BLACK POLITICS

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Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party's withdrawal from the convention alliance would not "entice" the United Democratic Front to participate in it, UDF interim organizer Mr Naseegh Jaffer said in a statement yesterday.

He said the PFP's retreat from the alliance is "an acknowledgement of the strength of the UDF on the ground and vindicates our warning to the PFP that they would be tainted by their association with Inkatha."

"Indeed Slabbert's unwarranted attack on the UDF underlies the reason for our approach. "We do not tell anyone who they should choose as leaders. Our viewpoint is that a convention alliance is misguided because it ignores the fact that a large group of our democratically chosen leaders are incarcerated, our meetings are banned and troops and police occupy our townships."

"We are working for conditions in which we may freely consult with our own people. "This is our priority: not to act ourselves up and make needless claims to appear at a shadowy dialogue-table over the heads of the expressed will of the people."

"We have a clear strategy—one of mass struggle. Slabbert must not try to create disunity by suggesting that 'elements of the UDF' make decisions divorced from this mass base," Mr Jaffer said.
THE SEVERED hand of a baboon, sent as a “gift” to the president of the Cradock Residents’ Association, is the latest incident in a campaign of terror being waged against an Eastern Cape civic leader.

Gladwell Makaual, who lives in the small Lingilihle township outside Cradock, said the unexpected brown paper parcel, posted in Port Elizabeth, was delivered to his home last week.

“There was no sender’s name on the back. All it said was ‘contents: gift’,” Makaual said.

At first I thought it could be from Mrs Molly Blackburn (MPC for Walmer) or tablets from a specialist.

“When I opened it all I could see were fingers and I immediately became very frightened because I thought it was a baby’s hand.

“Then I thought it might be a bomb, so I took it outside and called some friends. They opened it for me and I saw that it was an animal hand, about the size of the hand of a six-month-old baby.”

Makaual said he did not report the incident to the police because he suspected they might already be aware of it.

“The following day, he took the hand to a local doctor, who told Makaual and this reporter that it was a baboon’s hand.

Makaual said he did not report the incident to the police because he suspected they might already be aware of it.

“Then I thought that surely there was no-one in the location who would do such a thing to me.”

Makaual said he had lost faith in the police’s ability to protect him, as two previous charges he had laid had been unresolved.

On the night of August 30 this year, Makaual said, a police hippo crew drew up outside his house. His windows were broken, apparently by policemen using rifle-hutches.
Homeland leaders too

Government's tough line on talks with the African National Congress (ANC) faces a major test, following the confirmation this week by KaNgwane's Chief Minister, Enos Mabuza, that his plans to meet representatives of the outlawed organisation are going ahead.

Mabuza declined to give details of where and when the planned talks would take place or who would attend. He told the FM that he had not yet encountered direct opposition to the talks. But looking at official reaction to other planned talks with the ANC, he believes government might take a "strong stand" on his moves. Government has made it clear that talks between non-government representatives and the ANC are out.

At the same time, President P W Botha has ruled out any official contact with the ANC until the organisation renounces violence, severs links with the SA Communist Party and effectively agrees to negotiate changes from within government-created negotiating bodies.

Recently government outraged even some of its own supporters by withdrawing the passports of eight Stellenbosch University students who announced plans to travel to Lusaka for talks with the ANC.

This week, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha made it clear that steps would be taken to stop Nico Smith and other Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk-linked ministers from carrying out similar plans to talk to the ANC. Earlier, deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller indicated that government was likely to ban any planned talks between South Africans and the ANC.

A growing number of individuals, organisations and foreign governments are pressing for official contact with the ANC in an effort to resolve SA's deepening crisis.

Mabuza said he would inform government of his intention to meet ANC representatives, but would definitely not ask permission to go. The decision to talk was taken at the recent congress of Mabuza's Inyandza movement, which is the majority party in the KaNgwane government.

An official ban on Mabuza's planned trip or the withdrawal of his passport could have profound implications for government. As the political leader of a self-governing national state recognised and blessed by government, any moves to curb Mabuza's right to make his own political decisions and carry them out would totally discredit government claims of black autonomy in their own areas.
UDF leader tells of ‘life on the run’

We met at a pre-arranged venue which had been set up through an elaborate system of messages, and Mr Jaffer began by saying we've only got an hour, I don't think it will be safe to stick around for longer than that.

He began by talking about "life on the run", something which has become the reality for political activists in the past two months, a life of never staying at home, living for short periods in "safe houses" and never making arrangements in advance for fear of the security police getting wind of them.

"We are in hiding from the security police, but we are in daily contact with each other to co-ordinate ongoing UDF work. Don't ask for details of the kinds of measures we are adopting to stay out of detention, that would be too dangerous."

"What is important to realize is that political activists have developed a keen sense of organization over the past couple of years. We are not on the run to escape the security police as such, but rather we are moving away from them to organize in as effective a way as possible."

How have the detentions and the state of emergency affected the daily work of the UDF?

"The UDF is a mass-based organization, a front comprising different schools of thought and opinions and we have brought into the ranks a wide range of democrats over the past two years. Those people brought into the ranks have become UDF activists, they are continuing the kind of work the executive would normally do."

"The detention of many of our executive members has not negatively affected the UDF, we have been able to sustain our campaigns, our administration, our field work."

Mr Jaffer says the ban on meetings has, if anything, meant a far tighter and more effective organizational structure has been developed.

"They have banned our meetings, which only means we are developing new ways of co-ordinating our work, through an elaborate system of communication with our executive, our activists and with our members in the community."

"We began developing alternative methods of organization before the state of emergency was declared, we have grown used to working under an effective state of emergency since the first major wave of detentions began in August."

"The effective state of emergency in operation since August has helped our members and activists to work in a more disciplined manner, and to be a lot more consistent in doing political work in the field. It has become more than an advantage to our people."

"And, he says, the police and military presence in the townships and what he describes as "indiscriminate police action", has worked to the advantage of "progressive organizations"."

"The police and military occupation of the townships he began had two important effects. The shootings, teargasing, sjambokking of our people is provoking us, it is making people extremely angry. And, secondly, it has instilled a tremendous sense of political militancy in our communities, and that has made democratic political opposition much more powerful and substantial over the last while."

"Many of our older people who never used to be involved in any kind of politics are now becoming politicised, not because they are scared of their children who were shot, but because they have seen the brutality of the system."

"The ranks of the UDF have grown tremendously in recent months, more and more people are seeing the UDF as a vehicle of change."

"How will the ban on meetings affect organization like the UDF and its affiliates, and how does the UDF read the situation at the moment and the immediate future?"

"Our reading of the situation is that the militancy we have seen over the last while can only escalate, all sorts of avenues have opened up."

"The UDF cannot be blamed for that, the responsibility lies fully at the doors of the police and the State."

"On the other hand, an inevitable effect of the ban on meetings is that we will not be able to meet to discuss the consumer boycott of white goods, and the schools will
teach about the war. There cannot be any meetings to discuss the war and the boycott of white goods."
UDF activists living on the run

WE MET at a pre-arranged venue set up through an elaborate system of messages, and Jaffer began by saying, "We've only got an hour, I don't think it will be safe to stick around for longer than that."

He talked about "life on the run", the kind of life political activists have been leading for the past two months, never staying at home, living for short periods in "safe houses" and never making arrangements in advance for fear of the security police getting wind of them.

"We are in hiding from the security police, but we are in daily contact with each other to co-ordinate UDF work. Don't ask for details of the measures we are adopting to stay out of detention, that would be too dangerous."

"What is important is that political activists have developed a keen sense of organisation over the past couple of years. We are not on the run to escape the security police as such, but rather we are moving away from them to organise in as effective a way as possible."

How have the detentions, harassment and the state of emergency affected the daily work of the UDF?

"The UDF is a mass-based organisation, a front, comprising different schools of thought and opinions and we have brought into the ranks a wide range of democrats over the past two years. Those people who have become UDF activists, they are continuing the work the executive would normally do."

Jaffer said the ban on meetings had led to the development of a fair tighter and more effective organisational structure.

"We have an elaborate system of communication with our executive, our activists and our members in the community."

"We began developing alternative methods of organisation before the state of emergency was declared. We have grown used to working under an effective state of emergency since the first major wave of detentions began in August."

THE United Democratic Front's leadership in the Western Cape are all either in detention or in hiding. Naseeha Jaffer, organiser of the UDF's interim executive, has been in hiding from the security police since August. He spoke at length to TONY WEAVER yesterday.

He said the massive police and military presence in the townships and what he described as indiscriminate police action, had worked to the advantage of "progressive organisations".

"The police and military occupation of our townships has had two important effects. The shootings, teargassing, sjambokking of our people is provoking us, it is making people extremely angry. Secondly, it has instilled a tremendous sense of political militancy in our communities, and that has made democratic political opposition much more powerful and substantial."

"Many of our older people who never used to be involved in any kind of political activity are now becoming politicised, not because they are scared of their children being shot, but because they have seen the brutality of the system."

How does the UDF read the situation at the moment and in the immediate future?

"The militancy we have seen over the last while can only escalate. All sorts of avenues people had before - mass meetings, rallies, discussions, demonstrations - have been blocked, so people inevitably take their frustrations out in more militant, more creative action."

"The UDF cannot be blamed for that. The responsibility lies fully at the doors of the police and the state."

"One inevitable effect of the state of emergency is that the blanket consumer boycott of white shops, and the schools boycott, will go on unresolved."

"There cannot be any meetings to assess the campaigns, to decide whether or not they should be called off."

"The decision to embark on the consumer and schools boycotts were democratic ones, they came from the people in our communities, and it would need the same process to call them off or modify them. With state of emergency regulations in force, opportunities for mass democratic decision-making have been cut off."

We parted, but before we left he said: "Do me a favour. Go ahead and check there aren't any strange looking guys with moustaches and suits hanging around. Give me a nod if it's all clear."

I did, and he disappeared, just another pedestrian wearing sunglasses, head bowed into the southeaster, collar turned up to avoid the dust.

Botswana pledge

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE - Botswana has pledged continued assistance to Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government to prevent dissidents from using its territory along the 700km border with Matabeleland as a safe haven.

A meeting of the Botswana-Zimbabwe Joint Commission on Defence and Security agreed in Gaborone on Wednesday that both sides "would take necessary measures to prevent either country being used for destabilising the other".

Botswana pledge
THE Natal chairman of the United Democratic Front, the Rev Mecishi Xundu, was released from detention in the Transkei this week.

But the UDF in Durban, which has been in organisational disarray since the Government clamped down on them, will not be able to draw on Mr Xundu’s resources and will have to elect a new chairman because he has been transferred to Port Elizabeth.

Mr Xundu was detained by the Transkei security police a few days after he was released from five weeks’ detention at the hands of the Durban Security Police.

Shortly after his re-detention he was admitted to hospital in the Transkei and remained there until Monday night, when he was discharged from hospital.

Lawyers

Lawyers had prepared papers for an application by the Anglican Church to the Transkei Supreme Court to have Mr Xundu’s detention order declared invalid, but he was released from detention before the case could be heard.

Mr Neville Graham, Natal diocesan secretary of The Anglican Church, confirmed Mr Xundu’s release from detention.

Mr Xundu has been the Anglican parish priest in Durban’s Lamontville township for about four years, but during his detention he was transferred to the diocese of Port Elizabeth where he will be a hospital chaplain.
Azapo condemns ‘hijack’ arrests

Staff Reporter

The Azanian Peoples’ Organization (Azapo) and the Azanian Students’ Movement (Azasm) last night condemned the arrest of 66 of their members on the way to Port Elizabeth to bury a member of Azapo last Friday.

The statement said: “On Friday just before midnight, about 20 policemen armed with machine guns and rifles stopped a bus carrying 66 Azapo and Azasm members and two drivers at Montagu.

They were on their way to Port Elizabeth to bury a member of Azapo.

“The police alleged our members had hijacked the bus. After searching them individually and the bus thoroughly they took them to Robertson police station where they spent the rest of the night.”

“They spent the weekend in police cells and appeared on Monday in court on a charge of robbery which was made known to us on Sunday afternoon.”

When the 66 appeared in court yesterday, they were told all charges had been withdrawn.

The two organizations said South Africa had numerous harsh laws which allow the police to arrest and detain any person arbitrarily, yet “they have found it necessary to manipulate the facts in order to charge” the members.”
Surprise as judge requests affidavit over SADF raid

Pietermaritzburg Bureau
IN A surprise development yesterday during the treason trial of 16 UDF leaders the Judge President of Natal ruled that the Minister of Defence needed to clarify what could be revealed about an SADF raid into Lesotho in 1982.
Mr. Justice Milne made the ruling after Mr. Ismail Mohamed SC. for the defence, used an affidavit from the minister who limited what could be said about the raid, to shut up State witnesses mouth by declaring part of his evidence as inadmissible.

The trial was adjourned until November 17 after Mr. Andre Oberholzer for the State conceded that he would have to ask the minister for another affidavit clarifying what was to be excluded before further evidence about the raid could be given.

The present affidavit from Gen. Magnus Malan ordered that only limited information about a military operation on alleged ANC bases in Maseru the capital of Lesotho on December 6 and 8 1982 could be revealed.

The information which was allowed to be revealed was that photographs were taken and weapons seized during the operation.

During yesterday's proceedings Mr. O'Brien, a witness for the State, said he was a member of the SADF and had taken photographs during a pre-emptive strike into Maseru on December 8-9 1982.

Destroyed

After Mr. O'Brien had outlined what his orders were and certain events during the raid he was interrupted by Mr. Mohamed who said the Minister of Defence by his affidavit had destroyed the admissibility of this evidence.

The only evidence the State is entitled to lead and which the Court is entitled to hear is that during the raid a document in the handwriting of an accused was found.

It was not revealed whose alleged handwriting had been found.

Mr. Mohamed said the witness cannot say the place he found the document was a place occupied by the ANC. He can say he took photographs but cannot produce the developed photographs or reveal contents of the documents he found.

Struck off

Mr. Mohamed said he did not object to the statement that the handwriting of one of his clients was found in a house but objected that the place where it was found was an ANC base.

Mr. Justice Milne ruled that there must be clarification about what could be revealed concerning the raid and that part of Mr. O'Brien's evidence be struck off the record.

Mr. Oberholzer said he had wanted to show through the photographs that the people in the house were ANC terrorists and should follow the ruling. He could not proceed with the witnesses he had scheduled.

At the start of yesterday's hearing Mr. Justice Milne said that under the Internal Security Act he was obliged to ask members of the public and Press to leave the court room and allow the State to argue behind closed doors that certain evidence should be heard in camera.

Provisions

After granting the State's request Mr. Justice Milne allowed the Press to enter the court room and said it would be in the interest of the security of the State and administration of justice that members of the public should not be present but for the Press to be present subject to certain provisions.

The provisions allow the Press to reveal the name of the witness but not to reveal his other names rank and the personal or was attached to anyone photographs or identify the witness which could harm the witness or his family.

Mr. Mohamed said the two-week adjournment would allow the Defence and the State to prepare their case which would save at least three or four times the period of adjournment.
Oom Hansie wants troops out, but...

By TYRONE SEALE

LABOUR Party MP Hansie Christians has entered the debate on whether soldiers and police should get out of the townships — feet first.

"Yes," he said this week. "They should get out so that we can throw stones at each other and kill each other.

"It's unlikely that the violence will subside once the forces are out of the townships," the MP for Ravensmead and chairman of the local management committee added.

I spoke to Mr Christians shortly after witnessing a security forces "clean-up" campaign in Ravensmead.

Police moved in after youths had set up burning barricades in De La Rey Avenue, about a kilometre from the Ravensmead shopping centre.

At the shopping centre, there is a former cinema which has now been converted into a church hall, with the name Fountain Christian Centre boldly printed on a board at the entrance.

Outside a shop in the shopping centre, about five youngsters were busy chatting and smoking. They obviously had nothing to do with stoning or barricades.

At about 9:20 pm, while the church members were leaving the hall, four shots rang out. Oom Hansie later said that "coloured people fired at coloured people because coloured people stoned coloured people's cars".

Shortly after this, a Casspir pulled up in a parking lot 50 metres from the Fountain Centre entrance and fired one birdshot pellet towards a block of flats where a group of children and older people had gathered, apparently after hearing the four shots.

Immediately after firing the birdshot, the Casspir stopped and police fired three teargas canisters in rapid succession at the Fountain Centre crowd and I saw mothers with babies flee in terror to escape the effects of the dreaded gas.

What struck me was that the police, well armed as they were, did not leave the Casspir to establish who was leaving the hall, or to chat to the smoking youngsters. They simply stopped, fired and left.

The following morning, I spoke to Oom Hansie.

"He said, "You weren't there. I was. I know what happened. I was in my office at the time." (Oom Hansie's office is right there in the shopping centre)."

"Children were stoning cars - that's why you heard those four shots. After that, the police passed the centre and saw some youngsters standing around, so they fired teargas.

"They didn't shoot at the people who were coming from church. I know they had a service there. The police won't just shoot anyone - only trouble-makers, but sometimes innocent people get hurt."

Oom Hansie Christians... Coloured people fired at coloured people because coloured people stoned coloured people's cars.
FACES OF TERROR

CAN you talk to the African National Congress and remain a loyal South African?

The question has been hotly debated across the political spectrum since leading businessmen, followed by the Official Opposition, beat a path to the banned organisation's doorstep. With Stellenbosch students and Afrikaans dominers and Afrikaansdominiers eager to join what looked like a growing queue — until the Government put a stop to it.

The general attitude of the talkers is that they have few illusions about the ANC's present unyielding commitment to violence to bring about a Marxist state in South Africa. They feel, however, that some contact is better than none and that exploratory talks could uncover common ground which both sides might need later. There is also the thrill of adventure, both intellectual and physical. One intrepid trail-blazer to the ANC lair said he could not help thinking of Piet Retief and Dingaan. And satirists have had a field day playing up the latest status symbol.

But the Government and others remain sternly disapproving. Talking to the ANC while it refuses to renounce its active campaign of violence, they say, is tantamount to hob-nobbing with the enemy in the middle of a war. It gives credibility and legitimacy to a terrorist organisation, undermines the position of the Government and the security forces, and is an insult to the innocent victims of ANC violence and a betrayal of others known to be on its hit list.

So who is right?

The balance sheet is not as simple as it appears to be, nor are national and international attitudes towards terrorism generally as clear and consistent as they might be.

Britain, for example, allows the ANC offices in London and free speech. Mrs Thatcher refuses to meet Oliver Tambo while he remains committed to violence, but on the same day the ANC leader is questioned for 75 minutes by a House of Commons select committee — most of the time on his attitude to violence.

A few weeks ago Britain cancelled talks with PLO representatives because they reneged on a pledge of non-violence in seeking a solution to the dispute with Israel. Israeli politicians, by the way, are forbidden by law to negotiate with the PLO. Then there was the row over alleged government pressure on the BBC not to screen an interview with an IRA leader.

At the United Nations almost anything goes, including Yasser Arafat mounting the rostrum with a pistol at his waist.

This confusion is actually part of the battleground. Terrorist organisations often have a dual image — a so-called military wing that does the dirty work, and a cadre of leaders who dress in business suits and present themselves as respectable politicians in front of TV cameras and at August gatherings at every opportunity. If pressed, they lament the fate of innocent victims whose deaths are "regrettable but necessary.

This duality is, of course, totally false. But uncritical acceptance of it is one of the ways in which sincere and well-meaning people unwittingly provide what Mrs Thatcher called the "oxygen of publicity" that terrorism feeds on.

No less dangerous is the total ban in this country on reports of what ANC leaders are saying abroad. Objective information about the ANC would lessen the need for trips to Lusaka to discover what its leaders are thinking and help to expose at home, as it is doing to some extent abroad, the unreasonableness of its refusal even to suspend violence in order to give negotiation a chance.
100,000 hoped for anti-SA march

LONDON — Anti-apartheid demonstrators are hoping to put 100,000 people on the streets today to protest against violence in South Africa and to demand sanctions.

The rally will be addressed by American presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson, African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, and a host of lesser personages including Glanys Kinnock, the wife of the Labour Party leader.

The Rev. Jackson arrived here yesterday and immediately claimed South Africa had a nuclear bomb. It was, he said, "a state of terror," "Fascism," "anti-democratic" and "a defiance of God.

He added, "Hitler smiled on South Africa. They are the descendants of the Nazis. There is daily murder.

Asked about violence from the ANC, he said, "After 50 years of non-violence, they are indulging in selective acts. We need not dwell on that. There is a human spirit. How many babies must be gassed? How many schools must be gassed. The limit has been reached."

He said Mrs. Margaret Thatcher should "take the lead" and meet Mr. Tambo.

Anti-apartheid demonstrators will converge on Trafalgar Square and the South African Embassy from three directions. The main march will pass the American and West German embassies, stopping to drop off letters protesting at their support of South Africa.

By Peter Mann, STAR
The Star Bureau
By MONO BADELA

EAST Cape activists Henry Fazie (right), Mkhululi Jack and Temba Duze were released from detention this week after more than three months inside.

They were freed after a brief court appearance with PFP MPC Molly Blackburn, churchmen Rev Patrick Pahu and Rev Thomas Sebeza, and Elijah Jokazi, who had been accused of attending an "illegal gathering.

An eighth accused, Zolile Peters, was not in court. A warrant for his arrest was issued at an earlier hearing.

Their court appearance was a sequel to a memorial service in Zwide for slain Cradock community leader Matthew Gumise, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Malawuli.

They weren't the only people there - 15 000 mourners also attended.

East Cape UDF vice-president Henry Fazie spent 22 years on Robben Island for ANC activities and was released in November 1983.

A former Umkhonto we-Sizwe commander, he was elected Peseo vice-president soon after his release.

He and Mr Duze were among the first to be detained on Monday July 22 when more than 200 political activists were rounded up in a nationwide swoop after the declaration of the state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts.

Mr Jack, who served as the consumer boycott committee's publicity secretary, was detained on August 2 after operating from the "bush" for two weeks. He told City Press soon after his release he had suffered physical and mental torture in jail.

He said they were all "surprised and shocked when..."
Mr Jack, who served as the consumer boycott committee, publicity secretary, was detained on August 2 after operating from the "bush" for two weeks. He told City Press soon after his release that he had suffered physical and mental torture in jail.

He said they were all surprised and shocked when told that we could leave the court building.

They had not been asked to plead and no evidence was led.

"We are concerned about the number of our people still inside, and about the way the state of emergency has demoralised the community," he said.

Mrs Blackburn, who was with the three in the dock, said she bade the three men goodbye when the charges were withdrawn against them.

She said her arrest was another example of the way the police, the SADF and lower courts could be manipulated for party political ends.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that there were scenes of jubilation in the New Brighton Magistrates' Court when the case against Mrs Blackburn and seven others was withdrawn.

Prosecutor B Walters told magistrate JWS Pienaar the case against the eight had been withdrawn on the Attorney General's instructions.
AN ALLEGED member of Duncan Village’s “People’s Court” has been charged with intimidation.

Zamani Mingwana – alias Lameku – was refused bail by Magistrate Willie Opperman when he appeared in the East London Magistrate’s Court this week.

Magistrate Opperman said he accepted police evidence that Mr Mingwana – who lives at 749 C Section in Duncan Village – could interfere with State witnesses if released.

Police witness Lieutenant P Van der Vyver said the “People’s Court” had punished people who ran shebeens, bought from white shops where boycotts had been declared, or co-operated with police.

Lt. Van der Vyver said Mr Mingwana was wearing ANC colours when he was arrested by police. But Mr Mingwana said this was “pure coincidence”.

The case is continuing.
A mysterious group has entered black factional violence in the troubled Eastern Cape. It emerged this week when the uneasy truce between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) ended with bloody clashes in KwaZakhe township.

Both the UDF and Azapo have expressed surprise and bewilderment at the entry of a third element. The group, known as "Amaphantshula" by blacks in the township, is believed to have its headquarters in Azapo territory.

A puzzled Mr Ashraf Karodia, regional publicity secretary for Azapo, said he believed Amaphantshula was a shadow group without a distinct political character.

Fighting and violence seemed the only common bond among members, who adopt a "breakdancer" dress style with baggy pants and coloured tacks.

Earlier this week a township was threatened to tear Port Elizabeth's black areas apart and people on both sides died horribly. Many were victims of the "necklace" (a tyre slipped around the necks of victims and then set alight).

Despite the violence, Azapo claimed their members were being hunted down by anti-peace rebels among the UDF.

Their allegations were backed up after the bodies of several Azapo followers were found.

Mr Karodia said details of this week's bloody township encounters were still not clear and he did not have a firm indication of the number of fatalities on the Azapo side.

He said that on Thursday a group of about 1,000 UDF supporters had attacked the homes of three Azapo members in the Njoli area.

The Azapo supporters had been hopelessly outnumbered, but had defended themselves to the last of their ability until they were saved by the intervention of the police, who dispersed the attacking group with tear gas and rubber bullets.

Later in the day a second attack was made on the homes of the same Azapo members and this time there was no intervention by the security forces, according to Mr Karodia.

He said that attacking groups had converged on the Azapo houses in a deliberate premeditated attack, and many people had been injured.

Mr Karodia said a smaller group of UDF supporters had attacked a house in the same area on Wednesday but had also been dispersed by security forces.

Two Azapo supporters were wounded in the security force action.

A police spokesman confirmed that some of the 1,000 strong mob were armed with rifles, shotguns, pistols, and an assortment of other weapons.

One member of the mob also carried a poster which read: "SDF we are not fighting you - we are fighting Azapo."

Meanwhile "people's courts" are continuing to take their toll in townships in the area despite a police breakthrough this week in which they uncovered three "courtrooms."

Police report necklace executions are still taking place after victims have been sentenced in the people's courts.

Police have arrested 15 people on charges related to the holding of people's courts and the death of a policeman.

One man sentenced in a people's court to death was stabbed numerous times, doused with petrol, set alight and then placed in a shallow grave on a beach.

He lived to tell the tale after being rescued by a group of pincotters.

The man told police he had been dragged from his home the night before by "comrades" and tried before a people's court...
THE THREE children of slain civil rights leaders Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge have left their home for the Ciskei following a petrol bomb attack on the house two weeks ago and continued harassment.

And this week the family was dealt another blow - Griffiths' father Johnson Pinta Mxenge, 81, died at East London's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital.

Griffiths Mxenge was killed in 1981 and Mrs Mxenge was gunned down outside their home in July this year.

A relative who had been staying with the three Mxenge children, Madosa Ndisho, said they had left for Ciskei, where they were going to stay at Mr Mxenge's brother's home.

The children are Mnizana Mxenge, 19, a law student at Natal University, Viwe, 13, and Naathi, 10.

Miss Ndisho said the family was removing furniture and the home would be sold.

The decision to leave was taken in the interests of the children's safety, following threats that the home was going to be set on fire.

Mr Johnson Mxenge retired recently as treasurer of the Brownie Congregational Church in King William's Town.

VICTORIA MXENGE Gunned down in July outside her home in Umlazi.
'Rainbow' rally condemns SA

Own Correspondent
LONDON. - Condemnation of South Africa and her Western trading partners echoed through central London at the weekend when the biggest anti-apartheid demonstration ever held in Britain was mounted in Trafalgar Square.

Organizers said a well over the 100,000 people they had expected crammed into the square which is overlooked by the South African Embassy. Police put the number at the rally at 30,000.

A "rainbow coalition" of anti-apartheid supporters, ranging from gay-rights groups to trade unions and a host of other leftist individuals and organizations, piled into the square.

The crowd heard speaker after speaker, which included the former Democratic contender for the United States presidency, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, and African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo, denounced apartheid and its supporters in the West.

'Scuffles'

Scuffles broke out on several occasions between policemen guarding the embassy and people who hurled missiles, including bottles, steel bars and pieces of wood at them.

A total of 114 people were arrested. Several policemen were injured and one was knocked unconscious when he was struck with an iron bar. He was taken to hospital with a fractured skull.

Anger swept through the crowd at one stage when it appeared someone was taking pictures from the window of one of the embassy's upper floors. The window was swiftly closed.

Speakers sharply condemned the clampdown on foreign television crews in South Africa and the appointment of Lord Barber to the Commonwealth team due to the visit of South Africa and the anti-sanctions stance of Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher - described as the "mad mother of Downing Street.

'Moral'

Mr Jackson, a leading figure in the anti-Reagan "Rainbow Coalition" in the United States, likened the anti-apartheid struggle to the struggle against nazism. "The moral imperative which said no to Hitler in 1945 must compel us to say no to Botha in 1985."

Former United States presidential candidate the Rev Jesse Jackson carries a protest banner through the streets of London on Saturday in the largest anti-apartheid rally ever held in Britain.

Commenting on the media ban in South Africa, Mr Jackson said it was imposed so that they can do their killing and their maiming in the dark. He added: "Television did not create apartheid, it exposed it."
UDF alarm over new security measures

Cape Town - It was "ridiculous" to blame the "Press" for the "bitterness and anger" that had been caused by apartheid policies and by the "brutal role of the SADF and SAP in suppressing resistance", the UDF said last night.

Mr Naseebeh Jaffer, organiser of the UDF's interim executive, was responding to the Government's imposition of restrictions on the Press, which the UDF said it viewed with "alarm".

"If anything, the brave role played by some journalists and newspapers in monitoring the unrest has acted as a restraint on excessive security force behaviour," said Mr Jaffer.

"The restrictions on Press reporting and the extension of the indemnity throughout the country are an open invitation to the security forces to behave with impunity."

"We have seen what they do when the world is watching. These new measures remove the last bastions there may have been on their actions."

"The End Conscript Campaign said the indemnification from prosecution of the actions of security forces throughout the country amounted to an effective nationwide declaration of a state of emergency."
Mandela has op in City

Staff Reporter

IMPRISONED African National Congress leader Mr. Nelson Mandela yesterday underwent an operation at the Volks Hospital in Oranjezicht to remove an enlarged prostate gland.

Mr. Mandela's family were allowed to visit him before the operation.

A prisons department spokesman said the three doctors who conducted the operation issued a joint statement afterwards saying that Mr. Mandela's condition was "stable with no complications expected".

It has been established that Mr. Mandela was admitted several hours before the operation, which was conducted by two urologists and a "professor of urology from a British university".

Mr. Mandela was wheeled back to his ward shortly after 4.30pm.

Hospital staff referred inquiries to the prisons department spokesman. At least one sister denied that Mr. Mandela had been admitted as a patient.

Requested by family

The prisons spokesman said that, of the doctors involved, one urologist had been treating Mr. Mandela for "at least a year" and the other had been requested by the family.

"The hospitalization and treatment of a person is a private and personal, as well as a family affair. It is not ethical or correct to comment on it," the spokesman said.

He declined to confirm that Mr. Mandela was a patient at the Volks Hospital.

Dr. Nhatho Motlana, a member of Soweto's Committee of Ten and a friend of the Mandela family, said last night that the operation had lasted one hour and 15 minutes. He and Mr. Ismail Ayob, Mr. Mandela's lawyer, last night flew back to Johannesburg after the operation.
Tambo urges: Create climate for talks

MR OLIVER TAMBO, the president of the African National Congress, has urged the South African Government to help create a climate for talks with his organization. In an interview in London with the Editor of the Cape Times, he said he would "welcome" the creation of such a climate.

The interview was conducted in Mr Tambo's London house in Muswell Hill last week while the ANC leader enjoyed a great deal of international attention on his visit to the British capital.

Mr Tambo gave his views on the possibility of a "truce" with the South African Government and felt that serious negotiations could start at short notice, even before violence had ended. His list of conditions included the release of Mr Nelson Mandela from prison. He felt that the Botha government was not ready to talk at this stage.

He strongly denied that the ANC was communist-led, though admitted that it had some communists in its membership and had worked with the South African Communist Party since 1921. He claimed that the ANC was gaining more support from the West as interest in South Africa grew.

He set out the ANC policy on attacks on the civilian population, maintaining that "soft targets" would never be sought out but could be hit in crossfire as the ANC stepped up its attacks on military, police, etc.

He said the ANC supported the idea of a mixed economy, with "some" industries nationalized, but with room for levels of private enterprise and private ownership.

*Full interview, page 9*
A GUGULETU Community councillor, Mr Samuel Pato, has resigned.

Mr Pato, whose house was petrol-bombed two weeks ago, is the fourth councillor from the area to resign this year.

He said last week that he had decided to leave the council before his house was attacked again and after pressure from his family, neighbours and the community as a whole.

Mr Pato said it was clear that the community councils were rejected by most people and that he would be returning to the Guguletu Residents’ Association, of which he was previously a member.
A Conversation with Oliver Tambo of the ANC

There has been a flurry of talks with the African National Congress (ANC) in various countries, including South Africa. Some of these have been with private groups, while others have been with government representatives. The ANC has been actively seeking to establish a viable political organisation in South Africa, and to do so it has been necessary to engage with a wide range of political actors. The ANC has also been seeking to build a broad-based movement that can challenge the apartheid regime.

The ANC has been engaged in a number of initiatives, including the establishment of a new wing of the ANC, the South African Freedom Movement (SAFM). The SAFM was established in early 1990, and its first general meeting was held in February. The ANC has also been working to establish a new political party, the South African Democratic Party (SADP), which is expected to be launched later this year.

It is likely that the ANC will continue to engage with a wide range of political actors in the coming months, and it is important that the ANC is able to establish a strong political organisation in South Africa.
BOESAK
WINS
BAIL
PLEA

SUE LUPTON, Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN Boesak today won his application for relaxation of his stringent bail conditions.

The application was upheld by the Malmesbury Magistrate’s Court.

The only restrictions imposed on Dr Boesak as conditions of his R20 000 bail now are that he may not communicate with State witnesses named by the district commandant of the police in Bellville, provoke or propagate school or consumer boycotts or disinvestment or, visit primary or high schools.

Bail was not reduced because, the magistrate said, evidence showed that although Dr Boesak personally did not have the means to pay this sum he had resources which enabled him to pay it, such as the Foundation for Peace and Justice, an organisation set up by South African churches.

Overseas travel

As a result of scrapping the other bail conditions, Dr Boesak may reclaim his passport and travel freely in South Africa and overseas, addressing any groups he chooses. He may also be interviewed by the media.

After the magistrate, Mr W A de Klerk, had given his judgment, a smiling Dr Boesak was embraced and congratulated by his wife, Dorothy, and many friends.

In his first interview since his detention in August, he said the court’s findings had “strengthened my confidence in South Africa’s legal system”. He said he had seen that a South African court could give “a clear and independent judgment. It gives me hope for all the other political cases which still have to be heard.”

He said he would leave South Africa on November 14 to attend a prize-giving ceremony in Sweden where newspapers present an annual award to groups fighting racism.

“The award is being made to a group called SOS in France which fights racism and my wife is presenting the award. We will then travel to the United States where I will receive the Robert F Kennedy Humanitarian Award on November 20,” he said.

Family holiday

Dr Boesak said he would tour Norway on the invitation of the Norwegian Government at the end of the year and after that he hoped to have a holiday “just to get away and be alone with the family for a while.”
A dying man — a veteran of black nationalism and trade unionism — is living out his last days in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town. Oscar Mpeha (76) has just begun serving a five-year sentence for terrorism.

Friends and family say he is unlikely to live out his sentence. He has severe diabetes and had one leg amputated in 1983 because of gangrene. His other leg is also at risk.

He receives frequent treatment at Groote Schuur Hospital in order to keep down his blood sugar level.

Pollsmoor, where Mpeha sits out his sentence, also houses a younger generation of political detainees as police swoop on anti-government activists in the week-old state of emergency in the Western Cape.

It also holds ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence.

Unlike the latest detainees, Mpeha is a convicted prisoner. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in July 1983 following violence near Crossroads squatter camp in 1980 when two white motorists were killed.

The trial judge said if he had not been obliged by the Internal Security Act to pass a minimum sentence of five years, he would have suspended the whole sentence. Mpeha was then released on a nominal R1 bail while his case went on appeal.

POOR HEALTH

The Appeal Court turned down the appeal this year but recommended that the Government should soften the sentence on the grounds of Mpeha's extremely poor health and his age.

Following the Appeal Court decision, police swooped on Mpeha's home at 4 am on August 25 and rearrested him to serve out his jail sentence.

By coincidence all hell broke loose in Cape Town three days later when an abortive march on Pollsmoor took place. The Western Cape has been the centre of South African unrest since then.

Several appeals have since been made to the Government for remission of Mpeha's sentence, but the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has turned them down. He stated that Mpeha had been found by the courts to have endangered the maintenance of law and order.

Mr Coetsee also suggested Mpeha had "added fuel to the flames" in the present unrest situation.

He said the Prisons Service was aware of his diabetic condition and he was being placed under medical care.

The only possible compassionate grounds for a remission of sentence, he said, was if Mpeha gave the necessary co-operation in a parole situation.

"The rejection of the propagation of violence may be a factor," he said.

Mpeha is a veteran of the African National Congress. He joined in 1948 and became the Cape ANC president until the ANC was banned in 1960.

When the United Democratic Front was launched in 1983 he was elected a president, but has since lost his position. He is still a patron of the UDF.
Mandela on the mend

Staff Reporters
Jailed African Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela was making a good recovery today — 24 hours after an operation to remove an enlarged prostate gland.

Prisons Service spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel D.J Immelman said in a statement from Pretoria issued on behalf of the medical team treating Mr Mandela: “According to the patient's doctors, the patient is well enough to get out of bed today.”

He added that the doctors said there were no complications.

Mr Mandela was operated on at Volksospitaal yesterday.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and daughters Zindzi and Zenani were to visit her husband in hospital today for the second time since the operation.

They saw Mr Mandela after the operation yesterday and said he was “fine”.

A professor of urology from a British university was one of three medical specialists who operated on him.

The other two were a urologist who has been treating Mr Mandela for at least a year and another urologist requested by the Mandela family.

