BLACK POLITICS - 1985

August
By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

The Khotso House offices of the United Democratic Front were raided by the Security Police yesterday and a volunteer worker, Mr Wilson Nkumpi, was detained, a UDF spokesman said today.

"He was alone in the office at the time of the raid and we do not know under which legislation he has been held."

In a statement issued by the UDF today the organisation denied any of its leaders had held talks — informal or otherwise — with the Government.

The statement also called on the Government to alter its present "disasterous" path and opt for peace by:

- Lifting the state of emergency.
- Releasing all detainees and political prisoners unconditionally.
- Withdrawing the troops from the townships.
- Unbanning all political organisations.
- Repealing all unjust laws.
Charter chatter and red herrings

KEN OWEN

Internally, since the government has banned both the SAPC and the ANC, it is more difficult to ascertain what has been happening (One of the reasons for perceiving communist conspiracies is that the law does not permit them to operate except by conspiracy). But the circumstantial evidence is accumulating.

Instructions

Firstly, the Freedom Charter, after vanishing from sight for 20 years, has suddenly been dusted off and is being promoted as though it were a new document.

It is, moreover, presented as having been accepted by a "Congress of the People" which was in fact a meeting of 3,000 delegates, representing four Congress organisations. The biggest of these was the ANC which, according to the US-based social scientist Edward Feit, probably had fewer than 100,000 members at the time.

Then the ANC has recently expanded its executive to include not only the well-known Joe Slovo but also Tony Mongale, the former ANC man in East Berlin, and Frances Mell, educated in East Germany, and a string of other Marxists. The ANC has been broadcasting from Luzaka instructions for a "people's war" which seem to form a pattern for much of what is happening in the townships, including the "elimination" of so-called collaborators.

Simultaneously, the followers of Azapo are being attacked as were all other ANC rivals, whether the PAC, the Africanists in the ANC, the Liberal Party, or Mashinini and the early Black Consciousness leaders.

Then, too, somebody did run up the hammer and sickle at Cradock. Some newspapers may prefer not to notice, just as they do not notice that speakers at meetings of the United Democratic Front regularly refer to each other as "Comrade"; but it did happen.

It is easy to believe that the clerics who were caught in pictures of the red flag were manipulated, both by those who ran up the flag and by those who photographed it. But this merely emphasizes that it is impossible, whenever somebody runs up the Soviet flag or the swastika, to protest or to leave. Symbols matter.

Defend it

All this does not mean that the turbulence in the townships is due to anything other than oppression and injustice; but it does raise the question whether Marxists are calling the tune in terms of tactics, terms, symbols and conditions for peace.

If so, where will it end? Will we, like the Poles in Warsaw or the democratic partisans in Yugoslavia, be sacrificed in the end to the Marxist dream of world revolution?

The issue cannot be ducked. The Charter calls for the nationalisation of mines and factories, for liberation of the land by those who work it and a centrally-directed economy.

Some interpreters of the Charter say these pledges mean that workers committees will run the factories, and so forth; Inniss says it means we shall have a capitalist democracy. The latter interpretation seems to me bizarre. But if it is true, why not say so? Why not come forward and defend the Charter, and show how it will protect private property, uphold capitalism and preserve the rule of law?

If it's defensible, defend it.

Alan Paton and Peter Brown and a number of other liberals met recently and decided not at this stage to revive the old Liberal Party.

That's a pity. We need an organisation to put forward the civilised alternative to apartheid — an alternative which is now viewed with such horror by many of the younger faculty at the universities that they can no longer distinguish between liberals and Nationalists.
Police ‘implicated’ in Boesak campaign

JOHANNESBURG. — Members of the security police were implicated in a “tricky tricks” campaign against Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front and a churchman, the SA Media Council has ruled.

Dismissing a police complaint against The Star, the Media Council said it had found that the security police had admitted that certain unnamed security police officers had distributed a pamphlet and tape recording alleging that Dr Boesak was having an affair with Mr. D. Scott, an official of the SA Council of Churches.

It also found that the officers had admitted that if they were charged they would deny having made the complaint.

The complaint was brought by the SA Police against The Star for reporting the incident earlier this year.

The Media Council findings, published here yesterday, are:

“Certain members of the security police, whose identities are not clear from the evidence, were implicated in the distribution of the pamphlet and tape recording to The Star and possibly to other newspapers.

“Colonel (CS) Scholtz and Colonel (P/L) du Toit had their distribution halted. They were both present at the distribution to The Star and possibly to other newspapers.

“Professor Strauss said that while he agreed with the findings, reference to the security police involvement with the pamphlet and tape recording should be changed from “distribution” to “deliberate”. He said that while the pamphlet and tape recording were distributed, they were not permitted to be delivered to The Star.

“Colonel Scholtz admitted that he had not been informed about the alleged affair.

“Dr. Scott and Colonel Du Toit told them of the pamphlet and tape and said that if this admission was published they would deny it.

Rejection

“Consequently, the complaint by the South African Police to the Media Council against The Star must be rejected.

The seven-member council committed to the clarity of the facts and the circulation of the pamphlet and tape recording, found that the investigation did not call for a ruling on the alleged extra-marital affairs.

The report in The Star on January 11 quoted the Security Police as saying that they had previously delivered pamphlets and tape to The Star and other newspapers.

Mr. Cohen had testified that after the meeting he “was left with the impression that the colonels thought they would not be implicated in any of the reports, however they said they would deny any allegations of their involvement...they would deny it if it were published.”

Scholtz and Colonel Du Toit, Miss Sten told them of the pamphlets, tape and her subsequent investigation and wanted to know if they were involved in the dissemination of the pamphlets.

Sophisticated

“Mr. Cohen had remarked that the quality of the surveillance was so sophisticated that only the security police could have been responsible,” the summary said.

Both reporters testified that the colonels had laughed at this statement.

“With reference to the dissemination of the pamphlet and tape recording to The Star and other newspapers, he (Mr. Cohen) asked: ‘Did you do it or not?’

“Colonel Scholtz answered: ‘We did’ and Colonel du Toit added: ‘Of course we did’.

“The tenor of the meeting had then changed, become more serious, and the colonels had further acknowledged, according to Miss Sten, that the statements were true. Colonel Scholtz said he was not surprised...because the allegations in the pamphlet were true.

“Under the circumstances it is difficult to come to any conclusion other than that they were aware of the content and that the reporters’ impression that the colonels knew the content was fully justified.”

To find out more, please read the full article on the next page.
Dr Allan Boesak  
**Agreed**

Professor Strauss said that while he agreed with the findings, referred to the security police involved with the pamphlet tape and should be charged with the "deliberation". He said that while the pamphlet tape was not in evidence, it was only when the Star published the information about the alleged affair that the information was "dismantled". For the first time legal personnel represented the parties involved in a complaint to the media council and were able to test the evidence of witnesses. Mr Sam Maritz appeared for the complainants and Mr S. Gilfers for the Star. The report in The Star on January 11 that gave rise to the removal of the article was headlined: "Police spies expose Boesak's love affair. Dirty tricks campaign with leading churchman." The police had complained to the media council that the allegations against the police were false, devoid of any truth and not an honest account of an inquiry into the report, and that the Star had improperly implicated the police in an improper and reprehensible manner. The council held that, as in the case of any civil or criminal hearing, the complainant was the only party to prove its case.

The seven who heard the complaint were public representatives Mr D. Bloom, Mr Gert Hugo and Professor S. A. Steyn, as well as members Mr Harald Paken- dorf, Mr Tertiuss My- burgh and Mrs I. Krause. In an additional to the findings, said he could not accept the security police information and the reference to the pamphlet, nor that the evidence justified the conclusion that only the security police could have been responsible.

"No investigation into the validity of the allegations was launched by the police in Johannesburg. From Colonel Scholtz's testimony, it also evidences that nothing was done by the Johannesburg branch. The allegations were also not taken up by General Stan Schutte, head of the security police, nor General Coetzee, the Commissioner of Police, nor anyone else.

"Despite the fact that The Star continued with its allegations on (eight) occasions, the police filed a complaint only after a report on January 25.

Not convincing

"The explanations by various witnesses for the delay were not convincing," the council said. "Not only one of the two colonels asked to see the pamphlet (during the interview with the reporters)." But when Miss Steyn said it became evident from her investigation that the allegations in the pamphlet were true, Colonel Scholtz said he was surprised because the allegations in the pamphlet were true.

"Under the circumstances it is difficult to know how things were other than that they were aware of the content and that the report of the press referred to, that they knew the content was fully justified," the council found.

"The council held that it was clear that unless some other organization was coincidentally, also investigating the Boesak-Scott relations at the same time as the security police, the conclusion is unavoidable that the source of information in the pamphlet was drawn from the information gained by the security police. The reporters' assumption that the colonels were eager to have the Boesak-Scott affair exposed was not supported, the council found.

"Colonel Scholtz's helpful and friendly attitude toward Mr Cohen when he directed an inquiry about Miss Steyn's marital status, and the consequent unrelated meeting, corroborated this. "All things considered, the council said, was 'obliged' to make the findings it had. — Sap
JOHANNESBURG. — The judgment of the Media Council on the security police and The Star is a small triumph for democracy, The Star said in an editorial yesterday.

"The significance of the judgment of the Media Council on the security police and The Star is self-evident. No doubt appropriate action will now be taken to stamp out any suggestion of illegal police operations and smear tactics. Secrecy, and the uncontrolled methods used in the name of 'security', can strangle the institutions they are supposed to protect. South Africa has gone too far down this path. Public accountability for secret operations is essential.

"Yet South Africans can be proud that their society permits an independent quasi-judicial body to investigate and indict the secret police. In only a handful of countries in the world would this be possible — and it has happened here, at the most difficult of times and in embarrassing circumstances.

"Overseas, the finding may puzzle the prejudiced, and confound the politicians who make sweeping statements about this 'police state'. A retired judge of the Appellate Division, some lawyers representing the public and some pressmen have refuted that generalization.

"The lesson for us at home is much more significant. It is that South Africans must stop averting their gaze when they perceive injustice or irregularity. Too often they shrug their shoulders dismissively and say, 'But what can I do?'

"Yes, it takes money and effort and time to challenge authoritarianism. But that is no reason for any individual to decline to speak out. The more people stand up and ask questions, the more responsive authority will finally become.

"The issue before the Media Council was one which many jurists around the world might have dodged. It was easy to look away. The Media Council did not blink.

"Apart from reminding the public of its duties, the finding should lead to searching questions being asked by the Commissioner of Police. Any actions taken by him and/or the Minister and Parliament can only restore confidence.

"If these actions are seen to be done, then the Media Council finding can be regarded as a gain for everyone." — Sapa
PRETORIA. — Reacting to the Media Council finding, the public relations division of the SAP issued a statement saying that the Commissioner of Police had taken cognizance of the finding.

It was also noted that:

- The finding confirmed that neither the SA Police nor any of its divisions were, as such, responsible for the fabrication or dissemination of the pamphlet or tape-recording in question.
- That two jurists, Mr G Hugo and Professor S Strauss, who represented the public at the hearing, did not in all respects agree with the finding of the majority of the council.
- The South African Police wished to reafirm their attitude, as stated by the Minister of Law and Order in Parliament, that they were not interested in the private life or personal viewpoint of any individual unless such individual's actions involved the security of the state. — Sapa
Assessors named for UDF trial

DURBAN — An Indian attorney and an African businessman, both of Durban, will sit as assessors with the Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice John Milne, in the coming UDF treason trial in Maritzburg.

The trial in which 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders have been released on bail totalling R170,000 after been charged with treason, is expected to start early in September.

Mr Ishwarbhai Amin, who has one of the oldest law firms in Durban, has practised law for more than 40 years after graduating from the University of Natal.

Mr Wellington Mishali, who is a marketing manager for a bank in Natal, was the first black magistrate in the Umlazi Court 10 years ago and has legal qualifications from the University of Fort Hare and the University of South Africa. He also has a certificate in commerce from Harvard University.

Legal argument concerning the 587-page indictment will be heard on August 5 at the College Road Supreme Court. Evidence is expected to be led in September.

It is understood that this is not the first time that Indian and black people have acted as assessors in the courts of Natal.
Johannesburg—Members of the Security Police were implicated in a 'dirty tricks' campaign against Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front and a leading churchman, the S A Media Council has ruled.

Dismissing a police complaint against the Star, the council said it had found that two senior Security Police colonels had admitted that certain unnamed Security policemen had distributed a pamphlet and a tape recording alleging that Dr Boesak was having an affair with Miss Di Scott, an official of the S A Council of Churches.

It also found the colonels had said that if their admission were published, they would deny having made it.

The complaint was brought by the S A Police against the Star for reporting it published earlier this year.

The council's findings, as published yesterday, were:

"Certain members of the Security Police, whose identities are not clearly defined from the evidence, were implicated in the distribution of the pamphlet and tape recording to the Star and possibly to other newspapers."

"Col C S Slottz and Col P L du Toit had during their interview with Mr (Mike) Cohen and Miss (Chris) Steyn (both Star reporters) on January 9 admitted that the Security Police were involved in the distribution of the pamphlet and tape recording and said that if this admission were published they would deny it."

"Consequently the complaint by the South African Police to the Media Council against the Star must be rejected."

The seven-member Media Council complaint committee was chaired by Mr Justice L de V van Wijnen. The others were public representatives Mr D Bloomberg, Mr Gert Hugo and Prof S A Strauss and media members Mr Harald Pachenlirst, Mr Tertius Myburg and Mrs I Krause.

**Headlined**

The report in the Star on January 11 that gave rise to the complaint was headlined: 'Police expose Boesak's love affair. Dirty tricks campaign against leading churchman.'

"According to the council's summary of events, the reporter Miss Steyn had independently confirmed the allegations in the pamphlet, prior to the meeting with the colonels."

"Miss Steyn had then approached Mr Cohen, the Star's chief crime reporter, to arrange a meeting with the head of the Security Police in Johannes burg to verify her facts. The meeting on January 9 was with Col Slottz and Col du Toit. Miss Steyn, who was accompanied by Mr Cohen, told them of the pamphlet, tape and her subsequent investigation and wanted to know if they were involved in the dissemination of the pamphlets."

**Laughed**

"Mr Cohen had remarked that the quality of the surveillance tape and tape recording were so sophisticated that only the Security Police could have been responsible," according to the summary.

Both reporters testified that the colonels had laughed at this statement.

The admissions by the colonels of police involvement had come in answers to 'pertinent questions' by Mr Cohen.

"With reference to the dissemination of the pamphlet and tape recording to the newspapers, he (Mr Cohen) asked: 'Did you do it or not?'

"Col Slottz answered: 'We did' and Col du Toit added: 'Of course we did'."

The meeting had then become more serious and the colonels had further acknowledged, according to Miss Steyn, that they had previously delivered pamphlets and tapes to other newspapers."

"Col Slottz in turn testified that the police had monitored certain activities of Dr Boesak that arose out of his involvement with the UDF and the SACC."

"He had testified that the first he had heard of the pamphlet and tape were when Miss Steyn referred to them. He said Col du Toit had warned Miss Steyn to be sure of her facts before she published them."

**Denied**

"Col Slottz had also testified that he laughed at Mr Cohen's statement about 'sophisticated recording ... because the allegations were not worthy of an answer'."

When the Star report appeared on January 11, the Commissioner of the S A Police, Gen Johann Coetzee, denied the S A Police were used to investigate the private activities of anybody."

In its findings the council remarked: 'In passing it must be noted that it seems strange that in spite of the slashing attack on the Security Police in the report of January 11 the Security Police saw fit, after a conference of group heads at head office in Pretoria, to let a simple denial suffice."

"In spite of the fact that the Star continued with its allegations on (eight) occasions, the police filed a complaint only after a report on January 21."

"The explanations by various witnesses for the delay were not convincing,' the council said.

**Aware**

"Not one of the two colonels asked to see the pamphlet (during the interview with the reporters). But when Miss Steyn said that it became evident from her investigation the allegations in the pamphlet were true, Col Slottz said he was not surprised... because the allegations in the pamphlet were indeed true."

"The circumstances is it difficult to come to any other conclusion other than that they were aware of the content and that the reported impression that the colonels knew the content was fully justified,' the council found.

"Furthermore, dates of meetings between Dr Boesak and Miss Scott mentioned in the pamphlet, coincided with entries in a Security Police diary which was an exhibit at the hearing."

"The council concluded it was clear that unless some other organisation was, coincidentally, also investigating the Boesak-Scott relationship at the same time as the Security Police, 'the conclusion is unavoidable that the source of the information in the pamphlet was drawn from the information gained by the Security Police.'"

Flaws in colonels' evidence cited

Professor

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Professor S.A.S. Strauss, of the Department of Law at Unisa, said in a minority finding to the South African Media Council this week that it seemed a "limited" admission was indeed made by the two Security Police colonels.

He said, however, that it had not been proved that Security Police headquarters were aware of any action by individual members of its Johannesburg branch or that it had supported or condoned this action.

Nor could it be found that the tape recording and the pamphlet were made by the Security Police or one of its members.

"Taking into account the evidence of these four people (the colonels and the journalists), the impression they made in giving evidence, and the general circumstantial evidence, I do not believe that it can be said that the two journalists had not told the truth as regards the material nature and drift of the interview.

IMPROBABILITIES

"On the other hand, there is the evidence of the two colonels. As the chairman rightly found, there are several improbabilities in their account of the events and surrounding circumstances which were neither satisfactorily explained by themselves or by other witnesses.

The Star had no right to accuse the Security Police of a "dirty tricks campaign" or the keeping of a "dirty tricks department", even if it emerged that an individual member or members of the Security Police were involved in such a campaign.

"What could have happened here was that an individual member or members of the Johannesburg branch of the Security Police were aware of the fact that such a pamphlet and tape existed, and that these were already in circulation in several places and several circles.

"This person (or persons) could have been of the opinion that there was no reason why it should not have been positively brought to the attention of The Star and other newspapers.

"Such an attitude, although it cannot be condoned, is nevertheless understandable."

Can't accept police were involved

— attorney

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a minority finding, Mr Gert Hugo, a Pretoria attorney, said he could not accept that the Security Police were involved.

He agreed, however, that the Star did not contravene the Code of Conduct of the South African Media Council.

He said the editor of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, could, with the information available to him, reasonably publish the report taking into account the source of the news because the interview with the two colonels was, after all, the source of the news.

Mr Hugo said: "I cannot accept that the information gathered by the Security Police was the source of the disputed pamphlet.

"I don't accept that the evidence justifies the deduction that members of the Security Police were implicated in the distribution of the pamphlet and the tape recording and that the colonels made this admission.

"I agree with the finding that the complaint should be dismissed.

"If this hearing was a civil action, my finding would have been that the plaintiff had not proved his case."
Dear Sir,

KEN OWEN’s article “Turbulent priests...” (Business Day, July 26) cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. We have had more than enough in this country of the kind of confused right-wing views which Owen expresses, not to mention the hoary old “Red scare” tactics he uses.

It is precisely constant repetition of such views and tactics by our policy-makers that has landed SA in the dreadful mess it is in today. To read, as Owen does, a Marxist conspiracy into every attempt by black people to redress their legitimate grievances leaves us with no hope for a peaceful solution to this country’s ills.

It would be bad enough were this all that was wrong with Owen’s article. Unfortunately, the disaster is compounded by his insistence on supporting his views with factual inaccuracies and arguments of the most confused kind.

To begin with, Owen takes me to task for my “extraordinary assertion” in Frontline magazine that the aim of the national liberation struggle “as expressed in the Freedom Charter is to create a democratic capitalist state in SA”. Owen does not approve of this “assertion,” firstly because he is at pains to argue that the Freedom Charter is in fact a socialist charter and, secondly, because he believes people should themselves agree with him on this. This, I believe, is a gullible population.

Owen writes: “The Charter says ‘there will be a committee of workers to run the gold mines and the workers will take over and run the factories’”. How, he asks, can we possibly have a “capitalist state in which workers committees run the factories?”

While the quotes Owen uses are certainly of interest, they do not, as he claims, come from the Freedom Charter. They are in fact extracts from a speech made by a member of the SA Communist Party who was expressing his own views on what form of society he wanted to see in SA. The Charter itself makes absolutely no reference to committees of workers running anything at all.

Confused

But what I find most unsettling about Owen’s assertion is that it suggests that, despite his claim to have followed the progress of the African revolution southward from the Sudan... and now in the thick of it,” he does not appear even to have read the Freedom Charter. Anybody who has read it with even a modicum of care would know that those quotes could not have come from the Charter. In fact, the quotes are taken from Tom Lodge’s book on black politics in SA.

Next, in support of his argument, he cites the clause in the Freedom Charter which proclaims that the land shall be divided among those who work it. In Owen’s parlance, this means that “the land is handed over to the peasants” which, according to him, is incompatible with capitalism.

I really fail to see why Owen should begrudge peasants the right to own land. There is nothing sinister or socialist about their so doing. Had the Freedom Charter intended to make a socialist demand on this issue it would have had to demand the collective ownership of land. It makes no such demand.

Owen’s final “refutation” of my argument is to cite the clause in the Freedom Charter which demands the nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopoly industry. Again, Owen sees such nationalisation as being incompatible with capitalism. Again, he is confused.

Nationalisation of key industries and strategic companies has been common practice among the European and Scandinavian capitalist countries for decades now and forms an essential element in that advanced form of capitalism known as social democracy. One might argue, as many do, that such nationalisation is inefficient — but it is not incompatible with capitalism.

Unfortunate

What emerges most clearly from Owen’s extraordinary assertions is that he doesn’t seem to understand the meaning of the word “socialism”. This is unfortunate since it both hampers his argument considerably and also leads him to miss the point of the debates around the Freedom Charter.

These centre around the issue of the extent to which a capitalist society based on the principles of the Charter would in fact remain capitalist or whether such a society would provide a launching pad for a struggle for a socialist society. The Communist Party clearly hopes for the latter and, as I argued in my Frontline article, this is the reason for their Two Stage Theory. But just because the Communist Party hopes this will occur does not necessarily mean that it will.

The struggle for a democratic SA involves among other things the lifting of restrictions on all political organisations, as well as lifting restrictions on the free expression of ideas. Must this nation continue to be denied the benefits of such freedom because the Communist Party would seek to benefit from them?

Owen declares himself in favour of “reform” in SA, but he does not specify what he means by this. I, too, am in favour of reform, but by this I do not mean tinkering with Tripartite parliaments and other hopeless chimeras. The only reform that counts in SA today is the granting of full and equal political rights to all South Africans.

Dr DUNCAN INNES
University of the Witwatersrand

Ken Owen comments:

I WOULD agree with Dr Innes that we need full and equal political rights for all South Africans. The question that needs to be defined now is what those rights should be.

Innes is correct in saying that the reference to workers’ committees is not from the Charter itself but from a speech “made during the Congress to emphasise its revolutionary content”. Clearly, members of the Communist Party see the Charter as the foundation of a Marxist state. If Innes can prove otherwise, I shall be greatly heartened.
shoulder for SA

HELSINKI — The European Community, Spain and Portugal yesterday agreed to recall their envoys in South Africa for consultations, but remained split over calls for economic sanctions.

After a long and difficult meeting which ended early yesterday, foreign ministers from the 12 countries issued a statement condemning the imposition of a state of emergency.

The 10 member countries, with Spain and Portugal which are due to join the community soon, called for a committee of experts to draw up a list of measures that could "contribute to the abolition of apartheid". The list would be considered at the next meeting of EEC foreign ministers on September 10.

Thatcher

The recalled envoys would advise community experts on mapping strategy the community could adopt towards South Africa, ministers said.

John Battersby reports from London that the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said last night Britain had no intention of withdrawing its ambassador permanently.

While staunchly opposing sanctions against South Africa, Britain has agreed to go along with the European Community decision to recall all envoys for consultations. Mrs Thatcher said the ambassador, Mr Patrick Moberly, would certainly return to South Africa. "I want mine present in South Africa to know exactly what's going on," she said.

Anthony Johnson reports that the Department of Foreign Affairs last night appeared determined to play down the EEC action and unwilling to see it as an act of protest.

A department spokesman said: "Media reports that the ambassadors of the EEC countries were recalled does not reflect the position as conveyed to us by an official spokesman."

"Picked on"

"He said that the foreign ministers of the 10 have decided to meet in early September to discuss South Africa and that they wished to consult with their ambassadors in order to prepare for this meeting."

However, the South African Ambassador to Finland, Mr David du Plessis, said the EEC action was "certainly a gesture and it is not taken lightly, although we do not understand why South Africa is always picked on".

Mr Du Plessis, who spent yesterday lobbying community delegations at the Helsinki commemorations to find out what effect the latest decision would have, added: "We are sorry they are taking such measures."

The Progressive Federal Party said last night South Africans should not underestimate the diplomatic or economic consequences of the EEC decision.

Eglin

The chief PFP spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, said: "This decision has not been taken by a bunch of wild Marxists but by South Africa's trading partners, and therein lies the significance."

Although there were differences of opinion between EEC members about the desirability and effectiveness of sanctions, South Africa had become locked into a process of increasing isolation and pressure because of apartheid.

Mr Eglin said President Botha had consistently refused to face up to the central theme in South African politics — political representation for blacks. — Sapa-Reuters AP
Protestors against Parliament acquitted

Court Reporter

SIX people who protested against elections for the tricameral Parliament last year were yesterday acquitted by a Wynberg Regional magistrate on a charge of attending an illegal gathering.

They were charged under the Internal Security Act with attending an illegal gathering in Eisleben Road, Mitchells Plain, on July 6 last year.

Theresa Solomon, 38, Lucille Meyer, 23, Belinda Newman, 18, Sharon Davids, 20, Faiek Rhode, 21, and Basil Mashapi, 24, all of Mitchells Plain, pleaded not guilty to the charge.

The six admitted standing at lamp-posts about 50 metres apart holding placards of a political nature.

In acquitting the six, the magistrate, Mr J C L Botha, said that since they had been standing approximately apart, they could not have constituted an illegal gathering.

Mr J W Luckhoff appeared for the State. Mr A M Omar instructed by Mr R Vassen appeared for the six people.
'UDF didn't meet govt'

THE PUBLICITY SECRETARY of the United Democratic Front, Mr. Murphison Morobe, has dismissed as untrue suggestions that the UDF has had meetings with the government.

"At no stage did the UDF hold any negotiations or talks with the Government," Mr. Morobe told The SOWETAN yesterday.

According to a Sunday newspaper, a bold new plan to provide for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders without the Government losing face is to be considered by Pretoria.

The newspaper also claimed that the Government has been talking to UDF members in their private capacities. These meetings are claimed to have been at an unofficial level and may not have involved the extended Cabinet Committee which is meant to examine black political rights.

It has been claimed...
Should government let Mandela go? Would his release break the cycle of violence? Is he an ironclad guarantee that an opportunity still exists to achieve negotiated settlement? Or is he merely a national certificate of unacceptability, "an old man in a dry season"?

The reply to the first question is a resounding yes, to judge by the rising stridency of appeals, not only from opposition politicians, black leaders and Western nations, but also from leading academics of all persuasions, church organisations, leaders in business and commerce and homeland leaders.

In the National Party itself and even in the Cabinet, the question of Mandela’s unconditional release has given rise to serious discussion. While it is no exaggeration to say that considerable support exists for his release, serious disagreement is evident betweenhawks and doves over the timing of such a statesmanlike gesture.

Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, is believed to be hawkish on the option. In his book, acquiescence now would be tantamount to capitulation. And the general is a firm believer of the dictum that governments do not fall because they are evil, but because they are weak. This kind of firmness of purpose appeals to President PW Botha who, for the time being at any rate, seems to have committed his support to the general.

Having rejected a conditional offer of release, Mandela, to break the logjam, must be offered unconditional terms of freedom. This is no easy decision: what will he do once he is free? Does he still have the influence and charisma to deflect, literally at the wave of a hand, the black nationalist mood from war to peace? What government fears most, it seems, is that the unconditional release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC will have a snowball effect that will severely limit the time required for slow and painless “evolution” from white minority rule to broadly shared rule, including blacks.

But what remains of Mandela after 23 years in prison? Says the last outsider to visit Mandela at Pollsmoor prison, Georgetown University professor Samuel Dashi: “He is a tall, slim, handsome man who looks far younger than his 66 years. He appeared vigorous and healthy, with a calm, confident manner and dignified bearing that seemed incongruous in our prison surroundings. Indeed, throughout our meeting, I felt I was in the presence not of a guerrilla fighter or radical ideologue, but of a head of state.”

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in Transkei in 1918, son of a Tembo chief. He renounced the chieftaincy on his father’s death. (He also refused an offer by Paramount Chief Kaiser Mantanzima, with whom there are blood ties, to become prime minister of Transkei in 1976.) He went to mission schools and then to Fort Hare University, but was expelled for his role in a student strike. He fled to Johannesburg to avoid a tribal marriage and became first a mine policeman and then an articled clerk at a law firm. He furthered his law studies at Wits University and in 1952 established the first firm of black attorneys in Fox Street with his friend Oliver Tambo, now president of the ANC.

Tambo and Robert Sobukwe, who later became president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, were with Mandela when they formed the ANC Youth League in 1944 — Mandela’s formal entry into politics. They played a key role in radicalising and Africanising the ANC in those years. In 1950 Mandela was elected president of the Youth League and head of the Defiance Campaign in 1952. This led to the first of several prosecutions. In his first conviction he was given a nine-month suspended sentence and was banned for six months.

He became deputy president of the ANC under Chief Albert Luthuli, but was served with new banning orders in 1953 and had to resign officially from the ANC for five years. In the years to follow, his leadership position became stronger and stronger, despite the fact that he had to operate underground. Anticipating the banning of the ANC, Mandela masterminded a plan to decentralise and strengthen the organisation by means of a fragmented cell structure. He also helped form Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC’s military wing that started a sabotage campaign in December 1961. The ANC and PAC were banned in 1960.

From 1956 to 1961 he was an accused in the Treason Trial and after his acquittal he organised a stay-at-home campaign in protest against the white referendum on the question of SA becoming a republic. He went underground and acquired the name “Black Pimpernel” by slipping in and out of SA unnoticed — even for a tour of independent Africa. In August 1962 he was arrested near Howick, posing as a chauffeur and jailed for five years.

In 1963 Mandela was brought from prison for the Rivonia trial. With Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Lionel Bernstein, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni he admitted guilt and was jailed for life for guerrilla activity and for being a member of the high command of Umkhonto. On April 20 1964 he gave a speech of more than four hours from the dock.

Dashi quotes Mandela as saying: "Unlike white people anywhere else in Africa, whites in South Africa belong here — this is their home. We want them to live here with us and to share power with us."
Shooting of lawyer was ‘political’

LONDON — The shooting of a leading black civil rights lawyer in South Africa last night was a calculated political killing, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, said here today.

"These are very sinister incidents," she said on British commercial radio.

Mr Suzman said the shooting of Mrs Victoria Mxenge outside her home in Umlazi, Durban, and the deaths of four black anti-apartheid activists from the United Democratic Front in Fort Elizabeth in June were all cold-blooded political killings.

"I think there’s no doubt about it, just as the killing of the four UDF people — Mathew Geniwe and Fort Calata and two others — a short while ago near PE was also a calculated political killing. By whom, we have yet to find out," she said.

Mrs Suzman, who returns to South Africa today after a visit to Britain, said economic sanctions would not bring about a rapid end to apartheid.

"I believe that South Africa is the sort of country that needs contact and not isolation. The Government of South Africa is not the kind that will react to sanctions. It will simply go into a state of siege," she said.

Durban, police would not comment today on a theory that Mrs Mxenge had been killed for political reasons.

Mrs Mxenge has been associated with the 18 treason trialists, members of the UDF or its associates, since they were first detained in September last year.

Police said Mrs Mxenge drove up to her home shortly after 7pm and was confronted by three or four gunmen. Two shots were fired.

Mr Ismael Mohammed, SC, who is representing the 18 trialists who are due to appear in court again on Monday, said Mrs Mxenge had done "tremendous work" in the defence of the accused.

Mrs Mxenge, who became an attorney in 1957, had been given the job of collecting as much information as possible relating to the arrest of the men and the State allegations against them.

Mrs Mxenge was the widow of an attorney, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, who was killed near the Umlazi Sports Stadium four years ago. He was attacked by an unknown group of men who cut his throat.

Both he and his wife were in the forefront of the civil rights committee in South Africa and at the time of her death Mrs Mxenge was secretary of the Release Nelson Mandela Fund.

Her husband was detained several times by the security police and was subsequently convicted under the Terrorism Act. He served about four years' imprisonment on Robben Island.
I will defy order on funerals - Tutu

BISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday declared that he would defy the Government's restrictions on funerals of black unrest victims in the townships, whatever the consequences would be to that action.

Bishop Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, said he appealed to the authorities to "allow us to bury our dead with dignity, do not rub salt into the wound, do not stamp on us while we are down". He appealed to the authorities not to exacerbate a situation that is already bad. "Black people do not have a forum to speak out and if they cannot speak at funerals, then where else can they do so?" he said.

Bishop Tutu was addressing about 28,000 mourners who attended the funeral of three unrest victims in Tumahole, near Parys. The three, who died about two weeks ago, are Mr. Ephraim Nyatso (17), Khushe Pthonahe (17), and Mzwandile Gama- fana. They were killed after the funeral of another unrest victim James Majola.

Bishop Tutu said: "I came here as a religious leader and will speak on the basis of the Bible, not on an ideology - political or otherwise, I speaking responsibly, have all the years been preaching the Gospel of Jesus as I believe God told me. I will not listen to people who tell me what to preach and as a church leader, I am not going to start today to preach what I am told whether a funeral is in one of the 36 magisterial areas or not. My ultimate loyalty and obedience is not to man and there can be no debate for any Christian on who to obey between man and God."

He said it was ridiculous to tell people how many should attend a funeral, because in Africa such occasions are communal affairs. People share the grief and burden. Giving an example of the 50,000 people who attended a funeral in KwaThema last week, Bishop Tutu said if the authorities had wanted only 1,000, how were the other 49,000 going to be turned away unless you intend using police and the army and cause another confrontation."

"Now another pre-condition has just cropped up - that of us having to denounce civil disobedience. I would not go if Mr Botha insisted on that pre-condition because it is nonsensical as far as I am concerned."

"We have stuck our necks out denouncing violence, which many youths today see as the only answer. We still believe in hallowed methods such as marching to John Vorster Square police station, and in disobeying unjust laws."

"These are the sort of things that were done by people such as Ghandi and Martin Luther King. If we cannot do that, what are we expected to do?" Bishop Tutu said.

A MEETING between President P W Botha and Bishop Tutu as part of a delegation of church leaders is not likely to take place.

This is because Bishop Tutu refuses to denounce civil disobedience. Mr Botha's pre-condition for a meeting to discuss the current unrest in the country.

Early this week, Mr Botha refused to meet Bishop Tutu alone because he had already agreed to meet a church delegation to be led by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Phillip Russell, on August 19.

The Archbishop has since invited Bishop Tutu to join the delegation which will include leaders from the Presbyterian, Methodist and the Roman Catholic Churches.

Bishop Tutu said yesterday that he was not prepared to accept Mr Botha's latest pre-condition for the August 19 meeting.

"Last week Mr Botha said he was prepared to meet anyone who denounced violence and approached him properly and not through the Press," Bishop Tutu said. "I thought I had met those requirements, but surprisingly he refused to meet me."
EVERY action of a political nature aimed at bringing about radical change is put under police surveillance and that is the reason all black leaders in the struggle for liberation experience one or another form of intimidation, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said this week.

Chief Buthelezi said this in a memorandum presented to the Most Reverend Robert Run- cine, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England and Metropolitan at Lambeth Palace on Tuesday night.

He added that only those who believe fervently in what they are doing find the strength and resolve to carry on.

He said: "The leadership which does rise up to meet oppression and to defy intimidation is only found among those who have single-minded purposefulness which is not always an asset for debate and the politics of reconciliation."

"Not only are there stark issues to be faced in life and death issues in a complex situation in which there is little consensus about what could and should be done, but action on the part of the state continually disrupts the democratic process by which people select their leaders and exercise choices among options. The jailing and detention of leaders and the intimidation and the banning of organisations destroys the whole process by which people eventually get together in positions in which there is a multitude of choices."

"Violence will continue escalating until blacks and whites are reconciled to each other, and black and white are reconciled to each other about black-white relationships in South Africa. This reconciliation will only take place within a political framework which moves this country steadily towards becoming a just society," Chief Buthelezi said.
Suzman, Buthelezi for No 10

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Helen Suzman and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi will meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher separately today for talks on the state of emergency in South Africa.

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Suzman and Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, are both staunch opponents of sanctions. The meeting comes as Britain faces increasing pressure to change her anti-sanctions stance.

Mrs Thatcher, who was in the United States last week, quoted Mrs Suzman to justify the British position.

The meeting today is at Mrs Thatcher's invitation. It will be the last of a series of meetings Mrs Suzman has held in Britain and Europe over the past two weeks.

MULTITUDE OF INTERVIEWS

She has addressed a meeting of members of the European Parliament in Luxembourg at the invitation of Lord Nicholas Bethel, met the British Foreign Office Minister of State responsible for Southern Africa, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, and former Ambassador to South Africa Mr Ewan Ferguson, and given a multitude of interviews to the British media.

At all she argued the case against sanctions — giving four television interviews in one day.

She returns to South Africa after meeting Mrs Thatcher.

Details of Chief Buthelezi's programme are not known.
The vital issue of black political rights

FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Political Staff examines the question of how black political aspirations can be accommodated.

As unrest continues in black areas an issue looming larger than ever is that of black political rights in South Africa.

It has become the burning issue which has a direct or indirect bearing on virtually all the major problems facing the Government and politicians of all political parties.

It is the flashing red warning light which must have been ever-present in the collective mind of President PW Botha’s Cabinet when it met in Pretoria this week to consider current matters in the running of the country.

It affects South Africa’s shaky international relations, the embattled economy, the security situation and the very foundations of South Africa’s political, economic and social stability.

The big question, still unresolved and very much in the melting-pot, is how can black political aspirations be accommodated in the system of a federation, although it has some ideas of its own on how such a system should be designed.

Leader Mr Bill Sutton said recently that his party’s model for federation was a convention on the lines of the Brussels agreement between the European powers, which was primarily economic.

The NRP envisaged a monthly meeting of homeland leaders and certain of their Ministers with the State President and his appropriate Ministers to discuss specific subjects.

One of the most important sessions would be that concerned with the budget to which black homelands would have access.

Political analysts have pointed out that little was being heard these days of President Botha’s earlier vision of a “constellation” of Southern African states.

Constellation

Mr Botha’s previous references to “confederation” had implied a loose arrangement between the independent homelands and South Africa, with a “constellation” being offered to the neighbours.

Subsequently, however, the idea of a federation of states rather than a confederation gained ground among most of the homeland leaders. In 1983, for example, Transkei’s Chief Kaiser Matlala announced
Constitutional Convention

Mr. Sultan Provinces

His plan is based on the concept of a federal system with a central government and provincial governments. The federal system would allow for greater participation and control at the provincial level. If so, how can this be achieved?

In South Africa, for example, there is a federal system comprising the provincial authorities and a hierarchy of federal courts. In each of the provinces, there is a provincial government comprising the provincial authorities and a hierarchy of federal courts. This system has been described as a form of government in which the provincial authorities exercise authority over the federal authorities. The provincial authorities have been described as a form of government in which the provincial authorities exercise authority over the federal authorities. The provincial authorities have been described as a form of government in which the provincial authorities exercise authority over the federal authorities.

In the United States, for example, the federal government comprises the President and the Congress. The federal government is divided into three branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. Each branch has its own powers and responsibilities. The legislative branch is represented by Congress, which is made up of two houses: the House of Representatives and the Senate. The executive branch is represented by the President, who is the head of state and government. The judicial branch is represented by the Supreme Court and other federal courts.

The next step, if the response is favorable, would be to call a national convention. In the United States, a national convention is called to amend the Constitution. The convention is made up of delegates chosen by the state legislatures. The delegates must be at least 21 years old and must have been residents of the state for at least one year. The convention must be called by Congress and must be held within a certain period of time. The convention may propose amendments to the Constitution, which must then be approved by the states. If the amendments are approved by the required number of states, they become part of the Constitution.

Mr. Sultan's plan is based on the concept of a federal system with a central government and provincial governments. The federal system would allow for greater participation and control at the provincial level. If so, how can this be achieved?
Author outlines the Russian connection

West too soft on SA terror organisations

SOUTH African author Jillian Becker says the Western world is too soft on the African National Congress and Swapo.

She says this in "The Soviet Connection: State-Sponsorship of Terrorism", published by the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies.

Jillian Becker, whose earlier publications include books on the Baader-Meinhof gang and the PLO, claims there are policymakers in Britain and other European countries who denounce all terrorists organisations other than the ANC and Swapo.

She adds: "But sympathy for the black populations of South Africa and Namibia should not blind Europeans or Americans to the fact that of all the terrorist organisations in the world these are the two that have been brought most directly under the influence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Soviet leaders, notably Leonid Brezhnev in a 1973 speech in Prague, had proclaimed that they aimed to gain control of "the mineral treasure house of southern Africa."

Becker states that accuracy would make many issues related to organised terrorism plain to be public.

"If groups like Swapo and the ANC were invariably called 'Soviet-backed' by the news media, it would be clear whose interests they are serving in addition to their own."

"If the public understood that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had very considerable influence over the ANC, the British Home Office might have to take a less indifferent view of that organisation's keeping an office in London."

A dislike of apartheid was no good reason to ignore the nature of the activity in which the ANC was engaged — a campaign of terror — Becker claims.

She claims that Western governments need to clarify their official attitudes, which she sees as highly ambivalent.

"For instance, whatever they do, think or say about South African internal policies, they should recognise the plain truth that South Africa's fight against Swapo is a battle in the wider conflict in which our survival is ultimately at stake."

"If Swapo won in Namibia, the ANC took power in South Africa. Ulnita were crushed in Angola, or if another PLO established itself in southern Lebanon, the Soviet Union would gain a firm foothold in some of the most vital areas of the world from which to attack our economic and political interests."
UDF treason trial lawyer
Victoria Mxenge shot dead

DURBAN. — United Democratic Front treason trial lawyer and civil rights campaigner Mrs Victoria Mxenge, 43, was shot and axed to death in front of her children in the driveway of her Umhlazi home last night.

Mrs Mxenge was waylaid as she got out of a friend’s car, shot and then struck with an axe. Her eldest son, Mhaso, took her to King Edward VIII Hospital, where she was certified dead on arrival at 7.45pm.

The Rev Mcebisi Xundu, an executive member of the UDF who drove Mrs Mxenge home, described her death.

FOUR ASSAILANTS

In an interview soon after the killing Mr Xundu said: “We had just got back from Maritzburg about 7pm and I was helping Mrs Mxenge collect her parcels from my car when four men came rushing from the bushes across the road and into the driveway.”

He said he thought it was some of her children’s friends playing a silly game but then heard them shouting as they rushed towards Mrs Mxenge.

“She grabbed her parcels and fled down the driveway screaming for help. I heard two shots go off and, because I did not know who they were going for, I was still sitting behind the steering-wheel and reversed out at great speed and rushed to the police station.”

CAUGHT NEAR HOUSE

He said the men ran after Mrs Mxenge and caught her just as she reached the side of the house and killed her.

“The children were in the front garden and fled inside when the shots went off,” he said.

The police arrived quickly but the four had disappeared. Captain Winston Hmunis said a murder docket had been opened.

Mr Xundu said that only two weeks ago Mrs Mxenge visited her husband’s grave in King William’s Town, where his parents live. Her funeral would probably take place there and she would be buried next to her husband.

Her husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, was killed in Umhlazi in November 1981. His killers have not been traced.

Mrs Mxenge was a senior executive member and treasurer of the Natal region of the UDF. She was also a senior executive member of the Natal Organisation of Women.
Rabbi joins call for talks with black leaders

Mercury Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—The senior rabbi of the largest Hebrew congregation in South Africa has joined other leaders of major religious groups in calling for negotiation between the Government and black leaders.

Rabbi Selwyn Franklin was giving a sermon to the Green Point and Sea Point Hebrew congregation in the Marais Road Synagogue last night.

He said he was deeply distressed about the situation in South Africa today. Jewish people had encountered great suffering and oppression, making them deeply sensitive to the suffering of other human beings.

Promised land

Rabbi Franklin emphasised the importance of a new dispensation:

The special selection (Chapter 3, Deuteronomy) from the Bible that we will read deals with the plea by Moses to enter the promised land and the Almighty's answer that due to the new situation presented by entering the promised land, the time had come for a new dispensation.

'The verse says he should instruct Joshua on how to provide this for entry into the promised land.

'My assessment is that the norms that have governed the country for the past 40 years — and Moses had led the Israelites for 40 years — are inadequate to cope with the ever-changing reality.'

Rabbi Franklin said he despaired over the Government's lack of realism and over its attempt at symptomatic relief rather than coping with the root causes.

The delay in meeting legitimate black leadership, the threatened expulsion of 150000 workers and the latest restrictions on funeral procedures led people to believe the Government lacked appreciation of what was going on. Rabbi Franklin said.

'Together with other leaders of major religious denominations, I call for consultation and negotiation with the legitimate leaders of the black community so that peace, tranquility and justice will prevail.'

Sapa reports that Owen Cardinal McCann, South Africa's top-ranking Roman Catholic cleric and Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town, has called for a meeting or conference of South Africa's leaders to discuss the drafting of a 'proper constitution' acceptable to the majority of the citizens.

Addressing the Western Province region of the Institute of Race Relations yesterday, he said the constitution should also enshrine 'the right of veto by minorities to ensure that their legitimate rights are entrenched.'
Buthelezi, Suzman meet Maggie

London Bureau
THE British Prime Minister met two leading South African opposition politicians yesterday in an attempt to rally support for her rejection of economic sanctions.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, and Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, met Mrs Thatcher separately at Downing Street to discuss the state of emergency and the mounting international sanctions campaign.

A Downing Street spokesman said Chief Buthelezi had thanked Mrs Thatcher for her opposition to sanctions while Mrs Suzman had urged the Prime Minister not to impose sanctions.

Pressure
Speaking after a 30-minute meeting with Mrs Thatcher, Chief Buthelezi said he had urged the Prime Minister to continue applying diplomatic pressure to prepare the ground for a national convention.

The KwaZulu leader said diplomatic pressure on South Africa should be directed toward lifting the state of emergency, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and supporting his declaration of intent for reform.

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that the African National Congress was urging the liquidation of black collaborators.

He said the ANC was capitalising on the current levels of black anger and mob violence but had not caused them.

Violence
Earlier, Chief Buthelezi had met Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe at the Foreign Office. The meeting was followed by a lunch at which the deputy Under-Secretary of State on Africa, Mr Ewen Ferguson, was the host.

Earlier in the week, Chief Buthelezi, who is an Anglican, had a lengthy meeting with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie.

Chief Buthelezi said on the steps of 10 Downing Street after the meeting that he had told Mrs Thatcher of his concern at cross-border violence and recent official threats that borders with neighbouring states like Lesotho might be sealed.

'The South African Defence Force is a rogue elephant which has trampled our people in Maseru, Botswana and Angola, and the international community does not do anything about it,' he said.

Welcomed
But he opposed economic sanctions and the withdrawal of Western ambassadors from South Africa.

He said the recall of EEC ambassadors was useful insofar as it conveyed the seriousness of the situation to white and black South Africans, but he added that they should return to South Africa after the meeting.

However, he welcomed the imminent visit by three EEC foreign ministers to urge further changes on the Government.

On sanctions, Chief Buthelezi said he would support them tomorrow if he thought they would 'topple the Government', but he was opposed to symbolic gestures which did not achieve results.

He said he had congratulated Mrs Thatcher on her 'sensible' attitude on sanctions.

A Downing Street spokesman said after the meetings that Mrs Suzman had told Mrs Thatcher it was 'wrong to seek to isolate South Africa through economic sanctions'. The spokesman said Chief Buthelezi had thanked Mrs Thatcher for her stand and reiterated that blacks would suffer most if sanctions were imposed.
Tributes pour in for slain lawyer

Mercury Reporter

TRIBUTES poured in yesterday for Mrs Victoria Mxenge, the Durban lawyer and activist who was killed outside her Umlazi home on Thursday night.

Mrs Mxenge was one of the instructing attorneys for the accused in the Pietermaritzburg treason trial which resumes on Monday.

She was the widow of Mr Griffiths Mxenge, who was brutally murdered about four years ago. His body was found in the Umlazi stadium with 45 stab wounds and the crime remains unsolved.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, said all those who had known Mrs Mxenge were filled with horror and deep sorrow.

"We grieve that the political conditions in our country are responsible for situations in which political murders of this kind occur and remain unpunished," he said.

'Long line'

Mrs Ann Colvin, chairman of the Natal coastal region of the Black Sash, said Mrs Mxenge had been a person of the highest integrity, greatly respected and loved.

She had been another victim in a long line of victims of the apartheid system, she said.

Mr Paddy Kearney, director of Diakonia, said Victoria Mxenge had been a person of extraordinary courage and commitment.

He said her "horrifying" assassination would not prevent the struggle for justice in South Africa but would add even greater impetus to it.

The Black Students' Society at the University of Natal in Durban yesterday expressed its 'horror' at the 'brutal murder' of Mrs Mxenge.

The shooting of a leading black civil rights lawyer in South Africa last night was a calculated political killing, Mrs Helen Suzman, FPF MP for Houghton, said in London yesterday.

'Political'

"These are very sinister incidents," she said on British commercial radio.

Mr Suzman said the shooting of Mrs Mxenge and the death of four black anti-apartheid activists from the United Democratic Front in Port Elizabeth in June were all cold-blooded political killings.

"I think there's no doubt about it. Just as the killing of the four UDF people — Mathew Goniwe and Fort Calata and two others — a short while ago near Port Elizabeth was also a calculated political killing by whom, we have yet to find out," she said. — (Sapa-Reuters)
Mxenge death a ‘political killing’

WASHINGTON. — The United States State Department yesterday strongly condemned the murder of a leading civil-rights lawyer, Mrs Nonyamezele Victoria Mxenge, outside her Durban home on Thursday night.

And Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman for Law and Order, said the slaying was a calculated political killing, while the United Democratic Front condemned it as a “cowardly, calculated assassination”.

Mrs Mxenge was one of the defence lawyers for 16 people, among them UDF leaders facing charges of treason. She was gunned down as she got out of a car driven by the UDF chairman in Natal, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu. A police statement said four black gunmen escaped in a car.

Her husband, Mr Griffith Mxenge, was killed in Durban four years ago. The crime remains unsolved.

A US State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, said: “Mrs Mxenge was well known in South Africa and to many American diplomats who had served there as a dedicated, humane person.”

Mrs Suzman said in London that the shooting of Mrs Mxenge and the deaths of four community leaders from the UDF in Port Elizabeth in June were all cold-blooded political killings. “By whom, we have yet to find out,” she added.

Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, publicity secretary in Natal for the UDF, said: “In the light of a systematic campaign by the state to eliminate the UDF, this murder will be seen by many as the work of the state or its allies.”

Mrs Mxenge is to be buried next to her husband’s grave at Rayi Village, near King William’s Town. The date of the funeral has not yet been fixed.

Police have appealed to the public for any information which will assist them in their investigation of the murder.

Responding to a statement by the UDF on her death, a police spokesman said it would serve no purpose and would not assist them in their investigations for people to make “unfounded, irresponsible or unsubstantiated allegations” about her death.

Meanwhile, a new report published by the Centre of the Independence of Judges and Lawyers, a legal watchdog group in Geneva, says that in the past five years, scores of lawyers defending basic human rights in many authoritarian countries have been killed, imprisoned, detained without charge and even tortured for practising law. — Sapa-Reuters-AP and Own Correspondents
Boycott of
EL daily
called off

EAST LONDON. — The
United Democratic
Front has called off its
boycott of the Daily Dis-
patch newspaper here
and withdrawn its de-
mand for the resignation
of the editor, Mr George
Farr.

This follows publica-
tion by the Dispatch of a
front-page “announc-
ment” which said: “The
Daily Dispatch con-
cedes that certain refer-
ces and terms used in some
of its articles could have
caused offence to a large
section of its readership.
“Tt further wishes to
emphasize that although
its editorial policy was
assumed in some quar-
ters to be pro-apartheid,
it has no such intentions.
“The Daily Dispatch
now restates its total op-
opposition to a policy that
is abhorrent to all free-
dom-loving people.
“The Daily Dispatch
recommits itself to a
policy of fairminded, ob-
jective reporting and to
being a forum for
various schools of
thought.” — Sapa
Ciskei funeral for Mxenge

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Mrs Nonyamezelo Tsaha Mxenge, 43, the Ciskei-born attorney murdered at her Umlazi house this week is to be buried next to her husband at Ray Village, near King William’s Town.

Mrs Mxenge, a mother of three, was shot as she entered the driveway of her house.

Her husband, Mr Griffith Mlungisi Mxenge, was also killed by unknown assailants on November 19, 1981. During his funeral a Transkei security policeman was stabbed to death.

Mrs Mxenge, whose maiden name was Ntebe, was born at Tamara, near Zwelethu, where she passed Std 6 with a first class.

She wrote her junior certificate at Forbes.

Four years ago she grieved for her husband — on Thursday night Mrs Victoria Mxenge was gunned down outside her home, like him, the victim of assassins.

She worked as a nursing sister at Umlazi for 10 years.

Mrs Mxenge obtained a diploma in community health at Edendale Hospital, Pietermaritzburg in 1973. She studied privately for a BProc through the University of South Africa and after graduating in 1981, joined her husband’s legal firm.

Mrs Mxenge was the second child of the late Mr Wilmot Gose and Mrs Nobantu Ntebe. Both were teachers.

The date of the funeral has not yet been fixed.
Rabbi urges govt to negotiate

THE senior rabbi of the largest Hebrew congregation in South Africa has joined other leaders of major religious groups in calling for negotiation between the government and black leaders.

In a sermon to the Bree congregation in the last night, Rabbi Salwen, deeply distressed at the situation in South Africa, said he believed that Jews had suffered and oppression which had made them sensitive to the suffering of other human beings.

Rabbi Franklin said the government's lack of realism and attempts at symptomatic relief rather than coping with root causes.

Mayor

The delay in meeting legitimate black leaders and the threatened exodus of 1.6 million workers and theiest procedures on funeral to believe that the government lacked appreciation of what was going on.

Together with the leaders of major religious denominations, the Mayor, in a press statement yesterday, called on society, business, industry, education, the media, religion and all citizens to help maintain civic tranquility and a feeling of what was going on.

The Mayor has appealed to local community leaders to keep peace in the city and its inhabitants.

In a press statement, the Mayor asked that in all our dealings, we treat each other with the kind of respect and concern that each of us as individuals needs and deserves.
Blacks are fed up, says Hurley

Mercury Reporter

THE Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, said yesterday that church leaders would tell President Botha on August 19 that black people had come to the end of their patience and were determined to push for full participation in the life of South Africa.

Addressing a meeting in opposition to the declaration of a partial state of emergency, organised by the End Conscription Committee, Archbishop Hurley said those in authority had to be persuaded that apartheid was an impossible system and there was a need for radical change.

He said feelings which had mounted in the hearts of black people would not be mollified or quelled as a result of the declaration of the state of emergency.

"The resentment is too great," the archbishop said. "When you are humiliated every day the time comes when you are prepared to sacrifice human life to change conditions."

Dr Hurley was critical of the role of the police in black townships.

Evidence presented to the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference over a three-month period last year, he said, suggested that the police presence in such situations did not preserve law and order but created a disturbance.

Mrs Molly Blackburn, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) for Walford and a leading member of the Black Sash, said most whites in the Eastern Cape had welcomed the declaration of the state of emergency because they had no idea of what black people wanted and thought.

She said the steps taken by Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, showed an 'abysmal ignorance' about the real situation.

"If Mr le Grange thinks the troubles in the townships have been quelled, then he is greatly mistaken."

She supported the stand taken by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, against a ban on the number of people who could attend the funerals of victims of unrest.

"I don't mind if you don't approve of what is being said at these funerals," the PFP said. "You must listen to what the people are saying."
Police probe brutality

By SHIRLEY PRESSLY
Crime Reporter

COMPLAINTS about some of the activities of young SADF soldiers in Port Elizabeth's black townships since the declaration of a state of emergency have reached alarming proportions.

Police this week confirmed that they were investigating several cases of reported brutality and made an urgent appeal to anyone with information to come forward.

What was initially only a trickle of complaints to the Weekend Post from township residents has increased markedly in recent weeks.

Most of the complaints are about the actions of young members of the SA Defence Force — thought to be national servicemen acting without the permission or knowledge of their superiors.

In all cases the Weekend Post asked people who had specific complaints about the security forces in the townships to lay a charge at a police station.

But in nine cases out of 10 the complainants were too afraid to be seen going into a police station in case they were branded as impiyimpis (informers) and given "a necklace" (slang for a burning tyre around the neck).

Those who were persuaded to make a statement received full co-operation from the police.

These included the following cases:

- A father from Red Location complained that his son aged 17 was abducted from his house by a group of young soldiers who held him hostage for a few hours while they smoked dagga and consumed liquor.

- A man who runs a shebeen complained that more than 10 soldiers assaulted him and damaged a portable television set, hi-fi equipment and window panes and took cash and a quantity of liquor.

- A middle-aged woman was robbed of R154 in her home by four soldiers who also trampled on her church hats and her wristwatch.

- A firewood vendor in Boastville. New Brighton complained that soldiers guarding a health clinic in Avenue A came to his home and were seen taking away his wood at night. They returned the next day and took wood in his presence without paying for it.

- A man who was going from Boastville to Dubula Street at night crossed an open field next to the health clinic in Avenue A and saw a soldier jumping over a fence and running towards him. The soldier punched and kicked him.

Complaints have also been received by the Weekend Post that soldiers chased people out of shops in the townships during the boycott of white shops and told them to "shop in town.

Law-abiding citizens in the townships, who initially welcomed the arrival of the security forces, are becoming increasingly hostile.

They have said they understand the emergency regulations give the security forces widespread powers, but this should not be construed as carte blanche to rob, steal, assault and harass residents without provocation or reason.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, confirmed that certain allegations had been made against the security forces, and statements had been taken and cases were being investigated.

He urged anyone with complaints to report to the nearest police station immediately.

From Page 1

Actions of SADF soldiers cause alarm
London - Two of South Africa's staunchest opponents of sanctions - Mrs Helen Suzman and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi - held in-depth discussions with the British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday.

Mrs Thatcher has been seeking support for Britain's policy of maintaining contact with South Africa in the face of growing world pressure to impose punitive sanctions.

Both leaders asked Mrs Thatcher to use Britain's influence to promote black-white dialogue in South Africa.

In an interview afterwards Mrs Suzman said: "We had an in-depth discussion on the whole question of sanctions. I told her why I opposed them and said Britain should set herself a number of attainable objectives for change in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi, at a brief Press conference on the steps of 10 Downing Street, said he would support sanctions "if they would topple the Government tomorrow".

But they would not do so and would inflict more hardship on black people, he said.
Own Correspondent
LONDON. — Two leading South African politicians told the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, yesterday that they supported her refusal to consider sanctions against South Africa.

KwaZulu leader Chief Gatshe Buthelezi and veteran Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman met Mrs Thatcher separately at Downing Street to discuss the state of emergency and the threat of a mounting international sanctions campaign.

A Downing Street spokesman said Chief Buthelezi had thanked Mrs Thatcher for her opposition to sanctions while Mrs Suzman had urged the Prime Minister not to impose sanctions.

Wrong
A Downing Street spokesman said after the meetings that Mrs Suzman had told Mrs Thatcher that it was "quite wrong to seek to isolate South Africa through economic sanctions."

Mrs Suzman had asked Mrs Thatcher to keep up pressure for international reform.

"Mrs Suzman said economic and industrial progress were the largest factors in contributing to the break-up of apartheid. She said sanctions would interrupt that process."

She agreed with the line the Prime Minister and the British Government have been taking in this matter," the spokesman said.

Chief Buthelezi said he had urged the Prime Minister to continue applying diplomatic pressure to prepare the ground for a national convention.

He said diplomatic pressure on South Africa should be directed towards lifting the state of emergency, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and supporting his declaration of intent for reform.

Chief Buthelezi said he had told Mrs Thatcher of his concern at cross-border violence and recent official threats that borders with neighbouring states like Lesotho might be sealed.

He said the recall of European ambassadors from South Africa was useful insofar as it conveyed the seriousness of the situation to white and black South Africans, but added that they should return to South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said he would support sanctions tomorrow if he thought they would "topple the government." But he was opposed to "emotional gestures" which did not achieve results.

He said he had congratulated Mrs Thatcher on her "sensible" attitude on sanctions.

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that the African National Congress (ANC) was urging the liquidation of black collaborators.

He said the ANC was capitalising on the current levels of black anger and mass violence but had not caused them.

Only hours earlier an ANC spokesman had told a press conference that armed struggle was the only course open to the ANC, and criticised Britain for opposing the ANC's economic sanctions.

It was announced yesterday that a three-man ministerial delegation from Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg is to visit South Africa soon on a fact-finding mission.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said it was not clear whether the delegates would be the foreign ministers of these countries. The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that the Netherlands Ambassador had approached him on behalf of the EEC president about the visit.

He said the ambassador was advised that the South African government would welcome the visit by the three ministers for discussions.

Sources at The Hague said it was probable that the three ministers would decide at a meeting on a joint set of demands to be conveyed to the South African Government.

No firm date has yet been set for the trip. It comes against the background of South Africa's growing diplomatic isolation — the latest steps were the closure of the Danish Consulate in South Africa yesterday and the recall of the Australian Ambassador, Mr Robert Birch, for a review of relations with South Africa.

EEC
Most senior envoys of the EEC countries still represented in South Africa are already out of the country on leave, and will be staying on until after an EEC meeting in Brussels on September 10 to discuss what new steps might be taken on South Africa.

The countries affected by the UK's refusal to break relations with South Africa are Britain, France, West Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Denmark. The Spanish and Portuguese ambassadors will also attend the meeting.

Spokesmen for the Finnish Legation and the Canadian and Austrian embassies said yesterday they had not yet received any notification of the recall of their senior envoys.

The United States withdrew its Ambassador from Pretoria in June after the South African incursion into Botswana.

Sanctions
The EEC countries are split over sanctions. Britain and West Germany oppose sanctions as ineffective and potentially harmful to blacks, and both countries made it clear that they viewed the recall of their ambassadors as temporary.

However, backing for economic action has grown within the EEC. France and Denmark have already frozen new investment, while Belgium has backed sanctions. The Netherlands has said it is ready to discuss economic measures if they are adopted jointly.

Porn mags keep nurses hot

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — Health officials are keeping down the costs of heating a Midland's hospital by burning tons of pornographic magazines.

The Worcester District Health Authority came up with the idea of cutting huge heating bills at the Worcester Royal Infirmary with a new incinerator bought for £25,000.

And they're taking supplies of pornography seized by the West Mercia Police Force along with dangerous drugs and other rubbish to use as fuel to keep their patients gay.

A spokesman for the Health Authority said: "The new incinerator is saving us £30,000 a year."

"We are charging outside organizations for disposing of their rubbish and at the same time we are getting free fuel for the hospital."
Police plea for info on killing of attorney

Police have appealed to the public for any information which will assist them in their investigation of the murder of Mrs Victoria Mxenge.

A spokesman for the police said it would serve no purpose and would not assist them in their investigations for people to make "unfounded, irresponsible or unsubstantiated allegations" about the death of the Durban attorney, who was shot outside her home last night.

Her husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, was killed in Durban four years ago and the crime remains unsolved. The police statement was in response to a statement by the United Democratic Front (UDF) which referred to the death of Mrs Mxenge as "a cold calculated assassination" aimed at eliminating the UDF.

The spokesman said the police would appreciate any information — no matter how scant or irrelevant — that may lead to the arrest of the perpetrators of these deeds.

RESIGNED

- Miss Maki Skosana, the young Duduza woman who was killed by a mob after a funeral on July 20, had left her job two weeks previously because she was scared.

- A spokesman for the leather company for which she worked said he believed she had resigned so she could move from the area.

The company has rejected claims by her family, reported in The Star on July 27, that she had been laid off two weeks before she was killed. The spokesman said the company had her letter of resignation.

The mob which killed Miss Skosana had accused her of being a police spy.

Two weeks before she was killed, she informed her department head that she was scared and wanted to leave, her former employer said. — Sapa.
Murdered lawyer: police plea

PRETORIA — Police have appealed to the public for any information which will assist them in their investigation into the murder of Mrs Victoria Mxenge.

A police spokesman said it would not help the police if people made "unfounded, irresponsible or unsubstantiated allegations" about the death of the Durban attorney.

The police statement was in response to a claim by the UDF that Mrs Mxenge's death was "a cold, calculated assassination" aimed at eliminating the UDF.

The spokesman said the police would appreciate any information, no matter how small or irrelevant, that might lead to the arrest of the assassins.

Mrs Mxenge, 43, one of the defence lawyers for 16 people, among them UDF leaders facing charges of treason, was shot in the driveway of her home in Umzini near Durban on Thursday night.

Her husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, was killed in Durban four years ago and that crime remains unsolved.

Commenting on Mrs Mxenge’s death, Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, UDF publicity secretary in Natal, said yesterday: "It was a cold, cowardly and calculated assassination which the people and their organisations will not accept without a desire for vengeance.

"In the light of a systematic campaign by the state to eliminate..." UDF, this murder will be seen by many as the work of the state or its allies."

The gunmen opened fire as Mrs Mxenge got out of a car driven by the Natal chairman of the UDF, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu.

She was rushed to hospital by her son, but was certified dead on arrival.

A police statement said four gunmen escaped in a car.

Commenting in London yesterday, Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP MP for Houghton, said the shooting was a calculated political killing.

"By whom, we have yet to find out," she said.

"These are very sinister incidents," she said, speaking on British commercial radio.

Mrs Suzman said the shooting of Mrs Mxenge and the deaths of Matthew Gonwane, Port Coluto and two other UDF activists in Port Elizabeth recently were all cold-blooded political killings.

"I think there's no doubt about it," she said.

In Washington, the US State Department strongly condemned what it called "this horrible crime."

"Mrs Mxenge was well known in South Africa and to many American diplomats who served in South Africa as a dedicated, humane person," spokesman Charles Redman told reporters. — Sapa-AP

King funeral, page 6
Police arrest 31 in Durban demo

Owne Correspondent
DURBAN — Police with dogs, batons and sjamboks yesterday broke up a march by at least 1 500 people, arresting 31 as police reported unrest from the townships.

The demonstration was against the shooting on Thursday night of civil rights lawyer Mrs Victor Xxenge, and the 14-day-old state of emergency.

One man was bitten by a police Alsatian as the crowd marched through central Durban, but he was apparently not seriously hurt. Others were sjambokked or hit with batons and dragged to police lorries.

Cameramen

There were no baton charges and a number of those arrested did not resist. Police cameramen filmed the events.

All those arrested were released after being charged with taking part in an illegal gathering. They were ordered to pay R200 admission-of-guilt fines or to appear in court on Monday. Police did not release their names.

The demonstrators, students from Natal University's Howard College campus and Medical School and from Durban-Westville University, were joined by bystanders and shoppers.

Estimates of the total ranged from 1 500 to 3 000. Students of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and a handful of whites were also involved.

Posters carried by marchers said: "Mrs Xxenge — we shall continue to resist", "Victoria, your spirit lives on" and "Hitler, Amin, Botha — three of a kind". Marchers chanted "Viva ANC" and shouted the name of ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Hundreds of fingers were pointed at black riot policemen as demonstrators chanted: "You are a sell-out!" At police in general, they chanted repeatedly: "You are the terrorists!"

A crowd of many thousands looked on. Shopkeepers barred their doors as the crowd moved past.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that incidents of unrest were reported by police from Mamelodi, KwaZakhele, Zweithembu and Mphophomeni, near Maritzburg, where police dispersed 150 people with a quirt. There were no injuries or arrests.

In Ackerville, near Witbank, a delivery vehicle was burnt and a police vehicle stoned. Police dispersed the groups with rubber bullets. There was one arrest.

In East London, the boycott by blacks of white shops — now near-

ly 5 weeks old — continued yesterday.

The Chamber of Commerce's president, Mr Nico Cloete, said he could not estimate the drop in trade.

"There are outlets with mainly white trade which have not been affected, there are outlets with 50-50 black-white trade which have had declines, and there are others wholly dependent on black trade which have been severely hit", he said.

The boycott seemed to be "total" at outlets selling to blacks only, he added.

The chairman of the local Oriental Plaza Traders' Association, Mr Praveen Harry, said trade was generally down about 80 percent.

Rampage

In Zwelithi, damage estimated at more than R2 800 was caused by a mob of youths when they went on the rampage in Zone 4 on Thursday night.

The Ciskei police said yesterday the youths stoned a supermarket and two police vehicles at 8.45pm. They also threw stones and other objects at passing vehicles, causing extensive damage. No arrests were made.

- Pictures, page 11
Boesak and the mystery of ‘trip to Russia’

DR ALLAN BOESAK’S political activities and the controversial presence of communist flags and banners at the Cradock funeral where he officiated will come under close scrutiny tomorrow at an executive meeting of his church.

This comes only a week after Dr Boesak is said to have aborted secret plans to fly from Paris to Moscow to attend an International Youth Festival in the Soviet Union.

Members of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church — of which Dr Boesak is the associate — have indicated that there is growing concern and opposition to his political activities within his own church.

Church officials said they were unaware of Dr Boesak’s plans last week to fly to Moscow, and said this would not be on the agenda for discussion.

Dr Boesak also denied in an interview in Cape Town yesterday that he had ever intended going to Moscow during his recent European trip: “That’s silly... I have too much work to do here,” he said.

Confirmed

But earlier in the week an Air France official confirmed that Dr Boesak had been booked on a flight from Paris’ Charles de Gaulle Airport to Moscow.

London sources said a middleman, known as Jean-Claude Kennedy, made the flight booking for Dr Boesak and was to arrange a visa for him.

His plans to go to Moscow were also confirmed by his Cape Town secretary, Miss Thelma Sacco.

Miss Sacco said in a telephone interview that Dr Boesak had cancelled his plans to go to Moscow.

“However, she would not confirm that he had been to Moscow because the Russians would not grant him a visa.

It is believed his presence at the recent Cradock funeral of unrest victims — where a huge Soviet flag, ANC flags and banners of the SA Communist Party were openly displayed — was the last straw for some of his church colleagues.

The church’s moderator, the Rev Izak Mentor, confirmed that the executive would meet tomorrow, but would not comment on Dr Boesak’s activities.

Mr Mentor did say that he was alarmed at the presence of “anti-Christian” flags and banners in Cradock while Christians officiated at such funerals.

Dr Boesak said yesterday that plans were going ahead for a consumer boycott of white-owned shops.

From Moscow it’s reported that the World Youth Festival was disrupted with placards of “No more propaganda — we want to speak”, from frustrated West European delegates.

They were voicing their displeasure at the organizers for using delaying tactics to prevent a debate on Russia’s illegal military presence in Afghanistan.
THE Lebowa homeland wants the services of a former Azaso president.

Durban doctor Joe Phaahla has been pushed into a tight corner by a bursary contract he signed with his sponsors Anglo American Corporation/De Beers.

The contract requires him to serve a homeland of his "ethnic group" after completion of his studies.

And in his case it's Lebowa.

But he has an option. He may refund the money if he is unwilling to work for the homeland — exactly what Dr Phaahla wants to do.

Dr Phaahla recently completed his one-year internship at Manzilburg's Edendale Hospital.

The University of Natal medical graduate wants to remain at Edendale as it is closer to the medical school where he intends furthering his studies.

But Lebowa won't accept further delays and has insisted that he moves to the homeland.

It has already contacted the KwaZulu authorities — who run Edendale hospital — spelling out their demands.

Dr Phaahla has denied, however, that he is obliged to work for Lebowa immediately after finishing his studies.

He said he had written a letter to Lebowa saying he had no intention of leaving Natal as he wanted to be nearer to the medical school.

Dr Phaahla is presently working for the National Medical and Dental Association.
Boesak and the mystery of ‘trip to Russia’

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Son's horror as mum is axed to death

By SHAUN HARRIS

A YOUNG law student has described the horror of seeing his mother killed this week by four men.

For 19-year-old Mbasa Mxenge, the murder of his mother, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, a civil rights campaigner, senior member of the United Democratic Front and one of the instructing attorneys in the Maritzburg treason trial which starts tomorrow, was a bitter replay of the gruesome death of his father less than four years ago.

Griffiths Mxenge, also a human rights lawyer, was found not far from his home in the Durban township of Umlazi in 1981 with 43 stab wounds and a slit throat.

His killers have never been found.

This week Mrs Mxenge was shot and axed in the head in the driveway of her home in Umlazi — after her son was threatened by one of the gun-toting assailants and forced to run for cover.

A shaken Mbasa Mxenge said he had walked to the front gate of his house to meet his mother when two Zulu-speaking men, both armed with handguns, ran up.

Victoria Mxenge
Civil rights lawyer

the road towards him.

"My mother had just climbed out of a car and I was about to help her inside with her parcels when the men appeared."

"It all happened so quickly I didn't get a chance to have a good look at them, but I remember asking them what they were doing."

"One of the men pointed his gun at my head and said: 'Do you want me to shoot you?'

"I realised they were serious and ran across the road."

"As I ran I saw two other men approaching from the opposite direction, one with a bag and the other holding an axe."

"Seconds later I heard a shot and my mother screaming."

The assailants fled and Mr Mxenge returned to see a small crowd had gathered around his mother, who was lying face-down in a pool of blood.

"I rushed her to hospital but it was too late," he said.

"I don't think there is any doubt that the motives for the attack were political. They were obviously not intent on robbing her."

A former nurse, Mrs Mxenge joined her husband's legal practice in 1975 and became an attorney in 1981.

