assist the community of Mochaeneng whenever they encountered problems with authorities.

To the people of Mochaeneng, Dr Asvat was more than just a doctor to them. And they are worried about what is going to happen to them when he leaves. "Dr Asvat did not only attend to our health problems but also to our financial problems," Mrs Jane Shezi said.

She said Dr Asvat had no qualms about giving loans and then completely forgetting about it.

Dr Asvat also treated those who could not afford his services. He charged them a minimal amount.

Miss Eunice Ngcun-
for EL man

permission from the investigating officer who would then tell him which police station he has to report to.

The case was postponed to August 12 for further investigation. — DDR

manager imprisoned

— The financier of the rock who, has been three years after he embarked £179.000 to pay gambling debts.

Tony Branch, 36, a confessed gambling addict, said he lost the money betting on horse and greyhound races.

Mrs H. Coetsee's collection of costume Hall last night.

Soviet mayor

LONDON — Jewish demonstrators, some wearing prison camp clothing, shouted at the mayor of Moscow yesterday as he arrived for lunch with representatives of London's Council.

Woman assaulted

UMLATATA — The five times banned wife of Robben Island prisoner Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mrs Winnie Mandela visited graves near here yesterday.

Mrs Mandela was on her way back to Brandfort in the Free State to which she is banished.

She was in Transkei to attend a funeral of her late uncle, Chief Dlifhla-
zo Madikizela, of Bizana in Eastern Pondoland.

Chief Madikizela, 72, died last week and was buried at his Bizana home on Sunday.

Before coming to Transkei, Mrs Mandela, whose ban was reimposed on June 30 this year, had obtained permission from the South African police to attend her uncle's funeral.

She has to report to the South African Police today.

Nelson Mandela is a blood relative of the Tswana kings of the Delin-
deybos, the Mchantzas the J既有 and the Mur-

Mrs Mandela visited the graves of her late father-in-law, Nelson's father, Chief Henry Mphakanyiswa Mandela and her mother-in-law, Mrs Nowisile Mandela and that of her late sister-in-law, Miss Bilwe Mandela who was buried last November which are below the former Mandela home in Quana location. — DDR

Doctor's wife

EAST LONDON — The wife of local board sailor, Dr H. J. S. Kayser, who was blown several kilometres down the coast by a strong wind has thanked the people who helped her husband.

Mrs H. Kayser said she met last week with Mr Ian Cunningham, the jogger who discovered Dr Kayser on the beach near Gouebie, "to thank him most sincerely for all he had done."

She said Mr Cunningham, who was training along that stretch of the beach, had noticed the Divisional Council rescue vehicle and the spotlight from the search craft, and was just about to leave when he saw Dr Kayser coming into the rocks.

"Mr Cunningham then helped my husband over the rocks and three kilometres of sand to his car, and drove him to casualty for treatment," she said.

Mrs Kayser said besides thanking Mr Cunningham, she was also extremely grateful to the National Sea Rescue Institute, Mr Bob Walsby and the Divisional Council Ambulance service. — DDR

Woman assaulted

Husband, court told

EAST LONDON — The regional court was told yesterday that a woman assaulted her husband by beating him with his fists, banging his head against a wall and hitting him on the head with an iron bar.

The evidence was heard by Mr. S. van Zyl when Mrs Lizzy Martin, 36, formerly of Union Arcade, East London, pleaded not guilty to a charge of culpable homicide.

She said Mr. Nelson Leve, another employee, threatened her with a knife, Mrs. Goomfa said.

She said Mr. Martin threatened her with a knife, Mrs. Goomfa said.

He was bleeding profusely. When she tried to call her son, Mrs Martin threatened her with a knife, Mrs. Goomfa said.

He was bleeding profusely. When she tried to call her son, Mrs Martin threatened her with a knife, Mrs. Goomfa said.

He said he also found Mr Martin had pneumonia, which could have been caused by the initial bleeding of the brain.

Dr A. Appavoo said Mrs Martin brought Mr Martin to him on the evening of November 18, and he found Mr Martin was unable to speak.
Mr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party, looks at South African society and the question of racism. He says whites — and particularly Afrikanders — have a problem in dealing with the so-called coloured problem.

The present fight in the ranks of Afrikanerdom is nothing new. The reason for the infighting is the inability of white South Africa to find a solution to the so-called problem of colour.

It is a historical fact that slavery was one of the main roots that led to the establishment of the coloured group.

Many coloured people came from slavery — and slavery, more or less, has shaped and reshaped the personality of all South Africans, particularly whites.

Because slaves were men of colour and slave-masters were white, a new social structure was created. The South African structure was born with a congenital defect.

Racism became a way of life and all values in this country were governed by the colour of a man’s skin.

Afrikanders were slave-owners and colour became their yardstick, and so our social patterns were formed.

People will say that slavery ended more than a century ago, but though the song has ended, the melody (or, for that matter, the malady) lingers on.

Racism is a learnt response. We learn it at home. In this country we do not live up to our ideals but according to our habits, and our habits are racial ones.

Coloured people share the same culture as whites. They are Western, they speak Western languages, belong to the same churches — and yet they have never been accepted by whites because racism is still deeply rooted in our society.

Some whites find it difficult to accept coloureds as people. This is what the fight in Afrikanerdom is about: how to bring the coloured people near, but not too near.

The apartheid policy became the method by which racism became institutionalised and was one of the keys that opened the door for the National Party to win the general election in 1948.

We are a minority group in terms of numbers. And yet, Afrikaans is splitting because of us.

The Conservative Party was founded not because of blacks but because of the colour question. Afrikanders are constantly reminded that no person of colour can share in the white man’s power structure.

The colour question became one of the reasons for the Great Trek. No person of colour had voting rights in the old republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, only persons of European descent could sit in Parliament.

When the Nats came to power, they made sure we were taken from every voters’ roll at national and local level.

It is the problem of colour that has made South Africa the pole-cat of the world. It is this problem that will keep South Africa out of the international sports arena.

Racism is found in other parts of the world, but in our case it became law.

Apartheid is the biggest threat to the future security of South Africa. In the real fight against communism, white South Africa will have to give up its racism so as to win the battle for black minds.

It is this moving away from racism that is causing the split in Afrikanerdom. Petty apartheid to many Afrikanders is not petty — it is the foundation on which grand apartheid is built.

The removal of racial laws is to them the beginning of integration. Apartheid is the wall they need to keep up the Afrikaner power structure.

We will carry on the fight against apartheid. We refuse to carry on apologising for our existence.

You can truly put a label on us: Made in South Africa. We did not come to Africa by boat. In 1852 Jan van Riebeeck met our ancestors on the shores of Table Bay.

The fight against the “system” will continue as far as we are concerned. We might quarrel and fight about the methods or the strategy to reach our goal of removing apartheid. But there is no argument about the destruction of racism, the removal of this stigma from our society.

Afrikanerdom will be forced to implement real change.
Anti-council campaign grows

THE CAMPAIGN for the boycott of community council elections scheduled for September is going to be intensified and nationalised.

A formidable alliance of political, worker and community organisations, spearheaded by the anti-Community Council Committee, is working on plans to highlight the campaign.

A spokesman for the committee, Mr Isaac Mogase, said the campaign was going to be intensified through a series of meetings to be held throughout the country.

"It is important that people must know that community councils are useless, dummy institutions," Mr Mogase said.

Some of the organisations that are going to participate in the campaign are the Soweto Civic Association, General and Allied Workers' Union, Federation of South African Women and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

A significant aspect of the campaign is that it will mobilise for the boycott of the elections even if community councils are given town council status.

"We cannot accept participation at local level without meaningful participation in the central structure of the country," he said.

The chairman of the Committee of Ten, Dr Ntheto Motana, said he was confident the campaign would succeed.

Speculation is rife that faced with such a massive campaign, the Government is likely to postpone the elections indefinitely.

The publicity secretary of Azapo, Mr Ishmael Mabubela, said his organisation would co-operate with the committee.
Inkatha attack shakes students

BY CHRIS FREIMOND and HELENE ZAMPETAKIS

THE Afrikaanse Studentebond congress in Pretoria was severely shaken yesterday when an executive member of the Inkatha Youth League, Mr Siphiwe Mrumalo, warned that blacks could resort to violence unless whites showed a willingness to share political power.

He further stunned the students by stating that after "liberation" blacks would be concerned with the rights of individuals and not minority groups.

And in a response that drew strong applause and underscored the tense situation, a former ASB president, Mr Chris Fismer, said Afrikaners would "fight for the specific rights of groups, come hell or high water".

Many of the 300 delegates murmured their disquiet as Mr Mrumalo said non-violence was an Inkatha strategy and not a principle.

In an aggressive statement he said: "Inkatha does not want violence, and although you have the arms, we are very many.

"We are faced with a monster of apartheid that will devour us all and no one will survive."

He told the delegates and observers - including a leading Rightwinger Professor Carel Boshoff - that the Government had repeatedly excluded blacks from decisions of national importance.

It had rejected the Buthelezi Commission into the future of the Natal-KwaZulu region and had excluded blacks from the new constitutional plan.

A new dispensation without blacks was a recipe for disaster and if ASB delegates, as future leaders, "miss that point, you will miss your future". Blacks were reaching the point where they believed dialogue with Afrikaners was becoming useless, he said.

He asked whether Afrikaner youth felt it was worthwhile following Inkatha's advice, to which a number of hecklers quietly, but firmly, said "No."

In reply Mr Fismer said Inkatha was the most numerically powerful organisation in South Africa and Afrikaners had to acknowledge its importance and listen to its ideas.
Ex-Pebco man owed R1 500 rent — evicted

By JIMMY MATYU

A FORMER secretary-general of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Wilberforce Danile May, was evicted from his Mankayi Street home in Zwelitsha today.

Mr May, who has not paid rent for about two years as "a form of protest" against increased rents owed the East Cape Administration Board R1 500.

"This is what I call sheer victimisation," he said. "I think Ecca feels I am a threat to them because of my civic work among the people. They have now applied the law to have me evicted from my house."

Mr May said that a messenger of the court, accompanied by police and three labourers, arrived at his home at 7.30am today.

The official handed him an eviction order made out on June 23, 1983, stating he had to be out of the house, and signed by the Clerk of the Court on June 30.

He said he was aware that on June 30 the Administration Board had applied to the court to have him evicted from the house.

He said he could not remember the date but some time in June he did receive final summons instructing him to pay the R1 500 within three days.

"I did not have the money as I was unemployed at the time. I have sought assistance from the East Cape Council of Churches since February this year and handed them the summons I had received. But promises of assistance made to me were never met.

"I started working for an insurance company at the beginning of last month and I was planning to pay the whole money I owe the board. I tried to contact Mr Louis Koch, Chief Director of Ecca, to put my case to him. Every time I was told he was busy," he said.

Mr May said he managed today to contact Mr Koch by phone and when he appealed to him to give him time to raise the money, Mr Koch told him the matter was now out of his hands.

"He explained it was in the hands of the court," he said.

Mr May said he was also told he would have to reapply for a house.

Now he was faced with the problem of getting temporary accommodation for his two minor children and two younger brothers who were staying with him.
'Blacks won't be free till apartheid goes,' says Inkatha youth leader

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Conservative Afrikaner youth have met the movement which claims the biggest black membership in South Africa in a debate which was not always friendly.

Mr Musa Zondi of Inkatha Youth Brigade shared a platform with ex-Afrikaner Students' Assocation (ASA) president Mr Chris Fismer at the ASA's congress in Pretoria yesterday.

Both Mr Fismer and Mr Zondi presented their views in an amicable atmosphere — but when the discussion opened, a member of Inkatha in the audience told students "talking to you is becoming useless..."

An ASA member caused a stir when he asked Mr Zondi whether Inkatha "trusted." the Afrikaner when he came into contact with him.

"Do you trust us when you come into contact with us," was Mr Zondi's reply.

Addressing himself to the congress theme of freedom, Mr Zondi said: "Black South Africans want to be free also — but we will never be free until the merciless, devouring monster — apartheid — is dismantled.

Reiterating Inkatha's advocacy of a national convention, Mr Zondi said the organisation was committed to a peaceful solution of South Africa's problems.

But "if white South Africans accept no human rights for black South Africans, we have no meeting place."

QUOTA BILL

"As I lay in bed..." the day, I sang: 'Ons sal lewe, ons sal sterwe' for South Africa — blacks cannot say this because to die for South Africa is to die, to a degree, in defence of apartheid."

Mr Zondi condemned the proposed Quota Bill which limits the admission of blacks to white universities to a Government prescribed quota and told students that the call to guard against the "total onslaught" fell on deaf ears in the black community because "blacks will not believe there is anything worse than apartheid."

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Teenager kicked woman, 67, in face, court told

Court Reporter

A TEENAGER found guilty on two counts of theft in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court last week said he was not guilty. He had pleaded not guilty. But after hearing the evidence, he changed his plea to guilty.

The magistrate, Mr N C But, sentenced Solomon yesterday to 12 months' imprisonment on each count.

The court heard that Solomon knocked down and kicked a 67-year-old woman in the face while trying to steal her handbag on September 30.

Half an hour earlier, he and two friends had robbed a 16-year-old Derek Wilson after threatening him with a pair of scissors.

Mrs Marie Barn, 67, said she had been walking along a road in Honeymoon Park when Solomon came up behind her, pushed her to the ground, dragged her to the middle of the road and tried to take her handbag.

She screamed for help and did not let go of her handbag. Solomon ran across the road but returned and dragged her off the road into a ditch. He kicked her in the face and she lost consciousness.

Solomon was arrested by Traffic Officer John Hans who saw the incident.

Mr Hans told the court he had to protect Solomon from an angry crowd. One bystander had punched Solomon.

In mitigation, Solomon said he was a regional court magistrate. Mr A S McCarthy had imposed a five-year sentence on him that morning for housebreaking.

Mr But told Solomon that each case had to be taken on its merits. The theft crimes had been committed before those answered for in the Regional Court.

"This court will impose a stiff sentence on you because this sort of crime is becoming too frequent in this area."

"More and more cases are being heard in these courts of theft and robbery. A horrible factor emerging is that victims are now old people, women and children."

Mr A J Ranson represented Solomon was not represented.

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CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party has called for the new Constitution Bill to be only an amendment to the present constitutional system — not to replace it entirely.

This was one of the points made by the party in a memorandum to the parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Affairs which is hearing representations in Cape Town.

Details of the memorandum were released yesterday by the party.

It has also expressed misgivings about the tremendous powers which may be given to the President.

"In view of the conflict in our society, the President must be seen as a person resolving conflict, and not becoming part of it."

The right of appeal to the courts on constitutional matters, or a special constitutional court, is also suggested.

The party repeated that although it considered the Bill unacceptable because it excluded blacks and entrenched ethnicity, it was willing to take part in an effort to have transitional change.

"We wish to enter into a process in which a negotiated settlement can be reached. We plan to use the structure proposed to work for further change to arrive at a constitution acceptable to most South Africans."

A delegation of the Association of Cape Management Committees also gave evidence to the committee.

It said in a memorandum that its policy remained one of direct representation on local government bodies on a non-racial basis.

The association agreed with the Labour Party that the reform proposals should serve only as an amendment to the present constitution.

It made clear that it supported the process of reform, but warned that the present legislation could increase rather than decrease conflict.

The memorandum also dealt with the "tremendous powers" of the President.
The conflict is about leadership, not ideals

Azaso

Freedom Charter splits black student organisations

The Azanian Students' Organisation is potentially a year behind the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), which was formed in 1982 and was endorsed by the Freedom Charter. Azaso's sharp break from its predecessor, the banned South African Students' Organisation (Saso), which was firmly in the Black Consciousness (BC) tradition, also places Azaso in solid opposition to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), one of the bodies which sponsored Azaso's formation just four years ago.

Azaso's no-holds-barred Charterist stand came as no surprise to the BC camp. Azapo, anticipating the move, had launched a rival BC student body, the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), just days earlier.

Reflecting on these developments this week, Mr. Moseneke, said he believed the conflict between Azaso and Azasm as between Charterists and BC groups in general was over leadership and not over ideas.

He argued that the present BC views, which were not the same as those held by Azaso, were not the same as those held by Azaso, were not the same as those held by Azaso, were not the same as those held by Azaso, were not the same as those held by Azaso.

Mr. Moseneke said he believed Azaso could accommodate those who were not Charterists. "There are many home in Azaso for all students in respect of their outlook. We are open to all students at all times."

Mr. Moseneke said a major task of the incoming executive committee would be to establish Azaso as a visible national body.

GRASSROOTS

"To date we have done a lot of work at grassroots level, getting students to understand our analysis of the situation, encouraging them to read and to discuss things. But we haven't managed to achieve an effective national presence."

The launching of a national publication is planned this year. It is expected to be a specially valuable tool of organisation on campuses where Azaso is banned or where its activities are disallowed by the administrations.

Much effort will be concentrated on a national campaign for an education charter. This will involve wide-ranging discussions with students and community mem-

bears, culminating in a set of demands and principles for education. The idea was mooted last year and the project would probably be completed in 1984, said Mr. Moseneke.

Azaso's established community role would be played out mainly in association with the United Democratic Front (UDF), he expected. The UDF is a body co-ordinating political groups, community organisations and trade unions along broadly social democratic lines. It was formed in February this year as a force to combat the Government's "reform" plans, as embodied in the proposed constitution and the Koornhof legislation affecting black South Africans.

Azaso is a formal affiliate of the UDF. It also regards itself as a moving force in the Anti-Community Council movement launched in Soweto at the weekend. Despite its range of community activities Azaso admits it is limited by its purely student membership. It aimed to strengthen links with former students by expanding its associate membership and increasing the number of its branches, said Mr. Moseneke.
Leaders slam 'freedom' plan

By Themba Khumalo

The Soweto Council's decision to give the Lenasia-based 21st Battalion of the South African Defence Force the freedom of Soweto was yesterday strongly criticised by black leaders.

Mr Popo Molefe, chair- man of the Soweto branch of the Anti-community Council Committee, said the decision clearly exposed the limitations of community councillors to administer the complex without calling for the assistance of the army.

"They have failed dismally to represent the residents. They often take decisions without consulting the people because they know they will be opposed," Mrs Albertina Sisulu, executive member of the South African Women's Federation, called on the councillors to make the acute housing shortage in Soweto a priority instead of worrying about the Defence Force.