A statement by the Prisons Service on behalf of the doctors said their names would not be disclosed as they were in private practice.

The peacefulness of the Volksospitaal in Oranjezicht today seemed to defy all the attention given to the institution.

At first glance the peace of the attractive hospital — in a garden setting overlooking the city — was undisturbed as business went on as usual.

But about seven plainclothes guards, unobtrusive except for radios and bulging holsters, kept a careful watch at each entrance — trying to shelter under trees as the rain poured down.

A urologist at Groote Schuur Hospital said today that Mr Mandela could be expected to be in hospital “for about a week”.

Picture: WILLIE DE KLERS, The Argus

Mrs Winnie Mandela visits her husband at the Volksospitaal today. With her is her son-in-law Prince Thembakulu Dlamini.
UDF-Azapo feud: 43 detained

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH – Detectives of the East Cape Murder and Robbery Squad made a major breakthrough in their investigation into the escalating violence emanating from the renewed feud between the United Democratic Front and Azapo, when they arrested 48 people and confiscated an assortment of weapons during a swoop on Kwazakhele at the weekend.

According to Lieut-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, the police swoop on three township houses, led by Captain Sakkie du Plessis, was a sequel to an incident last week in which a house was petrol-bombed in Walmer township. A man was axed to death when he fled from the burning house.

Col Van Rooyen said the 43 people arrested are all members of the UDF. Among the weapons confiscated were two .22 pistols, one .32 pistol, one 9 mm pistol, several axes, pangas, an assortment of homemade swords, hammers, crowbars, knives and 13 petrol bombs.

The house in Walmer was allegedly used as a shebeen where Azapo members used to congregate.
'We didn't plan to overthrow State'

TWO men accused of killing a Sharpeville councillor last year did not intend to overthrow or endanger the State authority in the country, the Pretoria Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Reid Malebu Mokona (22) and Mr Oupa Moses Diniso (30), said this before Mr Acting Justice W J Human and two assessors.

They also told the court they did not intend bringing about any political, industrial, economic or constitutional change in the country nor did they induce the Government to do or not do any particular thing or abandon its standpoint.

The two and six others are appearing in connection with the death of Mr Khuzwayo Jacob Dlamini, the then Sharpeville deputy mayor, on September 3, last year.

He was stoned and set alight by a rampaging mob.

Other accused are Mr Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa (30), Ms Theresa Ramashamula (24), Mr Motsei Christian Mo- kubung (23), Mr Motsiri Gideon Mokone (21), Mr Duma Joshua Khumalo (26) and Mr Francis Don Mokgesi (28).

They also face another charge of subversion and alternative charges of malicious damage to property and arson.

All have pleaded not guilty.

Mr Diniso said he had the firearms he was arrested in connection with after he had found three children arguing over them in the street.

He had asked if one of the children did not fear injuring others with the thing. The child's companions had suggested that Mr Diniso take it with him.

Mr Diniso said the firearm was kept at his house until it was handed over to the police on the day of his arrest.

But he told the court that one produced as an exhibit in the court differed from the one police took from him.

Mr Mokona said he was approached by a group of people on the morning of September 3, last year, and was told that no one was supposed to go to work that day.

Residents, he said, had to go to the council offices to inquire about increased rent in the area.

"The person who spoke to me was in a fighting mood.

"I became frightened because I was even threatened that my home would be burnt in case I refused to go with those people."
Star support for Cape Times

UNDER the heading "Remove this tattered pag". The Star published an editorial yesterday supporting the decision by the Editor of the Cape Times to publish an interview he conducted with the leader of the African National Congress, Mr. Oliver Tambo in London last week.

"The law forbidding South Africans to talk about — or even know — what some of their politicians are saying is ridiculous. It is also dangerous. It is a law that we believe is disintegrating and should be discarded.

"The Cape Times has courageously ignored the ominous, but ambiguous, existence of a clause in the Internal Security Act which gags one spectrum of political opinion. The newspaper has done so by publishing an interview with the president of the ANC, Oliver Tambo. Despite precedents of officialdom turning a blind eye, the government now publicly threatens the Cape Times with prosecution for the moral stand it has taken. We believe this to be unwise and unjust.

"Open road to anarchy"

"It is a repugnant law that shames South Africa. It is a law that deserves to be circumvented and attacked in every possible way.

"Yet to break any law deliberately is to open the road to anarchy. It invalidates and undermines the principle of rule of law as the government itself has done in the past. In the instance involving the Cape Times, however, the argument that to defy the law is an attack on the rule of law is invalid, and probably irrelevant. The government itself has brought this particular legal clause into despicable disrepute.

"It is a time of reform. The suspension and fudging of the old order as the nation moves into the new, must be welcomed and encouraged. It is but in this case the fudging of bad law has been done not in the cause of reform, but for partisan political purposes: it must be challenged.

"The State President has demonstrated that he is actually above the law, even though his political opponents are not. In other instances the law is applied or not applied discriminately.

"Here are two quotes from Mr Tambo:

"We (the ANC must do the dying in the system). It is a carefully selected quote which Mr F.W. Botha used from the platform of a heated rural byelection.

"The partnership which binds the British Government to the (Nationalist) regime is being challenged by the partnership between Mr. Tambo, the British people and the people of South Africa. That random quote is from a routine report of a speech Mr. Tambo made in London this week. The Citizen published it without public future.

"Yet when The Star quoted Mr Tambo on an innocuous phrase, the paper's representative was prosecuted for that heinous crime and escaped jail only because the publishing company alone was found guilty. (Fortunately, it is not possible to put a company in prison). Part of the significance of the ministerial threat to the Cape Times is that, if found guilty, the law stipulates a jail sentence for the offender.

"Crucial moment in history"

"Yet the practice of quoting banned people is becoming the South African diplomatic and political game. Banned people almost dare in their documents. Top businessmen do so in memoranda. They as well as Afrikans churchmen, students and other concerned people all want to talk to Mr. Tambo. The vicarious need to know what he has to say. Afrikaans newspapers have new related in public ever which managed to interview Mr. Tambo first. Such is the need to know what dissidents as well as cheerleaders are saying.

"Sometimes with indefensible legislation, there comes a moment when the law is not only bad but actually acts against the public good. The prohibition on quoting Mr Tambo strikes at a fundamental right — the right to know the facts at a crucial moment in history. And the government is manipulating this vital information for crude propaganda purposes of its own.

"This law is not the most dishonoured and deserves challenge. The Cape Times case is the first. It certainly will not be the last."
NGK trio to see minister

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A Pretoria minister of the Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Kerke in Afrika, Dr Nico Smith, and two other clergymen — who intend holding talks with the African National Congress — will meet the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, today to discuss their motivations and goals.

Dr Smith said he had applied for an appointment with the government and would meet Mr Botha most probably today.

Despite strong indications that the government would try to prevent the visit, Dr Smith said yesterday he was unaware of any steps being taken to remove his passport.

"We hope through direct communication with the government to find out whether their decision is final," Dr Smith said yesterday.

'More open'

Dr Smith said that if the government decided the ministers could not meet the ANC in Lusaka, he would release the names of the clergymen involved, who would then make a joint statement on the matter.

"I am hoping they will take a more open attitude after the discussion," Dr Smith said.

Meanwhile, Dr Smith has been involved in a fresh controversy after stating in a radio broadcast that the force being used by organizations such as the ANC might be an instrument in the judgment of God against a nation that did not obey the Biblical demands for justice.

'Sensitive'

The government had failed to address the central issue of bringing about peace and justice in South Africa — that of negotiating with what amounted to "almost a government in exile", the ANC, which represented the majority of people in South Africa, he said.

Dr Smith said yesterday that he was "very happy to have been given the opportunity to state his case", although he realized that within the Dutch Reformed context he was discussing "a very sensitive theme".

Earlier, Mr Botha said the government was averse to the intended visit by the clergymen and would "where possible, take appropriate steps to prevent the discussions."

And following a meeting between Native students and the State President, Mr P W Botha, the government remained firm in its opposition to contact with the ANC under any circumstances."
Boesak free to travel, speak

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak was a man of "high political morals and ideals" whose principles would "urge" him to stand trial, a Malmesbury magistrate said yesterday.

Mr W A de Klerk scrapped most of Dr Boesak's bail conditions, enabling the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to travel wherever he wishes in the six months before his trial for subversion starts in Malmesbury on May 12 next year.

Dr Boesak may also address meetings, except at schools, and speak to the press.

Soon after the ruling yesterday, Dr Boesak prepared to fly to the United States where he is due to receive the Robert F Kennedy Humanitarian Award. He said last night that he had notified police that he would be calling for his passport today.

Mr De Klerk found that the State's evidence in the bail hearing had not been satisfactory.

"Some of it was hearsay and of little evidential value, some was inaccurate, and some was in contradiction of its other evidence," he said.

From a consideration of Dr Boesak's evidence, the court found it was most improbable that he would abscond. The court was not satisfied that the safety of the public would be endangered if certain bail conditions were scrapped, he said.

Mr De Klerk said he agreed with Mr H Viljoen, SC, that the courts should not be used as a vehicle for the issuing of restriction orders in the form of bail conditions.

"It appears there are several inroads into the normal bail conditions," Mr De Klerk said. He could not agree to "the possible submission that (Natal treason trial) Mr Mewa Ramgobin's case is the authority for this court to impose such strict conditions".

Vast resources

Dr Boesak's bail of R20,000 was not changed. Mr De Klerk said it was "not excessive" considering that Dr Boesak had "loyal supporters" and "vast resources to fall back on, one of which was the Foundation for Peace and Justice", which provided part of his bail money.

Only three bail conditions remain: Dr Boesak may not communicate with State witnesses, he may not propagate boycotts or disinvestment and he may still not visit any primary or high school.

Mr S Desai instructed by E Moosa and Associates appeared for Dr Boesak, MR J Kiem, SC, appeared for the State.
E Cape feud: Police claim breakthrough

PORT ELIZABETH. Police claim to have made a major breakthrough in their investigation into escalating violence emanating from the renewed feud between the United Democratic Front and Azapo. This follows the arrest at the weekend of 43 people, said to be UDF members, and the confiscation of an assortment of deadly weapons during a police swoop on KwaZakhele.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the swoop by police and the Divisional Reaction Unit on three township houses followed an incident last week in which a house was petrol-bombed in Walmer township. A man was shot to death while fleeing from the burning house.

Murder

Colonel Van Rooyen said Azapo members allegedly congregated at the house in Walmer. Those arrested would be charged with murder, attempted murder and public violence.

A man received a gunshot wound in the shoulder when the feuding between the two groups erupted in Walmer township on Sunday.

Earlier, about 800 people clashed in the streets of the township. Police dispersed them with teargas.

Meanwhile, soldiers armed with assault rifles patrolled the centre of Johannesburg yesterday, maintaining the massive security operation begun last Friday.

A military spokesman would not comment on the soldiers' presence, but a police spokesman said "It is a well-known fact that the army are assisting the police in some operations."

On Friday more than 1,000 policemen flooded the city.

Most vehicles were searched at roadblocks on roads leading into Soweto on Friday. Yesterday morning troops stopped cars at random and allowed many to pass through into the township.

Hostel

Sapa reports that a 28-year-old police constable was shot dead while guarding a councillor's home in Soweto at the weekend.

Police identified the man as Constable NP Madelaine. A police spokesman would not identify the councillor at whose house the constable had been posted.

Two Meadowlands hostel inmates were also shot dead at the weekend. Police said the killings were the result of faction feuds.

Two attempted-murder cases were also reported. In one, an SAP warrant officer was on patrol duty on Friday morning when a group of youths approached him. Shots were fired at him. The officer returned fire and a youth was hit in the leg. The youth is in a satisfactory condition.
Mandela recuperates in City

Staff Reporter

STRINGENT security arrangements were in evidence around the Volkshospital yesterday as jailed African National Congress leader Mr. Nelson Mandela recuperated from the surgical removal of his enlarged prostate gland.

Mr. Mandela is said to be quite cheerful and will apparently start undergoing physiotherapy at the Volkshospital in Oranjezicht, where he is expected to spend another week.

Armed plainclothes policemen guarded the entrances, grounds and ward where Mr. Mandela is being held.

His family will be able to see him for 40 minutes a day until his release from hospital.

A Prisons Services spokesman, Lieutenant Colonel Arie van Vuuren, said from Pretoria that according to a statement released by Mr. Mandela's doctors: "The patient is well enough to get out of bed. There are no complications."
Mandela family visits restricted

Staff Report.

NELSON Mandela's family have been told they may visit the United African Nations Congress leader only once a day for 40 minutes while he is in hospital recovering from an operation.

Upset by the restriction, a family member said today: "It was unbelievable how human beings can behave towards each other."

"There is enough security at the hospital to guard the winners of Cape Town. What difference would it make to them if we saw him for longer?"

Yesterday the family were able to see Mr Mandela twice before being told of the restriction.

Family members reported that Mr Mandela, who has an enlarged prostate gland removed in an operation at the Volkshospital on Sunday, has made a rapid recovery.

GET-WELL CARD:

His wife Winnie, his mother, half-brother, etc., and son-in-law Prince Thembukusho Dlamini, expected him to walk about today for the first time since the operation.

Family members are also pleased that authorities accepted get-well cards, flowers, chocolate and a radio sent to well-wishers to Mr Mandela's private ward.

Doctors who attended to him are said to be pleased with the hospital treatment and the progress he has made after the operation.

A Prison Service spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel D. Immelman said that according to the doctors Mr Mandela was making progress and was already on a full diet.

Prisoners comment about the visiting regulations would probably be released today, Colonel Immelman said.
From SOPHIE TEMBA

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Zenani Dlamini, daughter of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday her father was making good progress after an operation at the Volkshospitaal in Cape Town.

Mr Mandela is recovering from a surgical removal of an enlarged prostate gland. The operation, which lasted an hour and 15 minutes, was performed by three independent urologists, including a British professor of urology.

Mrs Dlamini said: “My father has recovered satisfactorily, he has made good progress and is up and about. Above all he is cheerful and it seems like he will be well enough to get out of bed very soon.”

A Prisons Service spokesman, Lieutenant Arie van Vuuren, yesterday said: “According to Nelson Mandela’s doctors he is making good progress after the surgery at the weekend and has been put back on a full diet again. His doctors said he will soon be well enough to get out of bed as there are no complications.”

He is to start undergoing physiotherapy treatment at the hospital.
Segregation divides Christians

SIR — Allow me to voice my concern about segregation in South Africa. This segregation is practiced by Christians. Can you believe that we are all made in God's image if some Christians practice apartheid?

There is a lack of equality among Christians and this makes me doubt whether Christians are sincere in the application of the Bible's teachings. We are all equal before God, why can't we then be equal before man?

Most Christians love God but hate their fellow brothers, who are also Christians. Most blacks are naturally a peace-loving people, but this lack of equality among Christians is really unacceptable. I am totally against it. My culture is better than Christianity. Most people will agree that Christianity was used to rob our people of their land and its wealth.

Dinamty is a luxury our people cannot afford. I think Christianity is useless to our people.

SAMUEL RAMODISA
MOLOBI
Makapanstad

I say keep it up

SIR — Allow me to express my feelings about a Vosloorus-based club called Canaan's youth club. There are many clubs in Vosloorus but the best of them all is Canaan's Youth Club, also known as Amakanana Amahlile.

We appreciate your work, so keep it up. Here are some of their members: Isaac, Nhlanhla, Rosi, Mzala, Mpho, Fanyana, Memory and Mbongeni and others. I would also like to remind them that we are eagerly awaiting their play Let Him Be Forgiven which was written by Shadrack Nosizwa.

CANAANS FAN
Randoo

Remove all laws that enslave us

SIR — Blacks do not need white racist to tell them what to do. This is exactly what we have unrest today. Whites have been doing things about blacks being misused they should start by removing all the laws that have been missing blacks over the centuries.

OBER SITHOLE
Pinetown

Reader hits at multi-nationals

SIR — My African brothers and sisters must be careful of companies who claim to be equal opportunity employers. I am talking from experience because I have been exposed to such companies. In fact the owners of these companies try to maintain these qualities but the middle bosses sabotage these efforts. I am not asking for power to be given to a general manager. How much earth can I adjust myself in a company where the bosses discriminate?

Hated cramps in some of these firms because we are told they are given power to dictate. Unfair labour practices go on unchecked. It is not my business if a man accepts bribes to make profits for himself, but when it comes to a point where I have to be dismissed, because bribes have been used and cannot be refunded. I start protecting myself. Now. Anyhow even if it means calling a spade a spade. Favouritism is one of the practices you come across in companies that signed the Sullivan Code.

Does the Sullivan Code permit the bosses to use vulgar language? Does the Sullivan Code permit the bosses to carry a million guns in the workplace even if there is no trouble? Is the weapon not supposed to be left with the security? Does the Sullivan Code personify how the work floor where the bosses are free to say “what gain has now ain’t? Ek skiet julle sommer dono!”

THE SHOUTING SLAVE
Katlehong

Pupils behaviour is flayed

SIR — Can you please publish my letter wherein I am protesting about some pupils of Kagiso Senior Secondary School did to another pupil. The Kagiso Youth Congress feels disappointed by the behaviour of the pupils involved. Some days ago, during a school boycott, they apprehended another pupil and hurled him over to members of the South African Defense Force. This really showed total disregard for our struggle. The struggle concerns every person who is oppressed in South Africa.

It is needless getting a mutilation certificate only to join the long queue of the unemployed. Now is the time to fight together to end apartheid in our country. Let us develop trust and friendship so that we can free ourselves.

KOZO
(Chairsman of Kagiso)
Kagiso

For Those Who Wish To Be Saved:

That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.

For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.
UNEASY CALM IN SHARPEVILLE

Grey and wan township hits the headlines

Sharpeville, a township that was almost unknown outside the Vaal area, shot to world headlines in March, 1960 when the police opened fire on anti-pass protestors.

At the end of March 21 of that momentous year, when the PAC and ANC were banned, 69 people lay dead and more than 100 injured.

After a half of 25 years — a generation later — Sharpeville once more went into the headlines when residents marched on the local administration board offices protesting against increased rents.

The violence that exploded afterwards has been well documented in newspaper reports.

At the moment, an uneasy calm has settled over the township of mostly small, two-roomed dwellings that are grey and wan. Here and there, one spots a big house, the improvements having been wrought by the occupier's own efforts.

Since September last year a situation of stalemate has existed between the residents and the administration board, with all the resultant problems of increased rents and the board apparently in a dilemma as to what to do.

The mayor of the Lebowa Town Council Mr. Esau Mahlati and other councillors who have not resigned or killed by angry mobs are in "exile", as one wag put it. They live with their families in a high security encampment in Norkem Park.

Sharpeville businessman and former leading civic politician, Mr. Philip Phatang (64), said that things had come to a sorry pass because the quality of civic leadership had become weaker and weaker over the years.

"Matters came to a boil because the councillors refused to meet the residents to explain why rents were being raised so often."

"Moreover, the council did not repair the houses and fences that were not maintained. Our toilets have not been repaired since 1972 when the Vaal Administration Board took over from the Vereeniging Town Council," Mr. Phatang said.

He said during the days when he was chairman of the Sharpeville Advisory Board, there was consultation between the leaders of the community and the Vereeniging Town Council.

"There was mutual agreement on issues affecting the township. When the Vaal Administration Board took over, the officials appointed did not have experience about township administration and often acted high-handedly," Mr. Phatang said.

Miss Snookie Pule (33), with friends, Mr. Buli Sekoane (30) and Mr. Sekhubane Mofokeng were playing the rhythm and blues records.

Mr. Sekhube said that on the whole Sharpeville was a good place because the people were very friendly and had a strong community spirit.

"When a death, for instance, befalls a family here, all the neighbours rally around the bereaved and contribute money towards the burial," Mr. Sekhube said.

Miss Pule said that although recreational facilities for young and old were inadequate, there was no lack of public swimming pool, a tennis court, one motel and a recreation club for the young in Sharpeville.

As in other areas, Sharpeville is haunted by the specter of unemployment. Mr. Sydney "Porite" Temanye (29), who works as a porter, suffers from the effects of a phenomenon that has been spawned by unemployment in Sharpeville.

There are the stokvels. He talked off names of so many in one breath: Likho, Mphaka thaha, Ladys Night, Lapolo, A-Team, Progress, Ho Lukile, New Born Baby, Sunday Morning etc.

"Because many men and women are without jobs, the stokvels are the only way of making some money without turning to crime. But the result is that many marriages are breaking up because of these stokvels," Mr. Temanye said.

Mr. Philip Phatang said: "I house not repaired.

WITH the skis overcast, Sharpeville's houses look over many grey.

Spotlight on Sharpeville

By NAT DISEKO

Summer '85

Family Carnival

1st - 16th November

The best of summer enters Sharpeville for 10-day exciting entertainment extravaganza to celebrate the summer season.

It's a Carnival featuring an exciting carnival exhibition with special Carnival discount on a host of articles.

Being held along in the fair fun.

There are: Swimming pools, Boat rides, Beer and wine gardens, Indoor and outdoor restaurants.

Daily mini-musical festivals, Late night disco shows.

SPECIAL EVENTS FOR WEDNESDAY 4TH NOVEMBER

1. Music Festival with CC Beat, Hot Soul Singers and Reverb.
2. The original Cape Town Carnival.
3. Doorway contest at 7pm, prize: R1,000.
4. Beach party contest.

ANDLOTSMORE

Admission: Adults: R4, children: R1, children: Carnival hours: 12am - 10pm weekdays, 9am - 9pm Saturday & Sunday.

MEMBERS of the "A-Team" stokvel having a good time.

Mr SYDNEY "Porite" Temanye with friend Miss Mosidi Dick.
CAPE TOWN-Dr Allan Boesak, and his wife, Mrs. Boesak's passport was withdrawn by the United States authorities on Monday, the withdrawal of the pass- port as a result of the action by the government on Boesak's non-compliance with the conditions of the order of the court.

Boesak, who is the leader of the United Methodist Church in South Africa, was arrested by the police on Sunday night, a few hours after he arrived in Cape Town from the United States. He was flown back to the United States under a special arrangement with the government.

Dr. Boesak's passport was withdrawn by the Supreme Court of the United States on Monday, after he was charged with contempt of court for failing to appear in court on a case involving the Bantu Education Act.

The Court of Appeals had earlier ruled that Boesak must appear in court on a case involving the Bantu Education Act, or face contempt of court charges. Boesak had been granted a temporary order to allow him to return to the United States, but he subsequently failed to appear in court.

Yesterday, Boesak was back in court where he again failed to appear. This time, however, the Court of Appeals ordered him to appear in person, but Boesak did not.

The government has since charged Boesak with contempt of court, and his passport has been withdrawn.
Passport withdrawal
Boesak to fight decision

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

DR ALLAN BOESAK hopes to institute a Supreme Court action by Monday to compel the government to restore his passport.

"We are going to fight this one in whatever way we can, even if it means we have to go to the Supreme Court," Dr Boesak said last night in an interview.
"If I have my way, we will have an application in the Supreme Court and I am hoping to do that by Monday," he said.

Court ruling
Dr Boesak and his attorney consulted senior counsel yesterday afternoon about the government's decision to take away his passport after it had been restored by a ruling in the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court on Monday.

His attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, said last night that no decision about legal action had been taken yet, but it was hoped a decision would be taken soon.

He said he had to leave South Africa by Wednesday to attend urgent meetings with the secretariat of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. These meetings had become urgent because he had been forced to miss the New Delhi meeting of the alliance because of his bail restrictions.

After that he and his wife Dorothy are scheduled to travel to Sweden and the United States where he is due to receive the Robert F Kennedy Humanitarian Award on November 20.

Courageous
Dr Boesak said that after the magistrate had taken "a very courageous decision", his ruling had simply been overruled by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

"I would not be happy if I did not fight this one. I did not think the government could be as insensitive and as stupid as they have been.
"It is not only the world that the government should consider but also the effects in our country. The anger of the people will not abate because of this — it will grow," Dr Boesak said.

He said he had been inundated with telephone calls and messages from throughout the world.

"The people said they were very happy at the magistrate's decision but they were utterly disgusted by the government's arbitrary action."

Solidarity's spokesman, Mr Fat Poovalingam, said that while a court of law acknowledged that Dr Boesak was hailed as a man of integrity and idealism and, knowing that he would go abroad to attend conferences, allowed his passport to be returned to him, Mr Stoffel Botha had made South Africa a prison for him.

"In other words, Dr Boesak, being still an innocent man, is punished by the minister while his trial is still proceeding," Mr Poovalingam said.
Police question editor after Tambo interview

By TONY WEAVER

THE Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, was yesterday visited by a lieutenant of the security police and questioned in connection with Monday's full-page interview in the newspaper with Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the banned African National Congress.

The interview has drawn widespread international attention, and yesterday Mr Heard was inundated with calls from news organizations worldwide, from well-wishers and with requests for interviews.

About 10.30am a Lieutenant Mostert of the security police arrived at the Cape Times and informed Mr Heard that charges were being investigated against him in terms of Section 56 (1)(P) of the Internal Security Act.

The section deals with the quoting of a person who is banned or listed and carries a maximum penalty of three years' imprisonment.

"Lieutenant Mostert told me a docket had been opened and that it will be placed before the Attorney General for a decision," Mr Heard said yesterday.

Buthelezi

"One of the things I pointed out to him was that Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has also quoted Mr Tambo," Mr Heard gave Lieutenant Mostert a copy of a Cape Times article dated February 23, 1984, in which Chief Buthelezi was reported as quoting Mr Tambo.

In the course of yesterday and Monday, Mr Heard was interviewed by a wide range of newspapers, radio and television stations worldwide.

Sir Robin Day conducted an interview with Mr Heard for yesterday's BBC "World At One" programme, while the publishing of the interview made front-page news in the Washington Post.

Ian Robb reports from London that the interview also received massive coverage in the media in the United Kingdom.

"Paper Defies South Africa's Security Laws" was the headline in the Daily Telegraph, while The Times, under the headline "Cape paper defies law over ANC," said the Cape Times "had flung down an unprecedented challenge to the government."

The Guardian headlined a lengthy report "SA paper defies ban on publishing ANC position" and on the leader page lengthy extracts from the Tambo interview were published.

The Financial Times stressed, under the headline "Fresh Challenge to Pretoria's censorship laws," that the challenge to the government was unprecedented.

The Morning Star declared on its front page that the Cape Times had "challenged apartheid."

One of the English-speaking world's most widely read newspapers, the International Herald Tribune, headlined its agency report on the interview "South African Paper Prints Interview With Apartheid Leader."

The Western Cape chairperson of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, said at a press conference yesterday she would like to begin by "paying tribute to the Cape Times for its courage and integrity (in publishing the Tambo interview). "It is a real example of responsible journalism," she said."
Clerics to persist in bid to see ANC

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A GROUP of South African clergymen today expressed their determination to go ahead with their efforts to have discussions with the African National Congress in spite of Government opposition, but said they would do nothing illegal.

At a meeting with the ministers in Pretoria yesterday the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, told them no South African would in future be allowed to travel overseas to talk to the banned ANC.

While expressing the disappointment of the group, its leader, Dr Nico Smith of the Ned Gerof Kerk in Afrika's Mamelodi, Pretoria, congregation said that, as had been expected, the Minister had said the Government would not allow South Africans to talk to enemies of the State.

Churchmen, however, felt the church had a God-given vocation to act as peacemakers in the world. ANC members were not necessarily regarded as enemies.

As one of the delegation had put it, some ANC members were brothers or children and were citizens of South Africa.

Dr Smith said the clergymen had hoped the Government would encourage rather than prevent efforts to diminish conflict in South Africa.

Christians felt entitled to exercise their freedom of conscience in such matters but he wondered if this freedom still existed in South Africa, although the Government professed to be a Christian one.

The churches had a role to play in this matter, especially if the patterns that were allowed to develop in the country in the past with them not making their voices heard, were taken into consideration.

The group remained convinced that a discussion with the ANC, to ascertain at first hand its attitudes, should be allowed just as the group had talked to the Government yesterday.

Mr Botha made it clear to the group that they would not be allowed travel documents if they wanted to go and talk to the ANC.

Dr Smith said, as soon as circumstances allowed for this, the group would continue to try to get travel documents through the usual channels in order to arrange a meeting with the ANC.

Dr Smith has made a strong attack on South African churches, blaming them "for allowing a political system which could plunge the country in a revolution".

"Big shock"

"And I include the English churches. They objected initially but soon stopped their protests when they saw the system was also convenient for them," he said.

"The churches have belied their calling. They have failed the people of this country. Whites don't know what is going on in the black townships. They are in for a big shock."

He urged all churches in South Africa to work actively for political change.

"I call on all churches to fulfill their calling and do their utmost to prevent the looming catastrophe."

Credibility

Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the Centre of Intergroup Studies at UCT, who has in the past promoted contact with the ANC, said today he appreciated the Government's problem because contact with the ANC would give credibility to that organisation.

The nature of political activ-
State is entitled to add alternative charge - judge

THE Delmas Circuit Court yesterday ruled that the State is entitled to add an alternative charge of furthering the aims of the ANC to the charges already faced by 22 triangle treason accused.

Mr Justice K von Dijkhorst ruled yesterday that until the accused had pleaded the State was at liberty to add to the indictment.

He said the campaign against such things as the labour laws and the Group Areas Act, which the accused are now alleged to have undertaken on the ANC's behalf, were already mentioned in the indictment.

"So this is not a new matter although I concede that the case will now have to be approached from a different angle."

Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, for the defence, objected to the addition to the indictment, saying a whole new point was being raised which would slow down the case and possible prejudice the accused, some of whom have now been in jail for more than a year.

The Attorney-General, he said, had a duty to try the accused as soon as possible.

The indictment could be amended only with the court's permission.

— SOWETAN Correspondent.
Peace pact in Soweto ‘war’

THE Soweto Civic Association and the Azanian Student Movement sealed a peace pact on Wednesday between Orlando East youths and members of a gang in the township.

Two people have died since the bloody war erupted into the open and there had been fears the violence might escalate at the funeral of one of the victims this Saturday.

The friendly hand-shake came only days after a meeting called by the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) decided to embark on a programme to rehabilitate thugs who have been molesting residents in the name of the struggle.

Several black political, student and community organisations have backed Soyco’s move.

Township residents have been subjected to harassment by gangs of youths masquerading as representatives of the banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

In White City Jabavu, thugs have gone on house-to-house raids demanding either “protection fees” or donations to cover “funeral costs” of fictitious students.

There have been widespread reports that youths have deprived residents of their groceries — in some instances people were forced to drink cooking oil and detergent — since the consumer boycott started several weeks ago.

In Central Western Jabavu last week, two young women were attacked in their homes, robbed of money and sexually assaulted in view of their parents.

At the meeting last weekend of Soyco and a number of community organisations, it was decided Soyco should form sub-committees in every township in Soweto. These would approach the “political thugs” and re-educate them.

A Soyco spokesman said fighting back would only please the system which had created them.

It was also claimed that some of the apprehended thugs told Soyco members they were engaged in crime for money.
Candles flicker in Athlone garden protest

Staff Reporter

THE lights went out all over Athlone as residents mounted a symbolic protest against the state of emergency and lit candles in their front gardens.

The action was called almost 100 percent successful by a spokesman for the organisers, the Athlone People's Action Committee (APAC).

At 8pm yesterday residents from Camberwell Road to Klipfontein Road, which includes Athlone, Crawford and Belgravia, turned off their lights and went into their front gardens with lighted candles.

The action lasted about an hour and had the support of the Western Cape Traders' Association, many members of which turned out shop signs and lights.

The spokesman said the action was a symbolic protest against the state of emergency. The people demanded the withdrawal of troops from the townships, mourned those killed in the past two months and expressed solidarity with detainees.

"We took a survey last week and indications were that people wanted to make some form of protest about the state of emergency and its implications," the spokesman said.

"After we had decided on this action we did intensive door-to-door work and distributed pamphlets explaining what it was all about.

"The people are very disturbed about the state of emergency and the support was almost total," he said."
HOWE FIRM ON ANC DIALOGUE

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday resisted pressure from the Tory-led Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs to open dialogue with the ANC.

Howe told MP Sir Anthony Kershaw, Tory chairman of the 11-member committee, that British government policy was not to enter into dialogue with the advocates of violence.

Howe faced vigorous questioning from the committee on the government's policy of no dialogue with the ANC.

The questioning came 24 hours after three Tory MPs broke ranks to form an anti-apartheid pressure group urging the British government to talk to the ANC.

Howe conceded there were several precedents in recent history — Ireland, Palestine, Kenya, and Cyprus — where British governments had abandoned this guideline and yielded to talking to the advocates of force.

However, he would not rule out a shift in government attitude towards the ANC in the future.
Boesak challenge on media ban, passport seizure

Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN BOESAK has challenged President P W Botha to tell him why he banned the foreign Press from unrest areas and the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to a television debate on why he took his passport away.

Making his first public appearance since a Malmesbury magistrate upheld an appeal against his bail conditions on Monday, Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the United Democratic Front, addressed an estimated 2 000 people in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Hazendal last night.

He was given a three-minute standing ovation, punctuated by chants of "Boesak, Boesak, Boesak" when he was introduced and his speech was interrupted frequently by applause.

Addressing himself to President Botha on the restrictions placed on the Press, Dr Boesak challenged the State President to say why the foreign Press had been banned.

"In invade"

Instead of withdrawing the police and the army, the media had been banned so that the "police and defence force could invade townships" and there could be no witnesses.

"We live in serious times and serious questions must be answered. Is this subtle genocide? The State President must answer this."

He reiterated his decision to fight the withdrawal of his passport in court, but challenged Mr Stoffel Botha to a debate on television.

"Fight back"

"Mr Stoffel Botha decided to take my passport away from me. We will try to get it back. When these people do something to you, you must not take it lying down. You must fight back.

"I want to say to Stoffel Botha, if you can hear me, why don't you and I go on television. I would like to ask the Minister on television why he took my passport away from me. I have a few questions for him and I am sure he has a few for me."

"Mr Botha is hereby invited to defend himself. I would like SATV to do this. Give us an hour," said Dr Boesak to enthusiastic applause.

He said his victory in Malmesbury on Monday was "God's work."

Dr Boesak last night

"The voice of justice came through a magistrate living in Malmesbury." He said the Book of Revelations is what you call protest literature. It was underground literature and smuggled out so only the congregation could understand it.

It was written by John "who was banished to an island. It is not strange that unjust governments have always had a fondness for islands. The Caesars of that time are no different from the Caesars of today."

"Last convulsions"

South Africa, he said, was in a state of civil war. "They may not know it in BishopsCourt or Pretoria."

He warned that while the end of "oppression and the oppressors" was near, it would take a time before freedom came.

"We are watching the last convulsions of the beast that is dying. We must continue the struggle knowing God will avenge our children."

He called on people to "rise up and walk together for the sake of our country which is besieged by racism and fear, for the sake of those who have suffered so much, for our brothers and sisters who languish in jail, for the sake of those who refuse to give up, for the sake of our mothers who must bury our children, for the sake of those who stand by the grave-side, for the sake of our children who have lived and died and have been an example of solidarity, to give our children hope for the future and for the sake of God."
‘Excuse for subtle genocide?’

By EBRHAM MOOSA

DR ALLAN BOESAK, head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, asked last night whether government restrictions on reporting of unrest in the townships were “an excuse for subtle genocide”.

In a speech based on Biblical texts, Dr Boesak said the government was “trying to prevent the world from seeing what is happening in the townships”.

The restrictions on visual coverage of unrest had been instituted “so that they can murder our children, so that there will be no witnesses and no record of what they have done, so that they can kill us in peace”.

“Is this an excuse for subtle genocide? Is that, Mr State President, the reason you are preventing the foreign media from going to the townships?” he asked.

Dr Boesak was addressing over 2,000 people at an ecumenical service at the AME church in Hazendal, Athlone. It was his first speech outside the Bellville area since he was detained in August.

Dr Boesak described the recent relaxation of his bail restrictions by the Malmesbury Magistrate’s Court as “God’s victory for justice”.

But he criticized the government and the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, for withdrawing his passport. He challenged Mr Botha to a television debate on his decision to bar him from travelling.

Dr Boesak said he would take steps to recover his passport.

“Whenever these people do something, don’t take it lying down. Fight it to the very end,” he said.

“We are watching the last convulsions of the beast. We must be determined to fight,” he added.

Candles

In a symbolic show of solidarity last night, residents in the Athlone/Crawford area lit candles in the front gardens of their homes.

A blackout of house lights and burning of candles was staged by the Athlone Peoples’ Action Committee (APAC) in solidarity with those killed and detained.

“We are overwhelmed by the 100 percent response to the call from the APAC to people to switch off their lights in the Athlone area,” a committee spokesman said.

People had been protesting against the state of emergency and police brutality, and showing that they would “no longer remain silent” under apartheid.
Botswana again calls for compensation

GABORONE — Botswana yesterday repeated its call for compensation from the South African Government for the South African Defence Force raid here on June 14 in which 12 people died.

President Quett Masire told Parliament that violence in South Africa had increased since the raid, which Pretoria said was directed against African National Congress targets.

Botswana citizens, refugees, foreign nationals and children were among those killed by the SADF troops.

Dr Masire rejected South African charges that Botswana harboured ANC bases and repeated calls for a full and fair compensation for the destruction and damage to life and property caused by the raid.

He said South Africa's "policy of destabilisation against its neighbours" was a diversionary tactic which could only delay "the achievement of freedom and equality" in Namibia and South Africa.

South Africa should also clear the way for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council plan for Namibian independence, as a solution to the territory's problems was not in sight.

— Sapa.
Tutu, Boesak get the nod from Miller

Govt prepared to talk to 'men of influence'

The Government was prepared to talk to those with 'men of influence' such as Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. K. D. Miller, said yesterday.