When her husband, a former ANC member and Robben Island prisoner, was murdered, she vowed to continue his civil rights work.

A spokesman for the Democratic Lawyers' Association said: "It appears that political assassinations may well become the order of the day."

"One can only think of the murders of Vic Turner, Griffiths Mxenge and other prominent opponents of the Government which remain unsolved."

Police are investigating.
Gandhi buildings will be restored

Mercury Reporter

DAMAGED buildings at the Gandhi Phoenix Settlement will be restored shortly and will not be handed to the National Monuments Commission, a spokesman for the settlement's management committee has indicated.

Damage running into hundreds of thousands of rand was caused during the recent unrest, but many valuable Gandhi artefacts have been saved, including the desk at which Mahatma Gandhi worked while in South Africa.

The spokesman said the mahatma's written record of his militant, non-violent struggle to uphold human dignity — contained in a bound volume of his newspaper, Indian Opinion, which was first published in 1903 — had also been saved.

He said Gandhi did not want to be remembered by statues or brick and mortar.

However, the physical aspects of the settlement are important historically and friends of the settlement from overseas and in South Africa have rallied in support of restoration, he said.

All damaged buildings, including the 'Sarvodaya' — the original home in which the mahatma lived for 21 years — would be restored.

The spokesman said the settlement was an international monument to the Indian community and handing it over to South African authorities would not increase its national or international stature.
De Jonge's ex-wife is linked to terror squad

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

Police probing the activities of Dutch Embassy fugitive Klaus de Jonge and his ex-wife Helena Pastoors have uncovered an alleged link with the ANC's Special Operations Unit.

The unit was set up by ANC mastermind Joe Slovo as a terror squad to conduct more spectacular sabotage operations. He staffed it almost entirely with whites. Most were recruited abroad, but some were South Africans.

De Jonge is currently held up in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria. His ex-wife is under police detention in connection with ANC activities.

Last week police claimed she was linked to the man who planted the Pretoria car bomb two years ago.

Intelligence sources in South Africa claim that Slovo's special unit has become the principal since the '60s. It became part of Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and has been accused of being responsible for some of the more spectacular ANC operations — including the rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte, the running of sophisticated courier networks and the Sasol bomb attacks, as well as the Pretoria blast.

Slovo, reputed to be a colonel in the RBG, is intelligence chief of the Umkhonto, as well as the ANC's deputy military commander. He is also the Central Committee of the banned SA Communist Party.

Recently he was made a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee — the first white to serve on it.

His selection was interpreted in South Africa as proof of the tightening grip that the Communist Party now has on the ANC.

Intelligence sources in Pretoria claim that Slovo now takes orders directly from Moscow, and channels them via the SACP to the ANC and Umkhonto.

Slovo's deputy is Ronnie Kasrils, another exiled South African, and the man whom police allege does most of the active recruiting of whites for the unit.

Prospective members are carefully watched and screened before being asked to join.

After training in East Bloc countries, they are brought to neighbouring states from where they are sent on their first missions.

In the most recent case involving Slovo's Special Operations Unit, it is alleged that De Jonge bought a car in South Africa registered in the name of an Harare-based Dutch diplomat.

Intelligence sources claim there was a false compartment in the car used for smuggling arms, ammunition and explosives into South Africa.

Police attention was apparently drawn to De Jonge after an ANC courier broke the cardinal rule that gunrunners should not make contact with cells inside the country.

Police had been unaware of his existence at first. They had been watching his former wife, Helena Pastoors, in Johannesburg, when De Jonge allegedly made contact with her.

Arrested

Further police investigations uncovered a series of arms caches. Pastoors was arrested and De Jonge was detained near the Zimbabwe border. In the car they allegedly found ANC codes, maps and a 9mm pistol.

Pastoors allegedly admitted to police that she had driven the car, and the bomb which went off in Pretoria, into South Africa where she handed it over to two other members of the ANC.

These two were killed in the bomb blast, which also killed several other people and injured dozens.

As a result of the premature explosion, Pastoors was severely reprimanded by Slovo who believed the deaths of black civilians could harm the image of the ANC.
THE brutal murder of Durban lawyer and political activist Victoria Mxenge this week, raises once again the spectre of a long list of killings and abductions which remain unexplained and unsolved.

The number has increased dramatically in recent months as the situation in the country's black townships deteriorates, especially in the Eastern Cape.

The United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation say between them more than 40 of their members have disappeared since the unrest started. Some of them may have been victims of the strife between the organisations, but many remain unaccounted for.

The most recent and chilling example was the abduction of four Caledon leaders whose bodies were later found charred almost beyond recognition.

These are, however, recent developments.

**Murders**

These are some of the murders and abductions, which the police have not yet solved:

- **January 8, 1978:** Dr Rick Turner, banned University of Natal politics lecturer, shot at his Durban home. His elderly mother says she hasn't given up the search for her son's killers.
- **November 19, 1981:** Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge, found dead, his body riddled with 45 stab wounds at the Umzizini Cycle Stadium. Two days later his car was found in flames in daylight near the Swaziland border. The inquest magistrate found he was killed by person or persons unknown, and the police have made no progress in their investigation.
- **April 1982:** Siphiwe Mthimkhulu, former detainee who was suing the Minister of Police for R105 000 for alleged torture and poisoning, disappeared after he was taken by his friend, Topsy Madaka, to Port Elizabeth's Livingstone Hospital for his regular medication. Mr Madaka has also disappeared.
Boycott on for Maritzburg, says Mawu

INDUSTRY REPORTER

In an escalation of the BTR-Sarnico dispute, white-owned shops in Maritzburg are to be boycotted, said the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu).

Mawu said the methods of the boycott had yet to be decided.

A spokesman for the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) said a delegation of Fosatu and Mawu officials, along with representatives from community organisations, would hold meetings with the Mayor of Maritzburg, Robin Dales, and the Chamber of Commerce today and tomorrow, respectively. "But the boycott is definitely on," he added.

Mawu is also to have a separate meeting with the Chamber of Commerce, which it hopes will put pressure on BTR to reinstate dismissed workers.

"There will be a general meeting of the Maritzburg community next Saturday to report back on the meetings with the mayor and various chambers and to launch the boycott," said the Mawu spokesman.

The dispute between Mawu and Sarnico began when the company fired 875 workers who went on strike over union recognition several months ago.

In a weekend Press release MAWU drew attention to the interest the BTR dispute has sparked in Britain.

"The BTR issue has been raised in the House of Commons regarding foreign investment in SA and a representative of Mawu will be appearing on British TV to outline the dispute," said the union.

The release added that the British Trades Union Congress had agreed to send a senior trade unionist to SA to investigate the BTR dispute and report back to UK, if invited by Fosatu.
A brave fighter who never gave up

VICTORIA Nonyamezelo Mxenge lived for the same ideals as her husband — and this week she died in the same brutal fashion.

When four men shot and hacked her to death on Thursday evening, the Mxenge family once again relived the painful experience four years ago when head of the family and respected lawyer and politician Mlungisi Griffiths Mxenge was found murdered at the Umlazi Cycle Stadium, his body riddled with 45 stab wounds.

His killers are still at large.

Mrs Mxenge, popularly known as Sis Nyami to friends, was killed as she got out of a car driven by the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, a longtime family friend and chairman of the United Democratic Front in Natal.

FLASHBACK... Victoria Mxenge with children Vive (left) and Nombhe at her husband's funeral in 1981. This week Victoria was shot and bludgeoned to death outside her Umlazi home.

"Her death is a devastating blow, not only to the legal fraternity, but to society as a whole," Mike Govindasamy of the DLA said in a statement.

"Her brutal murder reminds us of the gruesome fate met by her lawyer husband, raising grave suspicions as to the motive and identity of the perpetrator.

"Other opponents of the Government have also died under mysterious circumstances and the failure of the police to apprehend the culprits swiftly enough, or at all, raises the question as to whether the police take these investigations seriously enough.

"Indeed it appears that political assassinations may well become the order of the day. One can only think of the murder of Ric Turner, Griffiths Mxenge and various UDF and Azapo officials whose murders remain unsolved."

The DLA said these murders, seen together with the turbulence throughout the country and the state of emergency, was evidence that the Government has failed miserably to address itself genuinely to the problems of this country.

Mrs Mxenge was admitted as an attorney in 1981 after studying part time while working as a nurse and raising a family at the same time.

Burial will be next to hubby

MRS Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge, the United Democratic Front treason trial lawyer and civil rights campaigner, who was gunned down and bludgeoned to death last Thursday, will be buried in King William's Town on Saturday.

The Rev Mcebisi Xundu, an executive member of the UDF who was the last person to see Mrs Mxenge alive, told The SOWETAN yesterday that a memorial service will be held in Durban on Thursday at 6 pm at a venue to be announced.

She will be buried next to her husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, who was killed at Umlazi in November 1981.

Mrs Mxenge (43) was slain in front of her children in the driveway of her Umlazi home.

According to Mr Xundu, he and Mrs Mxenge had just got back from Maritzburg about 7 pm when four men came rushing from the bushes across the road and into the driveway.

Two shots were fired by the men who later hacked Mrs Mxenge as she tried to escape in front of her three children.

There has been an angry outcry from many quarters over Mrs Mxenge's death.

The Reagan Administration has condemned the killing in its latest sign of anger over Pretoria's handling of apartheid violence.

The State Department spokesman described the killing by four unidentified men as a "heinous and horrible crime."

The United States called on South Africa to find and prosecute the perpetrators.

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) said it viewed the death as a tragic loss to the revolution and an indication of the climate of terror perpetrated by the State. It expresses solidarity with all those facing charges of high treason.

The Democratic Lawyers Congress (DLC) said it mourned the untimely death of Mrs Mxenge who was a stalwart in the struggle for human rights. It said it was a loss to be deprived of a personality of her calibre.

The Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) said it noted with great concern and deep sorrow the brutal killing of "our mother, Mrs Mxenge".

"The identity of the murderers, just like those of Messrs Goniwe, Mkhonto, Mhlawuli and Calata are a mystery to us. But what is clear is that they were killed by those who oppose the ideals of our liberation struggle."

"This cowardice, horrible act of terror is in keeping with the escalating vicious violent actions against the opponents of the apartheid policy by the enemy agents and are unique in that they are all beyond the control of those who claim to be maintaining law and order in the country."

Brutal

The Natal Organisation of Women, another organisation of which Mrs Mxenge was an executive member, said it was outraged by this brutal and callous murder of Mrs Mxenge, who "has always been a beacon for the women involved in the liberation struggle."

The widespread reaction to her murder is indicative of the high esteem she enjoyed, especially among anti-apartheid forces.

The Democratic Law-
UDF challenges foreign governments and 

business on apartheid

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Foreign governments, local and foreign business have been challenged by the United Democratic Front to declare whether they support apartheid or are willing to back South Africa's voiceless majority.

"The time for vacillation and equivocation (the use of ambiguous words to conceal the truth) is over. The time for 'constructive engagement' and a policy of 'persuasion' is over," a UDF memorandum says.

"At a time when hundreds of our people are being killed, threats and leaders are being assassinated, vacillation can only be construed to mean explicit support for the Botha Government and its campaign of repression."

The document was delivered to and discussed with senior representatives of seven Western powers in Pretoria on Friday. It is understood that representatives of European countries whose ambassadors are returning home for consultation were among those who received the UDF delegation.

The UDF, describing itself as the "foremost legal popular voice", asserted that the Government would not be able to subjugate the majority and defy world opinion without "the active assistance and connivance of certain governments and local and foreign business, in particular".

It said that it believed that an international conspiracy existed between certain foreign governments and big business locally and abroad to maintain the oppression of the majority of South Africans.

Charges levelled against foreign governments — especially those of Britain, the United States and West Germany — were that they lent the Government open diplomatic support; that they encouraged investment in South Africa; that they actively collaborated with the South African Defence Force and police through the supply of intelligence and resources; and that they promoted the "cosmetic changes" of the Botha reform deal as fundamental attacks on apartheid.

The demands of foreign governments were that they sever diplomatic links with Pretoria; terminate "constructive engagement" and similar policies; abandon the "wait and see" approach to the Botha reform plan and end military and intelligence support.

The document supported the idea of extending sport boycotts and sanctions.

Foreign businessmen were charged with pouring billions of rands directly into the South African Government, the homelands and elsewhere in the private sector. The effect, it was argued, was to strengthen apartheid.

No direct call for disinvestment was made but foreign investors were told: "Your continued participation in the South African economy sustains apartheid and encourages bellicose and violent policies of the Botha Government."

Local businessmen came in for strong criticism, standing accused of openly supporting the state of emergency and the "use of State violence to normalise the situation".

The UDF said: "The call for 'law and order' in the South African context is a call for the continuation of white domination."

It strongly condemned local business's widespread support for the reform plan and demanded from it a complete reversal. "Support our call for direct negotiations between the Botha Government and the authentic leaders and organisations of the people," it urged local business.

It similarly demanded backing for its call to the Government to release unconditionally all detainees and political prisoners — including Nelson Mandela, to end the state of emergency and to withdraw security forces from the townships.
Regulations on funerals: 7 arrested

Police have arrested seven people in connection with alleged contraventions of the Public Safety Act arising from a funeral of 12 unrest victims held at Zwide on Saturday.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said the seven were arrested after the funeral for allegedly contravening several regulations in terms of the Act.

He said the alleged contraventions were being investigated.

Security forces, although visible at the funeral, kept a low profile and the funeral was held without incident.

The emergency regulations pertaining to funerals were published in the Government Gazette of July 31.

Although only 10 names of those being buried could be obtained by the Evening Post reporter, there were 12 coffins in the Old Apostolic Church in Zwide where 2,600 people gathered to pay their last respects. A group of about 300 people from Soweto walked to the church.

Marshalls told the procession to stop singing and the people marched on silently to the church.

After the funeral the marshalls struggled to keep the mourners quiet and were greeted by a display of toyi toyi (emotive dance) from some of the mourners.

Police are investigating breaches of regulations which state that:

- People attending a funeral may travel only by vehicle along a route determined by a divisional commissioner of the South African Police.
- No flags, banners, placard, pamphlets or posters shall be displayed or distributed.
- A particular funeral ceremony shall not be held for more than one deceased person.
P W 'should have spoken to Tutu' says MP

**Bureau**

**PRESIDENT Botha** should have spoken to **Bishop Tutu** 'even if Mr. Botha does not like what the bishop has to say or how he says it', Mr **Graham McIntosh**, **PPP MP for Pietermaritzburg North**, said here yesterday.

In his report-back meeting, Mr McIntosh said: 'As State President, Mr Botha should make time for a man committed to peaceful change; is internationally recognised; and who is one of the country's important leaders.'

He said while Government policies concerning apartheid were changing, they were not all necessarily that of reform.

The emergency situation, Mr McIntosh said, had been precipitated by the Government who had denied full political rights to the majority of the population, banned the **ANC** and **PAC** and did not have Parliament's sanction in the emergency.

'The powers given to the police are worrying and the **Internal Security Act** itself is a form of permanent emergency.'

Mr McIntosh said he had also sent a telegram asking the Government to reconsider its decision not to move the headquarters of the Natalia Development Board from **Durban** to Pietermaritzburg.
Naude unaware of funeral flag

Mercury Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG—Dr Beyers Naude was not aware that the 'hammer and sickle' had been raised when he took part in the Cradock funeral march recently.

Photos of Dr Naude, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, were published showing him walking ahead of the communist flag, and these fuelled widespread speculation about his political affiliations.

But in an interview at the weekend, Dr Naude made it plain he was not perturbed by the innuendos — he would have joined the funeral march even if he had seen the flag.

As a Christian, Dr Naude said, Christian obedience required him to stand in solidarity with victims of injustice and oppression.

'In the light of my knowledge of the feelings of blacks and the Government's exploitation of communist fear, there is no point in trying to convince young blacks of the dangers and unacceptable of the communist ideology,' he said.

'We are now reaping the bitter fruits of Government propaganda over decades, when all persons fighting for basic rights for blacks are smeared as communists.'

Dr Naude said he was not totally opposed to the state of emergency, though he had reservations about its ultimate success.

He said no one could deny the Government's responsibility to restore law and order. It was understandable that measures had to be taken to ensure a return to normality.

'The Government should be fully aware that the state of emergency will not resolve anything because it is not addressing itself to the root causes of unrest — anger and resistance,' he said.

Dr Naude said catastrophe could be averted if the Government heeded warning signs and took the necessary steps to accommodate the legitimate aspirations of the people. Otherwise, 'the country will become increasingly ungovernable', he said.
200 attend 'Jobs for All' rally

Staff Reporter

A RESOLUTION to campaign for a new unemployment insurance fund and to call for the scrapping of racism and sexism in the workplace was overwhelmingly accepted at the launch of the Jobs For All campaign in Langa yesterday.

Called by the Unemployed Workers' Committee, the rally in the St Francis Cultural Centre in Langa was attended by about 200 people.

It was resolved to form committees of unemployed workers to form an unemployed workers' organization and to fight for the eradication of all racist laws and practices which restricted access to jobs.

Mr. Christmas Tinto, Western Cape vice-president of the United Democratic Front, read out a statement from the Consumer Action Committee which said people should not buy from white-owned shops.

He said the committee believed it was whites, who had the power to vote, who had placed the government in the position it was today.

"We are not going to buy from them (white shop-owners). They must tell the government to lift the state of emergency, remove the SADF from our townships, release our jailed leaders and unbanning all our organizations.

"If the government does not, we will not buy from white shops."

Mr. A.M. Omar, an advocate, said "unemployment has been a disease here ever since we've had this system."
Businessmen hoping to end boycott

FRED STIGLICH

EAST London businessmen have high hopes of resolving the consumer boycott which has severely affected a number of retailers since it came into effect last Monday.

According to reports, several CBD shops have been forced to close down, and in Milner Road in North End, 11 out of 16 shops closed last week.

Outlets catering mainly for white consumers have not been affected.

The chairman of the retail committee of the East London Chamber of Commerce, Harold Winears, said yesterday organised commerce would "do its damndest" to set up meetings to resolve the boycott.

He said that the level of intimidation of black consumers was "tragic", and white businesses could not even send out black messengers to local retailers without the risk of them getting beaten up.

"Black shoppers are often forced to return goods bought at white shops, and here retailers have been very sympathetic in refunding shoppers' money."

Winears said that, apart from the Border Consumer Boycott Committee, which has been responsible for distributing a pamphlet which includes demands for stopping harassment of local hawkers and a call for removal of the SAP from the townships, he did not know who was behind the boycott.
Beyers Naude ‘not aware’ of red flag

From WINNIE GRAHAM

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Beyers Naude was not aware that the “hammer and sickle” had been raised when he took part in the Craddock funeral march recently.

Photographs of Dr Naude, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, were published showing him walking ahead of the communist flag and these fuelled widespread speculation about his political affiliations.

But in an interview at the weekend, Dr Naude made it plain that he was not perturbed by the innuendoes — he would have joined the funeral march even if he had seen the flag.

He said Christian obedience required him to stand in solidarity with victims of injustice and oppression.

“No one could deny the government’s responsibility to restore law and order. It was understandable that measures had to be taken to ensure a return to normality.”

He said: “The emergency may temporarily bring some form of calm but the moment the measures are lifted, the pent-up feelings of anger will explode and that explosion will be far more serious than the present wave of unrest.

“The government should be fully aware that the emergency will not resolve anything because it is not addressing itself to the root causes of unrest, anger and resistance.”

Dr Naude added that the new regulations regarding funerals could bring matters to a head.

Mrs Victoria Mxenge, who was shot and killed last Thursday, was one of the best known and respected leaders in Natal and if the government imposed restrictions on this funeral, the people would defy them.

In this climate of anger only the release of imprisoned political leaders and the right of exiles to return could create a climate of calm which would make negotiations as meaningful as possible.

Dr Naude said he abhorred violence, but he could understand why people were driven to violence.

He would like to prevent violence but prevention did not start by condemning those who were forced to react but by discovering the causes of violence.

“I am a man of peace but peace is only possible through justice,” he said.
Bishop defuses violence threat

An explosive situation was defused today by the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev. Desmond Tutu, at a funeral in Davelton township, near Benoni.

Bishop Tutu spoke with the police for about 20 minutes after they had ordered mourners to disperse just before they were due to go to the cemetery.

Earlier, a District Commandant ordered that two unrest victims be buried before noon today.

Tutu defuses violence threat at funeral

From Page 1.

"I assured him that there would be no trouble, but obviously I could not guarantee that," he said.

The funeral of Miss Agnes Mokane (16) of Blylala Street was completed at about 10 am when Bishop Tutu arrived at the family home.

Bishop Tutu then proceeded to the home of Miss Elizabeth Khumalo (16) of Khuse Street where a service was being held.

Early in the morning a heavy South African Defence Forces contingent assisted by police manned roadblocks in the township and searched all cars.

"Using a loudhailer, Lieutenant-Colonel Nel said: "You are acting against the law and you must disperse. When the convoy starts moving you must all be in vehicles. No processions and no bicycles should be used."

Bishop Tutu then spoke to Lieutenant-Colonel Nel for about 20 minutes.

After that he returned to the mourners and said Lieutenant-Colonel Nel had asked him if he could guarantee that if the procession was allowed to go on foot to the cemetery there would be no violence.
EDINBURGH — The Bank of Scotland has been attacked for refusing to allow Edinburgh District Council to erect a statue of Mr. Nelson Mandela on land it owns in East Princess Street Gardens. Councillor Mark Lazarowicz, chairman of the council’s recreation committee, said: “The bank is to be condemned for this. We told the bank what the sculpture was to be, and the refusal is clearly connected with that.” — The Star Bureau.
IMC boycott of meetings

By RAYMOND HILL

THE Port Elizabeth Indian Management Committee today decided not to attend any meeting of the Port Elizabeth City Council until segregated seating arrangements have been abolished.

This was unanimously decided at a special meeting of the committee held in Korsten to discuss the controversy over segregated seating facilities provided for members of the committee in the council chamber.

Members of the committee complained that they were debarred from sitting around the horseshoe in the council.

The committee has decided not to attend any future council meetings until proper seating arrangements for members have been made.

It was also decided not to invite any city councillors to future meetings of the committee.

In the past, two city councillors were invited to attend monthly committee meetings and to sit next to committee members.

A resolution by the Management Committee taken in January which said a committee representative should attend standing committee meetings of the City Council, was rescinded.

Members today strongly criticised councillors, particularly the "verkrampte", for providing segregated seating facilities at council meetings.

The committee chairman and the MP for Malabar, Mr Raman Bhanu, said the council had been "very politically influenced".

He criticised the "verkrampte element" and said he was extremely disappointed in those who were responsible for the segregated seating.

Mr Bhanu also criticised the "liberal element" among the councillors who did nothing about the matter.

He said those particular councillors supported the committee whenever it suited them — or otherwise they just remained quiet.

"Our city councillors are not working in the best interests of the city as a whole."

The deputy chairman, Mr Jay Kathen, referred to an occasion in a City Council meeting when he was not given the opportunity to put his point across.

He said, in effect, the committee had been by-passed by councillors on an important issue at that particular meeting.

Referring to separate seating arrangements in the council chamber, he said it was not a "worthwhile" situation for committee members to sit separately.

Earlier today Mr Bhanu, said he would have to reconsider his decision to serve on local and statutory bodies if the City Council insisted on segregated seating facilities at council meetings.
Admiration for Mandela 'not proof of conspiracy'

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

EXPRESSIONS of solidarity and admiration for political figures such as Nelson Mandela were not in itself proof that one had 'joined a conspiracy to overthrow the South African State by violent means'.

Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, said this here yesterday during legal argument before Mr Justice Milne, Judge President of Natal, for 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders charged with treason between 1980 and 1985.

Mr Mahomed questioned the validity of allegations by the State that proof of some of his clients being involved in an unlawful conspiracy was in their distribution of pamphlets calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and about the assassination of Durban attorney Mr Griffiths Mxenge.

Mr Mahomed said the pamphlets had been an attempt to express admiration and to remember 'a man of courage who had died.'

He said the pamphlets

Mxenge killing

given a description of each man's life and, in the pamphlet about Mr Mxenge's death, a summary of the Freedom Charter.

'Does this mean that every time I express this type of respect, admiration or solidarity, I have joined a conspiracy to overthrow the State by violent means?' Mr Mahomed asked.

He said the fact that Mandela had been convicted of a criminal offence which involved violence did not mean that the pamphlets had suggested 'that it is a good thing he had used violence and others should also'.

He also argued against the 'irregularity' of his clients being joined together in their alleged involvement in various offences and said that some should be made exceptions to the charges.

The 16 treason trialists are: Mr Ramgobin, 52, C Sowpersad, 48, M Naidoo, 54, E Jassat, 52, D Mokoena, 37, E Nkondo, 57, Archie Gumede, 71, Paul Davi, 44, Mrs A Sisulu, 69, F Chikane, 54, E Saloojee, 49, T Mahomed, 54, R Gqweta, 39, S Njikelana, 29, S Kikine, 37, and D Ngcobo, 38.

The trial continues in the College Road Supreme Court today.
In a two-part series SEJAMOTHOPO MOTAU reports from Pretoria on the conditions which produced the present generation of rebellious black youth in South Africa. Tomorrow he examines the personalities who have become their heroes.

STUDENT leaders in the townships may come from as many varied backgrounds as there are families in the black community but they have a common educational background.

Like their schoolmates throughout the country all are "true" products of the much-maligned Bantu Education which they curse as the greatest burden any pupil could have been asked to carry.

They find it ironic that a system of education believed to have been designed to prepare blacks for "perpetual servitude under white masters" has produced the most radicalised pupils ever to enter a South African classroom.

They blame this situation on the environment both inside and outside those classrooms.

Some recall their first years at school when they were placed in bleak classrooms, in many cases without desks.

They remember the "platoon system" which confronted teachers with morning and afternoon sessions of invariably overcrowded classes.

This meant the pupils could not expect any specialised attention from the overworked teachers, many of whom were ill-prepared for the job.

By contrast, they say, their white counterparts enjoyed the benefits of compulsory education which included well-furnished classrooms, properly trained teachers, a low teacher-pupil ratio and satisfactory recreational facilities at their schools.

Some remember days when they had to be sent back home by their teachers because they had not paid school fees or did not have the required books.

Some also recall problems they had because of the lack of the proper school uniform.

Not much changed for them at secondary school in terms of facilities.

If anything, their situation became worse. They had to pay higher school fees, more for books and make do with ill-equipped laboratories and libraries — where these existed.

Their teachers, trained mainly in English, were forced to teach 50 percent of subjects in Afrikaans, a language very few of them could use adequately.

While they sympathised with their teachers in this predicament, they felt let down because "our teachers did not fight this move."

They attribute the initial antagonism of the black pupils to their teachers in the last decade to "the docile manner in which the teachers accepted the ill-conceived directive from the Department of Bantu Education."

Some say they lost most of the respect they had for their teachers at that stage.

Sporting facilities are at a rudimentary level at most black schools.

Many schools do not have their own and have to share the meagre facilities of their communities. Their organised activities are generally limited to soccer, basketball, some softball and a bit of tennis.

Through contact with friends enrolled at mixed schools in the white areas, township pupils know of the decent recreational facilities at many white schools, including swimming pools.

By contrast, pupils in Afterdeville have to share two small pools with about 80,000 other residents.

The student leaders say it is to the credit of most black families that pupils can even graduate to university from such daunting educational and social environments.

They talk of the ease with which pupils can turn to petty card and dice gambling at street corners, sometimes with serious consequences, including stabbings or arrest. They talk of the ready availability of liquor to pupils — a great temptation for many.

They talk of these things and say until the school environment is made "attractive" to pupils, the schools will lose the struggle against the counter-attractors and the high drop-outs will remain, to the detriment of the black community and the rest of South Africa.
City MP admits election bribery, counsel tells court

Supreme Court Reporter

A PENSIONER told the Supreme Court, Cape Town, she would not have voted in the House of Representatives election if she had "not been promised R10 cash and R20 worth of groceries" by a Labour Party candidate.

Mrs Augustus Benjamin, 68, of Salt River, was giving evidence in an application by Mrs Soheir Hoosein, the unsuccessful People's Congress Party (PCP) candidate, against Mr Martin David Arendse, MP for Tafelberg.

Mr H M Scholtz, for Mrs Hoosein, who lost by three votes, has asked the court to nullify four votes allegedly "induced" from pensioners by promises made by Mr Arendse in a letter.

He also asked the court to declare her elected.

Mr D B Knight, SC, for Mr Arendse, said his client admitted sending out letters which, in terms of the Electoral Act, constituted bribery.

"The only thing the court can do is declare this election cannot stand and that there must be a fresh election," he said.

Evidence was that Mrs Benjamin and several other pensioners received letters from Mr Arendse before the election in August last year.

The text read: "To all pensioners who support me in this election will receive from me (sic) if I am successful, a Xmas gift parcel to the value of not less than R20 and as from January 1 1985 and every month thereafter, a sum of not less than R10 to augment their monthly pension until it is increased.

"Please keep this note as a guarantee certificate — thanks very much for your kind support."

A copy of the note was handed in.

Under cross-examination Mrs Benjamin said that after the election she was visited by "a Mr Isaacs" of the Labour Party. She signed a statement saying she voted not because of any promises but because she wanted to vote.

"He told me to sign but I didn't know what it was," she said.

Mr Justice Munnik ordered that the counterfoils of the ballot papers be examined by the Registrar of the Supreme Court to ascertain whether the four pensioners had in fact voted.

The hearing continues tomorrow.

Mr Justice Munnik is sitting with Miss Justice van den Heever and Mr Justice Baker. Mr Scholtz is instructed by Mr K Hofmeyer of Marais Muller, Mr Knight, SC, is assisted by Mr J G Foxcroft and instructed by Mr SA Stander of Hersteins.
Bowed heads for UDF attorney

MARITZBURG. — Sixteen United Democratic Front and trade union leaders observed a moment's silence in remembrance of murdered defence attorney Mrs Victoria Mxenge before the resumption of their trial on treason charges in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

The 16, who stood with heads bowed, were joined by the gallery and defence and State counsel.

Mrs Mxenge, who was representing the accused, was gunned down outside her home in Umbuzo, Durban, on Thursday.

'Victim'

Before hearing legal argument, the Natal Judge President, Mr Justice John Milne, said it grieved him to record that one of the most recent victims "of the tragic and deplorable violence that is afflicting our country" was Mrs Mxenge.

The 50 or so spectators were searched as they entered the College Road Supreme Court in pairs, while police with dogs kept watch as another few dozen spectators gathered across the street.

Four overseas television crews, which included teams from the BBC and Canada, as well as a number of foreign journalists and photographers attended yesterday's hearing.

Also attending were a number of representatives from consulates from Europe and Judge Nathaniel Jones, of the Sixth Circuit Court in the United States and a representative from his country's Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights.

Defence lawyer Mr Ishmail Mohamed argued that the prosecution had improperly grouped all 16 defendants in one case and that the details of the charges were too vague. He said the judge should either quash the indictment or order the prosecutors to redraft it.

Mr Mohamed presented colour-coded charts showing that the different alleged offences occurred in various places from 1980 to 1985, and that not all the defendants were involved in each of the purported crimes.

Pamphlet

Mr Mohamed also argued that documents distributed by the accused and supplied in court by the State did not show the 16 were guilty of the alternative charge — conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence.

A "Free Mandela" pamphlet "was a purely historical description of a black leader", Mr Mohamed said.

A PFP leader had called for the release of the jailed African National Congress president and there was no reason to link such calls to the sanction of violence.

Griffiths

A document on Mrs Mxenge's lawyer husband, Griffiths, who was stabbed to death at the Umbuzo rugby stadium about four years ago, "was once again a historical document" setting out where he was born and went to university.

The 16 treason trialists are: Mr M Ramgobin, 52, Mr C Sewpersad, 48, Mr M Naidoo, 54, Dr E Jassat, 52, Mr D Mokoena, 37, Mr E Nkondo, 57, Mr A Gumede, 71, Mr P David, 44, Mrs A Sisulu, 76, Mr F Chikane, 54, Mr E Saloojee, 49, Professor 1 Mahomed, 54, Mr R Ggweta, 33, Mr S Nijke, 29, Mr S Kikine, 37, and Mr D Ngobo, 38.

The trial continues today. — Sapa.
Unrest: three cases heard in Queenstown

Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — Two people arrested on Monday appeared briefly in court here yesterday in connection with allegations of public violence.

Mr Zukile Tontyleni, 21, of Mungisi and a 16-year-old youth who may not be identified because he is a minor, were not asked to plead and no charges were put to them.

The magistrate, Mr F. Stassen, postponed the case until August 22. Mr Gontyleni and the youth were remanded.

The public violence case of another youth, who pleaded not guilty on July 31, was postponed to August 28 pending a decision by the Attorney-General.

The youth, a 17-year-old minor, was arrested on July 14.

He was charged with disturbing public peace or security by unlawfully assembling in Big Street, Queenstown, with a group of 30 people who marched about the street creating a riot, defying lawful instructions to disperse, assaulting SAP members with sticks and stones, damaging SAP vehicles with sticks and stones, damaging a municipal beerhall by setting fire to it and blocking a public road by spanning wire across it and placing stones in the road.

His defence attorney, Mr A. V. Magquabi, told the court the child would deny each and every allegation in the charge sheet and demanded that the state prove all the allegations.

Mr Magquabi said the youth first heard of the allegations at the police station and had denied to police that he had taken part in the commission of the alleged offences.

At the time of arrest, he was assaulted in various ways and a dog set on him while in a certain house — as a result of the assault he sustained a swollen right eye, a lump on his head and dog bites on his thigh, Mr Magquabi said.

The magistrate, Mr F. J. N. Stassen said in terms of Section 122 d(1), the youth will be committed to the regional court for a summary trial.

On July 31, Mr Magquabi asked the prosecutor, Miss M. Momberg, if the state would reconsider bail for the next appearance. She affirmed.

In a separate case, a 17-year-old youth was remanded to August 28.

The youth, who was arrested on July 14 and pleaded not guilty on July 31, was charged with unlawfully assembling with a group of about 50 people who disturbed public peace or security by marching about the street and creating a riot, defying lawful instructions to disperse, assaulting SAP members with sticks and stones, damaging an SAP vehicle with sticks and stones and setting fire to municipal property.
Move forward, Buthelezi urges

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President Botha's rhetoric on reform should not prevent him making a statement about real change in the near future, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, says.

"Most white people in South Africa are receptive to change. Mr Botha is misreading the situation," he said yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a visit to Britain.

President Botha had stopped just one step short of genuine reform, Chief Buthelezi said. But he deserved credit for the scrapping of legislation such as the Mixed Marriages Act, which were not just cosmetic actions.

"I implore him to now pick up his courage in both hands and move forwards. If he does that, he will gain black support as well."

Asked what he was going to do to end the present stalemate between him and the State President, Chief Buthelezi said: "I'm prepared to wait. Time is on our side. In the meantime we will sweep our own backyard."

Chief Buthelezi was referring to the disunity among black leaders and organisations. That, he said, was the biggest stumbling block in the path of liberation.

Non-violent strategies such as the boycott by black consumers in the Eastern Cape could be effective only if the people involved were really united.

MAIN THRUST

The Chief Minister said he did not regard the current unrest and state of emergency as the start of a revolution.

"The main thrust of the violence so far has been unleashed with blacks fighting each other. The classical revolution has not yet begun."

Chief Buthelezi said no black leader could meet the State President until the state of emergency had been lifted.

"Any leader that did would discredit himself," he said. "There is nothing treacherous about seeking reform — and I'm prepared to wait."
Mandela is top choice of black youth leaders

SEJAMOTHIPA MOTAU reporting from Pretoria concludes his series on the perspectives of black youth with an assessment of whom they see as their true leaders.

NELSON MANDELA, leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC), is frequently quoted by student leaders in the black townships as their idol, hero and true national leader.

This is hardly surprising in the current emotion-charged South African political situation, but it is remarkable coming from young leaders many of whom were not yet born when Mandela was sentenced to prison for life 22 years ago.

Many of the student leaders say they have a ‘vague idea’ of why Mandela, now at Pollsmoor prison, was sent to the Robben Island.

It does not seem to matter that they are not as familiar with the facts surrounding his imprisonment as would be expected.

The important thing, they say, is that Mandela’s actions challenged the might of the “apartheid South African government” and that has earned him their respect and loyalty.

They see Mandela as the “only black leader who can unite our people and bring us our freedom.” They cannot see any solution to South Africa’s political turmoil without Mandela, they say.

Other names mentioned are Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Ntsho Mqota, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association.

Some say they respect Chief Gatsha Buthelezi “as a man,” but they do not regard him as a national leader because of his “involvement in homeland politics.”

They regard him as an ethnic leader, in spite of his past ANC connections. They say his stand against “Pretoria-style independence for KwaZulu” is commendable but that he should “never have got himself into that situation.”

Bishop Tutu is respected and admired for “standing up to the Government on our behalf and for not being just another pulpit preacher.” If anyone can lure them back to church, say some of the leaders, Bishop Tutu is the man.

They see his leadership role as an “interim measure until Nelson Mandela gets out of prison.”

They see Dr Mqota as a role model with exceptional ability to articulate the black community’s problems, aspirations and yearnings. He is admired for having stood up to the Government and the Bophuthatswana citizenship it imposed on him.

They see his resistance as inspiration for millions of blacks who have arbitrarily had their South African citizenship taken away.

Mr Steve Biko, generally recognised as the father of black consciousness in South Africa, who died while in police custody in 1977, is also regarded as a potent source of inspiration for black pupils and students.

The student leaders say his efforts to “conscientise blacks positively towards their colour” was a significant breakthrough. His efforts made millions of black gain self-confidence and pride in being black, they say.

The leaders also think highly of Mr Onkhopotshe Tiro, a former student leader at the University of the North, who was killed by a parcel bomb while in self-exile in Botswana.

They regard him as the person who awakened the consciences of many students to their rights both in their schools and outside.

Another remarkable factor about the choice of Mandela as leader by the student leaders is that not all belong to the Congress of South African Students, which has ANC and United Democratic Front links.

Some belong to the Azanian Students’ Movement and the Azanian Students’ Organisation which support the Azanian People’s Organisation, generally linked with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).
MR Charles Khoza, the man who allegedly tipped off the police about the presence of an alleged African National Congress insurgent in Alexandra in February, is homeless, jobless and broke.

Speaking from his brother's home last week he said: "Life has turned sour and bitter for me. It all started when my room and property were burnt in February. The police have not compensated me for the property and cash destroyed by the fire.

"The council team rebuilding the house is also taking too long to finish. And the last blow was when I was retrenched from my work in June."

He said he was being cared for by his brother, Thomas. A police spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said Mr Khoza's claim application had been forwarded to the State Attorney. He said, "Until such time that we get his verdict there is nothing we can do. We cannot speculate on the outcome of the claim."

A spokesman for the Alexandra Town Council said they were still working on finishing touches. He said the room would be ready for occupation by the end of the month.

Mr Khoza's woes started on the morning of February 9 when he reported to the security police the presence of two "armed men" he had accommodated in his room. His house was razed during a fierce gun battle that ensued between the police and the suspects. His property was destroyed.

He lived in fear for his life shortly thereafter when a group of youngsters came looking for him. He was not home.
Black leaders should not negotiate now says chief

Mercy Correspondent
Johannesburg—Any leader who negotiated with the State President while the state of emergency remained in force would suffer a major blow to his credibility, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, said yesterday.

But this did not affect a meeting between Mr Botha and Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, as Bishop Tutu wanted to speak about the state of emergency, he added.

Chief Buthelezi, who was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after his return from Britain, where he met Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other senior British officials, reiterated his call for a lifting of the emergency.

Questioned about the form of a declaration of intent, Chief Buthelezi said the only negotiations would be about the sharing of power, a single parliament and one constitution.

He had met leaders of the Pan African Congress in London, though he had not met leaders of the African National Congress.

Among those he met were Mr Potlako Leballo, former president of the PAC, Mr A B Ngcobo, executive member of the PAC under Robert Sobukwe, and Mr Velekhaya Shange. He described the talks as 'positive'.

Chief Buthelezi said in answer to questions that he did not think a revolutionary situation was developing in the townships.

'Black people have been unleashed against black people; I don't see this as a revolution because classically revolutions have been directed against the oppressors.'

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha had stopped short of a step in the direction of real reform and this was disappointing because he believed whites were prepared for reform.
Buthelezi urges PW to press on with reform

President Botha’s rhetoric on reform should not prevent him from making a statement about real change soon, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, said yesterday.

“Most white people in South Africa are receptive to change. Mr Botha is misreading the situation,” he said.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking at a Press conference, at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from a visit to Britain for discussions with, among others, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

President Botha had stopped just one step short of genuine reform, Chief Buthelezi said, but he deserved credit for the scrapping of legislation such as the Mixed Marriages Act.

“I implore him to now pick up his courage in both hands and move forward. If he does that he will gain black support as well.”

Asked what he was going to do to end the stalemate between himself and the State President, Chief Buthelezi said: “I’m prepared to wait. In the meantime we will sweep our own backyard.”

He was referring to the disunity among black leaders and organisations. That, he said, was the biggest obstacle to liberation.

Non-violent strategies could be effective only if the people involved were really united.
An idol to students who were not yet born when he was jailed for life

Near-anarchy in the streets of many South African black townships has forced the Government once again to declare a state of emergency in some areas of the country.

The protest against established order has been led by youths, many still in their teens. Who are they? What sort of homes do they come from? What are their attitudes?

Here is the second in a two-part series on the average student protest leader.

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REWARD

FOR INFORMATION ON
3 MISSING ACTIVISTS

THE Civil Rights
League has offered a
R1 000 reward for in-
formation leading to
the discovery of three
missing Eastern Cape
political activists.

The men, all leading
figures in the Port Eliza-
beth Black Civic Orga-
nisation (Pebco), have
been missing since May

They are Mr Oqaa-
wani Godolozwi, Mr Si-
pho Hashe and Mr
Champion Galeta.

The Civil Rights
League is offering
another R1 000 reward
for information leading
to the discovery, alive or
dead, of Cosas leader
Mr Siphiwe Mthimkulu
who disappeared three
years ago.

At the time of his dis-
appearance, Mr Mthim-
kulu was bringing a
damages claim against
the Minister of Police
for allegedly being poi-
fonsed while in deten-
tion.

In its latest newslet-
ter, the League reports
that it had been ru-
moured that the three
Pebco leaders had been
stopped at a police
roadblock at the en-
trance to New Brighton.

“If this was true, there
should be witnesses —

SOWETAN
Correspondent

was found to be a police
informer.

The League said that
“written proof” from
police stations in the
Eastern Cape that the
men were not being held
was "valueless" after a
recent incident in Uiten-
hage when a Black Sash
deputation by chance
discovered a man, Nor-
man Kona, in the police
station, "manacled to a
table, flogged and

bleeding.

"Yet the police sta-
tion charge office had no
written entry on his ad-
mission to the police sta-
tion, nor of three other
victims of police assault
in the room," not an
emergency regulation
detainee.

The League urged
human rights activists
to be vigilant in oppos-
ing any Brazil-type "death
squad", or any Ar-
gentization of South Af-
rica, leading to prisoners
without names in cells
without numbers."
The home of Mrs Winnie Mandela was raided yesterday after police broke up a demonstration outside the house.

And in Durban a man was shot dead by a policeman at kwaMashu. Seventeen pre-primary school children were injured when their bus was attacked near nearby Lamontville.

The number of arrests under the emergency regulations rose to 1,689 today and police reported that 597 people had been released.

Police reports show 26 unrest-related arrests between 8 pm on Monday and yesterday.

A SAP spokesman in Pretoria said seven people were injured when buses and police and private vehicles were stoned yesterday at Sophiatown and Imbali near Mafeking.

Of yesterday’s arrests, 30 occurred at the Brandfort home of Mrs Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

A police spokesman said about 50 people, carrying placards and “armed with a variety of weapons”, gathered outside her house at about 11 am.

Stones and a petrol bomb were thrown at police and the crowd was dispersed with rubber bullets and smoke bombs, he said.

A number of demonstrators fled into Mrs Mandela’s home and after tear smoke was thrown into the house, 19 men and 11 women were arrested, he said.

A wave of violence swept through Durban’s black townships yesterday.

A policeman fired on a crowd stoning his kwaMashu house and fatally wounded one man, police reports said.

The Lamontville and AJ Mwelaase high schools in Lamontville and the Siquongyen Senior Secondary School in Imbali were closed yesterday after a boycott on Monday.

In a noon situation report today police said a school was extensively damaged by arsonists at Kroonvale near Graaff Reinet.

At Daveyton on the East Rand, a private home was damaged by a petrol bomb.

At Tembisa, also on the East Rand,

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Mandela's home raided

- From Page 2

a private vehicle was destroyed by arsonists.

At Barberton in the Eastern Transvaal, groups stoned police and private vehicles. There were two arrests.

At Mamelodi near Pretoria, buses were stoned and a youth was arrested.

At New Brighton a private vehicle was destroyed by arsonists. A youth was arrested.

In Umlazi and kwaMashu near Durban, police arrested two men and a woman when a number of shops were looted.

In other incidents in the same areas, police used rubber bullets, tear smoke and smoke powder to disperse arsonists who destroyed a bus, a truck and other vehicles.

In Chesterton, also near Durban, a private home was destroyed by arsonists after the owners were assaulted and robbed. Development board offices and an undertaker’s office were also damaged by arsonists. — Staff Reporters and Sapa.
Funeral date changed

Churchill Mxenge said the date had been changed because of the "situation" in Durban. He said her body would be flown to East London on Saturday afternoon and would be taken to the Brownlee Congregational Church in King William's Town where a memorial service would be conducted by the Rev S. T. Wyne.

Mrs Mxenge will be buried next to her husband's grave at Rayl Location.

Her brother-in-law, Mr.
JOHANNESBURG — The dependants of those killed in the Langa shootings at Uitenhage in March, and those who were wounded in the incident, have instituted damages claims totalling about R2 million against the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the individual policemen involved in the shootings.

A letter, notifying the Minister of the victims' intentions to sue for damages, was delivered today to the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee.

Nineteen people died from gunshot wounds. The damage claims of the dependants total about R500 000.

One of the deceased, Mr Phakamile Solomon, left his wife and five children. His family is claiming R100 000 for damages and R20 000 for the funeral.

Thirty-six people were injured by police bullets. Their claims total about R1.5 million.

One of them, Mr Lawrence Gqubule, 20, paralysed from the waist down since he was shot, said in his affidavit: "I cannot move my legs at all and I cannot feel anything below my waist."

Mr Lungile Nqikashe, 34, is a paraplegic as a result of gunshot wounds he suffered that day. He said in his affidavit: "Soon after being injured, I was unable to sleep at night and have nightmares."

Four of those injured by police bullets have been dismissed from their jobs. Several will never work again.

The legal costs of the 46 plaintiffs are being paid by the Federation of South African Trade Unions, which has about four members among those injured.

Most of the injured were allegedly arrested and detained "with no sufficient cause" and are suing the Minister for wrongful arrest and detention. — Sapa
The common threads outlined here are of course not the whole story. There is a morass of ifs and buts and divergent interpretations behind those statements of the three leaders.

But one fact remains: the subjects they touch on are key issues in South Africa.

According to the way in which these statements are qualified, they show that in essence the thinking of the State President and/or members of his Government and those of Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu is along similar lines.

President Botha and Chief Buthelezi:

Until recently tension between the kwaZulu leader and the State President appeared to be easing.

After four years of bitter acrimony between them the two leaders met in May for the second time in six months.

Barely a month later a sudden chill developed in their relations after President Botha's end-of-session speech in Parliament on June 19 in which he again rejected a one man, one vote unitary state.

According to Chief Buthelezi Mr Botha had also ruled out the possiblity of a unitary state structured along either union or federal lines. Because of that, he said, there was no longer possible for him to negotiate with the Government.

On July 17 Chief Buthelezi said that he was prepared to back off his demands for one man, one vote in a unitary state. But he was still not prepared to negotiate before the Government was willing to discuss the sharing of power (a federation) and not a division of power (a confederation).

What he wanted, he said, was a declaration of intent from the State President that negotiations would be about a federation or the sharing of power.

Mr Botha's statement that he believed in the principle of one man, one vote as long as it was not in a unitary state can be read in different ways.

It can be seen as simply a reiteration of the policy that blacks can have voting power in their own independent homelands in a confederation. Or it can mean that Mr Botha will find one man, one vote in a non-unitary kind of federation acceptable.

But then, as Chief Buthelezi is saying, Mr Botha doesn't want to commit himself to a federation.

Is Chief Buthelezi's assumption that Mr Botha is unconditionally opposed to a federation or power-sharing correct?

According to National Party sources, who are familiar with constitutional development it is not. It is true, they say, that Mr Botha doesn't want to use the word federation.

The reasoning is that the Government feels convinced that the classical model of a federation found in European countries cannot be applied in South Africa. And, it believes, that once it uses the word federation in committing itself before negotiation this could tie it to the European model.

In actual fact, NP sources say, Mr Botha has never ruled out the possibilities of some form of common political system.

Supporting evidence that Mr Botha is not necessarily against a federation in principle can be found in his April declaration that he was no longer committed to the policy of disposessing blacks of South African citizenship when their "homelands" attain independence.

Confederation by definition means an association between separate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha's statement was clearly inimical to federation.

A political re-ordering within the framework of a common citizenship points towards a form of power-sharing.

Federation means dividing the country into a number of geographic regions or states which have a fair degree of self-rule (excepting on defence, foreign policy and the Treasury) and a common citizenship.

Another move that smacks of federation is the system of regional and provincial government which the Government is setting up.

Against this background the question can be asked: Is the State President really as opposed to the sharing of power as Chief Buthelezi claims?

Bishop Tutu and President Botha:

Not all four of Bishop Tutu's conditions for supporting the Government's reform programme have been fulfilled yet.

But on three of them it is clear that Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha have the same goal.

With regard to common citizenship, the State President has stated unconditionally that he is committed to South African citizenship for all.

The Government has conceded that the pass laws are an unhappy legacy of the past. The proposed Bill to review these laws will bring "dramatic" changes, say National Party sources.

The question of forced removals has not yet been resolved — although all removals were suspended after an announcement by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The Government's efforts to curb legal action against previous removals are still causing resentment. And there are still thousands of blacks in "black spots" whose future is uncertain.

However, the Government's suspension of forced removals indicates a sensitivity to this issue.

The prospects that Bishop Tutu's demand for one education system will be met are dim — although the Government is aware of the need for upgrading black education.

But a score of three out of four suggests that the position is not hopeless and gives enough reason to believe that President Botha and Bishop Tutu can reach out and find a mutually acceptable solution.
SOUTH Africa cannot justify the high cost of fighting for the retention of apartheid because it stands no chance of gaining either popular national or international acceptance, National Federated Chamber of Commerce president, Dr Sam Motsueneanye said yesterday.

In his presidential address at Nafoce's 21st annual conference at Sun City in Bophuthatswana, he said to free South Africa from the impending threats, constant internal conflicts as well as the claws of international sanctions, the Government should unconditionally free Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and negotiate with all credible black leaders.

"The Government should also consider granting full citizenship rights to all South Africans irrespective of their colour and race, scrap all discriminatory laws, open all public schools and tertiary institutions and open all business opportunities for all races everywhere."

Mr Motsueneanye said during Nafoce's third five-year plan which began in February this year and would end in 1990, the chamber would attempt to implement plans which would mark an important milestone in its development.

Some of the plans included: to continue opposing black/white partnership because it was seen as black fronting and the exploitation of the weaker partner by white partners.
Mob at Mandela home: 30 held

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THIRTY PEOPLE were arrested outside Mrs Winnie Mandela's Brandfort home during a confrontation with police yesterday morning.

A police spokesman said the arrests followed the petrol-bombing and stoning of police by an armed mob outside Mrs Mandela's home.

He said tear gas had been fired into the Mandela home after several youths took refuge there. Seven petrol bombs and five litres of petrol in plastic containers had been confiscated from the Mandela home.

Mrs Mandela, who is the wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was in Johannesburg at the time, the spokesman said.

He declined to disclose the names or ages of those arrested.

Mrs Mandela's daughter, Zinzi Mandela, a University of Cape Town art student, said from her UCT residence that a receptionist for her lawyers had telephoned her about 3pm yesterday with news of the incident.

"They said the police had broken into the home and fired teargas," she said.

She said her two-year-old son Zondwa, her aunt, Mrs Nanyiniso Khumalo, and her aunt's two children, Nkuleleko, 9, and Nomzamo, 7, and their close friend Zondwa, 6, had been arrested.

She said she was anxiously awaiting further news from home.

According to the police spokesman, the mob had gathered outside the home soon after a nearby bottle store had been looted.

The mob, which had defied an order to disperse, had been armed with axes, picks, shovels, broken bottles and sharpened pieces of wire, he said.

Sophie Tema reports from Johannesburg that Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday cut short a visit to Johannesburg and dashed back to Brandfort, accompanied by her lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob.

UPI reports that Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu defused a confrontation in Davelton between security forces and residents as hundreds of police and troops sealed off the township.

While soldiers blocked township entrances with armoured cars and parked armoured personnel carriers at every intersection of the main road through the dusty dirt street settlement 48km east of Johannesburg, police allowed only two funerals, ordering them to be held separately and banning marches.

Bishop Tutu broke a tense standoff between police and mourners determined to march 300 meters to the second burial for 16-year-old Elizabeth Khumalo, by persuading police to lay down their weapons.
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Bishop Tutu broke a tense standoff between police and mourners determined to march 300 meters to the second burial for 16-year-old Elizabeth Khumalo, by persuading police to lay on buses.

"If it weren't for the bishop, people would have died," a mourner said.

Salute

Later, a senior white police officer gave Bishop Tutu a crisp salute, seeming to acknowledge his mediation.

A convoy of seven buses took hundreds of mourners to the cemetery along a route lined with armoured personnel carriers and past troops armed with rifles, shotguns and teargas launchers.

About 1,000 people who gathered at the graveside sang a funeral dirge "Goodbye, Little Sister," and the hymn "God Bless Africa" before dispersing quietly.

Miss Khumalo was one of four young blacks shot...
'Confusion' over treason charges

OWN CORRESPONDENT

MARITZBURG. - Treason was being confused with the individual's right of dissent and freedom of speech, Mr Ismail Mahomed, SC, said here yesterday in attempting to clarify charges against 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders.

In argument before Mr Justice Milne, Judge President of Natal, Mr Mahomed said the State had accused the 16 of committing treason between 1980 and 1985 by being "antagonistic towards the government and treating it as an enemy". He criticized the State's definition of treason, saying: "One can also be antagonistic towards the State without committing treason."

He said an essential allegation of the defendants' involvement in furthering the aims of the Revolutionary Alliance, the Congress Movement and the Congress Alliance had not been sufficiently clarified by the State.

'Not clear'

It was still not clear what crimes had allegedly been committed by his clients in distributing pamphlets and making speeches propagating the Freedom Charter, which in itself was not illegal.

He rejected the State's claim that his clients' alleged commitment to violent political change had been through their membership to the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the UDF.

These organizations were voluntary associations and their constitutions did not refer to the violent overthrow of the State, any support of violence was the objective of individuals in the organizations.

The court heard that another "crucial aspect" still needed to be clarified concerning the allegation that the UDF had been infiltrated by the Revolutionary Alliance through some UDF leaders who had established "underground structures".

Basis

"To prepare my defence I need to know on what basis one can say the Revolutionary Alliance did establish an underground structure, how one can prove some of the defendants became part of the structure and if they knew that they were being used by the Alliance," Mr Mahomed said.

Legal argument about the indictment continues today.

The pleas of the 16 to treason with five alternative charges - including terrorism and the furtherance of the aims of communism and the ANC - and the leading of evidence is expected to start next month.

Veteran civil rights activist Mrs Helen Joseph, an American Appeal Court judge and American and British consular officials attended the hearing.
Memorial service for Mrs Mxenge

EAST LONDON — A memorial service for the murdered civil rights lawyer, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, will be held at St Peter Claver's Catholic Church in Duncan Village at 5.30 pm today.

Mrs Mxenge, 43, one of the defence lawyers for 16 people — among them UDF leaders — facing charges of treason, was shot at her home in Umlazi, near Durban, last Thursday.

Her husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, was murdered in Durban four years ago. The crime remains unsolved.

Mrs Mxenge will be buried next to her husband at Rasty Location on Saturday after a funeral service at the Brownlee Congregational Church in King William's Town.

— DDR
Mandela child safe

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been reunited with her 20-month-old grandson, Zondwa Nana. 03:10:34.

The boy was reported missing on Tuesday after police raided her home at Brandfort in the Free State during a clash with demonstrators.

The Mandela family's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said yesterday that Zondwa was found wandering down a street several hours after the incident and was taken in by neighbours.

Mrs Mandela's nephew, Nkululeko Madikizela, 7, had also been found safe after being reported missing.

Both children had been examined and treated by a Johannesburg doctor.

"Mrs Mandela's nephew was limping slightly after the raid, possibly from a bruised leg, but the children were otherwise unharmed and are now with relatives," Mr Ayob said.

Mrs Mandela, whose husband Nelson is serving life imprisonment, is herself serving hug orders and cannot leave Brandfort without permission. She was in Johannesburg at the time of the incident for a medical check-up.

She returned to her house with Mr Ayob after the clash but left soon afterwards.

Mr Ayob said he was concerned for Mrs Mandela's safety and added that she had taken refuge in a "safe place".

Police arrested 30 people after the clash at Mrs Mandela's home.

A police spokesman said they were forced to take action against a large crowd of pupils protesting against the state of emergency.

He said quirts and rubber bullets were used to disperse the crowd after they startedstoning police and a petrol bomb was thrown.

— DDC-Sapa.
Swazi police arrest three ANC members

MBABANE — A senior Swaziland police official today confirmed that three members of the African National Congress were arrested during Wednesday's raid on a block of flats in the centre of Mbabane by a contingent of heavily armed paramilitary police.

The official confirmed that one other man, also believed to be an ANC member, escaped the police dragnet.

He said the police also took possession of an undisclosed number of weapons and ammunition from the flats.

Informed sources said the police and security forces had stepped up their vigilance throughout the country to prevent what they believed may be a renewed attempt by determined members of the ANC deported from Swaziland to re-enter the country.

In Maseru, police yesterday raided the offices of the Communist Party of Lesotho (CPL) and confiscated Communist literature, including calendars and catalogues from the Soviet Union.

Mr Jacob Kena, CPL secretary general, said three plain-clothes members of the National Security Service, Lesotho's top intelligence unit, entered his offices shortly after 9am and started searching.

Mr Kena said his offices were used mainly for trade union business.

The confiscation comes a week after the Soviet Ambassador to Lesotho, Mr Vladimir Gavryushkin, presented his credentials to King Moshoeshoe II. — Sapa
Voters bribed: Woman to be declared new MP

A proclamation declaring her the MP for the constituency will then be published in the Government Gazette.

In last year's election for the new House of Representatives, Mrs Hoosen, who stood for the People's Congress Party, polled 115 votes against Mr Arendse's 118. The poll was only 4.14 per cent, the lowest in the election.

Yesterday the Supreme Court ruled that the votes of four pensioners who had voted for Mr Arendse should be deducted from his total of 118 and that Mrs Hoosen be declared elected by one vote.

It was not clear today whether Mr Arendse will have to pay back the nearly R45 000 he has earned since he became MP last year.

From the court judgment it appears as if this will not be the case as Mrs Hoosen has been declared "duly elected".

Mr Arendse, a former leader of the Labour Party who led it to victory in the 1989 elections for the old Coloured Representative Council, today declined to comment on the court ruling. He said he would have to consult his lawyers.

Mrs Hoosen, a mother of four children, said today that she was very pleased that the court case was over as she had been under tremendous moral, political and financial strain.

It was not clear today whether she would sit in the House for the People's Congress Party.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, expressed his regret about the court ruling but said that anyone could make a mistake.

*Labour MP loses seat — Page 4.*

*New MP wants 'grey area' in city — Page 22.*
Boesak has no communist links, says Moderature

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Moderature of the Ned-Geref Sendingkerk has criticised "incorrect, one-sided and misleading" reports linking Dr Allan Boesak with communism after a Russian flag appeared at a Cradock funeral.

RESOLUTION

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At its quarterly meeting this week the Moderature passed a resolution that, while the contents of Dr Boesak's speech at the Cradock funeral was his own concern, the presence of a communist flag in no way implied that he identified himself with communism.

Reports which linked Dr Boesak to communism were, therefore, incorrect, one-sided and misleading.

An impression created by the media that the Moderature was investigating Dr Boesak's behaviour was likewise incorrect and unfounded.

Furthermore, the Moderature deplored the "sensational and speculative manner in which matters concerning the church are reported".

This kind of reporting did the church immense damage, the statement said.

The meeting continues on Monday.
Mandela children found

From SOPHIE TEMBA
JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's grandson and nephew, who went missing from her house in Brakfontein in the Free State after a police raid on Tuesday, have been found.

The children were originally believed to have accompanied the 60 people arrested after the house had been raid-
ed by police.

The children are Zondwa Nana, the 20-
month-old baby of Mrs Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, a student at the University of Cape Town, and Nkululeko Medikizela, 7, Mrs Man-
dela's sister's child.

The family's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said yest-
terday that Zondwa had been found wandering down a street and had been taken in by neigh-
bours.

"Her nephew was limping slightly after the raid, possibly from a bruised leg, but the children were otherwise un-
harmed and are now with relatives."

Mr Ayob said both children had been exam-
ined and treated by Dr Abu-Baker Asvat at his Kilipspruit surgery yesterday afternoon.

Police said earlier that they had arrested 19 men and 11 women at the house and had found seven petrol bombs.
Buthelezi warns of backlash

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night expressed concern at what could happen if the anger of people being terrorised in the black townships around Durban were to "express itself in action".

Chief Buthelezi said blacks had for generations resented being terrorised by those who oppressed them and there was no way in which they would accept being terrorised by other blacks, "aided and abetted by misguided children and thugs that they are using to burn, maim and kill".

"I am troubled about the consequences of this thuggery, particularly if the anger of the people who are being terrorised expresses itself in action," he said.

TRANSPORTED

The KwaZulu Cabinet had information that young people who were in the townships of Kwamashu and Umlazi disrupting classes, intimidating businessmen and burning public buildings were being transported from the surrounding areas of Lamontville and Chesterville.

Chief Buthelezi gave his condolences to the children of Mrs Victoria Mxenge, the civil rights lawyer who was murdered last week.

"I am surprised by the manner in which certain elements are exploiting Mrs Mxenge's tragic death to promote anarchy in Umlazi.

He rejected as a lot of "hoo-\r\nwash" attempts to present this kind of political thuggery as the black liberation struggle.

Sapa reports that the Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said he was "personally monitoring" the position of Indians fleeing from the troubled Inanda area to the neighbouring Indian township of Phoenix.

FLEEING

Mr Rajbansi said he was keeping in touch with police about the safety of the fleeing people.

A Durban spokesman for the United Democratic Front, Mr Billy Nair, today denied that his organisation was responsible for the outbreak of violence in Durban townships.

He said it appeared that a boycott of classes by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) to protest against the death Mrs Mxenge had been "exploited by an element of hooligans and looters".
Langa victims’ families claim R2m from police

JOHANNESBURG — The dependents of those killed in the Langa shootings at Uitenhage in March, and those who were wounded in the incident, have instituted damages claims totalling about R2 million against the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and the individual policemen involved.

A letter, notifying the minister of the victims’ intentions to sue, was delivered yesterday to the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee. Summons will be served on the minister and the policemen in a month’s time.

Nineteen people died from gunshot wounds on March 21. The damage claims of the dependants total about R500,000.

One of the deceased Mr Phakamile Solomon is survived by his wife and five children. His family is claiming R100,000 for damages and R500 for the funeral.

Thirty-six people were injured by police bullets. Their claims total about R1.5 million.

One of them, Mr Lawrence Gqubule, 20, who is paralysed from the waist down since he was shot, said in his affidavit: “I cannot move my legs at all and I cannot feel anything below my waist.”

Mr Lungile Ngikashe, 34, is a paraplegic as a result of gunshot wounds he suffered that day. He said in his affidavit: “Soon after being injured, I was unable to sleep at night and have nightmares.”

Four of those injured by police bullets have been dismissed from their jobs. Several will never work again.

The legal costs of the 45 plaintiffs are being paid by the Federation of South African Trade Unions, which has about four members among those injured.

Most of the injured were allegedly arrested and detained “without sufficient cause” after the incident. These victims are suing the minister for wrongful arrest and detention.

One of them, Mr Kenneth Mxakwe, 42, spent almost four months in jail.

A Johannesburg lawyer, Mr Halton Cheudie, who is acting for the victims, said in an letter to the commissioner that "the Fouche group, acting in concert, deliberately and indiscriminately opened fire on members of the public."

“They did so to injure them with the knowledge that some of them would or might be fatally injured.”

The Langa incident was investigated by the Kammeyer Commission of Inquiry earlier this year. But an inquest is still to be held and some of the victims still face trial for alleged acts of public violence.

Soal: it all depends on Botha

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Peter Soal, FFP MP for Johannesburg North, said at a meeting in Germiston last night that "decisions taken during the course of the next few weeks and months will be crucial to the security and future of all the people of South Africa."

He said a great responsibility rested on the National Party and

Slabbert questions hope for reform

JOHANNESBURG — There would be a grim future for free enterprise and reform in South Africa if the government could not answer yes to three questions put by young blacks, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting of the Diamond Club in Johannesburg, Dr Slabbert said much had been said recently about the
Votes bribery: MP ou

By PETER DENNEHY

MR Martin Arendse, MP for Tafelberg in the House of Representatives and former leader of the Labour Party, was yesterday stripped of his seat by the Supreme Court for bribing pensioners to vote for him in last year's election.

In dramatic proceedings last weekend, court officials broke open a ballot box to see four pensioners who had testified to being induced by the cash and Christmas gift parcel offer. They then voted for Mr Arendse. They had, and their votes are deletable.

This gave a one-vote majority to the opposition candidate, Mrs Soheir Hoosen of Surrey Estate, a 32-year-old mother of four who had sought the election for the People's Congress Party.

The Judge President, Dr Justice G G A Jannik, declared that he was entitled to be declared duly elected.

Mr Arendse, of Lansdowne, Labour Party MP for the Central City suburbs and a well-known Cape Town politician, won the August 22 election by three votes in a 1.14 percent poll.

Mr Arendse was not in court yesterday. Earlier, Mr D Knight SC, counsel for the respondent, did not contest that the bribery letters had been sent out on behalf of Mr Arendse.

Miss Justice Van den Heever, who read the judgment, said Mrs Dorothy van der Horst, 78, a Walmer Estate pensioner with an income of R107.50 a month, had testified that she and her sister had sold their votes for the promises.

No one else in their street had gone to vote and she claimed that Mr Arendse had "made fools of them" because he did not keep his promises.

She could not remember how it had come about that she later gave a statement to Mr Iscaes declaring that she had voted because she had wanted to, not because of any promises, and saying that she had no intention of attending court.

Mr Frank Noels, 82, of Sallt River, testified that his son had tried to dissuade him from voting because they wanted nothing to do with the election, but this was not enough to overcome the temptation to try to alleviate my poverty in some small measure by voting for Mr Arendse.

Mrs Augustus Benjamin, 68, a widow, also testified that she was tempted and fell. She had given a statement to Mr Iscaes saying that she had voted "notwithstanding any promises", but she told the court she had not known what "notwithstanding" meant.

The court was satisfied that the witnesses were honest and had correctly given reasons both why they had voted at all and why they had voted for Mr Arendse. The contents of their statements to Mr Iscaes did not outweigh their testimony in court.

The court adjourned while the three judges checked whether the four pensioners had voted for Mr Arendse. Upon his return, Mr Justice Munnik said they had and that their votes would be deducted from his total of 118 votes. As Mrs Hoosen had received 115 votes in the same election, she then had a majority of one.

Mr Arendse was ordered to pay Mrs Hoosen's costs.

Mr Justice Munnik presided with Miss Justice L Van den Heever and Mr Justice P Baker. Mr H M Scholtz, instructed by Marais Muller, appeared for Mrs Hoosen. Mr D Knight, SC, assisted by Mr J G Fuchs and instructed by Herbsts, appeared for Mr Arendse.

A radiant Mrs Soheir Hoosen, who is to be the new MP for Tafelberg, outside the Supreme Court with her husband Mohamed, and surrounded by well-wishers (from left) Mr A S Akoob, Mr A W Tyrr of the President's CoI, John Delport and Mr Anwar Ismail.
Mrs Mandela in ‘safe place’

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has been put in a “safe place” by her lawyer after police raided her home in Brandfort, in the Free State. The incident on Tuesday led to the arrest of 80 pupils from a nearby school after teargas was fired.

NOT HIDING

Mrs Mandela’s lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said yesterday he had insisted she take refuge somewhere safe because “the level of violence at her house was excessive and because I feel insecure about her safety.”

He declined to say where Mrs Mandela was or how long she would be kept there.

He stressed, however, that she was not hiding from the police, or anyone else.

Police using quirts and teargas raided Mrs Mandela’s home after a demonstration by the pupils was broken up.

The pupils took refuge in her house. Mrs Mandela’s sister, Mrs Nonyaiso Khumalo who was apparently cooking at the time, was also arrested.

Mr Ayob said the pupils and Mrs Khumalo were expected to appear in the Brandfort Magistrate’s Court today.

Mrs Mandela was in Johannesburg having a medical check-up at the time. — Sapa.
Mandela put in 'safe place'

MRS WINNIE Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has been put in a "safe place" by her lawyer following a police raid on her Brandfort home in the Free State which led to the arrest of 30 children after tearsmoke was fired on Tuesday.

Her lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said yesterday he had insisted Mrs Mandela take refuge somewhere safe because "the level of violence at her house was excessive and because I feel insecure about her safety."

He declined to say where Mrs Mandela was at the moment and also would not say how long she would be kept "safe," SOWETAN.

He stressed, however, that she was not "in hiding" from the police or anyone else.

Police using riot and tearsmoke raided Mrs Mandela's home on Monday after a demonstration outside by pupils from a nearby high school was broken up.

The pupils took refuge in her house and 30 were arrested when police broke in using tearsmoke. Mrs Mandela's sister, Mrs Nonyaiso Khumalo, who was apparently cooking at the time, was arrested along with the pupils.

Mr Ayob said the 30 pupils and Mrs Khumalo were expected to appear in the Brandfort Magistrate's Court today.

According to a police spokesman in Pretoria, police were forced to take action against a demonstration by a "large" crowd of pupils protesting against the state of emergency.

He said riot and rubber bullets were used to disperse the crowd after they started stoning police and a petrol bomb was thrown.

The pupils scattered but some took refuge in Mrs Mandela's house. Tear gas was used and Mrs Khumalo and the 30 pupils — 11 girls and 19 boys — were arrested on charges of public violence.

The police spokesman claimed seven petrol bombs and 25 litres of petrol were found inside the house.

Mrs Mandela, who...
‘Gift’ bribery: Labour MP loses his seat

Supreme Court Reporter

LABOUR Party MP Mr Martin David Arendse, who promised pensioners cash and a “Christmas gift parcel” if they voted for him, has lost his seat in the House of Representatives following a ruling in the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

And after subtracting the votes of four pensioners who were “successfully bribed” from his total, the court ruled that his opponent, Mrs Soheir Hoosen of the People’s Congress Party, was entitled to be declared “duly elected”.

In a full Bench decision, presided over by the Judge-President, Mr Justice Munnik, it was found the actions of Mr Arendse in the election constituted bribery in terms of the Electoral Act.

By sending out letters to pensioners in the Tafelberg constituency, which he contested in last August’s election, promising them R10 a month and a Christmas parcel worth R20, Mr Arendse had indulged in a corrupt election practise.

Mr Arendse won by a three-vote majority. He polled 118 votes to Mrs Hoosen’s 115.

After the ballot papers were examined and confirmed that four pensioners who had received Mr Arendse’s letter had voted for him, Mr Justice Munnik ordered the four votes to be subtracted from Mr Arendse’s total.

This left him with 114 votes to Mrs Hoosen’s 115.

Mrs Hoosen was therefore entitled to be duly elected, he said.

Evidence of the four pensioners who testified that they had voted because they were tempted by Mr Arendse’s promises was accepted by the court.

It outweighed subsequent unsworn statements that they had voted of their own free will and not because of any inducement, provisional judgment said.

Mr Frank Alexander Noals, 82, — an “excellent witness” — told the court his son had tried to dissuade him from voting because “they didn’t want anything to do with the election”.

However, his son’s “militant attitude did not triumph over the temptation to try to alleviate his poverty” by “doing what the respondent had invited him to do — vote for him”.

Mr Martin Arendse

Mrs Hoosen
Call on UCT to award degree to Mandela

Political Staff

STUDENTS boycottting lectures at the University of Cape Town yesterday called on the university's senate to award an honorary degree to imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

About 200 students picketed outside the university's main campus along De Waal Drive yesterday during afternoon rush-hour traffic with placards condemning the state of emergency.

The flow of the traffic was affected as curious motorists slowed down to observe the picket.

The boycott started yesterday and is planned to last three days in protest against the government's emergency measures.

Police maintained a low profile as students sang freedom songs and chanted slogans.

At a student mass meeting yesterday morning a motion was adopted calling on the university council to award an honorary degree to Mandela.

Students then marched to the administration building to present their demand to the UCT principal, Dr Stuart Saunders.

The university council was also asked to condemn the state of emergency.

Reacting to the demands, Dr Saunders said that certain procedures had to be followed before any person could be awarded an honorary degree which had to be motivated by the university's council and senate. Students would have to ensure that these procedures were followed.

In a statement read to students, Dr Saunders said UCT was 'deeply sensitive to the crisis facing the country and sympathetic to the anguish felt by many'.