"Let the councillors think of the plight of thousands of people who are homeless. Most of them have been charged under the Squatters Act with erecting shacks to provide a roof over their heads at night," she said.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, said that Mr Thebehali (Soweto's mayor) and his colleagues were out of touch with the black thinking.

At a public meeting held in Duve YWCA on Sunday to oppose the coming community council elections, residents unanimously condemned the councillors' decision.
By Professor Hermann Giliomee

During the past few months the most over-used metaphor in debate about the constitutional dispensation is whether it represented a step in the right direction. To a large extent the question of wrong or right is largely hypothetical for only are enjoying political rights will decide the issue. However, the issue has actually assumed another dimension through Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's announcement that he will refuse to participate in the elections for the new black local authorities.

Chief Buthelezi firmly linked his decision not to take part to the exclusion of blacks from the new constitutional dispensation and the arguments advanced by its protagonists.

In a letter to Dr Piet Kooiman, Chief Buthelezi referred to an information sheet issued by the National Party which rationally posed the question why blacks have been denied participation in the President's Council and the proposed new constitutional framework. The answer given in this sheet is well-known: blacks are a separate political group, via the homeland government and the new black local authorities in places like Soweto will be given extended powers, in some cases greater than their white counterparts.

For Chief Buthelezi the crucial problem with this argument was that new black local authorities are being held up as an adequate substitute for excluding urban blacks from the new constitutional dispensation.

For instincts to participate in the new black local authorities would mean that it would help to legitimate the new constitutional arrangement. This the chief finds completely unacceptable - he even states that it is his prime duty to ensure that what he calls "the rot of the new dispensation" does not permeate to the regional and local level.

Chief Buthelezi has, of course, been willing to accept the KwaZulu homeland structure thrown up by government policy. However, he could not do this without taking a step in the right direction. In his 1974 federation speech he proposed that homelands, together with white and "multi-national" political entities, should eventually be linked together under a common federal authority.

More recently he has made more generally phrased demands for black representation in both central government and at the regional level, where homelands could either be properly consolidated or merged with a contiguous white regional structure (for instance KwaZulu and Natal) to become future provinces.

In 1989 he rejected the recommendations of the Schlebusch Commission and refused to participate in the proposed separate black advisory council because it was a step in the wrong direction.

He envisages a unitary state in which all the races share power within one political system which guarantees the rights of all national groups and defends minority rights.

Chief Buthelezi would not lose all credibility in his Intikha participated in the black local authorities after the new constitution has drawn the line so firmly between Africans and non-Africans.

Indeed the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Act is a distinct step backward relative to the regional level of black, white, coloured and Indian local government. In terms of the new Act blacks are specifically excluded from the terms of reference of the South African Co-ordinating Council for Local Authorities which is to recommend new local government structures accommodating the mutual interests of the various racial communities.

The government's answer is that it is still - to continue with the metaphor - watching its step with respect to blacks living in so-called white South Africa, which is the subject of study by a special cabinet committee.

However, in the meantime the new dispensation, which leaves blacks out on a limb with respect to local and regional co-ordination, is unfolding. According to Dr Piet Kooiman the preparatory work on the conversion of community councils into black local authorities has nearly been completed with respect to 25 townships.

These communities could, in the minister's words, hold elections during September, October or November: should they wish to do so. No wonder then, that Chief Buthelezi has thrown up his hands in horror and refused to walk any further steps in whatever direction.

Nothing of course stands quite still and the pace of South African politics is accelerating in a disconcerting way. Could Chief Buthelezi's step be a fatal blunder? The Labour Party has done its bit in the new dispensation because it is above all in interest in retaining local government and from this base (rather than from the standpoint of Party or personal) it must try to negotiate a better deal.

For Chief Buthelezi, control over the townships on the Witwatersrand is vital if he is to extend his rural base and truly become a national leader. For Chief Buthelezi, the decision to pull out of the new black local authorities must be a particularly painful decision in view of the fact that his post-Soweto strategies has run into difficulty on several fronts.

Firstly, his effort to build up a Black Alliance to forge black unity is in trouble after the decision of the Labour Party to pull out. Secondly, Chief Buthelezi has tried to promote Intikha as the internal wing to the ANC since the Soweto disturbances. This is no longer credible after the ANC repudiation of the Chief, the ANC attack on Ulundi and the stepped-up ANC violence, while Intikha still holds out for a negotiated settlement.

Thirdly, Chief Buthelezi has, in Roger Southall's words, sought to present itself as a potential third force intermediate between oppressing whites and black nationalism. However the new constitutional dispensation will make such a role infinitely more difficult.

And now Buthelezi has rejected the chance to get a base on the Witwatersand through the new local authorities. Even with a membership of nearly three-quarters of a million Intikha's opportunities for action seem limited.

While there may be some overlap in certain circles of Chief Buthelezi's troubles, the government and the business community have reason to be worries about Intikha's decision not to participate in the elections of the new black local authorities.

From the Nationalist point of view the coloured people and Indians are an ideological problem, however, these communities do not at the moment constitute any real political problem in terms of maintaining stability.

The position with respect to the urban African townships is different. Here a major crisis can build up if the authority vacuum in the townships remains. Rents will simply have to be raised if services and amenities are to be improved.

But raising of rents is an explosive issue as shown by the disturbances of 1976 and the current country turmoil in the Durban townships Lamontville and Chesterville.

When Chief Buthelezi in 1980 and 1981 showed interest in taking part in the new local authorities there were great hopes that a credible black authority could be established. However, the new constitutional dispensation has run into difficulty on several fronts.

In the Qualified Western approval for the constitution rests on the assumption that giving coloured people and Indians an enhanced constitutional status is a step in the right direction - that of accommodating urban blacks as well. The setbacks with the new black local authorities will seriously put a question mark over that assumption.

It also raises an important question about the future of the constitutional stability of South Africa.

Sam Nolutshungu, a prominent African intellectual, argues in his important new study, Changing South Africa (David Philip, 1983) that the accommodation of the black middle class "presupposes a black middle class with considerable ideological and political influence over the rest of their kind, sufficient to deflect workers and others less privileged from the paths of revolution" (p 122).

Clearly the new separate dispensation for urban blacks makes it all the more possible for middle-class blacks to fulfill that crucial role.

The so-called step in the right direction of the proposed new constitutional council could lead to greater turmoil in our black townships. And that's where the real heart of South Africa's political problems lies.
Call for boycott of next year's festival

By ANTON HARBBER
Political Reporter

DR RAM SALOJEE, a prominent leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA) and the Lenasia Federation of Ratepayers Associations (FRA), has called on people to boycott the Johannesburg centenary celebrations next year.

Dr Saloojee made the call in an open letter attacking the city council's recent decision to make political organisations pay five times more than other organisations to hire a council hall in Indian and Coloured areas.

The letter also said the reasons given for the move by the director of housing, Dr M P Wilsnach, were insulting, discriminatory and reflected a racist attitude.

Mr Wilsnach had said that the move was taken to prevent "rowdy meetings" by "tuppence ha'penny organisations".

The letter was addressed to Mr Wilsnach last week and copies have been sent to the Johannesburg management committee, the political parties represented in the council and the Press.

Mr Wilsnach said yesterday that he had not received the letter. When told the contents, he said he would refer the matter to the management committee.

Dr Saloojee is chairman of the FRA and vice-president of the TIC and ICSA.

"Your comments regarding this blatantly discriminatory action against political groups in places like Lenasia reflects a racist attitude which makes your position as director of housing untenable," Dr Saloojee said in the letter.

"If the recent by-election meetings in the Northern Transvaal are a barometer of civilised standards, then your comments should equally apply to the white group," he said.

The move was an attempt to "hamstring our democratic right to freedom of assembly" and an interference in religious freedom.

"As a Moslem, I would also like to know what constitutes religion and non-religion, because in Islam there is no such division between religion, politics etc," he said.

To say these moves were approved by the "well-entrenched and undemocratically elected" coloured and Indian management committee was an attempt to shift the responsibility to someone else, said Dr Saloojee.

This also underlined the belief that these bodies were mere conduits for State policy, he said.

Dr Saloojee also questioned the qualifications of council officials to decided which organisations were political and which non-political.

Calling for a boycott of next year's celebrations, he said "the people can do without insults from public servants".

"If our status is regarded as tuppence ha'penny, we have enough pride to dissociate ourselves from programmes that merely insult our dignity and self-respect," he said.
to the destiny prescribed by the white

SOUTH Africa's black homelands — independent and self-governing — are mobilising for a head-on clash with the Government over its constitutional proposals.

A low-key summit involving six leaders this week thrashed out a declaration of intent laying the groundwork for a united and non-apartheid South Africa.

A second and crucial meeting of the homeland leaders is scheduled for October at which implementation of the declaration will be discussed.

Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa, and Mr Enos Mabusa of KwaNingwane.

A high-level Venda Government official represented President Patrick Mphupho and, according to organisers, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana sent his apologies.

Six homeland leaders signed the declaration of intent: President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa, Chief Gasha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Professor Hudson Ntanwini of Gazankulu, Mr

The declaration of intent commits the signatories to strive for a greater non-racial and democratic South Africa.

It pledges a re-unification of those divided by apartheid so they can play a central role in the future.

The destiny prescribed by whites is rejected and the signatories promise to turn their present constitutional situations into “weapons for liberation”.

Organisers of the summit emphasised this week that the meeting was not specifically a response to the Government's constitutional initiative.

“We had been working on this for a long time. We believe the time is now ripe for new initiatives in federal forms of government,” said Dr Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa and a main mover of the summit.

Observers point out, however, that there has been a steady warming of relations between various homelands since the Government's latest constitutional initiative got under way.

Transkei has relaxed restrictions on the KwaZulu national cultural organisation, Inkatha, in its territory and there are several meetings between President Matanzima and Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi and other homeland leaders have hinted broadly in recent months that an alignment of homeland leaders against the Government's whites, coloureds and Indians-only constitution was on the cards.

For the South African Government, the endorsement of the declaration of intent by Transkei is a severe embarrassment.

The oldest of the homelands is no longer part of the apartheid system. Although the decision establishes the broadest of principles, more detail will be discussed at a meeting.

Dr Phatudi is a protagonist of a government in South Africa. This week he said he was “a necessary ingredient of a non-racial government in place.”
the destiny prescribed by the whites

By Brian Pottinger

The latest moves now confront the Government with a wide range of public black opposition pressure groups — from homeland leaders through to their ideological rivals in the grassroots umbrella bodies.

Six homeland leaders signed the declaration of intent: President Kalala Matanzima of Transkei, Dr Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa, Chief Gataba Buthelezi of KwaZulu, [Mr Hudson Ntsanwisi] of Gazankulu, Mr Kenneth Mopeli of QwaQwa, and Mr Enos Mabusa of KwaNgwane. A high-level Venda Government official represented President Mptsele and, according to organisers, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana sent his apologies.

The only significant absentee from the summit was President Lekganyele of the Ciskei — a staunch supporter of the Government's confederation idea.

Organisers claim they have not yet received an explanation from President Sebe for his absence.

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For the South African Government, the endorsement of the declaration of intent by Transkei is a severe embarrassment.

The oldest of the independent homelands is now signalling its wish to re-enter the mainstream of South African politics. Although the declaration of intent establishes only the very broadest of principles, it is expected more detailed responses will be discussed at the October meeting.

Dr Phatudi is one of the chief protagonists of a federal form of government in South Africa and this week said he believed all the necessary ingredients for a successful non-racial federation were in place.
THE People’s Congress Party (PCP) of Mr Peter Marais and the Freedom Party (FP) of Mr Charles Julies have been asked to come to Cape Town for talks with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

This follows a report in the Sunday Times last week that the two parties may merge or form a coalition in opposition to the Rev Alan Hendrickse’s Labour Party (LP).

The LP has declared it will fight an election for seats in the proposed coloured House of Representatives, if 50 percent of the coloured electorate voted “yes” in a referendum on participation in the proposed tri-cameral parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

Both Mr Julies and Mr Marais confirmed yesterday that they and their full executive committees would meet Mr Heunis on Thursday in Cape Town.

Both also confirmed that they had agreed to have talks in Uitenhage on August 6 and 7 about a possible merger of the two parties.

Mr Marais’s delegation clashed with Mr Heunis in March this year when they discussed the Government’s constitutional proposals and the talks ended in deadlock.

Mr Marais and Mr Julies told me this week that last Monday they had been contacted by Mr Heunis’s secretary regarding talks with the Minister.

“We have agreed to talk to Mr Heunis and he has agreed to pay all the expenses, including airfares of my national executive, many of whom have to fly from Johannesburg, Kimberley and Durban to attend the talks in Cape Town,” said Mr Marais.

“We have not been given any indication of the agenda. So, I gather, our talks will be wide-ranging.

“I believe in negotiation politics and I had no hesitation in accepting the Minister’s invitation,” he said.
SAIC 'can't negotiate on constitution'

AMENDMENTS to the Constitution Bill which the South African Indian Council's executive committee was seeking to make the new constitution more acceptable, would not affect the fundamental principles on which the constitution was being reared, Mr Ibrahim Bawa, executive director of the Islamic Council of South Africa, said yesterday.

An SAIC delegation under its executive chairman, Mr Amichand Rjibansi, is going to Cape Town today to give evidence before the parliamentary Select Committee investigating the Bill with a view to seeking amendments, including a Bill of Rights it wants enshrined in the constitution.

Mr Rjibansi has said his council would accept the constitution if its suggested amendments were accepted by the Government.

Commenting yesterday, Mr Bawa said the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had made it clear in Parliament that the principles on which the new constitution was being based could not be negotiated under any circumstances.

'So what then is the purpose of the SAIC's latest exercise?'

He said: 'Attempts made in the past by the SAIC to draw wool over the eyes of the Indian community are too transparent to dupe anyone.

'For one thing, we do not believe there will be a referendum to test Indian opinion on the constitution.

No option

'And that if one is in fact held and the result is convincingly against the acceptance of the constitutional proposals, the SAIC will nevertheless still accept them and go into the proposed parliament's Indian chamber.

'We have known all along that the SAIC has no real option but to accept and implement the will of the Government.' 

Mr Bawa said the new chamber would be a 'natural extension' of what the SAIC was presently empowered to do, but to manage own affairs in the Indian chamber would be disastrous for the community.

The Indian chamber's members would also 'very extensively' involve themselves in the maintenance and administration of existing laws which, he said, were deeply entrenched on the basis of race.
Pumps for SA cash for apartheid victims

By Stephen McQuillan

Sweden - the ANC's biggest Western "sugar-daddy", according to a Pretoria academic - this year filled a vital gap in South Africa's R35 million emergency plan to keep the lights on.

Sweden was the only country in the world known to be able to deliver sophisticated engineering equipment to South Africa before the project deadline, according to the Electricity Supply Commission (Escom).

Without the crucial equipment, the seven-weir scheme to reverse the flow of Vaal River and channel water to the country's most important power complex in the Eastern Transvaal would have been vulnerable to breakdown.

The contract with the Swedish company was worth R2 million.

But, as the first batch of equipment was arriving in South Africa in May, another transfer of a different kind was being made from Sweden - R5 million for the banned African National Congress.

Sweden released the cash for "supportive victims of South African apartheid".

And, says Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Sweden's contribution to the ANC was the biggest from any Western country.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information said Sweden had a love-hate relationship with South Africa, though the countries had exchanged diplomatic envos.

Despite Sweden's strong support for the ANC, trade links had been forged.

"Perhaps the value of the relationship is trade," said the spokesman.

Politics did not interfere with business.

What unfolded is seen by the engineering world as a masterpiece of organisational and logistical planning - against the clock - which prompted high-speed responses from contractors involved.

The weir scheme's planners

needed sophisticated underwa- ter pumps for the weirs to make sure the pumping operation from Vaal Dam to Grootdraai Dam near Standerton would continue even through surprise flooding.

Escom, responsible for installing the pumps, tried all over the world to secure a deal, including Japan, the United States and European countries.

A company called Flygt of Sweden was the only one which could supply the pumps in time.

The weir scheme had to be completed by the end of September, before the electricity rationing threat became real.

Escom raced against time to organise their side. Flygt won the R2 million contract.

A "few strings" were pulled in Sweden to ensure a rapid delivery, according to Flygt's Johannesburg agent, Hugh Mallor and Company Limited.

RUSH ORDER

Mr Nigel Macbeth, the product manager, said a cargo ship was about to leave port in Sweden when the order was made.

Flygt managed to secure space on the vessel.

If the space had not been made available, pumps would have been airlifted to South Africa - at considerable cost, Mr Macbeth said.

The company supplied 77 pumps. The first arrived on site within 1½ hours of the expected delivery time.

The factory order was placed on April 27 and the first batch was on site by May 28.

"That is exceptionally quick. We have never been involved in ordering anything which had such critical urgency," said Mr Macbeth.

Nothing similar to the Swedish units were manufactured locally.

An Escom spokesman said normal pumps would not have been able to cope in a flood, rendering the scheme inoperable.

The Swedish pumps had to be fitted on weirs one to five (nearest to Vaal Dam) because of the risk of a surprise torrent rushing into Vaal River from Kip River.

"But where it was possible, we used South African pumps," he said.

Other, less controversial suppliers also pulled out all the stops.

The second of three pump suppliers involved was Johannes- burg-based Mather and Platt (SA) (Pty), an Australian subsidiary company.

They agreed to supply seven pumps - the largest - for the final pumping operation from Vaal River into Grootdraai Dam. They won a R1 million contract. All the giant nine-ton pumps were built in South Africa, according to sales manager Mr John Sinfield, although mouldings had first to be flown in from Australia.

"As there was only one direct flight a week, we had to route the mouldings via Europe.

"Normal delivery on this type of pump is nine months. We received the order on April 29. They are almost ready now," Mr Sinfield said. Momo Pumps (Afri- ca) (Pty) Ltd made 12 other pumps within eight weeks, said product manager Mr Mike Shaw.

The Escom spokesman said: "Local people stopped production to do the work we needed. They have really done a tremendous job."

German Shepherd

Designed in Germany.

On the ground, granite, to make a
Brigadi...
British salutes for three Mandela occasions

The Star/Bureau 1978

LONDON—On the eve of Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday today, The Observer newspaper devoted its leader page to the "Ruler who chose Revolution".