Mr. Miller told a seminar at Rand Afrikaans University that it was also his view that 'within the supreme command of the African National Congress, we're succeeding in getting significant members to forswear violence'.

The Government would definitely speak to the ANC as soon as it renounced violence, but was opposed to negotiating with committed communists.

"A total of 39 out of 31 members of the ANC supreme command are members of the South African Communist Party. We are totally against communism, although we are not against socialism," Mr. Miller said.

The problem with the ANC was that it saw violence 'as a means of transplanting power rather than sharing power'.

Mr. Miller said recent visits by delegations to the ANC had caused setbacks in the Government's attempts to get individual members to renounce violence.

ATTEMPTS

The visits had "proved that violence pays and had enhanced the credibility of those factions within the ANC that support violence".

The Government was still not prepared to release political figures who had been jailed for the use of violence — and that also applied to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeuging.

"The Government is prepared to talk to men of influence like Boesak and Tutu — they have a constituency although they are not elected leaders. We will not speak to them in a one-to-one basis, but face a negotiation team where various leaders from various communities are represented," Mr. Miller said.

He said the Government aimed at encouraging negotiations "between all South Africans who accept democracy, free enterprise and freedom of religion".

"Our aim is to achieve the support of the majority of all South Africans on this basis," he said.

However, the unrest and "irrelevant and counter-productive" timetables for reform — such as those drafted by the Commonwealth countries — were making it difficult for black leaders to come forward to negotiate.
Traders commend Mr Heard

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape Traders' Association (WCTA) and the Chamber of Muslim Meat Traders (Commtra) yesterday issued a joint statement commending the editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, for publishing an interview with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

The statement said the interview was "educational and elucidating," adding: "However, we are perturbed at the impending State action against Mr Heard.

"Commtra and the WCTA therefore urge oppressed people of the land to support those who align themselves with us by buying the paper which is in keeping with the times."

Our Paris correspondent reports that the restrictions on the South African press and the Tambo interview drew wide comment in France this week.

The influential Le Monde, as well as the daily papers Liberation and Humanité carried articles explaining why Mr Heard deliberately defied censorship laws to bring the ANC views to public attention.

The possible prosecution of Mr Heard was also widely reported in the British media yesterday.
Four conditions would have to be met, says UDF patron

Boesak willing to take part in talks with Govt

By Hermes de Wet

United Democratic Front leader, Dr Allan Boesak said today he would be willing to take part in talks with the Government — provided, among other things, charges against him were withdrawn.

Expressing his surprise at the positive tone of the remarks made about him and Bishop Desmond Tutu by the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, Dr Boesak said:

"It was the first time a Government spokesman recognised us as leaders. They seem to be realising their mistake in this regard."

Speaking at the Rand Afrikaans University on Wednesday, Mr Miller said the Government was prepared to talk to "men of influence" such as Dr Boesak and Bishop Tutu.

Bishop Tutu's said yesterday that his mind was not closed to the idea of talks with the Government.

"I certainly agree with the Bishop," Dr Boesak told The Star. 

"But it can only be exploratory talks — not negotiations."

Dr Boesak said four conditions would have to be met before he would take part in such talks:

"The state of emergency must be called off, people arrested in terms of the emergency regulations must be freed, the Government must stop its violence against our people in the townships and the charges against me must be withdrawn with the return of my passport."

Dr Boesak said serious negotiations with the Government could only become viable once leaders such as Nelson Mandela were free again.
Only MPs may visit ANC – Miller

GOVERNMENT will not grant any group, other than parliamentarians, wishing to visit Louisa for talks with the ANC, probably by withdrawing their passports.

Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller said government would not distinguish between groups, be they business, student or church representatives.

However, though government strongly disapproved of the recent visit by a Progressive Federal Party delegation led by Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, the ANC MPs were in a different category.

They were protected by parliamentary privilege, and government could not act against them.

"As for business the clergy, students – it makes no difference," Miller said the delegation led by Anglo-American Chamber of Commerce had no time to visit.

But government was determined to discourage similar visits because the ANC continued to advocate violence.

It was up to the individuals to declare their intentions beforehand. Should people not express their intentions, government would have to consider alternative methods to ensure they would not happen," he said.
ENOS MABUZA

Tea with Tambo

It may seem odd that a homeland leader should, or could, be successfully arranging to meet leaders of the banned ANC, which, after all, scorns the bantustan system and its leaders as Pretoria's puppets.

But KaNgwane Chief Minister, Enos Mabuza (46) is doing just that. Though he accepted self-governing status for the territory in August last year, Mabuza has rejected the official next step to "independence." And his intention to follow the trail blazed by South African businessmen and the Official Opposition to the ANC HQ in Lusaka cannot have pleased government.

So it will be interesting to see whether Pretoria will issue Mabuza's passport. Should the visit be confirmed, there seem to be no other snags to Mabuza's trip. From Lusaka the ANC tells the FM it has no objection.

Mabuza, an articulate, softly-spoken former school inspector, says that he is not going to negotiate with the ANC (how could he?) but to "consult" with them on two points. These are "the present crisis in SA, and the need to evolve a solution" to it.

"Our attitude is a responsible one; we've been given a mandate by our constituency," says Mabuza referring to his Inyandza National Movement which claims to have 100 000 paid-up members. Inyandza is a component of the now little-heard-of South African Black Alliance led by KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is, incidentally, the only South African leader that the ANC definitely does not wish to meet.

Mabuza's mooted ANC rendezvous will be in his capacity as leader of Inyandza, a non-ethnic organisation which believes that the ANC "is very much part of the equation of the political situation of South Africa and can't be left out." Through Inyandza, Mabuza aims to contribute to the creation of a just, non-racial, democratic SA, and he believes in "co-operation with all national movements with similar aims.

Born in the Barberton district, Mabuza attended the Sheba Mine School and Barberton Secondary before taking a teaching diploma in Vryheid and an Honours degree through Unisa. As a young man, he says he read the speeches of Douglas Mitchell, the onetime United Party MP who fought zealously for black rights. Recently, Mabuza's eldest daughter, (one of six children) who is a student and SRC secretary at the University of the North at Turfloop, was detained for two weeks.

Mabuza is not a hereditary chief and rose to his position of authority because "the people wanted educated and enlightened leadership." He maintains that his government is "popularly supported" even though general elections have not yet been held in KaNgwane. But there has been "consultation at grassroots level," and elections will be held in two years' time.

His role in the homelands structure, he believes, is primarily one of "uplifting" his people through the economic development of the area. His main thrust is to improve education and agriculture in the region.

He finds nothing curious in his vision of SA as a unitary, democratic state. The black people, says the leader of some 800 000 ethnic Swazi, weren't consulted about the creation of the homelands and oppose the system. Now through peaceful means, Mabuza hopes to show that they ought to be "dismantled."

Mabuza became chief executive councillor of KaNgwane in 1978. So what, then, of his own position as a homeland head? "I regard my position as very temporary, until a democratic SA has been created," he says.

Unlike a number of other homelands, independent and self-governing, who brook no opposition to their regimes, Mabuza says there is room for all legal organisations in his area, including Azapo and the UDF, with which "we aren't in conflict." They are correct, says Mabuza, in holding that the homelands policy cannot be justified, "but we should be judged by what we say and do."

Mabuza's quiet resoluteness was demonstrated over the Swazi land deal three years ago — when Pretoria planned to cede Ingwavuma in Zululand and KaNgwane in the Transvaal to Swaziland, which has traditionally claimed those and other areas from SA. It was a serious matter, says Mabuza, "and when the Swazi government admitted after Nkomati that it had also signed a pact with SA, we viewed the matter with more trepidation." The battle against incorporation, says Mabuza, was a "triumph of negotiation and of using constitutional means to fight for our rights." If government were to resuscitate the land deal, Mabuza reckons people "would be forced to resort to other than constitutional means."

The current civil upheaval, which of course led Mabuza to seeking a meeting with the ANC, "has proved to government the need to talk to credible and acceptable leaders."

Mabuza maintains that government also knows who the real (community) leaders are in places like Duduza and KwaNobuhle, townships which have been hit by violent unrest. "It is vital that government talks to them," urges the mild-mannered man, adding that at the national level, too, Pretoria should talk to "a broad spectrum of black leaders."

"We have reached a situation in SA where the young people say they are prepared to die for the liberation of our people. Government should understand this."

Of Nelson Mandela and the ANC's degree of popular support, Mabuza says: "Mandela is a highly respected leader, there is no doubt about his stature... I believe the ANC and other organisations should be unbanned and allowed to go to the marketplace to establish their constituencies. It is unfair to judge (their support) while they are still banned."

MIKE SANDER

A long fuse needed

Last week AECI presented government with the results of a feasibility study into a massive synfuel project — a kind of life-jacket designed to rescue SA from increased energy sanctions. And Mike Sander, new AECI MD, led the discussions.

Sander (44) clearly enjoys talking, and considers the ability to communicate effectively as one of his strengths. However, he says the meeting was simply a report-back after a year's work on a project he regards as "absolutely technologically feasible."
The acrimony never far beneath the surface between Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the African National Congress (ANC) has reached a disturbing pitch of intensity. Buthelezi’s anti-apartheid movement with which he readily identified when it was led by a tribal kinsman, Chief Albert Luthuli, comes at a time of sharpened political competition and great flux in traditional patterns of popular support. So much so that at least one leading opinion pollster does not think a reliable survey of political attitudes can be made at present, even in KwaZulu, Buthelezi’s home base. This, at the very least, suggests shifting political sands. This may well explain why the KwaZulu Chief Minister, upon whom moderate hopes—both black and white—are pinned, has taken up the cudgels by publicly denouncing the ANC with increasing vituperation.

The ANC, which may not be quoted in SA, prefers to ignore Buthelezi, whose offensive would appear to be a bid to claw back what some see as Inkatha’s diminishing support as events overtake moderates and seem to favour the ANC. This is perhaps inevitable in an atmosphere of anarchy; moderate thinking is perceived as weakness, or, at bottom, compliance with the “system.”

Buthelezi, if he is to be judged by his recent speeches and pronouncements, appears to be labouring under real or imagined apprehensions of isolation and rejection. In his latest press statement, he says he is often surprised that, when he and Inkatha members are “vilified internationally more than any other politician or group in SA, white or black,” by the ANC, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and their friends in the Anti-Apartheid Movement, “I am the one who is accused by the media of attacking (them), when all I do is respond to their attacks on me and their vilification of me and Inkatha.”

It is, of course, true that Buthelezi occupies a special place in ANC demonology, because of his potential power as leader of the largest ethnic group in the country — and the only so-called homeland leader who has come remotely close to looking like an acceptable (to whites, certainly) national leader.

Last week Buthelezi again lashed out at the ANC, saying it was “sheer stupidity” for the ANC’s Oliver Tambo to believe that his organisation could win an armed struggle without the might of the Zulu people behind it. The Zulus would in any case reject the politics of violence, he said, calling for national unity and equality.

Black inter-group rivalry and the deepening of racial conflict in SA has sharpened the differences between Inkatha and its alternatives. (Although both groups are significant, recent surveys show that the ANC/Mandela has more popular support than Inkatha/Buthelezi.)

Inkatha, in order to maintain a high profile, has shifted to the international diplomatic front, with Buthelezi following a heavy schedule of foreign engagements to campaign against the threat of economic sanctions against SA and, by implication, the ANC’s support of them. Both he and Tambo have been invited to address a British all-party commission on the situation in SA.

It may not have been easy for the professional free marketeer Buthelezi to witness popular capitalist groups, such as one led by Anglo’s Gavin Kelly, beating a path to the ANC’s headquarters in Lusaka, nor, for that matter, the wish of blue-blood Afrikaner students and clerics — and at least one bantustan leader (see People) — to do the same. This may irk Buthelezi, to whom the pejorative tag of “SA’s Muzorewa,” has been attached by his detractors.

Although he feels snubbed by important pressure groups in the West, he says: “I seek Western allies in our struggle . . . but then the role that the West plays should be a constructive role, not a role which heightens the inter-ethnic conflict.”

Buthelezi’s problem could well be that, although he abhors both communism and apartheid, he is unable to sell a policy that gratifies the aspirations of hard-line black nationalism and at the same time assuages the fears of non-black minorities. This, and the evident unwillingness of many to accept his bona fides or his “multi-strategy approach,” as well as the ANC’s readiness to talk to anyone but Buthelezi (“I am vilified more than P W Botha is by them”) seems to irritate him.

Said Buthelezi: “The ANC mission-in-exile has committed itself to the armed struggle and the UDF has committed itself to making the country ungovernable. We all know that the UDF cannot do so outside the use of intimidation and violence. It is the name of their game. We also know that the UDF attack anybody who, in their own judgment, they term collaborators, or anybody they regard as ‘working within the system.’ In this they are encouraged by the ANC mission-in-exile.” . . . On the other hand, Inkatha’s official policy is non-violence . . . And yet it is I who is accused in the media of being responsible for violence.” The accusations of Inkatha violence, he said, were “orchestrated by certain white liberal organisations such as the Black Sash, Women for Peace, Diakonia and certain clerics . . . .”

Last week, after the “bombing and looting” of Inkatha’s Johannesburg office, Inkatha Secretary General Oscar Dhlomo said his organisation was “not surprised that the ANC claimed responsibility” for the attack. (From Lusaka, the ANC has, in fact, denied responsibility or knowledge of the attack.

Said Dhlomo: “The battle lines have now been defined by the ANC and not by us,” adding that his group has for some time had “irrefutable information that the ANC is planning to destroy Inkatha and assassinate its leader.” From Amsterdam, Dhlomo this week revealed that Inkatha is to embark on a major public relations campaign in Europe.

For its part, the ANC accuses Buthelezi of not hesitating to use violence against his political opponents, and describes him as a hypersensitive megalomaniac, particularly when denying Inkatha allegations that the ANC is out to assassinate him. The UDF has, of course, directed blame for “black on black” violence — as at Inanda — to Inkatha’s door. But nobody can accurately apportion the blame. According to the ANC, Buthelezi is merely a small cog in the apartheid wheel — who will be jettisoned once they get rid of that system.

However, Buthelezi (57) cannot be simply dismissed. He is the astute, able and ambitious leader of a significant constituency of mainly Zulus, who are easily the largest ethnic group in SA.

Inkatha claims to have over a million signed-up members, ballyhoed perhaps by the allegation that Inkatha membership is a virtual requirement for civil service postings (teachers, nurses) in the homeland.

However, there is no guarantee that the UDF has significant support in certain Natal/KwaZulu towns: up to 60%, according to a leading Natal industrialist; far more, according to the Institute of Black Research (IBR) which has polled places like Lamontville, Claremont, Inanda and KwaMashu.

A recent opinion survey of urban black attitudes found that in Natal/KwaZulu city areas Buthelezi/Inkatha had the support of only 34% of the respondents, compared to 19% for the ANC, 8% for Bishop Desmond Tutu and 10% for the UDF and organisations which support its stance. Combined, the latter three categories add up to more than Buthelezi’s support, although in rural KwaZulu Buthelezi’s showing is higher.

Sociologist Mark Orkin, of the IBR, who conducted the survey of 800 black urbanites in 10 major metropolitan areas, concludes: “Even in his own territory, Buthelezi represents a minority.” Orkin further finds that in areas outside Natal/KwaZulu, support for Buthelezi is much lower.
Govt theory on ANC split rejected

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg - Business leaders who met the African National Congress in Lusaka earlier this year have described as "absurd" statements by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, that such talks had given impetus to the ANC's policy of violence.

And a spokesman for the ANC has also rejected Mr Miller's claims that the organization was divided over, or close to abandoning, its policy of violence.

Mr Miller told a seminar of the Institute of American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University on Wednesday night that from its statement, the executive of the ANC was firmly under the impression that South Africa was prepared to negotiate, because violence had won the day.

The editor of Leadership magazine, Mr Hugh Murray, who organized the trip to Lusaka, said yesterday that he "disagreed completely" with Mr Miller's statement.

The head of Premier Milling, Mr Tony Bloom, said yesterday that it had been stated "ad nauseum" that the businessmen did not go to Lusaka to negotiate but "to see if there was any common ground".

Mr Bloom said the businessmen had conveyed to the ANC that they could not condone a policy of violence and believed in a policy of negotiation.

"The government itself is blowing the entire issue out of all proportion and making it into a media event - the overkill on the Stellenbosch situation is an example of that," Mr Bloom said.

Yesterday, Mr Miller clarified his remarks:

"The government has for many years had a strategy of trying to prove to the ANC that violence does not pay."

Mr Miller said the government believed that recently "this strategy had convinced part of the ANC to move the organization away from violence in order to negotiate with the government."

"Our strategy has succeeded in dividing the ANC into two camps, those prepared to suspend violence and those not prepared to."

The deputy minister said this was proved by an executive ANC member who told the Commonwealth conference in the Bahamas that the ANC would like to call a standstill on violence in order to negotiate.

'Tipped scale'

"On his return to Lusaka, three days later, he was repudiated by his leader, Mr Oliver Tambo," Mr Miller said.

"I believe what tipped the scale in favour of Oliver Tambo would have been the visit by the business community and the planned visits by the churchmen and students," he said.

ANC spokesman in the organization's Lusaka office, Mr Tom Sebina, last night rejected Mr Miller's claims that the organization was divided about its policy of continuing the armed struggle.

"It is committed to continuing and increasing the armed struggle until apartheid is dismantled," he said.
There is no prospect of the United Democratic Front joining the Convention Movement despite the withdrawal of the Progressive Federal Party and Inkatha from the steering committee of the initiative.

This was said by UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe in an exclusive interview during a secret meeting yesterday.

Morobe said the Convention Movement was essentially an initiative of "top people" in the white community with no real constituency.

It was an "act of desperation" to try and "reduce the price of liberation."

He said that while many of those involved with the initiative had a "deep and genuine commitment" to ending apartheid he did not believe it provided the way forward to peace.

The withdrawal of the PFP and Inkatha from the steering committee did not mean there had been any changes in its character, he said.

"It is simply a sign of recognition of the bad odour of Inkatha and the compromised position of the PFP."

Accusing Inkatha of resorting to "fascist-type methods" Morobe said their presence at any level of the movement constituted a stumbling block.

"Our main problem with them is that while they adopt a stance of non-violence against apartheid, in relation to the people they have adopted a stance of aggression."

Responding to the accusation of PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert that the UDF was using the tactics of government by choosing who it wanted to negotiate with, Morobe said they were not prepared to "negotiate over the heads of the people."

The UDF believed it was necessary to set preconditions for negotiations and that these could not be conducted with an open agenda because "we want to know what it is we are negotiating."

Preconditions included agreement on one-man, one-vote and that government laid down arms.
'Hospitals practise racism'

THE health secretariat of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, yesterday slammed the hospital administration and accused it of practising racism in the solution of health care problems.

This follows the Sowetan's disclosures about patients who sleep on trolleys and on the floor at the Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg. This happens despite reports that several beds were empty at the Indian Hospital which is adjacent to the Hillbrow Hospital.

"For the authorities to come to grips with the overcrowding they will have to realise that racism is at the root of the problem. Blacks have to sleep on the floor and trolleys while beds are empty at the "Indian Hospital". Patients suffer every kind of discomfort to get relief from their illnesses. This prolongs the recovery period and has detrimental effect on the health care service," said Dr Asvat.

He said Soweto requires five hospitals each with 1,000 beds to cater for the residents.
Mandela’s wife set to defy order

By Rich Mkhondo

Mrs Winnie Mandela appears set to defy a government order to return to Brandfort — the Free State town to which she was banished in 1977.

The Star has reliably learnt that she will move into her house at Orlando West in Soweto — but only after her husband Mr Nelson Mandela has been discharged from the Volks Hospital in Cape Town where he recently underwent surgery.

Mrs Mandela should have returned to Brandfort by November 4 at the latest or to have contacted a magistrate to relax the order which restricts her movements and activities. It is understood she has failed to comply with this regulation.

Last week the security police sent a letter to Mrs Mandela advising her to return to Brandfort or face charges under the Internal Security Act.

The letter dated November 1 was sent to her lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob. It read: “Please take note that Mrs Winnie Mandela’s house in Brandfort has been repaired and she is required to return to it on or before November 4.

“Failure to comply with this requirement may result in action being taken against her in terms of provisions under the Internal Security Act.”

The letter was signed by District Commandant of Brandfort, Brigadier GM Erasmus.
Tambo address on radio is banned

THE "Address to the Nation" speech by the African National Congress leader, Mr. Oliver Tambo, on Radio Freedom in July this year was declared undesirable by the Department of Home Affairs' Publications Directorate yesterday.

And an issue of an ANC publication, Weekly News Briefing, was also declared undesirable.

From yesterday it will be an offence to import or distribute the following publications and/or objects:

- "Twinkle Twinkle — Man's best friend and your star sign" (Peter Mayle and Gray Jolliffe, "Man's Best Friend")
- "Short Pants apron, displaying artificial penis" (Object not stated)
- "President O R Tambo Address to the Nation" (Radio Freedom, July 22, 1968)
- "Majority vote to continue school boycott pamphlet" (ASAC Athlone, "Weekly News Briefing" (Volume 5, Issue 10, week ending March 6, 1969)

From yesterday it was no longer be an offence to import or distribute the following publications and/or objects:

- "Faith under Fire" (Canon L John Collins, "Social Inequality" (Penguin Books, England), "The Joy of Sex" (Alex Comfort). It is also no longer an offence to possess "The Joy of Sex" — Piano
Two security police lieutenants yesterday escorted the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, past a picket by staff members with posters reading "Hands off our editor", "We demand a free press" and "Who's afraid to face facts?".

Lieutenant F Mostert and Lieutenant B Liebenberg came to the Cape Times building in Burg Street by arrangement with Mr Heard at 12.15pm to escort him to Cape Town Magistrate's Court where he appeared on charges of contravening the Internal Security Act.

Cape Times staff members decided on Thursday night to picket singly in shifts outside the front entrance to the building from 12 noon.

The editor's appointment with security police was made later.

The picket was mounted in support of Mr Heard's decision to publish a full-page interview with African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo, and in protest against the State's almost total ban on unrest coverage by local and foreign reporters, photographers and television crews.

The two security policemen emerged with Mr Heard from the Cape Times building to be met by a barrage of press photographers and an Austrian television crew all coincidentally there to record the picket.

Later yesterday afternoon, Mr Heard had the "unique experience" of being fingerprinted. He said he was "bowled over by the incredible interest displayed in the case right around the world".

Journalists at Argus also picketed, for the second day running, outside the Argus offices in St George's Street, displaying posters which read: "Give us back the right to publish", "Blackout: Journalists protest" and "Ungag the press".

At both pickets responses from the public were generally favourable, with very few negative reactions.

Police circled both pickets but did not intervene.

A letter signed by virtually all members of the Cape Times editorial staff was sent to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, last night, urging him to withdraw charges against Mr Heard.

Ian Hobbs reports from London that the police move against Mr Heard was given major prominence in reports throughout Britain and Europe yesterday.

The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard (left), leaves the Cape Times building with security police Lieut. yesterday afternoon. Cape Times staff member Marianne Thamm looks on while taking part in the 24-hour protest of the newspaper in support of Mr Heard.
Police escort for Heard

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Former ANC leader dies

JOHANNESBURG. — A former president of the African National Congress, Dr James Moroka, died in hospital yesterday, his family said.

Dr Moroka, 95, died in Bloemfontein, where he had farmed small-holdings after retiring from a medical practice. He became ANC president in 1949 at a time when the movement, founded in 1912 as a largely middle-class black pressure group, was becoming increasingly involved in popular campaigns against apartheid race laws.

In 1952 Dr Moroka and Walter Sisulu, jailed for life in 1964 on charges of treason, sent an ultimatum to the government calling for the repeal of six “unjust laws”, including pass laws and laws segregating living and business districts.

When the ultimatum was rejected, the ANC launched a passive resistance Defiance Campaign in which Dr Moroka was prominent. He was succeeded as president in 1952 by Chief Albert Luthuli, who subsequently won the Nobel Peace Prize. The ANC was banned in 1960.

Sapa-Reuters
Bill of health for terrorism accused

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

Doctors could find nothing physically wrong with a 64-year-old woman, an alleged ANC member charged with terrorism, which could prevent her taking solid foods, the Supreme Court at Estcourt was told yesterday.

Nellie Nyawo of Ingwavuma complained last week of an irritation in her throat which allowed her to take in only liquids and maas.

She was taken to Edendale Hospital, Pietermaritzburg, at the weekend after saying she was feeling weak. A spokesman for the hospital said her condition was satisfactory.

Mr Ross Stuart, for the State, told the Court that when doctors examined Mrs Nyawo they could find nothing physically wrong with her.

Mrs Nyawo and her 12 co-accused have all pleaded not guilty to the charges following the discovery of large caches of arms in caves in the Ingwavuma area last year.

Mrs Nyawo was excused from her trial last week after she said she was not feeling well following the complaint about her throat.

The hearing continues today.
Talks ‘washing hands in blood’

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

GRASSY PARK Management Committee has resolved to end all negotiations with the authorities and has said that to continue with negotiations “would be washing our hands in the blood of our own people”.

In a statement issued yesterday, the committee expressed its abhorrence of the “police brutalities and atrocities” meted out to school pupils in local communities.

It also resolved to allow its facilities to be used by any organization “irrespective of whether such an organization is banned or not”.

The defiant stand taken by the committee is a serious blow to the government's local government policies and to the strategies of the Labour Party. If other management committees follow its lead, it could seriously disrupt the government’s constitutional policies.

The committee said it wished to state that “it condemns in the strongest terms this latest show of force and brutality that was forced upon defenceless students at Zeekoevlei Senior Secondary School”.

The statement, issued by its chairman, Mr S. Ebrahim, also condemned the manner in which the police tried to identify the students who had disrupted classes.

“It is this committee's opinion that the students who have been arrested for the so-called disturbances had earnest intentions in bringing the realities of the situation to the attention of parents.

“It is therefore our contention that such intentions and actions on the part of the students are just. In fact such actions should be required of all students.”

As far as the Grassly Park Management Committee was concerned “we wish to state that we have reached the end of the road as far as consultation and dialogue with the authorities is concerned”.

Forces

It asked whether people such as Dr Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu had taken careful consideration of their stated intention to negotiate with the authorities “because those who have up till now been engaged in the present form of negotiations have the experience that the government has no intention to negotiate with anybody but to force their policies on the people”.

Three weeks ago at a meeting of the National Co-ordinating Committee, a Labour MP had told the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that the Association of Management Committees congress had resolved that all management committees would resign if direct representation was not achieved by September 1986 but Mr Heunis had said that he would not be intimidated.

Opinion

Even the Minister of Local Government in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, had voted for this resolution.

“So much for negotiation. This committee is of the opinion that meaningful negotiation can only take place in the presence of representatives from foreign governments.”
Boycott lifted in PE - for now

By MONO BADELA

THE massive Port Elizabeth consumer boycott will be lifted next week - but only for 14 days.

The Consumer Boycott Committee has decided to ease consumer pressure - but challenged State President PW Botha to meet its demands before the two weeks is up.

"If he doesn't lift the emergency and release our leaders, the boycott will resume again from December 2nd," a boycott committee spokesman told City Press.

The boycott - which has forced dozens of traders out of business since it was launched in mid-July - will be lifted next Friday.

The aim is then to challenge State President Botha to respond to the consumers' demands - and possibly save dozens more traders from financial ruin.

Those demands are:

- An end to the state of emergency
- The withdrawal of SADF troops from the townships
- The "release" of the bodies of missing PE Black Civic Organisation leaders Sipho Hasha, Qagawuli Godolezi and Champion Galela.
- The recognition of democratically elected SRCs
- The dismantling of bantustans and an end to forced removals
- The abolition of community councils and coloured and Indian management committees.
- The recognition of progressive trade unions.
- PFP MPC Molly Blackburn yesterday called on the authorities to "respond sensitively" to the decision to lift the boycott.

"While businessmen in the area have felt the full impact of the boycott and the contrast in their lives when it is lifted will spur them on to demand certain concessions from the authorities," she told City Press.

"To get the detainees released will be an important breakthrough," she told City Press.

Two key figures in the consumer boycott - chief organiser and publications secretary, Michael S. Jack and UDF regional vice president, Henry Fazie - were detained last week after less than 24 hours of freedom.

They are being held in terms of the emergency regulations.

At the time of his detention, Mr. Jack was holding talks with PE Chamber of Commerce director Tony Gauvin.

The consumer boycott in Grahamstown has been officially lifted after two months - but continued to apply in East London, Queenstown and Cradock.

Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange will be in Port Elizabeth tomorrow to officially open the new Port Elizabeth police headquarters named after him.

Meanwhile, a CP correspondent reports that rioting, unrest and the state of emergency have been blamed for a 50% drop in foreign tourism to South Africa.

Delegates at a tourism conference in Durban were told this week that only 250,000 came to South Africa this year, where they spent about $400 million - compared to $850 million last year.

Latest Federation of Hotel Association figures show that 80% of North American tourists planning to visit SA have cancelled their trips - as have half the world's visitors from Europe.

Mrs. Mandela left her Brandfort home when it was burnt down in April, and has since been in Pretoria. The Pretoria Police have confirmed that she is not in the hospital where she was listed yesterday.

Mrs. Mandela, who has been in hospital for the past 12 days, has been transferred to a private hospital for treatment.

A spokesman for the family said Mrs. Mandela was doing well and expected to leave the hospital soon.

The ANC man executed in Pretoria last month.

security police are considering taking Winnie Mandela to court for breaking her banning order.

They also want her back in Brandfort, the small Cape Town suburb where she was born in 1977 - she has not been there since her home was burned down more than a year ago.

Mrs. Mandela is currently in Cape Town visiting her husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, in the Vosman Hospital where he is recovering after having his prostate gland removed.

CITY PRESS has been told the police might charge Mrs. Mandela with breaking her banning order by attending the Johannesburg memorial service for Benjamin Motsoile, the ANC man executed in Pretoria last month.
Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, hugs Pulane, 9, daughter of Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. Mrs Mandela yesterday attended a church service conducted by Dr Boesak at his Bellville South Congregation of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk and stayed for tea afterwards.

MP bowls R207m bouncer
JOHANNESBURG — Police arrested nine men in Duncan Village yesterday after they had allegedly stoned police vehicles, according to the police public relations directorate.

Police reported isolated incidents of unrest in areas of the Eastern Cape, the Northern Transvaal, the Northern Free State and Soweto yesterday.

A policeman was slightly injured in Melodini near Pretoria where police said several incidents of petrol bombing and stone throwing had occurred. Police dispersed groups with tear smoke and shotgun fire.

Two policemen were slightly injured when police dispersed a large crowd stoning buses and police vehicles after a funeral in Soweto on the Witwatersrand on Saturday.

Police said that a man who had allegedly shot and wounded a policeman near Worcester on Saturday night was killed when police retaliated.

A Sebokeng development board guard was seriously injured and robbed of his weapon and radio.

In KwaZulu, a man was wounded after a police guard fired on a group stoning the house he was guarding.

A train coach and ticket office were extensively damaged at Mabekweni Station, near Paarl, when they were petrol-bombed early on Saturday morning.

Eye-witnesses said a coach on the Wellington to Cape Town train was badly damaged when it caught fire.

However, a police spokesman in Pretoria said the coach which was damaged was on a branch line and was not in use at the time of the petrol bombing.

A last-minute bid to have the Supreme Court set aside a magistrate’s ban on a residents’ meeting in Atlantis failed yesterday less than two hours before the meeting was to have started.

The Atlantis Residents’ Association and its chairman, Mr. Noel Williams, brought an urgent application against the Malmesbury district magistrate, Mr. Willem de Klerk, to have the ban issued on Friday set aside.

Mr. De Klerk gave evidence that he had also banned a meeting last Sunday after a request by Detective Sergeant L.F. Coetzee of the Atlantis Police.

According to the sergeant’s sworn statement, shop windows were broken and a vehicle and tyres burned in Atlantis on September 13, the evening after a meeting of the Atlantis Residents’ Association and the Atlantis Youth Congress.

It was possible the proposed meeting could lead to a renewed situation of unrest, Mr. De Klerk said.

Detective Sergeant Coetzee went to see Mr. De Klerk on Friday, November 8, with an other application, in which he said he had gone on Monday to five classrooms where there had been arson attempts.

“It looked as if this was a revenge for the meeting that was banned,” he said.

Mr. Denziel Polgieter, for the association, said the agenda of the meeting related to community issues such as the proposed eviction of 1000 Atlantis families, due on Thursday.

The executive of the residents’ association would meet the Divisional Council on Wednesday, and the proposed meeting was the last chance for them to get a mandate, he said.

There had been no unrest at the previous six meetings, Mr. Polgieter said.

Mr. Justice Marais said the matter was urgent and a decision had to be made. He dismissed the application and said he would give his reasons later. — Sapa-DDC
Police, 200 youths clash during funeral

Mercury Reporter

POLICE fired tear-gas and birdshot to disperse a crowd of more than 200 youths who stoned the police in Durban's Chesterville township yesterday.

One policeman was injured and windows of several police vehicles were damaged.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the incident.

The stone-throwers were part of thousands of mourners at the funeral of Mandlekosi Ndimande, who was killed when a bomb he was apparently helping to lay at the Groenvoort Girl's High School exploded.

While the funeral was in progress, more than 200 slogan-chanting youths took to the streets and stoned police vehicles near the Chesterville High School.

Police fired teargas and birdshot, chasing the youths down the streets of Chesterville.

No one was seriously injured.

The chairman of the Umkazi Residents' Association, Mr. David Gasa, who went into hiding after the burning of his house in Umkazi two months ago, made a dramatic appearance at the funeral.

He and Mahatma Gandhi's granddaughter, Mrs. Ella Ramgobin, addressed the emotion-filled crowd.

Mr. Gasa told mourners that no amount of suppression, killing and detention would deter them in the struggle for justice.

Mrs. Ramgobin said the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa where all would have right to vote would continue until victory.

"The majority of the people of South Africa cannot continue to see the minority keeping everything for itself. We want free, equal and compulsory education for all," she said.
Down with the quislings of the apartheid system

SIR — I am an Azanian south who wishes to express my disquiet and revulsion at the usual ‘national conventions’ the government in exile has been holding with members of the white ruling class, and at their deplorable utopianism.

It is needed a contradiction to publicly condemn the “national convention” and the next moment meet members of the convention/alignment — the businessmen and the PFP. This dichotomy between theory and practice which we find in the ANC explains why today — 73 years after the formation of the ANC — the total liberation of the black man seems so distant.

When the ANC met the businessmen in Lusaka, I hoped they would recognise the folly of their acts. But after their meeting with the PFP, all those hopes and the little trust I had in the ANC were shattered.

If this day the ANC has not realised that our struggle is not an anti-apartheid one, but a revolutionary struggle against capitalism, racism and imperialism, then their claim to be the only tested “authentic liberation movement” is untrue.

The failure or deliberate refusal to recognise this is already costing many an African state dear in terms of economic misery — turning bankruptcy and charity into national institutions. To the ANC I say, the people who want total liberation of the Azanian masses must recognise imperialism under American or Japanese guise, as the main enemy. Without it, racism against the Azanian people and their exploitation would not be this easy. The struggle is not won with the waving of the flag and a national anthem.

I don’t have to tell the ANC that the white businessmen they have been talking to are the same people exploiting the Azanian masses. They back both economically and politically. They are the capitalists who are retrenching black workers in their thousands. They are the same people killing our black toiling parents during labour strikes, evict our migrant parents from compounds and hostels after a so-called legal strike.

How dare you talk to such people, Mr Tambo, unless you are sick in your mind? Those white capitalists are aware that their short lifespan is coming to an end and they want someone to run to, someone to protect and prolong their lifespan and interests, and that person they have identified in the anti-apartheid ANC. Is the ANC so blind not to see it is talking to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi when they talk to white businessmen? Don’t you realise that the businessmen belong together with Chief Buthelezi in the convention alliance?

It is worth noting that while the ANC is hugging and kissing white businessmen in Lusaka, the Azanian people are hitting hard with their buying power at white capitalists. The ANC have always claimed to be against those who say they are fighting the system from within, but then they speak to the PFP, part of the system.

The PFP is no different to the National Party (NP), as they form part of the government. It makes me laugh when I think that a few days ago, the ANC said it does not want to talk to the Government and was only interested in the transfer of power to its rightful owners.

Is the ANC’s memory so short that they have forgotten that a few months ago the PFP openly supported the Gaborone raid. Or was it once more a question of any clown who howls against apartheid is a friend?

After so many talks I really have reason enough to doubt the ANC’s sincerity. If the ANC can talk to the editor of Beeld, why can’t they talk to the owners of Beeld, members of the National Party?

I had never thought they would stoop so low as to invite the Stellenbosch SRC to Lusaka. Is that not talking to the National Party? Those people form part of the National Party Young Wing. What in God’s name is there for a “liberation movement” to discuss with an SRC of an Afrikaans university?

After the interminable talks with such curious people, I find it hard to differentiate the ANC from the puppet Chief Gatsha Buthelezi’s Inkatha because all those people are Inkatha’s partners. When I read about the ANC’s not-so-nice history and their participation in the Native Representative Council (NRC) in the 50s and see their present connivance with the white ruling class, I can only conclude that the present ANC inherited their collaborationist nature from their predecessors, the ANC chiefs of the 50s.

The ANC can never claim to be against the “national convention” when they have participated in the same, though at a lower level. I have said before and I repeat, the silly demands for a national convention can be met tomorrow, and the ANC will go cap in hand for the transfer of power.