"We believe it is necessary to act in a responsible and constructive manner which in no way condones injustices in our society.'

He urged students to avoid confrontation with the police and reminded them that all open public demonstrations on and off campus were illegal.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and UDF patron, will address a student rally at 10am at UCT today.
Boesak has no communist links, says Moderature

Own Correspondent

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Furthermore, the Moderature deplored the "sensational and speculative manner in which matters concerning the church are reported".

This kind of reporting did the church immense damage, the statement said.

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IN A last-ditch attempt to save a Soweto man from the gallows his mother and attorney yesterday appealed to the United Nations and the international community to petition the State President.

Thirty-year-old Benjamin Malesela Moloise of 3643 Zone 3, Diepkloof, is due to be hanged on Wednesday in Pretoria after he was convicted in 1983 for killing a Mamelodi security policeman.

Warrant Officer Phillipus Selepe, in November 1982.

At a Press conference at Mrs Priscilla Jana's home in Lenasia yesterday Mrs Jana and Moloise's mother Pauline, said all legal procedures had been exhausted.

The only hope left was for the outside world to plead with Mr F W Botha to spare Benjamin's life.

Mrs Moloise said she had visited her son on Saturday and yesterday at the Pretoria Central Prison.

She believes his son's claim that he is innocent.

She said despite the fate that awaits her son, he had shown great courage.

His message to blacks and the nation as a whole was that they must not lose courage but move forward with the liberation struggle.

He had also said he was not worried, but his only concern was for his four-year-old child, Maria. He said one day the truth would be revealed but then it would be too late.

Mrs Jana said she also believed that Benjamin was innocent.

She said there had been irregularities in his trial.

He had no access to a lawyer during detention, she said.

He had also been made to plead to the charge on his first appearance without legal representation.

* See Page 3.
Policeman's side of the unrest story

From JAMES SMITH in Johannesburg

black officers' homes had been attacked nationwide — 330 destroyed or badly damaged.

A barracks of 11 tents has been thrown up in a yard next to the Dunntar police station, now home to 19 Duduza police officers and some of their families. They have lived there for two months after all 120 officers were evacuated from Duduza, a township of about 50,000. None of the children attend school for fear of reprisals.

Colonel Leon Mellet of the Ministry of Law and Order said about 400 anti-apartheid rioting has raged there since October, and black officers have been a constant target as youths lash out at the nearest symbol of white minority rule.

About 500 blacks have been killed in the unrest, most shot by police. Many other “collaborators” — including more than a dozen black officers — have died at the hands of rampaging mobs.

Det Sgt Msibi said he joined the police to maintain law and order. He maintains the situation is changing. "People are coming forward. We have arrested many of those responsible. Most blacks want to live a normal life, where essential services are not disrupted, where children can go to school and shops can deliver goods." — Sapa

The government contends the attacks on black officers are part of a broad strategy by opposition groups to make the townships ungovernable, and that blacks are the victims.

"People are under the impression that there is a black-white confrontation going on, but at least 90 per cent of the people are completely distancing themselves from the violence," Col Mellett said. "People who want a lawless state must get rid of the police force."

"They say they want liberation — they can get it, through the right channels," Det Sgt Msibi said, adding that the white leaders "are trying their level best to do things for the blacks."

To stop the rioting, "necessary force must be used," he said.

They don't even want to greet me, they pretend they don't know me," he said.

He has no sympathy for the rioters' view that peaceful protest has won them nothing in the campaign to end white minority rule.

Dunnottar, a placid town about 50 km east of Johannesburg, is near the centre of the storm in the surrounding townships of Duduza, Tsakanane, Kwa Thema and others on the East Rand.

Anti-apartheid rioting erupted there since October, and black officers have been a constant target as youths lash out at the nearest symbol of white minority rule.

Detective-Sergeant Joel Msibi stayed put when rioters petrol-bombed his eight-room Dunntar home in February, and he refused to leave after the second attack in May.

But the third attack in June left nothing unscathed. So Det Sgt Msibi joined hundreds of other black policemen from the townships who have moved to safety in nearby white towns.

"They are after my blood. If they don't get me, they will get my son," Det Sgt Msibi said.

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Chief warns of rising anger

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the rising tide of black anger must be stemmed before it draws the whole country into the cauldron of a black/white racist war.

Chief Buthelezi told Congressman Stephen Solarz here yesterday that any further escalation of violence would render black leadership directionless and make every black organization run after the process of bringing about radical change.

Mr Solarz, who has introduced a Bill in the United States Congress aimed at sanctions against South Africa, was in Durban to meet various leaders, including representatives of the UDF.

"Apartheid will and must be eradicated," he said. "My concerns are about the nature of the society we are going to end up with."

He said that anger was by far black South Africa's greatest asset and it was "sheer stupidity" to squander this anger in the kind of eruptions of mob violence which were being witnessed at present.

"The only way in which black anger can be assuaged is for the State President now to make distinct moves towards power-sharing," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said he appreciated the rising tide of American indignation about apartheid but this indignation should not attempt to rap Pretoria over the knuckles.

It should attempt rather to strengthen the arm of those black leaders and organizations inside South Africa who were intent upon the eradication of apartheid and were prepared to bring about a negotiated settlement.

Chief Buthelezi said disinvestment was not a black South African option at the present time.
‘Greater clarity’ to come about blacks’ political future - Minister

The Minister of National Health and Population Development predicts that the State President will soon start spelling out the political future of blacks. Political Correspondent

TOS WENTZEL reports

GREATER clarity about the political future of blacks outside the national and independent states would be provided at the coming round of National Party congresses.

This was predicted last night by the new Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

Addressing 60 people at a Nationalist report-back meeting in Stellenberg in the De Kullen constituency, Dr Van Niekerk said:

“The question on your minds is how the Government is going to handle the political aspirations of the black man, the political future of the black man outside the national and independent states.

“After the congresses of the National Party which start soon you will all have greater clarity on this aspect.”

He indicated that President P W Botha would start spelling out the matter at the Natal Nationalist congress next week.

Dr Van Niekerk said it had always been the National Party’s policy to bring about change through an evolutionary process.

“Co-operative co-existence” was the watchword in relationships between the various population groups.

The National Party had always, and in an especially dynamic way under Mr Botha, moved to promote this concept of co-operative co-existence.

Referring to the state of emergency Dr Van Niekerk said that only 36 of the 250 magisterial districts and only 20 per cent of the black areas were affected. The whole country was not in a state of emergency.

Revolutionary elements wanted to make the country ungovernable. Intimidation and acts of terror were aimed at getting the population under the influence of the revolutionary power.

In the unrest situation the black-black confrontation had to do with this intimidation.

In the counter-revolutionary action it was of the utmost importance that moderate black leaders should not be seen to be intimidated and should continue in local government. A large number of municipal police had been trained in order to protect this group and to maintain law and order.

Dr van Niekerk said he was extremely optimistic that South Africa would move out of the emergency situation, the economic recession, foreign pressure and the general pessimism to a greater optimism.

The emergency measures had diminished unrest and evolution was overcoming revolutionary attempts.

The problems around “co-operative co-existence” would be dramatically handled towards the end of the year.

Mr Myburgh Streicher, MP for De Kullen, pointed out that Mr Botha had acknowledged the permanency of blacks outside the national states and had stated that their ties with these states were not sufficient politically.

Blacks therefore had to have a say over their own affairs up to the highest level. This could be done without sacrificing the principle that one group should not govern over another.

The question of citizenship would now receive special attention from the special Cabinet committee and the multiracial and multiparty forum.

These steps were an indication of the new style of consultation and dialogue. More and more plans were being discussed and the future was being planned along with other groups in order to avoid confrontation and conflict.

Pressures from outside would only bring South Africans closer together.
Hitting traders

Consumer boycotts by blacks against white, coloured and Indian retailers are gaining ground.

They have taken firm hold in East London and Port Elizabeth, where a number of white traders have closed down or have reported drastically reduced turnover. Further, the National Union of Mineworkers has threatened to support such trader boycotts (see box). And a consumer boycott in Howick, Natal, now seems to be spreading to the Maritzburg area.

It has been reported that in East London at least 11 shops, used mainly by black consumers, have been forced to close due to falling trade.

In Port Elizabeth, a prolonged boycott has forced at least two shops to close and another 30 have suffered a 30%-100% drop in business.

In Cape Town, OK Bazaars' southern operations manager, Aubrey Coppin, was quoted as saying the company's seven shops in the western Cape had shown declines in trade of between 20% and 25% in the face of a boycott by black shoppers in the previous two weeks.

He said black shoppers were being intimidated when they returned to the townships if it was discovered that they had bought at white shops. OK's operations director, Ken Coots, confirmed a drop in business because of the boycott, which he said was hitting all white-owned businesses, particularly in the eastern Cape and Border. However, precise figures of the effects of the boycott were not available.

Consumer boycott leaders' demands include the lifting of the State of Emergency; the release of community leaders; the withdrawal of the security forces from the townships; an end to the ban on meetings of certain organisations; and the freezing of prices of basic commodities.

Chances of negotiating an end to the boycott dipped this week when police detained the Port Elizabeth boycott leader Mkuseli Jack.

"Delicate talks" between Port Elizabeth businessmen and boycott leaders were set back by the declaration of the State of Emergency. The detention of Jack could be an even worse blow.

In terms of the emergency regulations, police can close down a business if it is suspected that continued operation might promote or extend a boycott of other businesses. There have been no reports so far of the measure being used, but black traders in Graaff-Reinet have been indirectly threatened with such a move in an apparent attempt to break a black consumer boycott in the town.

Police this week slapped the harshest restrictions so far under emergency rule on Graaff-Reinet in an effort to break the cycle of violence and end a school and trade boycott. The 200-year-old town has been the scene of some of the worst unrest in the country.

Within two days of President P W Botha's announcement, 62 black and coloured community leaders were arrested. At least six others were picked up later.

In terms of the regulations published this week, no pupil may be outside a classroom on schooldays between 8 am and 2 pm without permission from the security forces, and then only on the conditions laid down by the forces. No one other than pupils and school employees are allowed near schools without police permission. Non-residents are banned from the black and coloured townships of Graaff-Reinet. No one may have petrol other than in the fuel tank of a vehicle.

Last week police obtained lists of absent pupils from school principals, went to pupils' houses and took them to school in police vehicles. The police also toured the townships warning parents through loudhailers that their children had to go to school. The situation in the townships this week was reported to be quiet. School attendance was back to normal.

According to Graaff-Reinet's town council, there are 30 000 black and coloured residents in the townships and about 6 000 white residents.

Progressive Federal Party NPC Molly Blackburn says she is concerned about reports from residents that nine of the 11 black shopkeepers in the townships have been detained by police and has urged organised commerce to take up the case of black shopkeepers facing the threat of closure. "This makes the government's claims to support free enterprise laughable," says Blackburn.

Financial Mail August 9 1986
DURBAN — The death toll in Durban's township violence rose to 38 today as the King Edward VIII Hospital reported 16 more dead-on-arrival admissions and scores more casualties during the night.

Mob violence continued in arson, looting and intimidation incidents, with gangs turning their attention to many Indian homes and businesses.

A dramatic appeal for help was received by the Daily News newspaper this morning from civil rights activist Professor Fatima Meer in the Gandhi Memorial Centre at Phoenix. She said a mob was marching on the centre and she was unable to contact the police.

Meanwhile, a meeting is set for today between the KwaZulu-Natal Minister of Education and Culture, Dr Oscar DeLomo, and the Natal chairman of the United Democratic Front, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has said the overall picture was not good, particularly as plain robbery and the violence were going on under the cover of political action.

He said he was worried about the situation and yesterday asked township councillors, community leaders, officials of the KwaZulu Department of Education, and Inkatha office-bearers to devote attention to it.

Last night some groups of vigilantes were said to be forming in townships and in some Indian areas, particularly the select Duff’s Road area near Kwamasha, where some homes were burnt down.

One resident, a civic leader, Mr Ranjith Ramnarain, left the doors of his home open when he abandoned it with his family as an angry mob advanced on Kwamasha last night.

An angry Mr Ramnarain, speaking from the home of a relative, said the mobsters would smash down the door anyway, so he had made it easy for the looters.

He criticised the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, who flew over the strife-torn area in a helicopter yesterday.

"The Minister promised that we would have police protection and that we would be safe. But instead, most of us living in the Duff’s Road area had to leave our houses and seek shelter elsewhere."

He said he was with Mr Le Grange aboard the helicopter and was surprised when the Minister decided that the situation was under control and left Durban without talking to any of the affected people.

He said that earlier in the day his three brothers who lived in Inanda had had their homes destroyed by fire.

Meanwhile, Southern Durban Local Affairs Committee member Mr R Panday said there were still hundreds of Indians trapped in Inanda and that no effort was being made to get them out.

"These people are being terrorised by the mobs and I fear that something dreadful is going to happen as the weekend progresses. Unless some strong action is taken to get out these Indian residents, they will be wiped out," said Mr Panday.

"What we need now is immediate action from the authorities to save the lives of these people. I fear that many children have gone missing and just about anything could have happened to them," said Mr Panday.

He said neither the police nor the South African Defence Force seemed to be aware of the people trapped in the area and said he tried desperately to get some sort of official action. However, he was told that something could be done only today to get them out. — Sapa
The Government is believed to be working on new plans to release the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, unconditionally. But what would his release mean for the country he has been striving to free from racial oppression?

Many whites would obviously be scared by his release. He has been projected to them as a terrorist and they would see a free Mandela as a threat to their own safety. Some would rather he served his full sentence.

And died a prisoner.

Blacks on the other hand see his release as a sign of hope for the future. Many have tipped him as the first black President or Prime Minister of a liberated South Africa.

Judging by the way he talked, it is clear he was in the presence of a guerilla fighter or a radical ideologue, but of a head of state.

And this is how he is seen by many people, including other heads of state in Africa and elsewhere.

The first talk of his possible release started two years ago. The condition for his release was that he agreed to live in the Transkei, which he rejected.

The next offer came from the State President, Mr P W Botha. He would release him if, among others, he rejected one man, one vote. "WITH HIM around, the demands of the people would become greater. Their articulation would become stronger and clearer" — Mr Sipho Sepamla.

Mandela has the backing of almost all blacks in South Africa. But they are demanding the Government not be prepared to meet.

Tutu will demand the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela if he meets the State President with a delegation of other church leaders on August 19.

He believes that a natural consequence of Mandela's release would be for him to be the country's Prime Minister.

"That is my vision for the man. They cannot let him out to lead a life of an ordinary man. He has the kind of stature and credibility to direct the course of events in South Africa.

"If he said to people, 'Hold it for a while', I think the people would listen to him," the Bishop said.

Mr Sipho Sepamla, director of the Federated Union of Black Artists (Fuba), said he did not think unrest would necessarily come to an end with the release of Mandela.

"I would think that in
Mandela’s Freedom

majority of the people in this country.

"With him around, the demand of the people would become greater. Their articulation would become stronger and clearer. Mandela would give an impetus to the people," he said.

Dr Beyers Naudé, general secretary of the SACC, said there would be massive celebrations by millions.

He said the danger of the celebrations was that they would instil fear in the hearts of the white community.

"Although I have never met him and do not know him personally, everything about his utterances tells me he would have the wisdom to know how to allay the unfounded fears of the white community.

"There is yet another danger I see in Mandela’s freedom: his life would be in jeopardy. There are people who see him as a terrorist and a man of violence.

"One can only pray that when he does come out of prison, nothing should happen to him and that people should realise that his safety and freedom are of vital importance to ensure a process of responsible liberation to be achieved."
EEC men urged to visit Mandela

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A demand that the three EEC Foreign Ministers due to visit South Africa meet Nelson Mandela and other jailed black leaders is one of several moves against apartheid announced yesterday.

A joint meeting of seamen’s unions and the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid will be held in October.

It will aim to identify and stop all oil shipments to South Africa, said Mr Jim Slater, general secretary of the National Union of Seamen, who announced the move at a Press conference called by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In addition, a pro-sanctions petition by the AAM is being circulated and will be presented to the next session of the British Parliament.

The AAM has also announced it will meet in Brussels before the September 10 EEC meeting on South Africa and will present a comprehensive memorandum to the meeting.

It will also send a delegation to the October conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in the Bahamas. It will present that meeting with a declaration in support of sanctions signed by representative organisations in Britain.

Lord Hatch also told the Press yesterday that the second reading of his sanctions Bill against South Africa would be introduced in the House of Lords on October 22.

The AAM announced a programme of public activities to win support for sanctions. They will include a nationwide day of action tomorrow, with protests at SA Airways, the SA Tourist Board and at South Africa House.

A national day of student action will be held on October 24. The National Union of Students, whose honorary president is Nelson Mandela, plans widespread demonstrations against Barclays Bank on that day.

An AAM letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg says the visit of the Foreign Ministers to South Africa can only have credibility if they meet Nelson Mandela and other jailed leaders.
DURBAN. — The death toll from three days of unrest here rose to 27 yesterday as rampaging Zulu tribesmen battled heavily-armed police in townships around Durban.

Civil defence officials said they had registered more than 2,000 Indian refugees who fled from rioting Zulus in the mixed black and Asian INANDA area.

A police spokesman, Colonel Leon Mallett, said at least 100 blacks had been arrested in the worst rioting seen since violence erupted in September last year.

Arson, looting and violence continued yesterday at INANDA and the situation in UMHLAZI and KWAMASHU was not much better. A number of shops and KwaZulu administration buildings were looted and set alight. In INANDA about 30 Indian homes were set alight.

Looting

Ten Indian-owned stores in INANDA were looted and burnt. Blacks also looted and burnt homes and shops belonging to Indians.

Rioters stoned any vehicle entering the township.

Police claimed that instigators driving around the townships in minibuses were responsible for much of the violence.

At one stage in INANDA, police would not go into an area where at least six shops were set alight. They waited for the situation to calm down before moving in and rescuing Indians and government workers.

Burning barricades were again set up at various points in the townships, including the entrance to UMHLAZI.

Many Indian families who did not want to leave their homes and possessions in INANDA were rescued by police yesterday.

Most of the families have sought refuge in two community halls in Phoenix, the INANDA police station and a school near Verulam.

Mr Rajen Singh, spokesman for the evacuated INANDA families, said several Indians who had been trapped in the area had sought refuge with blacks.

Gangs of youths were said to be cutting telephone wires to homes in Durban's townships yesterday. A Post Office spokesman was unable to confirm this.

Hospitals in Durban were yesterday treating more than 300 victims of the rioting, about 50 of whom were seriously hurt.

Last night alone more than 120 casualties were treated at Durban's King Edward VIII Hospital, most suffering from stab and gunshot wounds.

Late last night four loud explosions ripped through a shopping centre in KWAMASHU near Durban, sending a ball of flames into the air which could be seen for several kilometres.

Police suspected the explosions were caused by gas-bottles in a shop which had been set alight.

Police reported last night that a black knife-wielding man had been shot dead after he stabbed a soldier on unrest duty in UMHLAZI at 6.30pm.

Police also reported that a black woman had been shot dead in UMHLAZI at 11.35am after looting a shop in UMHLAZI. Another four men were wounded and 15 people arrested in connection with arson and looting.

In another incident in INANDA a car was gutted by fire and another stoned. The driver of one of the vehicles opened fire on the attackers, fatally wounding a black woman.

In MARITZBURG, six people were arrested yesterday when a group of more than 80 chanting youths ran amok down the capital's main street and in a shopping centre, breaking display windows and setting looting one shop. — Own Correspondent and UPI
MBABANE—Swaziland police official confirmed yesterday that three members of the African National Congress were arrested during Wednesday's raid on a block of flats in the centre of Mbabane by a contingent of paramilitary police.

The official confirmed that another man escaped the police dragnet. He said the police also took possession of an undisclosed number of weapons and ammunition from the flats.

Informed sources said it was believed there might be a renewed attempt by ANC members deported from Swaziland to re-enter the country. — Sapa
'Mandela free' stories are denied

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—International rumours that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been released were categorically denied by the South African Prison Services yesterday afternoon.

Rumours of the banned leader's release had an international effect in that it influenced South African share prices on overseas stock exchanges yesterday afternoon.

However a spokesman for the Prison Services said yesterday afternoon: 'We have no knowledge of such a decision whatsoever'.

Mandela was offered a release from his lifelong imprisonment by the President Botha earlier this year on condition that he foreswore violence as a means of political change in South Africa.

The offer was rejected and Mr Botha replied by saying that Mandela's continued imprisonment was his own fault.

There have been repeated calls throughout the world for his release as unrest in South Africa has grown in recent months.

Many political parties feel that Mandela's release and his possible involvement in negotiations with the Government on the future of black political rights in South Africa would have a marked effect on reducing the unrest now racking the country.
DURBAN. — The death toll of the violence raging in townships here rose to 54 last night after blacks and Indians fought a pitched battle at the Gandhi Settlement near Phoenix outside Durban.

UPI put the death toll at 55. Their figures — which include the deaths of 53 blacks and two Indians — were compiled from police figures, hospital admissions, local press reports and accounts from witnesses.

The deaths brought to at least 530 the number of people killed in 11 months of nationwide unrest.

King Edward VII Hospital treated 60 unrest victims after 7pm, 12 of whom had gunshot wounds. Nine people were dead on arrival and two died of gunshot wounds after being admitted.

Umzazi’s Prince Mshiyeni Hospital treated 113 people through yesterday until 8.30pm, 40 of whom had been shot. A spokesman reported no deaths, but other figures were available.

385 injured

A survey of local hospitals listed about 385 injured, 114 of them seriously. More than 70 had gunshot wounds but it was not clear if they were all shot by police.

More than 150 people have been taken into custody.

Police were still patrolling the troubled townships last night and specific incidents of violence were reported.

Witnesses said streams of youths fled KwaMashu and Umzazi as Inkatha members armed with short spears and sticks began patrolling the streets.

The worst-affected areas yesterday were Inanda and KwaMashu, where mobs, mainly of youths, patrolled the areas and burnt shops.

An 18-year-old youth was shot dead and a woman was injured when police opened fire at St Wendolins, according to Mr Protas Madlala, a community worker in the area.

Mxenge

The unrest in Durban’s black townships has been simmering for some time, but was sparked off by the killing of civil rights lawyer Mrs Victoria Mxenge.

Some accounts said violence flared after Indian traders refused to close shops and businesses to mark Mrs Mxenge’s death.

The Rev Wesley Mabuza, a prominent KwaMashu clergyman and former chairman of the Durban ecumenical organization Diakonia, was dragged from his home about 7.30am yesterday and accused of being a UDF supporter.

According to Mr Faddy Kearney, director of Diakonia, Mr Mabuza was made to chant anti-UDF slogans while being frog-marched down the road.

He is believed to have been one of the refugees living on a hilltop about a mile from the township.

Large mobs were seen patrolling KwaMashu and Inanda yesterday.

The biggest single group, numbering over 3,000, was concentrated on Inanda Road close to the Gandhi Settlement, which was founded by the Mahatma Gandhi during his 21 years in South Africa from 1894.

Blacks, looting and burning, rampaged through the complex, stripping wood and iron from the house where the Indian independence leader lived, burning the five-classroom school and gutting the library, witnesses said.

Clinic

Only a small clinic survived the rampage — the most emotionally wounding attack yet for Indians.

According to a Sapa-AP report, the battle began when some 300-400 armed Indians set upon about 100 black refugees living in the centre.

Reporters said that the Indians, bent on avenging widespread arson and looting, set fire to the refugees’ wood and tinfoil shacks.

Police drove the Indian kilometres away on the edge of the Phoenix Indian township. The Indian crowd there swelled to about 2,000 confronting, on the other side of a valley alongside the centre, a similar-size crowd of blacks, reporters said.

About 70 policemen in armoured cars kept the two groups apart while gangs of up to 60 blacks laid waste to the centre.

Spears

The home of Gandhi, which contained many artefacts from the Indian leader’s early life, was also burned and extensively damaged by looters, Dr Farouk Meer, acting president of the Natal Indian Congress, said last night.

Mrs Sheila Govender, a resident at the Gandhi Settlement, said mobs of blacks had arrived and threatened the families with sticks and spears.

Earlier a mob of about 300 confronted Mr Mewa...
Rangobin, a UDF official and treason trialist, at the settlement.

M. Rangobin, who married the granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi, had to flee for his life, Dr Meer said.

After the mob left, a vigilante group of 35 Indians arrived armed with pangas and sjamboks. They began burning houses "rather than let the blacks get them."

UPI reports that the vigilantes later fired shotguns at the youths in Isando.

The gunmen claimed the government was doing little to protect them from rioters and fired shotguns at blacks loot ing a supermarket, witnesses said.

"This isn't 1949," said one Indian vigilante, referring to the massacre of about 150 Indians by Zulus in a clash which remains an emotive focus for simmering hostility "It's 1985 and they won't win this time."

Throughout yesterday, panic-stricken Indian families on the outskirts of Isando moved out with their belongings.

Several sugar cane plantations were set alight yesterday.

Reporters who witnessed the unrest from the air counted at least 100 homes, mostly of Indians, and scores of shops and administrative buildings in Isando which had been looted and burned.

At the edge of Phoenix, on a ridge above the settlement, a vigilante group of about 200 Indians gathered, armed with sticks, clubs and guns to defend a possible invasion of their township.

Police moved in in two Casspirs accompanied by a Buffel-load of soldiers.

The group of Indians dispersed when requested to do so by the police.

The Inanda Seminary, an elite boarding school for more than 400 black girls in Isando, was evacuated yesterday.

A teacher, Mr Abbey Naidoo, said the school had been in a virtual state of siege for three days.

Youths broke into the school saying they were seeking out the non-African teachers, some of whom had to be hidden in a hole in the ground. Mr Naidoo said.

Meanwhile in reaction to the unrest yesterday:

Chief Gathsa Buthelezi condemned the violence in the greater Durban area as semi-civil and counter-productive, but said government heel-dragging and white political inactivity shared the blame for the wave of destruction engulfing black townships.

He expressed regret over attacks on Indians, which he saw as mindless violence rather than racism.

The UDF said: "The violence that has resulted in a number of Indian families being forced out of their homes is regrettable."

"We must assure our people that the UDF in Durban is doing everything it can to calm the situation down."
Vigilante groups guard Indian homes

Weekend Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — As armed Indian vigilantes and groups of Inkatha supporters gathered to defend property and quell violence in the strife-torn townships around Durban last night, there were reports of 54 dead in continuing arson and rioting.

After attacks on police and army patrols, ambulance services and fire-fighters were warned not to respond to calls in the townships.

At Clermont, near Pinetown, where the Administration Board offices were again set on fire, the road into the township was blocked with a barricade of cars.

About 3 000
An estimated 3 000 armed vigilantes took to the streets of Phoenix, Duff's Road, Newlands East and Newlands West, Mount Edgecombe, Effingham and Avoca last night in a backlash against rioters who have destroyed Indian homes and businesses.

The groups, armed with shotguns, revolvers, swords, pangas, slashers, sticks, iron rods and axes patrolled the streets in groups of a 150 and late last night leaders of the self-styled "peace officers" said they would continue to expect trouble at least until Monday.

Nearly 1 000 vigilantes gathered on the Phoenix ridge which overlooks Inanda. In Effingham Heights and Avoca more than 500 vigilantes patrolled the streets.

A resident in the Effingham Heights township said they had mustered about 75 men with licensed firearms and they planned to patrol the township.

"We have to resort to this type of measure to protect our families and property. We have worked hard to build our houses and we are not going to stand by and watch them looted and burned," he said.

Another said the groups were formed after a number of intruders entered the area yesterday afternoon and caused panic among residents.

He said, "The vigilante groups are standing guard for about four hours at a time and have drawn up a plan to prevent any aggressors entering the area. They will open fire if need be to prevent looting and arson."

Captain Winston Heunis, police spokesman for Port Natal, said the police could not prevent people from protecting their property but asked them to show restraint and not become emotional.

In the afternoon about 2 000 people armed with baseball bats, pangas, golf clubs and shotguns stood at the entrance to Duff's Road.

Large crowds of spear-wielding Inkatha supporters, estimated at 1 000 strong, moved through Kwamashu last night threatening youths they believed had damaged property over the past few days.

They chased any youths they saw and, two residents said, killed a boy in his early teens who tried to run away.
Boesak, 18 others arrested in the Cape

CAPE TOWN — Police said here this afternoon that they had arrested leading South African cleric and anti-apartheid campaigner, Dr Allan Boesak, as he tried to enter a black township for the funeral of a teenage riot victim.

Dr Boesak is patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

The police spokesman said Dr Boesak and 18 others — nine coloured men, seven white men and two white women — were arrested after being informed that they could not enter Guguletu without permits.

They continued into Guguletu township and were arrested and charged under Article 8 of the Urban Consolidation Act of 1946, the spokesman said.

A magistrate yesterday clamped strict curbs on how the funeral could be conducted.

These bar political speeches, placards and flags and state that the funeral procession must take the shortest possible route to the cemetery, with mourners dispersing immediately after the burial.

Police said in a statement yesterday: “These conditions are not a deviation from the normal custom of peoples all over the world to conduct funerals with dignity, self-restraint and in self-repentance.”

They had reliable information that “intimidatingly large numbers of people” would try to attend the Guguletu ceremony, the statement said.

Police expected “the convergence of large groups of unruly elements from elsewhere...the occasion is to be converted into a mass political rally to cause general chaos.”

The statement said police would maintain a strong presence, adding: “We will act with great restraint, but it is in the first instance up to the organizers to ensure the ceremony is conducted in a dignified and peaceful manner.”

Dr Boesak and the 18 others arrested with him will appear in the Wynberg Magistrate’s Court on Monday. Eleven of the 19 people arrested are clerics. — Sapa
Weekend Post Reporter

MOURNERS attending the funeral of the murdered Durban-based civil rights lawyer, Mrs Nonyameko Victoria Mxenge, 43, in Rayi Village in the Ciskei tomorrow will be subject to Ciskei laws.

This was confirmed by the director-general of the Ciskei Department of Information, Mr W J van Wyk, yesterday.

He was asked about the possibility of restrictions similar to those imposed at the funeral of a drowned 14-year-old schoolgirl, Nozolo Panga, last weekend when many mourners were prevented from attending.

Mr Van Wyk said there would be no restrictions, but "as long as people are in Ciskei, they are subject to our laws".

In Port Elizabeth, a spokesman for the Burial Transport Committee, Mr Michael Nzotheyi, said several buses carrying mourners had already left.

Mrs Mxenge was gunned down by four unidentified men on Thursday, August 3.
TOP Swapo official Adimba Toivo ja Toivo is expected to be one of the main speakers at the funeral of slain civil rights lawyer Nomnyamezelo Victoria Mxenge outside King William's Town on Sunday.

Mourners are expected from all over South Africa.

By MONO BADELA

Mxenge's killers have not been tracked down yet. About 20,000 mourners attended his funeral.

Her brother-in-law, Dr Fumathwa Mxenge, said the family was expecting people "from the length and breadth of the country."

Buses will leave from St Anthony's in Durban at noon on Saturday, and tickets can be obtained from the UDF office or the Mxenge office.

Among the other speakers will be World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Allan Bouw.

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Among the other speakers will be World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Allan Bouw.

She was a defense lawyer in the treason trial of Patrick Mqabika, the ingwavuma treason trial and part of the defense team in the current UDF treason trial.

Mrs Mxenge, 41, is survived by three children - Mbasa, 19, a law student, Viva, 14, and Nomhle, 10.

The Inanda Seminary suspended all academic activities indefinitely from August 6 to mourn Mrs Mxenge's death.

As a result, the speech day scheduled for Sunday has been cancelled.
War chants at peace indaba

A PEACE rally attended by a handful of Indians and thousands of chanting Zulus with spears, shields and guns broke up in chaos yesterday as racial strife continued to rage in this township north of Durban.

At least 65 have died in a week of bloodshed and anarchy in which Indians have been driven from their homes and rival black political groups have clashed.

Residents blamed Indian vigilante groups seeking revenge, and hundreds of Zulu warriors surged up a hillside in search of the attackers.

As leaders of the Zulu Inkatha group loyal to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told the rally that they had taken the law into their own hands and restored order, columns of black smoke from blazing homes and vehicles rose into the sky, angering the crowd.

"Chiefs stand by in armoured personnel carriers but did not attempt to control the crowds," a witness said.

"We have come here to reassure our Indian brothers and sisters," an Inkatha official said, "and to co-operate with them in all efforts that are aimed at restoring peace, law and order in this area," he said.

He reaffirmed that Inkatha, which has a million members mainly from South Africa's largest tribe, the Zulus, was committed to the abolition of apartheid through non-violent means.

"It is important to note that we are not trying to overthrow the government," he said.

"We are simply trying to protect our people and their property," he added.

But in Umlazi township south of Durban a UDF spokesman blamed Inkatha for sparking the unrest by breaking up a memorial meeting last week for assassinated black human rights lawyer and UDF leader Victoria Mxenge who was being buried yesterday.

"We are not going to stand by and allow Inkatha to disrupt our meeting," he said.

"We are going to protect our dead and our cause," he added.

"We are going to fight back against Inkatha's attacks," he said.
An angry crowd arrives for an Inkatha-sponsored "peace meeting" in Inanda, near Durban yesterday. Inkatha squads of vigilantes with sticks helped to keep an uneasy calm in Durban's townships today.

A scene of devastation in a Durban township after days of unrest. Many businesses and homes have been burnt to the ground.
Mrs Mxenge risked her life

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Victoria Mxenge, who was buried at King William's Town yesterday, knew when her husband was murdered in 1961 that her vow to continue his work could mean that she would be killed as well.

Mr Griffiths Mxenge, a leading civil-rights lawyer, was found dead near their home in Durban's Umzazi township on November 19, 1961 with 45 stab wounds in his body. His killers have never been found.

She said his murder was a political assassination, though she never blamed any specific person or organization for his death.

'I will continue'

"If by killing my husband they thought the work he was doing would come to an end, they have made a mistake," she said. "I will continue even if it means I must also die."

Eleven days ago, in the twilight of August 1, she was gunned down by four black men as she climbed from a car outside her home.

While her three children, aged from six to 15, watched from the veranda, her assailants hacked at her with knives until she died at her own front door.

Victoria Mxenge began her working life in 1960 as a nurse in Alice, in the Eastern Cape. Fourteen years later her husband persuaded her to join him in his controversial law firm. She began her studies in 1974 and was admitted as an advocate in 1981, the year he was killed.

At the time of her death, she was local treasurer of the United Democratic Front. She was also set to help defend 16 UDF leaders in a treason trial that began four days after she was killed.

Mrs Mxenge, 43, was widely respected as a civil-rights lawyer, an opponent of apartheid and as a spokeswoman for opponents of the government.

Investigation

Police ordered a top-level investigation into her killing, but there has been no word of progress since she died.

Some black radicals have alleged she was murdered by a government "death squad". Others blame the moderate Inkatha political movement led by Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

A police source in Durban said officers suspected the Azanian People's Organization. — UPI
'No pledge to release Mandela'

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The South African Government has given Washington no undertaking that President Botha will announce the release of Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the state of emergency this week, according to informed sources in the US capital.

Instead, the sources say, the President's speech at the Natal congress of the National Party is more likely to deal with increased power-sharing with blacks, and changes in the homelands policy and in laws relating to citizenship for blacks.

The contents of President Botha's speech have been the subject of intense speculation in Washington since last week's Vienna meetings between US and South African officials, at which the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is said to have discussed possible ways of easing apartheid.

A US official said the US delegation, led initially by National Security adviser Mr Robert McFarlane, had not pressed for any specific changes at the Vienna talks but had instead urged that dialogue with black leaders be started.

President Reagan's spokesman, Mr Larry Speakes, said yesterday the US representatives came away from the meeting convinced the South African Government no longer believed it could maintain the rigid system of apartheid unchanged.

The official said that, while several reform options were discussed, it was unlikely the South African Government would go as far as to announce the abolition of the most onerous restrictions of apartheid.

The South African delegation is said to have warned Mr McFarlane of growing Soviet influence in Namibia.

Mr McFarlane replied that the Reagan administration shared this concern but that most Americans were more interested in what they saw as a "bloody-minded attitude" on the part of the South African Government towards blacks.

The National Security adviser assured Mr Botha of President Reagan's continued support for the policy of constructive engagement but warned that, because of the "emotional climate" in the US surrounding the issue of apartheid, the President might not be able to withstand pressure to sign sanctions legislation unless there were significant changes in South Africa, including progress towards power-sharing with blacks.
We want real freedom roar crowd at funeral

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Attacking Mrs Victoria Mxenge's death as the work of South Africa's apartheid system, speakers at her funeral in the township of Rayi near here yesterday denounced the South African Government and the Inkatha movement headed by the chief of the Zulus, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The addresses to UDF supporters were militant even by the standards of recent funerals in areas where the government has clamped emergency laws and tried to curb emotive anti-apartheid speeches at burial of unrest victims.

Mrs Mxenge was gunned down outside her Indian township home by unknown assailants.

On August 1.

Blind Indian lawyer Zee Yacoob denounced anti-Indian violence in Durban last week, saying of Mrs Mxenge: She understood clearly the meaning of non-racialism and was prepared to die for it.

"Who killed her?" he asked. "Although we don't know exactly who killed her, she must have been the target of the authorities."

"Let us tell these people that many, many more of us are prepared to die and that they can kill enough of us."

A message was read from the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, who was referred to only as "Uncle Nelson" and by his Pollsmoor Prison number.

Fr Smailaloo Nkhathsha, general secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, told the audience gathered under the blazing sun in a dusty field that concessions the government was expected to make to black people in an announcement on Thursday would not go nearly far enough.

He rejected any idea of a fourth black chamber in the racially segregated three chamber Parliament and instead demanded the unconditional release of such leaders as Mandela; the immediate lifting of the state of emergency; and the withdrawal of security forces from black townships.

Denouncing US President Ronald Reagan's policy of constructive engagement with South Africa, he said: "Reagan wants to ensure that Yankee imperialism is protected. Reagan thinks that we are interested in Coca-Cola or chewing gum freedom."

"Do you want Coca-Cola freedom or do you want the real thing?" he asked the crowd.

"The real thing, they roared."

Paying tribute to Mrs Mxenge, the Border president of the UDF, Mr Steve Thabethe, said she "did not create herself. She became a fighter for freedom because of the cruel system of apartheid."

He said peaceful campaigns in the past to bring about change had been fruitless. "All we got was physical repression."

Mourners came from all over

EAST LONDON — Busloads of mourners from all over South Africa poured into the little village of Rayi near King William's Town yesterday for the funeral of Mrs Victoria Mxenge.

While many mourners arrived on Saturday, buses from Natal were still arriving yesterday afternoon.

Two PFP MPs, Mrs Molly Blackburn (Walmer) and Mrs Di Bishop (Gardens), were among the crowd, while Mrs Helen Joseph, a veteran opponent of apartheid, gave the keynote address.

Other observers included an American federal judge, Mr N. Jones, and a strong contingent of South African and foreign journalists.

Mrs Mxenge was buried alongside her husband, Mr Griffith Mxenge, also a civil rights lawyer and activist, who was murdered in 1981 in a crime still unsolved.

The crowd at the funeral was estimated at 15,000 and many of the mourners perched in trees and on rooftops to get a better view of the funeral proceedings.

Others simply stood in a huge mass while groups of journalists were allowed to sit in a circle in front of Mrs Mxenge's coffin, draped in yellow, green and black. — DSR
Ciskei serviceman killed at Mxenge burial

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A uniformed member of the Ciskei Defence Force was stoned, stabbed and left for dead under a pyre of burning tyres by an incensed mob at the funeral of Durban civil rights lawyer Mrs Victoria Mxenge yesterday.

About 10,000 people attended the funeral of Mrs Mxenge at Rayi, near here. She was murdered outside her Umlazi, Durban, home on August 1 and buried next to her husband, Griffiths, also a civil rights lawyer and also murdered in Umlazi, four years ago.

Petrol on body

Witnesses said that when a crowd of United Democratic Front supporters surrounded a vehicle carrying Ciskei police, a man panicked and jumped off. The mob followed him and stoned him to death about 150 metres from Mrs Mxenge's grave. They poured petrol on his body and burnt it.

A short statement by Ciskeian police headquarters confirmed the incident.

The mood of the funeral — which heard messages of condolence from imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela as well as condemnation from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement — was tense.

A number of young men moved through the mourners, openly declaring they were looking for "informers", and thousands were unable to reach the church from which Mrs Mxenge was buried because of roadblocks along the route.

Some mourners had to walk long distances as chanting mobs of youths also blocked the roads, making driving almost impossible. Scores of buses from all over the country had to discharge their load of mourners in the void a long way from the church.

Speakers included lawyer Mr Zac Yacoob, Roman Catholic nun Sister Bernard Ncube, Father Smangaliso Nkhatsha, general secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, and Mrs Helen Joseph, who is listed and cannot be quoted.

Mr Yacoob denounced anti-Indian violence in Durban last week, saying of Mrs Mxenge: "She understood clearly the meaning of non-racialism and was prepared to die for it.

"Whoever killed her must have been agents of apartheid. Let us tell these people that many, many more of us are prepared to die. They can't kill enough of us."

Among the mourners were US Appeals Court Judge Nathaniel Jones of Cincinnati, Ohio, PFP MPs Mrs Molly Blackburn and Mrs Di Bishop, and Mr Brian Bishop.

On Saturday afternoon Mrs Blackburn, Mr and Mrs Bishop, Judge Jones and Mr Zondani Sitehile were arrested for visiting the township of Tius, near Fort Beaufort, without a permit. They were taken to the Fort Beaufort police station and warned to appear in court today.

Titus is affected by the state of emergency and non-residents can enter it only after obtaining permits. The maximum sentence for this offence in terms of the regulations is R20,000 or 10 years' imprisonment. They were held for two hours.

Judge Jones, who yesterday described his arrest as "an affront to the United States and to the notion of civility", has since had charges against him withdrawn in a personal telephone call by the Attorney-General of the Eastern Cape.

The South Africans, however, would still be prosecuted. In a telephone interview from King Williams' Town last night, Mr Bishop said Judge Jones had received three official apologies — from the Attorney-General of Natal and the Eastern Cape and the Judge-President of Natal — and had been told to "tear up his summons". His fingerprinting is to be returned to him.

He will leave for the US tomorrow. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

Mrs Mxenge risked her life, page 2
SA mayors call for meeting

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's black mayors yesterday called on the government to release Nelson Mandela, hold a national convention and repeal all discriminatory legislation.

A meeting of more than 40 mayors from the country's black municipalities passed 11 resolutions which it hoped the government would view in a serious light.

Among the resolutions was a call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other long-term political prisoners so they could enter into dialogue with the government to resolve the political impasse in the country.

The meeting of mayors, which was arranged by the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, also called for a "statement of intent" from the government which should include the extension of citizenship to blacks, a national convention in which political groups could devise a constitution acceptable to all and the immediate repeal of all discriminatory laws.

Urgent meeting with President

One education system for all the country's race groups under one department and greater financial assistance for black municipalities were also proposed by the meeting.

The president of Ucosa, Mr Steve Kgama, was requested to seek an urgent meeting with the State President within the next three days to discuss the resolutions adopted at the meeting.

Other resolutions passed called on the government to make more land available to black municipalities for housing, and for more professional people in the running of black local authorities.

Finally the meeting said it condemned in the "strongest possible terms" any strategy aimed at dividing black people by isolating councillors and policemen and boycotting their businesses, because it was counter-productive to the liberation struggle.

The meeting was held behind closed doors and the resolutions were released to the press later.

'Not by burning houses'

Mr Kgama said after the meeting that the people who wanted mayors and councillors to resign were not those who elected them but those "on the sidelines."

"Leaders should be removed by democratic processes and not by stone-throwing or burning down their houses."

Mr Kgama said there were people who were misusing black youths to attain their own political ideals. Some of these people were from outside the black community.

"People of other racial groups are taking their children to school every day but are advocating civil disorder. It is our children who are suffering by being deprived of education. Our children must go back to school and leave politics to their elders," he said. — Sapa
Inkatha patrols aid police in maintaining calm

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Stick-wielding Inkatha patrols helped police maintain calm in Durban’s townships last night and thousands of black children, filing past, gushed ruins of businesses and homes destroyed in a week of violence, returned to school today.

Two more deaths yesterday added to the toll of 55 dead and more than 1,000 injured.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said it was quiet in the three black townships of Inanda, KwaMashu and Umkizi last night.

Township residents said Inkatha members patrolled the streets through the night. Today police patrolled the main roads.

The class boycotts, which have paralysed black education and brought tertiary education to a halt in Natal, showed signs of ending today as thousands returned to classes.

SECOND WAVE

Concern that a second wave of violence might be sparked off by the actions of vigilante groups was voiced by PFP MP Mr Peter Gastrow (Durban Central) today.

He said such groups, whether inspired by Indians from Phoenix or Inkatha in Umkazi, should not be allowed to operate outside of the law.

On the question of bringing together various groups including Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress, for talks to defuse the situation in the townships, Mr Gastrow said he could not take any initiatives but would have to wait to hear from the other parties.

VIOLENCE

Meanwhile our Pretoria Correspondent reports that Mamelodi is tense today after a weekend of violence which saw two die, buildings in flames and repeated stonings.

A man was burnt to death by a mob in Mamelodi’s Block D yesterday and a 12-year-old girl was shot dead in a clash with police yesterday.

Pretoria businesses and industries reported a stayaway of up to 75 percent early today. But some reported they remained unaffected in the third day of the stayaway call by the Consumer Boycott Committee which has also been advocating a boycott of white businesses.

In Mamelodi, the area most affected by the boycott and stayaway calls, hundreds of workers were stranded at bus stops and taxi ranks, hundreds boarded trains under the watchful eyes of police and troops.

More than 100 troops manned entrances at Eerste Fabrique and Dennewaam sta-

(Turn to Page 3, col 6)
Unrest in Duncan Village

EAST LONDON — Rocks and pieces of broken glass were strewn in Douglas Smit Highway in Duncan Village last night after a group of youths was reported to have stoned a building and set fire to it.

When a Daily Dispatch reporter visited the area last night small fires were burning in the premises of the building.

A spokesman for the municipal fire department said the brigade had been advised by police not to go into the township.

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria could not confirm the incident. — DDR.
Soldier killed
funeral crow

Dispatch Reporters

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A Ciskeian soldier was killed and his body set alight at Rayi Village near here yesterday during the funeral of the murdered civil rights lawyer, Mrs. Victoria Mxenge.

The incident occurred after a Ciskei Defence Force van was brought to a stop by mourners who were walking in a procession to the cemetery where Mrs. Mxenge, who was shot at her Umlazi home 11 days ago, was buried.

The van in which three soldiers were travelling was stopped on the national road between King William's Town and Peddie. Stones were thrown at the van and the driver — the soldier who was killed — got out of the vehicle and pleaded for his life. He was bleeding profusely from injuries inflicted by the stones. His pleas were ignored and he was dragged away.

His two companions, who were trapped inside the van, were hit by stones after the windows had been smashed. They managed to escape and sped away from the scene.

The soldier was taken by a crowd of youths to a field near the road where his body was set alight with wood and a tyre.

The commander of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier D. Mabola, last night gave the dead soldier's name as Corporal Bles.

He said the two other soldiers had escaped. One had been slightly injured. As far as he was aware, the Ciskei authorities had not manned any roadblocks in the vicinity of Rayi Village.

Eyewitnesses said while the incident was taking place most of the mourners continued in the procession to the gravesite.

A trail of thick black smoke hung over the spot where the smouldering body of the dead soldier lay.

A similar incident occurred at the funeral in 1981 of Mrs. Mxenge's husband, Griffiths, who was murdered by unknown assailants in Durban. On that occasion a Transkei policeman was stabbed to death during the funeral service.

The United Democratic Front, which organised yesterday's funeral, said it had not been involved in the killing.

We do not condone the action, and neither did we create it, a UDF spokesman said.

The Ciskei Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Lulama Madolo, last night denied claims that buses had been stopped by police on the way to the funeral on the main road outside Peddie and that mourners had started unrest at the funeral from there.

He said if police had stopped buses they were doing routine checks as in other parts of Ciskei and were not trying to prevent the mourners from getting to Mrs. Mxenge's funeral.

More reports and pictures page 2.
The police Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Lulama Madolo, last night denied claims that buses had been stopped by police on the way to the funeral, on the main road outside Peddie and that mourners had started walking to the funeral from there.

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More reports and pictures page 7.
**Inkatha, Matie SRC consensus on policy**

A SINGLE constitution based on regional power-sharing, the scrapping of influx control and the abolition of the homelands policy were among points of consensus reached at the end of talks between the University of Stellenbosch SRC and the Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday.

The talks were held at the University of Stellenbosch over the past two days.

Ms Annami Oosthuysen, SRC vice-president, said last night consensus had been reached on several important political, social and economic issues.

The meeting had agreed on one citizenship for all South Africans, the scrapping of statutory racial discrimination, equal education for all and the establishment of healthy labour relations.

The business community was called on to launch a pro-investment campaign as a matter of urgency.

"However, we realize that disinvestment is linked with an immoral system in South Africa," Ms Oosthuysen said. Both groups had also agreed to "discourage the exploitation of the present situation by unscrupulous elements".

**Pikie Mhlongo**
Government signals shift in position on Mandela's release

GOVERNMENT has signalled a shift in its position on terms for the release of Nelson Mandela.

This is the impression that Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave at a press conference on Saturday on his return from talks in Vienna with representatives of the United States, Britain and West Germany.

There is little prospect, however, Mandela's release will come soon. Botha said: "I think there are members of the SA government who believe that he has been in jail for many years and ought to be set free. The question now is -- how?"

Botha said that government and President PW Botha -- who made the January offer to free Mandela if he rejected violence -- had never looked on this rejection as a condition for his release.

Rather, this was regarded as "a norm ... which applies to all of us in this country who really want reform and a peaceful solution to our problems".

Botha also claimed that it was government's impression that Mandela was effectively jailing himself. Citing government's preparedness to release Mandela to Transkei, he said there had been no lack of effort on government's part in trying to release him.

Government seems to be trying to find a face-saving formula for Mandela's release — one which would not lock it into expectations that they would negotiate with him alone.

At present, they seem to be prepared to allow a moderate climate of expectation to grow, but refuse to be drawn into public discussion on the issue.

Pretoria would not wish to play all of...

Paul Bell
Political Correspondent

Government signals shift in position on Mandela's release
DURBAN. — A handful of Indians and thousands of chanting Inkatha members with spears, shields and guns held a peace rally here yesterday in a bid to stop the unrest in Durban's townships that has left at least 65 dead.

The official death toll since the unrest started on Monday last week stands at 55, but according to correspondents in the area who had spoken to hospital authorities, the toll is far higher.

One of Durban's major hospitals admitted three more people killed and 28 casualties between 7am and 2pm yesterday.

Homeless

As many as 1,000 people are thought to have been injured in the violence and still more have been made homeless. Police last night reported that a "group of unknown Indians" entered Kwamashu yesterday and set 16 private homes alight as well as a bus stop.

A man named *Mashka* entered the houses and threatened to kill them if a man opened fire on a police officer. The man* Mashka* is accused of killing a police officer and setting his house on fire during the Khayelitsha violence.

Schools

Mrs Dhlomo said all schools in Umlazi and Kwamashu would remain closed today and Inkatha members would be in all the townships to escort children to school.

Joint groups

Earlier, police warned the heavily-armed vigilante groups patrolling Indian areas they would be arrested if they took the law into their own hands.

Meanwhile Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who is on a 10-day visit to Israel, told reporters at Ben Gurion International Airport, near Tel Aviv, yesterday that the current wave of violence was "justified because it is caused by apartheid, but it is very distressing because it is blacks fighting blacks'.

He said it would be a miracle if the South African Government abolished apartheid, but he said he expected some political reforms.

Pope John Paul, in the first major political statement of his current African tour, yesterday denounced the latest violence in South Africa and demanded freedom and an end to racial separation there.
UDF urging boycott of businesses

A BOYCOTT of white-owned businesses and retail outlets hit Reef towns this week after a call from the United Democratic Front.

Thousands of pamphlets calling for the boycott were distributed at the weekend by the Consumer-boycott Committee of the UDF.

Major demands by the committee are:
- Lifting of the state of emergency;
- Release of all detainees and political prisoners; and
- Removal of soldiers from townships.

The pamphlets urge people to stand in unity against apartheid and buy only from shops in townships.

A similar boycott of consumer-goods called by the UDF has been going on for about a month in the Eastern Cape. Sales in some Port Elizabeth shops have dropped by between 30% to 100%. At least two shops have closed their doors.

Soweto business tycoon Richard Maponya said boycotters had, at last, chosen the right target — the white businessman.

"White businessmen have the voting ticket through which they have put the present government in power, the government that is responsible for the black man's suffering. They have used their vote the way they like. They are therefore responsible for all that is happening, including the state of emergency," Maponya said.
Grenade attack on police at funeral

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Six policemen, a TV newswoman and an elderly man were seriously injured when an unknown person threw a grenade at a police squad advancing on a funeral crowd in Guguletu on Saturday afternoon.

The grenade attack came after a combined police and military operation aimed at restricting the number of mourners attending the mass funeral of Sihembile Mathiso, 18, who was shot by police during unrest two weeks ago.

Among the policemen injured were Major Dolf Odendaal, second in command of the Peninsula reaction unit and Lieutenant Johan Oosthuizen, a former Springbok centre. Mr Anton van der Merwe, a CBS news man, was also hurt.

Among those prevented from attending the funeral were the Reverend Allan Boesak, UDF patron, and 16 other Christian and Muslim clerics and their supporters who were arrested outside the township at about noon after allegedly defying a police order prohibiting them from entering the township.

At 3:35 pm police teargassed and baton-charged a large crowd on an open field near the Mathiso home, a police spokesman said.

A member of the crowd then lobbed a hand-grenade into the advancing police squad, which exploded and seriously injured Major Odendaal, four other policemen, Mr Van der Merwe and an unidentified 64-year-old Guguletu resident.

An ambulance rushed Major Odendaal and reservist police sergeant E. P. de Bruin — who were the most seriously injured — to the nearby Manenberg police station from where a military helicopter airlifted them to Wynberg's 2 Military Hospital.

The other injured — Warrant Officer J. Roos, Constable D. W. Puchert, Constable C. du Toit, Lieutenant Oosthuizen and Mr Van der Merwe — suffered minor injuries.

At noon yesterday, Major Odendaal and Sergeant De Bruin were in a satisfactory condition.

Police baton-charged a crowd of about 500 people outside the Wynberg magistrate's court late on Saturday afternoon and arrested five people.

They had gathered to await the release of those arrested for defying the police order not to enter Guguletu.

Those arrested outside the court were Miss Cheryl Carolus, a UDF national executive member, Mr Johnny Igel, a banned community leader, Miss Zubeida Jaffer, secretary of the Clothing Workers Union (Clow), Mr Shamil Jeppe and Miss Hind Solomon, both members of the Muslim Students' Association.

Lawyers for the five said they had refused to be released on bail and would appear at the Wynberg magistrates' court today.

DISPATCH 12:08:55
Bid to re-open Moloise trial with new evidence

THE Zambian headquarters of the African National Congress has offered to produce evidence claiming the black poet Malesela Benjamin Moloise was not responsible for killing a Mamelodi security policeman in 1982.

Moloise, a member of the banned ANC, was convicted in the Pretoria Supreme Court in 1983 for having shot and killed Warrant Officer Phillip Selepe, who died in a hail of bullets from a Soviet AK-47 assault rifle in an ambush at his Mamelodi home on November 7, 1982.

On Tuesday he was granted a last minute stay of execution by Judge C F P Eloff following an urgent application in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Moloise’s lawyer, Priscilla Jana, confirmed the ANC had offered to produce evidence claiming responsibility for the killing.

“We accepted knowing that if they did, this would save an innocent man from going to the gallows,” she said.

Jana is still waiting to hear from the headquarters.

The impending execution of Moloise, who was to be hanged in Pretoria on Tuesday morning, had prompted appeals for clemency from all over the world including the United Nations Security Council.

In South Africa special prayer services were held for the Moloise family.

After news of Moloise’s reprieve had spread like wildfire, several thanksgiving services were held throughout the country.

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is reported to have added his voice to the appeal during a private meeting with South African Ambassador Kurt von Schirnding.

Moloise’s attorneys are to present new evidence in a petition to the State President in the hope that the trial will be re-opened.
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Among the resolutions was a call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other long-term political prisoners 'so they could enter into dialogue with the Government to resolve the political impasse in the country."

The meeting of mayors, which was arranged by the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, also called for a statement of intent from the Government which should include the extension of citizenship to blacks, a national convention in which political groups could devise a constitution acceptable to all and the immediate repeal of all discriminatory laws.

Housing

One education system for all the country's race groups under one department and greater financial assistance for black municipalities were also proposed by the meeting.

The president of Ucasa, Mr Steve Kgame, was requested to seek an urgent meeting with the State President within the next three days to discuss the resolutions adopted at the meeting.

Other resolutions passed called on the government to make more land available to black municipalities for housing and for more professional people in the running of black local authorities.

Finally the meeting said it condemned in the 'strongest possible terms' any strategy aimed at dividing black people by isolating councillors and policemen and boycotting their businesses because it was counterproductive to the liberation struggle.

The meeting was held behind closed doors and the resolutions released to the Press later.

Mr Kgame said after the meeting that the people who wanted mayors and councillors to resign were not those who elected them but those 'on the sidelines.'

'Leaders should be removed by democratic processes and not by stone-throwing or burning down their houses.'

Disorder

Mr Kgame said there were people who were missing black youths to attain their own political ideals. He said some of these people were from outside the black community.

'People of other racial groups are taking their children to school everyday but are advocating civil disorder. It is our children who are suffering by being deprived of education. Our children must go back to school and leave politics to their elders,' he said. — (Sapa)
Funeral mob burns soldier

King William's Town — In a replay of the funeral of her murdered husband, a uniformed man was stoned, caught and burnt to death by an enraged mob at the weekend funeral of Durban lawyer Mrs Nonxanezelo Mxenge.

The drama played itself out at the tiny Ciskei settlement of KwaRayi when a Ciskei Defence Force non-commissioned officer, a Corporal Dissan, was murdered and two colleagues barely escaped with their lives.

The fate of another man is unknown after he was apparently bundled into the boot of a car and driven off after an earlier incident.

The killing of the soldier occurred at the end of the marathon six-hour funeral service as the 8000-strong funeral procession crossed the main King William's Town road.

The mourners were on their way to the grave site opposite the Mxenge family village of Rayi, birthplace of Mrs Mxenge's husband, Griffiths — victim of a similar unsolved murder four years ago.

At his funeral, at almost precisely the same spot, a Transkei security policeman was identified by an enraged mob and beaten to death.

In spite of a police roadblock just outside King William's Town yesterday, a Ciskei army bakkie with three men aboard drove into the funeral procession.

As youths bawled at the bewildered soldiers and began to pelt the bakkie with stones, one soldier leapt from the back of the bakkie and tried to run into the veld.

He was quickly caught and, according to witnesses, beaten and stoned before being doused with petrol and set alight.

In spite of injuries from a barrage of stones, the other soldiers managed to restart their stalled bakkie and drive off.

Some time earlier, after a small veld fire had disrupted funeral proceedings, a man was seen by some of the many local and overseas journalists being bundled into the boot of a car, which was then driven off.

His fate is unknown.

A number of young men moved through the mourners, openly declaring they were looking for 'informers' and thousands were unable to reach the Village Congregational Church from which Mrs Mxenge was buried, because of road blocks en-route.

The funeral had started peacefully with yellow-shirted UDF marshals directing arrivals.

Speakers attacked the Government and the Inkatha movement of KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

In his funeral oration, the Rev M Stoof, accused Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha of being "shock absorbers of our struggle against the boers."

Accusing US President Ronald Reagan of supporting apartheid for profit, Father Smanaliso Mkhathwa asked the crowd: 'Do you want bubblegum and Coca-Cola freedom — or do you want the real thing?'

The keynote speech was made by Mrs Helen Joseph, a listed person who may not be quoted.

The president of the Border region of the UDF, Mr Steve Tshepe, said: 'We were happy to see Boesak marching under the Russian flag at Cladock recently, because that flag has never been associated with the suppression of our peoples.'
Nine people have been arrested in connection with a hand grenade attack that left six policemen, a civilian and a TV cameraman injured at a Guguletu, Cape Town, funeral at the weekend.

SABC-TV last night screened the attack, which came when about 150 mourners refused to heed Major Dolf Odendaal's orders to disperse at the funeral of Sthembalele Mathisso.

The SABC also showed dramatic footage of a Ciskei soldier being attacked and burnt to death at the funeral of attorney, Mrs. Victorial Mxenge, at Rayil in Ciskei.

The United Democratic Front, which organised the funeral, said late yesterday it had not been involved in the killing.

"We had hoped the Ciskei Government would keep its word to the Mxenge family that it would stay well away from the funeral," a UDF spokesman said.

"We do not condone the action and neither did we create it."

The soldier was shown getting out of a police van and fleeing among the crowd. The van sped off, hitting one of a crowd of youths who were pelting it with stones.

Some time earlier, after a small veld fire had disrupted funeral proceedings, a man was seen by some of the many local and overseas journalists present being bundled into the boot of a car.

He said the two other soldiers had escaped and said one had been slightly injured.

He said the soldiers had not been attending the funeral, but were involved with other totally unrelated duties.

In the Guguletu footage, viewers were shown how a crowd of about 150 mourners in danced and chanted in the street, defying an order by Major Odendaal to disperse.

After the warning, Major Odendaal, second-in-command of the Western Cape reaction squad, ordered a baton charge.

The SABC showed the charge and then the camera swinging out of focus for a few seconds after a hand grenade was thrown into the charging police.

Major Odendaal and reservist Sergeant E P de Bruijn, who were taken to the Wynberg Military Hospital after the explosion, are in a satisfactory condition. — Sapa
Buthelezi call for Israeli pressure

JERUSALEM — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told Israel's Prime Minister Mr Shimon Peres yesterday that he could not negotiate with the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, without an agenda.

In a memorandum to Mr Peres, Chief Buthelezi pleaded with the Israeli leader to bring every possible pressure to bear on the South African Government to make them understand that there would be no conference table unless all parties knew what they were going there to negotiate about.

"The State President knows that there will be no negotiation with me unless he makes a declaration of intent with black leaders, and unless we have an agenda within which blacks could find it possible to negotiate," he said.

The Chief Minister said he pursued the politics of reconciliation and the kind of statement of intent he was calling for did not tie hands but opened doors.

Chief Buthelezi said those who were attempting to alienate South Africa from the international community were gravely mistaken.

It would become immune to the kind of pressures which were needed in the black struggle.

The international community had to realize that the need was not to punish white South Africa, but to strengthen black South Africa in its democratic, non-violent demands for change.

After the meeting Mr Peres yesterday pledged Israel would take a tough stance against South Africa.

"Israel should never support discrimination," Mr Peres told reporters after meeting Chief Buthelezi who arrived in Jerusalem on Sunday for a 10-day visit.

Israel, one of the few Western countries not to have condemned South Africa's declaration of a state of emergency, has trade and military links with South Africa.

Israelis leftists and moderates, among them former foreign minister Mr Abba Eban, have urged the government to speak out more forcefully against apartheid.

State radio said Mr Peres now planned to liaise with foreign governments on efforts to fight apartheid.

Chief Buthelezi told reporters: "Israel should use her diplomatic clout as much as possible to influence South Africa to move toward a negotiated future." — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent
Two Molteno youths shot dead

Two youths were shot dead and three others wounded and arrested.

Later, another eight people were arrested.

Two private vehicles and a beerhall were set alight and petrol bombs were thrown at police, the spokesman said.

Police were also stoned.

According to a Daily Dispatch correspondent, the home of the principal of the Nomonde Secondary School, Mr Hans Teise, was severely damaged by stone-throwing youths.

His car was burnt out and he had to flee for his life. He barricaded himself in the school building, which youths also tried to burn down.

His wife managed to escape from their home with her seven-year-old son. She fled to Moltema, where she expressed concern about her 10-year-old daughter who was visiting a friend when the violence broke out.

Police were informed of the child's predicament and went to fetch her. The police also went to assist Mr Teise and several other teachers who had barricaded themselves in at the school, it was reported.

Reports said the homes of two teachers were burned to the ground.

The police spokesman said that in an isolated incident in Queenstown two East Cape Development Board vehicles were set alight and two youths under 18 years old arrested.
Winnie Mandela’s home burnt down in arson attack

PRETORIA. — Police in Pretoria confirmed to SABC radio news today that the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was petrol-bombed this morning.

The exact extent of damage to the house in Brandfort, Free State, is not yet known.

A police spokesman said Mrs Mandela was apparently not home when the attack was launched.

A spokesman for the office of Mrs Mandela’s lawyer in Johannesburg told Sapa the lawyer had gone to see Mrs Mandela, who is apparently in the Johannesburg vicinity, to tell her the news.

SABC said a neighbour evidently sounded the alarm after hearing an explosion.

No further details are available at this stage but police are investigating a case of arson, the radio said.

A wounded man was thrown on to a blazing vehicle and burnt to death by a mob in Duncan Village near East London last night.

A police spokesman said today that houses, a community hall and a school were extensively damaged by arsonists last night. Delivery vehicles were looted and burnt.

Police dispersed arsonists with shotguns and rifles when they attacked a delivery vehicle.

The spokesman said: “A black man was wounded. The wounded man was thrown on to the burning vehicle by his fellow arsonists and died as a result of this barbaric act.”

Five men were arrested in connection with these incidents. — Sapa.

More unrest reports, Pages 3 and 7.
Boesak tells police of death threats

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and United Democratic Front patron, has told police of a spate of death threats.

Brigadier G Odendaal, divisional commissioner of police in the Western Cape, confirmed today that Dr Boesak had informed him of the telephoned threats and that a senior officer had been appointed to investigate.

Dr Boesak learnt of the threats from his secretary, Mrs Thelma Sacco, yesterday.

Minutes after he telephoned her to say he was going to Mitchell’s Plain after pupils clashed with police yesterday she received a call from a man who said: “If he goes to Mitchell’s Plain we’ll kill him”, he told The Argus yesterday.

“I was sitting in an attorney’s office when we heard schoolchildren had been arrested and decided to investigate. I telephoned Mrs Sacco and told her.

“No one else could have known my movements but she received the call, from a man speaking English with a heavy Afrikaans accent, minutes after I spoke to her.

“Those responsible either have an uncanny knowledge of what goes on in my office or are eavesdropping on my telephone calls,” Dr Boesak said.

Mrs Sacco later told him the death-threats began last week. “She hadn’t told me for fear of worrying me.”

Dr Boesak said he was “taking the threats seriously” but would not let them stop him doing “what I should be doing”.

Mrs Sacco said today more threatening phone calls had been made this morning, this time from parents threatening Dr Boesak with physical harm if their children were injured by police while at school.
Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The rightwing Daily Express has warned that the release of Nelson Mandela would be "a gross error. President P W Botha should be careful to avoid."

"Mandela is and remains the symbolic head of the African National Congress, a movement that is fomenting violent revolt in the black townships and which receives unqualified support and assistance from Moscow."

"He was legally indicted for offences which the great bulk of South Africans regards as terrorism."

Mr Mandela’s call for black political rights "cuts little ice in a country which only has to look to its northern borders to see what a hash Robert Mugabe is making of the cause of democracy in Zimbabwe, let alone the appalling blood-letting in Uganda under Milton Obote."

South Africans were becoming "sickeningly aware" that the same level of thoughtless violence which was "rampaging through black Africa" was becoming endemic in the townships. "Yet that violence is applauded by Mandela’s disciples."

The most liberal of commentators were now alarmed at this turn of events, the Daily Express continues. It quotes a Johannesburg newspaper as saying "Racism is no longer the target. Violence is perpetrated for its own sake."

In such a climate, the paper concludes, Mr Botha should only consider the release of Mr Mandela if he renounced violence "and — better — works with the Pretoria Government to bring about a lasting and realistic solution to the problem of South Africa’s blacks."
Boycott call meets with limited success

CALLS for a black consumer boycott of white-owned shops on the Reef have so far met with only limited success, but various organisations called for a broadening of the boycott yesterday.

Worst hit area on the Reef seems to be Pretoria but the response to the boycott and stayaway call was limited, according to the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce.

But Checkers MD Clive Weil described business there as "slow". Stores with a high black profile had definitely been affected, he said.

Now both the National Mine Workers Union and a group of 14 other organisations have joined the calls for consumer boycotts.

A quick poll of a few traders in areas likely to be most affected indicated that while there was obvious concern at what might lie ahead, immediate feelings were a boycott was unlikely to be as actively supported as had, for example, happened in the Eastern Cape, where at least two shops had closed as a result.

In a separate development the NUM said it would put into action its plan for a consumer boycott in mining towns, but said this would take a few days to organise.

Commenting on the spread of consumer boycotts to the Reef, Assocom chief executive Raymond Parsons said "organised commerce is concerned at white business being singled out for consumer boycotts — as it has repeatedly over many years taken a strong public stance on the need for meaningful reform in SA.

"While employers remain willing to negotiate with black leadership about legitimate grievances, they must protect their own interests and will clearly have to take whatever business counter-measures are necessary to neutralise the effect of the boycott."

Economists say the boycott could have minimal impact on the SA economy if there is merely a shift in buying from urban chain stores and shops to smaller township shops — though the higher prices charged in smaller shops will cut living standards.
'Calm' as Inkatha patrols townships

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — Police yesterday reported that "peace and calm" had returned to the townships here as thousands of black children returned to school after Inkatha members, joined by residents, intervened and patrolled the townships at the weekend.

Small groups continued to patrol the townships yesterday.

Turnouts at schools in Umlazi and Lamontville ranged from between 50 and 100 percent, while in Maritzburg one school reported a total class boycott.

Two more deaths on Sunday brought to 85 the unofficial death toll — 63 officially — while more than 1,000 people have been injured, mostly in Inanda, KwaMashu and Umlazi.

Looted and burnt
Forty-two Indian-owned shops and three doctors' surgeries were looted and burnt down in Inanda during the past week of unrest. In that time about 500 families left the area in the face of rioting mobs.

Only one shopping complex was left intact. It is opposite the Inanda police station.

Community and social workers estimate damage to property to be more than R25-million.

About 500 people have been arrested, mainly for looting, police said.

Indian businessmen said they would not go back until they had an assurance from the KwaZulu Government that they would be allowed to remain after it was incorporated.
NEL tells UK viewers: ANC wants revolution, not reform.

LONDON — The South African Government's doors were open to "any black leader who is recognised as a leader and who renounces violence" for discussions on how the country is to be governed, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said in a television interview last night.

But he defended the present state of emergency because, he said, intimidation by radicals meant that "many of the moderate leaders cannot come forward at the moment and that is why it is so important that law and order be re-established in all areas of South Africa".

Interviewed on the BBC programme "Newsnight", he repeatedly refused to say whether Nelson Mandela was one of the leaders with whom the Government would be prepared to negotiate.

"Reasonable"

"Our doors are open to all reasonable leaders. After all, we are all South Africans.

Asked whether the Government was not hampered in any moves towards real reform by the danger of losing its own white support, he said: "Reform is always a painful process, and we are saying to our white constituents that we must do what is morally right, what is right for SA."

"The time has come for all South Africans, black and white, to rid themselves of their own prejudices, and to stand together and to work for a peaceful future."

However, he said, the ANC's attitude remained that it wanted revolution, not reforms — "and this is of course one of the most important motivations behind the present unrest".

NON COMMITTAL

Although noncommittal on the Government's future attitude towards Nelson Mandela, the interview with Mr Nel provides more fuel for the rumours that the Government is still seeking ways to secure the black leader's release.

"We want to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally, and the State President has made it quite clear that he must renounce violence," Mr Nel said. "We are all civilised people and we must apply civilised standards. If we say Nelson Mandela must be released on the basis that he renounces violence, we think this is only stating the norm. It is as it should be for civilised people — a mere formality. And we think Mr Mandela should accept this situation and then he can be released immediately."
Release of Mandela would be a ‘crass error’, warns UK paper

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The right-wing Daily Express has warned the South African President that the release of Nelson Mandela would be “a crass error. Mr Botha should be careful to avoid”.

“Mandela is and remains the symbolic head of the African National Congress, a movement that is fomenting violent revolt in the black townships and which receives unqualified support and assistance from Moscow.

“He was legally indicted for offences which the great bulk of South Africans regards as terrorism.”

Mandela’s call for black political rights “cuts little ice in a country which only has to look to its northern borders to see what a hash Robert Mugabe is making of the cause of democracy in Zimbabwe, let alone the appalling blood-letting in Uganda under Milton Obote”.

South Africans were becoming “sickeningly aware” that the same level of thoughtless violence which could be seen “rampaging through black Africa” risked becoming endemic in the townships. “Yet that violence is applauded by Mandela’s disciples.”

The most liberal of commentators were now alarmed at this turn of events, the Daily Express continued. It quoted The Star in Johannesburg as saying: “Racism is no longer the target. Violence is perpetrated for its own sake.”

In such a climate, the paper concluded, Mr Botha should consider the release of Mandela only if he renounced violence “and — better — works with the Pretoria Government to bring about a lasting and realistic solution to the problem of South Africa’s blacks.”
EAST LONDON — Entrances to Duncan Village were sealed off last night after violence which erupted at the weekend continued yesterday.

Police said yesterday there had been several incidents of arson at the weekend.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said that on Sunday night various buildings had been damaged, including the East Cape Development Board offices, school offices, classrooms and a beerhall.

The spokesman said police dispersed mobs with tear smoke, rubber bullets and tear gas powder.

He said that, as far as could be established, no one had been injured and there were no arrests.

A later situation report for the period from noon to 8 pm yesterday said two schools had been set alight and R20,000 damage caused.

Police did not take any action and there had been no casualties, the police spokesman said.

Reports reaching the Daily Dispatch last night of rampaging youths sweeping through the Eziphumzani area could not be confirmed by the police.