The lengthy article by former South African journalist Mr. Denis Herbstin examines the role of Mandela and the African National Congress.

"The charismatic Mandela places Pretoria on the horns of a dilemma," writes Herbstin.

Calls for Mandela's release have come from many leaders both inside and outside South Africa. Even General Hendrik van den Bergh, the former security chief who was responsible for getting Mandela jailed, thinks he has "served his debt to society".

"But release him and his presence in the corridors of world power would undermine South Africa's already uncertain position. Why, some Third World and Eastern countries could even recognize the ANC as a government-in-exile." Mandela and his second wife, Winnie, "celebrate" their silver wedding this year, and one grandchild has already been to see him in prison.

"Others will no doubt follow, since 'life' in South Africa's political language means exactly what it says," the article concludes.

Traditional brews of "skokiaan" were available in the exhibition hall at Alexandra Palace in North London yesterday and hundreds of people pushed aside their chairs and danced at the African Sounds Festival to mark Mandela's birthday.

Internationally known jazz trumpeter Hugh Masekela topped yesterday's bill which also included the brassy West African group Osibisa.

Apart from his classic "Skookiaan", his repertoire included a song calling for rain in South Africa, and beaty blues refrains about Soweto and District Six.

The crowd ranged from dreadlocked Rastafarians to elderly South African expatriates of Rivonia treason trial vintage.

This week will also see a number of sombre political events across Britain to mark the nationalist leader's 21st year in jail.
‘Media neglected protests’

By Eugene Saldanha

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed to unite organisations with common objectives behind a programme of minimum demands for a future South Africa, says Mr David Johnson, recently unbanned former head of the Black Students Society (BSS).

Mr Johnson told the general council meeting of the Transvaal region of the UDF at Khotso House in Johannesburg at the weekend that the UDF had never been a closed organisation as some people had said.

"The UDF is a front made up of several organisations which have come together on the basis of a set of minimum demands," he said.

..."The art of liberating society is to increase one's forces and aim, at every stage of the struggle, for the highest degree of unity without sectarianism and without sacrificing principles."

This could be achieved only through "unity in action", he said.

"By this I mean that organisations with common objectives should unite against high rents, high transport costs and other common grievances."

Mr Johnson said the media had supported the Government's reform proposals and had neglected to give coverage to the views of organisations which were representative of the people.

..."The UDF is not a 'Charterist' organisation as it has been labelled in the Press. The media have distorted and interpreted the UDF from its liberal framework."

"But we call on all democratic organisations to join the UDF, not on the basis of compromise, but as a step towards unity in action," he said.
VOW TO FIGHT
DR K'S BILLS

The principle of establishing a national United Democratic Front (UDF) body that will consolidate the fight and opposition against the proposed Constitutional Bill, and the three Koornhof Bills was formally adopted at a Transvaal UDF general council meeting at the weekend.

The meeting, which was attended by more than 150 delegates representing some 40 worker, church, civic, community, political, students, cultural and women organisations, was held at Khotso house in Johannesburg.

Seeing that there now exist in the country four regional bodies of the UDF, it was agreed to consolidate and forge ahead with the establishment of a more broadly based permanent national body.

A mass rally will be held in Johannesburg next month and this meeting would be jointly organised on behalf of the UDF by the Transvaal Indian Congress, Anti-President Council and the Anti-Community Council Committee.
Call to unite for SA’s future

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has called on other organisations to join them and unite behind a “programme of minimum demands” for a future South Africa.

Mr David Johnson, the recently unbanned former head of the Black Students’ Society at the University of the Witwatersrand, issued the call at a meeting of the Transvaal general council of the UDF at Hazoo House, central Johannesburg, on Saturday.

“The UDF has never been a closed organisation. It is not and has never said it is an exclusive organisation. The UDF is a front. It is not a single organisation, but a number of organisations which have come together on the basis of a set of minimum demands,” he told 100 people.

The minimum demands, he said, were to mobilise against the new constitutional proposals and to establish such things as the right to work, housing and education. “We invite democratic organisations to come in and join us on this basis,” he said.

He quoted Prof H. Coovadia, of the Natal Indian Congress, who said earlier this year that the differences between groups which differed in political philosophy had to be tackled so that the struggle was always enhanced and not hampered in any way.

“Diversity and debate are vital to democratic processes, provided that all groupings continue to strive for maximum common ground for opposition to apartheid.”

Mr Johnson said the UDF was not an organisation that subscribed to a particular ideology. He criticised the Press for labelling it as “Charterist”.

The UDF was a co-ordinating unit which brought together different forces and not simply “Charterists”, he said.

Calling on people to strengthen their organisations, Mr Johnson said: “The UDF must become a front impregnated with the day-to-day struggles of the people and a force to reckon with.”
LONDON — On the eve of Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday today, The Observer newspaper here has devoted its leader page to the Ruler Who Chose Revolution.

The lengthy article by former South African journalist Denis Herbstein, examines the role of Mandela and the African National Congress. "The charismatic Mandela places Pretoria on the horns of a dilemma," writes Herbstein. "Inside, he is a martyr. Yet the movement of which he is the spiritual leader does not enjoy the best wishes of the governments of Washington, Bonn and London."

"The ANC's dependence on Russia for arms and sometimes training — aid which is refused by the West — makes it 'marxist orientated'. "Certainly the congress movement has come a long way from the mission-educated leadership of the turn of the century. But it is not communist."

Herbstein says, "Calls for Mandela's release have come from many leaders both inside and outside South Africa. Even General Hendrik van den Bergh, the security chief who was responsible for getting Mandela jailed, thinks he has "served his debt to society". "But release him and his presence in the corridors of world power would undermine South Africa's already uncertain position. Why, some Third World and eastern countries could even recognize the ANC as a government-in-exile."

Mandela and his second wife, Winnie, "celebrate" their silver wedding this year, and one grandchild has already come to see him in prison. "Others will, no doubt, follow since 'life' in South Africa's political language means exactly what it says. "Unless, that is, Nelson Mandela comes out to be the first president of the non-racial republic of Azania (formerly South Africa). Only the very optimistic can expect that," Herbstein concludes. — SFS.
SAP chief speaks on border control

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG – The presence of the African National Congress and "other hostile elements" in Lesotho necessitated stricter control of border traffic between Lesotho and South Africa, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said in a statement last night.

However, General Coetzee added, every effort would be made to ensure the minimum possible inconvenience to "bona fide border traffic".

In his statement last night, General Coetzee described the security situation between the two countries as unsatisfactory.

The close co-operation between South African and Lesotho security forces – as envisaged in the June '84 agreement between Mr Botha and his Lesotho counterpart, Mr Evaristus Sekhonyana – had not materialized, General Coetzee said.

Lesotho has persistently denied that it allows ANC insurgents to use its territory as a springboard for attacks on South Africa. It has said it will apologize publicly if South Africa is able to identify any ANC guerrilla bases.

Lesotho has, however, defended its right to offer sanctuary to refugees from South Africa, including members of the ANC, under conditions set out in the United Nations charter on refugees.

Stricter border controls were imposed late in May following a bomb explosion in Bloemfontein. After traffic piled up on either side of the border, talks were held in Johannesburg between Mr Botha and Mr Sekhonyana.

Traffic returned to normal following an agreement by both parties that neither would allow its territory to be used for cross-border attacks.

However, attacks in Lesotho by rebels of the Lesotho Liberation Army led to charges by Lesotho that the rebels had been aided by the SA Defence Force.

South Africa countercharged that Lesotho was trying to win international sympathy by blaming South Africa for internal problems.

Pretoria also turned down a request from Mr Sekhonyana for a second meeting with Mr Botha to settle the dispute, partly because Lesotho had purportedly broken faith by not sending its security chiefs to a meeting with their South African counterparts in Bloemfontein.

Leading article, page 8
Mandela's birthday observed in silence

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

YESTERDAY was Nelson Mandela's 68th birthday and his family and friends observed it in a way that has become a tradition—a day of silence and fasting.

While local and world leaders paid tribute to the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, his wife, Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, spent a lonely day in Brandfort where she has been banished.

Not only that, she is among eleven people recently banned under the new Internal Security Act.

"It is a great pity that my father is not here where he should have been—with us and with the people," Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, said yesterday.

Throughout her father's 21 years in prison, the family has always observed a day fasting on his birthday. "We also light a candle as a symbol and we only break the fast at midnight with the national anthem," said Zinzi.

She is not the only one who goes through this ritual. A close friend of the family and one of Mandela's contemporaries, Helen Joseph, has also observed it all these years.

The secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said it was unfortunate that Mandela was still in prison.

"I am deeply saddened that such a great man is still in jail and we look forward to the day when he will come out and lead this country," Bishop Tutu said.

The president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Dr Essop Jassat, said Mandela's birthday was also a day on which his colleagues in jail should be remembered.

He said: "We are confident that he will soon join the people and lead the country to a free and democratic South Africa."

Meanwhile in London, Mandela's 68th birthday was marked by a festival featuring Hugh Masekela, Julian Bahula and the West African group, Oasiba.

Masekela was given a standing ovation from the crowd of more than 3,000 and Bahula played his new composition honoring Mandela.

Mandela's other daughter, Zeni, made a brief appearance on stage, introduced by the ANC chief representative in London, Mrs Ruth Mompati. Zeni answered the cheers from the crowd with a broad smile and a clenched fist.

The east coast city of Hull named an open space Nelson Mandela Gardens and in London an exhibition was organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Free Mandela Committee.

Tension mounts a schools

By MONO BADELA

There was mounting tension in Soweto schools yesterday as the second group of students in two weeks took to the streets.

The number of students who are now roaming the streets of the township is more than 2,000 after 900 pupils at Progress Senior Secondary School in Klipspruit yesterday boycotted classes in protest against the alleged harassment of a principal.

The head prefect of the school, Mr George Mokoena, told The SOWETAN: "That we shall continue with our protest action of boycotting classes until our demands are met."

The situation at Progress Secondary has given the school boycott situation an entirely different complexion—that of race.

Ironically, the problem at Ithongo High School, where trouble flared last week, was not racial.

The students had demanded the removal of a white principal who had replaced another white teacher.

Yesterday the pupils at Ithongo said they were teargassed once more by police after they left school to congregate at St Hilda's Anglican Church in Soweto. They had gathered at their school in defiance of the directive from the Department of Education and Training (DET) that the school would only be reopened if parents accompanied their children to various points as from tomorrow.

When the students got to the school, they were teargassed three times by police after they refused the police request to leave the school premises. The police then shut down the school, saying it could not reopen until the headmaster returned.

The principal of the school was not available for comment.

Wrab to decide on rights of immigrants

THE WEST Rand Administration Board (Wrab) will decide this week on whether migrant workers from independent homelands have a right to stay in the province.

This week, the deputy minister of the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Hloniphile Msomi, will present a paper to the Wrab on the issue of who should have the right to stay in the province as an immigrant.

The president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Jones, has said there are no problems at the Wrab on the issue of right of abode.

Mr Jones said the Wrab had a "strong" board and they were going to take a "strong" decision as well.
UK invitation for jailed Mandela

Foreign News Service

LONDON — The Labour Party has invited jailed African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela to be its guest at this year's party conference in Brighton.

The invitation has been sent to Mandela, who turned 65 in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday. It was signed by the party's general secretary, Mr. James Callaghan.

Mandela's daughter Zenani was at yesterday's ceremony in Harlow, north east of London, where the local council renamed the town's First Avenue "Nelson Mandela Avenue."

Zenani also attended the opening at the Royal Academy of an exhibition of 15 anti-apartheid works by leading international artists.

In the north east, the City Council of Hull has named its ornamental gardens, which are opposite the home of anti-slavery campaigner William Wilberforce after Nelson Mandela.
Poet Brutus faces death if deported, court told

CHICAGO — Poet Dennis Brutus would face death at the hands of South African assassination squads if he were forced to return to Zimbabwe, his homeland, a civil rights campaigner said in Chicago yesterday.

Mr Randall Robinson, head of Trans Africa, an anti-apartheid organisation, told a federal immigration court that Mr Brutus was "one of the most prominent activists against apartheid" and, thus, a likely target of South African wrath.

"I have absolutely no doubt that, if Dennis Brutus is forced to return to Zimbabwe, his life will be serious jeopardy," Mr Robinson said.

He added that the threat would come from "the South African forces against which the Zimbabwean Government can offer no defence".

The testimony came during the first day of a hearing on the US Government's decision to deport Mr Brutus because he was an alien with an expired visa.

Mr Brutus, who is on the staff of Northwestern University, served time in South African prisons before he left the region a decade ago.

Lawyers representing Mr Brutus say they will appeal against any deportation order and are confident they can, with legal manoeuvres, keep him from being forced out of the United States for years. — Reuter.
Nelson Mandela — traitor or symbol of hope for SA?

By Jon Qwelane

He has been out of circulation for 21 years now, yet the very mention of his name stirs feelings ranging from hatred to deep admiration.

To many whites he is a downright "terrorist" who deserves his fate, while to other whites and many blacks he represents a symbol of hope.

Yesterday services and protests were held in his honour in many parts of the world.

His name is Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and he was born in Umtata into the Tembu royal family of the Transkei.

He is a tribal uncle of the President of Transkei, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, and a cousin of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who is in exile after spells of detention under Transkei security laws.

Mandela, who turned 65 yesterday, showed at a very early age that he had little interest in tribal custom and fled to Johannesburg.

He had earlier been a student at Fort Hare University where his interest in politics was nurtured, and in 1949 was elected to the Students' Representative Council. However he soon resigned in protest against the authorities when they curtailed the SRC's powers.

He later studied at Wits and through Unisa.

After fleeing Transkei he worked in Johannesburg where he joined the African National Congress and later helped found its youth league.

He also worked in legal partnership with the president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, who is now in exile.

President Matanzima ... a tribal nephew of Mandela.

In 1948 he became general secretary of the youth league and in 1952 was elected Transvaal president of the ANC and deputy national president. It was then that he led thousands of people in defiance campaigns against the national government in defiance of the then popular laws enacted by the national government.

He received a suspended sentence for his part in the campaign and was immediately banned and restricted to Johannesburg.

In 1956 he was among more than 150 nationalist leaders of all races charged with treason. The trial ended in acquittals.

His banning extended until 1961, when he and other ANC leaders formed Umkhonto We Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) in the Eastern Cape. The organisation was later to become the military wing of the ANC.

Thereafter he visited several African countries and campaigned against the South African Government. On his return he went underground until his arrest in Natal on his way to consult with banned ANC president, Chief Albert Luthuli.

He was charged with inciting strikes and leaving the country illegally and received a five-year prison term.

In October 1963 he was again in court to face charges as the main accused in the Rivonia Trial. For conspiring to commit sabotage, he and several other leaders of the ANC were given life sentences.

Mandela has had his fair share of honours, including a public statement in the House of Commons by the then Prime Minister, Mr James Callaghan, who said he had long been an admirer of Mandela's.

Earlier this month the City College of New York awarded him an honorary doctorate.

Among other international awards Mandela has received have been the honorary citizenship of the Greek village of Ancient Olympia, the Freedom of Glasgow, life membership of the University of London Union, and India's Jawaharlal Nehru Award.

His wife, Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela, is one of the most restricted people in South Africa and — apart from a brief period in the mid-Seventies — has been constantly banned and house-arrested. She has also been detained on a number of occasions and is now banned and banished to the Free State town of Brandfort.

The couple have two daughters — Zeni, who is married to a Swazi prince and Zinzi, who was recently detained but was released after charges of being in possession of forged travel documents were dropped.
SOWETAN: What motivated the founding of the National Forum Committee and the subsequent solidarity conference held in Hammanskraal recently?
Mr Cooper: The lack of unity among organisations struggling for liberation in this country.
SOWETAN: Does this lack of unity have anything to do with ideology?
Mr Cooper: Well, ideology must come into this type of thing because where you have a lack of unity, ideological differences emerge and this is why the National Forum Committee has not put all its energies into pre-conditioning those invited to participate...
SOWETAN: But do you agree that ideological differences are the main cause of differences that exist among black organisations in this country?
Mr Cooper: To a certain extent, but I think ideology is being played up more than it actually deserves. You must have seen the type of hysteria being drummed up, more personalised attack and this rests with the problems of leadership and the zealousness with which people

SA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT

IS the Manifesto produced by the National Forum conference in Hammanskraal an attempt to supplant the Freedom Charter, an historical document that was drawn up by various organisations including the African National Congress? Some organisations have dissociated themselves from the Manifesto. In this article SAM MAHEI talks to Azapo vice president and convenor of the conference, SATISH COOPER.

Mr Cooper: I think the Charter is a particular demand at a particular epoch in history. Certain things there would not find much relevance in a society almost three decades removed because a society is not a static thing, like a document bound in history can be.

So, just as somebody pointed to me once, a young person who is not of my political persuasion, asked me about the Unity Movement's 10-point programme. Even its language is outdated. It talks in terms of unity, rights and I don't think United Democratic Front people would believe in that either.

If they did, I don't think they would be as fervent in their opposition to the President's Council which I think are correct in opposing because it further divisions and entrenches group rights.

Now, we don't believe with Azapo that there should be group rights because there is nowhere in the world where group rights can be enshrined in a constitution.

SOWETAN: You, as National Forum would not speak to the UD.

Mr Cooper: The future society towards which we are working we will have no vestiges of racism. We will not consider whether a person is white or black, whether a person is a he or a she, professional or blue-collar worker, moslem or Christian.

Anti-racism to us represents a much more positive advance on previous attitudes. For instance, right now there is a lot of talk on non-racialism and among the organisations that are most clear on non-racialism, I think, Sosan stands out as an example.

But you get other organisations which claim they are non-racial, when in actual fact they are confusing between non-racialism and multi-racialism. And any type of approach that is going to give any credence to ethnic hosts must be gotten rid of when we approach liberation in this country.

We equally oppose alliance with groups that work within the system. We believe that what must be entrenched is an independent working-class leadership for this future state.

CONTINUED TOMORROW
in respect of this leadership view their own paramountcy.

SOWETAN: Would you be able to say what this conference has achieved so far?

Mr Cooper: Well, for the first time in the history of the struggle in this country, we spoke together. People from a diversity of organisational background and with divergent ideological views. Under one roof, and without any political strings attached, we discussed a common basis for a future working relationship.

SOWETAN: What common basis did the conference raise on which all of you will now be working in future?