Power is not granting but is wrested after a long and protracted struggle but when the ANC says it is prepared to halt the armed struggle if the whites are prepared to meet black leaders, one has reason to lose hope and trust in the ANC. I won’t buy the ANC’s story that they said they would never halt the armed struggle, because one of the demands they put for their participation in a national convention is that the Government must be prepared to destroy apartheid, unbanal bane organisations, release all prisoners and allow exiles to return. It follows that after that demand has been met, the armed struggle will be brought to a halt, and the ANC, the Chief Buthelezi’s, the PFPs, the NPs and the CPs will come together to talk.

May I also tell the ANC that our struggle won’t be won by international solidarity alone and some addresses to the pro-South Africa British Conservatives.

The British imperialists have made it very clear that they are not prepared to impose any sanctions against South Africa and they have proved that at the Commonwealth summit. So I don’t see why the ANC has to go down on their knees and answer some questions from Western imperialists.

WORD of GOD

New Testament

Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.

And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward hungry.

Matthew 4:1-2
Passport row: Ron Miller denies threat

JOHANNESBURG — The Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ron Miller, has denied that he threatened to withdraw the passport of M. Enos Manzu, Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, if Mr. Manzu persisted in holding talks with the African National Congress.

Mr. Miller was reacting to a report in Weekend Argus headed "Passport row" with a sub-head "ANC talks government threatens homeland leader."

The Weekend Argus report said "the Government may as a last resort withdraw the passport of M. Enos Manzu, the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele."

The report said also that "all possible channels would be followed before any decision was taken in respect of withdrawing his passport."

Mr. Miller said in today's statement that he objected to the omission of the following information from the article:

"In answer to the question put to me 'What if the Government goes to do about the Chief Minister's statement that he intends holding talks with the ANC? I remind you that as the leader of a government, namely the self-governing state of KwaNdebele, such matters are discussed at government-to-government level."

"In response to a second question, if such negotiations failed and Chief Minister Manzu decided to proceed with talks between himself and the ANC, would the South African Government withdraw his passport as he is still a South African citizen? Mr. Miller said:

"All possible channels would be followed before any decision was taken in respect of withdrawing his passport. The Chief Minister's passport could be withdrawn as he is a South African citizen. However, a matter as serious as this would be discussed between the two governments."
Heard to talk to press

Staff Reporter

THE Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, will address the Cape Town Press Club this week on his interview with the leader of the banned African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo.

His address will be at the Press Club's monthly lunch meeting at the Cape Sun on Wednesday.

The Committee to Protect Journalists, based in New York, has sent a telegram to the State President, Mr PW Botha, calling on him to drop all charges against Mr Heard.

The committee has such noted journalists as Walter Cronkite and Dan Rather on its board.

The telegram says the committee is "deeply disturbed" about the charges being brought against Mr Heard in connection with publication of an interview with Mr Tambo and the arrest of reporter Pippa Green while protesting against press restrictions.
Pull army out of Soweto

SOWETAN 12/11/85

By MANDLA NDLAZI

AT a lengthy meeting with Government officials on Sunday night the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee repeated its request made 27 days ago that the army be withdrawn from the area.

The SPCC held talks with Mr Adrian Vilok, Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence, and Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid.

There were some members of the Security Police, among them Brigadier Jan Coetzee, District Commissioner of the Police in Soweto, and former Soweto CID chief, Brigadier J.J. Victor.

Lasting about two hours, the talks were held behind closed doors. They will continue after the Ministers have consulted with the Government on some of the issues raised.

Brutality

In a Press statement after the meeting, the SPCC's Mrs Sebolelo Mohajane said the issues discussed included items that were tabled in the committee's first memorandum to the Ministers.

The items included police brutality, the presence of the army in the township, detention and harassment of the pupils, the banning of the Congress of South African Students, the "intrusiveness" of the Department of Education and Training and apartheid in education.

Also discussed in depth, she said, were matters relating to the school crisis.

The SPCC repeated what they stated in their October 13 memorandum that "the intervention of the army in schools has disrupted the normal pattern. Pupils are expected to study under the watchful eye of the soldiers. They are always ready to jump out of classes to safety once the armed patrol cars approach the schools. Since the army also encompasses black policemen in the township, pupils are prone to avenge their anger at them.

SPCC MEMBERS... Mrs Sebolelo Mohajane (right) and Mr Isaac Mogase, after their meeting with Government officials.
A MEMBER of the Soweto Youth Congress yesterday claimed that he was arrested by SADF troops and taken to the Dobsonville Cemetery where he was allegedly threatened with guns and questioned about a "hidden cache of ANC arms".

Soyo member Mr Oath Ngwenya told The SOWETAN that the gun-toting troops later accompanied him to his Mofolo North home where they allegedly searched and bundled his family and the sub-tenants of his home into the kitchen—"half-naked".

The incident occurred in the early hours of Saturday, according to Mr Ngwenya.

He claimed he was arrested at a party in Dobsonville, and was later taken to a Dobsonville school.

Said Mr Ngwenya:

"The SADF patrol arrived while my girlfriend’s party was in full swing. I immediately went to the troops, who were travelling in two army trucks, and told them we were having a party.

Detained

"At the time most of our guests had fled. The troops then assaulted me and accused me of being an ANC member who had earlier fired at them. I denied being a member of the ANC," he said.

The Soyo member claimed he was first taken to Forte High School in Dobsonville, then to a cemetery where he was allegedly threatened with guns.

"At the cemetery I heard one of the soldiers saying ‘last ons hom blaa’, and pointed a rifle at me," he said.

Mr Ngwenya said he was detained Soyo literature, and took him to the Doornkop Military Base outside Soweto.

"There, I was interrogated about Soyo’s activities while my face was covered with a bandage. I was also asked about the whereabouts of other Soyo members," he said.

Mr Ngwenya said he was released about 11am on Saturday.

An SADF spokesperson said last night the matter would be investigated.

By LEN MASEKO

They also threatened me with guns, says Soyo man
Advertising campaign to be launched

Convention movement ‘alive’, says Browde

The National Convention Movement is still very much alive and will soon start a nationwide campaign for support, says the chairman of its management committee, Mr Jüde Browde.

"The impression that the Convention Movement has run out of steam is totally wrong. On the contrary, we are very much alive," Mr Browde said.

"At the moment we are printing stationery and devising advertisements. These things take time, but we hope to be ready in about 10 days."

The campaign will be launched nationwide to drum up support for the principle of a negotiated solution for South Africa’s problems through a national convention.

The NCM, which does not represent any particular group, aims to be a vehicle for all.

Mr Browde said objections to the convention from organisations such as the United Democratic Front had not discouraged the NCM management committee from going ahead with its plans.

LEADERSHIP

"We are going to appeal to the people. Once we get enough grass root support, we hope the leaders will follow."

The UDF refuses to take part in the NCM because of the participation of Inkatha.

But the withdrawal of Inkatha and Progressive Federal Party members from the management committee has not helped to woo the UDF.

Mr Browde said it was tragic that the opposition spectrum in the current political scene was fragmented while the Government was floundering.

The NCM aimed to bridge the differences between the opposition groups and to create a climate favourable for negotiation so a national convention could be called with acknowledged leaders to agree on a new constitution.

Mr Browde said the NCM campaign would include advertisements in newspapers and probably on television.
So are thousands of pupils in the town, who talk of their daily battles with violence and poverty. But for one boy, Mohammmed Patel, 16, life is different. He is a student at the Salt River High School, one of the few schools in the area that have been able to remain open.

"I had this fear that when I sent my five children to school in the morning, not all five would come back in the afternoon," said Mr Patel. "I was in jail for 14 years." His wife, Sylvia, added: "Some didn't. Young children were thrown into jail for no obvious reason." Some lay injured in the hospital. Others were shot dead on the way home from school, caught up in the unrest.

By common agreement, front and back doors of most houses in Athlone stand open whenever word filters down the streets of police and army riot action. Mrs Patel's house is no exception. "It's worth giving up education and dedicating our lives to ourselves to change," she said. His refusal to go back to school because of the violence is a decision he is firm about.

Cape Times, Tuesday, 12/1/88

"graduate' outside the classroom

Until recently, he said, he was adamant his son should go to school. But now, "I am proud," he said. "I am proud of my child." He added: "I am proud of my child. He has graduated from slavery to liberation."
Grahamstown boycott 'officially' suspended

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The black consumer boycott of white-owned stores in Grahamstown is to be "officially" suspended by the organizers for an indefinite period from tomorrow. This follows the unofficial calling-off of the boycott about two weeks ago.

Mr. Billy Ndwewisa, of the Grahamstown Burial Action Committee, said the two-month boycott had been suspended after a meeting with township residents at the weekend. He said the residents felt it should be suspended for financial reasons as prices in the township were higher than in town.

Four demands

The confusion which arose after the anonymous distribution of pamphlets at the beginning of November also contributed to the suspension of the boycott, Mr. Ndwewisa said.

The GBAC is to continue negotiations with the local Chamber of Commerce with regard to four main demands: The lifting of the state of emergency; the release of detainees; the rescinding of the ban on public meetings, and assurances that leaders in detention can return without fear of harassment.

These are preconditions for the continuation of negotiations with regard to the 46 demands of the boycotters, which were suspended at the start of the current boycott. They include the immediate resignation or removal of Rini town councillors, the removal of the SADF and improvements to the quality of township life.

With regard to the survey carried out by a township resident which found that 95 percent of blacks in Grahamstown were in favour of a suspension, Mr. Ndwewisa said he could not comment as he was not aware of how the survey was conducted.

He conceded that "some" residents felt they could not cope with a boycott for any length of time because of the financial considerations.

Some impact

Mr. Steve Birt, chairman of the Chamber, yesterday said he felt the survey must have had some impact on the situation.

He said the Chamber was keen to continue negotiations regarding the four preconditions, and had recommended that the GBAC should discuss the demands with the authorities at a meeting chaired by the Chamber.

The resident who conducted the survey into the consumer boycott, after paying a brief visit to the Eastern Province Herald offices, has since gone underground and could not be contacted for comment.
Pupil misses 'necklace' death

LUCKY ESCAPE

A GUGULETHU matric pupil escaped a gruesome death by seconds after fellow pupils abducted him from his home and placed a petrol-filled tyre around his neck on Monday.

Police said one of the abductors was about to toss a lighted match on the 22-year-old Fezeka High School pupil when he lashed out, landing a painful kick on his would-be executioner before sprinting away.

The enraged crowd failed to catch the pupil, who cannot be identified for his own safety.

The pupil was abducted from his home at about 9am and taken to the nearby Mhlize High School grounds where the incident took place, police said.

The shocked pupil ran to the Gugulethu Police Station where he was later questioned at length.

Three youths were later arrested and held for questioning.

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

Police believe the attempted murder was motivated by the pupil's refusal to take part in the examinations boycott.

Necklace

It is the second reported "necklace" incident in the Peninsula since unrest first flared almost three months ago.

Police recovered the charred remains of Mrs Rebecca Nonzizo Ngyeveshe (36) among bushes about 100 metres from Landsdowne Road in Old Crossroads on October 29. A burnt-out mmm bus in which she is believed to have been travelling stood nearby.

Mrs Ngyeveshe was a member of Mr Jerry Tutu's squatter camp community at Old Crossroads. The squatters are deeply divided over moving to Khayelitsha and Mr Tutu has been negotiating the issue with the Western CapeDevelopmentBoard — Sapa.
The acceptance of the Programme of Action marked a move from peaceful, constitutional participation to non-violent resistance and protest. The programme eventually culminated in the Defiance Campaign.

Dr Moroka lost the presidency after the marathon Rivonia Treason Trial. This was because at the trial he arranged for his defence separately from that of his co-accused, who included Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

COMMUNISM

In his plea in mitigation at the trial, he stressed his friendship with the Afrikaner community. He said he was totally opposed to communism, adding that throughout his career his aim had been to bring about harmonious relations between Europeans and non-Europeans.

He was succeeded to the presidency by Chief Albert Luthuli.

The funeral service will be held at Dr Moroka’s farm, just outside Thaba Nchu, at 6.30am on Saturday, followed by a service at St Paul’s Methodist Church at 7am.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and members of his Cabinet are scheduled to attend the funeral.
Tough curbs imposed on freed UDF leader

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front was released last night after nearly four months in detention and served tough orders to restrict him while the state of emergency lasts.

Dr Rashid Saloojee, 32, who is also acting president of the Transvaal Indian Congress and vice-president of the Islamic Council of South Africa, was treated under guard in the psychiatric wing of the Johannesburg Hospital for the past month.

In terms of an order signed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Dr Saloojee may not leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg without the permission of the minister.

He may also not take part “in any manner whatsoever in the activities or affairs of the UDF, the TIC, any trade union, youth organization, or any organization related to the black community in the magisterial district of Johannesburg.

Dr Saloojee may not enter the premises of any school or other educational institution nor attend any gathering of pupils or students.

He may not prepare, compile, publish or disseminate any publication as defined in the Internal Security Act of 1962, or participate or assist in the preparation, compilation, publication or dissemination of any publication as defined in the Act, nor may he contribute, prepare or compile any material for publication in any defined publication.

He may also not attend any meeting where any form of state or any principle or policy of action or contemplated action by the government is attacked, criticized or discussed, or where any black local authority is attacked, criticized or discussed.

Dr Saloojee was detained the day after the declaration of the state of emergency on July 21.

He was previously detained for four months, from August 1984, but no charges were laid against him. — Sapa
49 released, 2 more held

Political Staff

AT LEAST 49 emergency detainees in the Western Cape, including a school principal and a teacher, were released yesterday after ten detainees were confirmed.

The two detentions are Anisa Hartley, 17, of Retreat, a pupil at Crestway School, and Shamil Jeppe, 21, a University of the Western Cape student.

Four further ten detainees were reportedly released yesterday, but the names of the people have not been confirmed.

Those reported to have been released are:

- Graham Pravay
- Anthony Alexander
- Gavin Baines
- Mohammed Eli
- Frank Jule
- Richard Martin
- Dexter Mortiz
- Abraham Leontz
- Philip Tobie (principal of Crestway School)
- Farouk Abrahams
- Elize Theunissen (teacher at Crestway)
- Michael Cheeke
- Thomas Esau
- Elan Elbers
- Neil Peterson
- Gill Williams
- Douglas Ashley du Plooy (UCT researcher)
- Raymond Thomas
- Alastair Christian
- Shaili Jacobs
- Sophia Liebo
- Ivan Jostie
- Terence Semu
- Leo Visagie
- Michael Rajap
- Erick de Klerk
- Samuel Boxsack
- Vanessa Brown
- Eugene de Fleur
- Julian Seelis
- Trevor Medler
- Jordi Bremad

Hentwarg Perrong
- Ewen Booyzen
- Owen Stone
- James Jacobs
- Andre Andrews
- Ronald Kroeger
- Andrew Linke
- John Hamidzis
- Trevor Johnson
- Niclaas Abrahams
- Abeil Peterson
- Granville Johnson

Five other people were reportedly released from detention, though their names have not been officially confirmed by the police. They are:

- Ahmed Khola
- Reuben Jaya
- Zeed, Charles Mitchell
- Johnathan Oerse
- Norman Fairburn

It also understood that four of the released detainees have been charged with public violence.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA. — The following situation report was received from the SAP Public Relations Division for the period ending 7pm yesterday.

- A man was killed when police fired on people who attacked their vehicles. In another incident, eight men were arrested after a group of police with snipers fired. A private vehicle was stopped and an attempt made to shoot a petrol bomb from the car. Police dispersed the group, wounding two women and a man who are under guard in hospital.

Reports from the Cape Town area:

- At Elsl's Riverbriar with armed men who tried to set a school alight.
- At Mayратs, a man was arrested after a private vehicle was petrol-bombed.
- At Langa, two men were arrested who had petrol-bombed a shop.
- At Old Crossroads, the driver of a delivery vehicle was slightly injured when his vehicle was petrol-bombed.

- At Laa, two petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.
- At Langa and Khayelitsha, three petrol bombs were thrown at a school.
- At Khayelitsha, police arrested eight men after an attempt to disrupt pupils writing exams.
- At Langa, petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.
- At Langa, petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.

- At Retreat, petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.
- At Khayelitsha, petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.
- At Retreat, petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.
- At Khayelitsha, petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.
- At Retreat, petrol bombs were thrown at a homestead.

PORT ELIZABETH. — People involved with the kangaroo courts in townships here and claiming to be linked to the United Democratic Front "would be dealt with", Mr Henry Fazzie, UDF regional vice-president, said yesterday.

Mr Fazzie, who was released from detention this week, made an earnest appeal for the community to fight "tooth and nail" against the people running the courts in a bid to return the situation in the townships to normality.

"We have taken a decision at our meeting that a committee be established to investigate those involved in the so-called peoples' courts under the guise of the peoples' organizations," he said. These people would be "swept out of the way", he added.

He also stressed that UDF affiliates would also trace those people claiming allegiance to the UDF who were stirring up fighting with the Azanian Peoples' Organization.

Mr Fazzie condemned police statements linking the UDF with the kangaroo courts.

He said he was aware that many people used the UDF as a shield when carrying out their criminal acts and presiding at trials to mete out severe sentences on innocent people with different political convictions.
UDF and the Convention

The United Democratic Front's acting national publicity officer, Murphy Morobe (right), made it known last week that he would not support the newly-formed Convention Movement.

Mr Morobe, a Soweto student leader in the 1970s who spent nearly seven years in detention and on Robben Island, took over as the UDF's national publicity officer in February after Patrick "Terror" Loketa had been charged with treason.

Since the declaration of the state of emergency he has been avoiding the police, but he denies that he is on the run.

In an interview with a Transvaal journalist, Gavin Evans, Mr Morobe said: "We are not on the run. It is P. W. Botha who is on the run."

Mr Morobe's answers to questions put to him last week are published here.

Question: The Convention Movement Alliance has changed its name to the Convention Movement, and Inkatha and the PFP have joined in its steering committee, in order to make room for the UDF in the current campaign. How do you respond to these changes?

Answer: It must be stressed that our objections to the Convention Movement resided in the fact that there was no genuine electoral movement. It was launched by "150 top people" at the Sandton Sun Hotel, mainly on the initiative of the PFP. And very few of these "top people" were black people. But beyond that, we have to look at the particular way they propose to find a solution to the conflict between black people.

We do not doubt the motives of all the people present. Many have a genuine concern about the future of our country, but we believe that this initiative will not contribute to the ending of violence and will not provide a way for peaceful resolutions.

Question: What role can negotiations with the governing authorities play in building peace, as proposed by the Convention Movement, play in building peace?

Answer: When we talk about negotiations, I think we need to be more specific about what they mean. For example, one of our preconditions for negotiations is that the government must lay down arms. Also, it is important that the only party which needs to go to the negotiating table. We are not in any position to negotiate before we are prepared to negotiate the liberation movement must be unbanned. We also do not believe in an open agenda for negotiations because we want to know what the government's aims are and how they intend exerting pressure. Negotiations in parallel parliamentary forums are futile and they are not done in practice. We have a tested support and that is why we are facing the brunt of state repression and succeeding in resisting it. The question therefore needs to be raised: is there any initiative? If they do not have the same aims why don't they throw their weight behind the UDF or PFP? Why try for an option not based on the initiative of the broad democratic movement? The answer to this, I think, is that it is really a white and PFP-dominated initiative and they now try to separate the two and reduce the price of liberation. We in the UDF are not looking for an extension of rights within the framework of the present system. We're looking for a different system altogether.

Question: What about Inkatha? Can you envisage a scenario where the UDF developed a closer working relationship with them?

Answer: We have very concrete reasons for rejecting any initiative which involves Inkatha. Inkatha and Buthelezi have sided against the democratic movement. Our main problem with them is that while they adopt a stance of non-violence against apartheid, they shake the framework of the capitalist system. They correctly realise there is a close connection between apartheid oppression and class exploitation and the attacks on democratic initiatives and organisations. Sources of our members have had to flee the Natal provinces because of Inkatha. Many have been killed. It would therefore be completely wrong to be part of a movement with Inkatha.

Question: In a recent speech the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, accused the UDF of using similar tactics to the government by choosing who it wanted to negotiate with. How do you respond to this charge?

Answer: Van Zyl Slabbert's attempt to equate us with PW Botha is an extremely facile act of criticism. The government has clearly put up all sorts of preconditions for negotiations — which include the renunciation of violence and agreements. This is a difference between our problems with Inkatha and our preconditions for negotiations.
with the government. Our main pre condition is that we believe the outcome of our negotiations should be democracy — and that means one person, one vote. We are not prepared to negotiate over the heads of the people or to negotiate away their birthright. So to equate our position with that of the government is to misrepresent our position. It is downright dishonest.

**Question:** Would you treat contact with the PFP in the same light as with Inikatha?

**Answer:** The Transvaal UDF executive recently took a decision that is not correct for our affiliates working in the white community like Jodac (the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee) to attempt to ensure as broad a basis as possible for the movement against apartheid and for the building of peace, and that we would therefore not exclude the possibility of limited cooperation with the PFP as long as it does not compromise our general standpoint. If an organisation like Jodac is part of the white community it has to work with the PFP to some extent. For example Jodac is an affiliate of the End Consciencism Campaign (ECC) as well as the UDF and the PFP youth is one of the organisations in the ECC. We need to be able to cope with different areas of struggle at the same time and adopt different tactics accordingly. The white community, for example, does not have a deep history of extra-parliamentary opposition. The whole tradition of boycott politics has not been prevalent, so a different approach is needed. We need to win people into the PFP over to an acceptance of the democratic movement. But in the black community the PFP’s decision to participate in the coloured and Indian House of Parliament on its own has put the PFP on a collision course with all UDF affiliates operating outside of the white community. The mandate of the people in the coloured and Indian communities was clear. Over 80 per cent of them boycotted the election. So in making their decision to enter all three houses the PFP showed they had no respect for people’s values. Now they have gone a step further and included some of those politicians already discredited by the people on their leadership structures. They really seem to have managed to dig themselves into a hole. We feel that by deciding to put up candidates for these discredited structures — and by initiating the Convention Alliance — they are trying to make gains while the democratic movement is being crushed. These initiatives have no chance of success unless the UDF is not allowed to exist.

**Question:** How would the UDF react if the PFP decided to put up a candidate for a bi-election in the coloured or Indian parliament?

**Answer:** We don’t think they would react any differently to how we have done already. Our general policy involves all parties taking part in those elections. So if they did put up a candidate we would respond in the same way as we have done to the Hendrakis and Rajabansis or to the bantustan leaders like Buthelezi.

**Question:** The UDF has always claimed to be a non-violent organisation. Do you still hold to this position and what is your attitude to violence?

**Answer:** We are a non-violent front of over 700 organisations and despite the government’s attempts to crush us we are still a legal organisation and we are fighting to protect our legality. We are not ourselves engaged in armed activity. Apartheid stems from the violent subjugation of the South African people and indeed of the whole Southern African region. It involves daily violence against the black majority through pass laws, resettlement, the Group Areas Act, the bantustan system and so on. While apartheid continues to exist we will continue to experience daily violence and oppression. Our attitude to violence stems from our belief that there can be no peace while apartheid continues to exist. What P.W. Botha wants to restore through the state of emergency is not peace but the normal functioning of apartheid.

**Question:** Yes, but how do you respond to the violence of, for example, the ANC?

**Answer:** The ANC was banned 25 years ago after nearly 50 years of peaceful protest. It is now engaged in armed struggle against the violence of apartheid. To treat popular resistance and all forms of armed struggle of the ANC as being morally equivalent to the violence of the UDF would be to pervert our history and our contemporary reality. So we find it strange that the ANC is described as being non-violent because it doesn’t attack the government even though it is violent in relation to the people, while the ANC is depicted as being violent. The most logical way of ending violence and securing peace is to end apartheid. Until then we cannot make demands from the people to relinquish violence. It is the apartheid regime which must be disarmed.

**Question:** How is the UDF faring under the state of emergency? Is it succeeding in keeping in its structures and support intact?

**Answer:** So far this year nearly 8,000 people have been arrested under the security or emergency laws while about 22,000 people have been arrested for alleged political offenses. Over 90 percent of these people have been UDF leaders or members of various UDF affiliates. Most of our national and regional executives have been detained, or on trial or have disappeared, been killed or left the country. Most areas we are not allowed to hold public meetings. This situation has obviously had serious effects on our ability to operate normally. So we have had to adapt to different modes to protect ourselves. We have been forced to keep a lower profile and we are not available to our members or the general public all the time. The one positive thing is that UDF has addressed itself to tightening up organisation throughout the country. That is what we are busy doing. In general we have adopted a defensive strategy but we are starting to move on to the offensive because we feel it is important to take the struggle to a higher level. Our slogan “UDF lives — forward to people’s power.”
Pupil escapes ‘necklace’

By: Crime Reporter

A GUGULETU matrix pupil escaped a gruellike death by seconds on Monday after fellow pupils abducted him from his home and placed a petrol-filled tyre round his neck.

One of the abductors was about to toss a lighted match on the 22-year-old Pezeka High School pupil when he lashed out, landing a painful kick on his would-be executioner, and sprinted away, police said.

The enraged crowd failed to catch the pupil, who cannot be identified for his own safety.

The pupil was abducted from his Guguletu home about 8am and taken to the nearby I D Mkhize High School grounds where the incident took place.

The shocked pupil ran to the Guguletu police station where he was later questioned at length.

Three youths were arrested hours later and held for questioning.

Police believe the attempted murder was motivated by the pupil refusing to take part in the boycott of examinations.

The attempt is the second reported “necklace” incident in the Peninsulas since unrest first flared almost three months ago.

Police recovered the charred remains of Mrs Rebecca Nonzio Ngwevise, 36, among bushes near Lansdowne Road in Old Crossroads on October 26.

A burnt-out mini-bus in which she is believed to have been travelling stood nearby.

Mrs Ngwevise was a member of Mr Jerry Tutu’s squatter camp community at Old Crossroads. The squatters are deeply divided over moving to Khayelitsha and Mr Tutu has been negotiating the issue with the Western Cape Development Board.

Candlelight protest tonight

LAST WEEK’S Athlone candlelight protest against the state of emergency will tonight be extended to include residents of Rylands, Belthorn, Pentyln Estate and Kewtown.

A spokesman for the Athlone People’s Action Committee has called on residents to switch off their lights between 8 and 9pm and stand with lighted candles in their gardens.

The holding of candles symbolized, among other things, demands for the unconditional postponement of examinations and the withdrawal of the army and police from townships and suburbs.

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape Development Board, declined to comment on the protest.

But severe sentences on innocent people with different political convictions.

PFP rally

Political Staff

A RALLY, labelled “The people of Cape Town will speak”, is to be held tomorrow night under the auspices of the Progressive Federal Party.

Dr Alex Boraine, and a recently-released detainee the Rev Lionel Louw, chairman of the Western Province Council of Churches, will address the meeting.

Dr Boraine said yesterday: “We are in contact with a number of organizations and have invited them to attend the meeting.”

He said the meeting would focus on the emergency and the general gassing of South Africa through detentions and restrictions on the media.

The rally will be held in Gordon’s Institute, Mowbray, at 8pm.
ANC 'has no
bases in
Lesotho

NEW YORK - A Lesotho official in Washington has denied American newspaper reports of African National Congress bases in

Lesotho. He said that Malambo had been expelled by the ANC from bases in Lesotho.

"Lesotho wants to set the record straight. There are no ANC

bases in Lesotho," the official said.

The official, who asked not to be quoted, said that Malambo had been expelled for activities against the government of Lesotho. He also denied that ANC members

were living in the country. He said that the ANC had been expelled from their headquarters in Australia.

The argument that ANC activities against Transkei amounted to treason, the official said, was "merely an attempt by their leaders to divert attention."
UDF slams restrictions on released detainees

By Jo-Anne Collinge

It is completely unacceptable that political leaders should be removed from detention subject to stringent restrictions which prevent them from carrying out their public responsibilities. United Democratic Front (UDF) acting publicity secretary, Mr. Marshe, said today.

Mr. Marshe was reacting to the conditional release of UDF Transvaal vice-president Dr. Ram Salapee and at least four other emergency detainees who are now subject to stringent restrictions which prevent their participation in political and community organisations.

Union condemns organiser's detention

CAPE TOWN — The General Workers' Union yesterday condemned the arrest of one of their sympathisers, Miss D. Goree, and the police action which led to her arrest.

The union says that the police did not follow due procedure.

The police were arrested from the union's premises on Monday and were taken to the police station.

The union in turn said they wanted her for questioning at the Attena Police Station.

MPC claims 40 children detained

CAPE TOWN — Forty children from Western Cape detention camps were returned to their parents yesterday after being detained for a week, police said.

The children, aged between 10 and 16, were among 120 who had been detained in the camps for alleged involvement in the South African Communist Party.

The children were said to be involved in the South African Communist Party.
UDF slams restrictions on released detainees

By Jo-Anne Collinge

It is completely unacceptable that political leaders should be released from detention subject to stringent restrictions which prevent them from carrying out their public responsibilities.

United Democratic Front (UDF) acting publicity secretary Mr Morose Morose said today:

"We see the arrest of some 24 people as well as the restriction as aimed at neutralising and undermining democratic organisations," he added.

Mr Morose was reacting to the conditional release of UDF Transvaal vice-president Dr Ram Shikre, and at least four other emergency detainees, who are now subject to stringent restrictions which prevent their participation in political and community organisations.

Mr Morose said the UDF's decision to release the detainees illustrated the absurdity of the last three years of apartheid rule.

"We are appalled at this decision. We are appalled at the release of these people for no apparent reason. The release of these three people is one of the most amazing facts of our life," he said.

"It is unacceptable. It is unacceptable that these leaders should be released on condition of their participation in the creation of a democratic South Africa."

Dr Madi Gqena and his wife, Germaine, who were released this week, should never have been arrested in the first place,

"We are appalled at the release of our son from detention. We are appalled at the release of these people for no apparent reason. The release of these three people is one of the most amazing facts of our life," he said.

The release of these people is an indication of the failure of the government to handle the situation in a democratic and constitutional manner.

Union condemns organiser's detention

CAPE TOWN - The General Workers' Union yesterday condemned the detention of one of their organisers by the police and called for his unconditional release.

The union's statement was in response to the arrest of its organiser, Mr D. Nkomo, who was detained by police yesterday.

"We condemn this action and call for his immediate release," the union said.

MPC claims 40 children detained

CAPE TOWN - Forty children from Worcester and Bellville were detained yesterday by the police at the request of the police officer in charge of the area.

The police officer said that the children were "acting suspiciously" and that he suspected they were involved in some form of criminal activity.

The police officer said that the children were "acting suspiciously" and that he suspected they were involved in some form of criminal activity.

They were later released without charge.

"We are not happy with the way the police are treating people," said a parent of one of the children.

"They are not giving us any explanation and we are not happy with the way they are behaving," the parent said.

The police officer said that the children were "acting suspiciously" and that he suspected they were involved in some form of criminal activity.

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They were later released without charge.
ADE extends shutdown

ATLANTIS Diesel Engines has decided to extend its annual plant shutdown by 11 days this year because of the depressed state of the motor industry nationwide.

In a statement released yesterday by Mr Andre van der Zwan, public affairs manager for the firm, ADE said: "The depressed conditions in the motor, commercial and tractor industries has affected both sales and manufacture.

"Consequently, several original equipment manufacturers have introduced extended shutdowns and other actions such as retrenchments."

As a result, the annual shutdown would be extended by 11 days at ADE.

The shutdown would include six days "fully approved and paid absence" and the remaining five days would be combined with annual leave arrangements and would have "no detrimental financial effect on employees".

The shutdown would be from November 29 to January 13, 1985, and would affect about 2,000 employees, "from the managing director down", Mr Van der Zwan said.

The extended shutdown has increased fears that Atlantis, an artificially created "growth point" established in terms of the government's decentralization policies, could be on the verge of a major social and economic disaster.

Defiant Atlantis vows to "take action", page 8

Press club ovation for Heard

Chief Reporter

THE Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, received an ovation from the biggest-ever attendance at a Cape Town Press Club lunch yesterday when he spoke on press freedom, and on the role of journalism in the current crisis in South Africa.

Among those who attended yesterday's lunch — at his own request — was the American best-selling author Arthur Hailey.

The Editor of the Argus, Mr Andrew Drysdale, thanked Mr Heard "for saying what needs to be said time and again these days.

"The attendance here today is ample evidence of the support, concern and interest of your fellow editors and colleagues elsewhere."

"You have spoken eloquently and bravely, and we wish you well."

Full text, page 11
Robert Smith's openness to different viewpoints. The statement on the role of the press I have heard came to me from the late Schalk Pienaar of the Pretoria Correspondent, two decades ago, described the press as an instrument in its own right, "instuutsee is die eie reg".

The press should not be seen as a willing tool or arm of government or any particular interest, but an institution standing alone in society, holding its own in the marketplace without government subsidy and always maintaining a cautious relationship with power and government, whatever the government may be.

How do we measure up in South Africa?

We live in very trying times. In the past 20 months about 800 people have died in violence. The security authorities are extended and exhausted. The whites are fearful and look for sanctuary in their own protected areas. The economy is impoverished.

Government is uneasy and jumpy. At times it seems set on a major reform programme, only to be pressured by whites and other political events. This is a very dangerous time, and we must remember that the press is the key to the country's stability. It is also a very challenging time, for the cathartic recognition of how serious things are comes too late for the new forces for change and for peace. Indeed, "môre is nog 'n dag" does not apply any more.

We have things to be grateful for. Instead of resorting to the futile hand-wrangling of the past, people are showing a willingness to do something.

Refreshing sensitivity

A group of white women turn up to protest in the middle of Soweto. Top business people defy government and visit the ANC, and Afrikaans students and dominoes at least try to do the same.

These are all good signs. A brave young district surgeon kicks up a successful fuss in court about malpractice in the Eastern Cape. -"Raising questions about what other district surgeons have been doing for years."

The Bench, enjoined to apply the law as it stands, not as judges would like it to be, shows refreshing sensitivity to the individual's rights and almost makes new law on the side of civil liberty.

The stirring that is going on in our society is a South Africa asserting its inherent strength and demonstrating that it is bigger than its government. Indeed, we might even be a great country, beneath all that is going on...

For too long we have been mesmerized by the all-powerful appearance of government, and looked to that quarter for cure-alls. The tide was at its height under Dr Verwoerd, and though Supreme Authority began breaking down during the information scandal, the tide has not yet been turned.

Now there are signs that the emergency notwithstanding, the non-government sector is asserting itself, in the interests of this land, in moves which bypass government and create new bridgeshead for peace and justice heroes with a bishop saving a suspected informer from an enraged crowd on the Rand to a Muslim holy man trying but failing to do the same with the police. It's a very violent time that threatens everyone.

But the public must know about all this. In Philosophy I at university, I recall pondering the question whether the rose that blooms in the desert would have any reality if no one was there to appreciate it. Hardly, one might argue. The same applies to acts of selflessness, courage and conciliation here and now.

It is vital that South Africans should feel and see one another, through the independent eyes of the media and not as laundered through the official process. Newspapers and other media must seek to keep open the barriers of free expression, even when the encircling should press against it. But never do they do under emergency regulations.

Cynical

This means pushing hard, even testing the limits, with due prudence and responsibility, and ensuring that the public is properly informed.

But let us hope that people abroad are made to realize that the press in SA is not monolithic, coward and complacent. Obviously and predictably, the level of freedom enjoyed, say, by the American media is unlikely to be attained in current South African conditions, but we must remember that press freedom, freedom of expression or the public's right to know, has stumpy roots in the history of this country, going back to Lord Charles Somerset's attempts at tyranny.

The important thing is for journalists to keep up the struggle, not to become so cynical about power and government that they forget the enormous influence of the pen, and the basic reason for their existence - to inform the citizenry. As much as possible. Former French culture minister Andre Malraux has been quoted apropos Solzhenitsyn:

"Sight of a man saying no with his bare hands is one of the things that most mysteriously and profoundly stir the hearts of men."

Anglican tractarian John Henry Newman, who became a Catholic cardinal late in life, said in his published explanation of his life, the Apologia pro Vita Sua:

Hog-tied

"I should have thought myself less of a man if I did not bring it out."

I believe that newspaper people should be as outraged by such thoughts, and sharpen their pens and their nerve and their thoughts and, even in these trying times when free expression is so hog-tied, seek to preserve alternative versions of the truth to those presented by official quarters. The beneficiary is South Africa.

It is not a popular stance, and public opinion in SA is pretty fickle, but if the newspapers are to play some role in this crisis, their responsibility is clear.
THE Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, said at a Cape Town Press Club lunch yesterday that free expression should be seen not as a threat to peace and order, but as “the oil in the negotiating machinery, particularly in a state of turmoil.”

Following is the full text of his address:

When I accepted the invitation to address you, I was merely a suspect. Now I am an accused. I am charged with quoting a banned person and I shall appear in court again on December 9. So, on legal advice, I shall not be able, because of the sub judice rule, to comment on my interview with Oliver Tambo in London in any way that could influence or prejudice the trial.

You will therefore, I hope, accept my apologies for not being able to talk about the person who brings me here before you. So the big story, in a sense, has fallen through — for the time being.

Simplistic doctrine

My theme is the role of journalism in the current crisis in South Africa. There is a simplistic and dangerous doctrine that the available truth emanates from official quarters, from a government that knows all and knows best. I view such a doctrine with the most unrealistic belief that there can be more than one version to listen to, and that the best newspapers can do is to present them to readers and viewers, to comment on them and to let adults make up their minds on the information presented.

This I would call the adult approach to information. The other approach would have it that the rulers of the day know best, that the public must be force-fed facts and comments and told what to think.

You do not have to look far to find this view alive and thriving, for example, in East Bloc countries and in many Third World countries. South Africa has been working hard at perfecting it, too.

Indeed, the view that adults should be treated as children in information matters rests on the myth that governments always know best.