The East Cape Development Board director of administration, Mr. D. Mantle, confirmed that a beerhall had been burnt down.

The regional office of the Department of Education and Training in Port Elizabeth said there was no school attendance yesterday and by late last night four schools were reported to have been burnt down. They were Qaqamba Secondary, Nyati Primary, Makina Primary and Nomulelo.

An attempt was also made to burn down the Peferrsville Primary School and the Kadelie Hall.

A butchery and a shop...
Mandela says Pw, says Pw

Mandela held

PRETORIA—President Botha, in a

meeting yesterday, told US congress-

men that the Nelson Mandela's release decision was comparable to the end of

the war against the Rhine. After

Mandela's release, Botha was asked about the possibility of

negotiations with the ANC. "Yes," he said. "But if it was not for him, it would be

very difficult. He has been a symbol of

peace and reconciliation in South Africa."

Mr. Botha also mentioned that negotiations with the ANC might lead to

the release of other political prisoners. "We are ready to consider all

offerings for peace," he said. "But we

cannot consider other prisoners until we have seen progress in the release

of Nelson Mandela."

Asked why he felt the

release of Mandela was so important, Botha replied, "It is a historic

moment for South Africa and the world. Nelson Mandela is a symbol of

freedom and hope for all oppressed peoples."
Nelson Mandela

'needed to lead violence in S A'

PRETORIA—President Botha told visiting US Congressman Stephen Solarz that Nelson Mandela's advisers were not interested in his freedom if he renounced violence because they wanted him to lead the movement of violence in South Africa.

This was revealed last night in an extract from the transcript of the conversation the two men had on Monday, and released by the President's Office here.

At a Press conference after their meeting, Mr Solarz, a vociferous opponent of South Africa, said the President had indicated the Government would not release Mandela unconditionally, and that the ANC leader was being kept in prison for the same reason the Western powers were keeping Rudolph Hess in a West Berlin jail.

According to the transcript, Mr Botha thought Hess should be released, but, as was the case with Mandela and his organisation, the German had been responsible for the killing of people.

The question Mr Botha asked was: 'Why was Hess, who was nearly 100 years old, kept in jail?'

The President added: 'Those are the same moral reasons why I do not want to keep an old man in jail, if I can help it.'

For this reason he had offered Mandela freedom on condition; he renounced violence, and the 'whole world' had said this was a fair condition.

After this offer, Transkei President Kaizer Matanzima had approached Mr Botha for permission to see Mandela on the grounds that they were cousins in the same Xhosa royal family.

This had been agreed, but Mandela had refused to see President Matanzima.

Another member of the family had been sent, with a letter in which President Matanzima offered him freedom in Transkei and a house.

'Mr Mandela refused it, because he is not interested in freedom, and his advisers are not interested in freedom for Mr Mandela.'

Rearrest

They are interested to let him lead the movement of violence in South Africa,' Mr Botha told Mr Solarz.

Mr Botha asked Mr Solarz whether he should be placed in the position, after freeing Mandela unconditionally, of having to rearrest him the moment he started perpetrating violence again.

According to the extract Mr Solarz did not reply.

Hess was not freed because he had perpetrated a sin against humanity, but was there a difference, the President asked, between this and the sins perpetrated by the ANC against humanity in South Africa, under the leadership of the Communist Party in London? — (Sapa)
EAST LONDON — A man was killed and another slightly injured during unrest at Sterkstroom yesterday, the police directorate of public relations announced last night.

In an 8 pm unrest bulletin, a directorate spokesman said the man was killed after police used shotguns to disperse a rioting group.

Three men over 18 years of age, one of whom was found to be slightly injured, were arrested in the incident together with four youths under 18 years old, one a female, the spokesman said.

He said that during unrest in the township, stones and petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of policemen and East Cape Development Board employees. A SATS police vehicle had also been stoned.

In Queenstown, petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of a policeman and a Queenstown community councillor, the bulletin stated.

Meanwhile, in further incidents of unrest, two youths were shot dead in separate incidents in Witbank’s townships yesterday.

A gang petrol-bombed and stoned the Ackerville house of a former policeman, Mr Peter Khoza, after he allegedly shot one of the youths in an earlier stoning incident.

Three Indian men died after being stabbed and set alight between Inanda and Phoenix near Durban, bringing the official death toll in the Natal rioting up to 70.

Further petrol-bombing and arson incidents were reported from Durban’s Umhlanga township.

At Cathcart a man was wounded when police dispersed a mob stoning police vehicles.

At Alexander a bus was petrol-bombed and a man injured in the ensuing blaze. The bus driver was robbed by his attackers. — DDK-Sapa.
Dispatch Reporters

EAST LONDON —
The violence in Duncan Village has claimed at least five lives, has left several families homeless and caused damage running into thousands of rands.

The police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said in an unrest situation report that one man was killed and four others arrested in a clash with police.

The spokesman said the group had set fire to six vehicles and had stoned police and Cape Development Board vehicles. They had also attempted to set fire to board offices.

The directorate's afternoon report said the overnight unrest death toll had risen to four with the discovery of the bodies of a youth and two men.

An earlier report yesterday said a wounded man was thrown onto a burning vehicle and burned to death by fellow arsonists in the township.

The directorate said the unidentified youth's body was discovered on Monday night.

The circumstances of his death, and those of the two men, were still being investigated and further details were not immediately available.

Meanwhile, all six Duncan Village Community Council members confirmed yesterday that their houses had been burnt to the ground.

The deputy chairman, Miss Mabel Mokua, and her councillors — Mr E. Makeba, Mr B. Bifane, Mr M. Bukani, Mrs S. Sili and Mrs F. Mangala — would not disclose yesterday where they were being rehoused.

Eyewitnesses in the area said yesterday several people were leaving following a night of arson and intimidation by rampaging youths.

Mr. J. J. Matome, a representative of the Western Tembus, said when he returned from Transkei yesterday, he had been informed that his house was on the list of the houses that were to be burned down.

He was advised to return to Transkei with his family. He said he would only return to Duncan Village when peace had been restored.

He had reported the matter to the police.

Several casualties were said to have been taken to Frere Hospital but the medical superintendent, Dr. Peter Mitchell, refused to divulge any details and referred inquiries to the police.

Thousands of pupils were said to be on the streets yesterday following the burning down of several schools. Schools reported burnt down were Zaqamba Secondary, Nyati Primary, Makanana Primary and Nomumelelo.

A spokesman for the regional office for the Department of Education and Training said all schools, except two higher primary and two lower primary schools, were deserted yesterday.

Mopping up operations were under way yesterday under the supervision of heavily manned armoured cars. Burnt-out wrecks were removed from the streets.

Meanwhile, the effects of the violence were felt in East London yesterday.

There was no in struc-
West deaths

Duncan Village

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Meanwhile, the effects of the violence were felt in East London yesterday. There was no instruction at both John Bissaker Senior Secondary School in Parkside and Green Point High School in Buffalo Flats, the Department of Education and Culture confirmed. The partially gutted Peferville Primary School was also deserted and it could not be established yesterday when the school would be reopened and where the pupils would be rehoused in the interim.

The Duncan Village community centre and a day training centre for mentally handicapped Khayalethu, were also burnt down.

Mr. Peterson Paul, caretaker at the community centre, Mr. Chris Bottoman and Mr. Mcedisi Mbedeni, were all homeless yesterday after arson attacks.

Mr. Peter Paul, the son of Mr. Peterson, said his home, which was in the yard of the community centre, was ablaze, the house was burnt down and all belongings were lost.

The family lost most of their belongings and the matter was reported to the police.

Another resident, who did not want to be identified, said a group of youths attempted to destroy a bridge which separates Ndende section and ezihundza section.

The police arrived just in time.

Besides the homes and schools gutted, the two beer halls and two bottle stores were also burnt.

A portion of Oxford Street, East London, was cordoned off by police following a bomb threat at a building society which the police liaison officer for the Border, Lieutenant D. J. van der Merwe, said was found to be false.

More reports and pictures P9.

Editorial opinion P12.
Mandela-Hess analogy—Botha

PRETORIA. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, told visiting US congressman Mr Stephen Solarz on Monday that advisers of imprisoned African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela were not interested in his freedom on condition he renounced violence because they wanted him to lead the movement of violence in South Africa.

This is according to an extract from the transcript of the conversation they had on Monday afternoon and which was released last night by the State President's office here.

No unconditional release

At a press conference after his meeting with the President, Mr Solarz said Mr Botha had indicated the government would not release Mr Mandela unconditionally, and that the ANC leader was being kept in prison for the same reason the Western powers were keeping Mr Rudolf Hess in a West Berlin jail.

According to the transcript's extract, Mr Botha said he thought Mr Hess should be released. Mr Hess, as was the case with Mr Mandela and his organization, was responsible for the killing of people, but the question was why Mr Hess, who was nearly 100 years old, was kept in jail.

"Those are the same moral reasons why I do not want to keep an old man in jail, if I can help it."

It was for this reason he had offered Mr Mandela freedom on condition he renounced violence.

After this offer, Transkei's President Kaiser Matanzima had offered him freedom (in Transkei).

"Mr Mandela refused it, because he is not interested in freedom, and his advisers are not interested in freedom for Mr Mandela. They are interested to let him lead the movement of violence in South Africa." Mr Botha reportedly told Mr Solarz.

Mr Botha asked Mr Solarz whether he should rearrest Mr Mandela if he was freed unconditionally and he started perpetrating violence again.

Mr Solarz did not reply to this.

Mr Hess was not freed because he perpetrated a sin against humanity but, the President asked, was there a difference between this and the sins perpetrated by the ANC against humanity in South Africa, under the leadership of the Communist Party in London? — Sapa
UDF calls for universal suffrage in an undivided country

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The popular demand for universal suffrage in an undivided South Africa is the primary yardstick against which any concessions announced tomorrow by President Botha must be measured, says the United Democratic Front.

"The people must govern their own country. That means the whole of South Africa. There can be no Bantustans. Nor will we tolerate any other puppet structures — whether they are triameral parliaments or renovated black local authorities," read a UDF statement presented yesterday in Johannesburg by acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe.

The statement stated options presented by sections of the Press and the business community, such as "the incorporation of certain discredited individuals at cabinet level or on the President's Council, the creation of a fourth chamber (of Parliament) for Africans or other schemes whose common aim is to deprive the majority of people of political rights in the land of their birth."

Mr Morobe listed immediate steps required to restore peace in South Africa.
• Unbanning all outlawed political organisations, including the African National Congress, as an expression of a desire to establish democratic rule.
• Granting to all the right to organise in unions, political and community groups.
• An immediate end to the state of emergency. "As long as the emergency is in force our people will continue to show their rejection of it. Its continued enforcement is a recipe for racial conflict."

The UDF declared that the "normality" the Government sought to restore by the state of emergency meant the re-establishment of the conditions for apartheid rule. To do so, it needed to smash the UDF and its affiliates who had resisted the "reform deal."

The UDF statement said that it wanted much more than the restoration of common South African citizenship to all. "We reassert that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. Common citizenship will mean nothing while people are confined to overcrowded and poverty-stricken strips of land."

"Citizenship will remain an empty label while people cannot live, work and raise their families where they choose. We warn the Botha Government that our people will not be fooled by the scrapping of pass books and the issuing of common identity documents."

"It is not possible to do away with the 'bantu' aspects of degrading pass laws."
PW is Sowetan challenged.

TOMORROW'S announcement by State President P W Botha — he is expected to announce major political reforms — was yesterday described as "an admission of failure" by a statement from the United Democratic Front.

The statement mentioned among others, the following "demands which Botha has to consider before making his announcement."

- That the people demand universal suffrage in an undivided South Africa.
- That South Africa belongs to all who live in it and all South Africans are entitled to full and equal rights.
- That the land must be returned to the people.
- That we demand the release of all political prisoners.
- We demand peace but there will be no peace while apartheid exists.

The statement also called for an end of the state of emergency as it has not "succeeded in three weeks in bringing any peace to this country."
Business makes plea to resist boycotts

ORGANISED commerce and industry in East London have appealed to black consumers to resist the boycott of businesses. They also warn that the economic harm caused would affect all sectors of the community.

A joint statement by the EL Chamber of Commerce, the Border Chamber of Industries and the local Afrikaanse Sakekamer said that, at a meeting with city council officials, it had been urged that all members of the community should stand together "in the face of the serious situation facing the future of East London and the region due to the current consumer boycott".

The statement was released yesterday by the Chamber of Commerce president Nico Cloete.

"The meeting appealed to the Xhosa nation, who have been seen as a proud group, to stand together and not be intimidated by a radical minority," the statement said.

"The meeting also expressed the view that blacks and whites in this region have always worked together and found it difficult to understand why there is this major disparity," the statement added.

The statement said: "The meeting also noted with appreciation that a state of emergency did not exist and expressed the hope that it would not be introduced in this region.

The meeting supported the principle of open trading, the opening of municipal amenities to all, and the creation of additional facilities.

It also supported government's stated intention to:

- Stop forced removals;
- Retain Duncan Village and upgrade it into an acceptable residential area;
- License hawkers to allow them to operate in the city without harassment and;
- Uphold the principle of open dialogue with all groups interested in promoting and improving the region. - Sapa."
US wants no-strings release for Mandela

Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — The United States Government says it favours the unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Mr Mandela has a key role to play in helping to define South Africa's future and should be part of the negotiations between the South African Government and community leaders," said a State Department spokesman, Mr Robert Bruce.

But in a television appearance yesterday, South Africa's ambassador-designate, Mr Herbet Beukes, said Mr Mandela held the key to his own freedom.

The South African Government had indicated that if Mr Mandela showed a willingness to participate peacefully in dialogue he could be released, Mr Beukes told viewers.

CHIEF DEMAND

The release of Mr Mandela has been one of the chief demands of protesters.

In the past few days there has been much speculation in the Press about his imminent release, based on the optimism of United States officials after their meeting with the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Vienna last week.

But this and other expectations about reforms to be announced by President P W Botha tomorrow have been dampened by cautions from United States officials and by reports from South Africa that the reforms are likely to be less sweeping than many Americans had hoped.

Yesterday's comment came when Mr Bruce, the chief public affairs spokesman for the Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, was asked if the Reagan Administration supported the view of New York congressman Mr Stephen Solarz — who is in South Africa — that Mr Mandela should be released.

"OUR CALL"

Mr Bruce replied: "Yes. We repeat our call for the unconditional release of Mr Mandela."

Asked what role the United States saw for Mr Mandela, Mr Bruce said: "Despite his 23 years of imprisonment, he remains a most important national leader.

"He has a key role to play in helping define South Africa's future and should be part of the negotiations between the South African Government and community leaders."

According to a news agency report here, South Africa is considering softening the terms for Mr Mandela's release.

SUGGESTION

There was a suggestion that the Government might require only an indication from Mr Mandela that he will participate in peaceful processes.

Asked yesterday whether the South African Government considered it crucial to release Mr Mandela, Mr Beukes replied: "What is important is that there should be dialogue, that there should be a peaceful process, and that we should move away from senseless violence in black communities."

● The State Department yesterday deplored the fire-bombing of the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

● In New York, between 10 000 and 30 000 people yesterday marched on the South African mission to the United Nations.

Chanting demonstrators marched from Winnie and Nelson Mandela Square on Second Avenue to the UN.
Government faces Mandela dilemma

By David Braam, Political Correspondent

The Government clearly finds itself in a dilemma over whether or not to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally.

This has emerged from a transcript of a conversation between President Botha and American congressman Mr Stephen Solarz on Monday.

Mr Botha asked Mr Solarz whether, if he freed Mandela unconditionally and Mandela was again involved in violence, the Government should have him re-arrested.

Mr Botha said: "Long before I was Prime Minister, Mr Mandela was found guilty by the Supreme Court and the Appellate Division of contravening certain Acts and being involved in acts of violence.

"After I became Prime Minister the agitation for his release started.

"I said yes — I do not want to keep an old man in jail," the transcript released by Mr Botha's office last night reads.

Political observers pointed out today that Mr Botha's dilemma was clear.

On the one hand, the unconditional release of Mandela at this time would be a major propaganda victory for the South African Government and would almost certainly fulfill expectations for Mr Botha's "watershed" speech at the Natal National Party congress tomorrow night.

On the other hand, the Government appears to be concerned that if Mandela is released unconditionally and is again involved in violence, his re-arrest could create even more trouble and adverse publicity abroad."
United States Congressman Stephen Solarz speaks with the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, during their meeting in Durban yesterday.

**Rising anger must be checked, chief tells Solarz**

African Affairs Correspondent

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the rising tide of black anger must be stemmed before it draws the whole country into the cauldron of a black-white racist war.

Chief Buthelezi told Congressman Stephen Solarz in Durban yesterday that any further escalation of violence would render black leadership directionless and make every black organisation run after the process of bringing about radical change.

Mr Solarz, who has introduced a Bill in the United States Congress aimed at sanctions against South Africa, was in Durban to meet various leaders, including representatives of the United Democratic Front.

Chief Buthelezi told him he was not concerned about the survival of apartheid.

"Apartheid will and must be eradicated," he said.

"My concerns are about the nature of the society we are going to end up with."

He said anger was by far black South Africa's greatest asset and it was 'sheer stupidity' to squander this anger in the kind of eruptions of mob violence which were being witnessed at present.

"The only way in which black anger can be assuaged is for the State President now to make distinct moves towards power-sharing."

Chief Buthelezi said he appreciated the rising tide of American indignation about apartheid, but this indignation should not attempt to rap Pretoria over the knuckles.

It should attempt rather to strengthen the arm of black leaders and organisations inside South Africa who were intent upon the eradication of apartheid and were prepared to bring about a negotiated settlement.

Chief Buthelezi said disinvestment was not a black South African option at present.
Mandela home attacked

JOHANNESBURG — The Brandfort home of Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was petrol-bombed early yesterday morning.

Although the extent of damage to the house was not known, neighbours said the bedroom and a two-roomed building alongside the house, used by Mrs Mandela as a clinic, were extensively damaged, and a cat was found smothered to death.

No one was at home during the attack which took place at about 3 a.m.

Furniture and other household items were destroyed by the fire but the quick action of neighbours saved the house from being completely destroyed.
LONDON — "The world’s most famous political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, not only sees no need to compromise with the South African authorities but cannot do so if he is to preserve his credibility," The Guardian said here today.

It also said whites should see his potential value as a negotiating partner for a peaceful settlement to South Africa’s problems.

And The Guardian called on President PW Botha to take "bold action" to solve the matter.

Noting that the authorities are "locking up every leader of African opinion they can find, thereby silencing the people with whom they should be talking if their stated readiness to negotiate means anything," the newspaper said it was "Mr Botha, unlike Mr Mandela, (who) has a growing credibility problem which only the most imaginative of gestures could resolve."
E Cape murders: R35 000 reward

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS

ABOUT 100 academic and administrative staff of all three universities in the Western Cape have pledged a reward of R35 000 for information leading to conviction of the killers of four black community leaders found murdered in the Eastern Cape last month.

Among those who have pledged R500 each towards the reward are Dr Stuart J Saunders, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town (UCT), Professor Richard van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and Professor Jaap Durand, its Vice-Rector.

The list of contributors includes a number of heads of departments and other prominent figures, as well as ten academics at the University of Stellenbosch.

The reward will provide a massive boost to money already on offer for information concerning the killers of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlavuli, four key Eastern Cape figures whose mutilated bodies were found near Port Elizabeth early last month.

They had gone missing a few days earlier, after attending a UDF meeting in PE.

The UDF has already pledged R6 000 in reward money and the SA Police R1 000.

Details of the initiative and the list of contributors were released in Cape Town yesterday by its co-conveners — Professor Pieter le Roux, director of the Institute for Social Development at UWC, and Ms Helen Zille, journalist and research co-ordinator for the UCT-based Carnegie study on poverty.

A statement released on behalf of the contributors said they had each pledged R500 for information leading, in the opinion of senior counsel nominated by attorneys acting for them, to the conviction of the killers or killers of one or more of the four leaders.

In the event of such information being supplied by more than one person, the total might be distributed in such manner as the senior counsel considered just and equitable.

Information had to be provided within two years of August 9 this year.

Any person able to furnish information has been asked to contact the Right Rev Kenneth Oram, Bishop of Grahamstown, c/o Diocesan Office, St George’s Chambers, High Street, Grahamstown, tel (064) 2500 or 7412, who has undertaken to pass on any information given to him to attorneys acting for the contributors.

Anyone else who wishes to contribute towards the reward may contact Professor Rieda Rieda (021) 951-3101 or Ms Zille at (021) 69-1094.

The statement adds: “We would like to emphasize that this initiative is not rooted in any organization but is the response of individuals whose concern is to see justice done in our society.”

Police had “absolutely no leads” in the investigation into the murders, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday.

Colonel Van Rooyen said no progress had been made in investigations into the disappearance of three other African civic leaders, Mr Nkosikazi Nyantwane and Mr Hluphi Xamphile, and Mr Thembekile Patho, who was last seen in mid-1989.
Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlauli, four key Eastern Cape figures whose mutilated bodies were found near Fort Elizabeth early last month.

They had gone missing a few days earlier, after attending a UDF meeting in PE.

The UDF has already pledged R6,000 in reparation for their families.

UK to cut Barclays stake, new name, report, page 14

Well worth the trip to Parow!

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Parow

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An announcement to-night by the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, that he would meet Nelson Mandela in prison would do much to defuse present tension, Dr. Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said today.

Mr. Botha had repeatedly made known his concern for peace, Dr. Naude said.

He said there "is no better way in this time of national crisis for Mr. Botha to confirm this concern" than to meet Nelson Mandela to discuss the issue of violence and non-violence. - Sapa.
Church blames apartheid for violence

IN a memorandum on unrest in the country, the NG Sending Church has distanced itself from all supporters and advocates of violence and declared that apartheid was largely responsible for the situation.

After discussions on the unrest, the moderator of the church said that the scrapping of the emergency regulations would not restore peace in the country.

A spokesman for the assessor of the church's synod, Dr Allan Boesak, said Dr Boesak was "too busy" to comment on the church statement.

The statement was signed by the moderator of the church, Rev Isak Mentor, its secretary, Dr A J C Eruwee, and its actuary, Rev N A Apollos.

The church, the first associated with the NG Church to address the unrest situation, said that while the weak economy and the high unemployment rate had contributed towards discontent, apartheid and the government's separate development policies were largely to blame.

The moderator re-emphasized that it considered apartheid a heresy and expressed its concern at the high degree of lawlessness and violence in the country.

Police and security forces were urged not to misuse their power so as to undermine the public's confidence in the legal system.

The church rejected any form of support or calls for violence or violent revolution, but was convinced that a government accommodating the interests of all South Africans on an equal basis was the only viable solution for the country's internal strife.

Commenting on the stayaways by university and school students, the moderator said it understood their legitimate grievances, but expressed an opinion that no useful purpose would be served by boycotting classes.
‘Plot’ blamed for unrest

By Ebrahim Moosa
Political Reporter

A “sinister plot” hatched by Inkatha under Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the government was responsible for the unrest in Natal last week, sociology lecturer Professor Fatima Meer said last night.

Speaking at a UDF banquet for traders in Wynberg, she said the time had come to “expose” the “diabolical” role of Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi in last week’s violence in Durban directed against Indians irrespective what the consequences would be.

At a memorial service for the slain UDF lawyer, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, in Umlazi last Wednesday, Inkatha “impis” attacked people, she said.

‘Fringe elements’

Although “fringe elements” had been involved in arson and looting in Inanda, the police stood by without preventing the events from taking place.

Professor Meer said it was questionable why “selective” houses had been burnt in the largely poor township of Inanda where Indians and blacks had lived side-by-side for decades.

If last week’s conflict had been of a racial nature against Indians, then a very affluent Indian suburb near Inanda would have been a target.

Inkatha’s role had erroneously been portrayed as that of a peace-making group, she said.

Chief Buthelezi was “jockeying for power” against the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

She described last week’s events as the result of a “sinister scenario” involving the “organized forces of violence of the government and Inkatha” to create conflict among the ranks of the opposition.
Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Five private houses, a rent office, and a beerhall were burnt down at Cambridge Township here yesterday.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations said one man was arrested.

A school building which had only been completed on Monday had its windows smashed when rioters in the township stoned it.

According to the East Cape Development Board officials at the scene, two of the houses belonged to the ECDB employees. One of them was the superintendent of the township, Mr. William Njobeza. Another one belonged to a ECDB constable.

Residents interviewed said the other three houses burnt down were those of people who agreed to keep the ECDB belongings when it was heard in the township that houses of public officials were going to be burnt down.

They said the officials approached their friends in the township and asked them to keep their belongings safe.

The school, Migcobane Primary School, which was damaged with stones, was completed on Monday. Finishing touches were not yet complete yesterday. The putty on the window frames was still wet yesterday.

As the Daily Dispatch toured the area, a shack which stood in a yard of one of the burnt houses was set alight. The police arrived on the spot but it was completely burnt out. No arrest were made.
Bedroom grenade kills schoolboy

STEPHEN WROTTESLEY
Crime Reporter

A SCHOOLBOY died early today after a hand-grenade was thrown into a bedroom where four children were sleeping at the home of Mr Stan Fisher, chairman of the Mitchell's Plain Ratepayers' Association.

The victim was 16-year-old Rashaad Witten, a neighbour's son who was staying for the night.

Three of Mr Fisher's children were injured in the blast and were treated at Groote Schuur Hospital. A fourth child, an eight-month-old baby, was sleeping in her parents' room and was uninjured.

Mr Fisher said today he was awakened by an explosion at 1.40am. The grenade had been thrown into a front upstairs room of their double-storey Kronendal Road home.

"The blast blew out the window, buckled the frame and sent shrapnel flying."

"My kids were shouting. I ripped the door open and Rashaad rushed out first," Mr Fisher said.

"I think he was so shocked he did not know what he was doing and ran back inside."
from grenade attack
schoolboy — 3 hurt

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“My kids were shouting. I ripped the door open and Rashaad rushed out first,” Mr Fisher said.

“I think he was so shocked he did not know what he was doing and was trying to push the...
Mr Stan Fisher

The grenade was thrown into this bedroom. 4

Plea for information over grenade attacks

Crime Reporter

AN urgent plea was made today by the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier G J Odendaal, for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for recent hand-grenade attacks in the Peninsula.

This followed a police warning earlier this week that children could become the accidental victims of grenade throwers.

Brigadier Odendaal said that on Tuesday, pamphlets were distributed throughout the Peninsula asking the public to help the police in tracking down those responsible for the attacks.

He said rewards had been offered because police "feared that sooner or later, innocent people might be killed in these attacks".

"The hand-grenade attack in Mitchell's Plain, where children were injured and one was killed, places an urgent duty on members of the public who have any positive information to relay this without delay to the police."

"I say this again — the safety of our communities is not only the responsibility of the police but everybody."

After last Saturday's blast in Gugulethu in which eight people, including the second-in-command of the reaction unit, were wounded, police dropped 30 000 pamphlets over the Peninsula.

In the pamphlets, police said children could have been killed or injured in the blast.

Two rewards of R1 000 are offered by police for information regarding hand-grenade attacks on policeman. An anonymous businessman has offered a further R1 000.
Grenade attack

blast at the home of Mr. Landers on June 6.

A number of people have been injured in the attacks, including several policemen in a blast at a Guguletu funeral at the weekend, but Rashaad is the first to die.

Police are offering a total of R2 000 in rewards for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for the earlier attacks.

- Mr. Fisher stared death in the face 15 years ago.

He is a former city detective and a holder of the South African Police Star for Merit.

Mr. Fisher received the award in 1970 for tackling and overpowering a gun-wielding man in Grassy Park.

The gunman, with a .38 automatic pistol, had already shot and wounded two other people when Mr. Fisher, who was unarmed, arrested him.

- Rashaad had asthma and was recently hospitalised for several days following a bad attack.

A friend of the family described Rashaad Witten as an "innocent boy with little interest in politics".

"He was very fond of his school and all he wanted was to matriculate and then study to be a teacher," she said.

"He was a quiet child and studying was his main aim. He was not well though and suffered asthma attacks about twice a month."

Rashaad was in Standard 9 at Westridge Senior Secondary School in Mitchell's Plain. His class teacher, Mr. Isaac Geswind, said his favourite subject was geography. He was of average intelligence and not interested in sport, said Mr. Geswind.

"He was seldom at school though because of his sickness," he said.

Rashaad was the second eldest in his family. He leaves two brothers and a sister.

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr. Dennis de la Cruz, said today it was "a senseless and brutal killing".

"I condemn it in the strongest possible terms and convey my deepest sympathies to the bereaved."

"I call especially on the people of Mitchell's Plain to rally around and to assist in identifying and bringing to book the radical elements which are at work in Mitchell's Plain and which are not assisting in bringing about peace and stability," Mr. de la Cruz said.
Finding the ‘real leaders’

By BARRY STREEK

As the violence and conflict in the black residential areas of South Africa continue there have been calls for the government to negotiate with the “real leaders”.

The largest black newspaper in South Africa, City Press, called for “a new, vigorous attempt for genuine negotiation with the black community’s credible leaders. It’s the only way out of the cycle of violence”.

Discredited

But who are those leaders?

They are certainly not the people the government likes to regard as the leaders of the black people — the members of the black housing and community councils, which were elected on low polls two years ago, or, with one notable exception, the leaders of the 10 separate homelands for African people.

These people are regarded as unrepresentative.

When President P W Botha started his tour of the homelands he said in KwaNdebele, which is scheduled to gain its “independence” soon: “We have once again shown that we can discuss one another’s problems around a table and plan together for a better future for the peoples of South Africa.”

That claim angered the only black daily newspaper in South Africa, the Sowetan which said it found it odd that President Botha found “time to undertake a goodwill tour and speak to his lackeys when there is a crying need for him to have consultations with black leaders in urban areas who have credibility”.

Mr Botha’s visit, the paper said, was “even more sinister if we consider Mr Botha’s refusal to meet Bishop Tutu”. So, who are the “real” leaders?

Mr Percy Qoboza, the associate editor of City Press, said in an interview that he was “absolutely dumbfounded that the government does not know who the real leaders are.”

“There must be some breakdown in communication with the security police, who know who they are.”

He said they included the leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC), the banned Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Inkatha, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo).

They would also include church leaders, like Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, and labour leaders like Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, of South Africa’s largest trade union, the National Union of Mineworkers, which claims about 130 000 signed-up members.

One of the key figures is Mr Nelson Mandela, 67, the ANC leader, who was jailed for life in 1964.

His wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, who is banned and restricted to Brandfort, is a political leader in her own right.

The leader of the exiled wing of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, 68, a former legal partner of Mr Mandela, is another key figure.

The smaller PAC is not generally regarded as being as significant as the ANC, but recently Mr Johnson Mlambo, 45, who was jailed on Robben Island in 1963 for 20 years and who left South Africa last year to join the central committee of the PAC, was elected the new leader.

Inkatha, which claims more than a million members, is the largest black political organization in South Africa. Its leader, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, who turns 57 this month, is also the Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland.

In contrast to the ANC and PAC, Inkatha has opted to work within the system to destroy apartheid. This strategy is often criticized by other black political organizations, but as Mr Qoboza implied, it cannot be dismissed because of this, particularly because of its popular support.

Chief Buthelezi is often portrayed in the white-orientated press as a person with whom the government could strike a deal. But after Mr Botha refused to negotiate with him about the constitutional future of black people, he said: “I am probably more estranged from the State President than I have been at any other time during his term of office.”

The UDF consists of some 600 different affiliated organizations and is more an alliance against apartheid than a political party. Its leadership is straddled between these different bodies but, says Mr Qoboza, two significant figures within it are Mr Popo Molefe, its general secretary, and Mr Patrick “Ferror” Lekota.

Grouping

Mr Molefe and Mr Lekota are in jail and have been refused bail, although this decision is being appealed. They are facing high treason charges following the unrest in the Vaal Triangle near Johannesburg in September last year.

Within the black consciousness camp, the Azapo president, Mr Ishmael Mbheza, and Mr Saths Cooper, a leading figure in National Forum, a black consciousness grouping, could be included among the “real” leaders.

There have been no free elections in South Africa to choose the “real” leaders but, as public opinion surveys have shown, people such as these do have popular support.

Mr Oliver Tambo

Chief Buthelezi

Mr Percy Qoboza
Mandela would be freed only if he renounced violence

LONDON. — South Africa's Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel said in a BBC television interview on Monday night that ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be released only if he renounced violence.

"We want to release Nelson Mandela," he said. "But he must renounce violence. We are all civilized people and we must apply civilized standards. We think that if we say Nelson Mandela must be released on the basis that he renounces violence, it is only stating a norm."

"It should be a mere formality for civilized people. We think that Mandela should accept this situation."

Mandela was offered release from Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town earlier this year on condition that he renounced violence, but he turned down the offer. Nel said "many moderate black leaders" were unable to negotiate with government at present because of intimidation, which included arson, murder and assault. This was why it was important to re-establish law and order in all areas of SA.

Asked whether President P W Botha's constitutional reforms were getting anywhere, Nel said: "I can assure you that the special Cabinet committee has been negotiating with several leaders from time to time. We are looking forward to the State President's speech on Thursday."

Meanwhile British television newscasts last night headlined the challenge from Nelson Mandela to Botha for a meeting in Pollsmoor Prison.

This followed a visit by Winnie Mandela to her husband earlier. Independent Television said Mandela had reacted to Botha's claims that the ANC leader's advisers wanted him free in order to spearhead further violence.

Mandela's response, according to the newscast, was to invite Botha to have discussions with him in jail.
EAST LONDON — The unrest death toll in Duncan Village rose to at least six after further incidents of violence in the township during Tuesday night.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said a black man was shot dead by a South African Transport Services policeman on Tuesday night.

He said the SATS policeman had protected his home in an attack.

Unofficial reports reaching the Daily Dispatch offices said more than 10 people had been killed in Duncan Village and more than 50 wounded.

This was supported by hospital sources.

The medical superintendent of Frere Hospital said all inquiries about unrest victims had to be directed to the police.

The district surgeon, Dr. Basil Wingreen, said he too could not give any information about unrest victims.

"Only the police can give that information," he said.

In Sterkstroom, a policeman who was injured in the unrest in the township there, has died in hospital.

The police situation report last night said the policeman was off duty when he was attacked by a mob of stone throwers. He was taken to hospital by police but died later.

"Several more incidents of stone-throwing and arson were reported in Duncan Village throughout the night. Police used tear smoke and birdshot to disperse the mobs."

A woman was arrested.

The spokesman said no further incidents were reported in Duncan Village after 8 am yesterday.

A black man was wounded and arrested by police in Sterkstroom for possessing a petrol bomb. A police spokesman said he would be charged under the Explosives Act.

Several private homes were attacked during Tuesday night, and a man and a youth were arrested for public violence in Sterkstroom.

In Queenstown several incidents of arson and stone-throwing were reported.

The police spokesman said a stone-throwing mob of 200 people attacked a councillor's home as well as several policemen's houses during Tuesday night. One policeman was slightly injured.

In Khondbule near Fort Elizabeth, a school was set alight. Mobs threw petrol bombs at private vehicles and private homes.

Police arrested six men in the violence there and in Fort Beaufort, one man was arrested after a stone-throwing incident.

The Transvaal Bureau reports that an explosive device detonated in a ground-floor lift at the University of Witwatersrand yesterday at 4 am, causing damage.

According to a spokesman from the police directorate in Pretoria, nobody was injured in the blast and police are investigating the cause of the explosion.

According to a spokesman for the university, damage was "minimal" and the university was fully operational yesterday.

"The front doors of Senate House had been forced open to gain entry and the police and university security personnel were on the scene within five minutes but saw no one," she said.

Saps reports from Pretoria that the following incidents of unrest were reported by the public relations division of the police:

In Townships near Durban, police arrested seven men in possession of petrol bombs and nine men in possession of stolen property. The body of an unknown man was found, apparently stabbed to death.

In townships near Witbank, a bus was extensively damaged by arsonists, a private home was slightly damaged when it was petrol bombed, a man was arrested when two illegal gatherings were dispersed, two youths were arrested for stealing SAP vehicles and another nine were arrested on charges of public violence.
Academics pledge reward money

Among those who have pledged R500 each toward the reward are Dr Stuart Saunders, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town; Professor Richard van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape; and Prof Jaap Durand, its Vice-Rector.

The list of contributors includes a number of heads of departments and other prominent figures, as well as 10 academics at the University of Stellenbosch.

The reward will boost money already offered for information regarding the killers of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhluwuli, four key Eastern Cape figures whose mutilated bodies were found near Fort Elizabeth early last month.

The UDF has already pledged R6 000 in reward money and the SA Police R1 000.

Details of the initiative and the list of contributors were released by its conveners: Prof Pieter le Roux, director of the Institute for Social Development at UWC, and Mrs Helen Zille, journalist and research co-ordinator at the UCT-based Carnegie study on poverty.

A statement released on behalf of the contributors said they had each pledged R500 for information leading, in the opinion of senior counsel nominated by attorneys acting for them, to the conviction of the killer or killers of one or more of the four leaders.

Information had to be provided within two years of August 8 this year.

Any person able to furnish information has been asked to contact Bishop Kenneth Gram of Grahamstown.
Uproar over Tutu invitation

A row has erupted over a decision by the Old Johannians Association to invite the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, to address the organisation’s annual dinner in September.

The association’s chairman, Mr M Dietrich, confirmed today that members had been receiving anonymous letters condemning the invitation.

"What is strange about this is that the letter has begun circulating even though invitations for the annual dinner have not yet been sent."

He stressed that the Bishop of Johannesburg was the head of the church to which St John’s College was affiliated.

"It is a tradition to invite the Bishop of Johannesburg, whoever he might be, to address the first annual dinner after his nomination," he said.

The Old Johannians Association is made up of former students of St John’s College.
THE Pan Africanist Congress mission to the United Nations has asked the African bloc for support if violence breaks out during the proposed black mine workers strike in South Africa next week.

The African group consists of all senior ambassadors of African states at the United Nations.

There are about 50 members in this group.

The PAC called on the UN Security Council to avoid "other elements", hijacking its efforts and asked the council to issue a statement immediately on the existing situation.

The PAC is one of the several groups which have given support to the nation-wide strike called by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), a trade union wing of the African National Congress (ANC), has given its support to the strike which might involve over 240,000 blacks in South Africa.

In a statement to The SOWETAN yesterday PAC said it had distributed thousands of pamphlets to trade union members to show solidarity with the "dispossessed and oppressed" people of South Africa.

It said it sent a telex to the State President Mr P W Botha asking him to:

**Release**

- Release all leaders of the liberation movement, in particular Mr Nelson Mandela of ANC and Mr Zeph Mothopeng of PAC.
- Allow Mr Mandela and Mr Mothopeng to attend PAC's session in Geneva to discuss prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities.

Meanwhile the deadlock between the Chamber of Mines and NUM over wage increases continued this week when a meeting between the two parties ended without reaching any decision.
Mandela’s challenge

LONDON -- Nelson Mandela has challenged President Botha to visit him in his prison cell at Pollsmoor to discuss his release.

Mr. Mandela’s wife, Winnie, was allowed to visit him yesterday.

After the meeting Mrs. Mandela was interviewed by Britain’s Channel Four television news. TV viewers were told of the challenge. -- The Star Bureau.
Duncan Village toll rises to seven

EAST LONDON — The death toll in East London's Duncan Village rose to seven yesterday when a young man died in an attack on a house in the area. The man was a victim of a mob attack, similar to those that have plagued the town recently.

Two of the houses targeted belonged to officials of the East Cape community council, while the rest were private homes. A police officer was shot dead during the attack, and several others were injured.

The violence has been ongoing for several days, with homes and businesses destroyed and police officers targeted. The government has deployed military units to the area to try to restore order.

Source: Daily News, August 15, 1976

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Queens Town has been the scene of a series of similar attacks, with hundreds of homes and businesses destroyed. The town is on high alert, and the police are taking additional steps to ensure safety.

Two residents of the town have been arrested and charged with the murders. The police believe the attacks are linked to a dispute over land.

Source: Daily News, August 16, 1976
Threat of action by the ANC

The Star's Foreign News Service

LUSAKA — The banned African National Congress (ANC) has dismissed President P.W. Botha's speech last night while warning that it planned to make South Africa ungovernable.

The ANC said it would only negotiate with Pretoria if political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela were freed.

The ANC president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda were expected to make major statements later today.

Both Mr. Kaunda, who this week gave South Africa "two-and-a-half years" before it is engulfed in a racial explosion, and Mr. Tambo were expected to be highly critical of what they see as the lack of major reform steps.

The Times of Zambia, which generally reflects Zambian Government thinking, carried Mr. Botha's speech under the headline: "Botha develops cold feet".
Police watch at Boesak meeting

Staff Reporters

THERE was a strong police presence outside the Hoover Park civic hall today when university students and school pupils attended a rally addressed by Dr Allan Boesak.

Police with batons and sjamboks stood outside the entrance to the hall. There was also a police Casspir and several vans with dogs nearby.

Student leaders appealed to students to stay inside the hall while waiting for the arrival of the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, so as not to provoke an incident.

Dr Boesak arrived and addressed the students in the hall.

Afterwards he approached the police and appealed to them not to interfere with the students.

He then told students that police and they would withdraw and not interfere as long as they dispersed quietly immediately after the meeting.

Police vans, including railway police vehicles and a Casspir, retreated but stopped about a block away.

In his address Dr Boesak said the fact that teachers had decided to support students in a struggle for liberation meant a new area in which the struggle was being waged.

He was referring to a meeting of more than 1000 teachers and lecturers last night when it was decided they would “down tools” on Monday and Tuesday.

“If they touch our teachers students and the community will rise up.”

He urged students to be responsible and act with clear minds. “We must employ intelligence as well as courage and boldness,” he said.
10,000 at EL call for end to unrest

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — More than 10,000 residents of East London's troubled Duncan Village attended a meeting called to urge an end to violence, which has left at least 19 people dead in four days.

At the meeting yesterday the chairman of the Duncan Village Residents' Association, Mr Mawethu Nomshongwana, blamed the "senseless" destruction of property on "thugs and criminal elements".

Speakers urged people to work and Escom was called on to restore electricity, which was interrupted by unrest.

Father Graham Cornelius, a Roman Catholic priest in East London who set up a clinic to treat injured people, has complained of police interference.

Father Cornelius said today his clinic at St Francis Xavier Church in Peeferville had treated more than 70 people, many with gunshot wounds.

He claims that police surrounded his church, arrested a fellow-priest who was helping him and took two injured patients for questioning. He said the took "grave exception" to the police interfering with his "ministry of compassion".

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed that police held two patients. He said the priest was questioned and released.

The general secretary of the UDF for the Border region, Mr Andrew Hendricks, says he has received death threats and that a building adjoining his home in East London was fired at.

He said he had received two death threats by telephone from men speaking Afrikaans, and that two men fired about 15 shots at an adjoining building from a vehicle.

See Page 6.
CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

It's spreading and it hurts

Industries and retailers countrywide are bracing themselves for a crisis far worse than the economic recession: a massive boycott by black consumers. It could soon prove to be a more significant political development than the black unrest.

The extraordinary impact of the politically motivated eastern Cape boycott is proving to black activists that, as a non-violent act of civil disobedience, it is a weapon as powerful as industrial action. It is certainly less futile than township violence. With wide support from religious, labour and community organisations, boycotts are being organised for other metropolitan centres and could well spread countrywide.

Wits University political historian Tom Lodge points out that, although not the first organised consumer boycott in SA's history, this is the first time it is being used to extract political concessions from government. He believes it to be one of the only non-violent and legal weapons at the disposal of blacks.

Government leaders anxious to stop the boycott action with strong-arm tactics should not forget, Lodge says, that the National Party in 1948 organised an effective boycott of Indian trading stores in order to support Afrikaner traders.

United States-South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (Usalsep) director Michael Sinclair reckons the boycott will "undoubtedly" spread. "They are a proven strategy here and elsewhere — especially in the US during the black civil rights campaign. Business will itself up," says Sinclair by coming out in support of the State of Emergency.

There is no doubt that the eastern Cape boycott is biting hard. The local branch of the FPF is busy with a new survey of shops in the city after an earlier investigation showed a loss in turnover of between 30% and 100% in some businesses in PE's predominantly black trade North End area. It was reported on Monday this week that one shop owner sold only one packet of cigarettes.

But the effects that consumer boycotts could have on black shopworkers have not gone unnoticed. The Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawa), mostly representing shopworkers, has indicated that, in the case of a consumer boycott called for by its trade union allies, they will propose that a time limit be imposed and that further action be taken against companies which decide to lay off employees as a consequence of a boycott.

Just one example of the white reaction to the boycotts speaks for itself: the FPF's MP for Port Elizabeth Central, John Malcomess, has had more telephone calls from traders complaining about the boycott and pleading with him to do something than on any other issue during his parliamentary career.

There are indications that government is considering action against the boycott action by making it a crime under the emergency powers to propagate a boycott, and there is widespread talk in the eastern Cape of heavy-handed police action against black township traders and their customers. The PE boycott leader, Mkuseli Jack, has been detained under emergency powers. His lieutenants have also been arrested, or are in hiding.

It has been alleged that blacks who buy at white-owned shops have been assaulted and had their goods destroyed when they returned to the townships. There have also been allegations that security forces have intimidated black shoppers and consumers in the townships and tried to force them back to white retailers.

The FPF's spokesman on Industries and Trade and MP for Walmer, Andrew Savage, says the police have admitted to him that informal black businesses are being closed down under the guise of enforcing licensing laws.

Says PE Chamber of Commerce director Tony Gilson: "We can't look at the boycott in isolation. It's a problem that has to be solved along with the causes of the current unrest and the wider black political crisis." He "I think organised commerce has to accept that it can't ignore the need for political change where that need exists, not only for altruistic reasons, but also to safeguard an environment in which business has a place," he says.

Says Savage: "People who have phoned me have asked what can be done to make government realise that the demands of blacks are reasonable. The government has proved conclusively that it will only move as a result of pressure, so everyone is now in the pressure business — which does not mean that all pressures are good.

"The boycott is probably the most legitimate weapon blacks have. It highlights just how interdependent blacks and whites are and proves that whites can't live in isolation from blacks. It makes a farce of racial separation," he says.

Next in line seems to be the western Cape. Leaflets issued by the UDF-backed boycott committee originally called for a boycott of white-owned shops from August 5. Not much happened. Now 14 social, church, youth and community organisations in the province have announced plans for the boycott of all shops owned by whites and government "collaborators" (includ- ing community councils, members of management committees and participants in the tri-cameral Parliament) to begin August 14.

UDF vice-president in the western Cape, Christmas Tinto, tells the FM a provincial committee is being established to coordinate committees that have already been formed in the townships. He says a large number of whites have also expressed sympathy with the call. They are to back this up by buying from coloured shops.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce President Andrew Peile recently hosted a meeting at his home in an attempt to encourage "frank discussion and understanding." Attending were UDF men including Tinto and the Cape president, Zolile Malindle, along with a veritable who's who of the business community and leading academics, including UCT principal Stuart Saunders. Peile
**Cheeky Watson's clothing shop in Uitenhage is not being boycotted. His turnover has almost doubled. But he is paying the price. Watson believes he is being intimidated by the police.**

He was visited by seven uniformed policemen this week after a pamphlet was circulated, in the townships informing consumers that Watson's shop was not under boycott. The police wanted to know why.

To the former Eastern Province rugby wing (who, it was said, 'scoffed at the prospect of higher honours to play in a low-rated all-black league') the answer is simple. He has been seen to be consistently opposed to apartheid, and that is what the boycott is about.

"The tragedy is that people are saying this is a black/white confrontation. The fact that I'm not being boycotted proves that it's not," he says.

Watson first rubbed the authorities up the wrong way in 1976 when he defied apartheid laws to play rugby for a black club. He has been unpopular with them ever since.

A police spokesman in Port Elizabeth, Lieutenant Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, confirmed the police visit, but denied intimidation. He said police wanted to question Watson about the pamphlet bearing his shop's name.
trying to say the violence was triggered by the UDF after children called a boycott in response to Mrs Mxenge's death. Sowetan

"Using one's intelligence and understanding of the forces in our midst one can assemble some kind of explanation for the unrest which suddenly erupted in Natal."

It was "wrong" that in the past month, a Durban social scientist had identified the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "a great controller of rising black anger in Natal."

"Inherent in this statement is an admission that the authorities have become impotent and that KwaZulu is now seen as the most important force in Natal," the veteran civil rights activist said.
Boesak urges black consumer boycott

Political Reporter
A CONSUMER boycott of white-owned shops will help destroy apartheid, Dr Allan Boesak, UDF patron said last night.

Addressing a crowd of about 1,000 people in Wynberg, Dr Boesak said that white business had been keeping the 'apartheid machinery going'.

Later, in an interview, Dr Boesak said that President P W Botha had not addressed key issues in his speech last night.

He said Mr Botha had not touched on citizenship in a unitary state, dialogue with SA's real black leaders or the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Botha's attitude will cause further violence, Dr Boesak said.

Last night Professor Fatima Meer, Durban sociology lecturer also addressed more than 700 people — mostly teachers — at the Samaj Centre in Rylands, Athlone.

She said that it was the duty of teachers to organize with students and pupils in their action against apartheid.

"As teachers, if you are not able to eradicate racism from the hearts and minds of your pupils, don't blame the system," she said.
REWARDS totalling more than R40 000 are now being offered for information leading to the conviction of the murderers of four Cradock community leaders whose bodies were found in the bush near Port Elizabeth recently.

More than 100 staff members at the three universities in the Western Cape this week pledged a total of R35 000 towards a reward.

R5 000 has already been offered by the United Democratic front, and another R1 000 by the police.

Among those who made pledges this week are the vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders; his acting deputy, Prof James Leatt, the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Prof Richard van der Ross, and the vice-rector, Prof Jaap Durand, the head of the UCI Medical School, Prof Solly Benatar, the Dean of Arts and Philosophy at UWC, Prof Jakes Gerwel, the dean of Economics and Management Science at UWC, Prof Ampie Muller, the Professor of Law at the University of Stellenbosch, Prof Gerhard Lubbe, and two professors of political science at the same university, Prof Andre du Toit and Prof Johan Degenauer.

A number of departmental heads, heads of institutes, other professors, and administrative staff at the three universities have also signed pledges.

The University staff said in a statement on Wednesday that their pledges were not made on the initiative of any particular organisation, but came from "a wide cross-section of people whose interest in the matter is the cause of justice in our society."

They had pledged the money for information leading "in the opinion of Senior Counsel nominated by us" to the conviction of the killer or killers of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Siphiwe Mnkhoti and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.
Dear Sir — In your Editorial Comment of August 9, 1985 under the heading: "Sad state of affairs" you say that I want Natal to go "unilaterally independent." You assume that I need to be reminded that "the problems of Natal are intricately intermeshed with the problems of the rest of the country." It is quite obvious, Sir, that you or whoever drafted this Comment is politically illiterate and is prepared to write about something which you or he or she knows absolutely nothing about.

You talk about "Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his think tank" and you talk about "various commissions." You are simply ignorant, Sir. The Buthelezi Commission bore my name because I appointed it but if ever there was a body of independent-minded thinkers, it was the Buthelezi Commission's working groups. It comprised people from all race groups, from all walks of life and it had on it representatives of the country's Chambers of Commerce and Industry and representatives from the mining industry. It also had on it representatives from various professional associations and political parties. How dare you, Sir, state this body of very eminent men and women as being my think tank which has recommended that Natal go unilaterally independent and which does not see Natal as part of South Africa?

Ignorance is difficult to inform but at least I must attempt to do so. The National Party opposed the Buthelezi Commission in every way possible, and the Cabinet itself attempted to confuse the Commission's workings to examine KwaZulu issues only. We resisted every pressure and the Commission looked at KwaZulu/Natal in the context of South Africa. Please read the Buthelezi Commission Report for the first time.

**Ignorant**

The rest of the Comment suggests to me that you read just something, just anything, about politics. Anything you could read would improve your political outlook. You say that "...particularly places like Durban, is complicated with the tribal problem of great seriousness" and you cite as an example that Africans in Durban attack Indians as fellow blacks. Only today it was throngs of Zulus who stood up and physically defended Indians from attacks directed at them by hoodlums. You pretend that it is only in Natal that Indians have suffered physical attacks. How many Indian shops and homes in townships in the Transvaal and the Cape Province were left in tact during the unrest which has spread across the country during the last year?

You claim to be disconcerted about the fact that what you call a "respectable mantle" is placed over me by white right-wingers. You do not tell your readers what you are referring to. Perhaps you are referring to a delegation of PFP members of parliament led by Mrs Helen Suzman who formally and officially attended Inkatha's Annual General Conference? Perhaps you had in mind many of the country's university principals and professors who have now recognised that the role of Inkatha is a vital role? Or may be you are referring to bishops and hundreds of clergymen across all denominations who recognise that Inkatha is playing a reconciliatory role in the country? Or perhaps you are so ignorant that you do not understand that Inkatha has now built up a powerbase on behalf of all black South Africans which simply cannot be ignored by the Government any longer? Or, Sir, do you think that it is only by attempting to make the country ungovernable by looting, rioting, murdering and burning women alive that provides leaders with some kind of credible image?

**Politics**

In your Comment you give the impression that you can teach me something about the ABC of politics. In your own kind of garbled way you try to give the impression that I need to understand that South Africa is one country, with one people. Your political illiteracy makes you unaware of the leading role KwaZulu has played in keeping alive the idea of a united South Africa. You are obviously uninformed that I did more than any other black during the Referendum Campaign to oppose the introduction of the new constitution wherever it was possible to do so. You also apparently do not know that I refused to have anything to do with the Black Advisory Council which the State President — then Prime Minister — attempted to establish to give credibility to the working of the President's Council. You are ignorant of the fact that despite tremendous pressures exerted on me, I refused to sanction Inkatha's formal involvement in black local town council elections, because the Government was presenting to the world that such participation was participation in the democratic process in this country. You ignore the fact that I have adamantly refused to have anything to do with the Special Committee and that I have publicly refused to have anything to do with the informal non-statutory negotiating forum announced by the State President during this year's parliamentary session. You are ignorant of the fact that over a million black South Africans have become card-carrying members of Inkatha to make it the largest political movement ever to have emerged in the history of this country precisely because I insist that South Africa is one country, governed by one government and that it has but one people who will be thrusted into but a single destiny.

The writing which you present as Comment is no more than poison from a witch's cauldron prepared to further divide black from black. Or does this thought contain too much charlatancy? You may simply in the end be a tiny-minded little man driven to the borders of insane jealousy because my political prestige is mounting and because I am consulted not only by all leading South Africans but by international leaders such as President Reagan and Mrs Margaret Thatcher and others who seek my counsel. You are disturbed, Sir. If you cannot lead, then you must follow. But whatever else you should be doing, you must certainly should not be writing editorial comment in a newspaper. You cheapen the very idea of what a newspaper should be.

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Chief Mangosuthu G Buthelezi
President of Inkatha

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MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI
Chief Minister KwaZulu

- The Navaio Indians have a saying which goes: He who throws mud loses ground — Editor
NELSON MANDELA will not negotiate South Africa's future with government unless it dismantles apartheid and recognises the African National Congress (ANC).

Nor will he ever negotiate his own release.

This emerged at a press conference held by Mandela's wife Winnie in Johannesburg yesterday after a visit to her husband in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, on Tuesday.

As a listed person, she may not be quoted, but friends of the Mandelas said they believed "oppressed people of South Africa, like Mandela" were now interested only in discussing how the National Party would hand power to the majority.

Even if government created an undivided South Africa with common citizenship and joint decision-making for all people, it remained the people's decision whether they would accept their political freedom gradually, they said.

Compromises were no longer certain, they said, and could only be considered once the government had abolished apartheid, recognised the ANC's legitimacy and freed imprisoned political leaders.

They confirmed that Mandela had suggested President Botha visit him in Pollsmoor so that he could hear Mandela's views directly.

They said 67-year-old Mandela, who has spent 23 years in jail for leading the ANC's armed revolt, remained adamant he would never negotiate conditions for his own release. Although technically a Transkeian citizen, he would not stay in the Transkei if freedom were forced on him.

Botha's equating Mandela with imprisoned Nazi war criminal Rudolph Hess this week apparently left Mandela saddened because it conflicted with history, they said.
Le Grange warns the ‘clerics in battledress’

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday warned clerics who wore the cassock as a battledress that they would have their cassocks removed.

And he told the United Democratic Front and clerics such as Dr Allan Boesak, United Democratic Front patron, that they had many of the deaths in the unrest on their conscience.

In a tough speech at the Natal National Party congress the Minister said the police had given students involved in demonstrations a hard hiding and trouble-making students would be sought out.

**Action**

He said there was a small percentage of students using universities to organise and plan demonstrations which resulted in violence on the streets.

University authorities should not be surprised when the police took action.

Mr le Grange, however, appealed for calm and patience, predicting that unrest would be brought to an end.

The Government was fully aware who was behind the unrest and had detained many of these people. About 700 were being held under emergency regulations, while another 100 were being held under the Internal Security Act.

He said the strength of the police force would be increased substantially in the next few years, from 47,000 to 68,000.

A number of arms caches had been found near Durban and on Natal’s North and South Coasts recently, Mr le Grange said.

Mr le Grange said refugee Klaas de Jonge, hiding in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, had also pointed out a number of caches.

**Assassination**

He said he was concerned that the caches contained weapons with silencers and radio-activated bombs.

The clear intention was assassination.

This and other incidents gave the lie to the impression the ANC attempted to create that there were hard and soft targets and that it did not hit soft targets.

Incidents of attacks of soft targets were attacks on the homes of members of Parliament and the Pretoria bomb blast in a street where there were thousands of civilians of all races.
Father tells of race to dying son

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MORTALLY wounded, Mitchells Plain grenade blast victim Rashaad Witten, 16, stumbled blindly past his terrified host to fall down a flight of stairs where his father found him bleeding early yesterday morning.

A grieving Mr Anwar Witten, a diesel mechanic, told how he had run a full street block to the shattered home of Mr Stan Fisher, chairman of the Mitchell's Plain Ratepayers Association, where he had found his son dying on the lounge floor.

Mr Fisher's three sons, Wayne, 9, Quinton, 14, and Eugene, 15, were all injured in the 2am blast which wrecked the second-floor bedroom in which they were sleeping at the Kronental Way home. The three were treated at Groote Schuur Hospital and discharged later yesterday. Rashaad Witten was certified dead on arrival at the hospital.

The grenade exploded on a window sill, less than a metre from the sleeping Rashaad, ripping bedding and curtains and blasting the door of the small bedroom loose of its hinges.

A subdued and exhausted Mr Fisher, who is also an executive member of the Labour Party, said later that after the grenade exploded he had heard screaming and rushed to the smoke-filled bedroom.

"I wrenched the door open. Rashaad ran past me, shouting 'Pa, Pa', and fell down the steps. I ran downstairs but when I saw the extent of his wounds, I made him comfortable and went back to get my kids out," Mr Fisher said.

His son Wayne had suffered shrapnel injuries to an arm. Quinton was bleeding from wounds to his head and back, and Eugene had been injured in his buttocks and leg.

Mr Witten said that on hearing the explosion he had looked out his Dagbreek Avenue window to see "all the lights coming on."

"I jumped over our back wall and rushed across. A neighbour said Rashaad was already dead. When I got there I saw him lying on the ground, full of blood," Mr Fisher said.

Mr Fisher said that his two older sons had been threatened with death by fellow-pupils at Westridge Senior Secondary which they attended with Rashaad Witten.

"They were told that I was a collaborator with the government," Mr Fisher said.

Asked if he was considering moving house or removing his children from the school, Mr Fisher replied: "Definitely not. This attack will not deter me from what I'm trying to achieve in the community."

After a brief ceremony at the Westridge mosque, Rashaad was buried at the Dorpshoogte cemetery in Johnson Road, Rylands.

A man claiming to be a member of the ANC telephoned the Cape Times offices last night to claim responsibility for the attack.

However, he said he had been instructed from outside the country to say that the organization was sorry that an innocent child had died.

The man, who was calling from a telephone booth, did not identify himself. Speaking excellent English he said "there will be bombs"

"Our cause is just," he said.

Pall-bearers carry the body of Rashaad Witten into the Dorpshoogte cemetery in Rylands Estate yesterday.

The grieving Witten family outside their Mitchells Plain home yesterday: Mr Anwar Witten, Ashraf, 14, Mrs Sharifa Witten, Ruwayda, 12, and Faizel, 18.
Police eavesdropped

confession, court told

A magistrate who took a
confession from an al-
leged ANC member told
policemen they could lis-
ten to the confession
through the windows of
his office, the Rand Su-
preme Court heard yest-
erday.

Mr. Matthews Kekane
(27), one of three treason
trialists, said he had not
trusted the magistrate
and therefore had tem-
pered his confession to
satisfy the magistrate
and the policemen who
he said had been listening
at the window.

Mr. Kekane has alleged
in a trial-within-a-trial
that he had been assault-
ed and threatened by po-
luce, who had forced him
to make a statement
which satisfied them.

Mr. Kekane, Mr. Al-
banos Lesotho (25) and
Mr. Kingsley Sithole (26)
have pleaded not guilty
to treason. They have also
denied several
charges under the Ter-
rorism Act and the In-
ternal Security Act.

Mr. Kekane told Mr.
Justice F.C. Kirk-Cohen
yesterday he had made a
statement to a magis-
trate on July 25, 1984 to
prevent further assaults
by police. In the state-
ment he had admitted
crimes about which he
knew nothing, he said.

Under cross-examina-
tion he said he had been
afraid to lodge a com-
plain about the assaults
to the magistrate or to
the inspector of detain-
ees, who had visited him
in prison.

The hearing continues.
EAST LONDON — Six petrol bombs have been seized from a house in Queenstown during investigations by police into recent incidents of petrol bombing, a police spokesman said yesterday.

And, in an attempt to stabilise the situation there, the spokesman said, police arrested 240 black men and 37 women on criminal charges.

A policeman's house was burned out and a private home damaged in Queenstown on Wednesday night. One woman was injured.

Police dispersed mobs with shotgun fire in Queenstown. No arrests were reported.

The spokesman said two illegal gatherings were stopped by police in Lingelehlu, near Cra-
dock yesterday.

He said the police had used tear smoke and rubber bullets to disperse the people at both gatherings and there were no reported injuries or arrests made.

- Two youths died of bullet wounds when police fired on a crowd of more than a thousand people near Witbank on Wednesday afternoon.

A police spokesman said the youths had been identified as Bernard Zulu, 17, of Akkerdorp, and Percy Zondo, aged unknown, also of Akkerville.

- In Soweto, there were reported incidents of stone-throwing and arson involving private vehicles, a development board vehicle, SAPS vehicles, a delivery vehicle and earthmoving equip-

- A woman's inci-

- At Kwa Thema on the East Rand, arsons caused extensive damage at a school when one classroom was set alight.

- At Mabhwana, near Paarl, a mob carrying inciting posters during an illegal demonstration was dispersed by police using quirts. One woman was slightly injured, treated and arrested.

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East Cape tops arrests figures in emergency

Pretoria — Most of the arrests during the month-long state of emergency have taken place in the Eastern Cape. More than 50% of the 1,700 people arrested were blacks, according to daily police reports.

According to the latest figures released in Pretoria, a total of 1,712 people have been detained since the emergency was implemented in 35 magisterial districts at midnight on July 20.

Of the arrests, more than 1,000 occurred in the Eastern Cape and southwestern districts, and another 330 on the East Rand.

The highest arrest figure until yesterday was in Port Elizabeth where 450 were detained. Arrests in other metropolitan areas stood at 260 in Johannesburg, 178 in Uitenhage, and 118 in Springs.

According to the police figures, which indicate the race and sex of detainees as well as their place of arrest, the majority of detainees have been blacks. Of the 156 people of other race groups — or less than 10% of all detainees — 110 were coloured, 21 Asian and 19 white.

According to the list, 1,024 of the detainees had been released by Wednesday, although an earlier police report said the figure stood at 788.
Duncan Village toll 19 dead 138 injured

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Nineteen people had died in the Duncan Village unrest and 138 had been wounded and injured, the Border Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Ernest Schnettler, said here yesterday.

Confirming the official death toll was higher than previously estimated, he said two men had died and one was wounded in unrest at Sterkstroom, and a policeman had been murdered in an unrest incident at Queenstown.

One person had been wounded in unrest at Cathcart.

The breakdown of those who had died in Duncan Village was:

- Black men over the age of 18 — eight.
- Black girls — four.
- Ages unknown — three.
- Coloured men older than 18 — 12.
- Ages unknown — three.
- Coloured youths — five.
- Coloured men older than 18 — two.
- Coloured girls — two.

Lieutenant Pieter van der Vyver, who is heading a special investigation team, said the names of victims who had been identified would be released this morning.

He said some of the bodies at the mortuary had not been identified.
8 held in Mitchell's Plain pamphlet drop

POLICE arrested eight Mitchell’s Plain residents in connection with the distribution of banned pamphlets yesterday morning.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, confirmed late yesterday that the eight, seven men and a woman, were still being held for questioning.

Meanwhile, in Merrydale Road in Mitchell’s Plain, about 11am yesterday. No incidents were reported and police monitored the march from some distance. The pupils later dispersed of their own accord.

SAPA reports that several incidents of unrest and violence have occurred in the townships at Worcester and Paarl in the past 24 hours.

Police twice yesterday used tear smoke and rubber bullets to disperse crowds who tried to set up barricades in Zwelitshemba, and in Mbekweni a woman was arrested after a crowd stoned a police vehicle.

More than 60 people were arrested by Ciskeian police around Khayelitsha after the funeral of the assassinated civil rights lawyer Mrs Victoria Mdenge.

Police said they were arrested on Monday and yesterday but all were released yesterday.

One of the arrested men said that after they had been freed, Ciskeian police had left them on the outskirts of King William’s Town and told them to find their own way.

Apply in writing

Sophie Tena reports from Johannesburg that residents and non-residents of areas affected by the curfew imposed on Soweto and other areas must apply in writing to their nearest police stations for concessions.

The curfew was extended to Soweto and 46 other townships in the eastern Cape on Thursday night. Other control measures were also extended to Alexandra, Soweto and to several black townships in the Vaal Triangle and the Eastern Cape.

Soweto’s Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier Jan Coetze, yesterday said: “Residents of the affected areas should apply in writing for permission to be outside their homes during curfew hours.

People who are non-resident in an affected area would also be required to apply for permission to be there between curfew hours.

The National Soccer League has already indicated its concern about the implications of the curfew if exemptions are not granted.

Brigadier Coetzee said workers in the affected areas with valid reasons for being outdoors between 10pm and 4am should have no difficulty in obtaining permission. — Crime Reporter and Sapa
Call for national forum

SYBRAND MOSTERT, Weekend Argus reporter

STELLENBOSCH student leaders and the Inkatha Youth Brigade have called for a "national forum" in which all the people of South Africa participate in decisions on structural reform.

"There are more points of agreement between black and white on a peaceful future in this country than differences of opinion," says the chairman of the Stellenbosch Student's Representative Council, Mr Le Roux van der Westhuizen, who jointly chaired the two-day Matie-Inkatha symposium with the leader of the Inkatha delegation, Mr Ntwe Mafole.

In the third meeting between the two bodies the following points were agreed on:

- One common citizenship should be granted to all South Africans in one constitution, which must include a bill of rights to protect the civil liberties of minority groups.
- Influx control must be abolished. Positive, orderly urbanisation must be introduced on a non-racial basis.
- The homelands policy is not viable and is unworkable. The physical existence of the homelands, the administrative structures and infrastructure already created through the policy should be utilised for regional administration in a federal state.
- They proposed that the whole decision-making process on structural reform should be done with the joint participation of all people in South Africa within a national forum.

Phlegmatic

Mr van der Westhuizen, a fourth-year student in psychology, is a dour, phlegmatic student leader who looks as though he would be more at home next to the psychologist's couch than on a quasi-political platform.

But his views are perhaps representative of a new stream of thought in Stellenbosch.

"The young Afrikaner must dissect the given facts of the present South Africa and each must decide what values are the most important. From there we must negotiate — that is the only way out."

"Contact with Inkatha has opened a door for us as Afrikaners to grasp the aspirations of blacks. We have broken the stereotype that each had of the other."

He maintains that apartheid is a failure. The young Afrikaner must dissect the given facts of the present South Africa, and each must decide what values are the most important. From there we must negotiate — that is the only way out."

Not tested

He says that his views, and the conclusions reached by fellow members of the SRC in discussion with Inkatha, would be accepted by the majority of students at Stellenbosch — although this is untested.

According to Mr van der Westhuizen, Stellenbosch students, in contrast to those at UCT and UWC who boycotted classes last week in protest against the emergency situation, did not "even think of boycotts" but were "not apathetic."

"The students are aware of the situation and are concerned. What did UCT and UWC gain by their actions?"

"There are alternative strategies reform within the system and our discussions with Inkatha can be seen as an example."

But his views are perhaps representative of a new stream of thought in Stellenbosch.
Boesak ‘committed’

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak yesterday said he would not be intimidated and would remain committed to the struggle for liberation and justice.

Dr Boesak, who was addressing a rally of the Western Cape Student Action Committee (Wessac) attended by about 2000 students in the Hanover Park Civic Centre, was reacting to a statement by Mr Louis le Grange that there were people who wore their clerical robes as a battledress.

He did not wear battledress and did not believe in violence as Mr Le Grange did, Dr Boesak said.

“We will not be intimidated by the Minister Of Law and Order. As a minister of the Gospel I will remain committed to the struggle.”

Referring to the State President’s speech on Thursday night, Dr Boesak said: “All he could could say was that he would not let the world prescribe to him what he should do. The government seems incapable of doing what is right.”

Dr Boesak also said teachers and lecturers would “down tools” on Monday and Tuesday in support of the students and the consumer boycott.
DURBAN — Inkatha, the national cultural liberation movement spearheaded by Chief Gaafu Buthelezi, has been much in the news lately.

As speculation mounts about a possible joint constitutional future for Natal and kwazulu, more and more South Africans have become curious about the movement: what it is, how it started, what it does, and where it's going.

The story began in 1978 when the King of the Zulus, King Solomon ka Dinizulu, established a cultural organisation named Inkatha kaZulu as a means of maintaining and nurturing Zulu traditions and culture.

(The word “inkatha” is Zulu for the grass coil used by Zulu women as a load support on the head. Politically, it symbolises unity)

Little was known about Inkatha kaZulu until 1978, when Chief Buthelezi, King Solomon’s grandson, revived the organisation.

What had previously been a purely cultural organisation became a cultural and political organisation.

With Chief Buthelezi at the helm as president, Inkatha is more political than cultural these days. It has grown into the largest black organisation in South Africa, claiming a membership of 1.3 million.

Though most members are Zulu, the leadership is constantly at pains to emphasise that it has many non-Zulu members all over the country.

The Inkatha Youth Brigade accounts for 38 percent of membership, and the Inkatha Women's Brigade for 36 percent.

The high percentage of youth membership is cited by Inkatha leaders to contradict the argument by critics that the movement is made up of older, more conservative blacks.

Chief Buthelezi was an active member of the ANC in the 1950s, but opted for more violent strategies for change after the ANC was forced underground and adopted violence.

“Perhaps no coincidence that Inkatha's official colours — gold, yellow, black and green — are the same as those of the ANC.”

Chief Buthelezi remains steadfastly opposed to violent change. He is one of the few black leaders in South Africa who says he is prepared to shelf the one man, one vote ideal if the government recognises that there should be one citizenship for all in a unitary state, and commits itself to work towards black/white power-sharing.

The views of Inkatha’s leaders were summed up by Dr. By Secretary-General Dr. Oscar Dhlomo in an address in Durban last week: “We believe in the basic right of African people to a dispensation involving universal franchise in a single political system.”

“We are, however, mindful of the fact that the white minority has deeply ingrained anxieties regarding the possibility of political domination, and therefore we are open to negotiation on this issue, possibly around a federal model.”
It’s too late to talk to Botha’

Mandela says:
No national convention

JUST HOURS before President PW Botha presented his latest “new deal” for the people of South Africa, jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela made his most powerful rejection yet of negotiation with the State – crashing traditional calls for a national convention.

Mandela declared from his cell at Pollsmoor Prison: “The time is past for a national convention – all there is to talk about now is the mechanics of handing over power to the people of South Africa”.

Mandela’s rejection – contained in a dramatic statement released by his lawyer, Israel Ayob – casts a totally new light on President Botha’s “new deal”, presented at the National Party congress in Durban last night.

The “new deal” was generally seen as a sop to massive pressure from inside and outside South Africa, and was expected to include some announcement on the fate of the jailed ANC leader and other political prisoners.

It was also expected to contain some indication of the Government’s attitude towards a “national convention” of sorts – or, at least, an indication of its attitude towards black representation in Parliament.

It was overshadowed, however, by Mandela’s declaration that the time was past for a national convention – traditional ANC policy on the future of South Africa.

According to Mr Ayob – who saw his client at Pollsmoor earlier this week – Mandela is now only “prepared to discuss the mechanics of handing over power to the majority of the people in South Africa”.

Mr Ayob told a press conference late yesterday – hours before Mr Botha’s speech – that Mandela feels the president “knows very well that one day he will have to dismantle apartheid whether he likes or not, and allow all political prisoners to walk home free men”.

Speculation that he was going to be released had never made any difference to Mandela, he said, as the Government is the only one who has to speculate”.

Yesterday’s announcement was pre-empted by an announcement by Mandela’s wife Winnie that her husband had challenged Mr Botha to meet him in jail – an announcement welcomed by SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude, who said it would “do much to diffuse the tension in South Africa”.

Both announcements clearly overshadow Mr Botha’s plan which, according to informed National Party sources, possibly included an announcement on Mandela’s fate.