Mr Cooper: We had four commissions at the Forum. These were respectively the land question, the basis for principled unity, our minimum demands and the last one was mobilising and consolidating these efforts against the so-called new deal.

Now, the whole idea was to see consensus for working together without regard to whether one was black consciousness or progressive democratic or whatever.

SOWETAN: There are criticisms that came up after the conference that only two of the six papers read there dealt with unity.

Mr Cooper: No, there are three papers that dealt specifically with unity. One was on the national question in relationship to ethnicity, that.

SOWETAN: What was their status at the conference? They claim to have gone there as observers.

Mr Cooper: This could be so. What I do know is that there were people from the organisations you mentioned who registered as observers. But as soon as discussions started, they changed their status to that of participants.

The Land Question Commission and the Minimum Demands Commission had a preponderance of people who subscribe to the Freedom Charter and they dominated discussions.

Never before has there been this kind of unity. In 1943 when the Unity Movement adopted its 10-point programme, their convention was of those groups that subscribed to Unity Movement principles.

In 1955 when the Kliptown Charter was adopted, there were five groupings at the Congress Alliance. In 1976 when the Mafikeng Manifesto was adopted, it was specifically Black People's Convention-oriented approach.

Here we have the Manifesto of the Azanian people without any organisational slant. It does not speak about black consciousness, it does not speak about Progressive Democrats or Unity Movement principles. It is an amalgam and a development of these previous historical programmes.

SOWETAN: But is there of quizzing. Who uses that term? A quizzing was a particular "sell-out" during the German occupation of Scandinavia.

The programme here is a manifesto of minimum demands which are very bland in a sense. It talks of socialist, anti-racist system and democratic State, worker control. That is the basis of this manifesto. And I may say, no previous programme has been as explicit as this one is about worker control.

This is something that we believe can bring organisations together. For instance black consciousness will be very foolish if it found any fault with the Manifesto of the Azanian People, although the manifesto places no emphasis whatsoever on BC.

In the same way, Unity Movement people will be foolhardy if they were to condemn it out of hand just because it was not their initiative.

SOWETAN: Are there specifics that you find outdated in the Charter, or would you say the entire Charter is not relevant?

Mr Cooper: Look, a supporter of the Charter would be in a position to say that every single one of those demands is absolutely relevant as it is in the Charter per se.

For instance, the entrenchment of minority rights. Now, I am speaking not for National Forum but I'm giving the Azapo point of view. We don't believe in the entrenchment of mi-
JOHANNESBURG—Mr Karabo Motlana, son of the chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nkate Motlana, has fled South Africa.

Mrs Sally Motlana said yesterday her law student son had disappeared from their Soweto home a few days before he was due to appear in court at Ermelo on May 26.

He had been charged with furthering the aims of a banned organisation and possessing banned literature.

He was on R500 bail when he fled apparently to a neighbouring country.

A warrant for his arrest has been issued.
Azania for Azanians

SOWETAN: Another controversial part of the Freedom Charter is the preamble which makes mention of this country belonging to all who live in it, black and white. But in the Azanian Manifesto it is said that the land and all that belong to it shall be wholly owned and controlled by the Azanian people. What is the difference?

Mr Cooper: Yes, the Charter talks in the present tense, whereas the Azanian People's Manifesto talks about a futuristic situation.

There are problems of interpretation when you come to that opening sentence of the Charter, which I will not go into. But we must say right now that the land does not belong to all people of this country. It belongs to a particular ruling class.

We believe that in a future country, no regard should be given to whether a person is white or black. He must be an Azanian, he must be a citizen of the country, identify with the soil, identify with the future constitution of the country.

AIMS

He must identify with the aims, interests and aspirations of the sovereign, unitary, independent future working Republic.

SOWETAN: People who claim that there is a strong emphasis of black consciousness in the National Forum say there will still be a strong emphasis on the race analysis...

Mr Cooper: No, no, black consciousness has
at the
The sentiments of the Freedom Charter are well within the bounds of legitimate aspirations and have never been the exclusive preserve of the African National Congress, the Publications Control Board has ruled.

In a judgment released this week, the board gave its reasons for overturning a decision by the Committee of Publications that an edition of "Anti-SAIC News", a publication of the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee (Tasac), was undesirable.

Its tolerance of the Freedom Charter has been welcomed in legal circles.

Professor John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand regards the ruling as "a significant one in the field of publications ... it advances the cause of freedom of expression".

UNDERSCORED

The pertinence of the finding is underscored by the emergence — or re-emergence — in recent years of organisations which firmly subscribe to the views of the Freedom Charter.

Among these are the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Azanian Students Organisation.

Representing Tasac in its appeal against the banning of the February "Anti-SAIC News", Johannesburg Advocate Mr Gilbert Marcus argued the Freedom Charter was a moderate document, the sentiments of which were embraced in the constitutions of many lands and in widely accepted declarations of human rights.

The committee had banned the newsletter on the grounds of its coverage of TIC, which the committee declared to be a "terroristic organisation subscribing to the revolutionary objects of the ANC". The committee had based its conclusion solely on the grounds that TIC was present at the adoption of the Freedom Charter, which is the ANC's blueprint for a future South Africa.

MODERATE

The appeal board rejected Mr Marcus's contentions that the charter's principles were moderate and were not the exclusive preserve of the ANC.

"It is the use to which the ANC has put the Freedom Charter that has made this charter undesirable in certain contexts. There is no evidence in the publication to suggest the publication associates itself with violence," the judgment reads.

Although it confines itself to judgment of the publication and has no jurisdiction over the conduct of the publishers, the board took cognisance that the publishers had stated in their newsletter their commitment "to the use of all available and legal means to continue the struggle for freedom".

Mr Marcus had suggested that the publication served an important political purpose, promoting democratic debate on the (then) President's Council's proposals for a new constitution. Thus the board accepted, noting: "There should be an open discussion on the matter and it would be contrary to the tenets of democracy to limit this discussion to Parliament."

DANGER TEST

In addressing the question of the likelihood of the publication endangering State security, general welfare, or peace and good order, Mr Marcus referred to a similar principle in United States law — "the clear and present danger test".

He cited a ruling by noted US Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Brandeis: "No danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present unless the incitement of evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion. If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the process of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

The board accepted this as a guide and ruled that the decision of the Publications Committee — that the newsletter was undesirable — be set aside and that a ban on possession not be confirmed.
US media focus on SA poet

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK - The attention of the American media has swung back to South Africa this week as a result of the battle by exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus to fight deportation from the United States.

The case, in which the anti-apartheid campaigner is trying to prove he would face persecution and possible death if he was sent back to South Africa or Zimbabwe, has been widely reported in the Press and on television. Today the New York Times carries an editorial urging the Department of Justice to allow Dr Brutus, who lectures in English at Northwestern University in Chicago, to remain.

The Times notes that the Administration is enforcing the letter of the law by deporting Dr Brutus, who filed his visa renewal application six months late. But the newspaper argues that the United States Attorney General could decline to enforce the deportation, or could grant him political asylum. "There seems no good reason not to let Dennis Brutus remain."
Report can't be published

Staff Reporter

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has refused a request by the Cape Times to publish a report from London which contains information about the African National Congress's future plans in its insurgency against the Republic's established order.

The report, originating from the Cape Times London correspondent, quotes excerpts from an interview featuring Mr Joe Slovo, who has played a leading role in the armed activities of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In the interview, first published in the Umkhonto journal Dawn, and then reprinted in the official ANC organ Sesababa, Mr Slovo gave strong indications about future changes in the organization's urban terrorism policy.

Till fairly recently, the ANC concentrated on "official" rather than "soft" targets such as crowded public places. In the light of the Church Street bomb explosion there has been much speculation on whether the organization intends to change to a new tack.

Mr Le Grange's permission to publish was required because the core of the report consisted of remarks by Mr Slovo and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC—neither of whom can be quoted.

Banned

Mr Tambo is a banned person, while the new Internal Security Act prohibits publication of anything Mr Slovo says, even though his banning order has expired. The ANC itself has been a proscribed organization for two decades.

A copy of the report was sent to Mr Le Grange yesterday with a request for his permission to use the Tambo and Slovo quotations as the Cape Times felt the information was of great public interest, but after reading the material, he said through a spokesman that he was not willing to assent to publication or make any comment on the report.
Police deny detention of students

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Pretoria police today denied that five members of the Azanian Students' Movement were being detained.

But an attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, said police at Protea had told her that her clients were being held under section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

The students are Kenny Mosime, Jackie Hlopholosa, Gopal Naidoo, Pule Monama and Monhla Hlahla.

The first report of the students' alleged arrest was made on Monday night by the Rev Cecil Begbie, vice-president of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches.

He said police at Protea had indicated that Mr Mosime, Mr Hlopholosa and Mr Naidoo were being held but had denied that Mr Monama, national organiser of Azasm, and Miss Hlahla were in custody.

The publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, said yesterday that Mr Monama was brought by police to the Moleleke house at which they both live after midnight on Monday.

He was subsequently taken away by police after a brief search of the house and confiscation of some documents.
New civic party to contest council elections

SOWETO

"COUP"

THE MAYOR: Mr David Thebehali

By SAM MABE

IN A move seen as an attempt to unseat the present community council leadership in Soweto, a new civic party is to be launched in Johannesburg tonight, to start campaigning for the forthcoming council elections.

The formation of the new body, African League Party, is likely to send shock-waves throughout the country as some of the personalities involved are known to have been bitter opponents of participation in Government-created civic and political bodies.

Details of the founding of the party and the names of personalities involved have been kept a closely guarded secret.

But The SOWETAN established the structure of the new party and also obtained a list of eight people involved. They include among others, prominent business personalities, social and community leaders and some well-known journalists.

Details of the new body and its functions will be announced to selected guests who have been invited to the inaugural meeting to be held at the Johannesburg City Hall (Duncan Hall) from 5.15 tonight.

The SOWETAN has in its possession a document which sets out the structure and the functions of the league. This will include the civic wing of the organisation, whose major aim shall be to gain greater control of civic institutions so that "blacks can have a co-ordinated and substantive direction of local administration."

The thrust of the civic wing works from the premise that local administration provides a power base for social, cultural and economic development in black areas.

Blacks will be able to "gain experience in administration" and the African League Party shall "press for the implementation of the De Lange Commission's recommendation and for education to be a local issue".
Bid for coloured political unity gains some impetus

New moves aimed at a re-alignment in coloured politics will result in talks between the Freedom Party and the People's Congress Party next month. A merger between these two parties seems a distinct possibility — but their dream of coloured political unity is likely to be thwarted by the Labour Party, which is still determined to follow its own path.

Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — Leaders of two coloured political parties now engaged in moves towards joining forces envisage a possible re-alignment in coloured politics.

The Freedom Party (FP) and the People's Congress Party (PCP) have agreed to have talks in Uitenhage on August 6 and 7 about a possible merger.

The leaders of both parties believe that, if a merger is achieved, there might be further moves towards seeking agreement with the Labour Party.

The aim would be to enable the coloured people “to speak with one voice” and seek a political re-alignment in the new Parliament under the Government's proposed constitutional plan.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr. Chris Heunis, has shown an interest in the Freedom Party and the People's Congress Party. Last week he invited leaders of the two parties to talks in Cape Town — but this week they were told the talks had been called off, at least for the time being.

The FP leader, Mr. Charles Julius, said he had been given the impression from the Minister's office that the talks had only been called off temporarily. The reason given was that the hearing of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Affairs had not yet been completed.

In the meantime, his party would go ahead with its plans to meet the PCP in Uitenhage next month.

Mr. Julius said his party would welcome a move to join all the coloured political parties. Such a move would help to unite the coloured people.

There were no serious differences between the two parties, he said.

It was unlikely, however, that agreement could be reached with the Labour Party under that party's present leadership.

Mr. Julius said his party would welcome a move to join all the coloured political parties. Such a move would help to unite the coloured people.

He believed a common voters' role for whites, coloureds and Indians would become a reality in South Africa before the year 2000.

The Prime Minister, Mr. PW Botha, is doing everything in his power to bring harmony and peace to Southern Africa. We welcome the idea of revolutionary change instead of revolutionary change,” Mr. Julius said.

The leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr. Peter Marais, said Minister Heunis had invited his party's full nine-member executive committee to Cape Town for talks.

When the talks were called off this week, he understood from the Minister's office that a later meeting would be arranged.

He said the Uitenhage talks about a possible merger with the Freedom Party would be aimed at unity.

"Once a merger is achieved, we would like to extend a hand of friendship to Mr. Alan Hendricks of the Labour Party," he said.

The national chairman of the Labour Party, Mr. David Carr, said he did not regard the FP and the PCP as having any significant political strength.
Launching of new party falls flat in wake of exposé

INDABA FLOPS!

THE MEETING scheduled for last night to launch a new civic party which was to topple the Soweto council leadership was yesterday postponed because of The SOWETAN's exposé of the party's motives.

The indefinite postponement was announced by Mr Meshack Mabogoane, secretary general of African League (AL), the mother body of numerous organisations which were to start operating in various spheres of life among blacks after the launching.

Mr Mabogoane said the Johannesburg City Hall was booked on the understanding that the meeting to be held was a private one and only a few selected people would attend.

"But after The SOWETAN's story, the authorities decided that the meeting was no longer private because the public knew about it and many invited people might also attend."

"This therefore meant that our contract was automatically nullified and we have to make a fresh application which will follow the normal procedures for approval," he said.

He emphasised that the postponement was due to technical reasons which the AL could not have done anything about. A handwritten notice was pasted on the door of the hall saying: "African League meeting postponed, further notice in the Press tomorrow."

But only hours before its official launching was due yesterday the AL had already come under heavy fire from Soweto's "mayor" Mr David Thebehlali, who condemned its formation as the work of white liberals.

Dismissing the idea of launching the party in Johannesburg as "a big joke," Mr Thebehlali said he would not be threatened by "parties launched in white suburbs to deal with problems of the ghettos."

He also said he found it strange that he should not have been invited to the meeting "to give them the nitty-gritty of running a council."

Greeting the news of the postponement with excitement, Mr Thebehlali said he suspected that many of the prominent personalities whom The SOWETAN had said were involved in the AL, had got cold feet and may have decided to withdraw from the AL.

"The organisers made a big blunder. They should not have done their organising clandestinely because it is the secrecy of this whole business which interested the Press and turned the whole thing into a scandal."

"Anyway, I did not feel threatened at all. There will never be a coup against me. We were ready for them and their white liberals and we were going to meet them head-on," said Mr Thebehlali.

By SAM MABE

Back to school for pupils

By MONO BADELA

The situation at the two strife-torn schools in Soweto was quiet yesterday, and it will be back to school for the students of Ibhongo High School and Progress Senior Secondary School today.

The situation at Ibhongo in Dlamini was almost back to normal yesterday with about three-quarters of the students attending classes today.

Mr M cocaine said this decision was taken after a two-hour meeting between ten prefects, the principal, Mr Piet le Roux, and four senior officials of the Department of Education and Training.

According to Tuesday, because there was no immediate replacement for the mathematics teacher, it was decided that the present white teacher should keep her job.

The principal also promised that the students would be supplied in the meantime, five members of the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) detained on Monday, were released on Wednesday, a spokesman for their lawyers told Sapa.

The five — Mr Pule Monama (28) national organiser of Azasm, Mr Kenny Mokoma (21) the treasurer, Mr Jackie LADIESWEAR
Minidresses
Petites
Cleaning
Corded
Fleece
Flanneled
Skirts
Gift Subs.

MENSWEAR
Windbreakers
Blanket Shirts

BOYSWEAR
Cheek Shirts

HURRY INTO ELC
FOR MORE SUPER SAVING
Newest black student movement snubs Nusas

With the founding of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) early this month Black Consciousness (BC) again has a channel through which to flow undiluted into institutions of learning.

Azasm was launched by BC organisers as it became clear that the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) had shrugged off the BC heritage of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso), and was looking to the fruits of the Congress Alliance struggle of the 1950s — to the tradition of the Freedom Charter.

This week the founder president of Azasm, Mr Kabelo Lengane, declared Azaso's gradual switch to Charterist principles as a betrayal which had left the BC "faithfuls" without a home.

"Azasm is not the breakaway faction — Azaso is," he argued.

Unlike Azaso president Mr Tiego Mosenske, he felt there was little common ground between ideas of members of the organisations. He saw fundamental differences over the question of race and the vision of a future society.

Azasm's approach to these matters is based on the manifesto of the National Forum Committee (NFC) which it fully endorses.

Mr Lengane, a law student in his second year at the University of the North, regards the NFC manifesto as unique in its categorical statement that estab-

lishing a socialist society is its aim.

He argues that the Freedom Charter has no clear stamp of socialism, although it is commonly held to be a social democratic document.

It has marked welfare state echoes in its housing and education clauses, and references to radical land redistribution and nationalisation of mineral wealth.

The question of race is more complicated. A unique definition of blackness is at the heart of the BC philosophy.

Mr Lengane explains that to be black is to be one of an economically and socially oppressed group and — most important — to identify oneself as part of the struggle for a free and democratic Azania.

It is this idea of blackness that enables Azasm to assert that its members are part of a mainly working class community before they are students.

"Azasm members aim at transcending their elitist nature, at committing class sui-
Let's close our ranks, say three of the unbanned

By ANTON HARTER and HELENE ZAMPETAKIS

THE first group of recently unbanned people to address a public meeting have called on black opposition organisations to put aside their differences and form "the broadest possible alliance".

Mr Ferro Cachala, Mr Fosyana Madibiza and Mr David Johnsen, who were all unbanned early this month, received standing ovations when they addressed 400 students at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

Mr Cachala, a former member of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee and president of the Black Students' Society (BSS) at Wit, said the State had adopted a new policy of trying to co-opt Indians and coloureds.

"We must close ranks. There is an urgent need for unity. We must find common ground and form the broadest possible alliances."

"For only in this way can we prevent the fragmentation of our nation. Only in this way can we prevent the isolation of the proletariat..." He called on people opposed to the political order to "harness a new morality, a self-denying devotion to the cause and be conscious of ourselves as builders of a new social order."

Mr Fosyana Madibiza, former leader of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee who led the mass resignation of teachers in 1976, said it was necessary to do away with "minor contentions about who is to be included and not included in the struggle."