Considering the errors, omissions, lies, deceptions, bungles, corruptions, etc., of governments down the ages, it is remarkable that otherwise intelligent and informed people can still hold to this over-generous view of government — the only-informer.

Dirty tricks

Let it be readily admitted that governments have an important responsibility to inform the public and even to demand the public’s attention, say in times of crisis and present danger, for example, indicating where the N-bomb shelter is when the missiles are coming, and bring to the government’s attention signals which can legitimately amount to propaganda, the views and policies that it holds.

That is its view of its responsibility. And, the job should be done effectively and professionally, not ineptly as so often happens. When dirty tricks are employed in the effort, quite apart from being morally suspect, they generally backfire powerfully, as we know too well. Their defect is that they are counter-productive. And, incidentally, to rely on uncheckered letters in a British newspaper to make a point against foreign correspondents can produce a large omlette on the face of a deputy minister.

A healthy society recognizes, however, that the government view is not the final word, that there are alternative versions of reality which must be sought. Such a society has a healthy respect for the technical press, and broadcasting services, which subject government pronouncements and propaganda to close scrutiny and fearlessly give their own judgment.

Purist approach

The public are then treated like adults, not children, and allowed to make up their minds, to the pleasure of some of politicians. Behind this philosophy is the fact that if one is secure in one’s belief, the views of others should cause no hardship. The views of others can, indeed, enrich one greatly.

This might sound a rather purist approach to the role of the press, even a bit naive, in a country where the political realities are harsh and where independent thought has been under attack for so long. But it is not purist and it is not naive. An informed and adult public opinion, apart from being a morally admirable goal to strive for in any society, equips people the better to make up their minds on crucial issues. That is a practical advantage.

Free expression should be seen not as a threat to peace and order but as the oil in the negotiating machinery of a state in turmoil.

An uninformd public, ostrich-like, digs itself in the sand and is unaware of major political change until it happens. The white Rhodsiens were a prime example. They were denied vital information for so long that they could not even see the Mugabe hurricane roaring over the Rhodesian veld.

‘Let us beware’

(One might note in passing that many of the restrictive measures applied by the Smith regime were simply taken over by the new government, and applied against those who had devised them — let us beware)

While white Rhodesians and their press were doing the ostrich act, the South African press, by contrast, and certainly the group of which I am a member, not only saw the Mugabe hurricane but were able to prepare readers for it — at the cost of being regarded as “pinkies” in Rhodesia. I must pay tribute here to a superb reporter in the best tradition, the late Tony Rider, who kept up my research by going on with remarkable precision and accuracy.

Newspapers must at all costs retain their self-respect. And part of this is...
'Necklace' firebomb then home burnt down

Staff Reporter

THE home of a Guguletu matric pupil who was attacked earlier this week has been destroyed by fire.

The 22-year-old man, who has not been named, had a tyre containing petrol placed around his neck in a "necklace" attack after being abducted from his home on Monday.

He escaped by kicking one of his assailants in the groin.

Early yesterday an attempt was made to destroy his home with petrol-bombs. Minor damage was caused.

R6 000 DAMAGE

However, later in the day arsonists attacked again and damage estimated at R6 000 was caused. The young man's two sisters were at home at the time but they escaped.

Meanwhile a Guguletu man is in hospital with six stab wounds in the back after he tried to help a schoolgirl who was being molested. Police said she was attacked for attending classes.

A police spokesman said about 10.50am yesterday the girl was pulled from her home in NY57 by a crowd, some of whom molested her.

When the man went to the girl's aid he was attacked and stabbed.

No arrests have been made.

In other incidents of unrest shebeens in Guguletu were attacked yesterday and a bus was set alight.

• Police report — Page 2
IN spite of the withdrawal of the PFP and Inkatha from the steering committee of the Convention Movement, there is no prospect of the UDF joining the initiative.

This was said by UDF acting publicity officer Murphy Morobe in an interview this week.

Morobe, who has been avoiding the police since the declaration of the State of Emergency, said the fact that Inkatha and the PFP had stepped down made little difference to the character of the movement.

"The point is that the aim appears to be a Muzorewa-Buthelezi type solution of 'power sharing' from the top. Their statements seem to imply that people sit around a table and discuss and debate and in this way work out South Africa's future with an open agenda."

"When we talk about negotiations we need to be a lot more specific than the Convention Movement has been. We can't accept an open agenda because we want to know what it is we are negotiating. Also, we are not a liberation movement, and before we are prepared to negotiate the ANC and other liberation movements must be unbanned."

"What is certainly not negotiable is democracy - and that implies one person, one vote in a united South Africa. What may be negotiable is the pace of the implementation of a democratic state and the approach to ending bloodshed," he said.

Responding to a criticism of PFP leader, Van Zyl Slabbert, that the UDF was using similar tactics to the government by choosing who it wanted to negotiate with, Morobe dismissed this as a "dishonest and facile" form of attack.

"The government has clearly put up all sorts of pre-conditions for negotiations — which include the renouncing of violence against apartheid.

"Our main pre-condition is that we believe the outcome of any negotiations should be democracy. We are not prepared to negotiate over the heads of the people or to negotiate them out of their birthright," he said.

Morobe also questioned the motives behind the initiative and accused it of being an "act of desperation" on the part of big business and the PFP.

"They are aware of the paralysis of the government and its inability to contain resistance. They know the government can't satisfy the demands of the people or even cope with daily administration.

"So they are trying to find ways of accommodating popular aspirations which will not tamper with the basic framework of the capitalist system."

"As a response to this yesterday, Joyce Harris, a member of the Convention Movement's steering committee said it was rather sad that the UDF would not join the Movement because it was meant to attract everybody irrespective of political affiliation."

SEFAKO NYAKA reports that she said the aim was to achieve a constitution that was acceptable to everybody.

"And it is to be achieved through negotiation with the acknowledged leaders of all sections of the community. One of the essential pre-conditions, therefore, is the unbanning of all detainees and other people who are in prison because of their political beliefs."

"We believe that a constitutional agenda needs to be open-ended and to have as few non-negotiables as possible.

"The hard bargaining will take place around the convention table and hopefully it will be possible to find a solution that is acceptable to all."
Now UDF man gets strict restriction orders

Saloojee released

THE Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front, Dr Rashid Saloojee, was released on Tuesday night after nearly four months in detention and served strict restriction orders which will be in force while the state of emergency lasts.

Dr Saloojee, who is also acting president of the Transvaal Indian Congress and vice-president of the Islamic Council of South Africa, was being treated under guard in the psychiatric wing of the Johannesburg Hospital for the past month.

He was transferred back to Diepkloof Prison on Monday before his release.

In terms of a schedule signed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Dr Saloojee may not leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg without the permission of the Minister.

He may also not, without ministerial permission, take part "in any manner whatsoever" in the activities of affairs of the UDF, the

TIC, any trade union, youth organisation, or any organisation related to the black community in the magisterial district of Johannesburg.

Dr Saloojee may not enter any school or other educational institution, or prepare, compile, publish or disseminate any publication as defined in the Internal Security Act of 1982.

The schedule further prohibits him from participating or assisting in the preparation, compilation, publication or dissemination of any publication as defined in the Act, nor may he contribute, prepare or compile any material for publication in any defined publication.

Meanwhile four whites detained four months ago under South Africa's state of emergency, were released on Tuesday, the parents of one of them said. All are restricted, reports Sapa-Reuter.

Dr Max Coleman said his son Neil and three others were freed from Diepkloof Prison in Soweto.

"We are delighted that Neil is free," Dr Coleman said.

The others released were Mr Auret van Heerden, Mr Morris Smithers and Mr Simon Ratcliffe, he said.

They had all been detained soon after the state of emergency was imposed on July 21 in areas surrounding Johannesburg and in the Eastern Cape. Since then the emergency has been extended to Cape Town.
Two leading Cape Town activists and community leaders are wanted by the police in connection with a spate of hand grenade attacks in the Cape Peninsula during the past year.

A police spokesman said Cape Herald journalist and Western Cape president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) Anees Sallie and community worker Johnny Issel could help them in their investigations into the attacks.

Issel, who is a banned and listed person, was restricted to the Wynberg magisterial district before being granted a special dispensation in July to work as administrative secretary at the Church Urban Planning Commission in Cape Town.

He was last seen in August. His Athlone home is reportedly deserted.

Sallie also went missing around the same time, when United Democratic Front activists went into hiding, following a massive police crackdown on the UDF.
The shaping of SA’s generation of violence

MICHAEL PARKS of The Los Angeles Times reports from Johannesburg on South Africa’s new generation of violence

At three years old, Fikile can recognize the sound of a police armoured car rumbling down her street and be quick enough to hide under a table before it passes.

At three-and-a-half, Thato can give step-by-step directions for making a petrol bomb. At four, Mapu says unhesitatingly that when he sees a white man he wants to kill him, and that, as soon as he is a year or two older, he will.

“What this unrest is doing to our children is horrible, absolutely terrifying,” said Mr Matlatshe Malepa, director of the Entokozweni Early Learning Centre. “We have a generation of children who do not want to play, but to wage war, real war.

“At an age when a child should be innocence itself, he is caught up in some of the worst violence imaginable and it deforms him cruelly. At an age when he is totally impressionable, he sees anger, bitterness, and hatred all around him and it warps him in the most frightening way.”

Concern is growing among teachers, doctors, social workers, clergymen, psychologists and, most of all, among black parents about the impact that 15 months of sustained civil unrest has had upon children in Soweto and in South Africa’s other ghettos and townships, particularly those under emergency rule near Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

“The traumas these children are going through, the traumas really of a civil war, mean a generation of violence,” an American psychologist said. “They only see violence. They only know violence, and they can only respond with violence. I am afraid this generation will never really be at peace.”

Those most caught up in the unrelenting violence, now an element of everyday life for South African blacks and coloured people are youths. Most are in their teens, some are in their early 20s, but others are children, some not even yet in school.

The deaths and detentions of older brothers and sisters, cousins and neighbours, and particularly of parents, has, in the words of a white psychiatrist, “sown salt and crushed glass in this jagged bleeding wound that could easily kill a whole generation with anger and bitterness.”

National police headquarters released a statement saying: “The dilemma facing the police in the present situation is that a large number of mobs responsible for all kinds of violence and other unrest-related lawless acts consist of children. The police, faced with these mobs, are often forced to take drastic action and are then made the scapegoat for having injured or arrested youths.”

Black parents, teachers, and community leaders are frightened for their children but feel helpless in their inability to give them a calmer, safer environment in which to grow up.

“My 10-year-old says there is no time for play,” said Zodwa Mabaso, the mother of four and a former political detainee. “The games he acts out are what to do when the police come.”

In much of this, small children are merely imitating their older brothers and sisters, the “comrades” fighting South Africa’s apartheid system.

However, the American trained child psychologist in Soweto sees the “comrades” replacing their parents and other adults to become the main role models for black children in a way that will turn more and more school children in to highly politicized militants.

Youths who have been gaoled or detained, often without charge, often suffer from even more severe traumas, according to psychologists, clergymen and others who counsel them. Given the thousands of teenagers who have been arrested and held by the police, these traumas may have community-wide impact.
P W Botha 'fires' Delegates Minister

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH — The Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services in the House of Delegates, Mr Ebrahim Abramjee, was "fired" by the State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday.

Mr Abramjee's dismissal follows a speech he made at the Port Elizabeth City Hall on Wednesday night at a report-back meeting of the National Peoples' Party, in which he disclosed details of South Africa's proposed gas exploration off Mossel Bay.

In a brief statement yesterday, the State President said he had decided "to terminate Mr E Abramjee's membership of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates with effect from November 15, 1985, following his failure to honour his undertaking in terms of Section 24 of the Constitution Act of 1983 not to divulge directly or indirectly any matters which have been entrusted to him under secrecy".

Mr Abramjee stated at Wednesday night's meeting that while he did not wish to "pre-empt" the State President's announcement, which he said would be made on Monday, he wished to disclose that it was "a very important announcement" which was of major significance to the Eastern Cape.
Zwelitsha ‘vigilantes’ murder ex-Saso man

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A former member of the banned South African Students' Organization (Saso), Mr. Zalisile Matyholo, 32, was killed by alleged vigilantes in Zwelitsha township near East London on Wednesday night.

His mother, Mrs. Maria Matyholo, said yesterday a group of armed men invaded her house on Tuesday night and told her they were looking for her son.

"They told me to pray because if they found my son they would kill him, as they said he was the leader of youths involved in unrest," she said.

Mrs. Matyholo said the men were carrying sticks and knobkieries.

"Early yesterday, Mrs. Matyholo was told that her son had been found dead near the Buffalo River after allegedly being assaulted by vigilantes.

Township residents said some of the members of the group had been recognized. About 20 youths who were also allegedly assaulted by the vigilantes were later admits to the Mount Coke Hospital with multiple injuries.

Hospital staff claimed the youths were then taken away again by the vigilantes after treatment.

The Zwelitsha vigilante group started operating after Ciskei President Lennox Sebe said in a rally held in the township that the police would not go into areas without vigilantes, and that people should form such groups to protect themselves.

"Necklace"

Ciskei police could not be reached to confirm Mr Matyholo's death.

Meanwhile Mr Henry Fazzie, vice-president of the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape, yesterday rejected a statement by a Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (Pebco) member who said he was set upon by a group of youths in Soweto for suspending the boycott.

Mr Michael Zitho, one of 17 community leaders released from detention under emergency regulations this week, told a newspaper that the youths wanted to give him the "necklace" — a burning tyre around his neck — for suspending the boycott.

Mr Fazzie said that on hearing of the incident UDF officials had gone to the scene to investigate and were told by people who were in the mob that Mr Zitho had been mistaken for a security policeman.

He acknowledged that there had been strong resistance in some outlying areas like Motherwell and Soweto to the suspension of the boycott. He said this was because some supporters in these areas who did not read newspapers were not aware that the leaders had been released. He attributed this to the ban on meetings.

Pebco official Mr Jackson Mdongwe, who was with Mr Zitho at the time, also denied that the incident was boycott-related. He said the group was aggressive but there had been no mention of a "necklace".

Sapa and Own Correspondent
Clergy to ‘go ahead’ with visit to ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The proposed visit to Lusaka by seven clergymen from the daughter churches of the Ned Geref Kerk is going ahead, and the ministers will issue an open letter to the churches today, calling on them to support the initiative.

This was confirmed yesterday by the leader of the group, Dr Nico Smith.

Last week three of the clergymen met the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, to discuss their planned visit, which the Minister said the government would prevent.

Dr Smith, a minister of the Ned Geref Kerk in Africa, said yesterday that a "very hard confrontation between the churches and State was to be expected considering the government's present attitude".

"In the past churches have too often been compliant. What we have tried to do is say we cannot accept the decision of the government," he said.

"We have realized we have no choice but to continue. Unfortunately, not all of us have passports, but we will see what will happen when the others apply.

"We believe the move will cause a crisis in the churches as they will have to decide whether speaking to the ANC is contributing towards bringing about peace and a climate for negotiation."

He said he hoped it would be possible to confront the churches "with a question which they have avoided for too long".

He said the Dutch Reformed Churches had to take the main burden of responsibility for the situation in the country.

"In the beginning it was only the Afrikaans electorate voting for the National Party, but then the English also found the system convenient. The English-speaking churches have reacted against the system, but not in a clear way."

The churchmen, who intend defying the government by their intended trip are: Dr Smith; the Rev Lucas Mbusela, of the NGK in Africa's Mamelodi North congregation; the Rev Elia Tema, of the same church's Orlando congregation in Soweto; the Rev Alex Bihman, of the Reformed Church in Africa, Federal Theological Seminary, Maritzburg; Professor Daan Clöete, of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, Faculty of Theology, University of the Western Cape; the Rev Dirkie Marais, of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, Montagu, and Dr Erasmus van Niekerk, NGK, University of South Africa.
Stepping up the war

The number of armed insurgency attacks in SA in the first nine months of this year — 93 up to the end of September — is more than double the tally (44) recorded in 1984. None, however, was a particularly sophisticated or destructive hit comparable to the one on Sasol in 1982 or the Pretoria car bomb in 1983. Rather, it is the political dimension to this year’s pattern of attacks, carried out by the African National Congress (ANC), which seems important. It reveals the ANC’s attempt to establish a greater presence and permanence in SA (partly because of setbacks to operating from neighbouring states) and to take advantage of “the unrest” by trying to create the conditions for a general insurrection.

A feature of the attacks is that handgrenades were used in about 40 of the incidents; and sabotage of business property (17 incidents) rose markedly compared to similar attacks over the whole 1976-1984 period, which saw commercial property hit 12 times.

The banned ANC claimed responsibility for nearly all the incidents, which are monitored by Professor Mike Hough’s Institute of Strategic Studies in Pretoria.

The figures include “attempted” (presumably bocked) attacks and relatively minor sabotage incidents, and to that extent are not cause for special alarm.

It is, however, the “armed propaganda” value of any kind of strike that the ANC, like revolutionists elsewhere, considers important to its cause.

In tandem with the civil tumult, it also makes it more difficult for government to devise and carry out a long-term peaceful settlement — except by fundamental reform.

Not surprisingly, township rioting and ensuing political chaos created more opportunities for ANC attacks, observes Hough.

He points out that after the Nkomati Accord, which closed off the ANC’s main infiltration route into SA from Mozambique, the organisation has attempted to establish both a greater internal “presence” and more arms caches in the country.

Another reason for “internalising the struggle” is the terrorist’s greater difficulty in getting out of the country, says Hough. Rates of arrest have risen. As part of the ANC’s general strategy of making SA “un-governable,” explains Hough, it has been attempting to advance a so-called “people’s war” by mobilising the masses.

It has also been trying to create “alternative structures” in some townships — for example, “people’s courts” — but with little success. For this reason, too, the authorities are unlikely to accede to demands for the withdrawal of soldiers and the police (whose numbers are stretched) from the townships.

It is this political dimension — trying to create the conditions for mass insurrection — of recent ANC tactics which is perhaps more important than the higher rate of sabotage attacks, reckons Hough.

Surprisingly, in view of the ANC announcement after its congress in Kabwe in June, “soft” targets have not been a feature of the attacks so far. The ANC, however, later qualified this stronger intention by say-
CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

A chance to talk

The announcement that the consumer boycott in Port Elizabeth is to be suspended for two weeks from Friday, combined with the release on Monday of boycott leader Mkhulisi Jack and at least 17 other community leaders, raises hopes that boycotts in other areas could also be resolved, even if only temporarily.

Many lessons have been learnt from the boycott which proved to be an effective but painful method of political pressure — painful for black consumers as well as white traders. The one major effect of the boycott has been that white business leaders have become more sympathetic and understanding of black frustrations and political aspirations. In some areas this new understanding and the resulting communication have led to the calling off of boycotts.

Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce director Tony Gilson describes the release of Jack and the others as an “opportunity for the people of the area to get together and face their problems.” And he is not merely talking about relief for retailers from the effects of the boycott, which has been almost total since mid-July. The chamber has clearly spent a long time taking stock of the situation and has come up with some enlightening conclusions.

Gilson tells the FM that the strains of recent months have led business in the area to view the boycott in a different perspective: “We have to recognise that the boycott is a manifestation of widespread problems and these are more worrying than the boycott itself,” he says. “The boycott is just a tactic used in pursuit of black political, social and economic aspirations.”

He believes there is only one way of resolving the boycott and its underlying causes — negotiation. And the release of the community leaders can certainly facilitate talks. Much of the credit for Monday’s developments must, in fact, go to organised business in the area. The chamber has been pressing the authorities — up to Cabinet level — for the release of detainees since August.

Only last week, in an interview with the FM, Gilson said some kind of gesture or concession from government was needed. The latest move “which acknowledges that dialogue is important” is at least part of what he was looking for.

Within hours of Jack’s release, Gilson made contact with him with a view to setting up meetings. While one of the topics covered in any talks will obviously be the boycott, Gilson says: “We will talk about all problems facing the region as well as South Africa. We are prepared to discuss anything, and thereafter make representations to the appropriate authorities.”

Boycott organisers have presented a list of wide-ranging demands to be met by the beginning of December, failing which, they say, the boycott will be reimposed. They are that:

- The State of Emergency must be lifted in Port Elizabeth’s black townships and elsewhere, and the security forces be withdrawn from those areas.
- The killers of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe and three others must be arrested;
- Government should inform them of the whereabouts of another three missing community leaders; and
- Meetings of township organisations must be unbanned.

No illusions

Local entrepreneurs are under no illusions about the difficulties of staving off further boycott action. Clearly, these demands cannot be met by local business on its own. But this does not mean the issues will not be discussed.

For example, says Gilson, discussions with community leaders may lead to the formulation of a strategy for finding Goniwe’s murderers. “A commitment to negotiation means we cannot refuse to talk about any matter, however difficult,” he says.

Consumer boycotts elsewhere in the country were not as effective as in the eastern Cape. In Natal and the western Cape they were less effective and in Transvaal it hardly worked at all.

STATE OF EMERGENCY: Into the new year?

With the State of Emergency in its seventeenth week, all indications are that the wave of political violence that started in September last year will continue through the festive season into next year — the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots. Although the intensity of the riots has dropped sharply, there is no question of lasting peace in any of the trouble spots.

Detentions under the emergency regulations, according to the latest report of the Detainees’ Parents Support Committee (DPSC), are close to the 6,000 mark, with more than 1,000 still held. Security detentions for 1985 total 1,633 (784 known and 849 unknown persons) with at least 392 still being held.

In a clear demonstration of just how sweeping emergency powers can be, police in the western Cape are continuing a harsh crackdown on government opponents, schoolchildren and journalists in the region.

Some detainees at Pollsmoor and Victor Verster prison in Paarl are reported to be planning a limited hunger strike to emphasise demands. People at a church service held in support of detainees in Cape Town on Monday, were told there would be a seven-day hunger strike at Pollsmoor and a three-day strike at Victor Verster.

The demands are: the lifting of emergency rule, the release of all detainees, permission for visits to detainees by friends, relatives and attorneys, that friends and relatives be allowed to take food, drink, clothing and books to detainees, and that newspapers be provided daily.

After an incident at Zeekevlei Senior Secondary School in Lotus River last week, police detained the entire school of 510 children, as well as a teacher who protested against the action. Acting headmaster Peter Koenze claimed most of the pupils were preparing to write exams. Some children allegedly threw stones and broke windows when the police arrived at the school. Reinforcements were called and all the pupils were rounded up.

All but 18 were released a few hours later, but many angry parents were reported to have decided not to send their children back to school, because even their willingness to write exams had not stopped the police action.

At a number of other schools in Cape Town exams were repeatedly disrupted by militant pupils who sprayed exam rooms
Martyrs for Islam

Muslim radicalism is a growing feature in South African protest, and has been particularly visible in the recent Cape Town riots. The FM spoke to Maulana Farid Esack, of the United Democratic Front (UDF)-affiliated Call of Islam, a fledgling Islamic group indigenous to SA, which is playing a leading role. Esack, who is from the Cape, spent seven years in Pakistan studying Muslim theology.

FM: What particular contribution does Islam have in the crisis?

Esack: There are many elements in the Islamic perception of history, and in Islamic history itself, that have never been portrayed and that there is a need for. No other force in SA seems to be capable of doing that. If you look at the militancy one witnesses in Iran, for example, it is a very peculiarly Muslim thing. One sees the same kind of militancy in Beirut. Recently in the western Cape, there were the funerals of three Christians. About 4,000 people were present, of whom more than 2,000 were Muslims. That same afternoon there was the burial of one Muslim and about 30,000-40,000 were present.

This kind of militancy and commitment seems to be peculiar to the Islamic world. That is the first thing that the Muslims have to offer SA. One is not saying, of course, that they must imitate Iran or Beirut.

Secondly, there is the question of martyrdom. Much more can be done if people are prepared to die for what they believe in. Is this martyrdom not a peculiarly (Iranian) Shi'ite phenomenon? Is this martyrdom not a peculiarly (Iranian) Shi'ite phenomenon? South African Muslims are Sunnis?

Shi'ism has its birth in the martyrdom of one of the grandsons of the Prophet (Muhammad). To that extent it is essentially, but not exclusively, Shi'ite. I've seen demonstrations in Pakistan against the army, where people came marching in their burial shrouds, meaning they were prepared to die for their cause, and they were Sunni Muslims. Even in the Cape, people are really prepared to die.

This seems to be a new phenomenon. How do you account for it?

To some extent, and for certain Muslim groups perhaps to a very large extent, Iran is The Thing. The Iranian revolution has had a tremendous impact, especially in countries where Muslims are in a minority. That is because Muslims have always spoken about the totality of Islam, they've always yearned for a model. A Marxist could always point to a working model of some kind, so could just about every other school of economic theory. But Muslims have always said they're not Marxist or capitalist. And then came Iran, and one can understand the insecurity of Muslims and their holding on to Iran.

But more important — and what many Islamists fail to acknowledge — is that SA itself is becoming more radical; society is becoming more polarised, so to speak, and people are forced to take sides. The Muslim community is no exception. They may now be saying that Islam demands that we take sides. But didn't Islam demand that we take sides 20 years ago, wasn't the same Quran there 20 years ago?

So I think, regarding the taking of sides, that we are undergoing a very similar phenomenon to Christianity, where there is the whole emergence of liberation theology, not only in SA but throughout the world. To a large extent, Muslims are just a part of that process. It does have an essentially Islamic flavour, but the reasons for this are rooted in the socio-political forces in SA itself.

Yet such committed Muslims are a very small minority?

The remarkable thing is that Muslims appear to be late entrants into the struggle as Muslims. We had Imam Haroon, Ahmed Timol, Bibia Saloojee, Dr Dadoo and others. They were Muslims more in the cultural sense and their driving force was essentially political (although Imam Haroon's case was different).

So Muslims are for the first time making a contribution as Muslims. And the remarkable thing is their acceptance by other people who have been in the struggle for years. The other day there was an article in the Sowetan headlined "And now Allah butts in" — implying, where was Allah all along? But despite being late entrants into the struggle, Muslims have credibility. The respect accorded to Muslims in the struggle as Muslims, the way Muslims are free to quote from the Quran to use an Islamic perspective of the struggle at UDF and similar meetings, is remarkable.

The second thing is the influence they wield given that they are a minority. So when one talks about the contribution that Islam can make, one should not focus on the fact that we are a minority. Cape Town is saying to us that, even if you are a minority, if, in terms of content, direction and commitment you can offer something, we are prepared to go along.

But your aims are primarily Islamic?

That is a problem for us, but not one we feel ought to paralyse us. There is a verse of the Quran, where Allah says: And fight them until there is no more tumult and oppression and faith prevails everywhere and totally in Allah.

We interpret this to mean that the struggle has two stages, although not in a linear sense; there are moments when things overlap.

We say, then, that at this stage our essential task is to break down racist capitalism; this is how Islam is operating at a public level now. Our task after that is the creation of an Islamic state. But the dynamics of this must only then be determined. What the nature of that Islamic state will be — is it just a humanist state with an Islamic flavour, or is it based on, say, the Saudi Arabian model, if that can be called an Islamic state — we are not to interested in at the moment.

Within the Call of Islam, in fact, we just about never discuss that. In the Call of Islam, we all remain committed to Islam and believe that our Islam at this time means to struggle side by side with other democratic forces. We are aware that there are secular forces within that alliance. And we are aware that a time may come when, for example, some of our socialist comrades insist that religion is the opium of the masses and must be annihiliated. Now our attitude has always been that religion can spur people on to compassion and justice. So in that event we will fight them, too. But that is not at issue at the moment.
The number of banned people in the country rose to 14 this week when five former detainees were subjected to stringent restrictions to last the duration of the state of emergency.

Dr Rashid Saloojee, Mr Simon Ratcliffe, Mr Auret van Heerden, Mr Neal Coleman and Mr Morris Smithers were slapped with the restrictions which will curtail their movement and activities and confine them to the Johannesburg magisterial area only hours after being released from four months’ detention.

Like the nine other people throughout the country banned for years, the five are prohibited from taking part in the affairs of trade unions and various other organisations.

They may not write for any publication nor attend any gathering.

Dr Saloojee, in terms of the restrictions signed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, may not without ministerial approval, take part in the activities of the United Democratic Front or the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Dr Saloojee, the Transvaal president of the UDF, acting president of the Transvaal Indian Congress and vice-president of the Islamic Council of South Africa, was treated under guard in the psychiatric wing of the Johannesburg Hospital for a month during his detention.

He was transferred back to the Diepkloof Prison on Monday, the day before his release.

Dr Saloojee (52), was detained under the emergency regulations on July 21, the very day the state of emergency was proclaimed.

In South Africa the rule of habeas corpus does not exist.


Not only are banned people prohibited from attending gatherings or making public utterances but their movements as well are curtailed. The Minister of Law and Order may impose harsh measures which include house arrest.

Some of the banned people are:
- Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela has been banned since 1963, the year before her husband was jailed for life.
- Banished

Her current five-year ban expires on June 30, 1988.

Since 1977 she has been banned to the small Free State dorpie of Brandfort. Mrs Mandela has been brought to court several times for breaking her banning order.
- The only journalist still banned is Mathatha Tsedu, of The SOWETAN, whose first banning order was imposed on January 9, 1981. Tsedu (33) cannot practise as a writer because of the restrictions.
- Tsedu is under house arrest from dusk to dawn during the week and on public holidays and weekends is confined to his Seshgo house, near Pietersburg, for 24 hours a day.
- Tsedu has three children and his “grounding” has “put an emotional strain on his teacher wife, Flora.
- In 1982 Tsedu was detained for 30 days under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.
- He started working for the defunct Post newspaper in 1978 and was secretary of the Northern Transvaal region of the Media Workers’ Association of South Africa and served on its Standing Constitutional Committee.
- Tsedu’s second three-year banning order expires in June next year.
- Mordecai Tatsa is the only banned person living on the Reef. Until late October last year he shared the dubious honour with the current general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude.
- Everyday is the same for Mordecai, the Orlando East, Soweto

Another Soweto resident who is banned is Mr Abel Dube of Mofolo, who has been banned to Messina in the Northern Transvaal.

Mr Dube (33) was banned in 1984 and his order expires on October 10, 1987.

His twin sister, Ntombikayise, said she last saw him in 1976 when Mr Dube, aged 18, left the country. She later learned he had been detained and held at the old Johannesburg Fort.

After his release last year in October after 30 months in detention, Dube was banished.

He and his wife, Rorisang, have been together for three months ago.

Two of those still banned are in Port Elizabeth, and one is in Athlone and the other in Wynberg in the Cape.

One of the longest-banned people, Mr Rowley Israel Arenstein, from Durban, has lived in the twilight for more than 20 years. His current banning expires on June 30, 1988.

Isolation

He cannot tell of the fits of depression he suffered when he was detained at Modderbee Prison, or of his continuing isolation from society, or of the way his education has suffered.

Mr Tatsa also holds another dubious record of being detained for the longest in the history of detention without trial here. He spent some time in a psychiatric ward after his release.

He was detained shortly before Christmas in 1979 and held under Section 6 of the old Terrorism Act. Mr Tatsa was banned on August 8, 1983 and his order expires on August 31, 1986.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

MATHATA TSEDU... banned journalist.

young man who speaks, but may not be heard in public. Nothing he writes may be published.

Focus (511) 85
Boesak passport suit

Political Staff

PAPERS were lodged yesterday in the Cape Town Supreme Court for an urgent application to restore Dr Allan Boesak's passport.

The court application has been set down for Wednesday next week, his attorney, Mr Essa Moosa, said.

Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, needs a passport to go to America to receive an award.

The application will seek an order calling for a review of the decision of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, not to return the passport and for the passport to be restored. Dr Boesak lost his passport when he was granted R20 000 bail after being charged under the Internal Security Act.

During his successful appeal for the lifting of various restrictions on his movements in terms of his bail conditions, his passport was restored to him in the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court, but Mr Botha announced soon after the court ruling that the government had decided not to give it back to him.
ANC 'credible' now — Barrat

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress had become a "credible" organization in the West since the mid-1970s, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Professor John Barrat, director-general of the South African Institute for International Affairs, was giving evidence in mitigation for Justice Maba Ngidi, 31, and Joseph Boltomolo Leepile, 26, who were convicted of treason.

Mr Sipho Stanley Ngwenya, 34, of Orlando West, Soweto, was acquitted.

Professor Barrat said the ANC was being viewed less as an undermining organization and gaining more political credibility in the West.

The ANC was regularly invited to meetings on Southern Africa he said, adding that they got so many invitations "there weren't enough people to respond to them all".

Dr Tom Lodge, of the University of Witwatersrand, said the ANC had been criticized in some African countries because of the relatively low rate of casualties inflicted by its fighters.

He described the ANC as a guerrilla rather than a terrorist organization that could not be equated with either the Palestine Liberation Organization or the Irish Republican Army.

'Support'

Guerrilla organizations were concerned with popular support rather than instilling fear, whereas terrorist organizations saw "their way forward" through terror, Dr Lodge told Mr Justice Laurie Ackermann.

"The guerrilla warfare mounted by Umkhonto We Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) since 1977 does not seem to have as its strategic purpose the killing or injury of civilians, except for those who are in the view of the ANC can be seen as agents of the security forces," Dr Lodge said.

Earlier Dr Lodge quoted from a recent interview with Mr Tambo published in the Cape Times — a copy of the article was also handed to the court as an exhibit.

Mr C B Ferreira, for the State, quoted Mr Tambo to prove that the ANC had shifted toward terrorism.

He quoted Mr Tambo as saying: "In the course of the intensification of the struggle, the distinction between soft and hard targets, between people and buildings, will naturally disappear."

Mr Justice Ackermann read extracts from the January 1985 issue of the ANC publication, Sowetana, on the Pretoria car bomb explosion of May 1985, in which 19 people died.

'Regret'

It expressed regret over the civilian deaths but asserted that they had been killed because the "regime" had placed a military target, the SA Air Force headquarters, in a civilian area.

Commenting on the claim in Sowetana that the 19 who died all worked at the SAAF headquarters, Dr Lodge labelled it incorrect and noted that a bomb had been placed near a busy pavement.

The hearing was adjourned until November 19.
NGK clergymen call for support

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — The group of Ned Geref Kerk clergymen determined to meet the African Nation Congress in Lusaka issued an open letter yesterday to all church leaders in South Africa urgently requesting them to get support for the move from their respective churches.

In the letter the clergymen reiterate their plans to discuss the present situation in the country with the ANC. The government has warned that it will prevent the move.

The clergymen say their decision arose from "our firm conviction that churches and Christians have to intervene when the conflict in the country results in violence and bloodshed becoming the order of the day."

"In circumstances like this we feel that we betray our vocation as Christian peacemakers if we fail to consult both parties involved in this conflict."

Dr Nico Smith, a minister of the NGK in Africa, said yesterday he believed the letter would cause some upheaval in church circles because there was much tension on the question of church involvement in secular affairs.

The letter urges church leaders to take positive action and requests them to:

- Obtain the support of the church they represent for the consultation by the seven clergymen with the ANC and officially to notify the media of this support.
- Address a request to the government not to prevent or ban the proposed consultation on behalf of their church.

"We believe God may use this to bring about peace among all people that we as churches and Christians strive for so fervently in this country," the churchmen said.

Yesterday the director of liaison and information services at the State President's office, Mr Jack Viviers, said the State President had no comment to make.

"The State President, Mr P W Botha, has made his position on the matter quite clear," Mr Viviers said.
Rylands brothers ‘disappear’

Staff Reporter
ONE DAY after Mr Zain Jeenah of Rylands was released from detention, police came to his house on Thursday to detain his brother Faizul, who was seriously wounded when he was shot in Athlone last month.

Now both brothers have disappeared and their mother, Mrs Sabera Jeenah, is frantic with worry as Faizul was supposed to have had a crucial operation on his wounded leg yesterday.

She said yesterday that police and Defence Force members came to her house on Thursday and demanded to see Faizul. While they were in the house, Faizul came in, saw what was happening and ‘disappeared’.

Mrs Jeenah said that early yesterday her house was stoned.

Later, police came to her house again, demanding to know where her sons were. “I said both my sons have disappeared and I would like to find them just as much as the police would. “Our doctor said if Faizul does not have medical attention soon, there will be serious problems, his leg is fester- ing.”

Mrs Jeenah said the police had also asked her why she “made statements which were untrue in the newspapers” — referring to an article headlined ‘Plea for chil- dren’ which appeared in the Cape Times on November 6.

The article, which did not give her name, quoted her as pleading with the police and the State President to “show some concern” for children in detention.
ANC is gaining ‘acceptance’

By Estelle Trengove

The African National Congress is winning increasing acceptance and respectability in Western countries, an expert on international affairs testified in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Professor John Barratt, the director general of the South African Institute of International Affairs, gave evidence in mitigation of sentence in the trial of Joseph Boitomelo Leepile (26) and Justice Mafa Ngidi (31), who were convicted of treason earlier this week.

In Western circles, the ANC was seen less and less as a terrorist organisation and more as a credible political organisation, he said.

GUERRILLA ORGANISATION

This was largely as a result of increased contact between the ANC and politicians, business leaders and, in some cases, heads of governments, he said.

Dr Tom Lodge, a senior lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the ANC should be classified as a guerilla organisation rather than a terrorist organisation. The difference was that guerilla organisations were aimed at gaining maximum popular support, instead of achieving its goals through inspiring terror and fear.

"The ANC is committed to revolutionary struggle and it has left behind the hope that its conception of political and social justice can be achieved without violence," he said in evidence.

Their guerilla warfare did not, however, seem aimed at killing or injuring civilians.

The hearing continues on Tuesday.
Burnt body found in Stutt

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Incidents of unrest continued overnight in areas of the Eastern Cape and Border on Thursday, a report by the SAP directorate of public relations in Pretoria said yesterday.

The charred body of a man, who had been burned to death under a pile of burning tyres, was found by police in the black residential area of Stutterheim, the report said.