According to the sources, announcements were also expected on:

• The abolition of the homelands system.
• Sweeping measures regarding black participation at Cabinet level.
• Scrapping of influx control.
• Scrapping of homelands.
• Granting freethread title to blacks.
• Equal education for all.

The scrapping of homelands, said observers, would mean common citizenship for all South Africans.

The homelands would in turn be used as some form of regional authorities in a federal system.

The reason for all this “positive thinking”?

According to party sources, the Government has been under tremendous pressure from “allies” such as the United States to explain just how they intend governing South Africa.

Internal protest – which forced the Government to declare a state of emergency – has only added to the pressure.
Mother asks world to save her son

Johannesburg

The mother of a man, due to hang on Wednesday for the murder of a policeman, appealed yesterday for world help to save her son.

Benjamin Moloisi was sentenced to death in June 1983. His clemency appeal to the President P.W. Botha was rejected last week, an attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, said.

Moloisi’s mother, Pauline, told a press conference in Lenasia yesterday: “As a mother I am asking the world to help me try to talk to Mr Botha about the hanging of my son.”

Moloisi attracted international attention at the end of 1983 when he was refused leave to appeal. The UN Security Council last year called for his sentence to be commuted.

Mrs Jana said the timing of Mr Botha’s rejection of the clemency appeal was important, coming at almost the same time as a major speech on Thursday in which he “dashed much-hallowed expectations of major apartheid reform”.

“He is trying to assure the ruling class that he has got the country under control and that the policy of the government is not going to be changed for anything,” she said.

Mrs Moloisi, 53, said her son was a supporter of the banned African National Congress, but she did not know if he was a member of its military wing.

In 1983 the ANC denied Moloisi was responsible for killing a security policeman, Mr Phillipus Selepe.

Mrs Jana said Moloisi’s conviction was based on a confession made in detention, which he retracted at his trial.

Meanwhile, in London, about 100 anti-apartheid protesters demonstrated outside the South African Embassy yesterday to oppose the planned execution. — Sapa-RNS
CROSSING Trafalga Square the other day I encountered outside South Africa House a small group of demonstrators, one of whom handed me a piece of paper. This informed me that Mrs Thatcher was proping up the racist South African régime. Such was the general theme of the demonstrators’ chants.

Though I cannot quite agree about Mrs Thatcher I must own to having a soft, perhaps rather sentimental spot for some of the anti-apartheid activists who periodically gather outside South Africa House. This arises from having once observed there a few doughty characters sheltering under a makeshift tent in the pouring rain while the great and the grand were arriving for an embassy party.

But while exchanging civilities the other day I could not help glancing across the square to Uganda House. It was a few days after the latest coup in Uganda, and I half expected that there might be a few demonstrators outside the High Commission expressing an opinion one way or the other. There were not.

Outside Uganda House a deathly quiet reigned apart, of course, from the traffic.

No scenes

It may be silly to expect the recent coup to give rise to any kind of demonstration. For the new régime seems morally indistinguishable from its predecessor. Yet during the time of President Milton Obote’s conspicuously bloody rule I cannot recall any angry scenes outside Uganda House. There may have been some but if there were I missed them.

At all events, though some of the thousands of Ugandan exiles in London have spoken out against Dr Obote’s régime, English white liberals of the sort who congregate outside South Africa House have kept whatever misgivings they may have on the subject of Uganda to themselves.

To a fair-minded and highly moral visitor to our planet this would surely seem very strange. Appalled though he would be by the inequalities of apartheid, by the malnutrition in the homelands, the squalor in some of the black townships and the harsh justice meted out by the South African police, would he be less appalled by the mis-governing of Uganda and many other black African countries?

Since independence hundreds of thousands of Ugandans have been killed or persecuted by successive governments. If anyone doubts that Dr Obote’s régime practised widespread torture and murder let him read Amnesty International’s recent report.

Few care

Yet apart from Amnesty, and the few Ugandan exiles already mentioned, very few people seem to care. Unlike South Africa, black Africa arouses no great moral indignation. Not very long ago the fashion for liberal-minded people was to disbelieve the stories of the merely corrupt black governments, some merely incompetent in administration, others genocidal.

Now the evidence is so overwhelming that it cannot be disbelieved, but it can be ignored.

There are a number of possible explanations for white liberals’ attitude towards black Africa and all of them are racist. Either these people are, in some very guilty and

PHOTO: David Johnson

and so the sins of white South Africans are automatically worse than the sins of black Africans; or if they are at some deeply subconscious level anti-black, expecting whites to behave better, and criticising them when they do not.

Blacks, by contrast, cannot be expected to behave particularly well and so when they start killing one another they escape moral censure.

Another more subtle but, in my view, no less racist explanation was recently offered to me by a Marxist black African writer. He blamed government persecution of blacks in his country on the ‘neo-colonial powers’, especially the United States, who demanded stability at all costs if Western investments were not to be withdrawn.

Deferential

He saw his own government as being shamefully deferential. By his interpretation blacks are relieved of all responsibility for their actions. They are mere hopeless puppets of the West forced to do unpleasant things. This is bunkum, but, deferential to the black man, it is surely racist bunkum.

A judge from another planet might concede that there are some mitigating factors in the case of black governments. He might point out that black African countries are the artificial creations of the colonial powers who threw together often antagonistic tribes and left no basis for sound and ordered government. But he might also point out that not wholly dissimilar factors apply in the case of South Africa.

How far can the mitigation go? White South Africans and black Africans have a sense of right and wrong, of what constitutes fair and reasonable government. Why should we, then, excuse any of them? Yet I fear that I look forward in vain to crossing Trafalgar Square one day and seeing groups of white, or at least multi-coloured, demonstrators shouting slogans outside both South Africa House and Uganda House.
Kinikini: accused in court

Post Reporter

THIRTEEN people charged with the murder of Mr Benjamin Tamsanga Kinikini, 57, Mr Eric Kinikini, 22, Mr Shumko Welcome Kinikini, 20, and Mr Zalizile Pram, 20, during unrest in the Uitenhage area on March 23, appeared in the Uitenhage Regional Court today.

The accused, five of whom are under the age of 18, were not asked to plead.

They are Mr Moses Jantjes, 21, Mr Wellington Mdlesela, 22, Mr Lungile Bobby, 22, Mr Godfrey Mahlahla, 19, Mr Zolisile Headman Stoffel, 24, Mr Mgqondo Yena, 26, Mr Zalisile Ndwanya, 18, all of Kwanobuhle, a 17-year-old, two 16-year-olds, two 15-year-olds and one 13-year-old.

The case was postponed to September 13. All 13 will be held in custody.

The proceedings were held in camera.

Mr T B T van Rooyen was on the Bench. Mr DS Claassen appeared for the State. Mr Julius Mya appeared for the accused.
Tutu talks of a miracle to avoid a ‘bloodbath’

NEW YORK — Bishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that it would take a miracle to prevent a “bloodbath” in South Africa and added that he might someday have no alternative but to back violence.

Bishop Tutu also attacked President Reagan’s South African policies as “an unmitigated disaster for our people” and suggested that the White House practice of soft-peddling criticism of the South African Government would backfire.

Bishop Tutu’s statements, which came during an interview on CBS’s “Face The Nation”, were rejected on the same programme by Mr. P. W. Botha who defended President Botha’s speech to the Natal congress of the Nationalist Party last week as evidence that white leaders are ready to upgrade the political status of blacks.

There has been widespread criticism in the US of President Botha’s combative tone and the vague promises of reform he held out.

Speaking from his Johannesburg home, Bishop Tutu stressed that he should not be mistaken as a pacifist just because he advocates non-violence.

“I am sufficiently realistic to know that a time could come when you have to say here are two evil injustices — oppression and exploitation. The other evil is overthrowing this by an armed insurrection,” he said. “Which is the lesser of the two evils?”
4 arrests soon after attack

By CHRIS BATEMAN
THE sharp-eyed daughter of Labour Party MP Mr Arthur Stanley helped police arrest four suspects only hours after Mr Stanley's Sunnyide home was petrol-bombed on Friday night.

Mr Stanley received minor burns to his hands in an attempt to douse flaming curtains in his bedroom and was still confined to his bed yesterday.

His wife, Mrs May Stanley, said yesterday that as police chatted to the family in their kitchen about 1am on Saturday, her daughter Gail, 22, spotted a “suspicious-looking” car idling outside.

Gail had told police it was the “same car” seen patrolling the neighbourhood minutes before the attack, which took place about 10.30pm.

Police had leap into their patrol car and given chase, arresting four men “in their 20’s”.

“I just heard a screeching of tyres and they were after them,” Mrs Stanley said.

Police confirmed that four men arrested in connection with the attack were still being held last night.

Mrs Stanley said the four were “apparently all from good homes”.

Interviewed in his bedroom where a cabinet had prevented the petrol bomb from landing on his bed, Mr Stanley said he had been in politics and community service for 40 years and was “not going to stop now”.

“We will continue as usual in spite of our handicaps,” said Mr Stanley, who suffered a minor stroke during a multi-party fact-finding visit to the United States last month.

The couple praised neighbours for “their incredible response” in helping douse flames in the bedroom after the attack. Friday’s attack came exactly a year after a pamphlet-covered brick was thrown through the same window.

Yesterday the window was covered with corrugated iron and a police guard stood outside the home.
West is supporting apartheid
— Tutu

LONDON — Bishop Desmond Tutu today accused United States President Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl of sustaining apartheid.

Bishop Tutu told the British Broadcasting Corporation that Western governments were doing absolutely nothing to help bring about reforms in South Africa.

Referring to last Thursday's speech by South African President Mr PW Botha, Bishop Tutu said: "Now Mr Botha, as you saw, was an arrogant man, a man who was pointing an escalator at a man who was pointing at him, and it was a most irresponsible situation."

"Now, President Reagan, he was pointing the escalator and the problem is what is going to happen if you, Mr Botha, were protected by President Reagan, by Mrs Thatcher and by Chancellor Kohl."

— Reuters.

...in convicted banker's honesty, integrity...
Save my son — plea

By Themba Molefe

"I HAVE asked the State President for a meeting to stay the execution of my son and it is up to Mr P W Botha to say where he stands if he has any mercy," Mrs Pauline Moloiise said yesterday as the hours ticked by for her son on Death Row.

Mrs Moloiise, whose son, Ben, is due to hang on Wednesday morning for the death of a Pretoria policeman, said she told a newspaper that she never asked her lawyers to send Mr Botha a telegram, asking him for an urgent meeting, because she was angry at the time.

"The telegram has been sent and now it is up to Mr Botha to say where he stands — if he has any mercy at all."

"I still think my son is innocent. He has also said so from the very first day he appeared in court and even when I visited him on Death Row last week he insisted he was innocent," Mrs Moloiise said from her Diepkloof home.

Mrs Moloiise said that she would honour her son until she died were he to hang on Wednesday.

"I am not afraid to say he is a soldier, a warrior and I am proud of him. I will love him until I drop dead," she said.

"It is sad, though, that Ben is dying for his innocence."

Mrs Moloiise said that in the olden days people would kill the children of a woman discovered to be a witch or suspected of being one.

"Maybe I am a witch, who knows?" Ben Moloiise was sentenced to death for the killing of Detective Warrant Officer Philipse Selepe who died in November 1982.

"My son is taking it all in his stride and his bravery and acceptance of his pet are my source of inspiration," Mrs Moloiise said.
Tutu won't see Botha

JOHANNESBURG. — Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu last night turned down a place on a church delegation due to meet the State President, Mr P W Botha, today for talks on defusing black anger and rioting.

Bishop Tutu was invited to join a nine-man team headed by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell.

Mr Botha last month refused a request from Bishop Tutu for an urgent meeting on the unrest in the country. Mr Botha said he was prepared to talk to people who renounced civil disobedience.

Political hue

Bishop Tutu, who last met Mr Botha in 1980, said it appeared Mr Botha wanted to meet only black leaders of his own political hue.

The bishop said he remained willing to see Mr Botha on a one-to-one basis but would not renounce civil disobedience.

Also included are the president of the Methodist Church, the Rev Peter Storey, the president-elect of the Methodist Church, the Rev Ernest Baartman, and secretary, the Rev Stanley Mogoba.

Snubbed

Bishop Tutu was snubbed by Mr Botha in late July after Bishop Tutu sought an urgent meeting to talk about the months of rioting and the imposition on July 31 of a state of emergency in 36 troubled regions.

Mr Botha said Bishop Tutu could join other church leaders in the meeting today because his time had already been scheduled.

Mr Botha will meet four delegations of church leaders in Pretoria today.

Among the delegates will be the Rev Jerry Falwell who has strong influence in the "born again" Christian movement.

Mr Botha will also meet Afrikaans theologians and a delegation from the Ned Geref Kerk. — Sapa/Reuters
GRUESOME evidence of how Mr Matthew Goniwe and three United Democratic Front leaders died has been released for the first time by an independent pathologist.

The charred bodies of Mr Goniwe, the general secretary of the Cradock Ratepayers' Association (Cradora), and fellow Cradora officials Mr Sparrow Mkonto, Mr Siselo Mhlawuli and Mr Fort Calata were found near Port Elizabeth late in June and early in July. To date police have had no success in tracking down their killers.

The pathologist found that the varying sizes of 32 stab wounds on Mr Mhlawuli's body and on Mr Calata's suggested "a variety of weapons were used". The bodies had all been burned after death, he found.

Mr Goniwe (38) had died of "a stab wound which transfixed the right ventricle of the heart, resulting in massive intra-thoracic bleeding". He had been stabbed 12 times in the neck, chest, stomach and back.

Mr Mkonto (32) had died of multiple injuries, "the most significant being the gunshot wound to the head and the two stab wounds through the heart. The deceased could not have survived any of these injuries."

A .22 calibre bullet was also recovered from his chest wall muscles. He had six stab wounds in the head, chest and back.

Mr Mhlawuli (36) had died of blood loss "predominantly from the severed jugular vein. The relatively small amount of internal bleeding from the multiple stab wounds suggests that these were administered at a stage when, although still alive, the deceased had experienced considerable blood loss."

Besides the 32 stab wounds on his body, Mr Mhlawuli also had several lacerations and wounds in his shoulders and arms.

Mr Calata (29) had died of "stab wounds to the chest involving the right ventricle of the heart and the pulmonary vein".

The four men were last seen at 9pm on June 27 after attending a meeting at the home of the UDF's Eastern Cape publicity secretary, Mr Derek Swartz.

They left for Cradock after Mr Goniwe reportedly told Mr Swartz he would not stop for anything on the road.

The pathologist's report, with references to "a variety of weapons used", seems to indicate there were several killers. The bodies of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata had no evidence of cuts or lacerations on the arms, possibly indicating that they had been bound before being stabbed to death.
Shops boycott: Conflicting views from commerce, UDF

Staff Reporter

TRADE and political activists have reported conflicting views on a boycott of white-owned shops called in the Western Cape by some organisations.

The United Democratic Front claimed there had been a "generalised ripple" of support for the shopping boycott intended to put pressure on the Government to lift the state of emergency and release political detainees.

"Decline"

But organised commerce in Cape Town reported no decline in trade.

Mr Trevor Manuel, regional secretary of the UDF, one of 14 organisations supporting the call, said there had been a general decline in the number of black shoppers at white shopping centres at the weekend and a commensurate rise in patronage of black shops.

The director of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Mr Alan Lighton, said he had surveyed a spectrum of stores and none had reported a decline in trade.

"There is no sign of a consumer boycott," he said.

Some traders in the Tygerberg claimed black shoppers were being intimidated at railway stations and near black townships.

In Cape Town, most large retail stores canvassed yesterday said they had not felt any effect since the boycott was called five days ago.

One major store said "it was having an effect" but declined to give further details.

The boycott was seen by political leaders such as Dr Allan Boesak as a peaceful means of putting pressure on the Government to scrap apartheid.

Black political activists argue that white business leaders are in a powerful position to lean more heavily on the Government to concede to demands made by township residents.

Mr Johan Braasler, president of the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce, told The Argus Tygerberg Bureau that it would be "a great pity" if a boycott was forced on the majority of consumers by a minority through intimidation.

Mr Braasler said it had been brought to his attention by members of the chamber that some intimidation of black customers had occurred in attempts to discourage blacks from buying in white-owned shops.

"In our present economic climate, with business turnover at a low ebb and high unemployment, both the consumer and the retailer can ill afford this political exercise," he said.

"Economic survival should be our joint object."

Mr Braasler felt a trade boycott would hurt consumers as much as it would retailers.
West's Tashas

He told the British Broadcasting Corporation's World in Words programme that, in South Africa, "something is happening. After the Pretoria talks, things are a bit different."

The Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, decried the "arrogant" and "contemptible" man who was shown on South Africa's television programme "Today". "They are the men who will continue to maintain a racist policy," she said.

"When I met with the President of South Africa, he told me that he would make sure that the negotiations were fair and that the rights of the black man were respected. But he also said that he would not change his policy."

"We are not going to let them off the hook. We will keep them under pressure until they change their policy."
Indian refugees refuse to leave

DURBAN. — A number of Indian refugees who fled last week from marauding mobs in Inanda are still occupying Greenbury Community Hall in Phoenix.

Almost all efforts by officials of the House of Delegates to persuade the Inanda refugees to leave the crowded hall and move to healthier school premises in Verulam, have proved fruitless. They are going to stay there until they get houses, they say.

The Phoenix-Inanda Relief Committee has been elected by the refugees to articulate their plight.

"The House of Delegates accuse us of persuading the people to stay for political reasons," says committee spokesman Mr Sham Maharaj. "This is not true. If the people want to go to Verulam, they can go. They will not be victimized."

Claims by Durban health officials and the House of Delegates that there is grave danger of disease breaking out in the overcrowded conditions in the hall have fallen on deaf ears.

Refugees accuse officials of the House of Delegates of being arrogant and high-handed. They claim they were not consulted about moving from the hall to Verulam. They want to speak to the Minister of Housing, Mr Baldeo Dookie, in the hall. — Sapa
Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON—Twenty-one of the 23 people who died as a result of the Duncan Village unrest since August 12 have been identified.

The Border police liaison officer, Lieutenant Dot van der Vyver, said anyone with information on two of the dead could assist in identifying them at the mortuary.

They were an 18-year-old coloured man who died of stab wounds and a 20-year-old black man who died of gunshot wounds.


The other dead were Tembekile Dumakude, 25, who died of assault injuries; Patrick Doris, 40, who was burnt to death, and Nkwicula Mabule, 25, who died of multiple injuries.
Assassination reward passes R46 000 mark

A SCHOOL was damaged, a councillor’s home petrol-bombed and a number of vehicles attacked and stoned by rioters as isolated incidents of unrest erupted in various parts of the country yesterday.

SADF members fired on a vehicle which drove through a Soweto roadblock at high speed. Army members gave chase and the occupants of the car abandoned the vehicle which was found to have been stolen.

Reward money for anyone providing information leading to the conviction of the killers of Cradock community leader and UDF activist Matthew Goniwe, and his three colleagues, has risen to more than R16 000.

Several people, including the Leader of the Opposition, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, have joined the reward campaign.

Police said yesterday that 271 more people had been arrested during the weekend under emergency regulations, bringing to 2 024 the number of people detained under the month-old emergency.

A further 76 people had been released, according to the police.

Police dispersed hundreds of students — from three coloured high schools — who were marching in protest against poor housing conditions at Western Coloured Township. Three students were arrested.

Meanwhile, pupils from 22 schools in the Witbank area continued boycotting classes yesterday, despite an ultimatum from the Department of Education and Training (DET) that the schools would be closed indefinitely if they did not return.

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) said pupils would not return to classes until their detained colleagues were released and pupils were allowed to elect students’ representative councils.

In the Western Cape, teachers converged on Mitchell’s Plain police station yesterday to demand the release of a colleague who was taken away by police during a clash of about 1 500 pupils at Westridge Senior Secondary School.

Other incidents reported were:

☐ In Mamelodi a police vehicle was stoned and a man was arrested. In another incident, a woman was arrested when a house was stoned;

☐ In Mokopane, near Randfontein, a house was damaged during stone-throwing, while in Jacobsdal, Northern Cape, arsonists caused minor damage to a classroom;

☐ A mob of youths taking part in an illegal march near Duncan Village in East London were dispersed by police using rubber bullets and shotguns;

☐ At Nkobela, in the Boland, a councillor’s home was slightly damaged during a petrol bomb attack;

☐ In Guguletu, a private vehicle was extensively damaged by arsonists.
THE life of Benjamin Moloise hung in the balance last night after an official from the President’s office confirmed that an appeal for clemency had been received and this was to be considered by Mr P W Botha.

Moloise is due to hang tomorrow morning for the murder of a security policeman in Mamelodi in November 1982. He has denied he is responsible.

Mr Botha’s office said a telegram from Moloise’s lawyers has been received. He said the State President was locked in a meeting with churchmen and his reaction could not be obtained.

He promised to come back to us but had not done so at the time of going to press.

Moloise’s mother, Mrs Pauline Moloise, could not be contacted yesterday.

The Federation of Transvaal Women, to which she belongs, issued the following statement on her behalf.

“Today is the last day I shall see my son alive. For myself and my family, we are very sad to know that Benjamin will die and yet we feel that he is dying as a noble person should, without remorse.

“We know that he is innocent and God knows that he is innocent. It is only the South African Government who choose to convict him.”

“Benjamin did not commit any crime. He believes in justice and the liberation of the people of South Africa from an oppressive Government.

“He has asked me to give you, the people of South Africa this message: Continue in the struggle until you are free.”

Political organisations yesterday called on Mr Botha to show his true intention towards reform by granting Moloise a reprieve.

Organisations who reacted are the Release Mandela Committee (RMC), Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Organisation, the Women’s Organisation, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (SAYO) who said: “We wish to bring to the attention of the State President that his execution of political opponents of the Government is a flagrant violation of principles of human rights.”

The RMC said: “We wish to condemn in the strongest possible manner the impending hanging of Ben Moloise. We find its timing particularly callous coming as it does when our communities are still nursing the wounds from police and army shootings and widespread detention.

“Open and peaceful protest has been rendered criminal and difficult by the state of emergency and the curfews. We call upon those who uphold democracy and peace at home and abroad to condemn the hanging and not to allow it to pass as a non-event.”

Mocker

The RMC said the hanging made a mockery of Mr Botha’s “so-called reform speech last week” in which he condemned the shedding of blood.
Man shot in attack on policeman

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — An unidentified man was shot dead and a police officer was seriously injured when a mob set fire to a police van in Zone 9, Mdantsane, on Sunday night.

The Ciskei Police Liaison officer, Lieutenant Mavus Ngwenu, yesterday identified the injured policeman as Warrant Officer Festle Sigabi, who was stationed at Vulindela police station.

Lieut Ngwenu said the incident occurred at 6.30 pm when the van W/O Sigabi was driving was stoned by a mob of youths.

W/O Sigabi, who was alone, opened fire in self-defence. A young man was shot and died instantly.

W/O Sigabi was hit on the head by a stone. He lost consciousness and the mob set the van on fire while the policeman was still inside, Lieut Ngwenu said.

He said the alarm was raised by a resident who telephoned the police. They rescued W/O Sigabi, who was trapped in the burning vehicle.

W/O Sigabi was taken to Cecilia Makiwane hospital. His condition yesterday was described as not serious.

The vehicle was burnt out.

Captain J. N. Mphelo, of the Mdantsane fire brigade, said it took his men about an hour to put out the fire.

Lieut Ngwenu said several arrests were made and investigations were continuing.

Two other arson incidents were reported in Ciskei.

Lieut Ngwenu said Masibulele Teachers' Training College in Whittlesea was petrol bombed at 1.45 am on Monday.

Six classrooms were destroyed and damage was estimated at more than R4 000.

No arrests have been made.

A petrol bomb was thrown through a window of the Toll Hotel in Seymour at 12.20 am on Sunday, causing bedding to catch alight.

Lieut Ngwenu said the manager, Mr Phakamile Zondani, estimated damage at R3 000. Nobody was injured and no arrests were made.
Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — At least 25 people were injured yesterday in Dun- can Village when shots were fired on a group holding a church service at the home of an unrest victim, according to eyewitnesses.

A lay minister, Mr Sdu- mo Netha, who said he was part of the group holding the service, was treated for birdshot wounds at St Francis Xavier Church in Peffer- ville.

"We were visiting families of unrest victims and holding services at their homes. We got to the fourth house and were standing outside singing hymns and praying when a hippo with about ten men in it came down Gwijnas Street.

"The men started shooting without giving a warning. Then another hippo came from the same direction and the men in it also started shooting. Both vehicles drove off after the shooting stopped."

"I was inside but I could still walk. I went to hide in one of the sheds and then came to the church for treatment."

When a Daily Dispatch reporter visited the church last night about 20 people were receiving treatment for wounds. Mr Netha said some of the wounded had been treated at Frere Hospital.

"It is a mystery why the men opened fire because we were a peaceful crowd. It makes me wonder how we can show our condolences to the next of kin of unrest victims."

Another eyewitness, Mr Newton Mbebe, who said he narrowly escaped injury, helped to ferry the injured to the church.

Mr Steve Mtoba said a group of parishioners were holding a church service outside a house when the men started to shoot.

"They did not tell us to disperse or give a warning. After the shooting stopped I helped to take the injured to the church,"

A priest at the church, Father J. Jordaan, said: "Innocent people are now becoming victims."

He appealed to the security forces to "exercise restraint" and to give groups of people a warning if they wanted them to disperse.

The superintendent of Frere Hospital, Dr Peter Mitchell, said last night any inquiries about the incident would have to be referred to the police in Pretoria.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria, Lt. T. F. Jefferson, said last night he had no information about the incident.

Picture, page 2.
PORT ELIZABETH — Thirteen people have appeared in Uitenhage Regional Court charged with the murder of Uitenhage community councillor Mr. Tamsanga Kinikini, his son and two nephews soon after the Langa shooting in March this year.

The gruesome killing of Mr. Kinikini, 57, his son Silumko, 20, Mr. Zalizile Kinikini, 20, and Mr. Eric Kinikini, 22, on March 23 made international news in the aftermath of the shooting by police of 20 funeral marchers at nearby Langa a few days earlier.

The accused, five of whom were under the age of 18, were not asked to plead.

They are Mr. Moses Jantjes, 21, Mr. Wellington Mealies, 22, Mr. Lumgile Bobby, 22, Mr. Godfrey Mahabla, 19, Mr. Zolizile Stofile, 24, Mr. Mqondo Yena, 26, Mr. Zalizile Ndwaya, 18, a 17-year-old youth, two 16-year-old youths, two 15-year-olds and a 13-year-old.

The hearing was postponed to September 13 and all the accused were remanded.

Mr. T van Rooyen was on the Bench. Mr. D Claassen appeared for the State and Mr. Julius Mya for the accused.
TUTU SLAMS REAGAN, THATCHER

LONDON — Nobel Peace Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday accused President Ronald Reagan, the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl of sustaining apartheid.

Bishop Tutu told the British Broadcasting Corporation that Western Governments were doing absolutely nothing to help bring about reforms in South Africa.

Referring to last Thursday's speech by President P W Botha, Bishop Tutu said: "now Mr Botha, as you saw, was an arrogant man, a man who was showing an escalating intransigence knowing full well that he would be protected by President Reagan, by Mrs Thatcher and by Chancellor Kohl.

He described the three leaders as "people who pretend they are opposed to racism."

Bishop Tutu said Mrs Thatcher had supported sanctions against Argentina during the 1982 Falklands War and Mr Reagan had supported a trade boycott on Poland after the 1981 imposition of martial law.

"Why do they not support sanctions against South Africa?" he asked.

Apartheid

- Meanwhile the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr Giulio Andreotti, said in an interview published yesterday that apartheid could not be allowed to continue but human rights had to be upheld in other countries to influence the Pretoria Government.

Mr Andreotti, due to visit South Africa as part of European community delegation next week, told the Turn Daily, La Stampa: "I believe that everyone must be convinced that we cannot go into the third millennium of the Christian age with the continued existence of racial discrimination."

—Sapa-Reuter.
INYANDZA Youth Brigade, a Ke-Ngwanale-based cultural group, has resolved to establish links with political groups in South Africa. At the organisation’s prayer rally in the homeland at the weekend, delegates were told they could not be spectators of what was occurring in South African politics.

A delegate, the Rev Thamsanqa Khumalo, said Inyandza was not posing a threat to the aims and objectives of other organisations striving for political freedom of South Africa.

Mr Khumalo said: “Although we may differ in strategy and tactics with other groups, that does not alienate us from our other black brothers in the struggle.”
Precisely two years ago yesterday, on a blustery bitter day in Cape Town, the lustiest political baby of this generation was born — the United Democratic Front. Since then, even older generations of white South Africans, who thought that "UDF" would be etched in history as an abbreviation for "Union Defence Force", have had to take account of the new-style UDF — if only because it had a hand in halting this winter's All Blacks tour.

This loose association of hundreds of community groups and some trade unions was called into being to oppose the constitution for the tricameral Parliament and to fight the then "Koornhof Bills" on black administration.

According to the declaration, which all affiliates of the front endorse, their opposition to the Botha reform package is based on the ideals of creating a "true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country" and "a single non-racial unfragmented South Africa, free of bantustans and group areas".

The launching of the UDF found internationally respected theologian Dr Allan Boesak, newly elected as a patron of the front, asserting to thunderous applause: "We want all of our rights, and we want them here (not in some impoverished homeland) and we want them now."

On the eve of the second anniversary, Dr Boesak was to be found in the troubled town of Worcester, telling the UDF crowd of about 2000 not to "pick up stones" to defeat the Government, but to withdraw buying power from white shops in the Boland town.

"We will stay away from their shops until apartheid lies on its sickbed," he said, chasising a group of youths who were chanting that Government collaborators should be killed. "We are serious about the struggle. We must know that it is easy to scream something," he said, adding that blacks' consumer power was stronger than this violence.

In the Eastern Cape UDF affiliates have for months sustained a consumer boycott of white stores and similar initiatives have been taken recently in several Transvaal towns.

These two glimpses of Dr Boesak reflect, perhaps, the UDF's shift from the rhetoric of mobilisation to the practicalities of organising concrete opposition to the Government.

In another picture that tells a story the front's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, recently appeared before the international media, a lone figure in a little-known venue challenging President Botha to meet the fundamental political demands of South Africa's majority.

Gone was the UDF's usual public backdrop of Khotsu House, Johannesburg, with activists buzzing around with banners and posters to please the cameramen. Gone the long line of leaders presenting a solid front to the Press. "We are not weaker, just wiser," Mr Morobe quipped, referring to the leadership's efforts to avoid situations where they could invite detention.

Security Police action has taken its toll of the young political organisation. Scores of its leaders and activists have been detained for months on end. Presently many of its most senior members — including most prominent leaders — including President Albertina Sisulu and Mr Archie Gumede — face trial for treason.

All 16 accused in the Maritzburg treason trial — in which it is alleged, among other things, that the African National Congress infiltrated the UDF — are leading UDF figures. And most of the 22 in the trial concerning the Vaal uprising — due to be heard in Bethal and in which it is alleged that the UDF envisaged overthrowing the State by violence — are leaders or activists of the front.

Allegations of ANC involvement in the UDF predicated the treason charges by many months. Indeed, they even predicated the national formation of the front — appearing on smear pamphlets distributed nationwide on the eve of the national launch. The UDF and the ANC have both denied links — but Transvaal and Natal judges will have to make their own independent assessments.

Whatever the disputes over the UDF's alleged "hidden agenda" the success with which it fulfilled its public agenda — opposing elections for black local authorities in late 1983 and for the tricameral Parliament in August 1984 — was common cause among English-speaking political observers.

The UDF launched a vigorous boycott campaign for all three polls. The black local authorities official percentage poll was in the region of 21 percent — substantially lower than for previous community council elections where one in three of those eligible had voted.

"In the coloured Parliamentary elections the official percentage poll was 30 percent and the Indian elections drew an official response of 20 percent. The UDF argued that if all these figures were adjusted as a proportion of the total adult population they would look like 10 percent, 17.5 percent and 15.5 percent, respectively.

Since the Parliamentary elections, which virtually coincided with the Vaal protests, there has been a gradual descent into generalised violence in townships across South Africa. Many UDF affiliates have been at the forefront of popular protest which has drawn weighty police response.

While the UDF has always insisted that its affiliates cede autonomy to the front only in respect of opposing the Botha reform plans, it has not drawn back from supporting them in their more specific struggles.

And by early 1985, it could be argued, the UDF had become a movement spurred from below rather than pulled from above. Its concerns had moved from constitutional issues to the rent and education struggles of affiliates. In recent months it has raised its voice against the overwhelming police and military response to protest, expressing concern about the unending cycle of violence.

Debate still rages about whether the UDF helped create the present climate of protest or whether it was overtaken by popular demands. Observers wonder whether it will become leaderless under State pressure or develop effective "underground" leadership networks for a quite legal organisation.

Whatever the answers, the UDF at age two years still holds the centre stage position it commanded in black politics from the day of its launching.
BENJAMIN MOLOISE — the Soweto man who was due to hang this morning — is to stay alive for another three weeks.

In the Supreme Court yesterday Mr Justice Eloff granted a three-week stay of execution after an urgent application by his lawyers.

The judge made this ruling after appeals to save his life flooded the President's office.

The calls came from international organisations and governments as well as local organisations.

While these organisations battled to save his life, Moloiise made damning admissions in the Supreme Court.

He also admitted that he was cornered by ANC operatives when he was to give State evidence against another ANC insurgent, Marcus Motaung.

Treachery, although he did not want to set a precedent for granting a stay of execution at the eleventh hour, he believed the defence counsel had given sufficient explanation for Moloiise's late application.

Moloiise had not been informed earlier of his option to apply under the specific section of the Act.

Mr Justice Eloff said Moloiise's application was "not so devoid of the possibility of success that I cannot say it won't be accepted (by the President)."
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**Treachery**

The operatives had given him a detailed account of his treachery and co-operation with the Security Police.

He was eventually given Hobson’s choice — kill or be killed. He chose to kill, and now faces the hangman’s noose. According to him he “chose wrongly”.

This is the first time he has admitted killing Silepa.

He has insisted all along that he was innocent and did not kill the Mamelodi policeman who won compliments from the Branch after testifying in another major ANC trial.

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As evidence in the hearing, Mr Issy Maisels submitted a 21-page affidavit signed earlier yesterday by Moloiise, who was convicted of killing a security policeman in Mamelodi in November, 1982.

And Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, yesterday sent a telegram to the State President appealing for clemency for Moloiise.

**Appeal**

Bishop Tutu’s telegram said an act of clemency by the State President could do a great deal to defuse the “serious and critical situation in our land.”

“I appeal to you by the tender mercies of Christ, our Saviour, Lord, to exercise your presidential prerogative to grant a reprieve to Benjamin Moloiise, due to be hanged tomorrow,” the telegram read.

He signed it: “God’s richest blessings, Desmond, Bishop of Johannesburg.”

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Mrs PAULINE MOLOISE . . . yesterday's picture.

In your SOWETAN tomorrow

- We FOCUS on the curfew that has come along with the state of emergency in some areas. What does it mean? What happens when a person is found in the street after 10pm?
- Did you send a message to a loved one through our Happy Tidings? See it in The SOWETAN tomorrow. Or you might be the happy recipient of the message.
- For those who steer their lives by the stars, we will have your regular horoscope, Star Beat.
- And sports lovers should not miss the second column by Andy Mogotsi, a sports writer who goes for what people regard as holy cows.

Plus much, much more in your SOWETAN tomorrow.
Court grants Moloiise a stay of execution

PRETORIA. — In a dramatic 11-hour development, black poet Benjamin Moloiise was last night granted a stay of execution, hours before he was to be hanged for the murder of a security policeman in 1982.

In the Pretoria Supreme Court, Mr Justice Eloff gave lawyers three weeks in which to petition the State President, Mr PW Botha, to re-open the case.

The security policeman, Warrant Officer Philipus Selepe, died in a hail of bullets from a Soviet AK-47 assault rifle in an ambush at his home in Pretoria’s Mamelodi township. He had been instrumental in arresting ANC insurgents and the ANC claimed responsibility.

The advocate for Moloiise, Mr L Maisels, QC, argued earlier that Moloiise wanted a stay of execution to petition the President under Section 327 of the Criminal Procedure Act. According to the section, further evidence would be led if the President decided in favour of the petition.

A petition for clemency, made under Section 326 of the Act, was turned down by the President last week.

Mr Justice Eloff said that Moloiise’s application was “not so devoid of the possibility of success that I cannot say it won’t be accepted (by the President)”.

Mr Maisels submitted an affidavit signed earlier yesterday by Moloiise in which Moloiise described his wandering childhood, his later involvement with the ANC and the circumstances surrounding the murder of the policeman.

**Sociologist**

Mr Maisels said Moloiise’s affidavit and another affidavit by a sociologist who interviewed Moloiise would be given to the President as further evidence.

At the initial hearing, no extenuating circumstances were found.

“This man suffers from severe mental abnormalities of a degree that the court can take as extenuating circumstances,” he said.

Mr Justice Eloff said in his decision that although there was “overwhelming” proof that Moloiise was the killer, it appears in his petition for clemency that he did it (the murder) when he was under intense pressure and there were deep-seated psychological factors.

In the 1983 hearing, it was found that Moloiise had been forced or asked by the ANC to kill the policeman. Moloiise, described by the court as a “hatchet man”, was promised R500 but he never received the money.

Mr Flip Jacobs, for the State, said in argument that it would be “unfair and inhuman” to grant a stay of execution so close to the time the convicted man was to be hanged.

“His lawyers are building up expectations, and are doing him a disservice,” he said. — Sapa
Tutu's a phony, says Falwell

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON

America's best-known conservative church leader, the Rev Jerry Falwell, has dismissed Bishop Desmond Tutu as a "phony" for presuming to speak for South Africa's black people.

Mr Falwell leads a movement called the Moral Majority and has wide support among American conservative Christians. He has just returned to the US after a five-day visit to South Africa during which he met Mr P W Botha.

Yesterday he launched a campaign to block the economic sanctions the US Congress hopes to impose on South Africa.

He plans to drum up more investment.

INSOLENT

A South African Council of Churches' spokesman has described Mr Falwell's views on Bishop Tutu as both "insolent and arrogant".

"I would say that for an American white to come to South Africa for a brief visit and then claim that he knows who is representative of black people in this country is about the most arrogant thing I have ever heard," said Mr Dan Vaughan, assistant general secretary of the SACC.

And to additionally label a Nobel Peace Prize winner "as phony, smacks of insolence".

Mr Vaughan said that Mr Falwell's movement was well known in the United States as a backer of right-wing causes.
Boycott will show 'power of people'  

Staff Reporter

WHITE South Africa could not survive without black buying-power, Dr Allan Boesak told an applauding audience of more than 4,000 people at Mitchell's Plain last night.

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, was guest speaker at the Rocklands Civic Centre during a mass meeting held to discuss the consumer boycott of white shops in the Cape, which has been called for today.

He said that although the boycott of white supermarkets and shops would be difficult, it would once and for all show the government what the real power of the people was.

Local shop owners had already declared that they would lower their prices as much as possible.

Dr Boesak said no state of emergency would this time turn the people from the path to freedom.

He said South African society would not be normal as long as apartheid existed. However, apartheid was on a sickbed and the people would change that to a deathbed and then to a funeral.

The meeting ended with acceptance of a resolution supporting student action and the boycott of white shops, and calling for a lifting of the state of emergency and withdrawal of troops and police from townships. It also called for the release of Nelson Mandela and all detainees.

Police patrolled the surrounds but kept a low profile.
Death row drama:
Pleas to President

JOHANNESBURG. — Just 12 hours before he was to hang today convicted ANC killer Benjamin Moloise was granted a stay of execution pending the outcome of a petition to the State President.

Moloise was sentenced to death in June 1983 for the murder of Mamelodi security policeman Mr Phillipus Selepe.

After his conviction Moloise failed in an application for leave to appeal, a petition to the Chief Justice and an appeal to the State President for clemency.

Moloise's lawyers were notified Monday that the appeal for clemency had failed.

About 4pm yesterday an urgent application was made requesting a stay of execution until an appeal to the State President for the reopening of the trial to hear evidence on extenuating circumstances had been heard.

EXAMINED HIM

In the Supreme Court, Pretoria last night Mr Justice Eloff said the factors that dominated the case were whether or not the State President would possibly allow a retrial and why Moloise's lawyers had delayed launching the application.

He said that although the State President had already refused an appeal for clemency it did not mean that he would refuse an application to reopen the trial.

In an affidavit Moloise said that Professor Brunhilde Helm, the head of the department of applied sociology at the University of Cape Town, had examined him while he was in death row and had concluded that "the offence which I committed was not caused by any inherent wickedness in me".

Moloise, an illegitimate child with an alcoholic stepfather, said his childhood "was cruel and loveless". This made him "extremely vulnerable to pressures and influences," Professor Helm found.

Moloise alleged that he had looked to the ANC for leadership but after giving evidence in the trial of one of its members was threatened with death several times.

He was eventually told by members of the ANC that he had to choose between killing Selepe "and getting the bullet."

Facing "the most important crisis of my life" without the help of a brother, friend or "wise priest, I chose and I chose wrongly."

Moloise has three weeks in which to appeal to the State President for the reopening of his trial.

God is great, says relieved mother

PRETORIA. — "God is great. He has heard my daily prayers and those of the whole world about the innocence of my son," Mrs Pauline Moloise, mother of Benjamin Malese Moloise, said today after visiting him in his cell in Death Row.

Mrs Moloise said she was partly relieved but would relax only when Ben's life had been saved.

Mrs Moloise visited her son for what she thought would be the last time yesterday afternoon. She was allowed another brief visit today.

"Ben's mood was unchanged from previous visits and all he said this morning was that he felt tired and in need of sleep."

She thanked the international and local communities, legal advisers, churches and especially sympathetic colleagues at the Tswelang Pele day-care centre in Soweto.

"These women who joined me in daily prayers are mostly pensioners who spent most of their day with me."

The Argus Foreign Service reports from New York that the United Nations Security Council urged South Africa not to carry out the death sentence on Moloise soon after a personal plea for his life was made by the Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, to the South African UN representative, Mr Kurt von Schirnding.

FRONT PAGE

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that the stay of execution granted to Moloise was on the front page of Fleet Street's major newspapers last night.

In Paris, startled SAA counter clerks watched as demonstrators with raised clenched fists shouted: "Save Moloise" and "Free Mandela."

Four lorry loads of police tried unsuccessfully to persuade the demonstrators to leave.

Police pushed them out of the office and, when fighting started, used their truncheons.

Several ambulances were called to take away five injured persons.

Yesterday a delegation from the Anti-Apartheid Movement led by the chairman, Mr Bob Hughes MP, had a 30-minute interview with Baroness Young, the junior Foreign Office Minister, about the Moloise case.
Quiet grief of widow of the 'genius'

By HILARY VENABLES

"My husband is dead. They killed him and the others to upset the organizations, the structures, the unity which he helped to create. I will never forgive or forget his killers. I saw his body. I can imagine what they did to him. It was terrible."

Matthew Goniwe’s young widow, Nyami, lets her head fall back and closes her eyes to hide her grief.

Matthew Goniwe was 38 when, at the end of June this year, the car in which he was travelling with three other Eastern Cape community leaders was stopped on the road out of Port Elizabeth. The burnt and mutilated bodies of the four men were found days later, more than a kilometre away from the road.

The murders shocked democratic organizations throughout the country and Cradock’s Nkhandla township, where the killers of Goniwe still mourn the death of its best-loved and most-respected leader.

It was a setback for our community.

"But there are other leaders to take Matthew’s place and Cradock (the UDF-affiliated Cradock Residents Association) will continue to organize," Nyami says.

Nyami met Matthew in 1986, the year he started teaching in Cradock.

"I was one of his students. He was my teacher then and he continued to be my teacher. Before I met him I wasn’t really interested in politics."

My political awareness has grown much since that time, but I am not as active as he was. I just do as much as I can within the organizations. I am a quiet supporter," she laughs.

Why does she think he was killed?

"The authorities thought he was a dangerous person. The labelled him a communist and an ANC leader.

"In 1977 he was convicted under the Suppression of Communist Act in the Transkei, he was detained in April last year and was a listed person when he was killed."

"We both knew he was in danger. He used to get abusive phone calls and once he received a death threat. It was a bottle and inside was a dead locust, a little effigy of a man with ‘Goniwe’ written on it and a picture of a scaffold."

"I feared for his life but Matthew treated these things lightly."

At the time of his death, Matthew was UDF rural organizer in the Eastern Cape and an executive member of Cradock. He was a powerful speaker. He managed to organize communities all over the Eastern Cape — in Bedford, Alice, Cradock, Beaufort West, George, Grahamstown, Indawo, Tembisa, Embalenhle, Pearson, Nulpoort and Colesburg.

He was a committed, dedicated person but he was very approachable. He was called the ‘people’s man’.

He was clearly loved by the people, the children and the students. He was the kind of teacher who could instil a sense of self-worth in his students, he just had a way with them.

There are not much time left. All the townships are being radicalized, even the moderates are getting impatient. If the situation in the Eastern Cape carries on the way it is now, I don’t want to imagine what the future holds.

"Matthew wanted the kind of society we all want, a just society where everyone is accommodated. He was organizing ways of effecting such a society, a democratic society. He was organizing people, educating people, uniting people in one concerted effort for liberation.

"He was totally against violence. If his killers only knew how he felt about violence..."

"How terrible for him to die under such horrible circumstances, an unarmed man."

"Matthew was my childhood. He was my everything."

Nyami says.

Children, 10-year-old buxwe and his old Nyanzi, enough to understand the implications of his father’s death."

"If you live ship you what is doing exposed to time."

Even my memories of the dancing and his fist. He was my way of understanding."

Twenty-five people from across the country and Cradockers came to Matthew and who died in the Mhlawuli."

"We were what happened was the only thing could come was an opportunity for gain strength."

The family of We were our husband and there were b.
et grief of widow of the ‘people’s man’

Nyami’s children, 10-year-old Nozuzo and three-year-old Nyaniso, are old enough to understand the implications of their father’s death.

Nyami says her children understand what is going on. You are exposed to it all the time.

“Even my little boy mimics the singing and dancing and he raises his fist. He has his own way of understanding.”

Twenty-five thousand people from all over the country and beyond its borders came to bury Matthew and the three who died with him - Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Siceko Mhawu.

“We were proud of what happened there. It was the only way people could come together. It was an opportunity to regain strength.”

“The families needed that. We were proud that our husbands and fathers were buried with such honour. We think they were given a funeral befitting their commitment to the struggle and their stature as leaders.”

“A funeral is a most important event. It is the only place where people can give vent to their frustrations.”

Nyami fears the new restrictions on funerals will spark off conflict.

“We are told by the government not to bury our dead this way or that way.”

“We live in a war situation, people perceive it as a war.”

“I am a sensitive person and violence does not appeal to me but I understand how the young people feel, their frustrations.”

Nyami had just watched the State President, Mr P W Botha, address the nation on television.

“He is out of touch with what is happening in the country.”

“Leaders from various quarters have tried to impress upon him the seriousness of the situation, but he just won’t listen.”

“He doesn’t care. He is insensitive.”

“The future depends on him but there is not much time left.”

“All the townships are being radicalized, even the moderates are getting impatient.”

“If the situation in the Eastern Cape carries on the way it is now, I don’t want to imagine what the future holds.”

What does the future hold for Nyami Gonive?

“I will carry on working ... I am a social worker and bringing up my children.”

“I will contribute what I can to the community, but I don’t want to be a leader.”

“I am still bitter. I think there is as much chance of finding my husband’s killers as there is of finding the killers of Griffiths Mxenge.”

Nyami says her children, 10-year-old Nozuzo and three-year-old Nyaniso, are old enough to understand the implications of their father’s death.

Nyami says her children understand what is going on. You are exposed to it all the time.

“Even my little boy mimics the singing and dancing and he raises his fist. He has his own way of understanding.”

Twenty-five thousand people from all over the country and beyond its borders came to bury Matthew and the three who died with him - Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Siceko Mhawu.

“We were proud of what happened there. It was the only way people could come together. It was an opportunity to regain strength.”

“The families needed that. We were proud that our husbands and fathers were buried with such honour. We think they were given a funeral befitting their commitment to the struggle and their stature as leaders.”

“A funeral is a most important event. It is the only place where people can give vent to their frustrations.”

Nyami fears the new restrictions on funerals will spark off conflict.

“We are told by the government not to bury our dead this way or that way.”

“We live in a war situation, people perceive it as a war.”

“I am a sensitive person and violence does not appeal to me but I understand how the young people feel, their frustrations.”

Nyami had just watched the State President, Mr P W Botha, address the nation on television.

“He is out of touch with what is happening in the country.”

“Leaders from various quarters have tried to impress upon him the seriousness of the situation, but he just won’t listen.”

“He doesn’t care. He is insensitive.”

“The future depends on him but there is not much time left.”

“All the townships are being radicalized, even the moderates are getting impatient.”

“If the situation in the Eastern Cape carries on the way it is now, I don’t want to imagine what the future holds.”

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“I am still bitter. I think there is as much chance of finding my husband’s killers as there is of finding the killers of Griffiths Mxenge.”
MBABANE — Four African National Congress members convicted of entering Swaziland illegally told a magistrate on Monday that they did not have money to pay their R200 fines — but they added “Tambo will pay.”

“Mr. Oliver Tambo leads the ANC from his headquarters in Lusaka.”

Bernard Khumalo Zulu (25), Thandeka Mbiningcelele (30), Sibusiso Zulu (34) and Mduzi Sithole Zulu (29), all of Lamontville, Natal, had pleaded guilty in the Mbabane Magistrate’s Court. — SOWETAN Foreign Service.
By BARRY STREEK

THE Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday asked the government to give him permission to speak to the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Dr Slabbert said this in reaction to reports that Mr Mandela had indicated through his lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, that the time was past for a national convention and all that was needed was talk about the mechanics of handing over power to the people of South Africa. The holding of a national convention has been a traditional policy for the banned ANC.

'Important'

Dr Slabbert said in a statement yesterday: "The issue raised by the reports of Mr Nelson Mandela's statement on a national convention are so important that I am not prepared to comment on them without at least having had the opportunity to discuss them with Mr Mandela himself."

"If the government invites me to discuss constitutional matters with it concerning blacks, then it should not have any objection to me discussing the possibility of negotiation politics with every prominent black leader in the country," Dr Slabbert said.

He also said: "As far as I am concerned whether the government enables me to talk to Mr Mandela or not, I and the PFP are determined to do everything we can do to promote the politics of negotiation to bring about a representative national convention."

It was also reported that Mr Mandela had challenged President Botha to meet him in jail.

The announcement of the challenge was welcomed by the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, who said it would "do much to defuse the tension in South Africa".

Mr Ayob also said that the speculation that he would be released made no difference to Mr Mandela as "the government is the only one who has to speculate".

However, in Durban President PW Botha repeated his offer to consider the release of Mr Mandela only if he renounced violence, a condition which Mr Mandela has rejected.

The reported rejection by Mr Mandela of a national convention, which has also been a key policy of the PFP, could present problems for the concept of a negotiated settlement between black and white leaders in South Africa, particularly if the ANC refuses to participate.

Concept

The government has also persistently rejected the concept of a national convention, regardless of whether the ANC was a participant or not. The concept has also been rejected by black consciousness groups.

Yesterday the official mouthpiece of the National Party in the Cape, The Burger, claimed that Mr Mandela's rejection of a national convention had placed "greater pressure than ever" on critics of the government's policies of negotiation "clarify what their alternative is, and how it can work".
Three homes fire-bombed in township

Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The homes of three officials of the Mpumelo Youth Congress (Mpuyc) in the township near Leandra were petrol-bombed within minutes of each other at the weekend, members of their families said.

The homes are those of the president of the organisation, Mr Mhetwa Abel Nkabinde; the secretary, Mr Fakazi Nkosi; and committee member Mr Sipho Radebe.

Extensive damage was caused to the home of Mr Nkosi, where four petrol-bombs were hurled through the window. Only one exploded.

At Mr Nkabinde's home his sister Sibongile, 22, narrowly escaped injury when her hair caught fire as the bed on which she was sleeping went up in flames. No others were injured in the three attacks.

Mr Nkabinde, who is also chairman of the Leandra Action Committee and a field worker for the South African Council of Churches, said arsonists also set fire to his car. Neighbours helped to put out the flames.

Mr Nkosi said the bombings had been reported to the police.
Cheeky unaffected by pinch of boycott

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH. — While other retailers here and in Uitenhage are feeling the pinch of the boycott of white-owned business, Mr Dan "Cheeky" Watson says business has never been better.

"I'm busier than usual and have been throughout the boycott," Mr. Watson said.

Asked why he was getting "special treatment" that must make him the envy of white, coloured and Indian traders in the Eastern Cape, Mr. Watson said it "works by word of mouth".

He said: "People know my stand and they are loyal to their cause. I have stood against apartheid and the enforcement of the government's separate-development policies for the past 10 years. Now the blacks are reciprocating. They will support the people who support them."

In 1976 Mr. Watson and his elder brother, Valence, two well-known rugby players, left their Port Elizabeth club, Crusaders, and became the first white playing members of the KwaZulu Rugby Union — a union affiliated to the South African Rugby Union, which is a member of the South African Council on Sport.

When Kwaru split, the Watsons joined the Zwele Rugby-Union, where Mr Watson is coaching.
EAST LONDON — Patients still in hospital here after suffering injuries in the Duncan Village unrest were all in a satisfactory condition, the Border Police liaison officer, Lieutenant Dot van der Vyver, said yesterday.

She said there were further serious cases since a mercy flight recently in which two unrest victims were taken to Conradie Hospital in Cape Town.

It was difficult to assess the exact number of people already treated and discharged after injury in the unrest, Lieutenant Van der Vyver said. — DDR
DV public violence cases heard

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Five separate cases of public violence and arson in Duncan Village over the past week were heard in the magistrate's court here on Monday.

A total of 16 people appeared in connection with the charges.

Miss Lindiswa Vaalwyn, 24, and Mr July Mankwenkwe, 54, both of Duncan Village, appeared on charges of public violence. They were both granted R100 bail and their case was postponed to September 13.

Mr Siphiwo Ngcsi, 24, and three youths, all of Duncan Village, appeared on charges of arson. Mr Ngcsi was granted R100 bail. The case was postponed to September 17.

Three youths, two aged 14, and one, 17, were charged with public violence. Their case was postponed to September 13.

Mr Mhluwiwa Mtamo, 22, also of Duncan Village, appeared on a charge of public violence. He was granted R100 bail and the case was postponed to September 17.

Mr Magobasa Moyeni, 42, Mr Vulindlela Mfethe, 19, Mr Zola Madikane, 21, Mr Mxolisi Majojo, 22, Mr Nkosinathi Seyisa, 24, and Mr Fumanelile Dalwe, 24, all of Duncan Village, appeared on charges of public violence. They were all granted R100 bail. The case was postponed to September 16.
PRETORIA — In a dramatic eleventh-hour development, black poet Benjamin Moloise was granted a stay of execution last night, just hours before he was to be hanged for the 1962 murder of a security policeman.

In the Supreme Court here, Mr Justice Eloff gave lawyers three weeks in which to petition the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, to reopen the case.

The judgment came as Moloise’s mother, Pauline, was leading prayers at a planned all-night vigil in Johannesburg.

The security policeman, Warrant Officer Phillipus Selope, was killed at his home in Pretoria’s Mamelodi township. The ANC claimed responsibility.

Moloise was sentenced to death in June, 1983 and was denied leave to appeal.

The advocate for the defence, Mr Izzie Maisels, QC, argued yesterday that Moloise wanted a stay of execution in order to petition the President under Section 327 of the Criminal Procedure Act. Moloise had not been informed earlier of his option to apply under the specific section of the act.

Mr Justice Eloff said: “I don’t know how his legal advisers could be so remiss, but their remissness should not be brought to the door of the defendant.”

A petition for clemency, made under section 326 of the act, was turned down by the President last week.

As evidence in the hearing, Mr Maisels submitted a 21-page affidavit signed earlier by Moloise.

Mr Maisels said Moloise’s affidavit and another affidavit by a sociologist who interviewed Moloise would be given to the President as further evidence.

“This man suffers from severe mental abnormalities,” he said.

Earlier, the UN Security Council called on South African authorities to halt the execution of Moloise.

The council said that Moloise’s death would “result in further deterioration of an already extremely grave situation.” — Sapa-AP.

Plea for clemency P6
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress believes that a national convention would be “futile”, Ms Zinzi Mandela, daughter of the jailed ANC leader, said yesterday.

Ms Mandela said the time for a national convention — which the ANC called for more than 23 years ago, before it was banned — was definitely past.

She said her father’s declaration last Thursday was the standing position of the ANC leadership at this juncture. The stance had been conveyed to her mother, Mrs Winnie Mandela, during a visit to her father at Pollsmoor Prison last week.

“My father and the leadership believe that after 23 years it would be futile,” she said, adding that the ANC leadership was now concerned only with discussing the mechanics of handling power to the majority of South Africans.

The ANC’s Department of Information in Lusaka released a statement yesterday also ruling out the possibility of a national convention at this juncture.

“Our policy has been that only after the unconditional release of political leaders can the democratic movement as a whole consult on whether to negotiate or not and what form negotiations would take,” the statement said.

“As it is, the question on the agenda is not a national convention ..., but the unconditional release and enabling of all democratic forces to consult and agree on the principle of negotiation. If (Mr) Botha wants to discuss handing over power to the majority, the forum can be agreed on.”

Meanwhile, Mrs Mandela addressed a major media conference here yesterday and while her comments will be heard around the world, they may not be published in South Africa since she is banned.

About 60 journalists — mainly foreign correspondents — attended the conference. The police were conspicuous by their absence, and journalists at the conference speculated whether they could also be arrested for aiding Mrs Mandela to break her banning order.

Mrs Mandela left the conference immediately after answering several questions.

A letter to the Reagan administration read out in which her lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, explained why Mrs Mandela would not accept a donation of R100 000 for repairs to her Brandfort home and clinic, recently gutted in an arson attack.

The refusal was because of the Reagan administration’s support of the South African Government.

The leader of the FPFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday wrote to the State President, Mr PW Botha, seeking permission for a meeting with Mr Mandela.

Commitment to politics of negotiation

Last night, Dr Slabbert said he had intended to speak to Mr Mandela some time ago, adding that he would not disclose the agenda of the talks.

He said he was “prepared to talk to any person of consequence, whether in the United Democratic Front or the ANC to explore the possibilities of the politics of negotiation”.

The FPFP leader said he had no intention of becoming involved in a “cheap publicity stunt” in this regard or of “engaging in political posturing”.

Dr Slabbert said he would try to convince Mr Mandela to take part in a national convention.

If he was allowed to see Mr Mandela — and if Mr Mandela wanted to see him — he would try to persuade him to participate in a national convention and a negotiated future.

“I would not try to persuade him to do anything I would not ask anybody else to do. My view is that we should have negotiation and consultation rather than confrontation.”

In Pretoria the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, last night warned that social visits to prisoners might be reviewed.

He said press reports had referred to “statements that prisoner (Mr) Mandela was supposed to have made” and that “prisoners are not allowed to make any statements from a prison to the media”.

“Prisoner (Mr) Mandela is no exception to this rule.” — Sapa and Own Correspondent
US newsmen get prison interview

No choice but violence - Mandela

Washington

Imprisoned South African black leader Nelson Mandela says he sees no alternative to violent revolution in his country, The Washington Times reported today.

Mandela, interviewed in prison by Washington Times columnist John Lofton and the syndicated columnist Cal Thomas, was quoted as telling them there is "no room for a peaceful struggle".

The two journalists accompanied conservative churchman the Reverend Jerry Falwell on his recent tour of South Africa. Mr Falwell saw the State President in Pretoria and the journalists interviewed Mandela.

The white minority Government, even under intense pressure to end apartheid, was "crawling on crutches out of the Middle Ages", Mandela said.

President P W Botha has said he would be prepared to consider releasing Mandela if he pledged not to plan or instigate any violent acts for political purposes.

But the black leader, who has been in jail since 1964, repeated his refusal to renounce violence in order to win his freedom.

If released, he predicted, he would probably be back in custody in a matter of hours.

"I can't fold my arms. I want to live like a free human being," Mandela was quoted as saying.

"There is no alternative to taking up arms. There is no room for peaceful struggle."

He said it appeared that the lot of black South Africans had not improved during the more than two decades he had spent behind bars, according to the report.

Mandela added that he considered himself a political prisoner.

His rejection from his cell of a national convention has brought the extra-parliamentary opposition in South Africa significantly closer together.

Both the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the National Forum (NF) — who essentially oppose the ANC, with a point of view — have welcomed Mandela's view it is now too late for such a convention.

Azapo and the NF have for years rejected the concept of a national convention because they saw it as a step which would entrench capitalist interests in South Africa. Both organisations envisage a State based on socialism.

Mrs Mandela addressed a major media conference in Johannesburg yesterday and her comments will be heard on radio and seen on TV throughout the world.

But not here. Mrs Mandela is a banned person and may not be quoted.

At the conference it was confirmed that her husband believed the time for calling a national convention was over.

The only aspect that remained to be discussed with the people of South Africa was the handing over of power to the majority of the people, Mandela was reported to have said. — Staff Reporters and Associated Press.
IN THE TWO years since its inception the United Democratic Front claims to have welded 'sporadic, often unconnected localised resistance' into a 'national resistance against apartheid'.

And although its leadership is largely in detention or facing trial under security legislation the Front still leads 'popular resistance' in South Africa, says its western Cape secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel.

'Leadership is expendable and popular resistance continues,' Mr Manuel said in an interview this week on the eve of the Front's second birthday.

Although meetings had been banned and leadership detained 'resistance did not abate,' he said.

Indeed, he said, 'wage boycotts, student protests andjavaher campaigns, in which the udf and its affiliates had given people a semblance of hope, a stream into which organisational energies could be plugged'.

'We are witnessing a new type of resistance, similar to that of the Defiance Campaign and the potato-boycott struggles of the fifties,' he said.

Facing trial

Thirty-eight udf leaders and affiliates are facing treason charges in two trials in Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg.

The accused include udf executive members such as Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Archie Gumede and the Reverend Frank Chikane, while others are prominent figures in organisations like the Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, the Release Mandela Campaign, the Congress of South African Students and the Vaal Civic Association.

The idea of a udf was spawned at a Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Congress meeting in Johannesburg in January 1983 addressed by Dr Allan Boesak, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

'We are committed to the struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa, a unitary state in which all people shall have the rights accorded them by God,' he told the meeting.

In the months that followed, udf regional branches were formed with affiliates representing a cross-section of people opposed to the government's constitutional proposals and committed to 'a non-racial unitary state'.

These included organisations as diverse as Cosass, the Soweto Civic Association, the United Women's Organisation, the Islamic Council of South Africa, the Democratic Lawyers' Association, the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and the General and Allied Workers' Union. Affiliate organisations today number nearly 600.

The national udf was launched on August 20, 1984, at a rally in Cape Town. Among udf patrons nominated at the rally were Dr Beyers Naude, then restricted but now head of the S A Council of Churches, Dr Boesak, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Mrs Helen Joseph, Walter Sisulu and Denis Goldberg.

Historic

Dr Boesak told the crowd of 10,000 at the launch: 'We have arrived at a historic moment. We have brought together under the aegis of the udf the broadest, most significant coalition groups and organisations struggling against apartheid, racism and injustice since the 1950s.'

A year after its launch the udf met resistance from the government over the udf's campaign to persuade Indians and coloureds to reject the tricameral constitution.

On the eve of the elections for the House of Representatives on August 20, 1984 - against a backdrop of boycotts at 33 schools and universities - 16 udf leaders and supporters were held in pre-dawn raids while another 19 were held in isolated incidents around the country.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, warned the udf that the Government was aware the udf and its affiliates were planning to disrupt the elections.

'I want to warn any organisation or individual who plans to disrupt the elections by any means that their actions would not be tolerated,' Mr le Grange said in a statement.

There followed the British-consultate sit-in, the filing of treason charges against 20 udf members and affiliates and, finally, the declaration of the state of emergency, which Mr Manuel said he saw as the State's 'most direct attempt to cripple the UDF'.

On an administrative level the state of emergency had 'shocked the UDF and its allies', he said. Offices were closed and officials were detained, while others were trying to avoid detention. Most people detained under emergency regulations were udf affiliates, Mr Manuel claimed.

However, he said, despite the Government's 'short-term victory', none of the Government's initiatives had taken root. The tricameral Parliament and the black town councils did not have the support of the people.

'We have seen the growth of many organisations and the shift from urban struggles to a struggle which has a rural nerve centre,' Mr Manuel said.

Karoo towns

He cited the example of black areas in small Karoo towns like Cradock and Graaff-Reinet, hit by increasing violence in recent months.

Mr Manuel said there had developed 'a shift towards more military confrontations with the State.'

Since Operation Palmet, a police and Defence Forces operation in the Vaal Triangle in November 1984, 'one finds a pattern of SADF camping in the towns'.

This had given rise to an increased militancy among township inhabitants, he said, adding that township violence was not orchestrated but had spread spontaneously.

On the consumer boycotts in Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and the Cape Peninsula, Mr Manuel said the udf had not called the boycotts of white shoes single-handedly. The boycott was 'a component' in a process that had started at different points as a 'defensive measure, a non-violent weapon' to demonstrate the strength and unity of township residents.

He said the boycott had been 'targeted' against 'big business' which had indicated support for the state of emergency.

What future does the udf see for the country? The organisation had drawn up a set of nine demands for a 'process of transition'.

The demands include the scrapping of the Land and Group Areas Acts, the forced removals and the dissolution of the homelands. The udf is also calling for the scrapping of the tricameral Parliament and 'other puppet bodies'.

Other demands

Other demands include the repeal of the pass laws; the right of workers to organise; the right to security, employment and other human rights; the release of political prisoners; the unbanning of individuals; the return of exiles and the scrapping of security legislation.

'As long as PW Botha, the State President, displays the kind of arrogance he did in Durban (at a National Party conference) last Thursday, as long as he refuses to recognise the support for people like Mandela and refuses to acknowledge the demand for fundamental freedoms - there will continue this course of collision,' Mr Manuel said. - (Sapa)
off as a barbershop
Could Angelo pass
Mandela's rejection unites black opposition

JOHANNESBURG. — Nelson Mandela's rejection of a national convention has brought the extra-parliamentary opposition in South Africa significantly closer together, with Azapo and the National Forum welcoming the policy shift.

Azapo and the NF have for years rejected the concept of a national convention because they saw it as a step which would entrench capitalist interests in South Africa.

Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said his organisation was "heartened at the fact that a process of rethinking and reflection on the fashionable national convention call was gaining ground every day".

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, has confirmed reports that her husband believed the time for calling a national convention was over.
Petrol bombs hurled at Durban home

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Four petrol bombs were hurled at a house in Kwamashu today, destroying all the furniture in a children's bedroom.

Housewife Mrs. Enid Bolani said the family were asleep at 1.40 am when the house was attacked.

"I saw the flames and I screamed," she said.

She and other members of the family tried to put the fire out.

A friend from Transkei who was visiting fired in the air to scare off the people who were still standing outside the house.

Mrs. Bolani, whose husband was away, said the family had been threatened several times.

More unrest reports, Page 3.
"MY childhood was cruel and lonely. I was born of an unwanted pregnancy and I'm an illegitimate child."

This was said under oath by condemned murderer Benjamin Malesele Moloise in his affidavit applying for a stay of execution which was granted by Mr Justice Eloff in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Tuesday night.

Professor Helm, a sociologist who conducted several lengthy and intensive assessments believes that the crime he had committed was not caused by any inherent wickedness in him.

"After my conviction and sentence and as the weeks went by, I was in a state of extreme mental and psychological turmoil.

"In particular, I had considerable time to reflect on what had happened to me in my life and how I had come to commit the heinous act for which I was convicted," Moloise said.

My stepfather was an alcoholic with very little interest either in my mother or his family. He showed me no love or affection.

"My childhood was cruel and loveless. I was born in consequence of an unwanted pregnancy. Professor Helm found that this caused anger, frustration and tension in my childhood... I was consequently very conscious of being an unwanted and rootless child."

Moloise also submitted that sociologists who interviewed him had found that he showed:

- excessive agitation, accompanied by facial grimaces, including an inappropriate smiling, rolling of the eyes and marked pursing of the lips and related symptoms;
- uncoordinated movements, almost spastic movements in the face, neck and hands, writhing of the fingers, some rocking and on occasion difficulty in expression similar to those exhibited by Marcus Motaung.

ANC members who gave him a detailed account of his collaboration with the security police.

But before he gave evidence, he added, he was confronted by two ANC members who gave him a detailed account of his collaboration with the security police. He was threatened with death if he betrayed Motaung or the ANC.

He was later confronted by two ANC men who offered him what he described as a "stark choice": "You have to choose, between doing the job and getting the bullet. The job was to kill Selepe."

Moloise added: "I faced the single most important crisis of my life. It was a crisis which faced me alone."

"I had no elder brother, no wise priest, no trusted confidante no empathetic mother who could help me at this moment. I chose, and chose wrongly."

Moloise's fate now lies in the hands of the State President, Mr PW Botha who must be petitioned within the next three weeks to order a retrial following the emergence of fresh evidence.

"I feared for my life and therefore made no direct stand against Marcus Motaung and his group."

"Eventually and inevitably Motaung was arrested. I was thereafter contacted by the police and agreed to work with them.

"I also agreed to give evidence against Motaung at his trial because of my anguished conscience."

Fear

"I feared for my life and therefore made no direct stand against Marcus Motaung and his group."

"Eventually and inevitably Motaung was arrested. I was thereafter contacted by the police and agreed to work with them.

"I also agreed to give evidence against Motaung at his trial because of my anguished conscience."
‘UDF has given hope’
— Manuel

JOHANNESBURG — Two years after its inception, with its leadership largely in detention or facing trial, the United Democratic Front (UDF) says it still leads “popular resistance” in South Africa.

“Leadership is expendable and popular resistance continues,” the UDF’s Western Cape secretary, Mr. Trevor Manuel, said this week.

‘Unitary state’

Although meetings had been banned and leadership detained, “resistance did not abate,” he said.

He said the UDF had “given people a semblance of hope, a stream into which organizational energies could be plugged.”

The idea of a UDF was spawned at a Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Congress meeting in Johannesburg in 1983 by Dr. Allan Boesak.

“We are committed to the struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa, a unitary state in which all people shall have the rights accorded them by God,” he told the meeting.

In the months that followed, UDF regional branches were formed, with affiliates representing organizations across the spectrum, from the Soweto Civic Association, the United Women’s Organization, the Islamic Council of South Africa, the Democratic Lawyers’ Association and the General and Allied Workers’ Union.

Affiliates organized, with dates, and the UDF met resistance from the government over its campaign against the tricameral constitution.

On the eve of the election, the House of Representatives on August 20, 1984, 16 UDF leaders and supporters were held in pre-dawn raids while another 19 were arrested around the country later.

Then followed the British Consulate sit-in, the filing of treason charges against 38 UDF members and finally the state of emergency.

On an administrative level, the state of emergency had “struck the UDF a blow” as offices were closed, officials detained, while others were trying to avoid detention. He said most people detained since the emergency were from UDF affiliates.

However, he said, none of the government’s initiatives had taken root. The tricameral Parliament and the black town councils did not have support.

“We have seen the growth of many organizations and the shift from urban struggles to a struggle which has a rural nerve centre,” Mr. Manuel said, citing the examples of small Karoo towns such as Cradock and Graaff-Reinet.

He said there had developed “a shift toward more military confrontations by the State” since Operation Palmiet, a police and Defence Force operation in the Vaal Triangle in November 1984. This had given rise to an increased militancy among township residents.

On the consumer boycott in Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and the Cape Peninsula, Mr. Manuel said the UDF had not called the boycott of white shops single-handedly.

He said the boycott was “targeted” at “big business” which had indicated support for the state of emergency.

Speaking about the future, he said the UDF had drawn up a set of nine demands for a “process of transition”.

Demands

The demands include the scrapping of the Land and Group Areas acts, of forced removals and the dissolution of the homelands. The UDF is also calling for the scrapping of the tricameral Parliament and “other puppet bodies”.

Other demands include the repeal of the pass laws, the right of workers to organize, the right to security, employment and other human rights, the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of individuals, the return of the UDF and the scrapping of security legislation.

“As long as P.W. (Mr. Botha) displays the kind of arrogance he did in Durban (at a National Party congress) last Thursday; as long as he refuses to recognize the support for people like (Mr.) Mandela and refuses to acknowledge the demand for fundamental freedoms — this course of collision will continue,” he said. — Sapa
Mkhonto shot twice with .22

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — One of four Eastern Cape African community leaders whose burnt and mutilated bodies were found outside Port Elizabeth more than six weeks ago, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, was shot twice — once in the head — according to an independent pathologist's report.

The report said a .22 bullet was found in his charred chest and a deformed bullet just outside his skull.

Mr Mkhonto, Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata and Mr Siselo Mhlawuli — all committee members of the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape — disappeared after attending a UDF meeting in Port Elizabeth on June 27.

Post-mortem reports on the deaths of all four community leaders were drawn up by a Johannesburg-based independent pathologist, who attended the post-mortems on behalf of their families.

According to the reports Mr Mkhonto, 32, Mr Goniwe, 38, Mr Mhlawuli, 36, and Mr Calata, 29, all received multiple stab wounds.

It was also established that their bodies were burnt after death.

The pathologist found that a bullet had entered Mr Mkhonto's scalp 60mm below his left ear and passed through his head.

The report also states that a .22-calibre bullet was recovered from the charred chest wall muscles on the left side of Mr Mkhonto's body.

He had been stabbed a number of times, twice through the heart.

The report on the body of Mr Mhlawuli shows that he was stabbed several times and that his jugular vein was severed.

The pathologist stated that the relatively small amount of internal bleeding from the multiple stab wounds suggested that those were administered at a stage when, although still alive, Mr Mhlawuli had experienced considerable blood loss.