There were many political forces at work in South Africa and it was necessary to separate those in conflict from those not in conflict.

Those not in conflict had to be identified, marshalled and made to work together, he said.

Mr Johnson, former president of the BSS, said the aim of education was to teach youth to "love their people" but in South Africa it was used to divide people and facilitate the domination of one class by another.

There was no need for splits in the student ranks.
CAHAC EXECUTIVE TO SERVE ANOTHER TERM

MR Wilfred Rhodes was unanimously elected chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac) at their second annual meeting in Ravensmead on Sunday.

Cahac's general secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, was also unanimously re-elected on the 12-member steering committee. Mrs Hester Benjamin of Lavender Hill was elected vice-chairman.

About 200 delegates and observers from Cahac's 10 affiliates attended the meeting.

Mr Manuel said Cahac has re-affirmed their commitment to building strong organisations with bigger membership and working class leadership in the community.

LEADERS

Both he and Mr Rhodes received standing ovations when they presented their annual reports. All the members of the steering committee were elected unopposed.

Mr Rhodes, who has been chairman of Cahac since 1981, said he would have preferred someone else to take his position.

"We don't want to develop into a situation where individuals in a people's organisation are seen as the leaders, but I cannot disrespect the people's decision.

"I know that the steering committee will be able to serve them well, because the community has committed themselves to fight for houses, security and comfort and for a free and democratic South Africa."

Mr Rhodes saw Cahac's major task as making people aware that they must not sit back and accept their plight.

"The people must oppose in an organised way and set demands wherever they live. By educating ourselves on issues affecting us and bringing people together, we will be able to make our demands a reality."

MISTAKES

Mr Rhodes said Cahac had made mistakes in the past.

"But we have learnt and will not make the same mistakes again.

"We still believe we are the voice of the people and will champion the cause of the oppressed and exploited."

"In terms of our guiding principles, we will oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills.

"This new deal will entrench apartheid and prolong our oppression," he said.
and in comes...

SA should pardon ANC men in return, says Rene

By Brendan Nicholson, Argus Foreign News Service

VICTORIA — The Seychelles' President, Mr. Albert Rene, confirmed that six pardoned mercenaries would fly home today - and attacked South Africa for not showing similar mercy to condemned African National Congress men.

In a statement released by State House, he warned it was the "last time" such pardons would be granted.

The mercy shown to the six - four were condemned to death - "is in sharp contrast to the practice in some countries where more often than not international calls for clemency are simply ignored", it said.

Mr. Rene recalled that in March he asked the South African Government, on humanitarian grounds, not to execute three ANC members.

"The South African Prime Minister (Mr. F. P. Botha) replied that justice must take its course and the three men were subsequently executed," it said.

The six, all South African residents, are former National Intelligence Service agents Martin Dolinche, one-time Natal Provincial Council election candidate Jerry Puren, British adventurer Bernard Carey - who told journalists yesterday he had served in six mercenary campaigns - Zimbabwean Aubrey Brooks, former British paratrooper Roger England and Robert Sims, brother-in-law of Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, who led the November 25, 1981 coup bid.

"The Seychelles Government is of the opinion that they... were falsely made to believe that the Seychellois people were unhappy and wanted to be saved - that we were a cruel and bloodthirsty regime. The world should know that this is not true, and who can say it better than those who were falsely induced to attack us," it said.

Dolinche faces NIS questioning - See Page 2

in a froth

For Walk...
By HUGH ROBERTON
Weekend Argus Reporter

After weeks of negotiation, about 50 organisations in the Western Cape have agreed on a common strategy to oppose the Government's constitutional proposals and are to meet tomorrow to launch their campaign officially.

Earlier meetings were marked by disagreement over objectives, strategy and the composition of the body which is to lead the campaign. Most of these problems have been resolved and tomorrow's meeting is expected to elect a full executive and to finalise details of the campaign.

According to members of organisations involved in planning the meeting, the body which is to be formed will represent the largest cross-section of organisations ever assembled in the coloured and black communities. It will also include such predominantly white organisations as Nusas, making it representative of all race groups.

No official role

Some trade unions which participated in earlier meetings have decided not to play an official role in the campaign, although individual members would be free to do so.

Prominent leaders from virtually all churches, including the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, and many mosques, will attend in their individual capacities.

Leaders such as the Rev Allan Boesak, chairman of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, have given their strong approval to the campaign.

Grassroots organisations

More than 20 grassroots organisations affiliated to the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee are also backing the campaign.

The Western Cape body will liaise with similar bodies already formed in the Transvaal, Natal and the Eastern Cape to oppose the constitutional proposals.

It is believed that there has been wide agreement on a boycott of any elections held under the constitution after some organisations had toyed with the idea of contesting such elections with the intention of refusing to take up what seats they might win in the three-chamber Parliament.
SACOS has called a conference in Cape Town on August 20 and 21 in direct opposition to the media congress of Dr Danie Craven’s South African Rugby Board on Monday August 22.

The special Sacos conference will be held in the Hanover Park Civic Centre in Cape Town and will be attended by national affiliates as well as civic, worker and youth movements throughout the country.

In addition all provincial and provincial councils of sport will also attend and clubs, particularly those in the Western Cape, have been requested to send one observer each to the two-day conference, which will dwell on the theme Sport and the Liberatory Struggle.

Sacos will not discuss its normal biannual business at this conference, but will instead concentrate on special papers to be delivered. A manifesto aimed at incorporating all isolated sportsmen, and especially those in the townships, under the non-racial banner, will be compiled.

Joe Ershbim, vice president of Sacos and president of Wepcos, clearly spelt out the dangers facing non-racial sport in his opening address at their Wepcos meeting on Sunday.

He pointed out that the activities of Sacos were important enough for the South African Rugby Board to organise a large scale and extremely expensive media congress, that it could give false information on behalf of the rugby public, claiming that Sacos officials will be in attendance, and that Sacos members must face the reality that their ideals are being threatened by officialism.

SUPPORT
Colin Clarke, internal secretary of Sacos addressed the annual meeting of the South African Soccer Federation in Ocean View on Monday.

The meeting offered full support for the move to have a special meeting and Federation president Rama Reddy commented on the unscrupulous manner in which the South African Rugby Board behaved by quoting Sacos officials as being party to their media congress.

This was especially so, according to Reddy, as Sacos and the rugby Board were not even affiliated to each other.

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‘The Doc’ calls us an enemy of SA

By Russell Michaels
CAFE Herald is an enemy of South Africa.

This astonishing claim was made this week by Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board.

Said Dr Craven: “You people (Cape Herald), Frank van der Horst, Sacos and Sarocs have already done so much harm to this country. You are the enemies of South Africa.”

Asked whether this newspaper would be invited to the Rugby Board’s media congress scheduled for August, Dr Craven said: “What do you want at the congress? You only want to stir up a hornet’s nest. I hope you are not invited because I know what your objectives are. You people have warped minds when it comes to South Africa.”

The SA Rugby Board president also launched a strong attack on Sacos president Frank van der Horst, who earlier this month spoke down an invitation to address the congress.

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SCARED

“He is scared to put his case to the world. And he’s scared because he has no case — that’s the only conclusion I can come to,” said Dr Craven.

“Sacos should work with me in putting South Africa’s case over to the world. But they’re not playing the game for, if they did, they would have been with us a long time ago.

“We should be fighting together for South Africa instead of against each other,” he said.

Dr Craven added that he hoped the SA Rugby Union would attend his congress.

“They no longer belong to Sacos, so I can’t see why they should not be there,” he said.
Students honour
Oscar Mpetha

VETERAN trade unionist Oscar Mpetha was honoured at the third annual congress of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) held in Rylands Estate last week.

Mpetha, 75, who is on bail awaiting appeal against his five-year sentence under the Terrorism Act, was supposed to deliver the closing address at the five-day congress but had to withdraw because of ill-health.

He sent a message to the congress calling on students to play their part in building a democratic education system.

His message, which was received with a standing ovation, was followed by a unanimous resolution which honoured Oscar Mpetha as "one of the leaders of the community and of the people" and called on the State to withdraw his sentence.

FREEDOM CHARTER

In other resolutions Azaso members committed themselves to the aims of the Freedom Charter and to working with other organisations towards a democratic society.

They said they would give their full support to the United Democratic Front—a body formed out of community organisations, student bodies and trade unions to oppose the constitutional proposals and Government measures on urban Africans.

The congress said they would popularise their campaign to draw up an education charter which would lay the basis for a democratic educational system.

A B Comm student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr. Teiwo Mosebeni, was elected national president.

The vice-president is Mr Y Abba Omar, an honours student at the University of Durban-Westville.

Mr. Confidence Moloko, a fourth-year student at the Medical University of South Africa, was elected national secretary.

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Lotus River mass meeting rejects new proposals, Bills

MORE than 150 people attended an open meeting of the Lotus River and Grassy Park Residents' Association (Logra) at which residents expressed their total rejection of the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills.

The meeting also addressed by various speakers who all spoke about the need for residents to get involved in organisations which fought for their rights.

Mrs R. Williams, an executive member of the Lotus River and Grassy Park Residents' Association (Logra), told the meeting that the residents of Lotus River and Grassy Park should be united as this would make the fight to solve their problems easier.

ACCOMPLISHED

She referred to Logra and the work the organisation had accomplished during the past four years. Mrs Williams produced newspaper cuttings on some of Logra's victories.

Mr Wilfred Rhodes, chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), explained the importance of uniting under umbrella bodies to fight issues.

Residents present at the meeting unanimously decided to support moves to approach the Divisional Council. Logra will be meeting council officials on Thursday morning.
Youths disrupt election meeting

A MEETING of the Asinamali Party, held to drum up support for a "black city council," was disrupted by youths singing freedom songs and chanting slogans in the Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, on Sunday.

Mr Norris Mvelo Singaphi, former chairman of the community council, was shouted down.

After the meeting, cops used a loud hailer to order the youths not to sing or march in the streets.

"The disruption was intended to unmask political chameleons," said the president of the PE Youth Congress, Mr Mkhuelisi Jack. The meeting was organized to launch candidates for the September council elections.

In terms of the new Black Authorities Act, a community council will become a city council or village council on October 1.

Mr Jack said he and Cosas president Mr Zola Mtshe were later taken by cops in camouflage uniform to Algoa Park Police Station where they were questioned before being released.
COMMUNITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Inkatha has everything to win — and a lot to lose.

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha must fight the local elections later this year.

If his bold bid for a third force is to have any real chance of success, he has to do this.

The Buthelezi-inspired front is aimed at forestalling government policies of making every black person live in an "independent" homeland or in an urban area under sufferance.

A key ally in the third front is Lebowa's Chief Minister, Dr Cedric Phatudi.

Other key figures are the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntswanis, and the Chief Minister of Kangwane, Mr Enos Mabuzza.

Another possible participant is Mr Kenneth Mapela's Dinaka Party in Qwaqwa.

To make this alliance really powerful, however, it needs to capture the urban areas.

This will show that the third front has roots and support not only in non-independent homelands, but also in the urban areas.

And it will show that Inkatha is not merely based in Natal — and that is not just a Zulu ethnic movement.

The development of this strategy will be a serious challenge to both the United Democratic Front and the Black Consciousness-inspired National Forum.

If Chief Buthelezi and his allies can muster solid support in the urban areas of the Transvaal, particularly Soweto and the East Rand, they will become very powerful.

With a claimed membership of 750 000, Inkatha would be the biggest-ever black political organisation in South African history — and victory later this year in the urban areas would bolster its position and its strategies.

But this strategy has big dangers.

Low polls and apathy, like those which brought Mr David Tethbanali to power, would be disastrous.

Not only would it show lack of support, but it would reinforce UDF and NP criticisms that Inkatha is legitimising apartheid and making the system work.

It may also provoke huge antagonism from Pretoria which already has a love-hate relationship with Chief Buthelezi.

But the Alliance believes the linking of black people opposed to the independence of the homelands in this way could show that the system can be used to destroy apartheid.

It would mean that the Government will not be able to ensure that even the majority of black people live in "independent" states.

Recently, Chief Buthelezi and a number of his senior Ministers visited Lebowa, and the Chief Minister made a hard-hitting speech for the first time of the development of the third force alliance.

Chief Buthelezi has said that Inkatha would stay out of the local authority elections later this year on the grounds that they were part of the Government's overall constitutional plan.

He may stick to this course, but the temptation of Inkatha and its allies becoming the dominant party in the Soweto City Council as well as in other areas of the Rand may be too great.

It would certainly give substance to the Buthelezi/Phatudi strategy with the majority of black people openly rejecting "independence" and living outside "independent" homelands.

But it is certain to raise the anger of the Government, whose new "crown prince", Mr F. W. de Klerk, said at the end of the Parliamentary session that it was still Government policy to lead all the homelands toward independence, and it could result in the recalcitrant homeland governments being punished, with reduced grants from Pretoria and even less co-operation.

The prize, however, for the third force is the possibility of becoming the dominant black political movement in South Africa today.

In the circumstances participation in the local elections later this year may be unavoidable.
ASSASSIN ON THE LOOSE

By TEBELLO RADEBE
CONFUSION reigns over the identity of the hired assassin believed to be behind the deaths of two community leaders who were on an alleged "sellout" hit list.

The assassin's latest victim was Mr. Jacob "JR" Ratale, an ex-mayor and former Lebowa Member of Parliament.

Police have appealed to the public to come forward with any information they may have which could help to solve the mystery of the assassin.

Balaclava
Eyewitnesses who saw the balaclava-disguised gunman pump seven bullets into the body of Mr. Ratale in his shop last week have given conflicting descriptions of what he was wearing.

According to one witness, the man was wearing a blue dustcoat, while another says he was wearing a khaki overcoat.

The hit list naming four targets of the assassin was found at the Daveyton Civic Hall shortly before the funeral procession of community councillor Mr. Andrew Nxumalo arrived at the hall last year.

Mr. Ratale was one of four councillors on the alleged hit list, together with Mr. Nxumalo. A third man, Mr. M K Manzini, has since died of natural causes.

The only survivor on the list is Mr. Tom Boya, the current "mayor" of Daveyton. Asked whether he had seen the death list, Mr. Boya said he had only heard people talking about it at the funeral of Mr. Nxumalo.

"However," said Mr. Boya, "I have received a number of phone calls threatening me with death since then."

Abusive
Police have confirmed that Mr. Boya has received abusive phone calls at his home. But, said Capt. Simon Tshabalala, head of the Daveyton Police, "we do not have any knowledge about the hit-list, we do not even know whether the motive behind the list is political."

He added that police are investigating the possibility that three other men, not connected to the Community Council, have been killed by the assassin since 1980.
MY LIFE WAS IN DANGER

THE eldest son of Aubrey Masheshia Mahlaba – gunned down near the Lamontville cemetery in May – fears for his life and has asked to be transferred from his school.

Xolani Mahlaba, 15, a Standard V pupil at Baatuvukani Higher Primary School, was forced out of his school by threats of reprisals and insults from other pupils.

His mother, Mrs Sylvia Thembi Mahlaba, told City Press that Xolani could no longer stand being treated like a piece of dirt just because of his father's transgressions.

His school teacher, Mr Ntobeko Mbhele, said Xolani was a bright scholar whom other children referred to as “Kepisi Elimhlohe” after his father, who always wore a white cap.

When he asked for a transfer it was granted.

Murder

Mr Mahlaba would have faced a charge of murder with the Mayor of Lamontville, Mr Moonlight Gasa, and others, in connection with the death of Lamontville community councillor, Mr Harrison Dube, shot dead at his home on April 25.
SOWETO’S mysterious new political party which says it aims to oust “mayor” David Thebehali in the community council elections was experiencing severe birth pangs — even before being born yesterday.

Key figures approached to form the new party, the African League, have refused.

Journalist Meshack Mabogoane, who describes himself as secretary general of the party, last night invited top Soweto personalities to help launch the African League. The party says it wants to oust Mr. Thebehali from the Soweto seat to replace him with somebody “more relevant.”

Mabogoane is former editor of the defunct magazine, African Impact, who presently writes on showbiz for The Star.

Percy Qoboza, former editor of the banned World and Post newspapers, Mrs. Debra Mabiletso, an executive with the Urban Foundation, Mrs. Hope Ramaphosa, Mr. Douglas Lowlane, and business people like Mr. Roel Khoza and Mr. David Pooe, are among those approached.

The list of those approached was kept secret until late yesterday.

Mr. Qoboza, Mrs. Mabiletso and Mrs. Ramaphosa said their names were being used and did not wish to serve in the new party.

“I was approached and I turned it down. I don’t want to add to the existing division among blacks. I’m not a politician,” he said.

“I’m being used. People who are behind this thing are being mischievous,” said Mrs. Mabiletso.

Mrs. Ramaphosa also said she was out of it.

Political observers have meanwhile written off the African League arguing that it would not be able to make the Soweto Council viable if it grabbed control of it. They see it as an attempt to take advantage of the Black Local Authorities Act and to mobilise blacks “within the system.”
League shuns boycotts

By EZRA MANTINI

An influential group of urban blacks has decided to abandon the politics of boycott and to contest the local council elections later this year.

Mr. Mashack Mabogoane, secretary-general of African League told the Sunday Times the party was planning a new launch after its inaugural meeting was aborted because of Press leaks.

"We are working on the manifesto, campaign, strategies and organisation of the new party," he said.

It is believed that former supporters of the Committee of Ten may be involved in the African League.

Yesterday Dr Nthato Motlanza said his Committee of Ten would meet on August 7 to discuss the ideals of the new party.

"We will only issue our statement after that meeting," he said.

The League hopes to introduce an about-face in black politics, steering away from boycott tactics to participation.

Its plan is to work "within the system" to gain control of all councils in the September elections and run them along party and national lines.

A public proclamation of the League's aims and policies is now expected in about three weeks.

"Part of our manifesto will be that we would promote cultural, social and economic welfare among blacks throughout the country," said Mr. Mabogoane.
Row over secret report on Brutus

By IAN DRODIE
Los Angeles

PROFESSOR Dennis Brutus, the black South African poet fighting deportation from the US, has been linked to subversive groups in a secret and controversial State Department report.

The report was handed to a judge in Chicago last week to support the Government's claim that Professor Brutus should not be granted political asylum.

The deportation order was based on violations of immigration laws by Professor Brutus, said an Immigration Service spokesman.