In Queenstown, a bus was petrolbombed in Victoria Road yesterday afternoon. A policeman confirmed this yesterday.

Cars, buses and homes were damaged by petrol bombs in Stutterheim's black residential area, the report said.

He said three people were in the bus, but had not been injured, although the bus was extensively damaged.

In another petrol bomb incident, a Post Office garbage truck was petrol bombed while loading garbage near Westbourne at the GPO camp, a spokesman for the Post Office said.

Police could not confirm the incident.

Two private cars were burnt out in Naude Street in front of the Museum in Queenstown yesterday.

The spokesman from the Police Public Relations Department in Pretoria said the possibility that the fire was caused by an aerosol canister exploding and then spreading from one car to the other was being investigated.
ANC and peace talks

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

CLERGYMEN of the Red Cross Kerk family of churches who have clashed with the Government about their proposed talks with the ANC have called on all churches in South Africa to support their decision to continue their peace initiative.

The leader of the group, Dr. Nico Smuts, said in an interview with the "Sunday Times" that President P.W. Botha had informed them that they had failed in their efforts to persuade the Government to enter into talks with the ANC.

In an "open letter" to all church leaders in South Africa they wrote: "You have probably learnt through the media that seven clergymen of the Red Cross Kerk family decided a while ago to consult with the ANC about the present political situation in the country.

"Have to intervene"

"This decision arose from an informal conversation that church leaders and Christians have to intervene when the conflict in a country results in violence and bloodshed.

"In circumstances like these we feel that we must take a stand as Christian peacemakers and that we must consult both parties involved in this conflict.

"You are aware of the Government's decision to ban the proposed discussions with the ANC.

"I hereby conclude a statement by the seven clergymen regarding the Government's decision. I urgently request you in the light of this statement to:

- Obtain the support of the church you represent for the consultation of the seven clergymen with the ANC and to formally notify the media of this support.
- Address a request to the Government on behalf of the church you represent for it to prevent or ban the proposed consultation.

Interview with P.W.

"Your cooperation will be highly appreciated. We believe that the Government may use this to bring about the peace which all people that we as churches strive for are desperate for in this country."

Dr. Smuts said the group held a meeting in Pretoria this week to rethink the issue and to consider the Government's reaction to their initiative.

After the meeting, an interview was requested with President P.W. Botha so that they could convey to him personally the reasons for their proposed talks with the ANC.

The request was turned down.

The group then issued a statement in which they said, among other things, that the Government had hampered them in their "God-given task of peacemakers in the World."

They had expected that the Government, which was regarded as a Christian government, would "encourage rather than prohibit such attempts."

The statement said it was clear from this that the freedom of the Christian conscience and the freedom of the individual, which no longer existed in South Africa..."
No mention of ANC at funeral of ex-president

By Michael Tissong

A former African National Congress (ANC) president, Dr James Sebe Moroka (95), was buried at a quiet funeral in Thaba Nchu in the Free State at the weekend with no mention of politics and without any visible ANC presence.

The ANC flag, which has become a regular feature at funerals of people with possible ANC associations, was not there. And one of Dr Moroka's five sons, Mr Moroka Moroka, said after the proceedings that the family had received no condolences from the organisation since Dr Moroka's death on November 8.

Mr Moroka said the only condolences from a political personality or organisation came from the leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

The only politicians present were the Bophuthatswana ambassador to South Africa, the Reverend SS Seane, and the Bophuthatswana consultant based in Bloemfontein, Mr J R Manisi, who was the master of ceremonies.

FAMILY LIFE

The two-page obituary on the funeral programme made no mention of the ANC or the fact that Dr Moroka was involved in politics in the 1940s and 1950s.

The obituary mentioned his family life and went into great detail on how he was the "first Motswana national" to obtain a medical degree. He qualified at Edinburgh University in Scotland in 1918.

Dr Moroka was the president of the ANC between 1949 and 1952.

But since the marathon 1956-61 treason trial when he refused to be defended by what he called the 'communist lawyers' who represented the other ANC national executives who were charged with him, he faded out of the limelight of black politics.

Of the approximately 800 people who attended the funeral, most were adults dressed in sombre suits. Only a handful of neatly-dressed local youths were present.

SHORT

The funeral, which was also attended by representatives of the local and international media, was short. It started at 7 am and was over by 11.30 am.

There were no political speeches made, no freedom songs sung, and people prayed silently or in subdued voices.

Dr Moroka was laid to rest in a gold-coloured casket alongside the graves of his first wife Maggie, his son Kenosi and a daughter-in-law, Dora. The graves, on a hill at Dr Moroka's Mafani farm, overlooked the farmhouse on one side and a large dam on the other.

Dr Moroka was married twice, and had six sons and four daughters. His first wife, Maggie, died shortly after they were married.

When the funeral was over, a Bophuthatswana riot police van in camouflage colours and an ordinary police van drove past the farm.
3 hurt in grenade attacks in Peninsula

THREE people were injured, one seriously, in separate hand-grenade attacks in Cape Town at the weekend and seven others died in incidents of unrest.

According to police reports, seven people died at the weekend, including a 13-year-old child in Ciskei.
- A 63-year-old man died at Hofmeyr near Cradock on Friday night when a group of men mugged him and set his body alight. His house was also petrol-bombed.

**Bottle store**
- A man was killed and two others were injured in Babalaleu, near Uppington, when an administration board policeman fired on a group of men stoning him. Three men were arrested, police said.
- A woman was killed when police used shotguns at Sandbelt, near Burgersdorp, after a group threw petrol bombs at a bottle store and a private home. Two other women and a man were injured in the incident.
- In the Bluewaters district, Border, a man was killed after police opened fire on a farm. According to the police report, a group stoned the police when they arrived to investigate a complaint on a farm.
- In the Brandfort area, a man was hit on the head by a stone and died on his way to hospital. According to police, a group stoned a private home and the man was hit when an occupant of the house threw stones back at the group.
- An unidentified 13-year-old girl was shot dead in Zone 7, Khayelitsha, at the weekend and three members of the Ciskei police riot squad have been suspended in connection with the incident.

**Injuries**
- Only one grenade exploded, causing minor damage to police vehicles parked in the yard.
- None of the policemen at the station was injured.
- In other incidents of unrest a home at Umfeleni, near Kula River, was petrol-bombed, with minimal damage. A woman was slightly injured when a house in Bellville South was petrol-bombed. Damage was slight, cars were also stoned.
- At Philippia a passenger was injured when a bus was stoned. A classroom at Lotus River High School in Grassy Park was set alight. Damage was slight.
- Vehicles were stoned in Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain.

**Shotguns**
- Police are investigating.
  - A man died in Queenstown when police opened fire with shotguns on groups of people who threw petrol bombs at police vehicles. According to the police, SAP vehicles were petrol-bombed on three occasions.
- In Allobode, in the Nuerust area of Queenstown, several homes and a church were also petrol-bombed.
- In Queenstown a man was arrested when petrol bombs were found in the vehicle in which he was travelling. — Sapa, Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent

**Unrest map, page 2**
All should share decision-making in SA

Grand apartheid to go — Rajbansi

Call to improve level of debate

DURBAN — The House of Delegates should try to raise the standard of its debates, Mr Mannie Keerat, a former inspector of Indian education, told the Chatsworth regional conference of the National Peoples' Party yesterday.

Opening the conference, he said the House should set up a small research council to help raise standards so that debates would become worth following.

He said the administration should 'pay for brains'.

Mr Keerat also called on Indian MPs to move away from ethnicity, bearing in mind that today's youth was doing so.

He said that as the two political parties in the House of Delegates – the National Peoples' Party and Solidarity – had no clear-cut policies, it would be better to have one organisation rather than have parties dominated by personality clashes.

'I think it will be a great day for the Indian community when that happens,' he said — Sapa.

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amchand Rajbansi, yesterday issued a warning to the Government on apartheid, as well as criticising the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

He told the regional conference of the National Peoples' Party in Chatsworth that its worry about petty apartheid was over and that it should now concentrate on dismantling 'grand apartheid'.

Political clout

Mr Rajbansi said he was going to use his political clout in the House of Delegates to bring about a political arrangement that would give all South Africans a share in decision-making at all levels and a fair share of South Africa's wealth.

He was not going to rest until the Group Areas Act was removed from the Statute Book and he would not allow 60,000 whites in Chatsworth's neighbourhood from preventing a second access route to the Indian area there.

'We are not going to let 60,000 whites override the needs of 500,000 Indians,' he said, adding the second access route would become negotiable. The debate on the road had ended in deadlock when it was debated in a private member's motion in the House earlier this year.

Thrown open

Mr Rajbansi challenged NIC and UDF supporters to get the Indian community to request that Indian schools and areas be thrown open to all races and if the community so desired it he would see the State President to make it possible.

Referring to unrest in Indian areas, he said NIC and UDF supporters had demonstrated on the highway next to Chatsworth for the removal of troops from their areas while he had 'thousands' of requests from Indians to ensure the military remained.

Mr Rajbansi said he had been unable to find 200 suitably qualified Indians for jobs in his administration.

The lack of suitably educated Indians to fill such posts was a result of the formerly white-controlled education for Indians neglecting their training.

He said he also could not find a suitably qualified private secretary, even at a R27,000-a-year salary — Sapa.

500 supporters give sacked Minister standing ovation

DURBAN — The sacked House of Delegates Minister of the Budget, Mr Boetie Abramjee, was yesterday given a standing ovation by more than 500 supporters of his ruling National People's Party at its regional conference in Chatsworth, Durban.

This was his first public appearance after he was dismissed from his office by the State President, Mr F W Botha, on Friday for alleged breach of Cabinet convention on the divulging of secrets.

Mr Abramjee did not address the conference but from his seat at the main table he acknowledged what appeared to be a show of confidence in him.

Earlier the party's parliamentary caucus met behind closed doors to discuss the sacking.

STATE HIS CASE

A statement issued by the caucus said there was cause for concern that Mr Abramjee had not been afforded an opportunity to state his case to Mr Botha before his services were terminated.

The caucus said it had 'irrefutable evidence' a Johannesburg Afrikaans morning newspaper had published a report about the development of gas deposits near Mossel Bay on October 30 before Mr Abramjee mentioned the subject in his November 1 speech.

The statement said the caucus had appointed the party leader, Mr Amchand Rajbansi, and the Natal leader, Mr Soobramoney 'SV' Naicker, to discuss Mr Abramjee's sacking with Mr Botha — Sapa.

British Govt is interested in Mossel Bay plan — consul

By Joao Santa Rita

The British Government is following with "considerable interest" development concerning the major offshore gas deposits at Mossel Bay, the British Consul in Johannesburg, Mr Collin Brant, said at the weekend.

And, despite growing threats of sanctions, the development of the Mossel Bay gas field could lead to closer cooperation between South

The British authorities were particularly interested because the conditions were similar to the North Sea oil deposits which Britain is exploiting.

"We believe our expertise can be applied in Mossel Bay," Mr Brant added. "A number of companies are already involved."

The State President, Mr F W Botha, announced this week that the Government would go
‘Super-spy Williamson to resign?

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday declined to comment on reports that South Africa’s best-known spy, Major Craig Williamson, is threatening to resign from the security police.

According to a report in the Sunday Star, Major Williamson’s reasons are that he is unhappy about police action in the townships during the present unrest and that he does not agree with the strategy employed against the banned African National Congress.

Infiltration
A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday: “I have no comment.”

Major Williamson — who emerged as a “super-spy” after details of his successful clandestine infiltration of ANC organizations became known — could not be reached. He is apparently on leave pending his possible resignation.

The front-page report claims that “colleagues believe he is also angry over having been overlooked for promotion”. Major Williamson, seen by many as one of the great success stories of South African undercover operations, spent several years posing as a student to infiltrate ANC-affiliated organizations.

After discovery, when his life was threatened, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, flew to Europe to bring him home.

The article speculates that Major Williamson’s threatened resignation is just one indication of a growing dissatisfaction in the force, with police being split between the hard-line views of the old guard police and the younger, more enlightened personnel. The introduction of the state of emergency, according to sources, has further increased the pressure.
Many barred from funeral

By MONK NKOMO

MANY mourners were barred from attending the burial ceremony on Saturday of an 18-year-old youth who was shot dead by a policeman in Mamelodi, Pretoria last week.

Miss Magdelina Mantombi Nkoana, of Soweto, was buried in Mamelodi on Saturday. She was killed when a group of youths attacked the house of a local policeman last Monday night.

Hundreds of mourners were prohibited from attending the burial following a magisterial ruling that the ceremony be attended by 50 family members.

Only the hearse, family car and a bus were allowed to travel to the local cemetery amid a heavy contingent of white policemen — most of whom kept watch at strategic points while others patrolled the streets.

According to the restrictions imposed in terms of the Internal Security Act, no procession on foot was to be allowed and only relatives, not exceeding 50 in number, could attend the funeral and burial services.

Other conditions included:

- No gathering or congregation of other persons during or after the funeral or burial services be allowed;
- No display of flags or placards, or use of loudspeakers, in the vicinity of the funeral service or burial;
- No public address announcements or speeches by any person or persons be allowed.

Scores of people, mostly youths, were injured when police fired tear smoke to disperse mourners at the vigil on Friday.

Several shops in the area were closed for a few hours. Youth organisations called on shops to be closed whenever an unrest victim was buried.
Education: ‘Govt must do as we say’

Education Reporter

PARENTS, teachers, students and pupils say they will discuss a return to schools and classes and the writing of exams if the Government postpones exams until March next year, withdraws the police and troops from schools and releases all detainees.

That is the message to the Government in a statement issued by 20 community, professional, business and sports bodies.

The statement says: “The present crisis in education affects the entire community — including civic, church, sports, worker and business organisations.

“There is agreement among all parents, students and teachers in the Western Cape that it is educationally fraudulent to expect any secondary or tertiary student to write examinations in the present circumstances.

“The army and police are daily committing acts of intimidation and harassment against students, teachers and parents.

“The majority of students in the Western Cape have refused to write under these circumstances and feel let down by those who, out of fear and intimidation by the authorities, have consented to write. Some parents, out of fear of the consequences of not writing have coerced their children to write the exams.

“Any qualifications obtained under these conditions would be a badge of dishonour.

“At all secondary and tertiary institutions only approximately one semester’s work has been completed. Very little preparation for the exams has taken place. An atmosphere not conducive to academic work prevails in all these institutions. To insist, as the authorities do, that exams go ahead ‘as usual’ is to perpetuate an educational fraud motivated by sinister political opportunism.

“We believe that the authorities in charge of education lack any legitimacy in the eyes of the people. They therefore have no option but to resort to coercion to force their authority on the unwilling population, among whom they have no political support.

“We are not prepared to see the legitimate grievances and concerns of the students turned into political football to be kicked around by embittered and rejected politicians.

“We therefore demand that all students be allowed to write their examinations in March 1986.

“It needs to be said with all the emphasis at our command that the army and police must be withdrawn from our schools and colleges.

“Students will not be able to return to school or write examinations as long as so many of their fellow students, teachers and principals are being held in detention.

“It is a pathetic and extremely dangerous situation when children can be locked up for weeks without the proper contact with their parents, friends and legal representatives. This is the surest sign that the old order has outlived its usefulness.

“We therefore demand that all detainees be released. For the same reason we demand that the harassment and victimisation of all teachers and students be stopped.

“It is unanimously agreed that if these demands are met by the authorities, the students, parents and teachers will meet to discuss a return to school, classes and the writing of examinations. Should the authorities refuse to meet these demands we see no end to the crisis in education in the Western Cape and elsewhere.

“Any return to class in 1986 will not see a return to the ‘normality’ of yesterday. The struggle for a single, non-racial system of education will continue in our communities until a non-racial democratic society in South Africa is achieved.

“We call on all other progressive organisations and individuals to support the demands of the students and publicly to adopt a standpoint on the education crisis.”

Signatories to the statement are: Belhar Civic Association; Belhar Parent, Teacher, Student Association; Bishop Lavis Action Committee; Bo-Kaap Youth Movement; Cape Action League; Call of Islam; Concerned Doctors’ Action Committee; Chamber of Muslim Meat Traders’ Association; Federation of Cape Civic Associations; Inter Regional Forum; Muslim Judicial Council; Marian Parent, Teacher, Student Interim Committee; National Medical and Dental Association; National Forum Committee; Western Cape Traders’ Association; Western Province Council of Sport; Western Province Association Football Board; Western Province Teachers’ Association; Western Province Council of Churches; South African College for Higher Education.

- Teachers condemn exams — Page 7

Legionnaires’ disease

GLASGOW. — Two cases of Legionnaires’ disease have been discovered at a block of flats near the hospital where five patients died in an outbreak of the illness, the Greater Glasgow Health Board said.

— Sapa-AP.
Botswana bomb motive still unknown

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — The man killed when a bomb in the car he had just parked exploded outside the hospital at Mochudi on Saturday was a Botswana with no apparent links to South Africa.

The explosion also killed the young woman who was in the car with him, and two boys, aged six and three, who were sitting in a car parked alongside.

All the dead were from Botswana's Gaiteng district, north of Gaborone.

Botswana police have not yet disclosed the name of the owner of the car, nor speculated about possible motives for the bombing.

Almost all the reports of the incident in Botswana have linked the bombing to previous actions against South African refugees in Botswana, including the SADF raid in which 12 people were killed on June 14.

Police spokesman have said the bomb involved must have consisted of at least 10 kg of explosive, and that it had apparently been connected to the car's braking system.

A boy of about eight years old, Mompati Mabela, who was sitting in the car with the two dead children, escaped death narrowly when the force of the explosion blew him out of the car. He was severely injured.

The bombing has shaken the Botswana people, most of whom believe it was a misplaced act of terrorism in which innocent people paid with their lives.

It has added to the sense of unease in Botswana as people speculate that at least 30 people would have been killed had the driver travelled to a busy shopping mall instead of to the hospital.

Botswana President Dr Quett Masire says he views the incident with "revulsion and indignation".
Maseru raid on ANC described in treason trial

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

AN SADF soldier gave details in the treason trial of 16 UDF and trade union leaders here yesterday of an attack on a 'civilian' residence in Maseru in 1982, where four men were 'eliminated' and documents in the house seized.

One of the captured documents allegedly referred to one of the 16, whom the State did not name.

A man, who can only be identified as O'Brien, said in his evidence for the State that he had taken photographs of the dead men with a Kodak Instamatic while on a pre-emptive strike into Maseru on December 8 and 9, 1982.

He said no firearms were found after he and his group had attacked the house and 'eliminated' four men and released two African women.

Documents which were found on bookshelves and scattered around the house were put into plastic bags and handed over to a Col Buchner who was waiting on the South African side of the border after the raid, Mr O'Brien said.

Mr Andre Oberholzer, for the State, said one of the captured men O'Brien was a South African Allied Workers' Union document which referred to one of the accused.

Col Jacobus Buchner of the security police confirmed Mr Oberholzer's observation and handed in to the Court a SAAWU document, dated May 1981 and signed 'Yours Comaradly/Gyweta's' with the initials 'T' or 'Y'.

At the start of the trial, Mr Nic Gey van Pittius SC, for the State, handed to the Court a second affidavit from the Minister of Defence clarifying what could be revealed about the SADF raid into Maseru.

The State also handed in 33 tape recordings of meetings, with transcripts, and 25 other documents, totalling about 6,000 pages, which were allegedly found in the offices of certain organisations and their officials.

Mr Gey van Pittius said during the two-week adjournment this month he had not been able to reach agreement with the defence concerning video recordings of various political meetings in which some of the accused were involved.

Springboard

Mr Oberholzer said the more than 30 documents seized by two of the units which participated in the Maseru raid were presented to the Court to show a basis for attacking the houses which were bases or houses of the ANC.

Col Buchner, who described himself as an interrogator of terrorists and who specialised in investigating the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, said he had briefed those involved in the raid on what to do.

He said that among the equipment issued to the men who participated in the Maseru raid in December 1982 had been cameras and plastic bags.

Their orders were to put documents or publications of 'evidential value' into plastic bags and return with them.

Traitors

Col Buchner said at the time the ANC's military, political and trade union 'high commands' were operating from houses in Maseru.

"We had irrevocably proved that Lesotho was an ANC springboard into South Africa. I am aware of crash courses that had been offered for groups recruited by the ANC."

"The course included limited training in the use of A47 rifles, the Petersen sub-machinegun, limpet mines and limited training in sabotage techniques," said Col Buchner.

He said some of the ANC literature from Lesotho included pamphlets concerning 'traitors'. The pamphlets 'contained photographs of ex-members of the ANC who now work for the State and who have already appeared in court cases for the State'.

The call is made that 'they be killed,' Col Buchner said.

The hearing was adjourned after the defence said a tape recording cassette found during the raid could not be handed in as evidence according to an affidavit from the Minister of Defence.

Mr Inmal Mahomed, SC, said even if the tape recording was handed in there would still be the problem of admissibility of the document found during the raid.

The trial continues today.

Ban on fishing from two new Durban piers

Municipal Reporter

The banning of fishing from the new piers on the North Beach and Bay of Plenty was approved by the Durban City Council yesterday.

The council will now ask the Administrator of Natal to promulgate the amendment of the relevant beach bylaws in the Provincial Gazette.

In August this year, after protests from fishermen about the proposed ban, the council approved a six-month trial period allowing fishing from the Bay of Plenty pier from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m.

Mr Errol Scarr, director of the Parks, Recreation and Beaches Department, said yesterday that in February the council will decide whether to allow night fishing permanently or completely ban fishing on the pier.
4 KILLED IN UNREST

By MONK NKOMO

FOUR people were shot dead and the houses of political activists petrol-bombed during a spate of violent incidents throughout the country at the weekend.

According to the police unrest report released by the police Public Relations Division in Pretoria yesterday, the four people apparently died after confrontation with police in the black townships of Queenstown.

One of the men was shot when he tried to throw a petrol bomb into a private home.

Damage

The family of Mr Gideon Masilela, leader of the youth’s vigilante group in Mamelodi, Pretoria, escaped serious injury when a petrol bomb was hurled into their Mamelodi East home on Saturday night.

Mrs Johanna Masilela, his mother, said the attack occurred shortly after several white policemen had ransacked the house “looking for petrol bombs”.

The damage is estimated at R2 000.

A spokesman for the Transvaal Students Body of the United Democratic Front yesterday condemned the attack on political activists.

“Our people will never be intimidated by acts of cowardice,” the spokesman said.

And in Queenstown eight people were admitted to hospital for pellet wounds after police action during acts of violence in the area.

Three policemen were also hurt when they tried to disperse a rioting mob.

Nine people, including four women, have been arrested.
According to one of the women, the attack was led by a man named John, whom they identified as a local businessman. The group consisted of around 50 men, and they were armed with clubs, knives, and homemade swords.

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MARITZBURG — Two men who were “eliminated” when their house was invaded in search of documents during a strike against alleged ANC bases in Maseru in December 1982, had resisted the South African invaders and fought back with firearms.

This was the evidence of a “Mr Heyns” — a State witness who was involved in the pre-emptive strike — at the treason trial of 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders in Maritzburg yesterday.

Some of the documents seized during the raid were handed in as evidence at the trial, but after objections by the defence Mr Justice A.J. Milne returned the papers until further evidence was heard.

Mr Heyns, whose evidence was given in camera, said his target was a residential house but when they entered the premises they “met with fire”.

‘INNOCENT KILLED’

Mr Heyns said there were women and children at their target, “but we tried, as far as possible, to keep them out of the line of fire”. Some innocent people had been killed, he admitted.

Two firearms, a machine pistol and an AK47 rifle, were found in the main bedroom of the house near the bodies.

Both weapons were used as exhibits in court.

The defence said to date there had been no evidence that the houses in which the documents were found were occupied by ANC members.

The State argued that the objections were premature because it would still prove the houses were used as ANC bases. Mr Justice Milne also ruled that a tape recording found during the raid on the alleged ANC bases was inadmissible as evidence in terms of a prohibition by the Minister of Defence.

The hearing continues.
— Sapa.
POLICE have detained seven people for questioning in connection with an alleged "kangaroo court" in Nyang.

They were held last night less than 24 hours after one of the victims of the "court" was attacked by about 200 people with pangas, homemade swords and arrows.

The "court" is alleged to have sentenced three women and a man to 100 lashes each.

The seven help are aged between 16 and 25.
DR ALLAN Boesak will apply today to the Supreme Court in Cape Town for an order for the return of his passport.

Dr Boesak's passport was taken from him by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha soon after the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court restored it to him.

Dr Boesak, who is facing charges under the Internal Security Act, was ordered to hand in his passport on September 20 in terms of his original bail conditions, which were described as "stringent".

His passport was returned to him on November 4, after a successful application in the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court to relax the bail conditions, and was immediately withdrawn by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Mr Essa Moosa, Dr Boesak's attorney, said Dr Boesak was applying to have the decision of Mr Botha to confiscate his passport reviewed and for the return of his passport.

The respondents in the case are the Minister of Home Affairs and the regional representative of the Department of Home Affairs.
At least 14 killed in Queenstown

By Ebrahim Moosa

WITH at least 16 people dead and 13 injured in clashes between police and residents in Queens-town since Sunday, an uneasy lull returned yesterday to the black township of Mlungisi.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the death toll of 14 after police had apparently failed to include five bullet-ridden bodies in their report after police actions in the township on Sunday. Unofficial reports put the death toll as high as 17.

Mandla Tyala reports that three businesses in the southern edge of the white area of Queens-town were petrol-bombed at the weekend.

Barricades

Meanwhile, a public meeting held by magisterial consent in the township, in a bid to suspend the three-month-old consumer boycott of white businesses, was stormed by people whom the organizers described as "radicals".

The meeting ended before any decision could be taken.

Earlier in the day a large security force contingent forced residents from their homes to remove barricades and fill in trenches dug at the height of the unrest.

A Xhosa-speaking policeman told residents over a loud-hailer to come out and clear the streets or be forced to do so. He also said the boycott had been called off.

Father McGlory Speckman, an Anglican priest from Queens-town, said yesterday that a church delegation spoke to community leaders in Mlungisi on Tuesday in a bid to quell the unrest.

Journalists

"Residents at our request decided to impose an 8pm curfew on their own people as part of their disciplinary measure to keep them from leaving the township," he said.

Two Eastern Province Herald journalists were yesterday detained for more than an hour and had their film confiscated in Mlungisi. They were told that it was illegal to take pictures of unrest situations. A foreign television crew was barred from filming in the township.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria last night could not confirm or deny the incidents as they had not yet been reported to him.

Members of the town's coloured community, under the auspices of the Labour Party-dominated management committee, decided on Tuesday to form a vigilante unit to protect their properties against attacks — allegedly from blacks in the nearby townships.

The meeting was also addressed by a senior police officer.

Mr Winston Jasson, border regional chairman of the Association of Management Commit-

tees, yesterday said that coloured vigilante groups which were reported to have clashed with blacks earlier this week would be retained until the SADF sanctioned the proposed commando unit.

The vigilante groups were formed at the weekend after claims that residents from Mlungisi had fire-bombed homes in the coloured area.

Tensions between the black and coloured communities have been attributed to black anger at coloured people not participating in the consumer and school boycotts, several clergymen and community leaders said.

'Partisan'

Father Speckman said it appeared as if the police were partisan in their approach to the confrontation and their behaviour seemed to be endorsing actions of the vigilantes.

He and two other church representatives were detained on Sunday when they tried to negotiate with community leaders in the coloured township of Newrest in an attempt to stop the unrest. They were released on Monday.
ANC nest in the King's parlour!

KING Goodwill Zwelithini, his former chauffeur and his chief induna live in two different worlds politically. While King Zwelithini this week attacked the African National Congress for "rejecting the Zulus" in the liberation struggle, an Eshowe magistrate jailed his chauffeur Mzamo Cornelius Zulu for nine years for ANC activities. Four years of the sentence were suspended for five years.

KING Zwelithini made his attack at the prolonged Shaka Day celebrations at Zawe outside Eshowe.

Zulu is a State witness against Chief Induna Shaulze Malinga Zondo and co-accused Khathazile Maphumulo, all of Nongoma - the King's headquarters.

They pleaded not guilty to various charges under the Internal Security Act, including harbouiring and assisting ANC guerrillas.

Zulu told the court he was "fired" by Chief Gunzile Bumela after "a misunderstanding" while working as King Zwelithini's chauffeur from 1976 to 1979.

The King then arranged for him to work in Swaziland where he met ANC members who asked him join them and recruit members in SA for training.

"I found myself unable to accept the offer for a long time, but later agreed to find accommodation for ANC members in Nongoma," he said.

Zulu said he was not an ANC member, but he became an ANC sympathiser after he learnt about forced removals and when he read about Sani Mchize's killing in Driefontein.

The court also heard he transported armed ANC guerrillas Thumbs Zondi, Mpusilelelo Mphakathi and another alleged ANC member Albert Zondi, who all died in a shoot-out with security cops at Mrs Maphumulo's house on January 14. A security cop was also killed at the scene.

The case against Mr Zondo and Mrs Maphumulo continues.

Meanwhile, King Zwelithini said at the celebration the ANC would be made irrelevant by history if they think they can liberate South Africa without the Zulus.

He said the ANC mission in exile thought it could strip them of their "Zulu ness" and strength to make them surrogates in the pursuit of the ANC's political ambitions.
Atlantis: Divco backs mancom

BY HILARY VENABLES
Municipal Reporter

ANY chance of talks between the Atlantis Residents' Association (ARA) and the Divisional Council about the crisis in the town faded yesterday when the council decided at a special meeting that the Atlantis Management Committee should be present at any such talks.

The ARA, acting on a mandate from two mass meetings in the town last week, have refused to talk to the council in the presence of the mancom.

Roadblock

Meanwhile, a bus carrying about 80 residents from Atlantis to the meeting in Cape Town yesterday afternoon was stopped and turned back at a police roadblock in Table View.

According to one of the passengers, police said the bus could not continue to Cape Town, but a delegation of seven would be given police transport to the meeting.

"We refused to be divided and turned back to Atlantis," the passenger said.

"We were all very angry and frustrated and on the way back, someone threw two loose bus seats out of an open window.

"The police stopped us again and arrested him."

A police spokesman last night confirmed that the bus had been stopped by police because it was believed the passengers were going to convene an illegal gathering in Cape Town "because of the crisis in Atlantis."

After deciding to go back to Atlantis "they nearly broke the inside of the bus in pieces and two seats were thrown from the window", the spokesman said.

"The bus was stopped and two people were arrested and charged with malicious injury to property."

During the Divco meeting, which took place under tight security, Mr Len Polhier said the ARA enjoyed widespread support in Atlantis precisely because, unlike the management committee, it was not seen as part of the government system.

He urged the council to deal with the ARA and other civic associations in preference to the management committees which had been rejected by the community.

"If we are to follow democratic procedures, we must listen to what the community says, not to a body in which people have no confidence."

Mr Jasper Walsh said he was "convinced that the ARA was established to help people" and that it had a bigger following than the mancom.

He said the council would not be able to alleviate the problems in Atlantis if "we adopt the stance that we won't talk to members of the ARA except through the mancom system which they have rejected."

Mr Gideon Basset said he was sure people as hard-pressed as the residents of Atlantis would "not mind" if the council discussed their problems with the mancom.

He blamed the low polls in mancom elections on the media which had "discouraged" people from voting.

Agitation

A candidate in a recent by-election in the town was elected on a 1.05 percent poll.

Mr FJ Grobbelaar said a mancom was a "platform" for coloured people to bring their problems to the attention of central government "and they must use it."

He said people did not vote in mancom elections because of "agitation, incitement and intimidation."

The motion calling for the mancom to be present at all meetings between the council and the ARA was carried by eight votes to five.
By MIKE LOEWES
in Port Elizabeth

MKHUSELI JACK, the only
Emergency detainee in South Africa
to escape by rafting out the door
past his captor's surprised follower
and flee alike when he volunteered for
re-arrest the next day.

Jack gained his freedom when, after
being acquitted in a court appearance,
his captors appeared to have forgotten
that he was also an Emergency
detainee, and let him leave like any
other person found not guilty.

Then he decided to return to the
prison. "Amazing", "typical", "idiot",
"irresponsible" were some of the
responses to this extraordinary
decision by Jack, the publicity
representative for the Port Elizabeth
Black Consumer Boycott Committee.

But he has denied he was a jack-in-
the-box. His return to prison was all
planned, he says.

It went along the lines of: Jack and
Gill (real name Tony Gilson, director of
the PE Chamber of Commerce),
went up the hill to the St Albans
Prison to fetch... Jack's clothes.

Which was quite incomprehensible
to Gilson, who knew that Jack could
probably have been given, gratis, one
of the finest suits in the land by
boycott-hit traders — if only to get
him to the negotiating table.

"Pale, said Jack, was the face of
the good director, when he saw the hottest
bargain he had clapped eyes on in four
months slipping into prison — and
at a time when the pair had been
having an animated discussion about
ending the boycott.

Gilson said he had remained to his
office furious and highly frustrated. It
must have strengthened his resolve to
free the detainees, for only a few days
later, following intense lobbying on
the part of the Chamber, 19 leaders
were released.

Following his release this week —
for the umpteenth time, but this time
for keeps, according to Jack — the
whole incident had been planned by
himself and United Democratic Front
director of the Eastern Cape,
Henry Fazzi.

"I deliberately volunteered myself
for re-arrest the day after charges
were dropped and Henry Fazzi and I
allowed to go free from the dock in
the New Brighton Magistrates' Court.

"We saw from the response we
received from the community that it
was necessary to revive interest in the
additional demands which he felt were
"practical, and can be met".

However these would still be
dictated by six central demands:
that the State of Emergency be lifted,
Emergency detainees be freed, the
SADF be withdrawn from the
townships, the killers of Matthew
Goniwe and others be brought to
justice, the whereabouts of three
missing executive members of the PE
Black Civic Organisation be made
known, and that meetings and
organisations in PE be unbanned.

The new demands, he said, included:
- Throwing open the city's beaches
to all races.
- Opening the CBD and all whites-
only facilities to all races.
- The payment of pensions to
blacks on a monthly basis, and in sums
equal to those paid to whites.
- The alleviation of conditions
causing rampant tuberculosis.
- The construction of creches and
recreational facilities in the
townships.
- The abolition of job reservation
and all other forms of statutory
discrimination. Jack said the committee would also
be pushing for permission for African pupils to elect student representative
councils. He said State insensitivity on
the issue was the cause of the
standstill in black education in the
city, and that no black pupils would
matriculate in PE this year.

"It was wrong," he said, "of this," Gilson told Weekly Mail.

Jack said that while they were
waiting in the prison for his clothes,
he got up and informed the wardens
that his release was a mistake and that
he was volunteering himself for
re-arrest.

"Shame, you should have seen the
expression on poor Mr Gilson's face.
He was so worried. He asked me if I was
sure about it, and even tried to
persuade the police not to take me. He
shook my hand, still asking me if I was
sure.

"Of course I was," Fazzi and I had
made our plans," Jack said. Fazzi was
re-detained in the presence of three
visiting Americans in the office of the
Motor Assemblers and Components
Workers' Union on the same day.
The day 'Bantu Loc

By TONY WEAVER

BEAUFORT WEST could be any small South African town caught up in the turmoil of political insurrection which is sweeping the country.

As in other small towns, a predominantly Afrikaner Nationalist white population are discovering they have to negotiate or face economic ruin.

On August 17 this year, the residents of Beaufort West's 'Bantu Location' decided they had had enough of living in squalor and poverty, of being treated like dirt in their own town and of being ignored when it came to finding jobs.

Boycott

They launched a blanket consumer boycott of all white-owned businesses in the town. The only exceptions were white pharmacies where essential medicines not available in the township could be bought.

Three months later, the Wester Afrikaanse Sakekamer (BWS) called on its members to drop discriminatory employment practices, and the local Administration Board pledged more than R4 million to upgrade the township with 408 new site-and-service plots pegged out for development.

The president of the BWS, Mr Herman Erasmus, says of the boycott: "It is definitely hitting and hitting hard."

He says the call for an end to job discrimination is "a direct result of a meeting" the sakekamer had with the Zanokhanyo Civic Association (ZCA), an affiliate of the United Democratic Front.

ZYO formed

Beaufort West has not always been a stronghold of the UDF. Mr ZITO, the area known for its militant action. The township has always been called simply "the Bantu Location". Towards the end of 1984, a community council was elected with negligible township support. It immediately renamed the Bantu Location "Sidesa"iwa", which means "we have been heard".

On December 9, 1984, the black youth of Beaufort West called a mass meeting at which the Zanokhanyo Youth Organization (ZYO) was established.

Zanokhanyo literally means "come with the light". The driving force behind the ZYO organization was a dynamic organizer and dedicated political activist, Mluleleni Tsheka Kratshi.

In a tiny shack in the township, a group of youth leaders take up the story of Beaufort West: "On January 22 the spark came when our comrade was killed by the cops."

'Attacked'

Behind that statement lay part of the story behind the change in Beaufort West's "Bantu Location" from just another Plateland township to a militant, well-organized community.

On January 22, Constable Pieter Andries de Villiers went to arrest Mluleleni Tshaka Kratshi on a charge of public violence.

The rest is history. Constable De Villiers said - and the Beaufort West Magistrate's Court accepted his story - that Mr Kratshi attacked him with a table fork and hit him on the shoulder.

Constable De Villiers said that as he backed out of the house he shouted he would shoot if the attack did not stop. He claimed Mr Kratshi lunged at him with the fork, he opened fire, and seconds later Constable De Villiers had created another political martyr in the annals of South Africa resistance politics.

New name

The same day, four community councillors, confronted by an angry community which accused them of being collaborators with the system which had killed their leader, resigned on the spot.

"The other three carried on with their work until their houses were petrol-bombed, now they have dropped out," one of the ZYO members says.