His right hand had been cleanly amputated from the wrist.

Variation in the appearance of the stab wounds suggested that a variety of weapons had been used.

Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata were also stabbed in the heart.
PLANS for a day of solidarity which would “turn the country on its head” were almost completed and pupils should do nothing to jeopardise that moment, Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, said yesterday.

Addressing a rally of 2 500 pupils at the Sa-
maj Centre at Rylands, Cape Town, Dr Boesak urged pupils to exercise restraint and discipline so that when the call came they would be ready.

Plans to bring together students, teachers, academics, clergy-
men and workers for “one big expression of solidarity with certain people” had already been laid, he said.

“I cannot give details now but what we have been talking about for the past few weeks or so is about to become reality,” he said.

Sapa. 23/8/85
Mandela: ‘No alternative’ to violence

WASHINGTON. — Mr Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the outlawed African National Congress, says he sees “no alternative” to armed struggle against apartheid, the Washington Times reported yesterday.

Mr Mandela, interviewed on Tuesday at Pollsmoor Prison by Times columnist John Lofton and syndicated columnist Cal Thomas, was quoted as saying there is “no room for peaceful struggle in South Africa”.

“We have no choice. We are compelled to defend ourselves,” the Times quoted Mr Mandela as saying.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has said he would be prepared to consider releasing Mr Mandela if the ANC leader pledged he would not plan or instigate any violent acts for political purposes.

Mr Mandela, who has been jailed since 1962, repeated his refusal to renounce violence to win his freedom. If released, he predicted, he would probably be back in custody in a matter of hours.

“I can’t fold my arms. I want to live like a free human being,” Mr Mandela was quoted as saying.

“There is no alternative to taking up arms. There is no room for peaceful struggle. I have the right to use force against evil.”

‘Communism better than apartheid’

Mr Mandela told the Times that communism was better than apartheid because it “gives equal opportunity to everybody” and under it “everybody would be living better.”

However, Mr Mandela said he is “definitely not” a Marxist or a communist but is an African nationalist who has been influenced by the idea of a classless society, the Times reported.

He said he “definitely” and “very strongly” supports economic sanctions against South Africa because the threat of them has “agitated the powers that be”, said the Times.

He said he did not know how badly disinvestment might hurt blacks, but said: “We must tighten our belts. There must be sacrifice for liberation.”

Mr Mandela was sentenced to life in prison on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the South African Government. — UPI and Sapa-AP
Buthelezi demands Mandela’s release

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, wants Nelson Mandela released, despite the ANC leader’s recently expressed view that peaceful change was no longer possible in South Africa.

And the release of Mandela is a new condition Chief Buthelezi is stipulating before he will enter negotiations with the Government.

The Chief Minister was speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport today on his return from a 12-day visit to Israel.

“It’s ridiculous for the Government to fear a man like Mandela. Unless he leaves the country, what can he do? You need tools to fight a strong army and Mandela doesn’t have those tools.”

Chief Buthelezi said Mr. Mandela was more dangerous as a prisoner than as a free man.

“I don’t understand this Government. Wasn’t former Prime Minister John Vorster instrumental in the release of Mr. Robert Mugabe and Mr. Joshua Nkomo?”

“As long as Mr. Mandela is in prison, the feet of other black leaders are tied. If we go in these circumstances to the conference table, people will say: How can you talk to the Government while real leaders are still in jail!”

TWO CONDITIONS

Chief Buthelezi said he would take part in a national convention even if Mandela refused to take part.

“I have a mandate from my people to try to find peaceful solutions.”

The Chief Minister said he was prepared to talk to the Government on two conditions; that Mandela be released and that President Botha declare his intention to share power with the blacks of South Africa.

Previously, the Chief Minister had insisted only on a declaration of intent from the State President.
TWO Washington Times journalists had been given permission to interview Nelson Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town and the meeting had taken place earlier this week.

This was confirmed by Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee's office in Pretoria yesterday.

It is understood State President PW Botha personally cleared the application by the two journalists, Cal Thomas and John Lofton, on Monday, and that the interview took place later that day.

Coetsee's office had no further comment on the journalists’ visit.

Their reports, in The Washington Times yesterday, quoted Mandela as saying he saw “no alternative” to violent revolution in South Africa and that there was “no room for peaceful struggle”.

He repeated his refusal to renounce violence to win his freedom. If released, he predicted, he would probably be back in custody in a matter of hours.

Mandela said it appeared that the lot of black South Africans had not improved in the 21 years he had spent behind bars, according to the report.

“As far as I can follow from political events, conditions are much the same now, if not worse,” he said.

Coetsee had issued a warning about Mandela’s prison visits at a National Party political meeting in Sasolburg on Wednesday night.

He said conditions attached to prisoners’ social visits would be strictly enforced.

He also said there might be a clampdown on Mandela’s visits after reports that he had used such a visit to issue a statement rejecting the idea of a national convention for South Africa.

A full interview with Mandela appeared on the front page of The Washington Times — despite Coetsee’s statement.

As Mandela is in prison, South African media may not publish the story without the permission of the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange.

Sapa has submitted the available version of The Washington Times story to the minister for his decision on publication, as Mandela discusses his attitude towards peaceful change in South Africa.

It is still awaiting a decision by Le Grange on whether it can publish any of the statements made at a Press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday by Mandela’s wife, Winnie.

She is a restricted person and may not be quoted in South Africa without the minister’s permission.

About 60 journalists — most of them foreign correspondents — including five foreign television crews, attended the conference, and her comments have been relayed round the world.

Meanwhile the Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) yesterday “applauded” Mandela for finally rejecting a national convention, an Azasm spokesman said in a statement.

The spokesman said the organisation applauded Mandela for “the ultimate recognition of the genuine anti-convention gospel which has been preached by Azapo (Azanian Peoples’ Organisation) and the Black Consciousness movement as a whole.” — Sapa-AP.
Mandela is for violence

WASHINGTON — Imprisoned South African black leader Nelson Mandela says he sees "no alternative" to violent revolution in his country, the Washington Times reported yesterday.

Mandela, interviewed in prison by Times columnist John Lofton and syndicated columnist Cal Thomas, was quoted as saying there was "no room for peaceful struggle in South Africa".

The Government in Pretoria, which is being pressured to take steps to end apartheid, is "crawling on crutches out of the Middle Ages," Mandela said.

The State President, Mr. F W Botha, has said he would be prepared to consider releasing Mandela if the ANC leader pledged he would not plan or instigate any violent acts for political purposes.

Mandela, who has been jailed since 1964, repeated his refusal to renounce violence to win his freedom. If released, he predicted, he would probably be back in custody within hours.

"I can't fold my arms. I want to live like a free human being," Mandela was quoted as saying.

"There is no alternative to taking up arms. There is no room for peaceful struggle."

He said it appears that the lot of black South Africans has not improved during more than two decades he has spent behind bars, according to the report.

"As far as I can follow from political events, conditions are much the same now, if not worse," he said.

Mandela, who was sentenced to life in prison on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the South African Government, said, he considers himself a political prisoner. — Sapa-AP.
Petrol bomb attack on city MP’s home

PETROL bombs were thrown at the home of the treasurer of the Labour Party and MP for Liesbeek, Mr Arthur Stanley, early today. It was the second firebomb attack on his home in a week.

No one was hurt and no major damage was caused in the latest attack early this morning.

A petrol bomb which landed on the roof of the Stanley home in Barkis Street, Athlone, did not explode. A second bomb fell in the garden.

Mr Stanley was recovering from shock today but his wife, Mrs May Stanley, said: “My husband’s lying down. He’s a sick man. It’s terrible.” Mr Stanley had a minor stroke recently.

In the previous attack last Saturday, curtains were set alight. Mr Stanley sustained minor burns when he tried to put out the flames.

• Guguletu arrests — Page 3.
Plan black elections now, says Boraine

A JUDICIAL commission should be set up now to formulate free and fair machinery for the election of black leaders. Then the constitutional future of South Africa could be negotiated, said PFP MP Dr Alex Boraine this week.

Speaking at a report-back meeting on Wednesday night, Boraine, MP for Pinelands and chairman of the PFP’s federal executive, said the growing conflict in South Africa could not be resolved without true negotiation between leaders of the “total” community.

He said jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was “a leader who dare not be ignored”.

“There can be no return to stability and security as long as Mandela and other political prisoners remain behind bars.

“There can be no genuine and significant negotiation unless it involves the ANC as one of the credible partners in such negotiation.”

Homeland leaders were not the only negotiating partners, he said, adding that urban black community councillors had been “totally discredited”.

He said the PFP was prepared to meet all those implacably opposed to the status quo but ready to plan and work for constructive and realistic alternatives.

He said the unrest had begun after the constitution had been implemented.

Boraine described State President P W Botha’s response to the unrest as “black Thursday night”.

He said Botha and his party were “inadequate for the demands of our time”. — Sapa.
PW gave permission for interview

Mercury Reporter

AMERICAN columnist John Lofton told the Mercury in a telephone interview from his Maryland home last night that the conservative American clergyman, the Rev Jerry Falwell, had asked President Botha for permission for the two journalists to see Nelson Mandela.

'He asked your President to let us in. He said it was fine and we were let in. Mandela said it was fine and we talked.'

A delegation of the Moral Majority Movement, led by Mr Falwell, saw President Botha in Pretoria on Monday and the interview took place the same day.

Mr Lofton said Mandela was interviewed in the office of the commanding officer of the prison.

Mandela and the prison officer appeared to be on very cordial terms, Mr Lofton said. 'The brigadier called him Nelson and I think Mandela answered him by his first name, though I can't be sure.'

Mandela had looked tired and worn out. 'He looked like someone who has been inside for 20 years.

'But he was quick to smile. He was cordial and cooperative. When we fell behind in our note taking we held up our hands and he waited for us to catch up.

No restrictions

'We asked him to repeat some of the more inflammatory things he said and he did. He was tolerant but menacing at the same time.'

Mr Lofton said the prison officials had been helpful and no restrictions had been placed on them, except they were not allowed to use their tape recorders.

'We found it very interesting that they told us they would take us to Mandela and introduce us to him, but if he refused the interview we would have to accept that.

'They supported his right to refuse the interview, which is not at all like a police state.

'It wasn't as though they said here are two conservative, anti-communist American journalists and you will speak to them.'

PPF leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert criticised the granting of an interview to foreign journalists when interviews by South African journalists had been refused.

'Mr Mandela should not be a showpiece for foreign journalists. He should be allowed to speak to people in South Africa,' he said.
Mxenge brother detained

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mr Monde Mxenge, a brother-in-law of the murdered civil rights lawyer Mrs Victoria Mxenge, and three other men have been detained by the Ciskei security police.

A police spokesman in Ciskei yesterday confirmed that Mr Mxenge, Mr Yoyo Faba, Mr Thafeni Mayoyo and Mr Mankeli Manana were being held under Section 26 of the security laws.

Dr Fumbata Mxenge said his brother and Mr Faba were picked up by the police on Sunday. Mr Mayoyo was arrested last Thursday and Mr Manana on Friday. He said that the police searched his Rayi home a day after Mrs Mxenge’s burial at Rayi, near King William’s Town, two weeks ago.
NEGOTIATION POLITICS

Now for Mandela’s Rubicon

The chances of a negotiated settlement between government and the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) are now virtually nil. There can be no other conclusion after Nelson Mandela’s rejection of the notion of a national convention leading to peaceful, if radical, change in SA.

Declared Mandela: “The time is past for a national convention — all there is to talk about now is the mechanics of handing over power to the people of South Africa.”

But government too has contributed to the death of conciliatory politics. In his much-vaunted Durban address State President P W Botha remained implacably opposed to letting Mandela out of jail. It would be commit himself to a statement of intent to share power with blacks. The latter is something even moderate leaders like chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi state as a precondition for negotiation.

Botha and some of his colleagues in the Cabinet have also made it clear that they will maintain apartheid but never dismantle it.

Minister Chris Heunis talks of negotiations that must be secret, and Botha says that “at the correct time I and other heads of government together with other leaders of goodwill will also be able to take part more directly in this process.”

Botha’s snub of Bishop Desmond Tutu and his fruitless meeting this week with the leaders of five major church groups will also not help to create an atmosphere of negotiation.

The impact of Mandela’s militant announcement, conveyed by his lawyer only hours before State President Botha’s “Rubicon” speech, was perhaps lost in the intense media focus on P W Botha at Durban. But it restates the real position of the ANC, and reinforces its commitment to stepping up the “armed struggle,” which the organisation recently announced anyway.

Further, Mandela’s reported pronouncements cast doubt upon the efficacy of Botha’s new deal commitment to negotiate with black leaders — although the undertaking only applies to what Botha termed representative black leaders, which means, in the NP lexicon, self-serving tribal elitists.

Almost as though anticipating that Botha’s “watershed” speech would fail to meet expectations, Mandela, according to his lawyer Ismail Ayob, said that Botha “knows very well that he will one day have to dismantle apartheid whether he likes it or not and allow all political prisoners to walk home free men.” Ayob also revealed that speculation about his release had made no difference to Mandela who believed “government is the only one who has to speculate.”

Earlier, Mandela’s wife, Winnie, brought the news that her husband had challenged the State President to meet with him in jail.

Yet, in recent times and before Kabwe, the ANC did not seem to reject negotiation out of hand — provided certain preconditions were met. Essentially these were: an evident intention to dismantle apartheid as the common agreed goal of both parties, and that the negotiations be open and take place with the consent of all people’s organisations inside and outside the country, including political prisoners.

There were indeed divergent views within the ANC leadership on how and whether the mood for negotiations ought to be exploited, and about what public posture should be adopted in this climate. Some ANC figures sounded conciliatory, others not for fear of being compromised. This is not to suggest any ideological split over the question, simply a tactical difference.

Lodge reckons that the ANC’s somewhat more conciliatory line prior to the Kabwe conference may have been intended to appeal to as broad a constituency as possible. It would also have taken into account the position of internal oppositions, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) which does call for a national convention.

Mandela’s stance thus underlines the strategic differences between the UDF and the ANC, and demonstrates the UDF’s ideological autonomy. It would also seem to strengthen the position of the UDF leaders currently on treason trial by highlighting their differences over a national convention and a negotiated political settlement.

This has been welcomed by the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Beyers Naudé, who says such a meeting could do a lot to defuse tension in SA.

According to Wits University’s Tom Lodge, Mandela’s statement is in direct response to the question of power-sharing which has come to the fore in recent months (and which may have involved his release).

And it probably also takes into account the hardline Kabwe decisions. “I suspect Mandela is making it quite clear that the kind of negotiation possibly being considered by the National Party is not acceptable to him,” Lodge says. By his statement, Mandela thus also seems to want to rule out once and for all any possibility of his conditional release. It appears he wants no trade-off and is confirming that his stance is no different from that of the external ANC. Mandela’s statement, argues Lodge, must be seen as “trying to pre-empt the possibility of him being released as the focus of a loyal internal opposition.” However, Mandela’s uncompromising declaration is not in fact a departure from ANC policy.

The ANC has traditionally always talked in terms of the seizure of power, and not of a national convention. The latter has never strictly been its policy and certainly was not when Mandela was imprisoned in 1964, says Lodge, who is the foremost academic expert on the organisation. The hardline stance was confirmed at the ANC’s Kabwe congress (Current Affairs June 28) where the question of negotiation with government was fully debated and rejected by increasingly militant delegates.

Financial Mail August 23 1985
What the Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers get will set the tone for all other negotiations. SA, however, stands little chance of profiting from it all. It is prohibited from pushing extra tonnages of steel into the US because of the voluntary restraint agreement (VRA) signed by government to limit exports to a fixed maximum.

"And we are already filling each category in terms of the VRA," affirms Iscor (Steel) MD Nols Olivier.

But he believes that some US mills may soon experience a shortage of steel slabs and seek imports to cover production in the short term.

"Effectively, they would have to get a go-ahead from the US Commerce Department to exceed their quotas," says Olivier. "But we are not ruling out the possibility." ■

PUBLISHING

Better Times

The absence of the Cape Times from the recently published ABC circulation figures for the first half of the year (Business August 9) has raised more than a few eyebrows in the latest wave of rumours to engulf the press in general and SA Associated Newspapers (Saan) in particular.

With Sean reporting dismal half-year results (see Fox) and a similarly poor six months for the Cape Times, The Citizen claimed that the paper was in a tailspin destined to end in a November crash. The claim was never credible and with the release of the latest Cape Times figures, it is even less so.

MD Walter Judge can now cite a thumping, some would say surprising, turnaround in July which has seen last year's loss of R182 000 for the month at the height of the property advertisement discount war with The Argus, turn into a profit of R56 000. Even more significantly, the July figure was R139 000 up on budget.

August has also been going well and, after that the lead-up to the holiday season could yet turn what originally looked like the first loss year in decades into a profitable one.

Judge, a tenacious adherent to old-style management-for-profits principles, attributes the improved outlook at the Times largely to a 6.9% reduction in costs achieved through non-replacement of staff and severe budgeting all round.

The circulation figures were held back pending the outcome of representations to the ABC for an adjustment stemming from a one-day industrial dispute at the printing plant. The appeal was unsuccessful, but had the totals been released, they would have shown a daily circulation of 65 653, down 4.8% on the previous six months.

This was not too bad when compared with the 5.9% slide of its morning competitor, Nasionale's Die Burger, which had sales of 75 887. The weekend edition was down 4.6% at 79 559; Die Burger declined 4.3% to 85 216. Daily circulation has since dipped below 60 000 under the weight of the heavy cover price increase to 40c last April, but is apparently on the road to recovery.

BLACK BUSINESS

Winners and losers

It's a case of mixed fortunes for black business. While unrest has destroyed many black businesses, the boycotts — real and threatened — have added profitability to others. But black businessmen are still questioning their image in their own community and, in township jargon, their contribution to "the liberation struggle."

Black traders and retailers have borne the brunt of the looting, arson and riots in the townships, says National African Fedated Chambers of Commerce (Nafooc) president Sam Motsuenanye. "Many have not only lost their livelihoods, but also their lives," he adds.

Motsuenanye believes the hostility directed against businessmen is mainly caused by confusion in the minds of the agitators, between success or money and apartheid and the "evils of the system." Nafooc sees this development as extremely serious.

"It is essential to have a firm business base if freedom is to be meaningful to the black community," says Motsuenanye.

To this end it has launched its own inquiry into the reasons for the destruction of black businesses and how the concept of business is perceived by black youth. It also intends to evaluate which economic policies are favoured by the community for the future.

"At the moment we know the young perceive capitalism and apartheid as one and the same. But, by knowing their attitude, we may be able to understand how to avoid conflicting with them, and how to bring them to understand our attitude," says Motsuenanye.

Motsuenanye does not believe the boycotts will be effective in the long-term, nor does he see them as "necessarily beneficial" to the small black businessman.

"The objective of boycotts is to register the feeling of resentment against the system," he says. "But this cannot become a permanent feature, as township businesses are geared towards providing only basic goods." He says the pressure on the small retailer is aggravated by difficulties in obtaining supplies.

"Any vehicle with a logo is fair game in the townships," confirms Grocery Manufacturers Association (GMA) director Jeremy Hele. He says suppliers have had their vans looted and burned, and drivers have been assaulted and killed in some instances. "Not surprisingly, drivers are refusing to go near the trouble spots."

Suppliers have tried to overcome the problems by using unmarked or armed vehicles. But, on the whole, these methods are inadvisable and storekeepers are forced to collect goods themselves. The GMA, however, is trying to evolve a more convenient solution, says Hele. "We are concerned that the existing anger should not be further fuelled by hunger."

Other sectors of the community have gained from the unrest and the boycotts. A crop of informal street traders has emerged.

"Some are genuine entrepreneurs who have taken the initiative to bring supplies to the townships," says Hele. "But the majority are those who have taken part in lootings."

Large chain stores are also expected to have benefited, although such an admission could be risky. Black Chain chief executive Heilbron Majola is not prepared to comment. Nor will any of Metro-managed Afrimart's directors.

However, Trador MD Carlos dos Santos admits that the unrest has been good for his cash-and-carry business, and he believes this is true of all wholesalers on the periphery of major townships.

Indeed, Makro MD Doug Catto has noted little effect from the unrest. But he adds that "there is no doubt that if boycotts on the Reef take off, it will be very good for business."

Small black traders, despite supply problems, may also gain from the boycott. Says Soweto shopkeeper Wela Krai: "Black consumers will be appreciating the need for black traders because they are being forced to shop at black stores. This may avoid a repetition of recent hostilities."

The Urban Foundation (UF) points out that black industrialists have been left largely untouched by the disturbances. "This is probably because the most ostentatious affluence, in the black business sector, is found among traders and small retailers. In addition, many local councillors are also traders," says UF Small Business Development manager (Transvaal) Keith Foster.

"The only effect industrialists have noticed is a decline in business since the unrest because of a shrinking and increasingly impoverished market."

Motsuenanye emphasises that the problems experienced by black businessmen have
'No talks without one-man, one-vote'

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The question of franchise was not negotiable and until whites faced up to the demand for one-man, one-vote there was no prospect of peace, Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, told a Progressive Federal Party public meeting here.

Demanding an immediate end to the state of emergency, the doctor said yesterday: "I am approached on an almost daily basis by distraught mothers whose children have disappeared."

He said schooling in Soweto had broken down completely. Pupils, he told the meeting, were saying: "Unless (Commissioner of Police) Johan Coetzee releases the 11-year-olds, 13-year-olds and 14-year-olds who are languishing in his jails without any damn reason at all we shall not go back to school."

Dr Motlana said it was being suggested that the existence of the tripartite Parliament and visits by certain black church leaders to President P W Botha meant the process of negotiation continued.

"But I would suggest the process of negotiation has not even begun ... and it will only begin the day Nelson Mandela comes out of prison."

The release of Mandela and other prisoners of conscience, the return of exiles and the abolition of key laws, including influx control, were essential, Dr Motlana said — but they were only preludes to negotiation on power sharing.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, made a similar call for the unconditional release of Mandela and other jailed leaders.

She argued that a climate for negotiation could be created by restoring South African citizenship to the eight million citizens of "independent" homelands, abolishing the pass laws, abandoning all plans for forced removals, setting up a single system of education for all children, ending the state of emergency and freeing all detainees.
Mandela's view of violent change is rejected by US

By Neil Lursen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States has rejected Nelson Mandela's view that there is no alternative to taking up arms and no room for peaceful struggle in South Africa.

White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said that the US could not condone Mandela's view, which was expressed in an interview published in the Washington Times yesterday.

"We cannot support violent change," Mr Speakes said. "There is and must remain an alternative to violence. We call for peaceful and rapid change away from apartheid."

A senior State Department official also said the US did not believe violence was the answer to South Africa's problems and that there had to be negotiation toward power-sharing.

He repeated the US call for the South African Government to clarify its reform intentions.

He added that President Botha's speech in Durban last week had raised many questions that could be interpreted in contradictory ways.

Sapa reports that Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's office confirmed yesterday that two Washington Times journalists were given permission to interview Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town. The meeting was this week.

It is understood that President Botha personally cleared the journalists' application.

Their report quoted Mandela as saying he saw "no alternative" to violent revolution in South Africa and that there was "no room for peaceful struggle."

A group of 17 Republican congressmen has chastised the Rev Jerry Falwell for calling Bishop Desmond Tutu a phoniness.

A spokesman said it was "an abomination to cloak apartheid in the robe of Christianity."
Azapo concern at possible violence if miners strike

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has become the latest community organisation this week to express its concern at the possibility of violence in the event of a wage strike by more than 200,000 miners.

At a meeting yesterday with Mr Clive Knobs, the president of the Chamber of Mines, senior Azapo officials, including the president, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, asked the Chamber to be "flexible and sensitive" when dealing with the wage demands made by the National Union of Mineworkers.

Mr Knobs confirmed the hour-long meeting had taken place at the organisation's initiative and that the proposed strike had been discussed.

Earlier this week the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference called on the Chamber to "contribute" to averting the strike as it would cause "widespread violence and immense suffering".

The United Democratic Front said it was forming solidarity committees throughout the country to support the miners should they strike.

The strike has been postponed to September 1 to give workers time to consider a revised offer by the Chamber.
Bid to re-open Moloise trial with new evidence

THE Zambian headquarters of the African National Congress has offered to produce evidence claiming the black poet Malesela Benjamin Moloise was not responsible for killing a Mamelodi security policeman in 1982.

Moloise, a member of the banned ANC, was convicted in the Pretoria Supreme Court in 1983 for having shot and killed Warrant Officer Phillip Selepe, who died in a hail of bullets from a Soviet AK-47 assault rifle in an ambush at his Mamelodi home on November 7, 1982.

On Tuesday he was granted a last minute stay of execution by Judge C F P Eloff following an urgent application in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Moloise's lawyer, Priscilla Jana, confirmed the ANC had offered to produce evidence claiming responsibility for the killing.

"We accepted knowing that if they did, this would save an innocent man from going to the gallows," she said.

Jana is still waiting to hear from the headquarters.

The impending execution of Moloise, who was to be hanged in Pretoria on Tuesday morning, had prompted appeals for clemency from all over the world including the United Nations Security Council.

In South Africa special prayer services were held for the Moloise family.

After news of Moloise's reprieve, had spread like wildfire, several thanksgiving services were held throughout the country.

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is reported to have added his voice to the appeal during a private meeting with South African Ambassador Kurt von Schirnding.

Moloise's attorneys are to present new evidence in a petition to the State President in the hope that the trial will be re-opened.
Pathologist finds Mkonto was shot twice

The report said a .22 bullet was found in his charred chest and a deformed bullet just outside his skull.

The killing of teachers, Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata, Mr Mkonto, a member of the Cradock Residents' Association, and Mr Sikelo Mhlawuli, an Oudtshoorn primary school principal, caused a public outcry both nationally and internationally.

Rewards totalling over R46,000 — including one of R1,000 from the police — have been offered for information leading to the conviction of their killers. The men, all committee members of the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape, disappeared on June 27.

Mr Mkonto's body was found the next day about one kilometre from their burnt-out car.

Mr Mhlawuli's body was discovered by a fisherman near Bluewater Bay, and five days after they went missing the bodies of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata were found in a small clearing.

Post mortem reports on the deaths of all four community leaders were drawn up by a Johannesburg-based independent pathologist, who attended the post mortems on behalf of their families.

According to the reports all four men sustained multiple stab wounds. It was also established that their bodies were burnt after death.

The pathologist found that a bullet had passed through Mr Mkonto's head.

The report also states that a .22 calibre bullet was recovered from the charred chest wall muscles on the left side of Mr Mkonto's body.

He had been stabbed a number of times, twice through the heart.

The report said Mr Mhlawuli had been stabbed several times and his jugular vein had been severed.

The pathologist stated that the relatively small amount of internal bleeding from the multiple stab wounds suggested that they were administered at a stage when, although still alive, Mr Mhlawuli had lost a considerable amount of blood.

His right hand had been amputated from the wrist.

Mr Goniwe it was found, had also been stabbed in the heart.

This wound was the immediate cause of death, according to the report.

Mr Calata had also been stabbed in the heart.

Lawyers acting for the families confirmed that these findings had been made by a private pathologist and that the families had given permission for the information to be released.
Man killed in Aliwal unrest

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON - A man was killed and another injured in unrest in Aliwal North during Wednesday night.

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria said tearsmoke, rubber bullets, shotguns and pistols were fired at a crowd.

Roads in the township were barricaded and private and police vehicles as well as the East Cape Development Board offices were stoned.

One private home and shops were extensively damaged when it was set alight, the spokesman said.

In another incident, a private home was stoned and the owners' 16-year-old daughter abducted by the attackers.

Damage estimated at more than R100,000 was reported to have been caused when the Methodist Church school was destroyed by fire at Lesseyton, near Queenstown.

The superintendent of the Lesseyton and Queenstown circuit of the church, the Reverend S.-N. Langusa, said yesterday afternoon he had set the school on fire about 6pm on Tuesday.

He said people who discovered the fire had been unable to extinguish the fierce flames.

Mr. Langusa said four classrooms, a hall, staff room, books, desks and chairs were destroyed.

Mr. Langusa said the school had been the first Methodist theological seminary where ministers were trained before a seminary was established at Healdtown, near Port Beaufort.

Sapa reports that four petrol bombs were hurled at a four-roomed house in KwaMashu, near Durban destroying all the furniture in a bedroom. Mrs. Enid Boleni said her family was asleep when the house was attacked.

She and other members of the family tried to put the fire out, while a visiting friend from Transkei fired in the air to scare off the people who were still standing outside the house.

In Zakele, near Graaff Reinet, a black man and two coloured men were arrested for possession of petrol bombs.

Three men were arrested at Riverview in the Boland and two men were arrested in Leslie in the Eastern Transvaal.
Boesak: expression of protest planned

CAPE TOWN — A “major expression” of black demands, involving the mobilisation of thousands of Peninsula students and pupils, which would turn South Africa “on its head” was planned to take place within the next few days.

This was said by Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, when he addressed about 3,000 pupils from schools throughout the Peninsula in Rylands yesterday.

“We will do something that will turn this country on its head. I’m not talking about the next few months or weeks but the next few days,” Dr Boesak said.

Police monitored the meeting but took no action.

Dr Boesak has refused to reveal what form the “expression” will take.
Mxenge brother detained

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — A Ciskei Government clerk, Mr Monde Mxenge, and three other men have been detained by the Ciskei Security Police.

- Mr Mxenge is a brother-in-law of the murdered civil rights lawyer, Mrs Victoria Mxenge. DISPATCH

The detention of Mr Mxenge, 27, Mr Yoyo Faba, 27, Mr Thafeni Mayoyo and Mr Mambeli Manana was confirmed yesterday by the Ciskei police liaison officer, Lieutenant Macuso Ngwendi.

He said they were being held under Section 26 of the security laws. [11A]

Dr Pumla Mxenge said his younger brother and Mr Faba were picked up by the police on Sunday. Mr Mayoyo was arrested last Thursday and Mr Manana on Friday. 13:08:55

Dr Mxenge said the day after Mrs Mxenge's burial at Rayi near King William's Town two weeks ago, the Ciskei Police came to his Rayi home and conducted a search. He claimed the police had also harassed his father, Mr Johnson Mxenge, and had kicked chairs.

The head of the Ciskei Security Police, Brigadier T. Takane, said yesterday Dr Mxenge should have laid a charge against the police.
Man killed in Shalo unrest

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A 20-year-old man was shot dead and a rent office was petrol-bombed in unrest at Shalo and Sada villages near Whittlesea.

Lieutenant Mavuso Ngwendo, the Ciskei Police liaison officer, said a group of youths stoned the home of Mr. Derrick du Preez, a teacher, in Shalo village at 8 pm on Wednesday. Twelve windows were broken.

When the police arrived, the group began to stone the police vehicles. The police retaliated by shooting at the group and a 20-year-old man was killed.

Lieut Ngwendo said another youth with a bullet wound was arrested and was expected to appear in court soon on a charge of public violence.

At Sada village, a rent office was petrol-bombed at 10 pm on Wednesday.

The bomb damaged a window but failed to explode, Lieut Ngwendo said. No one was injured.

In Mdantsane, police dispersed a crowd singing freedom songs at the Highway bus terminal on Wednesday afternoon.

No arrests were made and no injuries were reported, Lieut Ngwendo said.

Saudi prince's cocaine charge

LONDON — A Saudi prince was charged with a second cocaine offence when he appeared in court here yesterday.

Prince Manshour Ben-Saud Abdul Aziz, 31, a nephew of Saudi ruler King Fahd, was charged with conspiracy to import cocaine. — Sapa-AP

Business survey
No talks till Mandela is freed — Buthelezi

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwazulu, wants Nelson Mandela released despite the ANC leader's view that peaceful change is no longer possible in South Africa.

The release of Mandela is a new condition which Chief Buthelezi is stipulating before he will enter negotiations with the Government.

He was speaking at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday on his return from a visit to Israel.

"It's ridiculous for the Government to fear a man like Mandela. Unless he leaves the country, what can be done? You need tools to fight a strong army, and Mandela doesn't have those tools."

Chief Buthelezi said Mandela was more dangerous as a prisoner than as a free man.

"I don't understand this Government."

Wants former Prime Minister John Vorster instrumental in the release of Mr Robert Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo?

"As long as Mr Mandela is in prison, the feet of other black leaders are tied. If we go in these circumstances to the conference table, people will say: 'How can you talk to the Government while real leaders are still in jail?'"

Chief Buthelezi said he would take part in a national convention even if Mandela refused to. "I have a mandate from my people to try to find peaceful solutions."

Referring to the latest unrest, Associated Press reported Chief Buthelezi as saying: "There are many people in the police and defence force whose fingers are itching to shoot the kaffirs. I will not have my people mowed down."
Suzman: Mandela report inaccurate

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on law and order and justice, said yesterday that she doubted that the Washington Times had accurately reported what Nelson Mandela had told it.

The Washington Times reported that the jailed African National Congress leader had rejected negotiation and the concept of a national convention to work out a constitutional future for all South Africans.

Mrs Suzman said it was "unbelievable" that journalists from a right-wing publication such as the Washington Times were allowed access to Nelson Mandela while South African journalists were not.

“I question whether what the Times said was accurately reported and Mr Mandela was no doubt referring to negotiation with a Government as pig-headed as the National Party,” Mrs Suzman said.

“It may well be that if a convention was to be called by people prepared to negotiate on an entirely different basis from Government policy his attitude may be different,” she added.

Mrs Suzman added that she had grave doubts about the credibility of the Washington Times.

“I think the South African public should be made aware of the fact that the Washington Times is regarded as a very right-wing newspaper in the United States. It is heavily subsidised, if not totally owned, by the Unification Church headed by the Rev Sun Yung Moon. His cult group is regarded with considerable suspicion by the US government,” Mrs Suzman said.
UDF leaders held in simultaneous raids

Own Correspondent

Security Police have increased the pressure on the United Democratic Front, its affiliates and sympathetic groups by holding leaders in simultaneous raids in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

According to information received from lawyers and employers, as many as 21 community leaders may have been held.

Police have so far only confirmed that eight of these, all in Durban, are being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The status of the remaining 15 is not yet known as police had not commented at the time of going to press.

The UDF has already been severely affected by detentions under the emergency measures in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee estimates more than 80 percent of the 2000 odd emergency detainees are UDF supporters.

Yesterday the Western Cape region was hardest hit, with 11 local leaders taken into custody, according to a legal representative. Among them are the UDF's regional vice-president, Mr. Christmas Tinto, treasurer Mr. Mustafa Adams, leading advocate Mr. Pollock Adams and activists.

Keep our township clean, this display billboard urges Soweto residents. The police and members of the SADF invaded Soweto and Diepkloof this week in an effort to clean it up. About 800 pupils were picked up from streets and their homes and taken to the Moroka Police Station yesterday and on Thursday. Members of the army (above) are seen waiting outside the police station.
Security Police have increased the pressure on the United Democratic Front, its affiliates and sympathetic groups by holding leaders in simultaneous raids in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

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Natal

In Natal, the eight persons reportedly held in terms of the Internal Security Act include Natal Indian Congress acting president Dr. Farook Meer and members Mr. Billy Nair and Mr. Yunus Mohamed. Mr. Nair and Mr. Mohamed are also members of the UDF national executive committee. A police spokesman confirmed their detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

In Johannesburg one of two persons reported held was a social worker Miss Amanda Kwadi, an organiser for the Federation of Transvaal Women and regional executive member of the UDF. Police have not yet confirmed her detention.

There are unconfirmed reports that unionist Mr. John Mohapi has also been held.

Other persons detained in Durban, according to Sapa, the National Organization of Women leader Ms. Nozawo Mabola, trade union organiser Mr. Temba Nezukile, Mr. Russell Mapanga, Mr. Maka Manusa and Mr. Patrick Nezukile.

The remaining persons reportedly held in Cape Town are: Mrs. Mildred Lutum, past president of the United Women’s Organization, Mr. Willy Simmers, secretary of the Cape Alliance Action Committee, Mr. Salwa Hadji, editor of the community newspaper Grassroots; Mary Poone, a Grassroots worker; Ms. Shelley Gams of the Clothing Workers Union, Mr. Russell McGregor SIBC secretary at the UWC, and Mr. Graham Black, former student activist now associated with the UDF.

Keep our township clean, this display billboard urges Soweto residents. The police and military in Soweto and Diepkloof this week in an effort to clean it up. About 800 pupils were picked up and taken to the Moroka Police Station yesterday and on Thursday. Members of the army at the police station.
Slabbert wants to see Mandela

Political Staff

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday he found it "quite remarkable" that foreign journalists were given permission to interview Mr Nelson Mandela while South Africans with a vital interest in the future of the country battled to get to see him.

He was reacting to the fact that the Washington Times yesterday published an interview with Mr Mandela after two of its columnists saw him in Pollsmoor prison.

Asking permission

Dr Slabbert has written to President P W Botha asking for permission to see Mr Mandela.

"I certainly will reserve judgment on what Mr Mandela is supposed to have said or not until I have had the opportunity to talk to him. "I have formally asked the Government to provide me with such an opportunity if Mr Mandela is prepared to see me."

"Quite apart from what the official position of the African National Congress is on a national convention, I want to make it quite clear that the PFP and I reject violence to achieve political ends by either the State or those who oppose it."

"We will continue to promote the politics of negotiation to the best of our ability and work for a national convention of all the representative leaders in South Africa," Dr Slabbert said.

In the Washington Times interview Mr Mandela is reported to have said he saw no alternative to violent revolution in South Africa. The Pretoria Government, he said, was "crawling on crutches out of the Middle Ages".

He refused to renounce violence and predicted that, if released, he would probably be back in custody in a matter of hours.

It appeared that the lot of black South Africans had not improved during the more than two decades he had spent behind bars.

Mr Mandela, who was sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government, said he considered himself a political prisoner.
Buthelezi wants Mandela freed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and head of Inkatha, yesterday ruled out violence as a means of bringing about change in South Africa, saying he was not prepared to have his people “moved down” by the Defence Force and SA Police.

But the chief minister, speaking on his return from a 10-day tour of Israel, urged the government to release Mr Nelson Mandela in spite of the jailed leader’s reported rejection of peaceful change.

Chief Buthelezi told a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport that it was a mistake to talk about violence, as if it was still to come after peaceful attempts at change had failed.

He said apartheid institutionalized violence, people were dying on the border, bombs were going off and the external mission of the African National Congress had waged armed struggle for 25 years.

“Neither violence nor non-violence have succeeded so far in bringing about change.”

Asked about Mr Mandela and his reported statement from jail that he was opposed to a national convention and that only violence would bring about change in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said he, nevertheless, felt Mr Mandela should be freed.

“It would be wrong if he was kept in prison just because he talks to the media like that,” he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the Zimbabwean leaders Mr Joshua Nkomo and Mr Robert Mugabe, who were committed to violence, ultimately landed up at the conference table.

He said the ANC had to be included in a national convention, and that there was more likelihood of violence escalating if Mr Mandela was in jail.
When he read the speech after returning from a trip abroad, he was disappointed to note that, with the exception of the homeland policy, none of the vital issues he had been briefed on were dealt with, Mr Mabuza said.

"Whatever reasons the government may advance to justify the state of emergency, its declaration is doing political and economic harm to South Africa, let alone deepening the wounds among the black people.

"The grievances which have given rise to the current unrest cannot and will not be resolved by the security forces, but by speaking to the leaders of the affected communities."

"This is the view of the majority of blacks that apartheid, and not the so-called communist agitators, is responsible for the current unrest."

It was "regrettable" that the homelands and their acceptance of independence were still regarded by the government as representing a "material part" of the political solution which South Africa so desperately needed.

"It is inconceivable that the majority of the black people who find themselves in the homelands will be satisfied to exercise their political rights and have their economic share in only 13 percent of the land of their birth."

**Ethnicity**

"The ethnic balkanization of our country goes against the very grains of democracy. No black leader who is worth his salt will negotiate for separate political dispensations based on ethnic as well as on rural and urban blacks."

What was needed was a negotiated and equitable constitutional dispensation which would accommodate all the black people at the highest level and regardless of their ethnic origin or where they resided.

"We plead with the South African Government to negotiate with the broadest possible spectrum of black leaders," he added.
POLICE last night swooped on United Democratic Front leaders, detaining at least 13 in Cape Town and eight in Durban.

A police spokesman in Pretoria last night confirmed the names of ten people arrested in the Western Cape.

**Reported detained**

Among those reported detained and confirmed by the police are:
- The Rev Syd Luckett, director of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility.
- Mr Russell McGregor, secretary of the University of the Western Cape Student Representative Council.
- Mr Christmas Tinto, a UDF vice-president, Western Cape.
- Mr Saleem Badat, organizer for Grassroots publications.
- Mr Yussuf Adams, UDF treasurer, Western Cape.
- Advocate Mr Nuhu Omar.
- Ms Shirley Gunn, an organizer for the Clothing Workers Union.
- Mr Willie Simmers, chairman of Rocklands Civic Association.
- Ms Mildred Lesira of the United Women's Organization.
- Mr Victor Steyn, a law student, UCT representative on the Western Cape Schools Action Committee and executive member of Students of Young Azania.

The following people are reported to have been detained but this could not be confirmed last night:
- Mr Graham Bloch, UDF executive member.
- Mr Zoli Malindi, UDF president, Western Cape.
- Mr May Prins, full-time worker for Grassroots.

**Internal Security Act**

Mrs Di Bishop, MEC for Gardens, said last night she had been informed that security police had raided the Worcester Advice Office and detained Mr Able Dikhilli, chairman of the Worcester Civic Association, and Mr Lizo Kapa, a committee member of the association.

Mr Allan Boesak, who was to have addressed a meeting of the Strand Action Committee at the Strand Community Hall at 8pm yesterday, cancelled his appearance some time before the meeting was due to start.

His attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, said last night that neither Dr Boesak nor his family could be contacted at home. There were no reports, however, that Dr Boesak had been detained.

In Durban, at least eight top UDF members were detained.

The names confirmed were: Natal UDF secretary Mr Yunus Mahomed; UDF and Natal Indian Congress executive members Dr Farouq Meer and Mr Billy Nair; Natal Organization of Women chairman Ms Nosizwe Mabhala; and National Federation of Workers organizer Mr Themba Khumalo.

According to Sapa, UDF activists Mr Russel Mpangana, Mr Mike Mpanga and Mr Patric Nkumalo were also detained in Durban yesterday.

Meanwhile, as unrest continued across the country, police shot dead six blacks and wounded 20 more in rioting yesterday and nearly 700 schoolchildren were arrested in Soweto for boycotting classes, officials said.

Police headquarters said the blacks were killed and wounded at Akiwol North in the northern Cape when riot patrols used shotguns and rubber bullets against stone-throwing crowds in a second day of turmoil there.

In Soweto, Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu negotiated with police for the release of pupils picked up on Thursday and yesterday for violating state-of-emergency rules.

**Worried parents**

After meeting the Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier Jan Coetzee, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize-winner used a bullhorn to announce to hundreds of worried parents gathered outside Moroka police station: "All those under 13 will be released immediately without being charged. The police are taking the particulars of those over 13 and they will be released to their parents."

Brigadier Coetzee later said 328 children were detained on Thursday and about 350 more yesterday. He said he regretted the arrest of children under 10 and had issued orders not to let it happen again.

Brigadier Coetzee was quoted as saying earlier: "We are cracking down. We are going to bring the schools situation in Soweto back to normal."

The government yesterday announced an easing of a curfew in Soweto. The curfew now applies from 11pm to 6am instead of 10pm to 4am. Residents had complained it was difficult to get to and from work within the curfew hours. Six-hour curfews remain in effect in 15 townships in the Eastern Cape. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa-AP
JOHANNESBURG 24/9/85

There were many people in the police and defence forces whose fingers are itching to shoot the "kaffirs", the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, said yesterday.

He told reporters he could not see how unarmed blacks could take on South Africa militarily and he could not expect them to give up their lives.

"I have never criticised my brothers (in the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress) for taking up violence," Chief Buthelezi said at a Press conference on his return from a 12-day visit to Israel.

He said he had been asked whether, because of President Botha's "disappointing" speech in Durban last week, violence should not be used to liberate the country.

He thought it was wrong to ask this, "as if people haven't been using violence all the time ."

"Purely on a basis of logistics, I can't see how to take on South Africa militarily."

Neither violence nor non-violence had yet succeeded in liberating South Africa, although he believed in non-violence. "Mandela is not a legend. He is a brother who was in the ANC with me. He's more dangerous in jail. There is more danger of violence escalating because people will say their leader is incarcerated."

Asked about Mandela's rejection of a national convention, the Chief Minister said that eventually Mandela would have to end up at the conference table.

Oliver Tambo, Mandela and other organisations would have to be present at a national convention.

"However, Chief Buthelezi said, if Mandela were released and the Government issued a clear statement of intent he would be willing to negotiate with the Government — even if Mandela refused to.

"I'm not trying to belittle other organisations — the question is: What kind of political clout do I have? I have a mandate I practice democratic leadership."

Asked for his views on sanctions, Chief Buthelezi said that while they had forced the Government to introduce many reforms, he could not support them because of his concern for his people's suffering. — (Sapa)
The peacemakers

How they worked to get a solution in Port Alfred

When the boy took back the alcohol to the store it was 13°C cold, cries went up from the children's small faces. It couldn't be because of the cold, they said; it was because of the alcohol. We could smell the alcohol in our hair.

"I mite be ions blac," one busi-ness man asked.

"O bu-nessman," the children replied. They were right. The alcohol was making them sick.

The list was presented at a town hall meeting — in itself newsworthy. The white group had to go to the local magistrate to try to meet black leaders.

The whites took the list, went out of the hall for half-an-hour, studied it, and came back with their reply. They had separated the demands into three groups: moral and socio-economic issues, government-administrative issues, and political issues.

On the moral and socio-economic issues such as the beer hall, white attitudes, separate shop entrances, job creation — the whites pledged immediate support and action.

On the administrative issues such as the new school, the rent arrears, tax arrears, they said they would not make any representations and set up meetings with the appropriate government agencies.

On the political issues police activities, detentions, amnesty, non-racial democracy, they asked for careful wording so that they wouldn't reject what the black community was asking for but neither would they speak on the black community's behalf.

They also pledged to work with the black community for a better joint community life, a pledge that the boy made.
How they worked to get a solution in Port Alfred

The peacemakers have been trying to find a political future for blacks. In Port Alfred, the debate is quite heated and based on the past history of the town.

How did it begin? And why here?

It began at the beginning of June when the government announced a package of measures aimed at resolving the political crisis in the country. This was in response to the black grievances and demands for political rights. The response to the black leaders was a boycott, a protest action against the government and its policies.

The reasons for the boycott were many: discontent with black education, social security and political rights, black attitudinal changes and the growing sense of political alienation. The arithmetic of a boycott of white business in Port Alfred is simple: 13,000 black employees for 4,000 white employees. As Mr De Bruin said, "We really don't see what the big deal is about." The boycotters called for a meeting with the local authorities.

The list was presented at a town hall meeting - itself a newsworthy event. The white group had agreed to the boycott, and asked Mr De Bruin what they should do next.

"I said, 'Look, you've got to eat humble pie. You have to make up your minds about what you want to do.'" Mr De Bruin said. He then went on to explain the ramifications of the boycott.

On the moral and socio-economic issues, such as the housing, the boycotters agreed to meet the local authorities.

The result is that the community has been able to negotiate and come to a solution. There has been an end to the racial divide. The two groups have met and agreed to work together for a better future.
7 die in Aliwal violence

Dispatch Reporters

EAST LONDON — Six people were killed and 20 injured in unrest in Aliwal North during Thursday night.

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria said shotguns, rubber bullets and tear smoke were used to disperse a stone-throwing crowd in the black township there late on Thursday.

A man was also killed on Wednesday night.

Yesterday afternoon police cordoned off Dukathole township.

A riot police major at the entrance to the township said police escorted foreign and SABC television crews into the township yesterday, but that Dukathole would be closed off from 4 pm for an operation that “might last till after midnight.”

A nursing sister, Miss Nisebung Ramashala, said her younger brother, Leonard, 17, was one of the victims of Thursday night’s shooting.

“I just cannot understand, and I am very angry. He was a quiet, harmless boy, who was returning from our family business when he was shot dead,” she said.

According to relatives, the other dead are: Nomonde Mtshheketha, 22, Jim Tshikila, 16, Goodwin Bhilliso, 21, Charles Mototji, 26, and Zacharias Ralpesho, 20.

In an earlier incident on Thursday, four people were injured, treated and detained.

The police spokesman said birdshot and tear smoke were used to disperse crowds throwing stones, petrol bombing and setting fire to buildings.

There was a strong police and military presence in the township yesterday and several police armoured vehicles were seen in Aliwal North.

Residents report that no black people came to town on Thursday.

Miss Nisebung Ramashala, a nurse, explains how her brother, Leonard, 17, was shot.
No unrest deaths reported

PRETORIA — No unrest deaths were reported by the police for the period from 6pm yesterday to noon today. 

However, several incidents of arson and stonings were reported. These include:

- Slight damage to a school in KwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth, by "arsonists". One man was arrested.
- In New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, a private house was set alight resulting in slight damage.
- A school was set alight in Cathcart and extensively damaged. The house of a councillor was extensively damaged when set alight.
- In Aliwal North, a petrol bomb was thrown at a shop, causing fairly extensive damage.

A youth, two males and a female were slightly wounded when police fired birdshot in stoning incidents. — Sapa
THE number of anti-apartheid activists detained in the Western Cape and Boland by the Security Police grew today with police confirmation of seven more arrests. This brings the number of key United Democratic Front members, trade unionists and community workers detained in simultaneous countrywide swoops to 27 – 19 in Cape Town and Worcester, six in Natal and two in Johannesburg.

Strong condemnation of the arrests has come from civil rights organizations, academics, politicians and Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF and leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Dr Boesak said today he had "no doubt" the wave of arrests had to do with his announcement yesterday of plans for a march on Pollsmoor Prison on Wednesday to demand the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"The crackdown is yet another sign that the Government is incapable of handling peaceful protest," he said, warning that the level of frustration, anger and indignation would rise.

"Moderates"

Civil Rights League vice-chairman Mr Brian Bishop said: "The Government invariably arrests moderate leaders at times like this, removing them from the townships where their influence is so necessary."

A statement by the Detainee Action Committee said: "Detentions and arrests will not solve the crisis facing our country," and repeated its call for the immediate release of all detainees and political prisoners.

Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor of UCT, said today he noted with deep concern the detention of two post-graduate and an undergraduate student from UCT.

"Detention without trial is a denial of basic human rights and the rule of law. The denial of these rights to anyone affects all South Africans," he said.

The UDF has already been severely affected by detentions under the emergency measures in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee estimates that more than 80 percent of the 2 000-odd emergency detainees are UDF supporters.

"Sledgehammer"

Mr Herbert Hirsch, leader of the official opposition in the Cape Provincial Council, condemned the "sledgehammer" action and called on the Government to immediately release those detained.

"History will undoubtedly judge that the leaders and supporters of the National Party are primarily responsible for the destruction of life, limb and property resulting from political action because the majority of South Africans have no meaningful share in the decision-making processes.

"And others who are silent in the light of all the evidence will be judged to have shared in this responsibility, because they did not stand up to be counted," he said.
Nunu silenced for ever

YET another anti-Government activist has fallen victim to unknown assassins.

After inspiring hundreds of political meetings with his fantastic voice and personality, Nunu Kheswa will never be heard again.

He was stabbed to death near his home in Clermont only an hour after leaving with a companion.

Kheswa's shaken younger sister told CITY PRESS he was stabbed in the neck.

By the time his family arrived he was already dead.

Kheswa, 22, was a major inspiration to Natal UDF members.

He always threw himself totally into singing, leading the audience with his enthusiasm and rich voice.

It was his leadership at the UDF launch in Cape Town two years ago that earned the Natal delegation the honour of being the best singers.

His photograph — taken while leading the singing at the UDF launch — apparently appeared in the South African Communist Party publication The African Communist.

And, during the tri-cameral elections last year, some candidates used this to discredit the UDF and its affiliates.

Kheswa was instrumental in the foundation of the Natal Cosas region in 1981 and a number of youth organisations in Clermont.

He will be buried at Clermont's Christiansenbberg cemetery after a mass funeral service at Christiansenbberg Stadium on Saturday at 10am.

More die in Duncan Village...

DUNCAN Village's death toll has risen to 23, according to a police report.

Border police spokesman Lt Col van der Vyver said two of the corpses in Cambridge Police Mortuary — one of a coloured youth and the other of an African youth — have not yet been identified.

UDF's Border branch is trying to identify a man whose body was found on Barhe Street last week with his brains shot out.

Meanwhile, 16 people appeared in the East London Magistrate's Court on public violence and arson charges this week.

Stop hassling priests'

EASTERN Cape Judge President J Cloete this week granted an interim order restraining police from harassing, intimidating or interfering with two Catholic priests operating an aid centre for Duncan Village's unrest victims.

Fr A Cornelius and Fr John Jordan run the clinic at the St Francis Xavier's Catholic Church Hall.

The order calls on the police to show cause why they should not be restrained from unlawfully threatening the priests with detention, and why they should not be ordered to pay the cost of the application.
THAT old “send Mandela to Transkei” argument is back again.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the Transkei government last week that the banned African National Congress leader may be released “unconditionally” – except for one condition!

And that condition? That he take up residence in Transkei – an option he rejected more than a year ago.

Transkei government sources told City Press Mr Botha had visited Transkei last week before President P W Botha’s “major” speech in Durban.

They said it became obvious from their conversation that South Africa still regarded Mandela as a threat.

Even when released to Transkei, South Africa would dictate certain conditions to Matanzima’s government regarding Mandela, the sources said.

There is a strong feeling within the territory that Mandela will be released in the same fashion as Swapo’s Toivo Ja Toivo. The minute the jail doors are opened, the Transkei authorities will be there to “collect” him.

City Press also learned that Mr Botha plans to hold individual meetings with all homeland leaders and black mayors in the near future to “talk about the future of South Africa”.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister George Matanzima said his territory would not accept a dispensation which did not “attempt to accommodate the aspirations of the black majority”.

By STAN MZIMBA
MAMIKE Moloise is relieved her condemned son has been given an 11th hour reprieve.

"21 days is too short a time for me to save him," she said. "I am relieved but the struggle ahead to try and save his life is enormous," she said.

Her son Benjamin Moloise, 30, was in good spirits when she visited him in Pretoria Central Prison, she said. At 7pm on Tuesday, 12 hours before he was to be hanged, he was granted a stay of execution pending the outcome of a petition to the State President.

Mr Moloise's lawyer, Priscilla Jana, was given 21 days to file the petition. Mr Moloise was sentenced to death in June 1983 for the murder of Mamelodi security cop Philipus Selepe.

About 200 of Mr Moloise's supporters were praying for his reprieve and for justice in South Africa when the news of his reprieve was announced.

Veteran women's activist Greta Ncapayi said the reprieve was "a miracle" — but the three weeks allowed was very short.

Mrs Moloise will visit her son every day until her ordeal ends.
Gasa lives in fear of the assassin

First they bombed his house, and now they're threatening to kill him.

That's the story of David Sponono Gasa, chairman of the Umlazi Residents' Association — a UDF affiliate — whose Umlazi house was petrol-bombed shortly after Victoria Mxenge's funeral.

He told City Press he had received death threats from unidentified callers throughout this week.

Mr Gasa, 54, said he reported the bomb and death threats to the police, who in turn sent 30 of their men to search his house.

He said he received threats after arranging taxis to convey people to the Mxenge funeral.

When the mourners were ready to leave, a busload of armed, chanting impi marched on Mxenge's house.

He said he locked the gates and ordered the women to lock themselves inside the house.

"Since then I have been living in fear for my life," he said, adding that he'd recruited men to guard his and Mrs Mxenge's house — "in case the impi come back."
FORMER Durban Attorney Bulelani Ngcuka - just released from Pollsmoor prison - came home to be caught in a clash of emotions instead of a celebration.

Ngcuka, who served three years for refusing to testify against a friend charged with treason, suffered a sense of loss on hearing of the brutal killing of Victoria Mxenge's.

Mrs Mxenge was at Ngcuka's side when the law society took action to have him struck off as a practising attorney for his "disloyalty to the State". And they won that battle.

Ngcuka was the first arrested clerk under Victoria's slain husband Griffiths.

Mrs Mxenge was killed at her home only 24 hours before Ngcuka was released from prison.

Mr Ngcuka told City Press how earlier last week Mrs Mxenge visited him at Durban's Point Prison where he was awaiting release - and told him she was planning a welcome home party for him.

But Mr Ngcuka came out to bury Mrs Mxenge instead.
WINNIE Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has rejected R30 000 from the US Human Rights Fund to rebuild her petrol-bombed home and clinic in Brandfort.

Her lawyers have written to the fund to say she will not accept the offer.

The lawyers say in their letter that the Mandela family is opposed to the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" with the SA Government.

Because the fund is administered by the Reagan Administration, the family would be reluctant to accept the money, according to the lawyers' letter.

President Ronald Reagan's statements on the March 21 killings at Langa and the state of emergency have also angered the family.
Sick and elderly Mpetha starts prison sentence

PRETORIA — The elderly and sickly Cape Town community leader, Mr Oscar Mpetha, who was convicted on terrorism charges and sentenced to five years' imprisonment two years ago, entered prison yesterday morning to serve the compulsory minimum sentence under medical care.

His appeal against the sentence was rejected in Bloemfontein recently and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in Pretoria at the weekend he had decided not to recommend a remission of the entire sentence due to the seriousness of the 75-year-old man's crime.

Mr Coetsee hinted at the possibility of early parole on compassionate and health grounds, adding that "the renunciation of propagation of violence may be a factor."

Both the Cape Town Supreme Court, where Mpetha was convicted after a lengthy trial which started in March 1981, and the Bloemfontein Appeal Court declared that, if allowed, they would suspend Mpetha's sentence in the light of his personal and health conditions.

Mpetha, who later became a patron of the United Democratic Front when it was founded, and 17 others, mostly youths, were charged with murder and terrorism following riots in August 1980 near Cape Town's Crossroads squatter camp, in which two men were burned to death.

In his judgment, trial court judge Mr Justice Williamson said the facts "permit no other reasonable inference other than that Mpetha intended to endanger the maintenance of law and order," and that he "intended to add fuel to the fire" during the day of rioting and violence.

After his conviction of participation in terrorist activities and sentence of the minimum five years, Mpetha was released on bail of R1, pending an appeal against the sentence but not the conviction.

This was rejected recently by the Appeal Court, but Mpetha, who is a medically certified diabetic and has a physical disability, did not go to prison as he was sick in hospital.

A spokesman for the Prisons Service confirmed in Pretoria that Mpetha entered prison yesterday morning. The prison is understood to be Pollsmoor, near Cape Town, but the spokesman declined to confirm this, saying it was not policy to give details of the whereabouts of prisoners.

Mr Coetsee said consideration had been given to a possible recommendation regarding the remission of the entire sentence, "in the light of the remarks by both courts and representations made in the course of Parliamentary debate."

"I have, however, decided not to make such a recommendation because the crime of which he was found guilty is a serious one and also because of his involvement in the present unrest situation while he was on bail."

"On admission to the prison, as is the case with all prisoners, he will be medically examined and as is the normal practice be placed under medical care," Mr Coetsee said. — Sapa
Border UDF man detained

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Border president of the United Democratic Front and a member of the UDF's national executive, Mr Steve Tshwete, has been detained under security legislation.

The South African Police directorate of public relations confirmed yesterday that Mr Tshwete had been detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Tshwete's son, Mr Lindela Tshwete, said his father had been detained by security police on Friday night from the family's home at Peelton, near King William's Town.

Mr Tshwete's detention coincided with the detentions of 17 anti-apartheid activists throughout the country on Friday, including national executive members of the UDF.
Boesak trial: Five roads to be closed

Staff Reporter

Five Wynberg roads will be closed to all traffic today until noon because of possible demonstrations near the Wynberg Magistrate's Court, according to a note which Wynberg Junior School pupils brought to their parents on Friday.

Dr Allan Boesak and 18 others are due to appear in court to face charges arising from their alleged defiance of a police order not to enter Guguletu on the day of the funeral of unrest victim Mr Sethembele Mathiso on Saturday two weeks ago.

When they first appeared in court late that Saturday, about 500 people were batoned charged by police outside the court. Five people were arrested and are also due to face charges today.

They are community leader Mr Johnny Isel, Clothing Workers' Union secretary Ms Zubeida Jaffer, former Western Cape UDF executive member Ms Cheryl Caro-

lus, Mr Hynd Solomon and Mr Moegamat Jeffie.

The notice which the children were told to bring to their parents reads: "Due to events taking place at the Wynberg Magistrate's Court this Monday, August 26, the streets marked 'X' on the map will be closed to all traffic."

The streets marked were Church Street and Aliwal, Ebenezer, Electric and Court roads. They are to be closed until "at least noon, in view of the trial scheduled for 9am."

Parents were requested to take their children to school by alternative routes. School gates on Aliwal Road will be kept closed once school has started, the note said.

Parents were told they were at liberty to "take any precautions they deem necessary."

One parent reported that children had been drilled in what to do in a riot late last week.
Zulu ‘warriors’ disrupt funeral

JOHANNESBURG — A herd of about 300 Zulus carrying spears, shields, clubs and pangas chased away and beat some of the 8,000 black mourners at a funeral of eight unrest victims in Umzini on Saturday, witnesses said.

They said the Zulus chanted “Usuthu! Usuthu”, a traditional battle cry, as they marched toward the mourners, who were singing freedom songs at the entrance to the Umzini Cemetery.

The mourners dashed for their buses and cars, and banners supporting the United Democratic Front were hastily folded and hidden, said the witnesses.

Most of the mourners escaped, but about 20 were stranded by the quickly-departing buses, and attackers chased them down a hill and beat men and women alike. One witness, a reporter for a Durban newspaper, said he saw seven or eight mourners with serious cuts and club wounds. Police were not in evidence, he said.

Kicked away memorial stones

Impi members kicked away the memorial stones that an hour earlier had been laid on the graves, the witnesses said.

As they marched toward the mourners, impi members chanted: “Only (KwaZulu leader Gatsha) Buthelezi can lead the people.”

In a three-hour address at the weekend, Chief Buthelezi told an Inkatha youth meeting in Ulundi: “Those jaild ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela must be freed unconditionally. But he stressed that ANC violence had not significantly helped the fate of blacks under apartheid.” — Sapo-AP
EAST LONDON — A woman was seriously injured in unrest in the Burgersdorp black residential area, Son-built, during Sunday night.

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria said yesterday that a crowd threw stones at a policeman who dispersed his attackers with pistol fire.

The tyres of a sewerage removal truck were slit in Barkly East.

In KwaMashu near Durban, the home of a clergyman, the Rev. Wesley Mabza, was petrol-bombed early yesterday and a man who was looking after the house was taken to hospital after being hit on the head with a brick, according to friends of the clergyman.

The report said isolated incidents had occurred, “despite a quantitative and qualitative decline in the unrest situation.”

A man was shot dead in New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, after he attacked a policeman. A gang of white estos set fire to the home of a member of the SAP in the township, attacked members of the administration board, and set fire to a beerhall.

A mob burnt down the homes of the Umlazi Residents’ Association chairman, Mr. David Gasa, on Saturday.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the Umlazi fires and said four men had been arrested in connection with the attack on Mr Gasa’s home.

The KwaMashu home of Mrs Nora Ndlovu, whose son is a UDF member, was burnt down after being petrol-bombed on Saturday.

She said she had been awake as neighbours had warned her that men were coming to burn the house.

“I saw a car with two men in. They threw a petrol bomb and we were not able to save anything,” Mrs Ndlovu said her son had disappeared.

Mr Winnington Sabelo, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, said he and other key members of Inkatha had been informed that certain organisations had planned to burn down several schools and the remaining shops in Umlazi.

“We are patrolling the streets of Umlazi round the clock,” he said.
Slabbert, Buthelezi in major new call for convention

R450 000

LONDON. A former junior government official...

Cape Times 26/98

IN WHAT could be the leader of the Opposition.
From The Cape Times Special Representative at Ulundi

IN WHAT could be the most important opposition initiative since 1948, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday publicly backed the idea of a wide-ranging alliance to pave the way for a national convention.

Dr Slabbert, addressing thousands at an Inkatha Youth Conference in the Kwazulu capital, proposed that the launching of a “convention alliance or movement”, embracing all who support the national convention idea, should be explored.

It could include Inkatha, the Progressive Federal Party, the United Democratic Front, the churches, commerce and industry and youth movements.

‘Fresh air’

Chief Buthelezi responded with immediate enthusiasm. “I will work with Dr Slabbert and Inkatha will work with the PFP to establish a movement towards a national convention.

Chief Buthelezi added amid applause. “In this call we hear the echoes of things we believe in.”

He described the initiative as a breath of fresh air.

The initiative comes at a time of unprecedented violence in the country which has led to urgent calls by other non-government leaders for a national convention.

President P W Botha’s failure to raise hopes in his recent Durban speech is seen as a major reason for moves to bypass the government and get the idea of a national convention moving.

‘Unholy duet’ by govt and ANC, UDF

ULUNDI. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has lashed out at the United Democratic Front and the banned African National Congress.

In a three-hour speech to the 10th annual conference of the Inkatha Youth Brigade here, Chief Buthelezi said the two organizations were “hiding behind the moses to kill black South Africans.

“An unholy duet of violence has been played by the South African Government and by the ANC’s mission-in-exile, aided and abetted by the UDF.

“The ANC’s mission in exile must be told bluntly that, after 25 years of endeavour... they have failed to put a liberation army together which has even the vaguest hope of destroying apartheid,” he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would never use its “real” power against blacks for political purposes.

The youth brigade passed a resolution condemning the “black-against-black” violence which dominated black politics during the past year. Resolving to redouble its efforts to make its “reassuring presence” in every township felt.
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THE elderly and sickly black Cape Town community leader, Oscar Mpetha, who was convicted on terrorism charges and sentenced to five years imprisonment two years ago, entered prison this morning to serve his compulsory minimum sentence under medical care.

The appeal against the sentence was rejected in Bloemfontein recently and the Minister of Justice, Mr Koos Coetsee, said in Pretoria yesterday he had decided not to recommend a remission of the entire sentence due to the seriousness of the 75-year-old man's crime.

Both the Cape Town Supreme Court, where Mpetha was convicted after a lengthy trial which started in March 1981, and the Bloemfontein Appeal Court declared that, if allowed, they would suspend Mpetha's sentence in light of his personal and health conditions.

Violence
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**Violence**

In his judgement, trial court Judge Mr Justice Williamson said the facts "permit no other reasonable inference other than that Mpetha intended to endanger the maintenance of law and order," and that he "intended to add fuel to the fire" during the day of rioting and violence.

After his conviction of participation in terrorist activities and sentence of the minimum five years, Mpetha was released on bail of R1, pending an appeal against the sentence but not the conviction.

This was rejected recently by the Appeal Court, but Mpetha, who is a medically certified diabetic and has a physical disability, did not go to prison as he was sick in hospital.

A spokesman for the Prisons Service, confirmed in Pretoria that Mpetha entered "a prison" this morning. The prison is understood to be Pollsmoor, near Cape Town. — Sapi.

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**Missing man feared dead**

By LEN MASEKO

A SOWETO man is feared dead after his bullet-riddled car was allegedly brought to his Soweto home by police yesterday morning.

Mr Zakes Tiki, said to be in his late thirties, was last seen by his family on Saturday afternoon.

He left his home saying he was visiting friends and would be back soon, according to a relative.

Twenty-four hours later police travelling in two Casspurs brought Mr Tiki's bullet-riddled car to his home, a relative told the SOWETAN.

"The police did not say a word to us. They just parked the car inside the yard and left," said Mr Phindyile Tiki, a relative of the missing man.

When The SOWETAN called at the family's home, Mr Tiki's white Golf was parked inside the yard. The rear window was shattered and the number plate was missing.

"We do not know whether he is still alive or dead. We are still inquiring about his whereabouts," they said.

According to the family and neighbours, police manned a roadblock along the same street on Saturday night.

A police spokesman for the Public Relations Division in Pretoria yesterday said he was not aware of any incident in Soweto on Saturday night involving police and had no record of police shooting in the area.
NIC reacts to swoop

The Natal Indian Congress, which held an urgent executive meeting immediately after the detention of its acting president, Dr. Farouk Meer, and executive members Mr. Billy Nair and Mr. Yunus Mahomed, has condemned the recent countrywide detentions and demanded the release of all detained people.

In a statement issued by its newly-appointed spokesman, Mr. Thumba Pilay, the NIC executive reaffirmed its support for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and supported Dr. Allan Boesak's stand on the issue.
European ministers want to see Mandela

LUXEMBOURG. — The European Community said on Saturday it had asked the South African Government to allow a delegation of foreign ministers to hold talks next week with imprisoned black leader Mr. Nelson Mandela.

"We are still awaiting their response," said a senior European official after a two-day briefing with Community ambassadors summoned home from South Africa to give a first-hand account of the state of emergency.

He said the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, which was arranging details of "a mission of inquiry and pressure", had put the request to meet Mr. Mandela, leader of the outlawed African National Congress guerrilla movement, to the South African Government on Friday night.

A last-minute cable from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) representing independent nations in black Africa, and the Brussels-based African, Caribbean, Pacific (ACP) group which has a special aid and trade agreement with the Common Market, appealed to the Europeans to cancel the visit.

But the European officials said every opportunity had to be taken to convince South Africa through diplomatic contacts to change its way.

"The Ten are not yet agreed on a policy of coercive measures," said a diplomat. "The OAU and the ACP seem not to have understood the purpose of this visit. We are not only going to talk to the South African authorities, but also to the opposition."

In a newspaper interview on Saturday Mr. Jacques Poot, Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, said it would be a mission of persuasion.

"We will be stressing human rights. We do not want any official reception or any official dinner. As far as we are concerend the latest policy statement by President Pieter Botha simply doesn't contain sufficient concessions."

His view was also reflected in Saturday's joint statement: "It does not respond to the expectations of the Community and contains elements on which clarifications ought to be provided by the South African Government."

In the absence of "reasonable progress within a reasonable delay", they reserved the right to re-examine their attitude. — UPI
Get out of Umlazi, Sabelo tells UDF

Mercury Reporter

KWAZULU Legislative Assembly member Win-
nington Sabelo warned United Democratic Front
sympathisers yesterday to
get out of Umlazi by the
weekend or face the
consequences.

Mr Sabelo gave the
warning at a meeting of
residents and Inkatha
supporters in the town-
ship.

He also warned town-
ship residents whose cars
did not bear Umlazi's
NUZ registration to have
them changed by the
weekend.

'Vehicles without the
NUZ registration will be
turned away unless mo-
torsors call at the town-
ship offices before
entering,' he said, adding
that people from outside
had been seen to be re-
ponsible for instigating
trouble in the township.

FFP law and order
spokesman Peter Gastrow
said Mr Sabelo might be
'fuelling the flames of vio-

lence' and ought not to be
allowed to go ahead with
his plans.

The meeting had re-
solved to protect lives,
homes and the property
of the KwaZulu Govern-
ment without consulting
the president of Inkatha
and KwaZulu Chief Min-
ister Chief Mangosuthu
Buthelezi.

Fed up

Mr Sabelo also said the
people had planned to
protect themselves, even
if the police were
present, because they
had suffered a great deal
already.

During the height of the
unrest a number of NJ,
ND and Transvaal-regis-
tered vehicles, some driv-

ing UDF against Inkatha,
had been seen in Umlazi.

The people were fed up
with troublemakers, most
of whom were known to
Inkatha and the resi-
dents, and had vowed to
get rid of them.

'If they refuse to get out
by the weekend, then they
will have to face the con-
sequences,' he said.

Mr Sabelo also warned
refugees from Lamont-
ville and Hambantana in
Tonga to leave the
township by the weekend.

'People harbouring
them should see they
leave or should leave
with them.'

He said the next move
to prevent trouble start-
ing in the township would
be to close churches
which were the nests of
rival organisations.

He warned doctors and
lawyers living there to be
careful of their involve-
ment with organisations
such as the UDF.

Prince Gideon Zulu,
Deputy Chief Whip of the
KwaZulu Legislative As-
sembly, who attended the
meeting with Mr Sabelo,
said troublemakers had
travelled from outside
Umlazi.

Mr Sabelo denied that
UDF members had been
injured by Inkatha sup-
porters at a funeral of
riot victims at the
weekend.

Chased

Residents and Inkatha
members had monitored
the funerals after it had
been reported that there
was trouble between
blacks and Indians near
the cemetery.

'When UDF supporters
forced mourners to sing
freedom songs instead of
religious songs and in-
sulted Chief Buthelezi,
they were chased,' Mr Sabelo
said.

Our Pietermaritzburg
Bureau reported that a
crowd of about 100 stick-
carrying Imbali residents
marched on the Federal
Theological Seminary in
the township on Sunday.

Out, UDF told

A man, subsequently
identified as the local
undeclared leader of the
UDF in the township,
addressed the crowd by the
University of KwaZulu
building on Sunday af-

"The seminary had been
identified as the local
undeclared leader of the
UDF in the town-
ship, address the crowd by
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After a four-hour bat-
deal, the seminary was
threatened with a
strike by residents.

Mr Butlane said the
seminary had been
warned by Friday of
the impending strike
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The boycott of white businesses has been strongly condemned by President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei.

In a speech during a visit to Mount Frere he said: "We have a sound economy, which can only be disturbed and lowered by the present revolution in South Africa — our trading partner."

President Matanzima said the success of black business would be temporary and ineffective when compared with the loss of wages and unemployment resulting from loss of capital by employers.