The refusal to let the poet or his lawyers see the report has touched off a blazing illegal row.

They are planning to fight through every possible channel of appeal to see the report and answer its charges.

Confirmation that it tied him to leftist came from government sources who refused to identify the groups.

Secret reports are not unprecedented in deportation cases although they usually cause a firestorm.

A frequent reason for secrecy is that the Government does not want undercover sources exposed.

Professor Brutus has been battling deportation since 1981 when his bid for permanent residency was denied.

For the past 10 years he has lived in the US on temporary visas.

Fear

During that time he became Professor of African and English Literature at Northwestern University in Evanston, near Chicago.

Professor Brutus is said to fear persecution or death if forced to return to South Africa or his native Zimbabwe, where he was born to South African parents.

The State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs agreed in an advisory opinion submitted to immigration authorities that Professor Brutus has "a well-founded fear of persecution in South Africa."

However, they rejected his

FEARS PERSECUTION

DENNIS BRUTUS

fears of persecution in Zimbabwe.

Professor Brutus was arrested and imprisoned in South Africa in the early Sixties when he defied a Government ban by attending a meeting to argue for the exclusion of South African athletes from the Olympics.

He is regarded as having been instrumental in getting South Africa expelled from the Olympic movement.
Meeting calls for Mandela's release

MORE than 1 200 singing and shouting people yesterday urged the Government to release the former leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, and his other colleagues from life imprisonment.

The call was made at a ceremony to celebrate Mandela's 63rd birthday at St Anthony's Hall, Centenary Road, Durban.

The meeting, which was convened by the Release Mandela Committee, was addressed by Mrs Gladys Manzi of Umlazi, Mr Patrick Lekota, a former SASO official who was recently released from Robben Island, Mr Russel Npanga, Mr Archie Gumede, president of the RNC, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, a member of the RNC, and Mr Mewa Rangobin, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress.

Also present at the meeting were recently unbanned black leaders Mr David Gaza of Umlazi, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr George Seewersad and Mr Pravin Gordhan of the NIC, and Prof Fatima Meer of the University of Natal.

The meeting was characterised by the continuous singing of freedom songs and slogans.

The platform was adorned with flags of the ANC and the 'Freedom Charter'.

Speaking in Zulu, Mr Mpanga, who addressed his last public meeting in 1962 because of restrictions, told the enthusiastic meeting the problems of the country could only be solved at a national convention.

He said leaders in prison, in exile and those under restriction must be allowed to participate in such a convention.

Mr Rangobin, who was banned for 17 years, said that the Government should show the same compassion that President Albert Rene of the Seychelles had shown when he freed six mercenaries, four of whom had been sentenced to death.

'The dogs of war are pardoned. Now I challenge Mr P W Botha to release Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others from life imprisonment,' he said.
Mandela celebration

OWN CORRESPONDENT
DURBAN. — More than 1,200 singing and shouting people yesterday urged the government to release the former leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, and his colleagues from life imprisonment.

The call was made at a ceremony held at St Anthony’s Hall, Centenary Road, Durban, to celebrate Mr Mandela’s 65th birthday.

The meeting, convened by the Release Mandela Committee (RMC), was addressed by Mrs Gladys Manzi of Umlazi, Mr Patrick Lekota, a former Siso official who was recently released from Robben Island, Mr Russel Mpanga, Mr Archie Gumede, president of the RMC, Mrs Victoria Mzembe, a member of the RMC, and Mr Mewa Ramagobin, a member of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) executive.

Also present at the meeting were recently unbanned black leaders Mr David Gaza of Umlazi, Mr M J Naidoo, Mr George Sompersadh and Mr Pravin Gordhan of NIC, and Professor Fatima Meer of the University of Natal.

The meeting was enlivened by continuous singing of “freedom songs” and shouts of “Viva Mandela” and “Viva Luthuli”.

The platform was adorned with flags of the ANC and with the “Freedom Charter”.

Speaking in Zulu, Mr Mpanga, who had not addressed a public meeting since 1962 because of restrictions, told the crowd that the problems of the country could be solved only at a national convention.
Oscar Mpetha to head Front

By MONO BADELA
AILING Oscar Mpetha (74), the former Cape president of the now outlawed African National Congress (ANC) and who earlier this month was released on a RI bail, was unanimously elected president of the newly constituted United Democratic Front (Western Cape) in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Mpetha, who was convicted of terrorism in a court sequel to the 1980 Cape Town unrest, received a warm welcome from the more than 300 delegates representing some 14 organisations from worker, church, civic, students and religious bodies in the Western Cape.

CONFERENCE

He is also the chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association and the national organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU).

Delivering the main address of the two-day conference, Mr Mpetha said among other things: "We are all aiming at achieving a new South Africa. We cannot achieve that goal unless we are united. Unity is strength... The more we realise unity, the nearer we are to our goal... The National Party is in pieces because they are threatened by the unity of the oppressed people."

Mr Mpetha was also appointed, with nine others, as the patrons of the UDF. The others are the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress Mr Nelson Mandela, a black top theologian, Dr Alan Boesak, president of the South African Cricket Board of Control (Saccoc) Hassan Howa, banned Johny Issel, Christmas Tinto, lawyer Dhalia Omar, United Women Organisation (UWC) Amy Thorton and recently unbanned Andrew Borraine.
The Press was yesterday described as silly and accused of playing the newly formed National Forum (NF) against the Freedom Charter and of deliberately trying to dispute the "positive results" achieved by the NF.

At a Soweto branch meeting of Azapio held at the Orlando DOCC hall yesterday, Mr George Wauchope, who is in the sports secretariat of the organisation, said the Press tried to give the impression that the NF was formed to oppose the United Democratic Front.

Speaking in defence of the Manifesto of the Azanian People, adopted at the NF's conference held in Hammerskraal recently, speakers charged that the Freedom Charter entrenched ethnicity and that it was a document of a particular political persuasion.

CHARTER

Mr Sedupe Ramokgopa said the Charter stood for liberal democracy whereas the Manifesto stood for socialist democracy. He said the Manifesto, like the Charter, will have to be modified in future in response to the dictates of that society.

With regard to the recent school unrests in Soweto, the meeting accused the Department of Education and Training of having caused the unrests through its dishonesty in failing to keep its promises.
Commuters say they will walk to work

By JIMMY MATYU

COMMUTERS who attended a Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation Action Committee meeting yesterday decided to walk to work from July 31 as a protest against increased bus fares.

The decision was taken at a meeting in the Centenary Great Hall, New Brighton, which was attended by a large crowd, despite a heavy downpour.

Mr Graham Shields, manager of the Port Elizabeth Tramways, today said he had no comment to make at this stage on the issue.

He said the fare increases came into effect on June 5. The overall increase was 3c a trip.

A spokesman for the action committee said the "long walk" decision had been unanimous.

A statement after the meeting said commuters would continue walking to work, or to the city, until the bus company dropped the increases.

The meeting also asked young people to act in a disciplined manner during the walks.

It was also decided at the meeting that an anti-Community Council action committee be established at a meeting to be held in the new Daku Hall on Thursday, aiming to intensify opposition to Port Elizabeth Community Council election meetings.

Speakers also condemned an attack on members of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa) outside the new Daku Hall last Thursday.

A spokesman for the Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation (Ubcso) told the meeting, a decision on when to launch their own "long walk" in opposition to the busfare increases in Uitenhage would be taken at a meeting to be held in McNaughton township on Thursday evening.
Nkondo speaks out on Charter

DRAWN UP BY the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955, it forms the basis of the political programme of action of the progressive democratic movement in the country and of those organisations who adopted it.

These organisations constituted the Congress Alliance and comprised of the banned African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sacu).

The gathering, attended by 3,000 delegates, was probably the most representative in South Africa's history.

Although some of the organisations who adopted the Charter have been banned or dissolved, the Charter remains the standard bearer of the progressive movement, both inside and outside South Africa.

Various organisations such as the Congress of South African Students (Coss), the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) and a motley of other groups still adhere vigorously to its tenets.

There are, however, those organisations who are fervently opposed to the Charter and this opposition has created a historical demarcation of those who are for and those who are against the document.

Q. Why did you decide to bring this matter to the attention of the people? What does it mean to the government?

A. The South Africans, the people of the country, are living in a society that is controlled by a minority. The Charter seeks to establish a government that will be accountable to the people. It aims to address the grievances and aspirations of all South Africans.

Q. What is your strategy for implementing the Charter?

A. The strategy is to consolidate progress and create a perception in the minds of people that this Charter is being implemented. It is a continuous process of implementing the Charter's principles and provisions.

THE Freedom Charter has, and still is the rallying point for many in the struggle for liberation. This political document has been used as a barometer for political action, has come under sharp focus with the recent Azanian People's Manifesto. Mr. Curtis Nkondo, a former president of Azapo gives his candid views on the document he says is irrevocable.

Zwelake Sisulu, political bureau chief reports...

NKOndo: "We should tell no lies."
Mpetha to head new body

Staff Reporter

VETERAN trade unionist and community leader Mr Oscar Mpetha, whose appeal is pending against a five-year sentence for conviction on a charge under the Terrorism Act, has been elected first president of the United Democratic Front.

More than 400 delegates and observers from over 20 civic, religious and cultural organisations yesterday attended the launching of the UDF at St George's Cathedral.

Formed in broad opposition against the government's constitutional proposals, the organisation was launched after months of negotiations over objectives, strategy and the composition of the body leading the campaign.

Some trade unions, which participated in earlier meetings, have decided not to play an official role.

According to those involved, the UDF represents the largest cross-section of organisations ever assembled in the coloured and black communities.

Among the organisations represented in the UDF are the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee, the umbrella body of 20 civic organisations; the non-racial Cape Youth Congress representing 20 youth bodies; the Western Province Council of Churches; the Islamic Council of South Africa; and the Muslim Judicial Council, representing 70 mosques.

Also represented were the United Women's Organisation which has 19 branches; the Western Cape Civic Association, the Western Cape Traders' Organisation; the Congress of South African Students; The National Union of South African Students; The Azanian Students Organisation; Young Christian Students; The Students' Movement for Christian Action; The Muslim Students Association; The Inter-Church Youth; The Ecumenical Action Movement; The Media Workers Association of South Africa and the Thornhill Residents' Association.

According to a media release, people "considered to be symbols of unity" were accorded patronage of the UDF.

These are Mr Nelson Mandela, Dr Allan Boesak, Sheik Nazeem Hammadm, Mr Johnny Issel, Mr Oscar Mpetha, Mr Hassan Bowa, Mr Christmas Tintó, Ms Amy Thornton, Mr Andrew Boraine and Mr A M Omar.

Mr Tintó and Mr Joe Marks were elected as vice-presidents while Mr Trevor Manuel and Ms Cheryl Carolus were elected secretaries. Mr Boraine and Mr Rashid Saria are the treasurers.

Our unity

The organisations adopted a declaration reflecting the new Constitution, and the "Kroonhof" Bills affecting Africans, and committing themselves to resist these in all forms.

The declaration states that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it", that the government must be based on the will of the people, and advocates "a belief in a single South Africa free from racial, ethnic and sexual divisions and economic exploitation."

After his election as president, Mr Mpetha said the National Party was "in pieces" because it was being threatened by "our unity."
The People Shall Govern

Q: There are those who say that the Charter never moved beyond its initial 1985 formulation, but is it a living document?

A: In answer to that, I would like to refer to a recently published article which said that, "society has changed so that some of the things raised in the Charter are considered.

I respect this critical approach and in fact I believe that this approach is the critical evaluation of a historical document. But I become worried when people refer to certain "thing"s in the charter which are outdated. Which 'things' are those? It would have been an advantage to those who do not have the fall knowledge of the Charter to have been told exactly what those 'things' are.

Former president of Azapo, Mr Curtis Nkondo, gives his candid views on the significance of the Freedom Charter — a document he feels is as important today as when it was first drafted in 1955. Zwelakhe Sliulub, chief of our political bureau, continues with his report...

A: In a sense it does transcend time in that what is true today, and even tomorrow, will be true tomorrow.

Q: Is it your view that there will be no need to review or reassess it after liberation?

A: It is important for people to look closely at the Charter and see what it offers. If there is a need to have another look at the Charter after liberation then of course it is another Congress of the People that can take such a decision.

Q: Do you feel offended by the tag of Charterist?

A: No, not so, I am happy, it's a compliment because it means that I am not a racist and that I am in the struggle for geusal change, the struggle for the creation of a new man and a new society.

Q: How do you then as a Charterist view the recently held National Forum Conference?

A: The importance of the National Forum Conference is that people are beginning to look critically into the process of liberation and I am very happy that they are beginning to see issues in a different perspective.

Q: What is your view on the recommendation that the Charter be passed to a new generation?

A: It has been said that actually the Manifesto is a development from the Freedom Charter, what do you say to that?

Q: At: We cannot talk about a development from the Charter at this stage when the Charter itself is a document that has not been met. If all the demands of the Freedom Charter had been met then perhaps a Manifesto would be relevant. This, however, does not stop people from thinking ahead, but at the same time they should realise that their activities at the moment ties in seeing that the demands of the Charter are accomplished entirely.

Q: Does this mean that the Manifesto should not have been drawn up in view of the existence of the Charter?

A: At: A Manifesto can only succeed when the Manifesto is a representation of masses, because the masses would have the Charter, and the Manifesto in another. It may suggest that the living documents are always for the masses.

Q: Is it possible to reconcile the Freedom Charter and the African People's Manifesto?

A: I don't think so. I said earlier the Manifesto at this point in time should be regarded as an appendix. It can only be implemented when the demands contained in the Charter have been implemented.

Q: One of the criticisms of the Charter is that it entrenches minority rights?

A: At: Where in the Charter is there reference to minority rights? The Charter says nothing about entrenching minority rights.

Q: What does it say that 'All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages and to develop their own folklore and culture'. This is not an entrenching minority rights because everybody has equal rights. If all people have equal rights there can be no minority rights. The idea of entrenching minority rights is merely a new form of apartheid.

Q: The other criticism is directed at the fact that the Charter is silent on human rights. It reads: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

A: At: The main principle that runs through the Freedom Charter is non-racialism which means that every South African, irrespective of colour, sex or creed has the right to live in the country.

Q: What are the major differences between the Charter and the Manifesto?

A: Some people say that there is a difference of ideology but it seems to me that there is more than that.

Q: Perhaps the major difference is that the Charter contains the antidote while anti-racism does not one group does not concentrate the programme with the progressives are clearly identified to condemn the atrocities and support the Charter.

Q: Some people have described the Charter as a liberal petit-bourgeois document, William Naude has referred to it as a revolutionary document.

Q: What is your reaction to this view about the difference of ideology between non-racialism and liberalism?

A: There are some who say that there is a difference of ideology but it seems to me that there is more than that.

Q: Perhaps the major difference is that the Charter contains the antidote while anti-racism does not one group does not concentrate the programme with the progressives are clearly identified to condemn the atrocities and support the Charter.

Q: Some people have described the Charter as a liberal petit-bourgeois document, William Naude has referred to it as a revolutionary document.
Cosas launches new branch

Move to unite youth groups

A REGIONAL youth organisation, which is part of a drive for the establishment of a national youth organisation, will be launched in Soweto at the weekend.

The need for a national youth organisation was taken at an annual conference of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) last year.

To date, two youth organisations have been formed and these are the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Cape Youth Congress.

The regional organisation will be launched at the YWCA hall on Sunday and speakers will include Dr Nthato Motlana and Father

By ZWELAKHE SISULU

Smangaliso Mkhathwa, the secretary of the Catholic Bishop's Conference whose banning order expired recently.

STRUGGLE

"The organisation is aimed at co-ordinating and consolidating all youth activities into a cohesive, collective and objective action," Mr Oupa Monareng, a member of the steering committee said.

The organisation will embrace church, political, cultural, educational and sports groups. "The struggle waged in the community should be interlinked and the youth should serve as the people generating activity," Mr Monareng added.

His committee believed that the greater participation of youth in the struggle for a democratic society could be attained by consolidating at a local level before moving to a national level.

Mr Mkhathwa will read a paper on "The role of the Christian youth in society" and Dr Motlana will speak on the history of the ANC youth league.

The former chairman of the Soweto SRC, Mr Sechaba Monatsi will address the congress on the role of the students.
NEW YORK — Anti-apartheid campaigner Dennis Brutus is facing deportation from the United States because the US Government believes he has communist connections in South Africa, Mr Brutus’ lawyer said this week.

Brutus is fighting a deportation order in a Chicago court in a case which has brought him widespread sympathy in the American newspaper and television media.

His lawyer, Miss Susan Gosh, said from Chicago this week that it was now unlikely that there would be a verdict until late this year because the State had asked for more time to present its case.

Miss Gosh complained that she had not been allowed to see “classified information” which had been presented to federal district judge Irving Schwartz by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service in support of its application for Mr Brutus’ deportation.

The case started last week Monday and Miss Gosh said that she had requested the judge to tell her what the information related to. “He merely said the information concerned Mr Brutus and organisations of a certain type in South Africa.”

Asked what kind of organisations the judge was referring to, Miss Gosh said: “We’re not talking about ping-pong or anything like that. I think this means communist organisations.”

Miss Gosh has called witnesses during the past week to testify to the dangers Mr Brutus would face if forced to return to southern Africa.

She said that her belief that the classified information branded Mr Brutus as having communist connections was strengthened by the judge’s questions to one of the witnesses, Albie Sachs, a white South African lawyer who now lives in Mozambique.

She said Judge Schwartz has asked Mr Sacks if Mr Brutus was a communist.

The 59-year-old Mr Brutus, a professor of African and English literature at Northwestern University, has been fighting deportation for a year and a half, arguing that he would become a target for assassination by the South African secret police if forced to return to southern Africa.

Mr Brutus was born in Zimbabwe but educated in South Africa, where he was imprisoned and shot.

Miss Gosh said she was now waiting to see how the Immigration Service would respond to witnesses she has put before the court.

“The Government has asked for a continuance (of the hearing) and I think they are buying time,” she added.

The case has received widespread coverage in American newspapers, with such influential publications as the New York Times supporting Mr Brutus in his fight to stay in the US. — SFS.
FORMER Azapo boss
Mr Curtis Nkondo ends
his thought-provoking
interview on the
Freedom Charter with
political bureau chief
Zwelakhe Sisulu.