The streets of KwaMandelkosi resemble the aftermath of war. Every dirt track is barricaded with huge rocks, the houses are crumbling brick hovels which look as if they have had no maintenance in years.

Immediately after the shooting of Mluleleni Kratshi by the police, the people of the "Bantu Location" took things into their own hands.

Their first step of defiance was to rename the township 'KwaMandelkosi'.

In the months that followed, the ZYO and the ZCA launched an intensive campaign, canvassing door to door, establishing the needs of the community, how many people were unemployed and what assistance they needed, and quietly building up support for the UDF.

When it was decided to launch a consumer buy-
Location’ saw the light

The black community of Beaufort West is beginning to feel its strength. Here traffic police and members of the riot unit watch as residents march through the “white town” after the inquest into the death of Mr. Mandienkosi Kratsi.

Incongruity

Throughout the whole township is the stench of human detritus. The streets are impassable, every corner has been barricaded by residents to stop police coming in and out, barricades made of tyres or barrels, but massive boulders piled up in low walls.

House roofs collapsing, derelict, semi-demolished hovel house up to 10 people. Luckily it doesn’t rain that often in Beaufort West.

My guides point to an incongruous sight — an all-weather tennis court and netball field, the surfaces crumbling from disuse. “While our people are suffering and starving, this is what the community council did, built us tennis courts. Tennis courts? I don’t think anyone here could even afford a tennis ball, let alone a racquet,” one young man says.

October 18 is another significant day for KwaMandienkosi. The residents call it “Helicopter Day”. On Helicopter Day, police were monitoring the township with a helicopter. A young boy climbed on to the roof of a house, armed with a catapult.

He fired, and amid a fearful clatter the chopper staggered off, one of its rotor blades damaged. The boy is now a folk hero, the “only militant in South Africa to bring down a helicopter with a catapult”, the people say.

It doesn’t take long to walk around the township. There are only 600 hovels housing close to 6 000 people. As we walk the grievances come tumbling out, too many to document, an endless litany of suffering which, until now, the people have felt powerless to fight against.

That changed with the establishment of the ZYO and the ZCA, the refusal of residents to pay rates and the launching of the consumer boycott. Before that, the white town of Beaufort West had refused to meet the ZCA, saying they would deal only with the community council.

“Now they come to us all the time, we don’t have to call them, it is beginning to hurt them.”

‘Please help’

The Friday night of my visit, police moved into the township. They bankrupted KwaMandienkosi with teargas, sjambokked youths in the streets, and wounded three people. By the Saturday morning, one of those shot was dead.

Just before midday on that Saturday, the residents smashed my car and me out through a back route and saw me off on my journey back to Cape Town.

The next morning my phone rang. It was a call box in Beaufort West, and the person at the other end said: “Please, man, we need help. After you left, they moved in and fired teargas, they opened up on us and wounded fifteen people, one of our guys fired back and wounded two cops, and now it’s war.”

The police in Pretoria later confirmed that one person had died and that five men and a woman were wounded when police opened fire. Asked to comment on resident’s reports that at least 15 had been wounded, a police spokesman said: “That is quite possible.”

Calls

He also confirmed that two policemen had been shot and wounded and another hit by a rock in the confrontation with about 200 residents on a township soccer field.

Frequent calls are made to me from Beaufort West, saying: “the police are here, looking for Y” or “they have taken Z in for questioning” or “A has gone into hiding because they beat him up.”

The business leaders of Beaufort West have decided to “zank-harpo” — “come with the light” — but until the police do the same, this Karoo town will continue to be just another paragraph in the daily police unrest report.
ANC spells out conditions for talks with SA govt

LONDON — The African National Congress has spelled out the conditions under which it would be prepared to consider negotiations with the South African government.

Stating that conditions conducive to dialogue did not exist now, the ANC has put the ball in President P.W. Botha's court to create the conditions in which talks could be considered by the ANC.

The conditions are:
- Release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;
- Lifting of the state of emergency;
- Withdrawal of troops and "repressive machinery" from the townships;
- The lifting of the ban on the ANC;
- The creation of conditions in which free political activity can take place.

The conditions have been set out in a formal ANC position on negotiations to be circulated among ANC offices.

The position states that if the conditions were met the ANC would then be prepared to "go to the people" to seek a mandate on holding the talks.

At the ANC's consultative conference in Zambia in June the conditions under which talks would be held with the SA government were not considered in detail because the prospect still seemed too remote.

ANC sources emphasised that the single act of releasing Mandela and other political prisoners would dramatically improve the climate for dialogue and would "probably set in motion an irreversible process which would lead to a negotiated settlement".

The sources said the ANC was opposed to the idea of a truce before dialogue began because this would create a new precedent.

There are also fears within the ANC camp that if the organisation formally renounces violence — or even declares a conditional truce — before dialogue begins, it could be lured into a trap where it would be technically legal — as is the case with Swapo internal — but in practice neutralised from participation by the Internal Security Act.

A review of the Act would be one of the ANC's first priorities once talks began.

Legalising the ANC would be meaningless, it is argued, if the organisation was not allowed to operate normally and was subjected to the same kind of repression and intimidation as the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The ANC has circulated a formal position on negotiations to its various offices after weeks of controversy following the Commonwealth accord which called on Pretoria to initiate a process of dialogue with black leaders "in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides".

A spokesman for Botha said yesterday there was nothing new to add to what the President had already said on the subject.

Botha has said "the ANC must lay down its arms, cease its terrorism and the murder of innocent people, and free itself of its international connections with the Communist Party" before they can return to SA and participate in talks.
Mandela: ‘We won’t comment on rumours’

Political Correspondent

THE Prisons Service today declined to react to rumours and speculation that jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is about to be released.

Members of Mr Mandela’s family who have been visiting him in hospital in Cape Town said they had no knowledge of plans for his release.

Rumours that he would be released and that he had accepted an offer from the Transkei to live there, were rife in Cape Town yesterday.

Many journalists and television crews waited at the Voelkshospital when his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, and other members of his family went to visit him late yesterday afternoon.

"ROUTINE"

However, they scotched the release rumours.

A Prisons Department spokesman today confirmed that Mr Mandela was still in hospital.

"The normal, routine follow-up treatment is easier to handle in hospital than in prison, hence the prolonged hospitalisation."

"The Prisons Service is not prepared to comment on rumours and speculation."

Nationalist MPs were today unaware of any suggestions that Mr Mandela would be released. They thought it unlikely unless he was prepared to go back on his rejection of the offer made to him in February by President PW Botha.

Mrs Winnie Mandela speaks to reporters and photographers outside the Voelkshospital where her husband is recovering from surgery.
Blacks and coloured in bitter struggle

Candles lit to mark the emergency

Staff Reporter
CAPE Flats residents lit candles in their gardens as a symbolic protest to mark the fourth week of the state of emergency in Cape Town.

Lights were dimmed in parts of Wynberg, Athlone, Mancenberg, Retreat, Bonteheuwel, Salt River and Bo-Kaap for one hour.

CAMPAIGN
United Democratic Front organiser Mr Naseeg Jaffer, who is in hiding, said area committees were trying to organise the lights-out campaign every week until Christmas.

"This week we expressed solidarity with detainees who were on a hunger strike last weekend," he added.

UDF structures and area committees were being used to organise the symbolic protest in spite of the widespread detentions under the state of emergency that had crippled many local community organisations.

KEN VERNON
Staff Reporter
QUEENSTOWN. — The official death toll here has risen to 14 but at least two more coloured men are known to have been killed by blacks.

And they have warned that coloureds found in the M町gosi township will meet a similar fate.

The official count of 14 dead are all blacks shot by police who say their patrol vehicles have come under heavy attack by blacks with stones and petrol bombs.

Beseiged
Conflict in the town began at the weekend when black youths, angered that the coloured community was not supporting their consumer and school boycotts, launched petrol-bomb attacks on coloured homes and community centres.

Since then the coloured townships have been besieged by groups of vigilantes, with chains, axe-handle, home-made pangas and knives, guarding against raids by black youths with petrol bombs.

There has been an uneasy peace since yesterday, with churchmen and other groups in both communities holding talks aimed at halting the conflict.

However, a leader of the youthful black boycott committee said there would be no peace "until the coloureds join our struggle".

He said blacks were angry because they had pressed for a long time for the upgrading of their dilapidated residential area, but the coloured community had recently been given new sportsfields, a community hall and a swimming-pool.

"They have got all they want so now they have despaired us and joined their Labour Party."

The youth was also bitter at what he called the "sidings" of the police with the coloured against blacks — "now they are openly allowed to carry dangerous weapons which would get us shot if we were seen carrying them".

Coloured community spokesman Mr W Jasson, leader of the Labour Party in the town and vice-principal of the coloured high school, is mystified by the attacks.

"If they are unhappy about our stance why didn't they come to talk to us about it?" he said.

"I agree we are not supporting their boycotts, but that is not our way of doing things."
WASHINGTON. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, barred from speaking in public in South Africa, yesterday sent a taped message to the American people appealing for their help in ending her country’s apartheid system of racial dominance.

Mrs Mandela, the Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a patron of the United Democratic Front, and the Rev Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, were awarded this year’s Robert F Kennedy Memorial Human Rights Award in a ceremony at Georgetown University.

Dr Naude, a minister of the Ned Geref Kerk who lived under a government banning order for seven years for his work to end apartheid, was the only winner who was able to receive the R135 000 award in person.

The awards were presented by Mrs Ethel Kennedy, wife of the senator who was assassinated in 1968, and a dedication was read by Senator Edward Kennedy, who called the three recipients “the moral leaders of our entire planet”.

Dr Boesak’s passport has been seized by the authorities and he is awaiting trial on subversion charges.

His eight-year-old son Allan, in a short speech that received a standing ovation from the audience of several hundred people, said: “My daddy would like to be with you this morning but he can’t because the government will not give him his passport.

“But he is not afraid of the South African Government and he will go on to work for our people.”

Dr Naude, in his acceptance speech, said the key to ending the racial strife lay with the US and Britain — “because only they have the economic power to force South Africa to abolish this evil system of apartheid”.

— Sapa-Reuter
UDF man released

UNITED Democratic Front executive member Mr Trevor Manuel has been released from detention, almost a week after a notice banning him from attending gatherings for five years was published in the Government Gazette.

His release on Wednesday was confirmed by his attorney, Mr Essa Moosa.

The banning notice, which was published on Friday, was issued by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.
10 believed dead as cops open fire
dead as cops open fire

Wounds

A Mamelodi Parents Association (MPA) spokesman and the Mamelodi Action Committee said they had reliable information that "more than 10 people were shot dead by the police and scores of people, mostly youths, have disappeared."

The spokesman yesterday said more than 100 people were treated for bullet wounds at the local day hospital and discharged.

"Those injured told us they saw more than 10 bodies at the hospital that were brought in police vans," he said.

The dead included a 13-year-old boy, a young woman in Section B whose brain was blown out and an elderly woman who had a deep gash in the chest after being shot near Section A.

Others who died included a Mrs Mziza and Mrs Tefo of Mamelodi West. Mrs Mariam Mmio of Section B and...
Ms Thoko Malatsi of Section D
Thousands of residents stayed away from work and marched through the streets to the local town council offices yesterday morning. They demanded the immediate withdrawal of the army and police from the townships, the lifting of burial restrictions, high rents and resignation of town councillors.

Police allegedly reacted when the mob hurled abuse at the local mayor Mr Zikhali Ndlazi and the police.
Mr Ndlazi had stood on a police Casspir to address the placard-carrying protesters.
Tear smoke canisters were then fired on the mob and scores were injured — some seriously — during a stampede.

Mr Rowan Haarhoff, chairman of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in Pretoria, in a statement issued yesterday said they had arranged a meeting this morning to take statements from eye-witnesses to the events.

“We are extremely perturbed at reports of widespread violence and deaths in Mamelodi.

Taxis

Initial reports reaching us indicate that live ammunition was used by the police and both young and elderly people were killed,” Mr Haarhoff said.

Police and the army manned roadblocks at the main entrance.

By late yesterday several taxis were operating to and from the city and a few workers trickled into the city by train.

The police statement said acts of intimidation by youths started at 4am yesterday when “small groups of blacks ordered passengers from buses and threatened drivers with violence.”

Police said they used tear smoke three times.

The woman died when police opened fire after a group surrounded a South African Police vehicle at 10am, attacking and stoming it, the statement said.

A total of 20 people were arrested, police said.
Formal ANC position for dialogue emerges

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS has spelled out the conditions under which it would be prepared to consider negotiations with the South African Government. Noting that conditions conducive to dialogue do not exist at present the ANC has put the ball in President PW Botha's court to create the conditions in which talks could be considered by the ANC.

The conditions are:
- Release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;
- Lifting of the state of emergency;
- The withdrawal of troops and repressive machinery from the townships;
- The lifting of the ban on the ANC;
- The creation of conditions in which free political activity can take place.

The conditions have been set out in a formal ANC position on negotiations to be circulated internally among ANC offices.

The position states that if the conditions are met the ANC will then be prepared to 'go to the people' to seek a mandate on holding talks with the Government.

At the ANC's consultative conference in Zambia in June the conditions under which talks would be held with the S A Government were not considered in detail because the prospect still seemed too remote.

ANC sources emphasise that the single act of releasing Mandela and other political prisoners will dramatically improve the climate for dialogue and will probably set in a motion an irreversible process which will lead to a negotiated settlement.

According to the sources the ANC is opposed to the idea of a truce before dialogue begins because this would create a precedent.

There are also fears within the ANC camp that if the organisation formally renounces violence — or even declares a conditional truce — before dialogue begins it could be lured into a trap where it would be technically legal — as is the case with Swapo internal — but in practice neutralised from participation by the Internal Security Act.

A review of the Act would be one of the ANC's first priorities once talks began.

Legalising the ANC would be meaningless, it is argued, if the organisation were not allowed to operate normally and were subjected to the same kind of repression and intimidation as the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The ANC has circulated a formal position on negotiations to its various offices following weeks of controversy in the wake of the Commonwealth accord.

The Commonwealth accord called on Pretoria to initiate a process of dialogue with black leaders 'in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides'.

The accord has increased pressure on the ANC to adopt a formal position on the conditions under which it would be prepared to talk to the South African Government.
HARALD PAKENDORF
The majority will rule

Harald Pakendorf is the editor of Die Vaterland. This is a translation of his column last week.

It has been a year in which SA has been analysed, turned upside down and inside out. The unanimous judgment of all, friend and foe, the just and the unjust, is that the country must change... and fast.

But the question is: how must we change and where must we go? We, and not our critics abroad, must give the answer. Because it is we who remain after all the changes have taken place.

It is clear that, to rule the country with the consent of the majority, there will have to be a constitution which bears the consent of the majority. To get there, there will simply have to be discussions with influential leaders.

It is a pity that so much emotional dust has been kicked up around the ANC that there is not much room for reason. We will have to get rid of our prejudices and preconceived ideas. The question whether there must be dialogue with the ANC or not must be approached with a cool head and not warm blood.

Another problem is government's refusal until now to publicly indicate its vision of the country's constitutional future. It refuses to assemble an agenda for negotiation or issue a declaration of intent. They want to come to the negotiating table with clean hands to avoid the accusation later on they prescribed to others.

It is important that government should change its mind so that there can be at least something on the negotiating table. One way out of the dilemma is to use the HSRC's report on inter-group relations as a starting point for discussions.

We shall have to accept that reform would be meaningless if it did not result in a totally changed SA. It is no longer feasible to try to survive by crisis management or hold on to mechanisms which amount to nothing less than a concealed white veto of developments in the country.

In the new SA, apartheid enforced by law will disappear. Nothing of it will remain, although we will probably have the Group Areas Act and a version of the Population Registration Act with us in the first years. But these will also become intolerable in the long term. Freedom of association should, and will, eventually be the only method ruling relationships.

On the economic front we will have to realise that as the voteless get into positions of power, they will increasingly look to the State for financial aid.

It is inevitable and it must be realised now already that the movement to a free market economy will be tempered by voices asking for bigger State interference.

We must also know that even the fast constitutional changes will not necessarily lower the level of violence or restore foreign confidence immediately. Internal violence and foreign opposition have developed their own momentum.

Whatever must be changed in this country, will have to be done by us. We must not expect help from abroad. And while we are trying to push government to move faster, we must ask ourselves: what are our aims with reform — and can we live with it?

The reform can only mean one thing: a total rearrangement of the South African society; an historical agreement between white and black which means that — even though there may be protection for minority rights — the only certainty is that the majority will rule.
LAWSYERS for Mr Nelson Mandela left a meeting with the jailed ANC leader in a Cape Town hospital today saying they had “no idea” if he would be released.

The bedside consultations took place amid widespread rumours — firmly denied by the Government — that Mr Mandela would be released soon and flown to Lusaka.

Mr Mandela’s wife Winnie left Volks hospital in Gardens soon after noon today to fly to Johannesburg, and two legal representatives ended talks with him about 20 minutes later.

Attorney Mr Ismael Ayob told reporters outside the hospital: “It is with regret that we have to tell you that prison regulations prevent us from telling you anything about our discussions.”

Advocate Mr George Bizos said Mr Mandela — recovering after an operation to remove his prostate gland — was “in very good health and spirits” and was “happy about the concern shown for him”.

Mr Bizos added: “We have no idea when he will be released.”

The lawyers also did not know “about rumours that he will be set free under certain conditions”.

Mr Bizos, who flew to Cape Town from Johannesburg this morning for the consultation with Mr Mandela, denied that the hospital ward meeting had been called urgently. “Our consultations would have taken place irrespective of the speculation,” he said.

Earlier today Mr Ayob said he received permission from the Minister of Justice, Mr Koble Coetsee, last night to visit Mr Mandela.

A spokesman for the State President’s Office said today that there was no truth in rumours that Mr Mandela would be freed. There was “nothing on the cards and nothing on the go”.

**Must renounce violence**

The spokesman said Mr P W Botha’s attitude remained the same — Mr Mandela could be released if he unconditionally renounced violence as a means to political ends.

A source close to ANC headquarters in Lusaka said by telephone today that the organisation could not confirm speculation that their 67-year-old leader, who has been in jail for more than 20 years, would soon be flown to the Zambian capital.

Speculation about his imminent release sparked intense interest in Harare and Lusaka.

In the Zimbabwean capital arrangements were being made today for journalists to fly to Lusaka in case Mr Mandela was released soon.

In Lusaka the ANC appears to have been operating on the understanding that Mr Mandela would have been released last week, and its spokesmen are fielding calls from all over the world about the expected release.

Mr Mandela has stayed in hospital longer than an aftercare patient normally would. A spokesman for the Prisons Service said this was because it was easier to give follow-up treatment in hospital than in prison.

There has also been speculation that he would be released on humanitarian grounds and would take up an offer to live in Transkei.

Last night journalists, photographers and television crews descended on the hotel for a Press conference by the family.

**Security**

Mrs Mandela is banned and may not be quoted but her daughter Zinzi told local and foreign reporters: “My mother came to Cape Town to be at his side and she has been allowed to be with him for 40 minutes each day. The visits take place in his ward with warders present.

“The prison authorities have told my mother that for security reasons they cannot tell her when he will be discharged from hospital and return to Pollsmoor Prison.

“She has no idea when this will happen.

“During the past few days there has been speculation on his possible release. We have had no specific offer but regard this speculation seriously because of its unprecedented intensity.”
PPF: 'Admit ANC'

FROM JOHN BATTERSBY. LONDON — It was vital, South African President, the African National Congress leader, said yesterday, to become a political party, normally in the 'PPF'.

Giving evidence to the Select Committee on Foreign Affairs at Westminster, he said it would be 'PPF' to bring the ANC into the political mainstream of South Africa. He said the ANC must be a response to the violence of apartheid.
THE Prisons Service has declined to react to rumours and speculation that the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, is about to be released.

Members of Mr Mandela's family said they did not know of plans for his release.

Rumours about the possibility that Mr Mandela would be released and other rumours that he had accepted an offer from the Transkei to live there after his release, were rife in Cape Town early this week.

Many overseas and local journalists and television crews waited at the Volks Hospital when his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela and other members of his family, visited him on Wednesday afternoon.

A Prisons Department spokesman confirmed that Mr Mandela was still in hospital, but could not say how long he would remain there.

His condition was satisfactory according to his doctors, the spokesman said.

"The Prisons Service is not prepared to comment on rumours and speculation."

The office of the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, referred all inquiries to the Prisons Department.

Nationalist MPs were yesterday unaware of any suggestions that Mr Mandela would be released. They thought it unlikely, unless he was prepared to go back on his firm rejection of President P W Botha's in February this year.

Mr Mandela went to hospital on November 3 for an operation to remove an enlarged prostate gland.
Consuming power

Port Elizabeth retailers breathed a sigh of relief this week when Mkhueli Jack, pivotal figure in the Port Elizabeth consumer boycott, was released from detention after nearly three-and-a-half months in St Albans jail.

For the hard-hit business community, reeling from the recession in the motor industry, endemic unrest and a four month black consumer boycott of white shops, it was a small, but hopeful, sign that a turning point had been reached.

Jack (36), the youthful-looking leader of the Consumer Boycott Committee is a neat, articulate man with a ready smile and ready rhetoric. He is generally viewed as an eminently reasonable man and an excellent negotiator who does not bear grudges. Despite the diametrically opposed interests of retailers and boycotters, he has managed to impress himself on local leaders of commerce and industry.

He has had the classic political education of any typical South African young black leader — prominence, pursuit, jail, reinstatement. He has been detained six times.

The second youngest of eight children, Jack grew up on a farm in Humansdorp. His father was his hero, who died when he was a year old. But, he says, he first became politicised when he was frustrated by the pass laws in an attempt to move to PE. After a long struggle — during which he vowed to fight for the abolition of the pass laws — he was finally admitted to Loyiso High School in Zwide.

But his actual class-room was in the old New Brighton Police Station barracks. "The rain came through holes in the roof and there was no electricity."

He matriculated, but personal experience taught him that an "over-educated black" struggled to get a job. He found success, eventually, by saying he had a Standard 5, "I had a matric certificate in one hand, a scrubbing brush in the other."

In 1982, Peyco (Port Elizabeth Youth Congress) was formed with Jack as its president. It was an organisation complementary to the now banned Congress of South African Students.

With his release last week and the suspension of the consumer boycott, Jack bought himself a pair of shoes from a shop in PE's hustle CBD and proceeded to a meeting with Tony Gibson, director of the PE Chamber of Commerce.

There’s no longer any question that PE has been painfully and rudely made aware of a long list of black grievances. Evidence of this is that organised commerce and industry exerted heavy pressure on government to release Jack and 17 other community leaders.

In the city’s North End and Commercial Road shopping districts (closest to the townships), shopkeepers are demanding the entry of black traders to fill the empty shops and to put flesh on the city council’s decision to declare the city a free trade area. Before that happens, however, a resumption of the consumer boycott remains a threat if the long list of grievances formulated by the boycott committee are not met.

Jack says the State of Emergency has resulted in a victory for young blacks. "We won our parents’ support in the struggle. It exposed the viciousness of apartheid," he says. "During the 1976 unrest parents were scared to visit children in prison. Today they regard it as a necessity."

Jack is adamant that if the two-week suspension of the boycott does not result in the "easy demands" being met, "other methods to get the message to every white" are in the pipeline. Though he doesn’t elaborate, he stresses that violence is not being considered.

"I grew up among Afrikaners and can speak their language as well as I can speak English. I read Afrikaans to try to gain an insight into their minds and attitudes. We are trying to raise white consciousness. We have only now succeeded with our own people. It’s not impossible to do the same for the white community."

Businessmen can do a lot to show their "honesty," he says. While the boycott was primarily aimed at alerting whites to the predicament of blacks, businessmen could redress certain issues: unnecessary dismissals, job reservation, firing political detainees and so on.

They could also apply pressure at local level for the scrapping of separate amenities, and other discriminatory measures, as well as "alert other businessmen to the threat of apartheid and give a clear message of their desire to move away from apartheid."

Crackle and pop

There’s nothing flaky about John Johnson, Kellogg’s new CE, nor is he a foodie or a health freak. He is, however, fanatical about fibre. Indeed, it’s hard to stop him once he gets started on the subject.

“High bran bran,” he says, sounding like a radio commercial, “prevents constipation, helps prevent obesity and diseases like cancer of the colon, diverticulitis and even varicose veins. Fibre intake also assists in weight control if you have a properly balanced diet. If you eat more fibre you eat less fat. This changes the balance of your diet, you get satisfied faster, and the rate of nutrient absorption in your body is also affected.

“My wife thinks I’m insane for talking about anything else but fibre and bran,” Johnson (43) says, a little bemused. During his 13 years with the company, Manchester-born Johnson, former assistant UK MD responsible for sales and marketing, has played a significant role in putting bran on the map in both the UK and Canada.

“Dr Burkitt,” he explains enthusiastically, “observed in Kampala, where he was working as a surgeon, that Africans started getting western ailments as they became urbanised. He concluded it wasn’t what they ate but what they didn’t eat. Their diets were too high in fat and too low in fibre. Subsequent research has confirmed Burkitt’s hypothesis. Why’s that? Why I eat at least 40g of bran a day."

Nonetheless, of Kellogg’s 18 brands of breakfast cereal sold in SA, it’s the snap, crackle and pop of rice crispees and cornflakes, not bran, that makes SA’s breakfast
6 killed in new violence?

Dispatch Correspondent

PRETORIA — Police and soldiers manned roadblocks around the tense township of Mamelodi near here late into last night after a clash with a crowd of 50,000 early in the day when at least six people were shot dead and scores injured.

The mob was marching on development board offices after a large-scale stay-away organised by local youths in protest against the presence of the army in the township. Increasing house rents, stringent restrictions imposed on unrest funerals and the banning of weekend funerals.

The magistrate for the Wonderboom district, Mr. P. A. J. Burger, banned all funerals, vigils and burial in Mamelodi from 6 p.m. on Sunday.

At least thirteen people were arrested on charges relating to public violence.

Police confirmed two people had been killed, but a Kableson hospital spokesman confirmed three deaths and 29 seriously injured by gunshot wounds.

One township doctor said two women were already dead when brought to his surgery. He said he attended to over 20 people with buckshot wounds and lacerations. Another said he knew of six dead.

A township priest said he also knew of six people dead and many injured.

Journalists were forced out of Mamelodi at gunpoint as hundreds of troops and police swarmed into the township. Unconfirmed reports said a plane carrying a CBS camera crew over the township was forced down and the crew arrested by police.

Mamelodi's mayor, Mr. Benet Nkosi, tried to address the crowd from a police Catholic but the chanting crowd drowned him out.

Police ordered the crowd to disperse within five minutes. The crowd ignored the order and police opened fire.

Eyewitnesses said scores of people were injured as the crowd stampeded.

Youths then went on the rampage, stoning and getting a number of delivery vehicles and setting up barricades with burning tyres, rocks and electric poles.
We published Tambo story without quotes

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

A pro-Government newspaper says it published everything that appeared in the Cape Times interview with Mr Oliver Tambo — it just did not attribute anything to the banned ANC leader.

According to Voorslag, the political column in Die Vaderland (November 20), the Government is reconsidering the banned list which prohibits the quoting of ANC spokesmen.

Voorslag mentions that the Cape Times broke the law by quoting Mr Tambo: "Not that there was anything new in it, because it all appeared in Die Vaderland," Voorslag said.

In the same issue are two articles quoting unnamed ANC sources.

A "prominent ANC member" says that under an ANC government, Afrikaans would remain an official language and be protected.

"Afrikaans is a language of Africa. We were wrong to make a political issue of it," he is quoted as saying.

In the second article, an ANC spokesman is quoted as saying it would allow differences of opinion and would not expect rural Afrikaners to support it.

Asked how the average Afrikaner would fare, he said: "Ordinary urbanites will lose nothing. Only where there is unequal distribution of wealth and land will there be adjustments."

"There will be no vendetta. The ANC regards Afrikaners as an important part of the population."
Rumours of release: Mandela to see lawyer

By Ebrahim Moosa

Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is to consult his lawyer at the Volks hospitaal this morning following unprecedented and growing speculation that he is to be released from prison.

His lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, last night confirmed that an urgent application requesting the consultation had been approved by the Minister of Justice, Mr Robie Coetsee.

Mr Ayob and advocate Mr George Bizos will meet Mr Mandela around 9am today.

‘Private’

Last night, a spokesman for the Minister of Justice in Pretoria, Lieutenant-Colonel G L Gordon, said the “association between the client and lawyer is a private and personal affair” and they were therefore “not prepared to comment”.

Mr Mandela’s request for the consultation was made public at a press conference at a City hotel yesterday.

Mr Mandela’s wife Winnie, his daughter Zinzi and Mr Ayob were present. Mrs Mandela is banned and therefore cannot be quoted.

However, Ms Zinzi Mandela said that over the past few days speculation about the imminent release of her father had intensified and had led to her father’s request.

She said, however, that no specific offer had been made to the family regarding his release.

Any speculation about his being released in Transkei was also ruled out because he had rejected such an offer more than once in the past, she said.

The press conference was told that Mr Mandela enjoyed a clean bill of health, with no post-operation complications. He had been up andabout since a week after undergoing an operation to remove the prostate gland.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice said Mr Mandela had not been discharged from hospital because it was equipped to provide for specialist post-operative care.

Meanwhile, prison authorities have cited “security reasons” for being unable to disclose when Mr Mandela will be discharged and returned to Pollsmoor Prison.

Sapa reports that the State President’s Office in Pretoria yesterday reiterated that there was “no truth” in speculation that Mr Mandela was due to be released.
JOHANNESBURG—Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was in police cells last night awaiting a court appearance on charges of breaching her restriction order.

She had been arrested yesterday after police had forcibly removed her from her Soweto home on Saturday night to an airport hotel just beyond the Johannesburg city limits.

After spending the night with friends in Pretoria Mrs Mandela defied a new restriction order issued at the weekend and went back to her Soweto home.

It was there yesterday morning that a contingent of about 15 security policemen found her and arrested her.

She would appear in court as soon as charges had been formulated against her, said Capt Henry Beck of Police Headquarters, Pretoria.

He said Mrs Mandela, under arrest at Kruger's Police Station, was being charged under the Internal Security Act for contravening her restriction order which prohibited her from returning to Soweto.

The Saturday night sweep on her Soweto home was carried out after Mrs Mandela had been served with new restrictions which prohibited her from being in the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

At gunpoint

She was taken at gunpoint from her home to the hotel but she left some time afterwards to join her Pretoria friends.

Mrs Mandela had lived at her home in Soweto since August, when her house and clinic in Brandfort were fire-bombed in an arson attack.

She has since played an active role in the anti-apartheid movement, addressing news conferences and speaking at political gatherings.

Mrs Mandela, under her old restriction order, had been barred from meeting more than one person at a time.

Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said yesterday she could now live anywhere she chose outside Johannesburg and Roodepoort, ending her banishment to Brandfort.

He added that she could also attend social events, but was not allowed to attend or speak at political gatherings or be quoted in South Africa.

Her lawyer, Mr Akbar Ayob, said he had been to see Mrs Mandela and she was fine, although she had sprained her ankle and bruised her arm during the removal from her home.

During her arrest by security policemen armoured cars blocked off both ends of the street.

Journalists

Police rounded up six foreign journalists at the house, took them to a nearby police station and released them 30 minutes later.

The six would be charged with violating emergency regulations governing Press coverage in Soweto, said a police spokesman.


Special restrictions were imposed in Soweto two months ago and reporters have been ordered to obtain a police permit every time they enter the township.

The maximum penalty for breaking emergency regulations imposed since July is 10 years' imprisonment or a R20,000 fine or both.

The SABC quoted a police source last night which revealed that Mrs Mandela had been told the State would pay her expenses if she moved from Soweto to comply with the revised restriction order.

The police had also offered to pay for her accommodation in the hotel to which she had been taken on Saturday night.

(Sapa-Reuter-AF)
Don't misjudge ANC stand, says Buthelezi

"There are those who are now beginning to see us as an organisation simply posturing in radicalism but which would settle for less than it now demands given the opportunity."

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President said that, as a Black leader with deep roots in the struggle, he had to say that such hopes could be founded only on wishful thinking.

The ANC mission-in-exile and elements in the United Democratic Front working with it, had every intention of establishing a one-party state run on social principles.

This would be the natural outcome of a revolutionary process if it eclipsed democratic opposition.

"What was needed was the politics of compromise and this demanded that "we talk about power-sharing in the near future."

He said: "I can enter no negotiations in conditions that would impose policies if the government not only rejects majority rule in a one-man-one-vote unitary state but also rejects every other form in which there is political equality between black and white." — Sapa
No firm news on Mandela

Lawyers for jailed ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela consulted for 2½ hours in his hospital room with him yesterday but afterwards could throw no light on speculation that he is about to be released.

Mr. George Bizos and Mr. Ismail Ayob told dozens of foreign and local reporters camped on the lawn of the Volkshotel that prison regulations prevented them from speaking about what was said between them and their client.

"We have no idea when Mr. Mandela will be released," Mr. Bizos said.

He said Mr. Mandela was "in very good health and good spirits and is grateful for the concern that we all show for him."

Meanwhile, Mr. Mandela's wife Winnie has returned to Johannesburg en route to Brandfort in the Free State after spending 20 minutes with him, sources close to the family said.

Sources close to the government insisted again yesterday that Mr. Mandela is not about to be freed. They said the government's position remained the same as it had been since Mr. Botha offered Mr. Mandela his freedom if he renounced violence.

Ian Hobbs reports from London that reports of Mr. Mandela's meetings with his wife and lawyers dominated national radio and television newscasts.

Correspondents in Paris, Bonn and the Hague said the speculation about Mr. Mandela was causing intense public and political excitement.

In Lusaka an ANC spokesman said yesterday: "We have heard a lot of rumour and nothing more. It is not as if we are stonewalling you on this, we simply do not know." — UPI and Political Staff
3 held after grenade attack

CAPE TOWN: Three people are being held in connection with a hand grenade attack which injured three Cape Corps soldiers in Lansdowne Road, Crossroads, and police may have made a breakthrough in solving the recent spate of grenade explosions in the Peninsula.

The three, a woman, a man and teenage youth, were arrested within an hour of the grenade exploding among several soldiers standing near a Buffalo armoured carrier on Thursday, a police spokesman revealed yesterday.

The injured soldiers, whom police declined to identify, "for security reasons", were treated and discharged at Wynberg's 2 Military Hospital.

All had shrapnel wounds in the legs.

The explosion came about 3.45 pm at the corner of Lansdowne Road and New Eisenben Road when a crowd gathered near the armoured vehicle.

The spokesman said the grenade was tossed from within the crowd. The soldiers had not responded with shots.

A police helicopter monitoring the funeral of an unrest victim in nearby Guguletu was called to comb the area within minutes of the attack but could detect no suspects, the spokesman said.

He declined to confirm whether the three people arrested had been positively linked to any earlier attacks.
JOHANNESBURG – Two men who admitted being members of the African National Congress and undergoing military training abroad were given effective sentences of three and four years' imprisonment by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday.

Sentences for treason range from a fine to the death penalty, Mr Justice L. W. H. Ackermann said, and found Joseph Boitumelo Leepile, 26, and Justice Maia Naidi, 31, were 'rank-and-file' members of the ANC whose treasonable acts were not committed inside the Republic.

The two men ceased to be part of the ANC in May last year — almost a year before the ANC took its decision to go for "soft targets". — Sapa
The executive member Trevor Manuel has been house arrested for five years and has been served with various restriction orders following his release from a month's detention under the Internal Security Act.

Mr. Manuel, who was released today, Tuesday afternoon, has been confined to his house in Maitland from 6 am on weekdays and on every Saturday, Sunday and public holiday.

Mr. Manuel, who is a member of the UDF's national executive, was detained on October 22 under sections 34 and 35 of the Internal Security Act.

He has been barred from gathering at which any form of state of people or policy of any action by a government of a state is proposed, defended, criticised or discussed.

He may not attend any gatherings where school pupils are being instructed or addressed.

Mr. Manuel has to report to the Maitland police station every Monday and is confined to the Cape Town industrial district.

He may not go to any premises where a publication is compiled, printed or published or to premises which house a number of organizations which have been listed in government notices, nor may he participate in the preparation of any publication.

He is also prevented from going to any school, college or university and he may not communicate with anyone or whom restrictions have been served in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The details of the restrictions which have been served on Mr. Manuel were released yesterday by his attorney, Mr. Elna Moodie.
Mandela discharged from hospital

AMID a flurry of new rumours that he was about to be released, former African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela was discharged from hospital in Cape Town early today and readmitted to Pollsmoor prison.

A Prison Service liaison officer, Lieutenant Colonel A van Vuuren, said post-operative treatment on Mr Mandela “has been completed”.

A spokesman in President P W Botha’s Office said no comment on rumours about Mr Mandela would be made and no statement would be issued by the State President.

Mr Mandela was admitted to the Volksospital, Cape Town earlier this month for the removal of an enlarged prostate gland.

A member of staff at the hospital said that the policemen who had maintained a strong but discreet presence at the hospital while Mr Mandela was there had all been removed.

The medical superintendent of the hospital, Dr P Turner, referred inquiries to the prisons liaison service.

Intensifying campaign

“They will give you everything. There won’t be any more details from us,” he said.

There has been intense speculation this week that Mr Mandela was to be released. His lawyers and his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, visited him at the hospital yesterday.

*The United Democratic Front has announced that it will be intensifying the campaign for the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners.

“Sending him to Lusaka or to the Transkei are options doomed to failure. We refuse to accept that Mandela settle anywhere else other than his home in Johannesburg,” the spokesman said. — Weekend Argus Reporter and Sapa.
THE business community of Beaufort West is feeling the heat.