"The consequences would be disastrous. Already the Indians who are allowed to trade in Queenstown, are selling goods at double the price, and white traders are paying half price for black farmers' produce. Blacks are destroying properties built by their own kinsmen and are killing people who have contributed to their service," said Matanzima.
Suzman speaks on UDF crackdown, Pollsmoor march

Political Staff

DURBAN. - Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party law and order spokesman, today strongly condemned the "strong-arm" tactics being used by the police against the United Democratic Front leadership.

Reacting to the detention of much of the upper echelons of the UDF, Mrs Suzman said: "The Government should talk to them, not lock them up."

The Government, she said, should also allow the protest march, planned by UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak to the Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town to call for the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to go ahead.

"If the march was allowed to go ahead the protesters would arrive at the prison, deliver their petition and would disperse if left alone."

The Argus Tygerburg Bureau reports that Dr Boesak last night called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to allow a "peaceful protest march" to Pollsmoor Prison tomorrow.

He told a Press conference the march would not be called off even though "we have known from the beginning that such a march would contravene the laws on our statute books".

"We wish to say that the march was not planned for confrontation with the police or the State."

"We simply want to declare our opposition to the political system in a peaceful manner," Dr Boesak said at his Bellville South office.

"However, if there is violent confrontation it will come from the South African Government and it will be the responsibility of the Government," he said.

Dr Boesak said he expected that police would do "everything in their power to stop the people from even getting to the point from which the march will start".  See Page 3.
Pretoria Correspondent

Security police have reportedly seized a document passed out of the Dutch Embassy here by fugitive Mr Xiaas De Jonge to the African National Congress.

The document was being carried by a Dutch freelance journalist, Miss Paulina Osse, when she was arrested in Johannesburg's Alexandra Township two weeks ago.

Police held Miss Osse briefly and she is believed to be leaving South Africa tomorrow.

The Dutch newspaper, De Telegraaf, said her connection with the mission was through an embassy secretary, Miss Karin Meyer, with whom she stayed while in Pretoria.

Embassy staff have reportedly been questioning the secretary to see whether any other documents or information about Mr de Jonge have been leaked.

The two Dutch policemen with Mr de Jonge are understood to be questioning him about his activities, particularly about reported links with international terrorist groups.

Sources dismiss reports that the policemen, who arrived from Amsterdam on diplomatic passports last weekend, were guarding Mr de Jonge for fear that he would commit suicide.

Mr de Jonge is wanted for trial on alleged arms charges. He reportedly regularly asks embassy staff about his chances of escaping through the security police net around the old embassy premises in the Nedbank Building in central Pretoria. Four offices have been specially kept on in this building to maintain his diplomatic shelter. Most of the embassy has moved to its new premises in Arcadia.

Mr de Jonge is maintaining a strict programme of physical exercise, is working on a book and on his legal defence.

The book is about his activities in South Africa, his capture by security police and his abortive escape bid into the Dutch Embassy on July 9.

Mr de Jonge is also trying to get his parents, who live in Austria, to visit him.
UDF warned to get out of Umlazi or else

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Mr. Winnington Sabelo yesterday warned United Democratic Front sympathizers to get out of Umlazi township by the weekend or face the consequences.

Mr. Sabelo gave the warning at an Umlazi residents' and Inkatha supporters' meeting in the township.

He also warned township residents whose cars did not bear the NUZ Umlazi registration to have them changed by the weekend.

"Vehicles without the NUZ registration will be turned away unless the motorists call at the township offices before entering," he said, adding that people "from outside" had been seen to be responsible for instigating the trouble.

"We have not consulted the president of Inkatha and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, regarding the planned action."

Mr. Sabelo said that during the height of the unrest a number of NJD and Transvaal-registered vehicles, some of them driven by UDF men, were seen in Umlazi.

He claimed that the people of Umlazi were fed up with troublemakers, most of whom were known to Inkatha and the residents, and had vowed to get rid of them.

"Mr. Sabelo said the next move to prevent trouble starting again in the township would be to close down churches which were the nests of rival organizations."

He warned doctors and lawyers in Umlazi to be careful of their involvement with bodies such as the UDF.

Mr. Sabelo denied that UDF members had been injured by Inkatha supporters at a funeral of unrest victims at the weekend.

He claimed that residents and Inkatha members had monitored the funerals after it was learnt that there had been trouble between blacks and Indians at the border of the cemetery.

"When UDF supporters forced mourners to sing freedom songs instead of religious songs and insulted Chief Buthelezi they were chased," Mr. Sabelo said.

Reacting to Mr. Sabelo's statement, a police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that police would maintain law and order and would act against anyone who broke the law."
Slabbert, Buthelezi criticized

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress yesterday said Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert were opposed to any meaningful action to bring about a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

In a statement issued here by its information department, the ANC said both leaders "refuse to initiate or participate in any mass action".

"Together they are against the international isolation of apartheid South Africa," said the ANC.

"They are virulently opposed to armed struggle and they are happy to justify the violence of the apartheid system in the name of law and order."

The statement said both leaders were happy to serve in institutions created by the Pretoria regime to perpetuate the system of white minority rule.

The ANC accused the two men of using tactics that would stop the struggle and create the possibility for "Botha, Buthelezi and Slabbert, backed by the Reagan administration, to impose a reformist solution on our people." — Sapa-Reuter

● CAL rejects convention, page 11
THE LEADER of the World Reformed Churches Alliance, Dr Allan Boesak, was detained in Cape Town yesterday and is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Police have confirmed Dr Boesak's detention and Sapa reports that the UDF patron was arrested by plainclothes policemen while standing at a roadblock in Bellville South yesterday afternoon.

Dr Boesak was to lead a mass march today on Pollsmoor Prison where African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela is held.

The detention coincides with the Government's warning that it would take "tough action" against the march.

Last week Dr Boesak told 2 500 pupils in Orlando that plans for a day of solidarity "which would turn South Africa on its head" were almost completed.

He also told pupils not to jeopardise that moment.

Later Dr Boesak told a Press conference that he knew the marchers would be contravening one of South Africa's many laws on the statute books.

Section 29 provides for indefinite detention with no access to legal representation and also provides for solitary confinement.

The Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC) yesterday condemned Dr Boesak's detention.

In a statement the DPSC said: "As the prison doors slam on Dr Boesak, so do they close on non-violent protest. The Government can rest assured that although Dr Boesak is imprisoned his ideals can never be chained."
Home of slain activist bombed

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — The home of a UDF activist and Durban Freedom Charter Committee member whose mutilated body was found near Mtonzini last week, was petrol-bombed and shot at early yesterday.

Family and friends of Mr Roy Toto Dweba, 36, said yesterday that he had received telephonic death threats before he disappeared on Monday last week. His body was found several days later in a sugarcane field near Mtonzini.

His head had almost been severed from his body. There were gashes in his head, stab wounds in his body and his hands were missing.

Durban civil-rights lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge, husband of UDF leader Mrs Victoria Mxenge who was gunned down outside her home earlier this month, was murdered in similarly mysterious circumstances in 1981.

Bullets

The family said that about six petrol bombs had been thrown at the sitting room, kitchen and bedroom windows of their Mtonzini about 2am yesterday causing damage estimated at about R1600 by police.

Shots were also fired at the house and there were bullet marks on the wall above the window of a bedroom in which his wife, Daphne, had been sleeping.

Mr Dweba's father, Mr Albert Dweba, said police had found a piece of paper on his son's body with a "jumble" of names and car numbers and question marks.

"He had complained that he was always being followed," he said.

"We heard on Thursday that his body had been found near Mtonzini and went to identify him the next day.

Mutilations

"There were bad cuts in his head that looked like they had been made by an axe or bush knife. His throat had been cut. His head was almost severed from his body.

"There were six stab wounds in his left side. His hands had been amputated. They were not chopped off but cut neatly into the wrist and the skin pulled back.

"The place where his body had been found had not been disturbed. It looked like his body had just been dumped there," he said.
KWAZULU MP's THREAT TO UDF

KWAZULU Legislative Assembly member, Mr Winnington Sabelo, has warned United Democratic Front sympathisers to get out of the black townships of Umlazi near Durban by the weekend or "face the consequences."

Mr Sabelo gave the warning at a meeting of residents and Inkatha supporters in the township.

He told township residents, "Vehicles without the NUZ (Umlazi) registration will be turned away unless motorists call at the township offices before entering."

He added that people from "outside" had been seen to be responsible for instigating trouble in the township.

The Progressive Federal Party law and order spokesman, Mr Peter Gastrow, said Mr Sabelo might be "fuelling the flames of violence" and ought not to be allowed to go ahead with his plans.

Reacting to Mr Sabelo's statement, a police spokesman in Pretoria said police would maintain law and order and would act against anyone breaking the law.

The meeting had resolved to protest residents' lives and homes and the property of the Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Sabelo also said the people had planned to protect themselves, even if the police were present, because they had suffered a great deal already.

During the height of the unrest a number of cars without Umlazi registrations, including Transvaal-registered vehicles, some driven by UDF men, had been seen in Umlazi, the meeting heard.

"If they refuse to get out by the weekend, then they will have to face the consequences."
JOHANNESBURG — From within the folds of the ruling Afrikaners’ church, the Rev Allan Boesak has emerged as one of South Africa’s foremost opponents of apartheid.

Dr Boesak’s long-escalating confrontation with the nation’s white rulers culminated yesterday in his detention, on the eve of his most daring venture — an illegal march to Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Dr Boesak, who commands wide support among blacks, got the white branches of his Dutch Reformed Church expelled from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches for their support of apartheid.

It was Dr Boesak’s call in January 1983 for a “united front” that resulted in the formation of the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organization that in two years became the main anti-apartheid organization.

Politics of refusal

“This is the politics of refusal, and it is the only dignified response black people can give in this situation,” Dr Boesak said.

In speeches at home and abroad he has denounced South Africa’s ruling whites as the “spiritual children of Adolf Hitler”.

Afrikaners, he says, practise a “subtle form of genocide. There is a way in which they rule us that distinctly reminds me of nazism.”

A Cape Town cleric, the 39-year-old Dr Boesak was elected head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1982.

Heresy

At his instigation, the 70-million-strong alliance, second in size only to the World Council of Churches, declared apartheid a “heresy”.

Leading demonstrations and preaching at funerals for victims of a year of anti-apartheid riots, Dr Boesak’s style was a classic recipe for jailing without charge in South Africa.

He had been one of the few top-ranking leaders still at liberty five weeks after South Africa imposed a state of emergency in some districts.

That was even before he planned today’s march to demand the release of the ANC leader, who is serving a life sentence for sabotage.

One of eight children of a teacher who died when Dr Boesak was six, he was raised in Somerset West.

Dr Boesak says he thinks he is descended from a Hottentot tribal leader who launched a slave rebellion against the British rulers at the Cape in the early 19th Century.

As a child he worked barefoot as a labourer to help support his family, and at 14 became a sexton — sweeping the church before Sunday services — in the local Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk.

That is the coloured branch of the segregated Ned Gere Ap Kerk.

Bitterness

As his bitterness grew, Dr Boesak once recalled, he thought he would never again speak Afrikaans.

He returned in 1976 from six years of theological studies in the Netherlands to a South Africa erupting in serious black rioting, which lasted for a year.

From his parish in Belleville South, he plunged into politics.

He reached national prominence as a leading opponent of a new constitution providing separate chambers of Parliament for the coloured and Asian minorities, but excluding the 24 million black majority.

Married with four children, Dr Boesak acknowledged in February he had a “relationship” with a white woman church worker — a double scandal in a country where laws banning inter-racial sex were abolished only four months ago.

He was temporarily suspended from his church duties but reinstated a month later.

He chided coloureds and Asians who went along with the constitutional deal, introduced a year ago, as the “the junior partners in apartheid.

“From now on they will share the responsibility... from now on... apartheid no longer has only a white face,” he declared. — Sapa-AP
JOHANNESBURG. — The executive committee of the South African Council of Churches yesterday applied to the government for permission for a delegation to visit imprisoned ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela.

Dr. Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC, said in a statement here that the purpose of the visit would be to ascertain Mr. Mandela's views "on the issue of violence and non-violence, general franchise, a national convention and a sharing of political power".

The visit, if permission was granted, would be undertaken by the president of the SACC, Bishop Mamas Buthelezi, Dr. Naude, and Mrs. Sally Mottana, the SACC's honorary life vice-president.

The SACC executive also decided to request an "exploration of ways whereby consultation with the liberation movements can take place in order that peaceful change may be effected in South Africa".

- South African leaders and journalists should be given preference over right-wing foreign journalists in being granted permission to see Mr. Mandela. Mr. David Dalling, the PFP's justice and media spokesman, said yesterday.

"It is quite wrong for the Minister of Justice to allow right-wing foreign journalists to interview Nelson Mandela in prison while blocking South African leaders and the South African press corps from access to him," Mr Dalling said in a statement.

Understanding Mr. Mandela's views and political thinking was more vital to South Africans than to foreigners.

"Foreign visitors and journalists who see Nelson Mandela can write what they like, cause whatever mischief they choose and then leave the country without having to live with the consequences."

He asked the minister, Mr. Kobie Coetzee, to give preference "to South African leaders and South African journalists whose respective tasks are to lead this country and to inform the public." — Sapa and "Political Sight"
THE government is driving peace-lovers who wish to pursue peaceful protest into ‘radical camps’, by making their actions illegal, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Van Zyl Slabbert, said in a statement last night.

Referring to Dr Allan Boesak’s detention yesterday, Mr Slabbert said Section 29 of the Internal Security Act was "part of the problem and not the solution".

The real problem in the present situation is that the government has not allowed any possibility for peaceful protest — and that any attempt in this direction immediately becomes illegal."

Dr Slabbert appealed to Dr Boesak “and all others who wish to explore the politics of negotiation and prevent the escalation of violence to come together in the Convention Alliance and see how we can fashion our common objectives”.

Adult

"If we do not, and yet our opportunities go by, the only beneficiaries will be the profiteers of violence from the left and right and future generations will justifiably curse us for our inaction."

The government should take a more adult attitude towards a peaceful march, as the Reagan Administration had done in the United States, Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP’s civil rights spokesperson, said yesterday.

She urged the government to allow today’s scheduled march to Pollsmoor Prison, where Mr Nelson Mandela is being held, to take place. She also condemned Dr Boesak’s arrest.

The sensible thing would have been to give permission for the march to take place, let the people march off their energy, let the people sit outside Pollsmoor Prison and deliver their petition... It’s really childish, but the government cannot tolerate being defied.”

Dr J C Adonis, past chairman of the Ring van SA Gesteig of the NACC, said the decision stongly condemning the arrest and calling for Dr Boesak’s immediate release.

The decision of the government to allow today’s peaceful march to take place while keeping Mr Mandela in jail is a clear indication that the government has no desire for reform.

The wave of detentions over the past few days, including that of three UCT students, merely strengthens our resolve to support tomorrow’s peaceful protest and to intensify our opposition to injustice.”

SAPA reports that the South African Council of Churches expressed its "deep dismay and concern" at the detention of Dr Boesak and urged people not to respond to it with "acts of anger".

In a statement in Johannesburg, the SACCO national executive added that it was "regrettable in the extreme" that the authorities had reacted "with this type of irresponsibility" to plans for the proposed march.

Ring was supported by 10 congregations of the NACC, including the Nedlag Sendingkerk, of which Dr Boesak is a member and the senior pastor, issued a statement strongly condemning the arrest and calling for Dr Boesak’s immediate release.

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Mrs Dorothy Boesak with her children (from left) Allan, 7, Belen, 12, and Pulane, 9, soon after security police had officially informed her of her husband's detention yesterday.

New call for sanctions follows news of arrest

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Demands for punitive economic sanctions against South Africa mounted last night amid international outrage at the detention of Dr Allan Boesak.

In Geneva, Dr Edmond Perret, secretary-general of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, of which Dr Boesak is president, was preparing to fly to South Africa to seek urgent talks with President P W Botha.

In London and capitals throughout Western Europe, foreign ministries expressed alarm and concern at the detention of Dr Boesak.

There were widespread calls for the trio of European foreign ministers due to fly to South Africa tomorrow to be empowered with a mandate to warn Mr Botha that there may soon be no alternative to sanctions.

A joint statement by Mr Emilio Castro, secretary-general of the World Council of Churches, and Dr Perret expressed deep concern and indignation at Dr Boesak's arrest and called on all churchgoers, world leaders and public opinion to condemn "this manifest act of intolerance by the South African Government".

The statement "demanded" the release of Dr Boesak and all the other "genuine leaders of South Africa".

Dr Perret said messages of condolence and demands for Dr Boesak's release were pouring into his office from all over the world.

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was last night given the full details of the arrest and Whitehall sources said the Foreign Office would issue a statement today reflecting Britain's serious concern at developments in South Africa.

In Washington, a State Department spokesman said they were aware that Dr Boesak's detention had resulted in calls for more countries to follow France's unilateral decision to impose sanctions on any new investment in South Africa.

He said the US had protested against Dr Boesak's arrest to South Africa's ambassador-designate in Washington, Mr Herbert Beukes.

"We believe detentions of this sort are not the proper way to lead South Africa out of this crisis, but we continue to oppose the use of sanctions."
AN intensive “Free Mandela” campaign is to be launched today by the Western Cape Young Progressives who believe he should play a major role in the “new South Africa”.

The campaign will include the sending of a petition to the State President, Mr P W Botha, the placing of one-person pickets throughout the Peninsula, and distribution of slogan buttons, information leaflets and car stickers.

According to a statement signed by the national chairman of the Young Progressives, Mr Andrew Miller, the petition will be launched at this week’s PFP Federal Congress. The campaign will culminate in a mass rally at the Claremont Civic Centre on September 18. — Sapa
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“We believe detentions of this sort are not the proper way to lead South Africa out of this crisis, but we continue to oppose the use of sanctions.”
By Stovin Hayter  
"Political Reporter"

The home of a UDF activist and Durban Freedom Charter Committee member whose mutilated body was found in a sugar cane field at Mtunzini last week was petrol-bombed and fired on day night.

Family and friends of Roy Toto Dweba, 38, told yesterday that he had received telephone death threats before disappearing on day last week.

A body was found in a sugar cane field near Mtunzini several days later.

His head had been almost severed from his body. There were gashes in his head, stab wounds in his body and his hands had been cut off and were missing.

Several petrol bombs were thrown at the Dweba home in Mtunzini about 2 a.m. yesterday, causing damage estimated at R1 600, police confirmed.

**Bullet hole**

The family and neighbours extinguished the fire with a hosepipe.

The house was also fired on. Yesterday there were bullet marks on the wall above the window of a bedroom in which Mr Dweba's wife, Mrs Daphne Dweba, had been sleeping.

There was another bullet hole in a window pane and a bullet mark on the opposite wall.

The family said about six petrol bombs had been thrown at the sitting room, kitchen and bedroom windows.

A family friend who did not want to be named said he was the last to see Mr Dweba at 5 p.m. on Monday afternoon last week.

He said he was going to see members of the Crisis Committee about threats he had received over the telephone, to see if they could help him, the friend said.

**Throat cut**

Mrs Dweba said she and her husband had both received anonymous telephone calls from someone who had sounded like a man pretending to be a woman.

Mr Dweba's father, Mr Albert Dweba, said police had found a piece of paper on his son's body with a 'jumble' of names and car numbers and question marks.

Mr Dweba said: 'We heard on Thursday that his body had been found near Mtunzini and went to identify him next day.

'There were bad cuts in his head that looked as if they had been made by an axe or bush knife. His throat had been cut. His head was almost severed from his body.'

'The place where his body was found had not been disturbed. It looked as though his body had just been dumped there.'
Boesak says he calls shops tune

THE boycott of white-owned businesses would end only "when I say it's off", Dr Allan Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and UDF patron, told a packed meeting at the Belhar Community Centre in Cape Town last night.

To thunderous applause he also urged the 2,500-strong audience to join him on today's march to Pollsmoor Prison.

He denied that the boycott was racist and referred to a white shopowner in the Eastern Cape, Cheeky Watson, who was still doing business with the black community "because he has made a stand".

"PW Botha has enjoyed more support from the English business community than any other Nationalist government before him," Boesak said.

"Now that the boycott has started, the business community has come out and stated that they were always in the forefront of the struggle for change and reform. What changes? What reform? What struggle?"

Boesak also announced the recent establishment of a crisis fund by business-men in the townships to help workers who had lost employment as a result of the boycott.

"This boycott is not going to end this week. Or the next. Or next month. This boycott is on until we say it's over," he said.

"Don't believe anything you hear on the radio or television. Don't believe anything you read in newspapers or pamphlets."

He said the march to Pollsmoor to demand the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be a peaceful, disciplined and well-organised.

He added that the aim of the march was not to seek confrontation with the police nor government.

"It is the SA government who seek confrontation to show the rest of the world who is in control."

Boesak added: "We can't take that. Our dignity forbids it. We won't provoke them. But every action they do on Wednesday, the whole world will be watching and PW Botha's got to be responsible for whatever happens." — Sapa.
KwaZulu’s Sabelo threatens a crackdown

Get out of Umlazi or else, UDF told

KWAZULU Legislative Assembly member Winnington Sabelo yesterday warned United Democratic Front sympathisers to get out of the black township of Umlazi near Durban by the weekend or “face the consequences”.

Sabelo gave the warning at a meeting of residents and Inkatha supporters in the township. “Vehicles without the NUZ (Umlazi) registration will be turned away unless motorists call at the township offices before entering.”

He added that people from “outside” had been seen to be responsible for instigating trouble in the township.

Reacting to the statement the Progressive Federal Party’s law and order spokesman, Peter Gastrow, said Sabelo might be “fuelling the flames of violence”.

“He should not be allowed to proceed with his plans because it will amount to him taking the law into his own hands. The last thing we need in Durban after the recent unrest is a second wave of violence.”

“Now try and settle political scores will slowly turn the unrest situation around Durban into an endemic one rather than an explosion as we witnessed recently,” Gastrow said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said the police would maintain law and order and would act against anyone breaking the law.

The meeting had resolved to protect residents’ lives and home, and the property of the KwaZulu government without consulting the president of Inkatha and KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sabelo said the people had planned to protect themselves — even if the police were present — because they had already suffered a great deal.

He said that during the height of the unrest a number of NJ, ND and Transvaal-registered vehicles, some of them driven by UDF members, were seen in Umlazi.

He claimed the people of the township were fed up with troublemakers, most of whom were known to Inkatha and the residents, and had vowed to “go it alone” to get rid of them.

“If they refuse to get out by the weekend then they will have to face the consequences.”

He also warned refugees from Lamontville and Hambanathi in Tongaat to leave the township by the weekend.

“People harbouring them should see that they left or should leave with them.”

Sabelo said the next move to prevent trouble starting again in the township would be to close down churches which were the nests of rival organisations. He also warned doctors and lawyers living in Umlazi to be careful of their involvement with organisations such as the UDF.

“We have not consulted Chief Buthelezi regarding the planned action,” he said.

He denied UDF members had been injured by Inkatha supporters at a funeral of unrest victims at the weekend. He said residents and Inkatha members had been monitoring the funeral and had been heard there was trouble between blacks and Indians at the border of the cemetery.

“When UDF supporters forced mourners to sing freedom songs instead of religious songs, and insulted Chief Buthelezi they were chased,” Sabelo said.

Prince Gideon Zulu, deputy chief whip of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly who attended the Sabelo meeting, agreed the troublemakers were from outside Umlazi. — Sapa.
Dr Allan Boesak (39) has emerged from the folds of the ruling Afrikaners' church as one of South Africa's foremost opponents of apartheid.

A member of the coloured minority who commands widespread support among blacks, Dr Boesak got the white branches of the Dutch Reformed Churches expelled from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches for their support of apartheid.

It was Dr Boesak's call in January 1983 for a "united front" that resulted in the formation of the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organisation, that in two years has become the main anti-apartheid group.

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

In speeches at home and abroad he has denounced South Africa's whites as the "spiritual children of Adolf Hitler".

He said Afrikaners practice a "subtle form of genocide. There is a way in which they rule us that distinctly reminds me of Nazism".

The Cape Town cleric was elected head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1982.

At his instigation, the 70 million-strong alliance, second in size only to the World Council of Churches, declared apartheid a "heresy".

CLASSIC RECIPE

Leading demonstrations and preaching at funerals for anti-apartheid riot victims, Dr Boesak's style was a classic recipe for being held without charge in South Africa.

He has been one of the few top-ranking leaders still at liberty five weeks after South Africa imposed the state of emergency.

That was even before he planned today's march to demand the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence for sabotage.

One of eight children of a teacher who died when Dr Boesak was six, he was raised in Somerset West, in the Cape Province, where a large proportion of the 2.8 million coloureds live.

Dr Boesak says he is descended from a Hottentot tribal leader who launched a slave rebellion against the British rulers at the Cape in the early 19th Century.

As a child he worked barefoot as a labourer to help support his family, and at 14 became a sexton in the local Nederduitse Gereformeerde Siedingkerk.

As his bitterness grew, Dr Boesak once recalled, he thought he would never again speak Afrikaans, the shared mother tongue of coloureds and Afrikaners.

He returned in 1976 from six years of theological studies in the Netherlands to a South Africa erupting in serious black rioting, which lasted for a year.

PARISH AND POLITICS

From his parish in Cape Town's Bellville south coloured district, he plunged into politics.
Boesak defied Le Grange warning by urging masses to join march

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak, addressing 1,500 students at the University of Cape Town yesterday, defiantly ignored a warning by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that the march would be illegal.

"We must come together in our thousands to show how committed we are to non-violent action and challenges. We are determined to show that we can confront the Government without the need for violence — it is the Government that needs violent confrontation to show that it is in control," he said.

Dr Boesak announced the march at an Athlone Press conference on Friday and called for thousands of "freedom-loving South Africans" to march on Pollsmoor and deliver a "message from the people" to the jailed ANC leader.

His arrest, under section 29(b) of the Internal Security Act, came at around 2.30 pm as he made his way to the University of the Western Cape after hearing 17 students had been detained.

The South African Council of Churches — of which Dr Boesak is a senior vice-president — expressed "deep dismay" at his detention and urged people not to respond with "acts of anger".

"This detention can only intensify bitterness and may indeed generate violence as its direct result," the executive said in a statement.

Mrs Mary Burton, chairman of the Black Sash, said the prospects for a peaceful and contained march would be undermined by Dr Boesak's detention and urged his immediate release.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokesman on law and order, said it was clear the Government "cannot bear to be defied."

"The sensible thing would have been to permit the march. In normal democratic societies peaceful marches take place frequently and there is no confrontation with the police," she said.
‘Bill Cosby has just phoned’

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — “Bill Cosby has just telephoned” is the buzz at the Boesak household, and, for a short time, excitement overwhelms the concern.

Mrs Dorothy Boesak smiles but cannot disguise a tremor of anxiety.

“Dr Allan Boesak was told to take his children to the hospital but he didn’t go. He is a man who doesn’t take things lightly. He is the type of person who will do what he said he would do. He is not a man who would break his word.”

“Bill Cosby asked me how long he would keep me waiting. I told him it was usual to hold someone until they had answered all the questions and made a statement.

“I asked them how he would be treated. One has heard such ugly stories about interrogation methods. They assured me that all I had heard about torture was untrue.

“But, no, I don’t believe them. I don’t trust them. I want to see before I believe. Too many people have died in their care.”

The Boesak family — messages from all over the world.

The Boesak family — messages from all over the world.

Boesak calls for his release by urgent plea

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak, like thousands of South Africans, feared for his safety when he telephoned at 7.45 this morning from Los Angeles.

“Dr Allan Boesak was told to take his children to the hospital but he didn’t go. He is a man who doesn’t take things lightly. He is the type of person who will do what he said he would do. He is not a man who would break his word.”

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“But, no, I don’t believe them. I don’t trust them. I want to see before I believe. Too many people have died in their care.”

The Boesak family — messages from all over the world.

Boesak calls for his release by urgent plea

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak was told to take his children to the hospital but he didn’t go. He is a man who doesn’t take things lightly. He is the type of person who will do what he said he would do. He is not a man who would break his word.

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The Boesak family — messages from all over the world.
Dispatch Correspondent

Handing access to today's stadium was a major step forward in the Alliances' campaign against the apartheid regime. Mr. Boshoff, the leader of the Alliances, was quoted as saying, "This is a significant victory for the freedom movement."

The police were heavily outnumbered by the crowd, but remained calm and professional throughout. The atmosphere was charged with energy and determination, as the crowd chanted slogans and sang protest songs.

Thousands of people gathered outside the stadium, many of whom had been denied access due to the strict apartheid laws. The crowd was a sea of faces, all united in their demand for freedom and equality.

Meanwhile, inside the stadium, the game was proceeding as scheduled. Despite the outside chaos, the players were focused and determined, playing with a sense of urgency and purpose.

The final whistle blew, and the crowd erupted in cheers as their team secured a hard-fought victory. The victory was not only a triumph for the team, but for the entire country, as it represented a small step towards a brighter future.

JOHANNESBURG - DR ALIEN BOSHAU, UDPP MARCH

**FOOTBALLERS DEMAND THE RELEASE OF Nelson Mandela.**

Before a planned mass march on Pollsmoor Prison, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Rev. Dr. Luthuli, was arrested in Cape Town yesterday. The marchers are demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. The march is expected to attract thousands of participants from all over the country.
Boesak's message to minister

Staff Reporter

The following telex was sent to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, by Dr Allan Boesak yesterday.

"The march on Wednesday August 28 is planned to be a peaceful, organized demonstration of a deep-felt conviction. Participants will be clerics, academics, lawyers, teachers, students and others. I regard this march as an opportunity to support non-violent efforts of resistance to apartheid, and to help to relieve tensions. Please restrain the police and give non-violent action a chance."

It was signed "Respectfully, Dr Allan Boesak".
Unrest: PW pays flying visit to East London

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The State President, Mr. P. W. Botha, paid a surprise visit to the city yesterday to be briefed at first hand on the unrest situation in the region.

The Officer Commanding Group E, Col. Bag Devzi, said in a statement last night: "The State President visited East London to obtain firsthand information on the current unrest being experienced in the region.

"He was accompanied by the Minister for Administration and Economic Services, Mr. Eli Louw, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Defence, Mr. Adrian Vlok, and other officials.

"The President was briefed by the local police and defence force commanders, as well as by the MP for East London City, Mr. Peet de Pontes, on the following:

- The recent violence in Duncan Village and other unrest in the Border area.
- School attendance problems.
- The consumer boycott.
- The future of Duncan Village.

"He expressed concern for the problem areas and offered valuable advice and guidance to local departmental heads on the handling of problem areas.

"Before departing he paid tribute to the services rendered by the police, the defence force and local leaders and to their dedication and commitment.

"Mr. De Pontes said the visit was of "extreme importance. I believe it will mark a turning point in the situation in East London."

"Mr. Botha also visited Port Elizabeth yesterday.

A statement released by Mr. Botha's office said he had met several black councillors and that appeals had been made to him not to lift the state of emergency before conditions in Port Elizabeth townships had "normalised."

"Mr. Botha added that inhabitants "also made requests with regard to housing and education which I will now put to the institutions concerned."

In the situation in East London..."
Inkatha ‘threat’ to UDF disowned

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oskar Dhlomo, has publicly repudiated a statement by a leading Inkatha member who said United Democratic Front (UDF) sympathizers should get out of Umlazi or face the consequences.

Dhlomo’s statement followed an intervention of FPF leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who telephoned Ulundi yesterday evening. In response to threats by Mr Winnington Sabela, a Kwazulu Legislative Assembly member for Umlazi and a member of the central committee of Inkatha, that visitors to Umlazi who were known to be trouble-makers would not be allowed to enter the township.

Dhlomo said Mr Sabela had no mandate from either the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatshe Buthelezi, the Kwazulu Government, the Umlazi Township Council or the Inkatha leadership in Umlazi to issue such a statement.

He said he understood the anger of the people who had lost their properties during the unrest and he was aware that the UDF and the NIC were reportedly implicated in the unrest. “But we will not allow anybody to take the law into their own hands. Consequently, if there are any UDF members and supporters in Umlazi, they must ignore Mr Sabela’s threat and accept that it was not sanctioned by the Inkatha leadership.”

Mr Sabela replied that he was merely making a statement on behalf of residents and Inkatha members who had suffered great losses during the unrest.

UDF warns PFP on house candidates

From PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front (UDF) has launched a stinging attack on the Progressive Federal Party (PPF) on the eve of the party’s Natal congress.

A statement issued by Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the PFP, yesterday warned the PFP against deciding to field candidates for the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament.

The statement said sections of the white community who previously stood steadfastly against apartheid “now seem to be having second thoughts as a result of these reforms.”

“IT appears that the government hopes that the PPF, by recruiting black members and participating in elections for all three houses, can be used to win some popular legitimacy for the new deal,” Mr Morobe said.

“UT while the PPF will be able to recruit members from all communities, their candidates will sit in separate houses and their African colleagues will be relegated to the role of observers.”

The UDF said the state of emergency had been used to crush it and that its leadership was in detention. On trial, had disappeared or been killed under mysterious circumstances.

Meanwhile, the PFP had used “the gap the repression of the UDF has provided to recruit black members.”

The UDF said that if the PFP decided to put up candidates for the other two houses, it would find that they were rejected with the same venom as the Labour Party, the National People’s Party and Solidarity.

“Not only will they be standing against the clearly expressed wishes of the people, but they will be helping legitimize structures that enshrine minority rule.”

They appealed to whites to acknowledge that the type of change that would satisfy the majority would come only through the actions of the majority.

“The condition for peace is the eradication of apartheid. No fraudulent ‘power sharing’ over the heads of the people will be acceptable. We must recognize that majority rule is inevitable.”

New support for convention bid?

DURBAN. — Supporters for the convention alliance launched last weekend by the Progressive Federal Party Leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu, are expected to be announced soon.

Who they are is being kept a closely guarded secret at present.

However, as the first delegates to the PFP National Congress started arriving in Durban last
New support for convention bid?

Political Staff

DURBAN - New supporters for the convention alliance launched last weekend by the Progressive Federal Party Leader, Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, are expected to be announced soon.

Who they are is being kept a closely guarded secret at present.

However, as the first delegates to the PFP national congress started arriving in Durban last night, there were indications that the names would be announced in the next day or two.

Although the convention alliance has been denounced by the government and the African National Congress, Dr. Slabbert has said that he will work to involve both.

The alliance will be an important part of the congress discussions tomorrow and on Saturday, along with resolutions calling on the PFP to broaden its base and contest seats in the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

Meanwhile, the national president of the Black Sash, Mrs. Sheena Duncan, has expressed support for the convention alliance.

She said Dr. Slabbert had called for a resolution based on one constitution and one citizenship in one country. This was exactly what was being demanded by blacks.

The alliance has attracted strong editorial support from English-language newspapers.
World reacts to Boesak's detention

London Bureau

THE South African crisis dominated television and radio newscasts in Britain and many European countries yesterday with governments strongly condemning the detention of Dr Allan Boesak.

The British Foreign Office said his detention would only complicate opportunities for dialogue with black opposition leaders.

The leading BBC television current affairs programme Newsnight described Dr Boesak's arrest as a provocative action which suggested that the Government had lost its nerve on the eve of the planned Pollsmoor march.

In Paris the French Foreign Ministry said it was viewing the latest developments with deep concern.

The Quay d'Orsay regarded the arrest of Dr Boesak as a 'challenge to the international community' which would aggravate tension in South Africa.

A statement said that through the arrest of Dr Boesak the Government was 'attacking all who fight for a solution to South Africa's problems'.

Anti-apartheid action was reported to be spreading dramatically throughout France and included a pro-sanctions march through Paris yesterday.

Trade unions are also demanding an end to trade with South Africa and dockers' action has prevented the unloading of tons of coal from a ship in Le Havre docks.

City councillors in Nice, which is twinned to Cape Town, are calling for an end to the link.

In a number of provincial towns such as Dijon streets are being renamed after South African 'martyrs' such as Nelson Mandela.
Inkatha repudiates ‘stay out of Umlazi’ warning

Mercury Reporter

The secretary-general of the Inkatha movement, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, has publicly criticised a leading Inkatha member for ordering a United Democratic Front sympathiser to get out of Umlazi or face the consequences.

Dr Dhlomo’s statement follows the intervention of PFP leader Dr P van Zyl Slabbert, who telephoned Umlazi yesterday and on Tuesday in response to threats made in the Press by Mr Winnington Sabelo that visitors to Umlazi who were known to be trouble-makers would not be allowed to enter the township.

However, Mr Sabelo said yesterday he stood by his statement that trouble-makers whose vehicles were known to the residents would not be allowed in the township.

“People with NJ, ND and Transvaal-registered vehicles will not be allowed in Umlazi by the weekend if they are considered to be trouble-makers or if they are known to be people behind the unrest,” he said.

Mr Sabelo is a KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Member for Umlazi and a member of the central committee of Inkatha.

A senior PFP spokesman confirmed that Dr Slabbert had been approached in connexion with Mr Sabelo’s threats and had spoken to Dr Dhlomo twice on the telephone.

David Gasa

“They first had discussions in connexion with Mr Sabelo’s statement in the Press and then about a threat to the wife of Mr David Gasa, who was told to leave the township by armed men who entered her home on Tuesday night,” he said.

Dr Dhlomo said Mr Sabelo had no mandate from either the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, throughout the period of unrest in the Durban area which was principally motivated by a desire to restore peace and to protect people and their property.

He said the statement was not in line with Inkatha’s conduct.

“However, he added that he understood the anger of the people who had lost their properties during the unrest and he was aware that the UDF and the NIC were reportedly implicated in the unrest.

“But we will not allow anybody to take the law into their own hands as Mr Sabelo’s statement implies,” Dr Dhlomo said.

Mr Sabelo replied that he was merely making a statement on behalf of residents and Inkatha members who had suffered great losses during the unrest.
ANC in talks

THE African National Congress has agreed to meet a group of prominent South African businessmen to discuss the current unrest and political developments in the country. Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC information department, confirmed in a telephone interview from Lusaka, Zambia, yesterday that top South African businessmen had approached the ANC and were planning to fly to Lusaka for talks.

He would not name the businessmen nor confirm any dates for the meeting except to confirm that the ANC was willing to meet them.

The businessmen, who are concerned about the deteriorating political situation in South Africa, are believed to have been given the go-ahead by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to speak to the ANC.

Some of the businessmen had earlier this year visited Zambia on business and during a meeting they held with Zambia's President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, it was suggested that they speak to the ANC.
DURBAN — A Natal Housing Action Committee leader, Mr. Pravin Godman, was detained yesterday morning. His family has confirmed that he was detained under the Internal Security Act.

Natal executive member of the UDF, Mervyn Pienaar, said police in Pretoria had confirmed yesterday the denies said the detention, but the latest detentions reported in Durban today.

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NIC man detaineR

own Correspondent
Inkatha’s hand of friendship for the whites

WE SAY in white South Africa that we are prepared for the time being to shelve our demands for a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state if we can negotiate an alternative model of power-sharing in our country.

We know that behind the bravado of white political talk, there is a desperate fear for their future. We know that white South Africans see themselves as being shoved behind the knee by the blacks in Apartheid South Africa and have to survive in the only way they know how—without any other sources of support from the whites.

We know how few drives people to desperation, and we know how white South Africa could so easily be driven into accepting a scurvy and earthy policy if they were pushed beyond the limitations which are inherent in the political parties on them. It is the fear of being blacker and the whites who are afraid of us that we have as a little finger test if we have their hands of friendship.

They don’t know how to communicate. They don’t know how to talk to us. They don’t know about the black South Africans. They feel much more comfortable behind barbed wire, trolled by dogs and seeds gone. They don’t know how to live with us in their suburbs, and they don’t feel much more at ease when they crowd as into autistic consumption, and poverty-ridden glasses. They don’t know how to teach their children to read and write with us, and they feel much more comfortable when they crowd black children into terribly inadequate schools and separate black and white education.

Spirit of Justice

We feel desperately sorry for a whole white population living in fear, which drains away from their very souls the humanity which God has created in all of us.

When God created the spirit of justice in man and, as He created it for all South Africans. They

much more comfortable behind barbed wire, trolled by dogs and seeds gone. They don’t know how to live with us in their suburbs, and they don’t feel much more at ease when they crowd as into autistic consumption, and poverty-ridden glasses. They don’t know how to teach their children to read and write with us, and they feel much more comfortable when they crowd black children into terribly inadequate schools and separate black and white education.

Black anger

We in Inkatha shall demand that black power be put on street corners and regulate social life in Africa’s greatest asset. Black anger is a precious commodity which must be employed for noble purposes and cannot mean the end of gaining cheap political advantages which get the nation nowhere.

Black anger is even less something that must be squandered in blundering, failing tactics and strategies which exist high prices for little or no gain. If we cannot employ black anger with wisdom and in the correct way, it will turn into an assurance of an all-consuming destructive force.

The State President is failing to rise up to meet the demands of statesmanship. He either does not have the power he boasts of, or he does not have the willingness to be a statesman, which also he boasts of if he is. He makes out to be, he wants us to believe, a man without wings elements in his person and does not take the scruff of their necks and tell them to be the people’s good fortune in having a leader who is above politics and party pinnacles. The State President has not followed a single step towards the peace of Egypt, and from which a power-sharing formula could emerge.

No progress

On the other side of us, we are in a transition-in-exile, and their internal support groups like Inkatha. They do not declare their aims and objectives openly, and also refuse to participate toward the politics of nationalism.

We can have no programme to maintain this negotiation while there is no political agreement. We cannot forget that the government has declared a state of emergency. However, I believe the government may feel in hastening the situation, it is an extremely unsuccessful position in which our country finds itself.

There is already quite some legislation on the statute books which could be used without going to court to declare a state of national emergency and to set up the necessary machinery to do so.

extracts from an address by Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, delivered at Umhlanga recently to the congress of the Inkatha Youth League.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

undesirable things are going to happen which will further alienate blacks and whites in the country, and which will not make negotiations possible. It is just not possible to negotiate in the midst of a state of emergency.

All outbreaks of violence turn the clocks back, but let me say bluntly, that the truth of the matter is that the State President could not curb violence other than through the employment of more violence. His policies have failed, and his administration staff dealing with blacks have indicated their responsibilities and they are all hiding behind the guns of the police and the army....

After an address to the congress by the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, calling for a convention alliance, Chief Buthelezi contended that the State President had rejected the hand of friendship which KwaZulu and Inkatha were holding out while white South Africa, his speech to the National Party’s Natal congress at Durban, had shattered the world’s confidence in the progress of reforms....

Chief Buthelezi contended that I say to Dr Van Zyl Slabbert that I will work with him, and that Inkatha will work with the PPP to establish a movement towards a national convention.

Let there now be a national movement, in which all forces opposed to apartheid come together and present this country with a viable alternative.

Right now, all we have is the bloody road to self-civilising violence which is mapped out within the framework of the government’s insistence on working within the framework of apartheid.

The tragedy of the whites is that they are now ripe to take the people revolution to the national convention.

We cannot leap into a national convention to maroon. The government refuses to negotiate with us, and I must negotiate amongst others with the people for the purposes of this country.
Professor Meer at UDF rally

PROFESSOR Fatima Meer is to replace the detained Dr Allan Boesak as a speaker at a United Democratic Front rally in Sea Point tonight.

Professor Meer, a University of Natal sociologist, will speak with Mrs Helen Joseph, the first woman to be house-arrested, at Sea Point Civic Centre tonight.

Professor Meer will also speak at a meeting in Lansdowne Civic Centre tonight.
'Govt can’t ban UDF spirit'

The Government cannot ban the spirit of resistance to unjust rule which has become second nature to supporters of the United Democratic Front, says the UDF, which has for two years counted the now unlawful Congress of South African Students (Cosas) as a leading affiliate.

Acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said even a ban on the front itself would not achieve the State’s purpose of breaking resistance.

"The Government may yet succeed in crushing the UDF but it knows that it will never know any peace. As part of the national liberatory effort we have one thing that this Government can never have — the support of millions of South Africans who cherish the ideals of freedom, democracy and peace. "This state affords no dictator any moment of rest."

DETENTIONS

Mr Morobe claimed the UDF was a major focus of Government repression. He pointed to the detention of almost 30 of its leaders, including patron Dr Allan Boesak, in the last week alone.

Yesterday the UDF-affiliated Cosas was declared unlawful — the first time in nearly eight years the Government has resorted to banning an organisation.

The Government could find black support only among discredited community councillors and homeland leaders, Mr Morobe said.

"Some, like Inkhulula, have become the armed puppet wing of the apartheid Government. With pangas, assegais and knobkierries they are trying to force the detestable homeland system down our people’s throats in Natal."

This week Inkhulula’s Mr Winnington Sabelo warned the UDF that it would “face action” if it did not clear out of the Durban townships by the weekend.
Cape violence as police halt march

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Violent clashes between security forces and thousands of demonstrators of all races left five known dead, scores wounded and at least 29 under arrest here yesterday.

A police spokesman last night confirmed that in Guguletu, scene of the worst Cape Town riot since the 1976 disturbances, a total of four men had been shot dead and at least seven others wounded by shotgun fire. Later it was confirmed that a fifth man had died of wounds at a clinic in Crossroads.

The spokesman alleged policemen had been hurt by stones, one of them seriously.

Journalists have been barred from Guguletu since about 3 pm yesterday. Last night police said the situation was tense but quiet.

A number of prominent Cape Townians were arrested — among them the Reverend Abel Hendricks, former head of South Africa's Methodists, and Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio of the University of Cape Town.

Athlone Stadium would be blocked off.

Early yesterday morning roadblocks were set up by police and soldiers at various places. Access roads leading from Guguletu to Klipfontein Road — the route to Athlone Stadium — were sealed off. Cars and buses travelling on the Peninsula were stopped and searched. Patrols were patrolling the perimeter.

Armed warders mounted guard over Pollsmoor Prison itself, at nightfall police cars patrolled the Perimeter Road.

But by this time the march had acquired its own momentum, and there were clashes and arrests in several different places.

- Guguletu: Access roads to Klipfontein Road were sealed off:
  - with rocks, slabs of concrete and burning tyres, set three cars on fire and threw a balloon near Pezeka High School before burning it down.
  - Palls of smoke from the balloon and the burning tyres on the barricades were still hanging over the township at 3 pm, where security force members cleared away the barricades and sealed off the township.

- Athlone Stadium: By 10 am, an estimated 1,000 demonstrators had converged on the stadium, where they were met by a contingent of police. At first the atmosphere was peaceful, but after the crowd had started chanting at security force vehicles, a group of police armed with sjamboks charged the crowd.

- The police commando action till the marchers reached Woodstock Road in Cape Town yesterday.

-A confrontation between police and a marcher.
Dispatch Correspondent

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A number of prominent Capetonians were arrested — among them the Reverend Abel Hendricks, former head of South Africa's Methodistists and Professor Charles Villa-Vicencia of the University of Cape Town.

Also arrested were a number of foreign journalists who will appear in court today.

The clashes erupted when efforts were made to prevent demonstrators from marching on Pollsmoor Prison in Tokai and delivering a demand for the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

The march was called off on the advice of the police when it became clear that the marchers were not going to the prison. The police announced that the march was not going to the prison.

A police spokesman said the police had acted in self-defence and had used rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse the crowd.

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Boesak police probe likely to take months

Pretoria Correspondent

Intensive police investigations involving the detained patron of the United Democratic Front, Dr Allan Boesak, are likely to take months and end in lengthy court hearings.

The compilation of huge volumes of paperwork from police dockets on the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches will take a few months at least.

Among the points police are sure to examine are Dr Boesak’s trips to Mozambique, Zambia, the Netherlands, the United States of America, the United Nations and parts of South Africa.

In a recent visit to Zambia, hosted by President Kenneth Kaunda, Dr Boesak held talks with ANC leaders.

He reportedly said that although meetings in the Eastern Cape had been banned he could still go there and conduct church sermons in which he could convey to people what he had to tell them.

It is known that in a series of church sermons in the Eastern Cape in June, Dr Boesak conveyed greetings from President Kaunda and ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

VIOLENCE

Police are also understood to be looking into an outbreak of violence after one of these services in Graaff-Reinet where a crowd of youths set the house of a policeman alight. His charred body was discovered the next day.

Another point sure to fall under police scrutiny is Dr Boesak’s role in hosting Senator Edward Kennedy in January this year when, at a meeting in Athlone, Cape Town, he was heard shouting ANC slogans.

When he visited Mozambique earlier this year he was apparently met at the Maputo Airport by ANC members, including Mr Indres Naidoo and members of the International Friendship and Solidarity Organisation.

He also conducted a wreath-laying ceremony at the graves of ANC members killed in a South African Defence Force attack in 1981 and was reported to have said: “I am deeply grateful to the Mozambican Government that they have given them this place of honour in the cemetery.

“My own resolve to continue to fight the regime in Pretoria, that can be so ruthless, has been strengthened today.

“I will try my best to relay this message to the people in South Africa.”
The jailed African National Congress leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, did not say that only violence could bring about change, Durban sociology lecturer Professor Fatima Meer said last night.

What Mr. Mandela did say was that "talks" about a national convention were no longer possible since a "convention of action" was required, she said.

"I am prepared to put my head on a block that Mandela had not said so," she said in response to recent press reports that Mr. Mandela propounded violence as the only means for political change.

Professor Meer said this at a UDF meeting attended by nearly 1,000 people at Sea Point Civic Centre where detained UDF patron Dr. Allan Boesak was scheduled to speak.

She criticized the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr. Van Zyl Sinhbert, for seeking support for a national convention from the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi.

"Many white people feel that their salvation lies with Buthelezi. With Buthelezi lies only violence and the end of the road for us," she said.

Other speakers were the veteran banned political activist Mrs. Helen Joseph, who may not be quoted, and Professor Colin Bundy, history lecturer at the University of Cape Town.
PE arson suspect shot

Children outside Manenberg police station shield their faces from billowing tear smoke.

**OWN CORRESPONDENT**

**PORT ELIZABETH.** A suspected arsonist was seriously injured when he was shot by a guard after the home of Thabathwa's mayor, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, was gutted by fire yesterday.

The attack on Mr Linda's home came two days after he was quoted on television as appealing for an extension of the state of emergency.

The eight-roomed house in Koyana Road, Veenlaas, was destroyed by fire about 3am. Mr Linda estimated damage at R250,000.

He said that one of four people who ran from the scene when the fire started was shot by a guard.

A spokesman for the SA Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria confirmed that a man was seriously injured while allegedly trying to escape after setting fire to Mr Linda's house.

Sapa reports that police yesterday said that three people had died outside of Cape Town since Wednesday night.

In Soweto near Johannesburg, a man was killed and another seriously injured when a mob stoned a bus and private vehicle was dispersed by police.

In the Paarl-East coloured residential area, a man was killed and another injured when police dispersed a group throwing stones at vehicles.

In KwaThema on the East Rand, a man died after police fired tear smoke and rubber bullets to disperse a mob.
Schur, “but August is proving to be one of the worst months of the year.”

Ellerine chairman, Eric Ellerine, paints a rosier picture for his group. While Ellerine’s eastern Cape stores are being badly squeezed by the boycott, he says, the Transvaal stores have not been greatly affected; moreover, the group as a whole appears to be gaining market share.

Because of its mix of white and black customers, Edgars may be less affected than others. Chief executive Vic Hammond says that turnover in Edgars’ Sales House chain is running 10% below expectations, and the Jet chain, whose customer base is spread 50/50 between blacks and whites, is trading 5% below budget; sales for the Edgars chain is only 2% below budget. In the group’s eastern Cape branches, however, sales have plunged by 70%.

The boycott is hitting hard at World Furnishers’ eastern Cape operation, says chairman Rubin Swidler, where consumers “can’t risk being seen buying from us.” Swidler sees conditions remaining depressed “as long as the country’s level of unemployment remains at its current horrific level.”

OK Bazaars’ Allan Fabig would say only that “conditions have certainly deteriorated, but we cannot say how much is recession related, and how much is boycott related.” He adds that “it seems ironic that the OK, which was one of the first chains to use black tellers, and which has always campaigned for equal job opportunities for blacks, should suffer from such a boycott.”

For all the listed stores, the million dollar question is whether the boycott will extend into the Christmas trading period, which begins in November. Management of the large chains are reluctant to even acknowledge the possibility of a Christmas boycott, and most believe that the worst may be over by then. But if the boycott holds firm, and at present there is little reason to believe it won’t, the stores sector of the JSE could be swamped with losses this year.

Neville Giacri

AMIC

Deft footwork

Amic’s share price has slid 11% from its R31 yearly high, but fears that this fall might presage a sharp slide in the interim results have proved to be groundless. However, these results were in large part due to asset sales and rationalisation — the steps taken to avoid equity accounting of Samcor have in particular made Amic look a lot better.

Some R112m has been raised from the sales of non-strategic investments, says an Amic director. The cash was used to finance capital expenditure and to keep a lid on borrowings. Shares in Tongaat-Hulett, CMI, Samcor and Zinchem, and Rcnf freight debentures have been offloaded onto Anglo-Holdings in Union Steel, CMI, Middelburg Steel and Vierfonthein Colliery have been sold to third parties.

Financial Mail August 30 1985

TRADING OUTLOOK

Boycott biting

Drawing a consensus out of comments made by management of consumer-oriented companies seems to leave little doubt that trading conditions are looking worse in the current tradable earnings of operating subsidiaries advanced by 15,2% to R22.7m, while other net revenue advanced at a similar pace to R26.6m.

Amic’s reduced stake of 19% in Samcor avoids the need for equity accounting. The director says the Samcor stake was sold as it was felt that Anglo, as the senior SA partner, should have a holding more in line with that of Ford, Canada. He says the reduction of this stake to below 20% means that Amic need account only for dividends, but not attribute any part of Samcor’s loss to Amic’s earnings. The director resolutely refuses to indicate the size of Samcor’s loss.

Samcor’s losses

Amic’s share of Samcor’s loss last year was R44m (R13m at the interim) and it is a fair assumption that more losses may have arisen this year in the wake of the Verulian motor industry recession. Elimination of the need to charge part of Samcor’s loss to Amic’s account may have been a major boost to earnings. But it also underlines the fact that Amic’s other assets must have shown a slide in profit compared with last year.

Interest also rose 30% to R48.1m compared with last year’s interim, despite the raising of R112m from sales of shares. But this still looks a pretty creditable achievement, given the record rates of the last year. Second-half prospects for a reduction in interest also look quite favourable. Capital expenditure commitments at the interim were down to R46.8m from R61.1m last interim, and the increased cash generated should enable continued reductions of borrowings in the second half.

Amic is of course well placed in that Boart, Highveld and Scaw Metals are export and mining companies, whose results have gained immensely from the weak rand and strong mining industry demand. Of course.

AMIC HOLDS

Six months to: June 30 Dec 31 Jun 30

| Turnover (Rm) | 935 | 1 091 | 1 111 |
| Operating profit (Rm) | 152.6 | 190.1 | 173.5 |
| Interest paid (Rm) | 37.0 | 43.9 | 46.1 |
| Attributable profit (Rm) | 88.7 | 88.8 | 64.0 |
| Earnings (c) | 149.5 | 179.9 | 126.8 |
| Dividends (c) | 55 | 125 | 55 |
The way out for whites

Martin Legassick is a leading SA historian currently working in London. This is an abridged version of an article he wrote for the Winter 1985 edition of Die Suid-Afrikaan.

History sometimes has a dramatic way of hammering home reality.

Recent events – the township disturbances, the economic crisis and strikes – totally refute the myth that the “Apartheid” in SA is some external Soviet-backed “terrorist” plot. The real issue is the inability of the SA ruling class and its profit system to satisfy the economic and political demands of the black majority. Everywhere there are signs of the growing confidence and power of the organised black working class.

Black workers and youth, because they are the most oppressed and exploited, are in the forefront of responding to this crisis. But while workers and the white middle class will also be confronted with its effects on their lives. The way forward for themselves and their children will become an increasingly urgent question for them too. How will they respond?

Epidemic inflation, mounting unemployment, and a rising tax burden hit blacks hardest, but are eroding white privilege too. White workers are now increasingly suffering redundancies and short-time working. Inflation and high interest rates are impoverishing the white middle class.

The SA monopolies can export their capital; the upper layers of the white middle class have the resources to emigrate if they choose. But these are not the options for most whites, who have no other home, and who will have to choose between alternatives posed within SA itself.

In the end, these alternatives will be very stark for lower-class whites: a virtually suicidal course of clinging to privileges based on a bankrupt capitalist system – or, on the other hand, joining with the struggle of the majority for democracy and socialism.

The government, the capitalists and their spokesmen are peddling the belief that there is an alternative: a stable political system under capitalism that represents “black and white interests”, but does not base itself on one-person one-vote in a unitary SA.

This is presented to the whites (and to the black middle class) in terms of the “problems of democracy” in a “plural society”, and of the “swamping” of existing “identities” and “minority interests” by implementing majority rule.

But the real issue underlying this is that capitalism in SA cannot afford the economic costs of democracy.

The black majority demand democracy. They will not rest content with less. But universal (non-racial) franchise can “work” (be stable) on a capitalist basis only when capitalism can offer to a working-class electorate a future of improvement for themselves and their children. Capitalism cannot provide this in SA (and is increasingly unable to do so even in advanced industrial countries).

The same capitalists who appear to be urging on the government to a faster pace of “reform” are those who are criticising the government for “over-spending.” But they are much more quiet about where precisely they envisage that cuts could be imposed which could simultaneously satisfy their cry for lower taxes and less government debt and alleviate the problems of the poor.

The perspective for the SA economy under capitalism is for increasingly volatile lurches each one, far from controlling inflation or the unemployment level, adding a new spur to one or the other. This dooms working people, even the most privileged, to a continued relentless assault on living standards, only temporarily interrupted. None of the nostrums of the “monetarists” or the “neo-Keynesians” will halt this.

The only way out lies in the working class organising to take the commanding heights of production into the ownership of the State, under their own democratic control and management, and with a democratic plan for producing on the basis of need, not of profit – and at the same time joining together with workers in a struggle against capitalism internationally.

The insoluble economic contradictions ensure the opening up of a stormy period for white ruling class politics, of confusion, division, splits, and lurches in one direction and another, of which as yet only the beginning has been seen. This has vital implications not only for the black majority in seeking a clear way forward, but for the mass of the whites too.

Especially since the discovery of gold, the capitalists have reinforced racial divisions and have concealed challenges to the whites in SA not, at root, because of a common “sense of identity” (in its search for profits capitalism knows no colour or national boundaries), but to use whites to defend and maintain the cheap labour system.

Now, in respect of the whites, the ruling class (big business and the NP government) is faced with a contradiction. In reality, white economic privilege is being steadily eroded – by the limited resources of the capitalist system. But, because the ruling class bases itself on conscripting the whites to the defence of its system of profit, it must disguise this reality in one way or another.

There has been an “academic debate” over whether or not racialism served and is serving interests of capitalism in SA. In present conditions the reality is that a racial consciousness constitutes for the white working class a terrible blindfold precluding it from seeing the real source of its problems. It is the system of monopoly capitalism which is strangling the future of SA.

Over the longer term the perspectives which unfold are either the recovery – or, more correctly, the discovery – by the white working class of a class consciousness, of its common interests with the black majority of the working class against the monopolies and those who serve them, or, alternatively, the nightmare of a racial civil war.

On this score no-one could afford illusions. The fostering of white privilege, (even in disguised “pluralist” or “federalist” forms that fool nobody) offers no hope whatever of lasting accommodations but only, in the end, of the mass of the whites ending up in the camp of the most desperate reaction, seeing their way out. And, under the conditions that are unfolding in SA, the unleashing of a racial civil war would consume millions of lives, destroy the production base, and leave a smouldering rubble.

No-one could claim that the emergence of a real class consciousness among the whites will be an easy transition. Yet there exists for white workers the beginnings of an alternative pole of attraction to the misleading promises of the capitalist politicians – lying first and foremost in the independent trade union movement of black workers, now approaching half a million strong, and fiercely committed to non-racialism and to democratic control of their own organisations.

“Reform faster!” say the liberals to Botha, in invoking the spectre of a Treurnicht government. But, in conditions of mounting crisis, it is reformists who have the bleakest perspectives. The mass of whites will not be held indefinitely away from, or won back from, Treurnicht (or even worse ultra-right alternatives) by the prospect of more verluitige “constitutional schemes.”

But contained within the independent trade union movement, and the rallying of the black youth to the movement of the working class, is the possibility of a different answer. It says to whites: “Join with us in the struggle for a new society in which the economic well-being of all sections of working people without discrimination can be guaranteed. Such a society will be possible only under the democratic rule of the working class, with ownership of the means of production in the hands of the people as a whole. Our ranks are open to you. We welcome you as co-strugglers, just as we shall oppose remorselessly your defence of the bosses, their government, or your special privilege.”

Only with a non-racial mass movement for democracy, and majority rule clearly proclaming this aim, will it be possible to hold off the whites from consolidating, in the end, around a pole of extreme reaction.
In the midst of the worst black consumer boycott ever known, Dan "Cheeky" Watson is probably the only white businessman whose shops are not being boycotted.

As the owner of three men's outfitters in Port Elizabeth, East London and Uitenhage, Watson (30) should be facing similar problems to those of other businessmen. But he isn't. In Uitenhage, for example, he's doing better trade than ever before.

"Cheeky" by name and cheeky by nature is probably a fair, but perhaps too flippancy way of describing Watson's approach to the current political crisis facing SA. But he's paying the price of bucking the "system," of being "too close to the blacks" and of trying to operate as an unprejudiced human being in an environment based on racial prejudice and discrimination.

A pamphlet circulated recently in Uitenhage's black townships informing residents that they need not boycott Watson's shop. That is when his problems began.

He was almost immediately "visited" by a police contingent headed by a well-known local mayor, who wanted to know why he was so successful when other white shopkeepers were losing business.

For Watson the answer was simple; he had been seen over many years to be consistently opposed to apartheid — and that is what the boycott is about.

"The tragedy is that people are seeing this boycott as a black/white confrontation. The fact that I'm not being boycotted proves that it's not," he says.

The stream of customers through his Uitenhage shop proves his point. His anti-apartheid credentials are unimpeachable — which is more than can be said for many of his neighbouring businessmen.

Watson proved his point the hard way. In 1976, as a Springbok rugby trialist, he sacrificed what could have been a brilliant sports career in the "white establishment" to play for a non-racial, predominantly black club in Port Elizabeth.

Together with his brother, Valance, and another former Eastern Province provincial player, Mike Ryan, Watson abandoned rugby stardom to play for Kwaru, a Port Elizabeth township team in the non-racial rugby league.

It was a hard struggle. They were forced to apply for special permits to enter the townships, and their training and match facilities were atrocious.

But after a period of "inspection" by local players and fans, the trio was accepted as part of the team. They became revered heroes.

During big matches, stadiums in the townships resounded with the chant "Cheeky, Cheeky," whenever Watson got the ball.

But he paid the penalty. Government frowned upon his liberal approach. He was charged with entering a township without permission. Then he was accused by government of damaging sport in SA. But he remained undeterred and was eventually given a blanket permit to play in the townships.

Watson attributes his resilience to strong Christian beliefs which have supported him in his current crisis. He says he regards the recent police visit to his central Uitenhage shop as extremely intimidating and he fears for his safety.

"They threatened to arrest me if they were not satisfied with the way I was running my business. I asked them on what charge they would arrest me, and they said under the State of Emergency they didn't need a charge," Watson says.

When the delegation left, a black and a white policeman were posted on the pavement outside. Customers were reluctant to come in.

"I went outside and told the white guy to go and phone his superior and say I was inviting a CBS television crew to come and film them guarding my shop.

"He disappeared, but was back in a few minutes. Ten minutes later a van came and picked them up and they haven't been back since," he says.

In the meantime, Watson's business has picked up amazingly.

"I run a high-class, men's outfitters, but I've been asked to stock all sorts of other things now as well," he says pointing to a range which includes baby clothes and plastic buckets.

All his customers need is his packet to prove they have not broken the boycott.

A police spokesman in Port Elizabeth, Lt-Col Gerrie van Rooyen, confirmed the police visit, but denied intimidation. He said police wanted to question Watson about the pamphlet bearing his shop's name.

He also denied that two policemen were posted outside the shop. If they were there, he said, they were there for normal patrol duties.
STATE OF THE NATION

Confrontation grows

Conflict potential deepened this week. UDF patron Allan Boesak was detained under the Internal Security Act, but this seemed unlikely to avert a planned illegal mass protest march to Pollsmoor Prison. As unrest continued, the rand fell to an all-time low of US$0.34 and a confrontation loomed between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his three NEC counterparts who want to visit SA.

But there were two small rays of light: PPF leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's ambitious plan to launch a non-racial "convention alliance" of moderate anti-apartheid groups backed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and some influential businessmen; and Co-operation, Development and Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen's clear statements on government's plans for influx control and black citizenship (see Face to Face).

Boesak's arrest may well have unpredictable consequences, despite evidence that, by his defiant attitude, he sought it. Although he was the prime mover behind the planned march to Pollsmoor Prison where Nelson Mandela is held, by the time of going to press it appeared that the march would go ahead against Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange's explicit orders. If Boesak was courting arrest in front of the world's media, government has simply obliged by locking him up a day early.

State President PW Botha last weekend warned his opponents "for the last time" that government would brook no further provocation.

The main anti-government groups, including the outlawed ANC, the UDF and Azapo have given Slabbert's ambitious new plan short shrift. Without their participation it seems futile. Yet there was a time, not long ago, when they supported the notion of a convention.

Slabbert is undaunted. He makes the point that the purpose of a national convention is "precisely to differentiate" between those who do not want to renounce violence and those who are prepared to search for peaceful solutions.

But positions have hardened, as Mandela's recent uncompromising rejection of the idea demonstrates.

The UDF's Boesak has also rejected participation in Slabbert's forum so long as Mandela remains imprisoned.

Oddly enough, Slabbert's plan seems to have the effect of bringing arch-rivals Azapo and UDF closer together. Azapo has consistently rejected the notion of a national convention.

The outcome of this weekend's PPF federal congress in Durban could be crucial to the party's role in helping resolve SA's political crisis. It remains to be seen, however, whether the PPF can overcome internal squabbling and emerge strong enough to regain the rapidly eroding political middle ground.

The main issue facing the PPF congress probably remains participation in the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament now that the Prohibition of Political Interference Act has been scrapped. But debates on at least three other issues will be watched with considerable interest: military conscription and the role of the SANDF in the towns; Mandela's rejection of a national convention in favour of an armed struggle; and the PPF's role in the national convention alliance.

Increasing racial polarisation due to continuing unrest and President Botha's failure to commit himself to real reform, have undoubtedly made the PPF's task much harder. Harry Schwarz of Yeoville is again expected to lead a group of conservative members in opposing the ratification of the PPF federal council resolution calling for an end to compulsory military service.

Meanwhile, Pick 'n Pay's Raymond Ackerman has embarked on the creation of a business task force to dispel some of the gloom left by PW Botha's Durban speech.

Ackerman tells the FM he feels there are sufficient bodies, such as the Urban Foundation, doing their jobs well and he has no intention of creating yet another, but he believes business must do more.

"To my mind there is a State of Emergency in the minds of people, not the one declared by government, but something born out of extreme concern over where we are going," says Ackerman who emphasises that he does not want to assume a political profile.

"I've had so many calls for somebody to show some leadership from business. We are all being lumped together as part of the so-called system."

Ackerman says he is having uphill in getting businessmen to agree on a concerted action programme. He believes, however, that the programme could serve as a useful adjunct to the Buthelezi/Slabbert initiative for a national convention, and reform programmes advocated by organised commerce.
Quoting Mandela

Many eyebrows were raised recently when several SA newspapers quoted at length what ANC leader Nelson Mandela had said from Pollsmoor Prison. Most people — and some newspapers — thought this was against the law.

The situation is that Mandela may be quoted in SA, but in doing so care should be taken not to further the aims of an unlawful organisation, according to a researcher at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (Cals) at the University of the Witwatersrand.

According to the Cals researcher, it is not an offence as such to quote Mandela. He is not banned or listed. However, he cannot be quoted on the offence for which he was imprisoned unless the information was admissible as evidence at his trial.

Caution also has to be exercised when quoting Mandela not to contravene laws prohibiting the promotion of the aims of an unlawful organisation such as the ANC.

He may also be quoted on the conditions of his imprisonment if the prisons authorities are given the opportunity, in terms of an agreement with the Newspaper Press Union, to respond simultaneously to the comments.
Inkatha ready to bury differences

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Inkatha would take part in the national convention alliance without preconditions, the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, told the Progressive Federal Party's federal congress here today.

He was reading a message to the congress from the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was in Pretoria for a meeting with European Economic Community ministers.

Dhlomo said Inkatha was prepared to bury whatever political differences it had with other participants in the alliance.

The organisation called on all groups and individuals to take part in it, at a time when the future of the country was at stake. He called on President P.W. Botha to speed the process of negotiation and deliver a statement of intent.

"At the time when the Government should be negotiating it is detaining people and banning organisations. The solution lies in talking to people instead of banning them."

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was unanimously re-elected FFU leader at the congress today. Mr Colin Eglin was unanimously re-elected chairman.

*See Page 17.*
Toll in Cape unrest now 17

CAPE TOWN — Cape Town’s unrest death toll rose to 17 last night after a second day of violent street battles, looting, and disruption of essential services.

While police confirmed a total of 13 fatalities, the parents of three Mitchell’s Plain youths said their sons were shot dead in two separate incidents between 6 pm and 7.30 pm.

There was also a radio report, which could not be verified, that a child had died in a Guguletu arson attack earlier in the day.

With reports of hundreds of injuries, police confirmed that at least 89 people were arrested yesterday.

Late last night, tyre barricades and buildings were ablaze in many townships.

Some of the buildings were a welfare office and liquor store in Mitchell’s Plain, a school, rent office, and bottle store in Manenberg, and a paint factory in Recliv View.

Fire tenders from Salt River to Lakeside were on standby at Manenberg police station, unable to get into the areas because of the continuing violence.

Amid public pleas yesterday by the mayor, Mr. Sol Kreiner, and other councillors for restraint on both sides, students-police confrontations spread mainly to Mitchell’s Plain, Bellville South, and Manenberg, while security forces cracked down again on black rioters in the still isolated townships of Guguletu and Nyanga.

On the campus of the University of Cape Town yesterday evening police firing teargas charged about 50 students involved in peak-hour picketing on De Waal Drive. Some stones were thrown as students fled into nearby buildings.

Shortly before the police contingent moved in, UCT’s principal, Dr. Stuart Saunders, informed the picket by megaphone that the police had given them a 15-minute warning to disperse and had threatened to use rifles if they refused to obey. He said police had told him they had information that some of the students had stones and petrol bombs.

Although police confirmed a total of 13 dead people, they refused to name them or to detail where the incidents took place. However, it appears that most deaths occurred in debris-strewn Guguletu.

Last night reports of parents desperately looking for missing children were rife while wounded residents from the black townships, including young children, continued to stream into the Sola Clinic in Old Crossroads — at least 80 in the past two days have been treated by staff working round the clock.

The casualty list of policemen in the front line also rose yesterday, with at least one man, Sergeant C. B. Swanepoel, knocked unconscious by a flying stone. One unseen danger emerged — barbed wire is being strung across roads at neck level in an attempt to injure the security forces — while last night, several shots were fired at patrols Casspirs.

As confusion reigns over what areas were unstable, hundreds of coloured and black city centre employees were sent home early.

Although all other essential services into the townships have been disrupted, South African Transport Services said that trains — some of which were stoned in Mitchell’s Plain — were continuing to run on schedule.

A special city council meeting has been called for Monday to discuss the situation and a top-level delegation is requesting a meeting with the Cape Administrator, Mr. Gene Louw.

In Bellville South earlier in the day, hundreds of students from the University of the Western Cape and Peninsula Technical were charged by police with whips while on their way to Glenhaven to deliver a message of support to Mrs. Dorothy Bosak, wife of the detained UDF patron, Dr. Allan Bosak.

Parts of Modderdam Road were sealed off for most of the day, with police firing teargas, rubber bullets, and birdshot in the area. Cars were stoned outside the UWC at about midday.

A spokesman for the Metro emergency service said that earlier in the day they had dealt with six dead and more than 20 casualties from unrest areas, mainly from Mitchell’s Plain, Guguletu, Manenberg and Bellville South. He said the casualties — all shooting cases — had been taken to Tygerberg, Conradie and Groote Schuur Hospitals.

Meanwhile, Mr. Peter Harris, Labour Party MP for Strandfontein, has declined to outline his future in politics following an early-morning hand grenade attack on his Heidelberg home.

"I don't want to make any hasty decision or commit myself now but I certainly know that violence is not the way to solve our problems," he said.

Mr. Harris is the fifth Peninsula Labour Party member to have his home attacked in petrol bomb and hand grenade attacks in as many months.
Duncan Village to be retained

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The whole of Duncan Village is to be retained and the 99-year leasehold system will apply.

These major announcements on black urban rights in East London were made yesterday by the Deputy Minister of Education and Co-operation, Mr Sam de Beer.

The full statement telexed from the minister's Pretoria office said:

"The future of Duncan Village was discussed in depth on August 13, 1985, in East London with the community council of Duncan Village, the East London city council and the Eastern Cape Development Board.

Regarding the section of Duncan Village known as Ziphunzana, the government, through the then Prime Minister on June 16, 1983, that it will be retained and upgraded.

"During the discussions, the members of the community council strongly stated the feelings of the residents which they represent by pointing out that the community is overwhelmingly in favour of the retention of the entire area.

On the grounds of the well motivated representations made by the community council, which were also fully supported by the other bodies represented, the government was able to reconsider the matter.

"It is therefore a pleasure to announce that it was decided that the entire Duncan Village is to be retained within its present boundaries.

"The entire area is to be replanned and upgraded and the 99-year leasehold system will apply. Residents who wish to settle in Mbandane, their own free will receive assistance and encouragement, but no forced resettlement will take place.