The
Charter
is a
unifying
force

A: Those are mere
cliches that are easily
bandied around and
often used by people
who have not paid so-
rious attention to the
document. It is impor-
tant that when one
criticises one should
do so from first hand
knowledge and not
hearsay. The Charter
is a document that
aims at transforming
society — the defi-
nition I leave to you.

Q: Is the Charter a
nationalistic docu-
ment?
A: Yes, but not in a
narrow sense. It is a
unifying force, uniting
all the people of the
country.

Q: But what type of
economic programme
does it envisage?

SOCIALIST
A: A socialist one
most certainly. Each
clause in the Charter
exudes socialism.
What the Charter says
is that we are fighting
colonialism, imperial-
ism, monopoly capital-
ism, in fact capitalism
in its entirety and any
form of dictatorship.
The national wealth of
our country, the heri-
tage of all South Afri-
cans, shall be restored
to the people’ this is
what the Charter says.

Q: Is the Freedom
Charter accommoda-
tive of Black Con-
sciousness?
A: The Freedom
Charter leaves the
door open to all those
who are struggling for
genuine liberation. I
have already said that
the Charter is accom-
modative of all our
people who are genu-
ine in their quest of lib-
eration.

STRUGGLE
Q: How do you see
the struggle in South
Africa developing?
A: All I can say is
hat I rely on Amilcar
Cabrals dictum that
we should tell no lies
and claim no easy vic-
tories. He also said
we are not fighting
he Portuguese, but we
re fighting coloni-
listism’. In our struggle
or a non-racial demo-
ocratic society, Cabrals
undoubtedly an influ-
ence.
NIC leaders to lead protest

Mercury Reporter

The recently unbanned leaders of the Natal Indian Congress will be the main speakers at a meeting in Durban tonight, called to protest against the South African Indian Council's take-over of Indian Education.

The meeting, which will be held in the St Augustine's Hall at 7.30 pm, is being convened jointly by 15 organisations.

Many Indian doctors, mainly members of the Durban South Doctors' Guild of which Dr R M Bux is chairman, have already lodged their protest by supporting a newspaper advertisement condemning the SAIC move. This resulted in Mr Amichand Rajbansi, executive chairman of the SAIC, lodging a complaint against the doctors with the Registrar of the South African Medical and Dental Council.

Mr Rajbansi told the Mercury yesterday that his invitation to Mr Pat Samuels, president of the Teachers Association of South Africa, and Dr Bux for a face-to-face meeting in the presence of the press on the SAIC and Indian education was still open.
New black youth forum

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A new organization intended to provide a political home for young people not at school or university will be launched in Soweto this weekend.

The Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO) will be launched at an all-day meeting on Sunday and will be addressed by a number of people recently unbanned or released from prison.

These include Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, Mr Dan Montsitsi, a former Soweto student leader who was sent to prison after the 1976 uprisings, and Father Simangaliso Mkatshwa, the recently unbanned general secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Dr Nthatho Motlana will open the meeting at 10 Sunday morning with a talk on the history of the ANC Youth League, of which he was a member before its banning in the early 1960s.

Mrs Sisulu will close the meeting that evening with a talk on the importance on the recently formed United Democratic Front.

Mr Montsitsi will talk on the role of students in South Africa and Father Mkatshwa on the role of Christian Youths.

Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organization, and Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, former head of the Teachers' Action Committee, will also participate.

According to a spokesman for the steering committee, SOYCO was originally conceived at a meeting of the Congress of SA Students (COSAS) last year.

It was intended to cater for those young people who were not students or scholars and therefore could not belong to organizations like Cosas or the Azanian Students Organization (AZASO).

The group will incorporate local church, cultural, sports, education and political groups and will "co-ordinate and consolidate all youth activities into a cohesive, collective and objective action".

It will link up with the recently formed Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PAYCO) and Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) and the intention is to eventually link these and other youth bodies into a national youth organization.

The spokesman said SOYCO would work closely with AZASO and COSAS and would probably join the United Democratic Front. It was expected to endorse the Freedom Charter, he said.

SOYCO will be one of a number of organizations launched in the past few months who are now members of the UDF. These include the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Anti-FC Committee and the Transvaal Anti-Community Council Committee.
While SA fasts to recall Mandela’s birthday...

THE giant music festival of African jazz organised by Julian Bahula and other South Africans in London, to commemorate the birthday of Nelson Mandela, attracted more than 3000 people.

The 12-hour concert featured Bahula, trumpeter Hugh Masekela, Dudu Phokwana and his group, Zila and the famous West African chart-toppers Osibisa.

The Alexandra Palace stage was dominated by an enormous bust of Nelson Mandela.

"The concert was such a resounding success that I will organise one every year until one day, Nelson Mandela himself will be able to attend," said Bahula.

The concert also marked the first time that Hugh Masekela performed in London although he had studied in the city some years ago.

He made a profound impression, and his horn blowing created a lump in the throats of many South African exiles in the audience.

The music may have been as sophisticated and elegant as his cream suit, but a lament about the train carrying migrant workers to the mines, or the ranting District Six and Sovietz for which he was joined by a cheerful flash of street dancers and singers, showed that his art is still firmly rooted in the life and problems of his home country.

In South Africa however, Mandela’s birthday was observed with a day of silence and fasting.

"We will fast until any father comes back from jail," said Mandela’s daughter, Zindzi.

Hugh Masekela blowing it big at London’s giant African Jazz Festival to celebrate Mandela’s birthday on July 17.

Masekela played to a crowd of more than 3000 at the 12-hour festival of African jazz held at London’s Alexandra Palace.

Some spectacular dancing added to the music of Julian Bahula’s “Jazz Afrika.”

Julian Bahula in a thoughtful mood at the African Jazz festival in London on July 17 marking Nelson Mandela’s birthday.
ANC tape does not mean man is guilty — defence

Mail Reporter

DEFENCE counsel submitted in a Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday that a cassette published by the African National Congress did belong to a Soviet man who was charged with taking part in the activities of the ANC.

However, Mr. D. Kuny, SC., defending Mr. Peter Thembo Moloi, 28, and Mr. Jacob Mashaba, 36, of Soweto, said Mr. Mashago was not guilty of taking part in the activities of the ANC or furthering its aims.

Both men are charged with taking part in the activities of the ANC or alternatively, with furthering the aims of the ANC and possession of ANC publications.

They have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

In his argument, Mr. Kuny submitted that a cassette was found in Mr. Mashago's possession at a bar in the De Klerk Hotel on September 1 last year.

However, Mr. Kuny said there was not enough evidence to say that people were listening closely to the cassette, while it was played in a noisy and crowded bar.

"By their mere presence on the tape issued by the ANC cannot mean they were taking part in the activities of the ANC, especially if they were drunk," he said.

Mr. Kuny asked for Mr. Moloi to be acquitted on all charges.

Though the police said they found a cassette, alleged to have been published by the ANC, in Mr. Moloi's room, this was denied by Mr. Moloi, he said.

It was reasonably true that the cassette did not belong to Mr. Moloi.

He said the police had given Mr. Moloi a receipt for cassettes they took from him, but failed to give Mr. Moloi a receipt when they later took cassettes from him.

The State asked for Mr. Moloi to be convicted on the charge of possession of an ANC publication, and for Mr. Mashago to be convicted of the same charge for furthering the aims of the ANC.

The magistrate, Mr. J. J. Luther, reserved judgment until August 9.

Cat owner is fined R200 over injuries

Mail Reporter

A KENSINGTON man was fined R200 on four months' bail in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday for not providing veterinary treatment for his cat.

Basil Laurence Thompson, 56, pleaded not guilty to charges under the Animal Protection Act.

He said he was not aware his cat was injured, as he had not seen it for two days.

The black-and-white tom-cat was found in his front garden by inspectors of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Its top and lower jaws were broken. It had lost its right eye, and there were several lacerations. Maggots were crawling around its head.

Dr. L. Land told the court that the cat could have had its jaws wired and the lacerations attended to.

Western labels offend Soviets

Mail Correspondent

MOSCOW. — For the Russian guards of good taste and communist morality, "Adidas" is an offensive word.

So are "Marlboro", "Levis", "Philip Morris" and any of the other foreign brands found in the Moscow hero. His clothing, labels or stickers which young Russians love to display on almost everything they wear or own.

After last year's Press attack on a Moscow bar for having the word "Marlboro" in lights, another Press commentator has denounced similar manifestations of alien ideology.

"Bourgeois ideology is trying every way it can to implant in the Soviet consciousness a cult of consumerism," said a reporter for the newspaper "Kommunist." He pointed to foreign designs on T-shirts, long-sleeved garments for Soviet motorists, foreign advertising stickers in the windows of Soviet cars, foreign pop songs and foreign labels on shoes and clothing.

The writer acknowledged that, because of Russia industry's failure to produce alternative designs, people were buying smuggled clothes or black-market items with imitation Western brand names.

Everyone speculated that provided these goods was "potential traitor," the article said.

Exhibition com- waits on council

Mail Reporter

MIDRAND TOWN COUNCIL has delayed a decision on a planned R34 million industrial exhibition complex — Xihiti Park — because it has been inundated with complaints from residents.

Yesternight Mr. Francois Roux, co-ordinator of the private consortium undertaking the project, said: "The council were due to make a decision at this month's meeting, held on Tuesday, but they delayed considering the application because they have been inundated with complaints from residents."

Mr. Roux said he was personally replying to 61 complaints, of which seemed to be a petition.

He said the majority feared that soccer matches would be staged in the amphitheatre of the complex.

I have contempt royalty, court

WELLINGTON. — A Maori protector, who bared his bottom at the Prince and Princess of Wales, told a court yesterday the bear to the British throne had only his family to set him apart from "millions of other upper class twits."

When he first courted the day, Mr. Miki, said: "I refer to my back. My back did not have six pleated guilts for royalty."

Mr. Miki himself as a raider, subsequent enter a plea.

Maori that button puts in the opposition, the court has been ongoing.
City man declines patronage of UDF

Staff Reporter

CAPE TOWN advocate Mr A M Omar has declined to accept the patronage conferred on him at the launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) at St George's Cathedral on Sunday.

Mr Omar said he had not been present at Sunday's meeting and did not know he had been nominated and elected. He said he had no wish to hold a position on the UDF.

The Students' Union for Christian Action (SUCA), named in a Press release by the UDF as being represented at the meeting, has pointed out in a statement that members were there only as observers.

SUCA will decide only on August 22 whether or not to join the UDF.
Youths form united front

By TOM GWEBU

Saulsville/Atteridgeville, 28 July

THE LEAD for a united front to serve the aspirations of the youths in Atteridgeville/Saulsville has prompted various church, sporting, cultural and youth groups, including Cosas, to form a new organisation.

Known as the Saulsville Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo), it will strive to create a spirit of trust, responsibility and understanding among the youth of the townships.

Sayo will also involve itself in matters affecting the outlook of the youth in relation to non-racial, democratic principles.

Another objective will be to articulate demands and aspirations and also to discuss cultural, economic and political problems affecting the community of the township. The office comprises: Deacon Mathe (President), Sam Moradoba (vice), Cedrick Kekana (general secretary), Stola Mambolo (vice), Oupa Masuku (organiser) and Tshepo Motlana (treasurer). Three other members were also elected to serve in the community.
Report of burnt car in Mxenge slaying

Mercury Reporter

An Indian businessman yesterday told the Umhlazi inquest Court, investigating the death of Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge, that he feared being friendly with the police at the border. This was because terrorists had often crossed over from Swaziland into South Africa close to his store on the border near Piet Retief.

Mr Ahmed Munsoor, 39, said the security police had always visited him because of an unguarded pass into Swaziland outside his store.

He said he kept away from them because he felt his life would be danger.

In earlier evidence Mr Munsoor said he was told by a Swazi woman shopper on Monday November 23 of the burned-out car in a pine plantation not far from the shop.

She told him that about 10 am that she touched the car and it was cold.

Under cross-examination by Mr Tembile Skweyiya, the advocate appearing for Mxenge's family, Mr Munsoor said two sets of policemen had visited him inquiring about the car. He did not know how many had come or what race they were.

Reply

He also did not remember making a statement or taking the oath when he did.

A document was given to him and he was asked to sign it. He did so after a policeman whom he knew had assured him that it was all right to do so, he said.

In reply to a question from Mr Skweyiya about his affidavit, Mr Munsoor admitted that he knew the woman who had told him about the car, and that it was untrue that she was unknown, according to his statement.

Mr Gert Potgieter, manager of the plantation, on which Mr Mxenge's burnt-out car was found, said he noticed a car burning on his farm about 11 am on Monday, November 23 - three days after the attorney had been killed.

He said he telephoned the police but they did not come out to see the car. A second call was made that evening and a policeman accompanied him.

W/O George Mason, of the Piet Retief police, told the Court that he had gone out to see the car on November 21 and made an entry into the occurrence book the following day.

Mr Skweyiya told the Court that he would be calling recently unbanned Mr David Gaika to give evidence.
BLACK POLITICS

Forces realign

The line-up in the battle for the "soul" of black political activism inside SA will be affected by an interesting new development in Soweto this weekend. A conference has been called to set up a Transvaal regional youth organisation under the auspices of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas).

Cosas subscribes to the Freedom Charter, which is also the blueprint of the United Democratic Front (UDF) of opponents of government's constitutional plans. Indeed, the constitutional proposals (which exclude Africans) provided the catalyst for the formation of various umbrella organisations opposed to them. The most recent is that of various homeland leaders to unite blacks under a federalist scheme.

The UDF, which thinks the differences in black politics are overstated, will meet on August 20 to elect national office-bearers. Its Transvaal branch will meet similarly in a fortnight.

The "charterists" were effectively challenged for leadership of the "struggle" by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), whose National Forum Committee (NFC) produced an alternative, more socialist "Manifesto of the Azanian People" at Hammanskraal last month.

The move signalled the realigning of activists outside government-created institutions between the charterists and NFC supporters, who are associated with the Black Consciousness (BC) philosophy of the late Steve Biko.

However, a casualty in the debate would seem to be BC as a political (as opposed to a cultural) programme of action. Indeed, some charterist sources say that the basic tenets of BC have been sacrificed for ideological stance of the Unity Movement, a Cape-based Leftwing group whose leading light, Neville Alexander, provided the NFC's ideological underpinning at Hammanskraal.

Interestingly, a number of previously BC figures, like Azapo's first president, Cyril Nkonde, have switched to support of the charterists. The allegiance of another hitherto BC group, the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwas), may be determined (and switched) at national congress later this year.

The Azanian Students Organisatie (Azaso), which had been in the BC-Aza camp, recently came out in support of the Charter — the "document of the people" drawn up in the 'Fifties.

An Azaso replacement — the Azami, Students Movement Azamzi — was quick formed in the NFC mould. Azamzi would seem to have been involved in the recent bout of school protests in Soweto.

Regional branches of the charterists mooted national youth organisation has reportedly already been formed in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere in the Cape. This weekend's Soweto launch of a Transvaal youth branch, speakers will include Zinzi Mandela, who last month criticised the NFC in all but name when she referred to "ideologically lost political bandits who diverted the struggle with their Marxist-Leninist missions." Soweto Committee of Ten chairman, Ntsho Motjana, will speak on the history of the ANC youth league, and recently unbanned theologian of the Catholic Bishops Conference, Father Smangaliso Mkhize, will talk on the role of Christian youth in society.

According to one charterist source, the period of "reactionary politics" can be expected on the black scene as some group produce more "radical documents" in a desperate attempt to appear more radical than the Freedom Charter."
ANC man found guilty on arms charge

MBABANE — A member of the African National Congress has been convicted by a Swaziland court for illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

Raymond Kekoanyatsi, of Daggakraal, South Africa — already serving a 28-day prison sentence imposed upon him in the Mbabane Magistrate's Court for illegal entry into Swaziland — was yesterday found guilty in the same court of possessing a pistol loaded with five rounds of ammunition, plus another eight rounds hidden in his socks.

Police said when they arrested and searched him in Mbabane about two months ago they found the loaded pistol hidden in his underpants.

Kekoanyatsi admitted he was a trained member of the ANC and that he had entered Swaziland illegally from South Africa, where he had been operating for the ANC.

Saps
Mines sign deal with another union

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

In another historic move, the Chamber of Mines has granted the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union access to recruit black workers in South Africa's mining industry.

The most interesting feature about the new-joined union is that its president, Mr. Letsatsi Mosala, is a labour secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Azapo has for a long time taken great interest in labour movements, but its involvement has mainly been limited to friendly, informal links with emerging unions.

Mr. Mosala has said that the union was independent of the organisation. He should be seen as a worker who must also exercise his rights in the community.

The union, which has a membership of over 11,000, is growing from strength to strength, and is planning to negotiate a recognition agreement on several issues.

"We have held talks over access to gold and coal mines, but the Chamber objected to some aspects of the union's constitution. We hope at the next meeting the objections will be clarified," he said.

A spokesman for the Chamber of Mines confirmed that they had granted the union access to recruit workers on their mines.
Police warning on bus boycott

Post Reporter

POLICE have issued a warning in connection with an attempted bus boycott planned to start on Sunday, saying any form of intimidation persuading people not to travel by bus will be seriously punished.

The Divisional Police Commissioner for the Eastern Cape, Brigadier J van Rensburg, said police would be prepared for action and anybody found guilty of intimidation was liable to a fine of R20,000 or imprisonment for 10 years or both.

The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) and the Port Elizabeth Youth Organisation will hold a joint meeting at 2pm tomorrow at the Roman Catholic Church hall in Kyazakele to discuss the proposed bus boycott.

PE Tramways issued a statement today saying bus services will operate normally next week.

The company also intends soon to introduce 10-ride unsubsidised clipcards which will not bear an expiry date. Holders will not have to pay the extra 10c peak-hour surcharge.
Police told me tsotsis killed Mxenge

Mercury Reporter
RECENTLY unbanned Mr. David Gaba yesterday told the Umlazi inquest Court on Durban attorney Griffiths Mxenge that a policeman had told him that the attorney had been with a woman and was killed by tsotsis.

Mr. Mxenge's body, with 45 stab wounds, was found at the Umlazi cycle track on November 20, 1961, and his burned-out car, which was a week old, was found in a pine plantation near the Swaziland border three days later.

Mr. Gaba said he arrived at the cycle track with Mr. Alex Maphalala, a Natal Mercury reporter, and noticed blood on the ground.