"It is trusted that this decision will generate security among the communities of Duncan Village and East London and that the private sector, in co-operation with all the parties concerned, will endeavour to achieve peace, prosperity and progress in this area."

Editorial opinion P16; MPs react P17
Restrictions placed on pupil’s funeral

ZWELITSHA — Restrictions have been placed on the funeral of a former pupil of the Nompandulo High School who drowned last month, according to the pupil’s father.

Mr G. Patsa, of Zwelitsha, said yesterday that he had received restrictions from the Zwelitsha magistrate about the funeral of his son, Vuyani Patsa, 16, who disappeared on July 16 when pupils from the school were chased by the police after refusing to attend classes. His body was found in the Buffalo River on August 21.

Mr Patsa said that, in terms of the restriction order, Vuyani was supposed to have been buried yesterday. After representations to the authorities he was now allowed to bury him tomorrow.

Not more than 200 mourners would be allowed to attend the funeral, Mr Patsa said.

He said that pupils or students could not attend the funeral or any service at his home.

Freedom songs were not to be sung. Pupils were prohibited from joining the procession to the graveyard.

He said that mourners were required to travel by motor vehicles and not on foot and the corpse had to be transported by a vehicle to the graveyard.

Three pupils from the school who drowned during the chase were buried last month.
Botha, Mangope have talks

by Colleen Ryan

The State President, Mr P W Botha, paid a "working visit" to the President of Bophuthatswana, Mr Lucas Mangope, yesterday where the issue of land consolidation was apparently discussed.

At a luncheon banquet given in his honour after the meeting in Mmabatho, President Botha gave no clue to the outcome of the talks, but stressed the positive relationship which existed between the two states.

The State President thanked Mr Mangope for the warm welcome he had received, but made no mention of the student demonstration outside the government buildings in Mmabatho where the talks were held.

Between 800 and 1,000 students, mainly from the University of Bophuthatswana, and a group of school pupils staged a peaceful demonstration against the visit, waving anti-apartheid banners and singing freedom songs.

The importance of land consolidation was stressed earlier in the day at a Press conference attended by Bophuthatswana's Foreign Minister, Mr T M Motlathwa.

In his address to Mr Mangope, Mr Botha defended Bophuthatswana's right to independence.

"It is only right for your people to be independent," he said.

Referring to calls for an end to apartheid, Mr Botha said he had long rejected any policy which deprived people of their rights.

In his address, President Mangope said Mr Botha was the first leader in South Africa capable of bringing about reform. He urged him to speed up the reform process and to dismantle apartheid.

The two leaders then exchanged gifts — Mr Mangope presented the State President with a grandfather clock made in Bophuthatswana and Mr Botha presented his counterpart with a South African painting.

Mr Botha also announced the gift of 34 tons of milk powder and 20 tons of potatoes to the people of Bophuthatswana.

Mr Botha was accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, and the Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, Mr Ben Wilken.

Earlier the student protest apparently disrupted plans for a pupil guard of honour and drum majorettes to welcome the State President whose helicopter landed away from the protesters, avoiding a possible confrontation.

Students interviewed by The Star said they strongly objected to the meeting between the two presidents.

"We don't want him (Mr Botha) to talk to homeland leaders, but to talk to our legitimate leaders like Mandela," said one student.
ANC, business talk

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress said yesterday it was planning to hold talks soon with a group of South African businessmen on prospects of dismantling apartheid.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said the planned meeting reflected the organization’s policy of holding a dialogue with all sections of South African society that favoured the abolition of apartheid.

He declined to name companies or individuals who would be attending the meeting, or say when or where it would be held. But he said it would take place “in the very near future”, and that some of the businessmen wanted it to be held in Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

“We are prepared to talk to anyone in South Africa from the business community or any other community if they think by talking to the ANC they will be contributing to dismantling apartheid in South Africa,” he said.

Mr Sebina said many South African businessmen now regarded apartheid as an intolerable burden that could lead to economic disaster. The financial turmoil of the past few days, with the rand falling to record lows, strengthened this feeling, he added.

Major South African business organisations yesterday urged the government to talk with black leaders, including those in jail, to resolve the crisis. — Sapa-Reuters
Boesak calls for restra

Political Staff

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and UDF patron, yesterday warned against the latest decision to curb the size of funerals which would create more confrontation and bloodshed.

Addressing about 700 people — most of them students — at St George’s Cathedral, Dr Boesak also appealed to students to “conserve their energy and use it carefully.”

“We should not have confrontation for confrontation’s sake,” he said.

He specifically reacted to an announcement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, on Tuesday that funerals would in future not be allowed to be political gatherings and that the number of people attending them would be limited.

Reports that in the special government notice published yesterday, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said the regulations were being implemented under the Public Safety Act in respect of funeral ceremonies, processions and burials.

The notice forbids outdoor services to commemorate the death or funeral of people who died of unnatural causes in any of the emergency areas. A service could only be held for one person at a time.

“Only an ordained minister of a religious denomination or organization may act as a speaker during any proceedings at any such funeral ceremony,” the notice said.

People attending funeral services would have to travel by vehicle and along a route determined by police, the notice said.

The notice forbids the
Political Staff

DR Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and UDF patron, yesterday warned the government that its latest decision to curb the size of funerals would create more ‘confrontation and bloodshed’.

Addressing about 700 people — most of them students — at St George’s Cathedral, Dr Boesak also appealed to students to “conserve their energy” and use it “carefully.”

“We should not just have confrontations for confrontation’s sake,” he said.

He specifically reacted to an announcement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, on Tuesday that funerals would in future not be allowed to be political gatherings and that the number of people attending them would be limited.

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“Only an ordained minister of a religious denomination or organization may act as a speaker during any proceedings at such funeral ceremony,” the notice said.

People attending funeral services would have to travel by vehicle and along a route determined by police, the notice said.

The notice forbids the use of public address systems and the distribution or display of flags, banners, placards, pamphlets and posters during funeral ceremonies.

Bishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that South African authorities were playing with fire and that curbs on the funerals of black riot victims made him fear for the future.

“I think that the authorities are really now playing with fire in the sense that they are seeking new points of confrontation and friction with a people that are already embattled by vicious and draconian laws,” he said.

“Funeral gatherings are a safety valve for the pent-up emotions of blacks deprived of political rights under apartheid.”

Dr Boesak said at the meeting that funerals had from “time immemorial been special occasions for black people”.

He said the funerals express the rightful anger of a whole people, and that the government knew restrictions on funerals “are sure to cause more confrontation and bloodshed”.

● Police kept a low profile at lunchtime yesterday when students who attended the prayer meeting at St George’s Cathedral, chanted and sang freedom songs on the steps of the church before marching through the City.

Fearing that police action would follow, Dr Boesak then escorted a group of 250 students to the station, and the Grand Parade where buses were waiting to transport them.

● Graaff-Reinet crackdown, page 2
Boesak criticises Le Grange’s restrictions on funerals

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a patron of the United Democratic Front, yesterday warned the Government that its latest decision to curb the size of funerals would create more “confrontation and bloodshed”.

Addressing about 700 people at St George’s Cathedral, Dr Boesak also appealed to students to “conserve their energy” and use it “carefully”.

“We should not just have confrontation for confrontation’s sake,” he said.

Dr Boesak was reacting to Tuesday’s announcement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that funerals would not be allowed to be political gatherings and that the number of people attending them would be limited.

Dr Boesak said: “Funerals have from time immemorial been special occasions for black people. It is a time for grieving and sharing of burdens, as well as affirming community togetherness.”

But he admitted that funerals had become occasions of expressing political feelings about the Government.

Dr Boesak said the funerals of victims of apartheid expressed the rightful anger of a whole people and “no doubt profoundly disturb the Government”.

“There can be no doubt in the minds of all thinking people that Mr le Grange is deliberately provoking our people, forcing them to challenge the awesome forces of his Government,” he said.

“The world must know that the South African Government will be responsible if that order causes more bloodshed.

“We do not have guns or armies and we do not put our trust in them. But we shall fight this Government with all the power we possess,” Dr Boesak said.

“And we shall bring it down.”

The Detainees’ Parents Support Committee has also condemned “in the strongest possible terms the Government’s latest invasion into the right of a family to bury its dead in the manner it sees fit.”
Gunmen kill widow of slain attorney Mxenge

Crime Reporter

CIVIL rights lawyer Mrs Nonyamezelo Mxenge, widow of slain attorney Griffiths Mxenge, was gunned down at her home in Umlazi, Durban, last night.

A relative, Miss Mondisiwe Mxenge, said last night that four black men had driven up to the house shortly before 7 p.m. just as Mrs Mxenge returned home from a meeting.

The men opened fire while she was still in the driveway and she was hit in the head.

Her eldest son, Mbasali, took her to Prince Mshiane Hospital in Umlazi, where she died.

Police were at the scene last night but had made no arrests.

Mrs Mxenge, 43, was one of the instructing attorneys for the accused in the Pietermaritzburg treason trial which resumes on Monday.

Mr D K Singh, another instructing attorney, said last night Mrs Mxenge had played a vital role in collecting evidence for the trial.

She was also the secretary-treasurer for the Re-

Widow slain

Mrs Mxenge, a former Robben Island prisoner, was a former ANC member and did a lot of work for political prisoners.

Mrs Mxenge was admitted as an attorney in 1981 after joining her husband's firm in 1975. Until then she had been a nurse.

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The boycott bites

After months of unrest and violence punctuated by weekend funerals, Port Elizabeth has for more than two weeks been in the grip of a highly effective black consumer boycott.

The start of the boycott on Monday, July 15, heralded a week in which news would come of the closure of the second biggest industrial employer in Grahamstown; strikes by workers at all three motor manufacturers in the region; and the funeral in Cradock of four murdered community leaders.

Six days into the boycott, the proclamation of the State of Emergency complicated even further the delicate and often tenuous links between the communities. Plans for meetings between coloured and Indian traders, as well as the chambers of commerce and industry with the Consumer Boycott Committee, failed to materialise after members of the committee went underground.

Says Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce director Tony Gilson: "Although the State of Emergency was probably inevitable, there is no doubt that the declaration and certain of the actions thereafter have placed in jeopardy certain delicate negotiations started in recent months. But we will continue with our policy of identifying grievances and conveying them to the proper authorities."

According to the Progressive Federal Party — which undertook a survey of 43 businesses in the North End area of the city, where large numbers of black people shop — more than two-thirds of the businesses showed sales declines of between 30% and 100%. Two had closed.

Wholesalers, however, are reporting that African traders are purchasing three or four times their normal supplies.

The boycott has also affected the distribution of food parcels in the black community by welfare organisations.

The degree of intimidation involved is not easy to gauge. However, 12 days after the start police reported having arrested a total of 60 people on charges of intimidation relating to the boycott.

The boycott has been organised by the Consumer Boycott Committee whose demands include:
- Withdrawal of the SA Defence Force and the heavy contingent of police from black townships;
- An end to the "mystery disappearance" of people in the townships;
- A government price freeze on basic commodities;
- Lifting the ban on meetings of certain organisations;
- Scrapping the Black Local Authorities Act; and
- Consideration by the Department of Education and Training of pupils’ demands.

The boycott of schools, which by the end of the second quarter was affecting the majority of black schools in the eastern Cape, is continuing in the region’s major centres. At the beginning of this week some (in certain cases all) schools in Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, Port Alfred, Port Elizabeth, Cradock and Graaff-Reinet were being boycotted.

In addition, students at the Port Elizabeth campus of Vista University last week started a boycott of classes in protest against the proclamation of the Emergency — prompting the university authorities to convert to a correspondence system to allow those who want to do so to continue their courses.

The closure of Grahamstown Potteries, a division of Continental China, and the second-largest industry in the city, is set for August 2. It will add another 178 to an estimated 20 000 unemployed in the city and mean the shutdown of a factory that 18 months ago employed 342 people.

Continental China MD, Bill Paverd, says the company’s sales have dropped by some 40% over the last eight months. The Grahamstown Pottery is used to manufacture goods for the lower end of the market and can no longer compete with cheap imports from (mainland) China.

Stoppages also affected the three motor manufacturers in the region. At General Motors workers walked out of the locomotive plant following a dispute between a foreman and an employee. At Ford workers walked off the Neave assembly line because of a wage dispute. In Uitenhage work came to a halt when workers walked out over a dispute over their demand that their pension contributions be paid out to alleviate personal financial hardship.

Last week also saw the strike of a strike at the Port Elizabeth abattoir following arrests of workers.

Meanwhile in Uitenhage an effort is underway to revive the Town Council of Kwa-Nobuhle. The Government has appointed the recently retired Town Clerk of Uitenhage, Barry Erasmus, as adviser to the officials who were left in charge of a municipality without a council when most of the councilors resigned at the end of last year.

On the one hand his task is to act as a one-man town council, dealing with the recommendations of the officials at official council meetings. The other is "to talk to the people."
Treason trial lawyer shot dead

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mrs Nonyamezelo Mxenge, a civil rights attorney and widow of the slain Mr Griffiths Mxenge, was gunned down at her home in Umlazi here last night.

Her killing comes nearly four years after her husband, also a civil rights lawyer, was found with 45 stab wounds and a slit throat near the Umlazi cycle stadium. His murder remains unsolved.

A relative, Miss Mondisiwe Mxenge, said last night that four black men drove up to the house shortly before 7pm, just as Mrs Mxenge returned home from a meeting. They opened fire while she was still in her car in the driveway, hitting her in the head.

She died in Mashiani Hospital in Umlazi. Police have made no arrests.

Mrs Mxenge, 43, was one of the instructing attorneys for the accused in the Maritzburg treason trial, which resumes Monday.

Mr D K Singh, another instructing attorney, said last night that Mrs Mxenge had played a vital role in collecting evidence for the trial.

She was also the secretary-treasurer for the Release Mandela Committee and recently spoke at funerals of unrest victims.

Mr Mxenge, a former Robben Island prisoner, was a former ANC-member. A large portion of his work was acting for political prisoners.
I will break unjust funeral laws — Tutu

PARYS. — The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, yesterday called on the Minister of Law and Order to reconsider his regulations on outdoor memorial services for unrest victims in the 36 magisterial districts affected by the state of emergency.

Bishop Tutu said curbs on funerals of unrest victims announced on Wednesday would “boil the legacy of bitterness and anger” and he added that he would defy the restrictions.

“If they (the government) try and promulgate laws that are unjust, I will break these laws…” I will not be told by any secular authorities what gospel I must preach,” he said.

Victims

The bishop was speaking at the funeral of three unrest victims shot dead two weeks ago after the funeral of another unrest victim, Mr James Majola, in Tumahole near Parys in the Free State.

Tumahole and Parys are not on the list of 36 areas but it appeared that funeral organizers might have acted to prevent possible police action as they held the service inside the community hall and not outdoors on a sports field, as is the custom.

Thousands of residents in Tumahole stayed away from work to bury the victims.

Chanting and marching, they packed the hall to pray their last tributes to Ephraim Ntjafo, 17, Mzwandile Gasa, 17, and Khushe Phongbe, 19.

Bishop Tutu … “I will not be told by any secular authorities what gospel I must preach.”

Last week a Parys magistrate prohibited a weekend burial for the three.

Sophie Tena reports that Miss Roseline Maki Skosana, the woman burnt to death three weeks ago by an angry Duduzo mob, was buried in Soweto's Avalon cemetery yesterday morning.

Miss Skosana was killed after a funeral by a mob that had suspected her of being a police informer and had claimed that she was responsible for the deaths of three of the hand grenade victims.

The funeral was conducted at the Chiawelo Lutheran Church by the Rev Jacob Dlamini, in the Tsakane circuit in the East Rand, and was attended by more than 100 people from Soweto — mostly members of the Lutheran Churches where Maki was a member and choir girl.

Dr Manasse Buthelisi, president of the Lutheran Churches, also attended. — Sapa
Tutu calls for end to ban on unrest funerals

Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday called on the Minister of Law and Order to reconsider his regulation on outdoor memorial services for unrest victims in the 36 magisterial districts affected by the emergency.

The bishop was speaking at the funeral of three unrest victims in Tunahole, near Parys. He said curbs on funerals of unrest victims would “fuel the legacy of bitterness and anger and could also result in a bloody confrontation”.

In a passionate plea Bishop Tutu said: “Please do not rub salt into the wounds caused by apartheid; we are already bruised, do not trample on us. We have a glorious cause. We are not bloodthirsty.

“All we are asking is to be treated like human beings so that we can live amicably and harmoniously without friction.

“Where else can we speak with our people if not during our funerals, because we do not have representation in your Government? For goodness sake, please allow us to bury people who were killed because of apartheid peacefully and according to our will.

“Don’t force us to break the laws that you make every day.”

Among other things, the regulation said only ordained ministers could speak at such funerals and that they should not defend or attack any form of government.

Bishop Tutu said he had been a responsible minister for 24 years and would not be dictated to by anybody on what to do or say at funerals of unrest victims.

“God and the Bible will tell me what to say at such funerals and not any authority,” he said.

“In kwathema more than 50 000 paid their last respects to 15 dead.

“If one could limit the number to 1 000, what would happen to the other 49 000, if not a confrontation with the police resulting in more deaths?” he asked.
Cosas, Azaso reject Year of the Youth celebrations

EAST LONDON — Two students' organisations, the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), have rejected celebrations sponsored by the South African and Ciskei Governments for the International Year of the Youth (IYY) arranged for this weekend.

Mr Sixolile Siyo, the acting publicity secretary for the two student movements, issued a statement calling on the Department of Education and Training to put its house in order before considering celebrating the IYY.

"We the students of South Africa who are racially discriminated against and subjected to apartheid education, believe that the Department of Education and Training should not window-dress the South African situation at the expense of the exploited people of South Africa," the statement said.

The two organisations called on DET to meet students' demands before making arrangements for celebrations.

These demands are detailed as follows:

An extension of the registration date for matriculation examinations for pupils of Qaqamba and Ebenezer Majombori in Duncan Village.

A halt to forced removals in Duncan Village.

Improved facilities at schools using the R3,000 earmarked by the South African Government for the IYY celebrations.

Withdrawals of charges against Qaqamba pupils.

An end to the shooting of pupils in Zwelitsha and Dimbaza in Ciskei.

"The UN theme, 'development, participation and peace' will only suit South Africa when all apartheid laws have been scrapped," the statement said in conclusion.

The two students movements also emphasised that the South African Government should understand that "the only government that would claim authority was the one formed by all the people when doors of learning and culture were opened to all." — DDR
UDF calls off boycott of E L newspaper

EAST LONDON — The United Democratic Front has called off its boycott of East London’s Daily Dispatch newspaper and withdrawn its demand for the resignation of the editor, Mr. George Farr.

This follows the Dispatch’s publication of a front-page ‘announcement’.

It said: “The Daily Dispatch concedes that certain references and terms used in some of its articles could have caused offence to a large section of its readership.

‘It further wishes to emphasise that although its editorial policy was assumed in some quarters to be pro-apartheid, it has no such intentions.

‘The Daily Dispatch now restates its total opposition to a policy that is abhorrent to all freedom-loving people, and reaffirms its intention to continue its proud tradition as an anti-apartheid newspaper, a tradition which it has followed for the past 37 years.

‘The Daily Dispatch re-commits itself to a policy of fairminded, objective reporting and to being a forum for various schools of thought.’

It was reported at the time that the boycott was prompted by an editorial in the Dispatch in which Nelson Mandela was termed a ‘criminal’.

Yesterday the Dispatch denied it had ever referred to Nelson Mandela in an editorial as a criminal. — (Sapa)
Leader of PE shops boycott held by police

Crime Reporter

MR MKHUSELI JACK, a spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee, who has been "in hiding" since the promulgation of the emergency regulations on July 29, was arrested yesterday in New Brighton.

Mr Jack, who has played a leading role in the effective three-week-old boycott of "white" shops in Port Elizabeth by black consumers, has been contacting the Press daily from a "rural hideout".

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, confirmed today that Mr Jack had been arrested yesterday in New Brighton.

Arrests under the emergency regulations now total 1 399, with a total of 54 people released, a spokesman for the SAP Public Relations Division said today.

The unrest situation report issued by a spokesman for the SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria reports "no new unrest incidents" between 8am and noon today.

"The body of an unknown black man was found next to the river at Lingelihle near Cradock. It was partially burnt and had wounds which appear to be stab wounds."

Twenty-two people were arrested in one of the unrest incidents reported overnight, a police spokesman said.

They were arrested for participating in an illegal gathering in Durban yesterday.

See Page 3 and 4
Detentions fail to have effect on boycott of local traders

Sunday Times Reporter

"Taxis were dropping youths in shopping areas, where they spread out in all directions to "remind" black shoppers that the boycott was still on."

Earlier this week there was some confusion after pamphlets claiming the boycott was over were distributed in the name of the boycott committee.

Statement

Shopkeepers reported that more black people were buying in the shops.

But this flow of shoppers died down after Mr Jack issued a statement saying his committee had not issued the pamphlets.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a patron of the UDF, said yesterday he regarded boycotts as one of the most direct and effective forms of non-violent demonstration.

"I am personally in favour of using any means of non-violent protest — including economic muscle — to bring about reform."

Later, addressing about 300 people — mostly of them students — at Cape Town's St George's Cathedral, Dr Boesak called for restraint.

"We should not just have confrontation for confrontation's sake," he told the gathering.

Strike

Meanwhile, the bread strike which has starved Durban of "regulation" loaves for the past two weeks is over, although the wage dispute which brought more than 2,000 bakery workers out was not fully resolved.

The last of the striking workers are expected to return to work today, and bread supplies should be freely available in Durban tomorrow.

In an unrest report yesterday, police said a black man was found burnt and stabbed to death in a township adjoining Cradock yesterday morning.

So far 1,359 people have been arrested since the declaration of a state of emergency, with 40 more arrests made between Friday and Saturday, the Police Directorate of Public Relations said in Pretoria yesterday.
Youth is at the core of the unrest in townships

Near-anarchy in the streets of many South African black townships has forced the Government once again to declare a state of emergency in many areas of the country.

The protest against established order has been led by youths, many still in their teens.

Who are they? What sort of homes do they come from? What are their attitudes?

Generally, white South Africans do not know these people, this enragèd generation.

It is important that it is a gulf that must be bridged if there is to be eventual peace.

Here is the first in a two-part series on the average student protest leader.

He is a composite profile of a typical student leader in a high school almost anywhere in the country.

While young women have come to play a significant role in township student movements, the leader is likely to be a young male in Std 6 aged between 16 and 18. He was probably in Std 1, 2 or 3 when the 1976 riots erupted.

Since then, school disruptions because of boycotts and failure to sit for examinations have cost him an average of three years in lost time. He has skipped the boycotts, strikes and stayaways of nine years.

Conspicuous in a commonly-held belief, the leader is rarely the product of a broken family or delinquent parents. His parents generally belong to the fast-growing black middle classes.

He generally gets what he wants from his parents.

In school, he might be a plodder or a bright spark, but is generally articulate, forceful speaker, by the standards of his schoolmates.

He has generally lost respect for his parents, as well as for other elders, priests and teachers, whom he sees as docile participants in the apartheid system.

He feels his parents and other elders have failed him and his generation. He despises the police. He sees them as part of a repressive system which holds him back by feeding him "poisonous education".

He subscribes to the slogan "Freedom now, education tomorrow", and others.

He is impatient with his parents' generation which, according to him, seems preoccupied with gaining concessions from an insensitive government.

They, he claims, are preoccupied with peripheral specifics such as securing better facilities for their school-going children.

His vision has gone beyond education and he wants absolute political, economic and social equality in the country immediately.

He is either a member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF); the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso); or Azanian Student Movement (Azasm), which support the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

He says he is prepared to die for the black cause. He has experienced detention without trial and expects to be "picked up (by the Security Police) at any time".

Government spokesmen say, from time to time that the school boycotts in the black townships are communist inspired and that "uncouth" politicians are using the pupils and other children for their own dubious ends.

Student leaders in the townships scoff at these claims. They see themselves as being in "total control" of the actions of the pupils.

There seems to be some credence to their claim. Several adults who have been involved with the pupils in the schools for many years in the past months could probably attest to this.

These community leaders are among the most disillusioned parents in the townships.

What drives these student leaders?

Our composite student leader says he is a communist. Until he became involved in the student movement he attended church regularly with his parents.

He stopped going to church because he found "many of the sermons unrelated to our day-to-day problems".

He says most of his motivation derives from a strong urge not to "become a helpless adult like my parents".

He speaks with strong emotion about "being free".

Since he is a student, he says, he can start getting his freedom at school.
Traders without customers

Shops boycott worries govt

A BLACK consumer boycott of white shops in several towns in the Eastern Cape recently spread from Port Elizabeth to East London, worrying government and leaving some white traders without any customers at all.

"It's very bad," said a woman who runs a hardware store. "There are no customers," she said, surveying her deserted shop.

Her husband, referring to the wars between blacks and white settlers in the Eastern Cape in the 19th century, said: "The 'Kaffir Wars' are here at East London. We fear them (the blacks)... they are an unгovernable people."

The boycotts, in support of a variety of demands, including the withdrawal of troops from black townships, have successfully persuaded local white chambers of commerce to bring black grievances to government's notice.

Police have arrested dozens of blacks in the Eastern Cape on charges of intimidation, saying they threaten customers who try to shop at white stores. Blacks have been seen searching residents for "white" goods as they enter the townships.

East London's boycott began with a pamphlet distributed in its black townships saying: "Don't buy in town" and "Industry and the government - two sides of the same bloody coin."

Signed by a "Consumer Boycott Committee", the leaflet called for the lifting of the state of emergency and the dismantling of tribal homelands for blacks.

It urged the East London city council to open segregated facilities such as beaches to all races, and called on employers to end the sacking of workers during the recession.

Government is already trying to stamp out boycotts with its new emergency powers.

In Port Elizabeth the consumer boycott faltered temporarily when pamphlets of unknown origin were distributed saying the boycott was over and blacks had suffered enough. A spokesman for the local boycott committee said the pamphlet was a fake.

In Graaff-Reinet, police say they will close down shops whose operations contribute to a boycott, which effectively means they can shut down black shops if residents continue refusing to buy at white stores.

Black Methodist priest Milton Matiwire said the boycott in Port Elizabeth, which forced the white mayor to call in Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange to discuss the crisis, seemed to be having a considerable effect.

"Whites are beginning to realise that we also have a say," he said. "They can't live without us." - Sapa-Reuters.
CONFLICT between the UDF and Azapo was the work of unemployed labourers who were signed up outside the labour bureaux, given T-shirts, and sent on a "path of destruction".

This was said by the UDF at a rally in Cape Town last week.

The 1,000-strong crowd applauded UDF Western Cape secretary Trevor Manuel when he praised France for withdrawing its ambassador from SA and called on the French to "disinvest completely, especially concerning nuclear power".

Slamming the state of emergency, Manuel said the toll of 16 deaths in the first three days of the emergency was far higher than the average number of daily killings since unrest began nine months ago.
Police disperse DV pupils

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Police used sjamboks and tearsmoke to disperse a group of rioting pupils in Duncan Village on Wednesday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Vic Haynes, police liaison officer in Pretoria, said police were called to quell unrest at Nyati Primary School on Wednesday morning.

When the police arrived, they found no unrest at Nyati but at Qaqamba Secondary School.

A group of about 150 pupils had gathered at Qaqamba. The police warned them to disperse. Instead of doing so, they started pelting the police with stones, he said.

The police used sjamboks to disperse the pupils.

Lieut-Col Haynes said the pupils regrouped and the police used tearsmoke to disperse the rioting pupils.

There had been no arrests or injuries reported, he said.

Mr Lawrence Tutu, the secretary of the Duncan Village Parents’ Com-
Dream for SA’s future

Influence with young eroding away — Tutu

By Neil Lurssen, The Star

WASHINGTON — Bishop Desmond Tutu told millions of American television viewers last night he believed his credibility and authority with angry young blacks was being eroded.

“I am amazed that they still listen to the likes of us who have been advocates of peaceful change — and we have absolutely nothing to show for that advocacy,” Bishop Tutu said on the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) network programme “Nightline”.

Asked by the show’s host, Mr Ted Koppel, how long he thought he would be able to act as a buffer between the Government and angry and resentful young blacks, the bishop said he could not say.

“We have a paradox really in our situation,” he said. “There is this anger and — remarkably — there is also this goodwill.”

It had been demonstrated at a funer-

al in Cradock when not only Dr Allan Boesak was raised shoulder high by the crowd, but also the Rev Beyers Naude, a white man.

“They don’t say they hate all white people — but they hate the oppressor,” Bishop Tutu said.

Later, he added: “We have very little time left so that we can have this new South Africa for blacks and whites when we can live together as God’s children and members of one family — which is the dream of all of us when maybe P W Botha would be the State President and Nelson Mandela the Prime Minister. Tremendous.”

Bishop Tutu urged the South African authorities not to misread the mood of deep anger among young blacks.

He warned that unless all South Africans “get down to the business of sitting down and talking we will have a monumental catastrophe in this country and I am seeking — and many others — to help avert this.”

Hardly any blacks wanted to drive whites into the sea, he said.
Cape township
consumers take action

A CONSUMER boycott of all white-owned businesses was launched in Cape Town townships this week – to persuade white voters to force the Government into lifting the state of emergency.

The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce warned of the effect on black consumers and defended businessmen’s efforts to press for reforms.

Western Cape Civic Association member Christmas Tinto, who has close contacts with the Consumer Boycott Action Committee, said the boycott had been called because “white people have got the right to vote and they voted this Government into power”.

“We want them to approach their government and tell it to lift this state of emergency, release all detainees and get the troops out of the townships,”

Long-term demands included the release of political pris-

It should also set up mechanisms for black people to “decide who their leaders are”.

The Chamber believed that peaceful negotiations could achieve more than violence or repression.

• The UDF Western Cape publicity secretary Zoliswa Kutsa said at a meeting last week that the Chamber had failed to understand the depth of anger in the townships.

The association also demanded the re-opening of civic and church halls for meetings. The use of halls has been restricted since last year.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce president Andrew Peale said this week the business sector was committed to pressing for reform and that a consumer boycott would only hurt black consumers.

In a statement issued after the Chamber’s executive council met to consider the state of emergency and the violence in many areas, Mr Peale called on the Government to issue a clear statement of intent to release political detainees prepared to participate in “peaceful constitutional reform”.

“Shoppers don’t need stones”

A CONSUMER boycott of white-owned shops could bring the Government to its knees without a single stone being picked up, World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boscak (above) said in Paarl this week.

In a meeting hosted by the Paarl Students’ Association and attended by at least 120 people, Dr Boscak said the Government had vast military and political power, but could be brought down economically by a consumer boycott, provided it was “comprehensive and consistent”.

“The one thing they fear most is when we say we will withdraw our buying power.”

Dr Boscak said this was a way to fight the Government with “dignity and creativity”, without using violence.

“If the Government acts on this non-violent step with violence, we will still have to know how to respond,” Dr Boscak said.

The UDF Western Cape publicity secretary Zoliswa Kutsa said at a meeting last week that the Chamber had failed to understand the depth of anger in the townships.

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“The one thing they fear most is when we say we will withdraw our buying power.”

Dr Boscak said this was a way to fight the Government with “dignity and creativity”, without using violence.

“If the Government acts on this non-violent step with violence, we will still have to know how to respond,” Dr Boscak said.

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“We want them to approach their government and tell it to lift this state of emergency, release all detainees and get the troops out of the townships,”

Long-term demands included the release of political pris-
A CONSUMER boycott of all white-owned businesses was launched in Cape Town townships this week to persuade white voters to force the Government into lifting the state of emergency.

The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce warned of the effect on black consumers and defended businessmen's efforts to press for reforms.

Western Cape Civic Association member Christmas Tinto, who has close contacts with the Consumer Boycott Action Committee, said the boycott had been called because "white people have got the right to vote and they voted this Government into power".

"We want them to approach their government and tell it to lift this state of emergency, release all detainees and get the troops out of the townships."

Long-term demands included the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of "people's organisations", he said.

The association also demanded the reopening of civic and church halls for meetings. The use of halls has been restricted since last year.

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It should also set up mechanisms for black people to "decide who their leaders are". It should enter into "realistic and meaningful dialogue" with those leaders and it should press ahead urgently with reform on all fronts.

The statement said the chamber believed that peaceful negotiations could achieve more than violence or repression.

The UDF Western Cape publicity secretary Zoliswa Kasi said at a meeting last week that the action against white-owned businesses was not a racial attack.

'Shoppers don't need stones'

A CONSUMER boycott of white-owned shops could bring the Government to its knees without a single stone being picked up, World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak (above) said in Paarl this week.

In a meeting hosted by the Paarl Students' Association and attended by at least 100 people, Dr Boesak said the Government had vast military and political power, but could be brought down economically by a consumer boycott, provided it was "comprehensive and consistent".

"The one thing they fear most is when we say we will withdraw our buying power."

Dr Boesak said this was a way to fight the Government with "dignity and creativity", without using violence.

"If the Government acts on this non-violent step with violence, I will see to it that the whole world gets to know about it."

He called on black shopkeepers to lower their prices.

The boycott continues

The consumer boycott of white businesses in Potchefstroom will continue until the Triomf Support Committee's demands are met, said committee spokesman Moses Duma this week.

He said the committee demanded that the "moral fibre company re-instate 40 workers dismissed a year ago after they launched an after-dark protest at their factory."

Mr Duma said the consumers were supporting the boycott, although some black businessmen had not cooperated.

Kageng Chamber of Commerce chairman Antonie Mooy was not available for comment.
Police remove a Black Students Society member from the Wits campus yesterday.

UWC students vote to return to lectures

Staff Reporter

STUDENTS at the University of the Western Cape voted overwhelmingly yesterday to return to classes.

At a mass meeting in the main hall at UWC attended by about 4,000 students, the overwhelming majority of students decided that the two-week-old boycott — initiated in response to the state of emergency — should be called off and that normal lectures should continue tomorrow.

One speaker said the boycott had lost its effect and should be called off. Continuation would be "academic suicide". Other speakers said student unity would be threatened if they did not return to classes.

UCT boycott meeting

At the University of Cape Town, a meeting will be held at lunchtime today to decide whether to end a boycott of lectures there.

Yesterday about 150 students attended a lunchtime meeting at the Jameson Hall where they were informed of events in Guguletu at the weekend.

They were also addressed by UDF patron and World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak.

A threat was made on the life of Dr Boesak yesterday morning.

His office said just after he had telephoned to let them know he was going out; they received an anonymous telephone call saying he would be killed.

"No one except my secretary and someone who listened to the conversation knew where I would be going," Dr Boesak said.

His secretary said the matter had been reported to Brigadier H. D. G. M. van Driel, Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape.

From Johannesburg. Septa reported university authorities as saying that University of the Witwatersrand students were arrested and 30 injured yesterday after sjambok-wielding policemen broke up a demonstration on campus at midday.

A university spokesman said the violence broke out after about 200 students attended a demonstration called by the Black Students Society against the state of emergency and the detention of three Wits students.

The eyewitness said they were chased on to the campus and "beaten indiscriminately".

A student who was part of the demonstration said: "About 1:30pm we marched towards Jorissen Street and sat on the lawn near the theatre, on campus. As we sat singing, we called that it was a peaceful demonstration, because of the increasing police presence.

"They were armed like it was a war. Apparently there was an order to disperse, but I never heard it and next thing they stormed us with sjamboks."

 Warned to disperse

A police spokesman said from Pretoria that police twice warned the group to disperse and when they refused, "police made use of sjamboks and tear smoke to disperse them". The spokesman said the police had been stoned.

Those arrested were two black women, one Asian woman, two black men, one white woman and four white men. They are being held under emergency legislation.

A Wits spokesman confirmed that the campus health service treated 30 people for cuts and gashes and said one student has been admitted to Johannesburg Hospital.
PRETORIA. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, told visiting US congressman Mr Stephen Solarz on Monday that advisers of imprisoned African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela were not interested in his freedom on condition he renounced violence because they wanted him to lead the movement of violence in South Africa.

This is according to an extract from the transcript of the conversation they had on Monday afternoon and which was released last night by the State President's office here.

No unconditional release

At a press conference after his meeting with the President, Mr Solarz said Mr Botha had indicated the government would not release Mr Mandela unconditionally, and that the ANC leader was being kept in prison for the same reason the Western powers were keeping Mr Rudolf Hess in a West Berlin jail.

According to the transcript's extract, Mr Botha said he thought Mr Hess should be released. Mr Hess, as was the case with Mr Mandela and his organization, was responsible for the killing of people, but the question was why Mr Hess, who was nearly 100 years old, was kept in jail.

"Those are the same moral reasons why I do not want to keep an old man in jail. If I can help it.

It was for this reason he had offered Mr Mandela freedom on condition he renounced violence.

After this offer, Transkei's President Kaiser Matanzima had offered him freedom (in Transkei).

"Mr Mandela refused it, because he is not interested in freedom, and his advisers are not interested in freedom for Mr Mandela. They are interested to let him lead the movement of violence in South Africa," Mr Botha reportedly told Mr Solarz.

Mr Botha asked Mr Solarz whether he should rearrest Mr Mandela if he was freed unconditionally and he started perpetrating violence again.

Mr Hess was not freed because he perpetrated a sin against humanity but, the President asked, was there a difference between this and the sins perpetrated by the ANC against humanity in South Africa, under the leadership of the Communist Party in London? — Sapa
Academics pledge reward money

Among those who have pledged R500 each towards the reward are Dr Stuart Saunders, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town; Professor Richard van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape; and Prof Jaap Durand, its Vice-Rector. The list of contributors includes a number of heads of departments and other prominent figures, as well as 10 academics at the University of Stellenbosch.

The reward will boost money already offered for information regarding the killers of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli, four key Eastern Cape figures whose mutilated bodies were found near Port Elizabeth early last month.

The UDF has already pledged R6 000 in reward money and the SA Police R1 000.

Details of the initiative and the list of contributors were released in Cape Town yesterday by its conveners: Prof Pieter le Roux, director of the Institute for Social Development at UWC, and Mrs Helen Zille, journalist and research co-ordinator at the UCT-based Carnegie study on poverty.

A statement released on behalf of the contributors said they had each pledged R500 for information leading, in the opinion of senior counsel nominated by attorneys acting for them, to the conviction of the killer or killers of one or more of the four leaders.

Information had to be provided within two years of August 9 this year.

Any person able to furnish information has been asked to contact Bishop Kenneth Oram of Grahamstown.
Bishop tells students P W's New Deal likely to be 'unacceptable' — Tutu

By Andrew Beattie

Addressing a gathering of about 3000 students of the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said peaceful protests against apartheid were becoming "almost impossible".

Bishop Tutu was one of several speakers, including Mrs Helen Joseph (who may not be quoted), who addressed the students. A large group of students have been boycotting lectures for the past three days in protest against the state of emergency.

"We have to defend the right of peaceful protest. However, regardless of cultural differences between the people here, we have managed to build a broad political unity," said Mr Grant Rex, Wit SRC president.

"The discipline shown by the students in the face of the police was exemplary yesterday, we showed that we could control ourselves. We are also proud of the commitment shown by those students, who deserve the fact that they were injured by the police on Monday, were ready to face them again yesterday," he said.

Mr Rex went on to praise the black student leadership for creating a non-racial and united student body on the campus.

Bishop Tutu received a warm welcome from the crowd gathered on the library lawns.

"I am very deeply concerned at the fact that it seems to me that peaceful, orderly, lawful protests against the vicious system of apartheid are becoming increasingly difficult if not impossible," said the Bishop.

Turning to the role of the police and the SADF in the townships, Bishop Tutu said that "those wonderful people rushing around our townships in uniforms — my wish for them is that they should go and be free with their children, wives or girlfriends".

"The army and police were protecting something that did not deserve to be protected, he said.

"We are looking forward to tomorrow night when the State President is going to unveil yet another New Deal. "He is going to do something for urban blacks. To those who call us urban blacks, I am not an urban black. I am a black — period. Who has ever heard of political rights for urban whites or rural whites?"

"Mr Botha is going to say something about citizenship. We are told we belong to those extraordinary creations — the bantustans. But I am as South African as a Krugerrand."

At this point the Bishop took out a document, and branded it in the air.

"It is amusing overseas to take this out and say 'Look here's my passport. See here, it says nationality indeterminable at present', " So if Mr Botha says we are all to be South Africans, I will say 'what a wonderful scientific discovery'," he exclaimed.

The announcement to be made tonight by President Botha "would almost certainly be unacceptable" to the majority of South Africans, he said.

"The solution to this country's problems is simple, but I don't say it's an easy one," the Bishop concluded.

"It will be found on the day that white people (and here I do not mean these splendid people gathered here) accept that blacks are human.

"What does the colour of skin tell you about a person's worth? ... It's crazy, man crazy," said the Bishop.
Warning for Boesak, students

DURBAN. — There were people in South Africa at present who wished to wear their clerical robes as battledress, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at the Natal National Party congress he warned these people that their actions could not be tolerated for much longer.

He said South Africa faced a serious and sophisticated unrest situation in which millions of rands damage had been caused. The situation was leaving a serious mark on South Africa’s economy, its financial position and its image.

The government knew who was behind it and he wished to give the assurance that serious attention was being given to introducing more stringent measures to avoid any further escalation.

There were organizations such as the UDF and people such as the Rev Allan Boesak who would have to take upon themselves the responsibility for the many unrest deaths.

He called on the public to remain calm and to exercise patience and gave the assurance that in due course reasonableness would prevail.

A small percentage of students were in a position to create fertile breeding spots for unrest, out of proportion to their numbers.

He wanted to warn them that the government intended taking action to curtail this manifestation, both on and off the campus. — Sapa
WITBANK — School authorities warned pupils from the 22 schools in Witbank's three townships have been given until today to return to school or their schools will be closed indefinitely.

The stayaway, which has lasted more than five weeks, sparked unrest in the township in which seven people were killed and scores were injured during clashes between youths and police.

The Congress of South African Students has said pupils will not end their boycott until their detained colleagues are released and democratic SRCs are elected at schools. — Sapa
Boycott ‘could cost many jobs’

Staff Reporter

THE Cape Town Chamber of Commerce warned yesterday that protagonists of consumer boycotts must realize that if they were to be successful many people could lose their jobs and families their sources of income.

In a statement the vice-president, Mr Peter Hugo, said the chamber had monitored the reaction to recent calls for a consumer boycott to back demands for the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and the withdrawal of the police and SADF from all townships.

So far there had been no signs locally that these calls had met with any success, he said.

“We believe that these calls have failed because the man in the street knows that traders are not to blame for the political ills of this country. Contrary to what some people would have us believe, businessmen have been in the forefront of moves to scrap racial discrimination in South Africa.”

UDF spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said that having now passed the first weekend of the consumer boycott in the Western Cape, the UDF was even more convinced of the correctness of the call.

Decline

“In many areas we had witnessed a decline in the number of shoppers at white shopping centres and the commensurate increase in black shoppers in black areas.”

He said the success of the past weekend would be multiplied over the next week, especially since the independent trade union movement had pledged support for the boycott.

“We would urge our people not to be distracted by the Chamber of Commerce, their only goal is to sow confusion in order to protect their selfish interests,” Mr Manuel said.
City pupil held after grenade-blast death

By CHRIS BATEMAN

POLICE are holding a pupil of the City's Westridge High School after violence erupted on the school grounds on Monday.

This came on the heels of a grenade attack on the home of Labour Party member Mr Stanley Fisher early last Thursday. A 16-year-old guest of Mr Fisher, Nashad Witten, died in the blast.

Mr Fisher has claimed that, before the blast, his sons were threatened with death by members of the Westridge High SRC.

On Monday, police forced open locked gates at the school before using quirts to disperse a large crowd of pupils and teachers gathered to discuss a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses.

A teacher was detained for questioning and later released after protests from his colleagues.

A police spokesman yesterday confirmed that a Westridge High School pupil had been "detained for questioning in connection with a crime".

At least 23 arrested

At Oudtshoorn, police arrested at least 23 students after firing tear gas and dispersing a large crowd with sjamboks at the South Cape Teachers Training College yesterday.

Shortly before the arrests, the car of the college principal was stoned. Several vehicles of a police reaction unit which then arrived were stoned, a police spokesman said.

Police retaliated with a tear gas salvo and had used quirts to disperse the students. Seventeen men and four women were arrested, the spokesman said.

Campus sources said police dogs had been set loose on the campus. They claimed that one student had been bitten in the face by police dogs and another had been bitten on the back.

The violence came on the second day of a lecture boycott. The 23 students are expected to appear in court soon to face charges of public violence.

Teargas and sjamboks

Ben Gertenbach reports from Worcester that about 2,000 pupils of the three coloured high schools — Esselen Park High School, Breede River High School and Worcester High School — were dispersed with teargas and sjamboks by the police as they marched through the streets.

Buses were stoned and police vehicles damaged.

The unrest started early yesterday morning as the pupils marched to the Sonhe Training College to persuade students to join in the school boycott.

The police arrived at the college at the same time as the pupils and gave them five minutes to disperse. Police then used teargas and sjamboks to disperse the crowd, which threw stones in retaliation, damaging police vehicles.

Sixteen students were arrested. As far as can be ascertained, nobody was seriously injured.

No police intervention

The police spokesman said he knew only of "a mass march towards the campus". There had been no police intervention, "only monitoring", he said.

In Cape Town, more than 2,000 pupils from five Athlone schools gathered at Rylands High School.

Buses had ferried the children into the Belgravia, Alexander Binton, Bridgetown, Cravenby and Spes Bona secondary schools.

After several hours pupils returned home in small groups.

Police did not intervene.
ASSOCOM meets as boycott net spreads

SOUTH AFRICAN business yesterday showed a united front in dealing with the nationwide consumer boycott.

Eighty representatives of Chambers of Commerce and the retail sector from all parts of SA met in Johannesburg under the chairmanship of ASSOCOM president Michael Weir.

They discussed the implications of the emergency, particularly the consumer boycotts and work stayaways.

ASSOCOM chief executive Raymond Parsons said the meeting emphasised the importance of communication and negotiation.

He said white traders talked to black community leaders and identified grievances, whereupon pressure on those areas was called off.

A Business Day investigation showed the UDF call for blacks to stay away from white-owned shops has not had the expected impact on the Reef — major chain stores report sales to be on par with projections.

This weekend will apparently be a true gauge of the boycott’s success.

The boycott has spread from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town, Maritzburg, the Reef and Pretoria.
Mitchells Plain pupils march back to their schools after a mass rally at Spine Road Senior Secondary School attended by more than 5,000 pupils.

5,000 pupils hold mass rally

BY CHRIS BATEMAN

ABOUT 5,000 Mitchells Plain pupils of eight schools marched singing and chanting back to their schools after holding a mass rally at Spine Road Senior Secondary School yesterday.

Five police vehicles manned by riot policemen drove alongside about 1,000 pupils in Merrydale Road after senior policemen had spoken to teachers in the lead.

The teachers told police they were leading the march "to control the children" and police took no further action.

The march, monitored by a large local and international media contingent, came after the protest rally at which the joint regional secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, and newly released Mr Trevor Bird, 21, addressed boycotting pupils.

Mr Bird, chairman of Westridge High School SRC, was released yesterday morning after having been detained at the Mitchells Plain police station since Monday.

Mr Fisher claimed after the attack that his son had been threatened with death by SRC members at Westridge High.

According to several teachers, a serious confrontation between police and boycotting pupils and teachers was avoided by police releasing Mr Bird shortly before the meeting began yesterday.

A petition, which had been signed by nearly 200 teachers by noon yesterday, condemned the "victimization of teachers and pupils", demanded the right to "protect our pupils" and condemned previous action of the SAP "on our own school grounds".

It also condemned the "actions of some misguided parents who have called police in order to beat up our children".

The petition pledged teachers to resist interference or intimidation of pupils by members of the Labour Party and "other cohorts of the system".

He had been questioned in connection with last Thursday's grenade attack on the home of Labour party member Mr Stanley Fisher.

A 16-year-old houseguest of Mr Fisher, Rashad Witten, died in the attack.

Mr Fisher claimed after the attack that his son had been threatened with death by SRC members at Westridge High.

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The petition pledged teachers to resist interference or intimidation of pupils by members of the Labour Party and "other cohorts of the system".
CAPE TOWN — Dr Alan Boesak today announced plans for a peaceful march to Pollsmoor Prison next Wednesday to demand the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

He told a Press conference in Athlone today that it would "express the view of a wide range of organisations and groups, including church ministers, the United Democratic Front, the Black Sash and student representatives attended the conference."

The march would be "peaceful and disciplined". Dr Boesak said.

He called on authorities not to "provoke people with signs of an armed presence so that this march will end as it is intended to end".

INVITATION

The plan was to pass a message to Mandela on arrival at the prison to "whosoever will be so kind as to take it to him".

Dr Boesak said he was issuing a public invitation to all South Africans who felt Mandela should be released to join the march.

The time had come to "express our demands with our feet".

President PW Botha had dashed all hopes of releasing Mandela and it was time for authorities to see how strongly people felt.

Dr Boesak said he was aware the march would be illegal. He added that other organisations including trade unions were being consulted.

Commenting on reported remarks that Mandela had made about the undesirability of a national convention, Dr Boesak said: "The whole point of getting Mandela out is so that he can speak for himself."
Looking back at the 
UDF’s first two years

PIPPA GREEN of the Political Staff examines the first two years of the UDF’s existence and the views of some of its office-bearers about the future.

ON August 20, 1983, at a jubilant rally in Mitchell’s Plain, 10 000 people cheered the launch of the largest internal anti-apartheid organisation to exist in 30 years. Today, two years later, the United Democratic Front is almost under a state of siege.

In the Rocklands Civic Centre two years ago, Dr Allan Boesak, UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, declared: “We are struggling for our human dignity and for the future of our children — we shall never give up.”

All over the country, enthusiastic bands of UDF supporters went out to campaign for their cause, to pamphleteer and to organise various campaigns.

The most successful of these were the 1984 boycotts of the coloured and Indian elections and black-local-authority elections.

The polls in all three elections were embarrassingly low for the Government — 30 percent and 21 percent respectively for the coloured and Indian houses and the black local authorities. The UDF claims that were the percentage poll adjusted as a proportion of all eligible, rather than only registered voters, the polls would have been even lower.

Today, meetings are banned in some parts of the country, pamphleteering is a high-risk operation and many township activists are in jail.

Several leading UDF members, including presidents Archie Gumede and Mrs Alberta Sisulu are facing charges of high treason.

In more sinister developments, UDF organisers or supporters have been murdered or have simply vanished. Other leaders, particularly those in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal, have gone to ground in the wake of the state of emergency.

Matthew Goniwe, Victoria Mxenge, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata — all prominent UDF figures are among those who have been murdered.

“We can no longer have national meetings. Apart from the detentions, people are too afraid to travel anywhere,” said Miss Carolus.

However, she added, the UDF would continue to fight for its legitimacy and to resist attempts by the state to portray us as a semi-legal organisation.

But the task is becoming increasingly difficult: “In the East Rand, for example, whether you hand out a pamphlet or throw a grenade, the effects are the same. You can get killed for either.”

In its two years of existence, the UDF has had enormous resonance in the country. Its policy has been largely based on the 1955 Freedom Charter, a wide-ranging document recognising the existence of “national groups” and stating a belief for equal political rights.

It is perhaps its firm commitment to non-racialism which has set it aside from other exiled black organisations and has been the basis of its wide-spread appeal.

While its organisational strength on the ground has always been uneven, it nevertheless managed to build up a wide informal network of support throughout the country.

More importantly, it penetrated once sleepy rural towns and fired an enthusiasm for social change rarely seen in South African history.

No one is clear how many the UDF actually represents, as it is not a political party with a card-carrying, paid up membership.

But the thousands who have packed its rallies, and the cheering, whistling crowd who heard Dr Boesak say in 1983, “We are not here to beg for our rights, we are here to claim them,” bears testimony to its popular appeal.

Today, after more than a year of the worst social conflict South Africa has seen, the heady confidence displayed at its launch has not gone. But it is tempered with increasing determination, a sombreness and more than a touch of sadness.

Miss Carolus says: “Contrary to popular belief in National Party circles, we are not jubilant about what is happening in our country. The fact that more and more people are getting locked up and killed is no source of joy.”

“But it is quite simple to end this, though. We are not asking for the moon, we are just asking for an end to apartheid.”

Leaders are confident that the Government is less able to control the conflict than ever before.

“It is abundantly clear that the generalised resistance to chaos which is painted, political organisation in certain townships is deepening.

“In some areas, where there has been a considerable breakdown of the state, people are addressing themselves to issues like night-soil removal and refuse removal.”

Official “conspiracy” theories aside, it is clear that the UDF has played some role in the generalised resistance to apartheid expressing itself in trouble-torn townships throughout the country, if, by nothing else than by its very existence.

Political observers have also noted, though, seemingly paradoxically, that much of the unrest has developed so quickly and so spontaneously it has left political organisations like the UDF behind.

Now, battling to fill that gap, the UDF is once again trying to take the initiative. The consumer boycott of white shops is one example of an attempt to re-establish political direction in an often confused situation.

And in spite of its “underground” status in many parts of the country, in spite of its oft-noted lack of deep political organisation, it is still a name emblazoned on the T-Shirts and badges, and in the hearts of thousands of people around the country.
POLICE have confirmed that 13 Cape Town activists and six Worcester community workers have been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for an unlimited period of detention.

A further two UDF executive members, Mr Wilfred Rhodes, chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac) and Mr Mountain Gumbella, have been detained with vice-president Mr Christmas Tinto, Ms Mildred Lisaa, Mr Joe Adams, treasurer, Mr Graeme Bloch, ex-banned student activist and the Rev Syd Luckett, an Anglican clergyman.

Police also confirmed the detentions of Worcester Black Sash advice office workers Ms Miriam Moleleki, Mr Abel Dilikilili, Mr Lizo Kapa, Mr Juan Kariem, Mr Donovan Petersen and Mr Jamie Issel.

Others held in Cape Town are Cahac secretary Mr Willy Simmers, Grassroots editor Mr Saleem Badat, advocate Mr Dullah Omar, Clothing Workers' Union organiser Ms Shirley Gunn, Mr Victor Steyn, the University of Cape Town representative on the Western Cape Schools Action committee and an executive member of the Students of Young Azania movement and Mr Russell McGregor, SRC secretary at the University of the Western Cape who is also being held under Section 54 of the Internal Security Act which deals with suspected acts of terrorism.

In Natal, eight people — including Natal Indian Congress acting president Dr Farook Meer and members Mr Billy Nair and Mr Yunus Mohamed — were being held under Section 29, police confirmed. Mr Nair and Mr Mohamed are also members of the UDF national executive committee.

Others detained in Durban, according to Sapa, are National Organisation of Women leader Miss Nosizwe Madihlaha and trade union organiser Mr Temba Nxumalo, as well as Mr Russell Mpanga.

In Johannesburg, social worker Miss Amanda Qadi, an organiser for the Federation of Transvaal Women and regional executive member of the UDF, and Mr Edwin Makue, were held, police confirmed.
MR LOUIS le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, has warned of "firm action" should a planned march on Pollsmoor prison take place as announced by Dr Allan Boesak.

Dr Boesak, leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the UDF, said at a Press conference on Wednesday that the march would be organised to demand the release of Nelson Mandela.

In a statement today, Mr le Grange said the proposed march would be illegal and that police would act to end "what would constitute an illegal gathering".

"Illegal gatherings of this nature, as planned by Dr Boesak, have already been declared illegal by me in terms of present legislation.

"At the time of Dr Boesak's call, no permission was granted for the march, and any such march undertaken by Dr Boesak and others is thus illegal. "I want to appeal to the public not to succumb to the appeal and not to take part in an illegal march, which would constitute a breach of the law.

"No illegal gathering will be permitted and the police will take firm action in this regard."
March on Pollsmoor planned

Political Reporter

UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak yesterday announced that several organizations would march to Pollsmoor Prison on Wednesday to demand the release of the jailed ANC leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

At a press conference to announce the march, Dr Boesak said the demand for the unconditional release of Mr. Mandela and other political prisoners had been made consistently but without success.

He appealed to the authorities not to provoke those who will participate in the march with an armed presence. The demonstration would be "peaceful, non-violent and disciplined".

Senior UDF office bearers, Mr Trevor Manuel and Dr Zoli Malindi, members of the Muslim Judicial Council, Sheikh Abdul Hamid Gabier and Imam Hassan Solomon, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, lecturer in theology at UCT, Dr Caroline White, lecturer in social anthropology at UCT, and the Rev Lionel Louw, president of the Western Province Council of Churches, attended the conference.

TV2

3:00: Repeat of the Week's Educational Programmes
5:50: Ikhayza Lebantwana-Masidile
6:00: Prologue
6:10: Isibaya Zasebhazwe[Mzimba
6:25: Piggerty and Frederick
6:32: Doug Henning's Magic on Broadway. The famous magician with his guest artists which through the series will include Bruce Jenner, Marie Osmond, Brooke Shields, Glen Campbell, Michael Landon and Bill Cosby.
7:00: News and Weather
7:33: Ukholo Lunye
8:01: Umphakamisa Religious drama
8:30: Broadway to Hollywood
9:26: Epilogue

TV4

9.33: Fane
10.23: Simon & Simon
11.14: Benson
12.12: Sing Country
12.03: Station Closes

TV2 review

SINCE the outbreak of turmoil in the black areas of this country, parties from all walks of the international arena have shown interest in laying their healing hands on our problems.

The latest arrival, Franklin Graham, son of the celebrated faith healer Billy Graham, appeared on television last night in an interview with the Rev Sipho Bhengu in the religious programme Ezabandla. Whether he has the answers to help our church leaders find a solution to the present situation remains to be seen. He said his mission was to try to build bridges and not to stir people up.

Ezisematheni, his cupboard obviously bare, dished out a repeat of Thursday night's Eye-line.

JOE GUWA

Cold with showers

![Map showing weather conditions and predictions](map.png)
Boesak plans mass march on Pollsmoor

CAPE TOWN—Plans for a mass march on Pollsmoor Prison next Wednesday to demand the release of Nelson Mandela were announced here yesterday by the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and patron of the UDF, Dr Allan Boesak.

At a press conference at the Lutheran Youth Centre in Athlone, he said it was intended to "call together South Africans in their thousands" to gather at one central point and march to Pollsmoor. There, a "message from the people" would be handed over for Mr Mandela.

Dr Boesak said the demand for Mandela's release had been made consistently over a number of years by a large number of South Africans.

Last Thursday the State President had "dashed all hopes" raised in the international community for Mandela's release.

Dr Boesak said it was hoped the march would show just how many people wanted to see Mandela released.

"On our part, it will be non-violent. We call on the authorities not to provoke our people with a military presence."

The representatives of a number of organisations, including the UDF, the Moslem Judicial Council, students, academics, clergymen and of the Black Sash and Civil Rights League were at the conference.

—Sapa
Old, frail Mpetha enters prison under medical care

The elderly and sickly black Cape Town community leader, Oscar Mpetha, who was convicted on terrorism charges and sentenced to five years' imprisonment two years ago, entered prison yesterday.

APPEAL REJECTED

He will serve the compulsory minimum sentence under medical care.

His appeal against the sentence was rejected in Bloemfontein recently and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in Pretoria yesterday he had decided not to recommend a remission of the entire sentence.

Although Mpetha (75) would have to start his sentence, the Minister hinted at the possibility of early parole on compassionate and health grounds, adding that "the renunciation of propagation of violence may be a factor".

In his judgment, trial court judge Mr Justice Williamson said the facts "permit no reasonable inference other than that Mpetha intended to endanger the maintenance of law and order, and to add fuel to the fire" during the day of rioting and violence.

After his conviction for participation in terrorist activities and sentence of the minimum five years, Mpetha was released on bail of R1 pending an appeal against the sentence but not the conviction.

IN HOSPITAL

This was rejected recently by the Appeal Court, but Mpetha, who is a medically certified diabetic and has a physical disability, did not go to prison as he was sick in hospital.

A spokesman for the Prison Service confirmed in Pretoria that Mpetha entered "a prison" — understood to be Polismoor, near Cape Town — yesterday morning.

Mr Coetsee said consideration had been given to possible remission of the entire sentence, but "I have, however, decided not to make such a recommendation because the crime of which he was found guilty is a serious one and also because of his involvement in the present unrest situation while he was on bail".
Boesak plans Mandela's release

DR ALAN Boesak has outlined plans to demand the release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

He told a Press conference in Athlone, Cape Town, on Saturday that it would "express the deep desire of thousands of South Africans".

The law forbids newspapers from publishing details of the plans.

Representatives of a wide range of organisations, including church ministers, the United Democratic Front, the Black Sash and student representatives attended the Press conference.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said police will take "strong measures" if there is an unlawful march to Pollsmoor Prison. He said open air meetings of the nature envisaged by Dr Boesak had already been prohibited.

No permission had been granted for such a gathering and "any procession that is envisaged by Dr Boesak and others is therefore unlawful".

Mr Le Grange appealed to the public "not to heed the call for this illegal procession, not to participate in it and thereby transgress the law. No open air gathering will be permitted. The police will take stern measures if there is such a procession."
Boesak says he sees no reason to call off march

London Bureau

The Rev Allan Boesak told Britain and the international community yesterday that he saw no reason why the planned march on Pollsmoor Prison should be called off.

He felt confident that the time for 'this idea' had come. He said that the enthusiasm and response from the community had been tremendous.

However, Dr Boesak added that he had had a telephone call from the office of the Minister of Law and Order pointing out that the march was illegal and that the government would take whatever action was needed.

Dr Boesak originally spoke to the BBC World Service by telephone from South Africa. His interview was also relayed to Britain on the main Sunday radio news service on Radio 4.

Dr Boesak went on to describe the situation in South Africa as desperate and also as tragic.

He added: 'I don't think there is anyone in the South African Government who really knows how to respond to the situation except through intimidation and violence.
Mandela march is on — Boesak

Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

THE Rev Allan Boesak, UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, last night prayed for the planned march on Pollsmoor Prison on Wednesday “when there may be confrontation with those who represent the powers-that-be in this country.”

Delivering a prayer at a service in the University of the Western Cape chapel last night, Dr Boesak said: “Our belief is that our struggle is a just one, that the God of justice is with us, and that oppression has no future.

“Help us to believe that, even when the moment comes when we have to face our adversary.”

Dr Boesak yesterday said he saw no reason why the planned march on Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela should be called off.

He said he felt confident the time for “this idea” had come. Enthusiasm and response from the community had been tremendous.

Dr Boesak added that he had had a telephone call from the office of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, pointing out that the march was illegal and that the government would take whatever action was needed.

Dr Boesak originally spoke to a representative of the BBC World Service by phone from South Africa.

On Saturday, Dr Boesak said his call for a march on the prison could have panicked the government into detaining United Democratic Front leaders.

According to a list issued by police on Saturday, 27 anti-apartheid activists have been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act since Friday.

Detained in the Port Natal district are: Billy Nair, Farouk Meer, Yunus Mahomed, Russell Mpanga, Nosizwe Chalotta Mdiya, Themba Patrick Nkula.

Detained in the Port Elizabeth area are: Amanda Kwadi and Edwain Makue.

Detained in the Western Province are: Mountain Qumbela, Wilfred Rhodes, Willie Simmers, Abdullah Omar, Russell McGregor, Shirley Gunn, Victor Steyn, Mahomed Saleem Badat.

Graeme Bloch, Christmas Tinto, Yusuf (Joe) Adam, Syd Luckett, Mildred Lesia.

Detained in the Boland are: Vuyiwa Mlambo, Lizo Matthews Kapa, Abel Gesing Dikill, Jame Victor Issel, Juan Karriem, Donovan Petersen.

SAPA reports from East London that the Border UDF president, Mr Steve Thwete, has also been detained. Police confirmed this.

SAPA reports from Pretoria that Mr Le Grange has appealed to the public to ignore Dr Boesak’s call for the march as the procession would be illegal and the police would “take stern action in this regard.”

‘No authority’

In a statement released in Pretoria, the minister said: “Outdoor gatherings such as the one planned by Dr Boesak have already been prohibited by me in terms of the law.

“At the time Dr Boesak made the appeal, no authority for the holding of such gatherings had been granted. Any procession envisaged by Dr Boesak and others is therefore illegal.

“I want to appeal to the public not to heed this call and take part in any illegal procession for, by doing so, they will be contravening the law.

“No illegal gathering will be allowed and the police will take stern action in this regard.” the statement said.
Azanyu hails Mandela

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

THE Azanian Youth Unity's national council has hailed the rejection of the national convention by the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, during a meeting in Soweto at the weekend.

In a statement released to The SOWETAN the organisation said: "We are hopeful Mandela's statement on the liberation of blacks will bring the ANC and Pan African Congress (PAC) closer in an operational cooperation in the struggle for liberation."

The meeting, attended by delegates from branches throughout the country declared its support for the consumer boycott in protest against the presence of the SADF in the townships and the state of emergency. It called for the unconditional release of PAC executive member, Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners. It also supported the demand for democratic students representative councils.

The organisation reviewed progress and drafted an action programme for the future that "will see us in the forefront of the total liberation struggle of the African masses."
Mpetha rearrested in 4am police swoop

Mr Oscar Mpetha, veteran trade unionist and community leader, was rearrested at his home in Nyanga at 4am yesterday.

Mr Mpetha was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on June 28, 1983, after a trial which lasted more than two years and involved more than 100 witnesses. He and 17 others, mostly youths, were charged with murder and terrorism following riots in August 1980 near Crossroads squatter camp, in which two white men were burnt to death. Mr Mpetha was convicted of terrorism, but not of murder. He was released on bail of R1 on June 29, 1983, pending an appeal and for medical reasons. His appeal was rejected on May 31 this year. In June this year it was announced that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, would review his case.

Mr Mpetha, a diabetic who had a gangrenous leg amputated in August 1983, has been having treatment at Groote Schuur periodically. He was admitted in June and discharged a week ago. He has been recovering at his Nyanga home since then.

His family was told yesterday that he was being rearrested to complete his sentence.

His son, Mr Oscar Mpetha junior, said yesterday his mother, Mrs Rose Mpetha, two other brothers, Thembu and Carl, and their sister, Shirley, as well as several Mpetha grandchildren, were woken when 15 police vans arrived to take Mr Mpetha to jail. The family was advised he would be taken to Pollsmoor Prison.

An official police source in Pretoria was unable to confirm the arrest yesterday afternoon but said weekend arrests were continuing and names would be released today.

Mr Mpetha junior said yesterday that the family had been deeply shocked at the arrest.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that Mr Coetsee said yesterday he had decided not to recommend a remission of the entire sentence because of the seriousness of the 73-year-old man's crime.

Both the Supreme Court in Cape Town, where Mr Mpetha was convicted, and the Bloemfontein Appeal Court declared that, if allowed, they would suspend Mr Mpetha's sentence in the light of his health.

Although Mr Mpetha would have to start serving his sentence, the minister hinted at the possibility of early parole on compassionate grounds, adding that "the renunciation of propagation of violence may be a factor".

The Western Cape regional branch of the Release Mandela Committee (RMC) yesterday condemned Mr Mpetha's arrest. A spokesperson said the RMC also condemned the recent arrests of other UDF members in communities around the country.
"Boycott ends when I say so"

BY ANDREW DONALDSON

PATRON of the UDF Dr Allan Boesak said last night that the consumer boycott affecting white-owned businesses would only end "when I say it's off".

He also urged 2 500 people in the Belhar Community Centre last night to join him on tomorrow's planned march to Pollsmoor Prison.

He dismissed as lies and untruths reports in the media that the consumer boycott was not effective.

He also denied that the boycott was racist, and referred to a white shopowner in the Eastern Cape, Mr Cheeky Watson, who was still doing business with the black community there "because he has made a stand".

"P W Botha has enjoyed more support from the English business community than any other Nationalist government before him," Dr Boesak said.

"Now that the boycott has started, the business community has come out and stated that they were always in the forefront of the struggle for change and reform.

"What changes? What reform? What struggle?"

Dr Boesak also announced the recent establishment of a "crisis fund" by businessmen in the townships to help workers who had lost employment as a result of the boycott.

"This boycott is not going to end this week. Or the next. Or next month ... Only when I say it's off, then it's off. If you don't hear me say so, then it still continues."

Dr Boesak said: "We have entered a new phase in the struggle for liberation in this country.

"The government has come to realize that violence and intimidation is not going to turn our people around anymore. We have a vision of a new country beyond Botha and beyond apartheid."
Political Staff

The arrest of Oscar Mpetha, the veteran trade unionist, in the early hours of Sunday morning was "a disgrace" to the system of justice, Mr Dave Dalling, MP, said yesterday.

Mr Dalling, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Justice, said in a statement that if Mpetha were not released immediately it would drive another coffin nail into peace in South Africa.

"The re-arrest of Mr Oscar Mpetha, a 75-year-old diabetic, who recently had one leg amputated and who was discharged from hospital a week ago, is a disgrace to the system of justice in South Africa.

"The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, by ordering his arrest on early Sunday morning is introducing Russian KGB-style tactics into an already strife-torn country and is flying in the face of the trial and the Appeal Court judges who said that if they had the power they would have suspended the sentence altogether," he said.

"Unless Mr Mpetha is released immediately the minister will have willfully contributed yet another coffin nail to peace, stability and self-respect in South Africa."
Cape Times, Tuesday, 27/1/85

CAL rejects convention

Political Staff

The total rejection of a national convention was vital to prevent conservative and liberal forces mis-directing "our struggle", the Cape Action League (CAL) said yesterday in a statement.

The statement also expressed "our complete support for the progressive position taken by one of the great leaders in the liberation struggle, Nelson Mandela, in rejecting the idea of any form of national convention".

CAL, a member of the black consciousness-orientated National Forum, said in a statement issued by its media convener, Mr Armin Abrahams: "We agree that the convention would betray all working people and in bringing about a negotiated settlement for the benefit of the middle-class of South Africa.

"We call on the progressive forces in the trade unions, community organizations, women's organizations, students, teachers, the churches and mosques to form a united front against this betrayal of the liberation struggle.

"We believe that any step taken to consolidate the total rejection of the national convention is vital to prevent the conservative and liberal forces misdirecting our struggle.

"We stand by our consistent position for a constituent assembly based on our demands for full and democratic rights for all under the leadership of the working class.

"We condemn all detentions of our comrades in the struggle and demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

"In addition, we express our solidarity with the families, friends and organizations who have been affected by these measures," it said.

CAL aims to distribute 50 000 pamphlets in the Cape Town area to promote its opposition to a national convention.
CAPE TOWN — The official death toll from unrest in and around Cape Town rose to 28 last night after a day of sporadic but diminishing violence in various trouble spots.

Late last night a police spokesman amended the official fatality figure, which had remained at 20 all day yesterday.

It could not be immediately determined where the further eight deaths had occurred, but of the 20 fatalities reported yesterday morning, 13 had been shot in Guguletu, two in Manenberg, two in Bellville and three in Mitchells Plain.

At least four school pupils were reported to be among the dead.

They were Quinton Bailey, 13, Lionel Pautsen, 12, John November, 16, and Clive Cupido, 18.

At least 150 people, including 19 policemen, were wounded seriously enough to be admitted to hospital during three days of unrest.

Most of yesterday's flagships occurred in Mitchells Plain, which saw much violence on Thursday after being quiet on Wednesday, the first day of unrest.

Several lorries were reportedly set on fire but there was no repeat of Thursday's extensive arson in which office blocks, bottle stores and vehicles were destroyed.

Roving gangs of youths burnt barricades or stoned passing commercial vehicles, Casspils and vans patrolling the debris-littered streets.

During the afternoon, while fire engines roamed the streets under police escort, municipal workers salvaged the contents of torched buildings and cleared away debris and barricades.

After most of the streets had been cleared, however, the workers were withdrawn in the face of renewed violence. The violence died down around nightfall and Casspils withdrew.
ANC to talk to business

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday it was planning to hold talks soon with a group of South African businessmen on prospects of dismantling apartheid.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said the planned meeting reflected the organisation's policy of holding a dialogue with all sections of South African society that favoured the abolition of apartheid.

He declined to name companies or individuals who would be attending the meeting, or say when or where it would be held. But he said it would take place in the very near future, and that some of the businessmen wanted it to be held in Lusaka, where the ANC has its headquarters.

"We are prepared to talk to anyone in South Africa from the business community or any other community, if they think by talking to the ANC they will be contributing to dismantling apartheid," he said.

Many South African businessmen now regarded apartheid as an intolerable burden that could lead to economic disaster. The financial turmoil of the last few days, with the rand falling to new record lows, strengthened this feeling.

There have been reports in London this week that Anglo American and Barclays Bank may be in touch with the ANC about discussions, but this could not be confirmed today.

Mr Reymond Parsons, chief executive of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, said today that no approach had been made to his organisation. "I have not heard about it and can throw no light on it," he said.

Major South African business organisations this week urged the Government to talk with black leaders, including those in jail, to resolve the political crisis, and Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Reilly repeated his calls for action from the Government.

The ANC is banned in South Africa.

There have been reports recently that jailed former ANC leader Nelson Mandela was not prepared to take part in any negotiations with the Government, except for the handover of power.

He was also reported as saying there was no alternative to the violent overthrow of the Government.

However, these interpretations were contested this week by a leader of the United Democratic Front, Professor Futhima Meer, in a speech in Cape Town.

She was "prepared to put my head on a block" that Mr Mandela had not said only violence could bring about change. She also believed he would participate in genuine negotiations.

In Washington, a daughter of Mr Mandela, Mrs Zenani Dlamini, yesterday accepted a cheque for $5,759 (about R19,500) donated by 14 senators to help rebuild her mother's home and medical clinic which were destroyed by petrol bombs in Brandyfont, Orange Free State.

Mrs Dlamini said she was confident her father would be released but doubted he would accept the Government's condition that he first renounce violence.

Asked if Mr Mandela would call for violence, her husband, Prince Thumebumzi Dlamini, said: "We want to believe he is open for a negotiated settlement." — Sepa-Reuter