The police arrived a little later and while they were there black policemen had spoken ill about Mr. Mxenge, he said.

An argument developed between him and a black policeman when he said that Mr. Mxenge had been with a woman and had been killed by tsotsis.

Asked by Mr. Tembile Skweyiya, the advocate appearing for Mxenge's family, if he had given the police any details of Mr. Mxenge's car, he said he had not.

An attorney, Mr. Dominick Shezi, told the Court that he had accompanied Mr. Mbadha Mxenge, brother of the slain attorney, to the mortuary where they were given a plastic bag containing Mr. Mxenge's belongings.

Mr. Mxenge's shirt, which they had signed for, was not in the bag with his other clothes, he said.

A nightwatchman at the Umlazi Place of Safety, Mr. Zibokwakhe Doncabe, told the Court that he had noticed the fully clothed body of Mr. Mxenge at the cycle track.

He said it appeared as if the body had been dumped at the track.

Mr. Skweyiya asked the Court to record that an entry had been made in a police docket at 10 a.m. on November 20 — a few hours after Mr. Mxenge's body was found — about details of the attorney's missing car.

At the end of the hearing, the Magistrate, Mr. Victor Patterson, said he would have to sift all the evidence before making a finding — which he would do later.
Launching of youth group expected to attract throngs

THOUSANDS of people from throughout the Reef are expected to attend the launching of a Soweto youth organisation at the Dube YWCA on Sunday at 10 am.

Various youth, sports, political and education organisations are expected to attend the launching which will be addressed by Dr Nihato Motlana, Mr Sechaba Montsisi, Father Sjangaliso Mkhatshwa and Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

The establishment of the organisation is part of a drive to form a national youth organisation. Youth organisations already exist in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and the Vaal.

Meanwhile the Mohlahleng Civic Association will hold a general meeting at the local Anglican Church at 2 pm.

The meeting will discuss the anti-community council campaign and will be addressed by members of the Soweto Civic Association and Azapo.
All-race Youth organisation aims at unity

EAST LONDON — An organisation which aims to unite young people of all races has been established in East London.

The East London Youth Movement, whose name was linked to efforts to promote the boycott of Ciskei Transport Corporation buses this week, was established recently and now has about 30 members.

A member of the interim executive of the movement, Mrs Zelda Holtman, yesterday described the organisation as an “effort to respond to the demands of all young people whether they be cultural, political or economic”.

“People live past one another these days and we feel there should be more unity. We want to create a spirit of trust and understanding among our members,” she said.

The movement was the brainchild of a number of local young people who also became distressed at the sight of youths “loitering in the streets and on shop corners”.

“You feel so helpless about the whole situation, so we decided to start the group and to develop the young people’s creative skills and latent leadership qualities.”

Mrs Holtman said the group would seek to establish links with community youth organisations elsewhere and another priority was building good relations between parents and youths.

“We have a serious generation gap problem locally,” she said.

The group would also encourage parents to establish civic organisations which could effectively tackle their problems, ranging from bread price increases to accommodation facilities.

The group meets every Saturday afternoon in Buffalo Flats and discusses “whatever issues arise and affect members”.

A measure of success had already been achieved in resolving problems related to school studies, said Mrs Holtman. — DDR
Civic bodies slam fare increase bid

THE latest application by City Tramways for a bus fares increase is "complete madness" says the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac).

Cahac said City Tramways have both condemned the application for an 8.5 percent increase which comes about two months after a City Tramways increase of 12 percent.

A Cahac spokesman said City Tramways was trying to "squeeze blood from stone in a period when the fuel price has been decreased".

"The comment from Tramways that they did not benefit from the 12 percent increase is ludicrous.

"The workers were forced to pay the increase. Recession has prevented the workers from receiving wage increases, but the bosses want their pound of flesh."

"Cahac condemns this madness. The people must challenge the City Tramways to prevent this injustice," he said.

A Federation spokesman said his organisation was "disgusted at the audacity of City Tramways to again apply for increases in their fares".

"Tramways and their subsidiaries, who have, over the past few years, been regularly granted fare increases by the National Transport Commission, are, in our opinion, completely heartless, considering the huge profits they are making.

"Commuters, mostly of whom are workers, are being robbed of every cent they have. Wages have not been increased at all since the start of the recession, unlike the MP's who could vote themselves handsome increases".

DEPRECIATED

"Workers have had to face increased railfares, increased rentals and service charges, and increased food prices. In addition, the value of their money has depreciated to the extent that, whereas in 1970 a rand was worth 9.5 cents, it is now only worth 25 cents.

"F str. workers are faced with redundancies, retrenchments and dismissals, resulting in approximately 3 million workers being unemployed in the country.

"For how long are people expected to carry this burden?"

"The Federation, like other progressive organisations of the oppressed and exploited, condemns totally this further attack on the pockets of the people."

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Mandela fever grips Britain

BY JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — Mandela-fever is sweeping Britain as local authorities clamour to rename streets, gardens and other public facilities after the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

The current Mandela boom was sparked off by the London Borough of Camden, which decided to change the name of Selous Street in Camden — home of the Anti-Apartheid Movement — to Mandela Street.

Now a park in the east coast port of Hull is to be renamed Nelson Mandela Gardens, the Engineering Union has named its executive committee room after Mandela, and the Labour Party has invited him to attend its annual conference in October.

The renaming of facilities after Nelson Mandela is considered a significant breakthrough for the anti-apartheid lobby, which held a conference in March attended by 66 local authorities throughout Britain.

As a result, about 16 local authorities have already adopted anti-apartheid declaration and one — Newcastle-Upon-Tyne — has officially declared itself an "anti-apartheid authority."

It is contrary to English custom to rename streets after foreign — or even British — heroes.

This sudden Mandela boom has led a columnist in the British weekly news review — the Spectator — to suggest that the new unfashionable Carnaby Street should now be renamed Selous Street to compensate the displaced family name of Henry Selous, the Victorian painter displaced by Mandela in Camden.

And in a letter to the Spectator, a relative of the late Captain F. C. Selous, who was granted shooting rights in Matabeleland and Mashonaland in 1871 by Lobengula, said he believed that there were many people who would be sorry to see Selous Street renamed Mandela Street.

In the letter, Commander G. M. B. Selous said the Selous family had given "seven of its sons" to Britain in four generations this century.

Commander Selous said he earned his living in the Borough of Camden, gave employment to about 30 people and paid about R14 000 a year in rates.

Last Sunday, Mandela received the coveted United Nations Simon Bolivar Award for his "outstanding contribution to freedom and democracy.

He received the award jointly with King Juan Carlos of Spain.

Mandela celebrated his 65th birthday — after 21 years in prison — on July 18.

To commemorate the occasion the Borough Council of Greenwich conferred on him the freedom of the borough.
Plan to mobilise countrywide No

By ANTON HARBUR
Political Reporter

LEADERS of opposition groups throughout the country are meeting in Johannesburg this weekend to discuss the launching of a nationwide United Democratic Front (UDF).

This could mean that the Government's constitutional plans will face the opposition of a national organisation that combines certain unions and community, student, church and women's organisations.

The national body would bring together the regional UDFs that have sprung up in different parts of the country.

An announcement is expected on Monday.

The leaders meeting this weekend include Mr Archie Gumede, president of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Natal; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, prominent leader of the UDF in Transvaal; and Professor Jerry Coovadia of the Natal Indian Congress.

The UDF was originally suggested by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in January.

Since then UDFs have been formed in the Transvaal, led by Dr E Jassat; in Natal, led by Mr Gumede; in the Eastern and Western Cape, led by Mr Oscar Mpethe.

It is believed that these bodies will soon link up into a nation-wide organisation. A major launching will be held in Cape Town within a few weeks.
Anti-constitution campaign launch

By HUGH ROBERTON
Weekend Argus
Reporter

SOME of South Africa's most influential black, coloured and Indian leaders will gather in Cape Town on August 21 for a mass meeting to launch a national campaign against the Government's constitutional proposals and envisaged new legislation on urban blacks.

The meeting will bring together co-ordinating committees of the United Democratic Front already formed in the Western and the Eastern Cape, the Transvaal and Natal and will have the backing of hundreds of organisations around the country.

Committee

The Western Cape committee was elected at a meeting last weekend attended by representatives of about 50 organisations.

Groundswell

"Not for decades have we seen such a groundswell of political activity outside the white community," an organiser said today.

Among those who are to be invited to the August 21 meeting are Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

They are among many prominent South Africans who have given their backing to the UDF campaign, though they have declined to serve as office-bearers.

Campaign

Cape Town has been chosen to launch the national campaign not only because of the large number of community organisations backing the Western Cape committee, but because much of the UDF campaign will be directed at the coloured community, about 80 percent of which lives within a radius of 150 km of the city.

There has also been some pressure for a symbolic act of solidarity with blacks in the Western Cape because, organisers point out, they face more discrimination and hardship than blacks anywhere else in the country.
JAILLED ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been nominated for the post of chancellor at the University of Natal—a decision which is threatening to split student unity.

The university called for nominations because of the pending resignation of the present chancellor, Dr B.A. Armitage.

Various university bodies can submit nominations, and the Students Representative Council (SRC) decided on Mandela.

The SRC justified its choice by saying that Mandela was regarded with "immense popularity" in South Africa.

The SRC decision was slammed by one of the university's weekly newspapers which called it "strategically impragmatic, futile, and verging on petulancy."

The SRC was labelled as "pseudo-lefties" who had abused the "limited influence they had."
On one point blacks and Nats agree: they don’t like white liberals

AFRIKAANS students attending the Afrikaanse Studentenbond congress in Pretoria broke out in nervous titters when they heard the policies of the Progressive Federal Party described as conservative.

In a milieu in which the term conservatism had become synonymous with the right-wing politics of racism and the PPP was sometimes condemned as ‘unpatriotic’, a number of students were shocked to hear that the PPP was distinctly to the right of centre.

During an address on censorship, Stellenbosch University’s Professor Andre de Toul, a political philosopher regarded by many right-wingers as ‘oortelgig’ (over-enlightened), said the PPP would be placed at roughly the same point as the British white left, on the other hand, leans away from capitalism towards the socialist/Marxist mould.

"Yet there isn’t necessarily a large gap between the two," says former university lecturer Mr Guy Berger.

Mr Berger, who recently completed a two-year prison sentence after being convicted of being a member of a banned African National Congress, felt the bulk of South Africa’s white left had views which coincided with those of the French Socialist or British Labour parties. While a strict liberal was someone who “at best believed in a welfare state”, the white left might believe in heavy taxes for the very wealthy, said Mr Berger.

Preferring to use the all-embracing term ‘progressive whites’ to describe the group, Mr Berger said they definitely still had a role to play in South Africa.

“It is important that whites do have a commitment to South Africa, as the country has given them a lot and every person with a skill is a help, he said.”

Since his release from the maximum security prison in Pretoria, Mr Berger has worked with a group which aims at teaching communications and media skills to those who would not easily have access to them.

"Nusas head Ms Kate Philips agreed with Mr Berger, saying that her organisation shied away from the word ‘liberal’ because it did not see issues in terms of ‘institutionalised racism’.

"We don’t define conflict in these terms, but see it as a struggle over the access to wealth, land, resources and political power," Mr Philips said. "We are a progressive group and take this very seriously."

Frontline magazine, was also adamant about the importance of progressive whites. Describing himself as a realistic politician, former vice-president of the now defunct Liberal Party, said that while there was little formal place for white liberals in South Africa, their presence alone had an impact.

"There is no formal place for black political groupings either, but it is absurd to say that blacks don’t have a role to play," said Mr Wentzel.

"The mere fact that people seldom make speeches in this country without taking a swipe at liberals is itself a tremendous tribute," he said.

Meanwhile, two black leaders said this week that the main function of progressive whites was to prepare other whites for change.

"It is necessary," said Azapo’s Mr Saths Cooper, released in December after serving a six-year prison sentence, said it was the role of the white left to obviate future culture shock by preparing whites for change.

"The emphasis on race is something from which we are trying to move away, and we stand for a future Amania that is socialist, democratic and anti-racist," Mr Cooper, a black consciousness exponent, said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, also felt that whites should try to convert their fellow whites to an appreciation of the "wonderful goal of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.”

Report by ARLENE GETZ
Pretoia broke out in nervous titters when they heard the policies of the Progressive Federal Party described as conservative.

In a milieu in which the term conservatism had become synonymous with the right-wing politics of racism and oppression, the PFP was sometimes condemned as 'apolitical', a number of students were shocked to hear that the PFP was distinctively to the right of centre.

During an address on censorship, Stellenbosch University professor Andre du Toit, a political philosopher regarded by many right-wingers as "orbeelig" (over-educated), said the PFP would be placed at roughly the same point as the British Conservative Party on the international continuum of Left and Right.

Even by South African standards, the PFP was on the right of centre, he said.

Prof du Toit might have surprised the students, but many were frankly delighted when Inkatha Youth League member Mr Musa Zondi lashed out at the largely English-language National Union of South African Students (Nasas).

"We have no time for whites who try to be blacker than blacks," Mr Zondi said to widespread chuckles.

The reaction to his comment highlighted the curious network of student relationships in which the ASB is in speaking terms with the predominantly-Zulu Inkatha but has nothing to do with Nasas.

On a wider level, the student response was also indicative of the dislike of both black and white nationalists for the broad spectrum of white opinion that falls to the left of the PFP.

If questioned about this group, they would probably make derogative comments about the 'liberals' whose notions of civil rights and common franchise are suicidal for white minority existence.

Others, such as ASB president Andre Bartlett, would dismiss them as irrelevant, saying that the future of South Africa lies in the accommodation of its nationalist group.

It is not a new argument, but it has become increasingly significant in the face of the shifting political alignments among black consciousness and Freedom Charter supporters.

While few liberals have any concrete plans for action, and despite widely divergent schools of thought, all those interviewed this week believe their presence was significant.

Roughly, the group can be divided into white liberals and the 'white left'.

Broadly speaking, liberals believe in the rule of law, civil liberties and a majority-rulled, capitalist democracy.
ANC: Officials were suspicious

By Brendan Nicholson

Foreign Service

MAPUTO. Mozambican officials are believed to have been suspicious about the South African-registered light aircraft which made an unauthorized landing at Nampula five weeks ago because a large group of ANC members had just been moved into the area.

Sources in Mozambique said the bulk of the ANC personnel in Mozambique had been moved from the Maputo suburb of Matola to Triumph, just north of the city, and then on to

This follows negotiations involving the Mozambican, South African and US and were designed to take the ANC out of range of South African attacks.

The pilot of the aircraft, Mr Clive Ciastula, has been fined R5 400 or six months' jail after he had apparently said that he was running low on fuel but an inspection revealed the tanks were nearly full.

No charges have been laid against the passengers, South Africans David Tocch and Lucas Nel, and Frenchmen Alain le Bahem, J. Harvard and J. Auger.
'ONLY BULLDOZERS WILL MOVE ME'

"THey will have to bring in bulldozers to remove me from my surgery, or else I will not move," said Dr Abu-baker Asvat.

Dr Asvat has been ordered to move out of his surgery opposite Regina Mundi in Soweto by Sunday by West Rand Board chief director, C J Bemidenhout.

Dr Asvat, Azapo's chief health spokesperson, has been practising at the surgery for 13 years and has become a father figure to many squatters in the area.

This week, Dr Asvat had another quarrel with Finville township manager T F Bronkhorst at the squatters' camp.

Bronkhorst ordered him out of the area while Dr Asvat was attending to some squatters he had rehoused in a disused bus.

Bronkhorst ordered two of his police to eject him and said that he was trespassing.

[Image: Hardly Sun City, but a home for these squatters.]
PROMINENT black and white South Africans have made yet another strong call to the Government to release Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) serving life sentences.

The call was made at a large public meeting of about 2,000 singing and chanting people in Durban at the weekend and later by the leader of the official white opposition Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, and FFP MP, Dr Alex Boraine.

The Durban meeting, convened by the Release Mandela Committee, was held to celebrate Mandela's 63rd birthday and the 17th anniversary of the death of former Nobel Peace Prize winner and ANC president Sisulu Chief Albert Luthuli.

Mandela is being held at the Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town with other ANC leaders - Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Ahmed Kathrada.

Speakers included Release Mandela Committee chairman Archie Gumede, former Robben Island Prisoners Russel Mposa and Patrick "Terror" Lekota and formerly banned ex-president of the Natal Indian Congress Meva Ramgobin.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert said in a separate interview that Prime Minister P W Botha should take a leaf out of the book of President Albert Rene of the Seychelles when he released six white mercenaries, three of them South Africans.

The release of Mandela and other political prisoners would precipitate a national convention, which would be necessary to stave off the escalating spiral of violence in the country, he added.

Dr Boraine said he supported all pleas for clemency for Mandela and his colleagues.
YOUTH CONGRESS IS BORN

By KHULU SIBIYA

NINE months of hard work behind the scenes will finally bear fruit on Sunday at the launching of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco).

A six-person steering committee, formed last November, took up the task of forming a youth organisation in Soweto to "co-ordinate and consolidate all the youth activities in the townships".

The Soyco inaugural conference will be held at the Dube YWCA on Sunday, from 10am.

Steering committee chairman Oupa Monareng said this week the idea of a local youth was mooted at last year's Congress of SA Students.

"It was not easy. We had to work harder than ever before," said stern-faced Monareng.

Twenty-four Soweto youth organisations and prominent political, union and church leaders would attend the first conference.

Soyco will cater for non-scholars who do not qualify for Cosas (scholars) or Azaso (students).

Youth Congresses have been formed in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, and Mr Monareng says other regions will follow.

"We cannot work under the Soweto Civic Association, because of the limited role they play in the community. Our body will have a broader structure and will be autonomous," he said.

Soyco, he said, will work closely with all progressive organisations, like the Women's Federation Committee of 10, the Allied Workers' Union, the General and Allied Worker's Union (Gau), the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), the Anti-PC Committee and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"Young people will use this vehicle to voice all their aspirations, whether they are social, political, cultural and religious," he said.

The theme of the congress will be "Youth Involvement in Society" and speakers will include Dr Ntate Motlana, Father Smanqaliso Mkhatsiwa, Den Montsi, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Curtis Mondo, David Johnson, Zimle Mandela, Fanyana Mazibuko and Zwelethu Sisulu.