Business leaders in this sun-baked town hub of the vast Karoo farming industry, have been forced against the wall by a black boycott of white-owned shops.

In an extraordinary letter to its members, the local Afrikaansse Sakekamer moved to end job discrimination and asked for equal pay for equal work. A R4-million township site-and-service scheme has been launched and is expected to provide more than 400 plots.

The moves have met with a mixed reaction in this divided town where the Conservative Party is gaining a substantial foothold. The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging can boast of a devoted following and black militancy is firmly entrenched.

**Incomes fall 25-50 percent**

On August 17 the boycott was sprung on whites by the community of the black township. Shopowners this week told of income dropping between 25 and 50 percent. It forced reluctant whites to the negotiating table and the sakekamer to write its letter.

But police action has put some boycott leaders into cells and others into hiding, and "we couldn't even call it off if we wanted to," said a township youth.

A middle-aged woman who, through her contact with township leaders, became central to the negotiations, has been barred from one hotel and shunned by large sections of the community.

"All I tried to do is resolve this situation," said Mrs Erica Roux, public relations officer for a supermarket seriously hit by the boycott. "Now people are saying I support the UDF."

**Militancy sparked by killing**

A 21-year-old township youth, member of the UDF-affiliated Zanokhanye Youth Organisation (ZYO), said the militancy in the township was sparked by the killing of Mandlenkosisi Tshaka Kratshi on January 22 this year. "Before that people were just concerned with getting by."

Mr Kratshi died after allegedly attacking a policeman with a table fork. Violence flared in the township, some of it directed at the community councillors, elected in 1984.

"We have renamed the township Kwanzimandlenkosisi, after our comrade," said the youth. "They," he said, pointing towards the town, "just call it the location." In the violence two youths have died and several have been injured. Two policemen have been shot and injured.

Worst hit are food shops and clothing outlets. The manager of a central clothing store said her turnover had dropped about 50 percent. Mrs Roux said turnover in her supermarket had fallen about 30 to 40 percent.

Mrs Roux and her shop's general manager, Mr Colin Stroebel, arranged to meet a "committee of 11" ZYO members. The meeting was attended by the sakekamer and led directly to their controversial letter.

Mr Hermann Erasmus, chairman of the sakekamer, said the boycott had been "very bad for business. They claimed wages and employment practices were discriminatory and we asked our members just to lift those problems."

But the call did not receive a warm reception from all sectors. Many people in the town are disillusioned with the Government's reform initiatives and feel President Botha is betraying them.
'King of Tongaland' airs his grievances in Natal

Weekend Argus Correspondent
DURBAN.—Ingwawuma's Chief Makhezi Charles Tembe, self-proclaimed king of Tongaland, is leading his people in a bizarre campaign to found a republic.

He believes the time is right for Tonga emancipation and he is now trying to sweep away Kwazulu's control over his subjects.

And if his dream is realised Tongaland, a rustic area which forms the greater part of Ingwawuma in Northern Natal — including St Lucia missile testing range — will be his.

In a recent petition to the Government for independence he said the Tonga people had remained backward and economically behind all other black ethnic groups because of governmental "error and oversight".

The land, about 2,150,000 hectares, was ceded to the Tonga nation by Queen Victoria in an 1884 Treaty of Amity, he claims.

Should he achieve independence, self-reliance would be possible because of "your sympathetic Government's kind assistance".

He believes his economy will keep afloat on coconuts, rice, forestry and the harbours at Sobwana, St Lucia and Kosi bays.

Appointed by the Government in 1982, the chief was recently found guilty of seven charges comprising 12 counts of "insubordination, disobedience or disloyalty to the Kwazulu Government".

Chief Tembe claims that the trial was unfair and he may now lose his chiefmanship.

In an affidavit handed to the Maritzburg Supreme Court this week, Chief Tembe claimed that he was humiliated, publicly rebuked and threatened with an assegai by Kwazulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He claimed he was a "virtual prisoner" of Chief Buthelezi, and said he was constantly subjected to "cruel persecution by Inkatha fanatics".

He said that on December 1984 Kwazulu police took him to a meeting convened by a rival Inkatha member, Mr Walter Tembe, where he was insulted and attacked.

A member of the Zulu royal family, Prince Gideon, allegedly forced him into a car on weekends to recruit members for Inkatha.

Chief Tembe claims he was unlawfully ordered by Chief Buthelezi to appear before him at Ulundi.

"I'm still very much respected in my hereditary office as king and should I be removed from office civil unrest and bloodshed might be the consequence," he warned.

Yet he admits his authority as paramount chief is not respected by the Zulus and that even his purported 50,000 subjects are encouraged to flout it with impunity.
Business praises township pull-out

From KEN VERNON, Weekend Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. — Civic and business leaders here have applauded the withdrawal of SADF and police reaction units from Port Elizabeth's black townships — and there is hope that it will lead to a permanent lifting of a crippling four-month-long black consumer boycott.

The withdrawal of the units was demanded by the Black Consumer Boycott committee as one of the conditions for ending the boycott.

The leader of the boycott committee, Mr Mhuseli Jack, welcomed the move, saying he saw it as the first positive step by the Government in heeding the wishes of Port Elizabeth's blacks.

"If the Government will now only lift the ban on meetings of United Democratic Front affiliate organisations so that we can talk to the people and discuss things like the lifting of the boycott then the townships would be completely back to normal," he said.

Incidents
In a statement released the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier E S Schnetler, said the withdrawal had been made possible because there had been no more incidents of unrest in the townships.

Today the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria reported two incidents of unrest in the Port Elizabeth townships last night in which a car and bus were set alight and destroyed.

The Director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Gilson, said: "I'm sure the police were not reacting to any pressure, although the chamber did raise the issue, at the request of the Boycott Committee, with the highest level of Government."

The Defence Force planned to withdraw from Soweto provided that peace and order returned to the region and that children "continued with normal education activities", Mr Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Minister of Defence and Law and Order, told a delegation of Soweto parents today.

The Departments of Defence and Law and Order shared the view and desire of the parents of Soweto that the school situation be normalised urgently, Mr Vlok told the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee.

Mr Vlok said the onus was on the community to make it possible for parents to send their children to school without being subjected to disruptive criminal elements.
GRIEVANCES which led to the boycott of white-owned businesses in the Eastern Cape were discussed in detail in Port Elizabeth this week.

The boycott has been suspended for two weeks.

The Catholic Order of the Knights of Da Gama — miles from the CBD — was this week's venue for talks between a delegation of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce and representatives of the black community.

Both parties described the talks, which focussed on the community's grievances, as "fruitful".

PE Chamber of Commerce president Frank Whitman led his delegation, which also comprised Tony van Rensburg, Mike Smith, Tony Gibson, Arthur Vernizzi and George Wood.

The black community was represented by Mkhoseli Jack, Rev de Villiers Soga, Virginia Ngolo, Michael Khego, Michael Notoya, Ernest Malgas, Henry Fazie, Alex Rala, Mthobwa Ncube and Fikiswa Gavani.

Mr Gibson told the Press after the talks that the community's grievances were discussed "and many other problems in the city area were discussed".

"We were extremely pleased to have this meeting as we believe that the persons we met, and the organisations they represented, have an important role to play in finding solutions to our problems," said Mr Gibson.

Mr Jack said: "We face an economic and political disaster in our country, and there are many reasons for this — apartheid being the main one.

"We have watched this situation develop over the past few years and noted the apparent inability of the Government to solve this.

"Government response to the problem has been more repression, harassment of activists, detentions and imprisonment of real leaders, ban on meetings, ban on the hanging of a student organisation and the declaration of a state of emergency."

The Government had also introduced troops into the township, said Mr Jack.

Mr Jack said the community's short-term demands were:

- That a special reaction unit and the SADF withdraw from the towns.
- The ban on meetings be lifted.
- All those detained be released.
- Those who lost their jobs be reinstated.
- White businessmen should use their influence to force the Government to react to the demands.

Addressing a funeral service at the weekend with other leaders who were recently released from detention, Mr Jack said the boycott had achieved a number of "political gains".

"We have united our people, and won support from the international community," he said.

Other speakers who were recently released from detention paid tribute to the courage of Port Elizabeth doctor Wendy Orr.

UDF East Cape publicity secretary Stone Sizani, who has been in hiding since the declaration of the state of emergency, was given a standing ovation when he made a surprise appearance at the service.

UDF East Cape vice-president Henry Fazie, who was recently released from detention, criticised British prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

Meanwhile, black consumers in King William's Town also decided to suspend their boycott of white shops for two weeks — as has happened in Port Elizabeth.

A boycott committee spokesman said the community would now call on the authorities to address their demands.

Other Eastern Cape areas which have also suspended the boycott temporarily are Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Port Alfred and Grahamstown.

The boycott is continuing in East London, Queenstown and Cradock.
Mandela out of hospital — back at jail

NELSON Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, was transferred from Cape Town's Voelk Hospital back to Pollsmoor Prison at the weekend — dispelling rumours that he was about to be released.

Mandela was admitted to hospital earlier this month for the removal of an enlarged prostate gland.

Speculation that Mr Mandela would be flown to Lusaka to join his exiled colleagues or be taken to the Transkei reached fever pitch on Friday.

The arrival of two legal advisors, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, created excitement and expectations for foreign and local newsmen who had camped near the hospital.

On Wednesday and Thursday, Mrs Mandela was allowed to overstay her visits.

"WE'LL TORTURE INSURGENTS"

CISKEIANS who had been recruited by foreign forces and had returned to try and overthrow the government should expect to be tortured, Ciskei President Lennox Sebe said at the opening of a new holiday resort in the national state at the weekend.

Mr Sebe warned potential insurgents about torture at the opening of Ciskei's Mpekweni Holiday Resort at Pedzi, near King William's Town on Saturday.

Mr Sebe also called for an end to apartheid in the Southern African region and said Ciskei could not afford to build such a resort and then see tourism fall away because of fear and uncertainty due to unrest violence and a breakdown in law and order.

He said the Ciskei had warned South Africa to abandon apartheid and grant independence to the national states and common citizenship for all in the form of an association of states.

Sapa.
Divco out of touch with Atlantis

CIVIC DIARY

By Hilary Venables

"I have grown up with coloured people and I know them," said Mr. Gideon Basson, the immediate past chairman of the council. "I'm sure people as hard-pressed as the people of Atlantis won't mind us discussing their problems with the management committee. "Desperate people aren't going to ask if someone is a member of the mancom or the ARA." Mr. Basson said the media had discouraged people from voting in mancom elections by saying people who voted would get into trouble. "We have a duty to the management committee. We must appreciate their courage in doing what they are trying to do because we know the attitude of some people and that people are being incited against them." Mr. H. Langley said the Divisional Council had been established in terms of government legislation and had certain defined powers. "The council has no right to say 'we'll push this body aside and deal with that one'. "We've got to see that these things work and make sure we work through an accredited body," he said.

Mr. P. J. Grobelaar said "democracy" had become a popular catchphrase and meant different things to different people. "If the management committee is abolished, what platform will they have? "The management committee enjoys the recognition of the government, it is a bridge between our coloured people and the government. "The fact that people didn't vote for them is not their fault. It was because of agitation, intimidation and incitement." Anyone present at even one of the ARA's public meetings during the past year will realize how out of touch these people are with the feelings of Atlantis residents.

Meetings attended by up to 2000 people have unanimously rejected the management committee, which is seen as part of the source of their problems rather than the solution. Mr. Len Pother hit the nail on the head when he replied to Mr. Grobelaar's speech. "The alternative platform to the management committee is direct representation," he said. "If you are looking for a definition of democracy, that is it." The people of Atlantis are by their own admission, desperate.

But they blame their situation on the apartheid system — the central government (which put them where they are), the Divisional Council (which is threatening to throw them out of their homes) and the mancom (which has done nothing to stop the rot).

They say they have never been made their voices heard and that the have made strong demands for involvement without fear of being branded as troublemakers.

Until the Council admits and recognizes how they are, they will continue to resist, and the situation will not be resolved.

As one hard-pressed said at a recent meeting: "We are, we are, we are."
Divco out of touch with Atlantis

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"We've got to see that these things work and make sure we work through an accredited body," he said.

Mr FJ Grobbelaar said "democracy" had become a popular catchphrase and meant different things to different people.

"As I see it, the management committee is a platform for the coloured people and they must make use of it.

"If the management committee is abolished, what platform will they have?"

"The management committee enjoys the recognition of the government, it is a bridge between our coloured people and the government."

"The fact that people didn't vote for them is not their fault. It was because of agitation, intimidation and incitement.

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"But they blame their situation on the apartheid system - the central government (which put them where they are), the Divisional Council (which is threatening to throw them out of their homes) and the mancom (which has done nothing to stop the rot)."

They say they have never been allowed to make their own decisions about their lives, and that the people who have made these decisions for them have, without fail, dragged them deeper into the mire of poverty and helplessness.

Until the Divisional Council admits this failure, and realizes that no matter how downtrodden the people of Atlantis are, they will not rest until they have gained control over their own lives, the crisis cannot be resolved.

As one "desperate, hard-pressed" student said at a mass meeting recently: "We are on the move. We will govern Atlantis."

Judging from the audience's response, the idea was not an unpopular one.
LUSAKA — If Nelson Mandela is ever released, the African National Congress will claim a considerable political victory.

A decade of domestic and international campaigning by the ANC, its international support groups and many others, in which Mandela has been accorded a status achieved by no other contemporary revolutionary, will have borne fruit. ANC sources say the fruit will be sweet, not bitter.

They rule out completely the suggestion that Mandela’s release would upset the leadership or political equilibrium of the outlawed movement.

**Release is likely soon**

— UK paper

LONDON — Serious negotiations have begun in South Africa for the release of jailed nationalist Nelson Mandela and it is increasingly likely he will be freed in the next few months, The Observer newspaper reported in London yesterday.

In a story from Johannesburg, correspondent Allister Sparks said Mandela’s release would be part of a package deal between the outlawed African National Congress and the South African Government, whose apartheid policies the ANC is fighting.

Mr Sparks said 67-year-old Mandela, who was moved from hospital back to Pollsmoor prison on Saturday morning, had a two-hour discussion in the hospital with the prison’s commanding officer, Brigadier Fred Munro, before holding a two-hour session with his legal advisers on Friday morning.

“Brigadier Munro was almost certainly acting as an emissary for the Government in sounding out Mandela about possible ways of arranging his release, and though no immediate agreement was reached, the length of the lawyers’ discussions with Mandela and their noncommittal attitude afterwards made it clear the matter is still under consideration,” Mr Sparks said.

Imprisoned for 15 years since being convicted in 1964 of planning sabotage, Mandela is the former leader of the ANC, the banned group fighting apartheid.

— Sapa-AP

**Blacks likely to reject seat on PC**

It was unlikely that blacks who had the confidence of the people would sit on the President’s Council unless Nelson Mandela was released and Mr Oliver Tambo was allowed to return to South Africa.

This view was expressed in Orchards, Johannesburg, last night by Mr Jack Unterhalter, former leader of the ANC and a founder of the African National Congress’ rival political group, the Pan African Congress.

Whatever complexion the South African Government tries to put on his release — perhaps that it is a humanitarian act or one of reform rather than a concession to massive domestic and international pressure which is now supported by the country’s foreign creditors — ANC sources argue that their “victory” will not be undermined.

“Youilly, the Government will have been forced to release its number one enemy — the commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe,” said a Frontline State ANC source.

It will spur the ANC on, say the sources, to demand the unconditional release of all other political prisoners and detainees. Mandela has been only the central and pre-eminent focus of this broader campaign.

And, if Mandela is not released unconditionally — perhaps to internal banishment or restriction, or into exile — the campaign will merely undergo a marginal shift.

At the time of the banning of the ANC in 1960, its 18 months underground and his being sent to jail, Mandela was, with Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu, one of an operational triumvirate of deputy leaders to then ANC president Albert Luthuli, according to ANC sources.

This triumvirate was created to deal with the emergency then confronting the ANC. Mandela was also commander-in-chief of Umkhonto.

**TOP LEVEL LEADER**

ANC sources say that, on his unconditional release, Mandela would, in all likelihood, be immediately and publicly appointed to the uppermost levels of the political leadership on the ANC national executive committee. The executive has the power to co-opt up to five members. Mandela would also still be head of Umkhonto.

The sources rule out completely any likelihood of personality clashes or rivalries around such a move. They point out that leadership of the ANC is becoming an increasingly collective enterprise. They add that Tambo and Mandela have been friends since youth — in the ANC Youth League, as legal partners and as political intimates.

In the view of many exiles, Tambo is a man generally badly underestimated by outsiders. For his part, Tambo has actively promoted Mandela’s return to the stage.
a senior counsel at the Johannesburg Bar, during an address on black political organisations to a packed gathering of the Jewish Board of Deputies' 44 Club.

Mr Unterhalter said he believed there was significant support for the African National Congress among the black community at large and in Soweto.

There was also tacit support for the violence carried out by it.

The question of black leadership was of tremendous importance for the future.

A leader such as Mr Robert Sobukwe commanded great respect and esteem and South Africa was the poorer for his death.

Should Nelson Mandela be released from prison and Mr Tambo be allowed to return, this would go a long way towards easing the country's terrible financial problem and ensuring that discrimination against blacks in all forms came to an end, he said.

stature and the demands for his release. His reputation is that of a man above squabbles.

Several of the younger members of the ANC executive, who, in their student days, proteges of Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Sisulu and other Rivonia lifers. The ANC sources also rule out the possibility of any ideological clashes — perhaps along "nationalist" versus "communist" lines — within the ANC should Mandela be released.

They point out that Mandela, like Tambo, started out as an anti-communist, Africanist in the ANC Youth League. And they believe that Mandela remains, primarily, a nationalist.

But, over the years of joint activity with communists such as Moses Kotane, JB Marks, Govan Mbeki and Bram Fischer in the 1950s and 1960s, Mandela's earlier anti-communism gave way to the view that the South African Communist Party was a worthy part of what is termed the "national liberation movement".

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**Last**

July 21 1969

French ex-prime minister Jean-Claude Payre was introduced in the House of Lords as an independent member of the House of Lords on Monday.

"It is not my intention to be a 'dirty old man'," he said, "but I am determined to make the best use of the limited time I have here."

Payre, who served as prime minister of France from 1962 to 1963, has been a member of the House of Lords since 1993.

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**Postscript**

July 23 1969

The French prime minister, Jean-Claude Payre, was introduced in the House of Lords on Monday as an independent member. He is the first French politician to be awarded a peerage in Britain.

Payre, who served as prime minister of France from 1962 to 1963, said: "I am determined to make the best use of the limited time I have here."

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**Notes**

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Mamelodi—plan for mass funeral

The victims of last Thursday's shootings in Mamelodi are to be given a mass funeral. At least 13 people died and scores were injured when police fired on a huge crowd in the Pretoria township.

Mr. Dumile Mabuza, spokesman for the Mamelodi Federation Committee, said the decision was taken in a meeting attended by residents and members of the community yesterday.

Although arrangements are still to be made with the bereaved families, it was agreed that the dead be buried on December 1.

The 13 were killed and scores injured after police had opened fire at a 50,000-strong crowd which marched on the local town council's offices last Thursday.

The aim of the march was to present Mr. Zithulele Nkazi, the mayor of Mamelodi, with a list of grievances. These included the withdrawal of white policemen from the area and the reduction of service charges.

Some of the bereaved families told The South African yesterday that they had received requests from organisations of the mass funeral that they should delay burying their dead.

Addressing a Press conference on Friday, Mr. Nkazi said it was regrettable to note that the area's people had been forced out of their houses by youth and made to join the march.

He added that although his council was prepared to solve the problems facing residents, up to this point the actual demand had never been set out.

He pointed out that he has no powers to control the administration of justice in the township. "It is the police officers themselves who examine the situation and local authorities are not to be held responsible for the fate and duties of the Department of Law and Order."
NPP becomes multiracial

DURBAN - The National People's Party, majority group in the House of Delegates, yesterday amended its constitution at its national congress to make the party multiracial.

It also unanimously elected sacked House of Delegates Budget Minister, Mr Boetie Abramjee, as national deputy leader of the party.

Mr Abramjee was dismissed by President P.W. Botha about 10 days ago over an alleged information leak. He said he would be meeting Mr Botha possibly today about his sacking. -- Sapa
Plan to refuse to pay rents in Lagunya

Staff Reporter

RESIDENTS of "Lagunya" — the greater Langa Nyanga and Guguletu area — are planning to refuse to pay their rentals from the end of this month until certain demands are met.

According to several residents spoken to at the weekend, withholding of rentals would be done in accordance with the wishes of youths who last week visited "every house" in the area.

Among their demands are:
- Lifting the state of emergency.
- Better school facilities.
- Reduction of school fees from R36 a year to R20 a year.
- The right to own and buy all houses in the area under the 99-year leasehold scheme.
- A facelift for all the houses in the area.
- Restoration of electricity in Lagunya streets.
- Provision of electricity in houses.

Timo Bezuidenhoud ‘prepared to talk’

Mr. Timo Bezuidenhoud, Western Cape regional director of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, said last night he had heard rumours of an impending rent refusal.

"I would like to hear from the people concerned about their demands," he said. "If there is anyone who wants to sit around the table and present the demands, I am prepared to hear them.

"If the demands are reasonable I am prepared to talk and to take the matter further, to the government."

Mr Bezuidenhoud said it was necessary that rentals should be paid "so that we can proceed with the services."

The rent money was needed to run the townships, and for the usual services such as the provision of water and the sewage system, he said.
Mandela
moved to
Pollsmoor

Staff Reporter

POLICE and prison authorities quietly slipped ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela from the Volks Hospital to Pollsmoor Prison early on Saturday.

But despite government denials about even the remotest possibility of Mr Mandela being released, international speculation continued at the weekend.

The London Observer reported yesterday that serious negotiations have begun on Mr Mandela's release and it is "increasingly likely" he will be freed in the next few months.

In a story from Johannesburg correspondent Allister Sparks said Mr Mandela's release would be part of a package deal between the banned African National Congress and the government.

Exile

But an ANC spokesman in Lusaka told UPI they had no knowledge of the release plans.

Sources close to the Mandela family were reported at the weekend to have said that the government appeared to want Mr Mandela's release linked to immediate exile — possibly to Zambia, where the ANC has its headquarters.

ANC officials were said to be opposed to the exile plan, but at the weekend their spokesman called for greater world pressure on South Africa to release Mr Mandela following his return to jail.

The Observer report said that negotiations were still under way for Mr Mandela's release.

The report quoted Mrs Winnie Mandela Sparks said 67-year-old Mr Mandela had had a two-hour discussion in the hospital with the prison's commanding officer, Brigadier Fred Munro, before holding a two-hour session with his legal advisers on Friday morning.

"Brigadier Munro was almost certainly acting as an emissary for the government in sounding out Mandela about possible ways of arranging his release, and though no immediate agreement was reached, the length of the lawyers' discussions with Mandela and their noncommittal attitude afterwards made it clear the matter is still under consideration," Sparks said.

Speculation about Mr Mandela remaining in British while prominent leaders called for his release.

"Untrue"

On Saturday, the Guardian urged the South African Government to release Mr Mandela and secure "vital breathing space" for South Africa.

Mrs Mandela left Cape Town unexpectedly on Friday, after an extended visit with her husband on Wednesday and another visit with his legal advisers the next day.

Lieutenant-Colonel A van Vuuren, a spokesman for the Prisons Service, said last night that the commanding officer of Pollsmoor Prison saw prisoners under his command, including Mr Mandela, regularly.

He rejected as untrue Mr Sparks's suggestion that Brigadier Munro had discussed ways of arranging his release with Mr Mandela.
SA Govt putting out feelers to the ANC claim

LUSAKA — The South African Government has sent clear, direct signals to the African National Congress during the past fortnight that it cannot solve the serious crisis confronting the country alone. Frontline state sources said here.

They said the government had also decided to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners but was unable to work out the mechanics because of the continuing crisis.

The government feelers to the ANC came as its friends in the West, foreign creditors, local businessmen and a small, though significant, segment of National Party supporters continued to press it to hold direct talks with the ANC.

The sources outlined certain details of the government signals to the ANC but refused to release them for publication at this stage.

The signals coincided with last week’s murmurs, which were backed up by hard evidence from government sources in the Frontline states, that the South African Government was planning to release Mandela from prison and fly him into exile.

To Page 3, Col 1

SA puts out feelers to ANC claim

Many observers, exiles and people here feel it dithered away a favourable opportunity last week to release Mandela on humanitarian grounds without first having to require his renunciation of violence.

The sources said the government recognised the problem confronting it was a larger one — how to implement its decision to release not only Mandela but all political prisoners.

Meanwhile, the signals from Mandela and his colleagues in prison were that they were not prepared to be drawn into negotiations outside the framework of the ANC and the broad democratic movement as a whole.

An ANC spokesman here declined to comment on the details of the government’s signals.

But top ANC sources said unofficially the banned movement insisted on concrete action from the government signifying it was prepared to negotiate towards “a united, democratic and non-racial country”.

Oblique signals would not be sufficient to convince the ANC of the government’s seriousness.

A top ANC source said the movement was waiting for the government to create “a climate conducive to talks about talks”.

In order to do so, it should release all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency, withdraw troops from the townships, release all emergency detainees and terminate all treason trials.

He said the ANC insisted on those points because it was a matter of principle for it to be able to consult with those now in prison and the “legal democratic movement like the political groups and the trade unions” before it could negotiate.

See Page 19.
Child burns to death — shack set on fire

Tygerberg Bureau

A CHILD burnt to death and a woman was injured when a shack was set alight in Mbekweni near Paarl.

The woman, a former leader of Mbekweni's squatter community, was apparently accused of being a police informer after being given permanent residence in one of the single men's hostels recently designated for family housing.

She was treated for burns. The three-year-old child, whose identity has not been released, was apparently not related to the woman.

Mr George Bongo, chairman of the Mbekweni Residents' Association, said he deeply regretted the escalating violence in what used to be a peaceful area.

He understood that one of the reasons for the shack-burning was that the woman had been given residence in one of the single men's quarters, he said.

"In fact, all the violence in Mbekweni lately has been caused by the severe lack of housing here."

"The Administration Board started assigning families to the single men's quarters this month. At least 700 families have been waiting for years for such permanent housing in Mbekweni."

"However, when they arrived at their future homes they found that others had already been given the places."

The situation had created considerable trouble among Mbekweni residents in the past two weeks.

Mr Sampie Steenkamp, the liaison officer for the Western Cape Administration Board, said the matter would be "thoroughly investigated."
Baragwanath-nurse, mother burnt to death

From SOPHIE TEMA

JOHANNESBURG. — A student nurse at Baragwanath Hospital and her mother were burnt to death when their house was attacked and set alight by unknown men last week.

The home of Miss Nomthandazo Sishi, 23, who had re-applied to the Baragwanath Hospital after about 950 nurses went on strike, was attacked and burnt by four men who accused her of "selling out".

Her mother Mrs Gertrude Sishi, died after she was trapped in the flames while four other people were seriously burnt and were admitted to the Baragwanath Hospital’s intensive care unit.

One of the four people who sustained severe burns and who is reported to be in a critical condition is well-known organist Mr Bongane Mdunge, who backs the famous vocal singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka.

The three other people who also suffered serious burns are Miss Lindi Sishi, Mrs Margaret Kunupi, and her husband Mr Anthony Kunupi.

According to the Sishi family four men came to their Dube house about 20 minutes after Nomthandazo had arrived at home.

They entered the house and said there is a "sell-out in here". As they spoke they sprinkled a powder-like substance on the floor before setting it alight.

The whole house was soon engulfed in flames and Mrs Sishi, 53, burnt to death.

Nomthandazo and the other burn victims were taken to hospital. She died on Friday night.

Relatives of the Sishi family said the last words the dying student nurse spoke were: "I am sorry to have caused you all this. I should not have re-applied."

Miss Sishi’s father, Mr Aaron Sishi, a road safety lecturer in Maritzburg, said his daughter had spoken to him at the hospital and told him that their home was attacked because she had re-applied to the hospital after she and 949 other student nurses had gone on strike.

Mr Sishi said he stopped her from saying anything further because he realized that she was in pain.

"She was burned beyond recognition and I could not bear to see her in that state."

Hospital staff get jobs back, page 2
Govt has not put out feelers to ANC — Nel

Reports yesterday which claimed the South African Government was putting out feelers on negotiations to the exiled African National Congress were dismissed as "devoid of all truth" last night by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel.

The reports could not be other than "part of an ongoing disinformation campaign which is being planned and executed against South Africa by ruthless propaganda experts from behind the Iron Curtain who support the ANC," he said in a statement in Pretoria.

According to the reports yesterday, quoting Frontline state sources, the South African Government had sent clear, direct signals to the ANC during the past fortnight that it could not solve the serious crisis confronting the country alone.

It was also claimed the Government had decided to release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners but was unable to work out the mechanics because of the continuing crisis.

"The Government has not put out any feelers whatsoever to the ANC and has not changed its policy on the release of Nelson Mandela," he said.

"The ANC is completely committed to violence and conducts a reign of terror against moderate black South African citizens in order to make South Africa supposedly ungovernable."

The reports were "a transparent attempt to create the impression this situation has been reached, which is of course laughable," he said. — Sapa.

*See Page 13.*
BRUSSELS - Nelson Mandela has left his prison cell at least once before to be offered a release deal similar to the one understood to have been proposed during his recent stay in a Cape Town hospital.

It was one of those stories that, as Reuters correspondent in Lusaka at the time, I came close to reporting, but held back on because of the problems associated with filing contentious material from certain trouble spots.

However, I trusted my sources at the time. Those sources have reaffirmed the story at regular intervals ever since, and it has been backed up, to my satisfaction by evidence from elsewhere.

It happened in early 1976, at a time of turmoil in central and southern Africa. South African forces were deep inside Angola, partly in response to the plea of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, who had forged a close relationship with the then South African Prime Minister Mr. John Vorster during the Angolan and Rhodesian crises.

Little of the official information made available during those times was worth knowing, for it tended to be diametrically opposed to the truth.

My reporting operation, therefore, consisted to a considerable extent of sifting through and assessing "unattributable" facts brought up the gravel path to my office each day by a succession of visitors.

They would tell of white lecturers from the University of Zambia languishing in jail, of internal murders within the black Rhodesian liberation movements based in Zambia, of secret visits to Mr. Kaunda's lodge in a game park by the South African Foreign Minister, of more than 1000 Namibian guerillas imprisoned by the Zambians (and never heard of again to this day), of dissident Namibian guerillas fleeing Zambia during a security crackdown, and so on.

It was a fascinating time, but careful judgment had to be made as to whether it was worthwhile getting expelled from the country for certain stories, while the regime was of great international news interest.

My predecessor understood the situation well. He had discovered the secret release from prison in Salisbury of the Rhodesian nationalists Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole and Robert Mugabe and their delivery to Lusaka for unification talks. But the Zambian authorities warned that the whole attempt to achieve a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia would be dashed by release of the story, so the story was put on ice and only released later after a visiting newspaperman found out about it and published it.

I trusted my principal source for the Mandela story. Other information he had given me had proved to be correct. On this occasion he said he had been present at a dinner attended by the then Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr. Raphael Banda, who was asked outright by a top international civil servant whom the source identified whether it was true that Mandela was in the country. Yes, Mr. Banda replied.

Normally I tried to avoid getting official spokesmen to knock down stories I believed to be true. But politics were so sensitive at that time that this kind of story had to be bounced off the presidential spokesman, Mr. Mark Chisala. He denied it emphatically; and I decided it was best not to press the issue.

But, in the years since then, I have learnt that Western intelligence officials were busy filing reports at that time that Mandela was probably in Lusaka.

When I recently encountered a Western source was a senior Zambian intelligence official in the seventies, I asked him about the Mandela story. He replied: "Let's put it this way: Even if it was true, and I'm not saying it is, I'd tell you it was a lot of nonsense."

The presumption in 1976 was that Mandela was given a South African offer, through Mr. Kaunda, of "freedom in exile" in the black homeland of Transkei, where the chief Minister, Chief Kololo Mntamnena, is Mandela's brother-in-law.

Mandela turned it down and was released from imprisonment in Robben Island. A visit would have been made possible by the close co-operation at that time between Zambia and South Africa over Angola and Rhodesia.

It was, after all, pressure from Mr. Vorster, and Mr. Kaunda's behalf, on Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith which led to the secret release of the black Rhodesian nationalists. And Mr. Kaunda joined with Mr. Vorster and numerous other states in an attempt to prevent the Marxist MPLA movement in Angola from aborting promised elections and taking power with the support of Cuban troops.

I have it on the highest authority that South Africa then senior Foreign Ministry civil servant Mr. Brand Fourie, made secret visits to Zambia in the last six months of 1975 in an effort to get
NEWS FOCUS

Mandela 'likely to accept offer of release into exile'

NELSON MANDELA's release into exile would probably be accepted by all parties — himself, government and the ANC — and it seems government has made some kind of offer to this effect which has not been rejected out of hand.

That is the view of Wits' political studies lecturer Dr Tom Lodge, who is also a leading authority on the banned African National Congress.

For almost a week, Mandela's release has been the subject of intense speculation which reached fever pitch on Friday when, shortly before the veteran ANC leader was returned from Cape Town's Volkswagen to Pollsmoor, he met his lawyer Jamal Ayob and advocate George Bizos for three hours of talks.

Mandela is also reported to have held talks that day with the commander of Pollsmoor, Brigadier Fred Munro, who, it is said, may have been acting as a go-between in negotiating a release deal between Mandela and government.

Lodge said yesterday that government was in a no-win situation. Mandela would remain a leader outside or inside prison and government would prefer to release him, although preferably into exile.

Furthermore, the ANC would wish to make it absolutely clear that there was no difference in policy between Mandela and the leadership in exile.

And, finally, his family would wish him to be released because he was "not a well man."

All of which added up to the likelihood that all parties would accept his release into exile. Mandela himself, while demanding an unconditional release, would probably have no choice were he to be set free and sent to Luzaka.

So far, the conditions which had been put to Mandela — a repudiation of violence and confinement to any particular area of SA — remained unacceptable to him.

"As regards violence, Denis Goldberg was in bad trouble when he renounced violence." (Goldberg was released in March after 22 years in prison. He returned to Israel.)

Nevertheless, Mandela also viewed his release as having to be part of a political process, a package, leading to the dismantling of apartheid.

Lodge said he did not think it likely the government saw any particular strategic advantage in releasing Mandela in the hope of creating disension within the ANC leadership.

ANC president Oliver Tambo had already indicated that he would be happy to step down in favour of Mandela, should he be released.

It was also being suggested in London yesterday that Mandela would be appointed to the ANC executive and remain head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing, and that the personal closeness between Mandela and Tambo was ruled out any possibility of a leadership struggle.

Mandela, who was one of three vice-presidents under Chief Albert Luthuli, and Transvaal leader of the ANC, no longer holds any formal position in the ANC, which has elected an executive twice since he was jailed for life in 1964.

"Mandela's release would not put a cat among the ANC pigeons," Lodge said.

While Mandela is not part of the policy-formulating machine of the ANC, he remains fully in touch with policy.

Only once did there ever appear to be any divergence of opinion between himself and Luzaka, when he expressed reservations — in his interview with British parliamentarian Lord Bethell — over the number of casualties in the 1983 Church Street bombing.

"Even then," says Lodge, "it appears that the ANC leadership in exile were also privately embarrassed by it."

Lodge said he believed there were many ways in which Mandela could play a valuable leadership role inside SA.
Secret witness tells Court of ANC activities

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, ruled here yesterday that the identity of a witness presently giving evidence against the 16 accused in the treason trial may not be revealed in order to protect the person.

In a four-page edited judgment on an application by the State for the evidence of witness 'S' to be heard in camera, Mr Justice Milne said the evidence of Col J Buchner and of 'purported ANC publications' indicated that the witness's fear of being in 'grave danger' was a reasonable one.

The judgment prohibits the publication of the name, gender or any distinguishing feature of the witness and any circumstances and facts which could identify the person.

Mr Justice Milne said it appeared that Sgt Leonard Nkosil, who defected from the ANC and joined the SAP and testified in ANC trials, was killed on the instigation of the ANC.

An ANC publication described Sgt Nkosil as a 'traitor to the people' who 'joined the enemy to give evidence against his comrades of those campaigns and did good service for Vorster from that time on. His death is a lesson for those who betray the people's cause'.

Informers

Another alleged ANC publication read: 'The strength and capabilities of our organisation is also reinfected in the actions against known informers and traitors.'

Yet another ANC publication, with photographs of seven black men working for the Security Branch, described them as 'unforgivable traitors of our people. They deserted the ANC to continue their task as servants of racist dogs and SBPS'.

Congress in an African country.
The name of the accused and the circumstances of the meeting cannot be published as this could identify the witness.

Turning to the workings within the ANC, the witness said the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the ANC worked closely together.

There was an alliance called the politico-military committee, formerly known as the Revolutionary Alliance, between the ANC, Saetu and the SA Communist Party, said witness 'S'.

Saetu considered the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) as a 'progressive' union which conducted itself in the same way as Saetu,' said the witness.

Witess 'S' said as far as the witness knew the SA Communist Party did not play any role in Saawu.

Members

According to the indictment four of the treason trialists are allegedly members of Saawu. They are: Mr Richard Gweta, 33, of Ciskei, national president of Saawu; Mr Sisa Njikazi, 29, of Ciskei, general secretary of Saawu; Mr Samuel Kiliane, 36, of Durban; and Mr Duze Ngcobo, 35, treasurer of the union.

The witness said Saawu considered the Federation of South African Unions (Fosatu) as 'reactionary' for not being truly non-racial.

A number of songs from video recording transcripts were identified by the witness as being similar to those sung at ANC training camps to unite people in 'exile far away from home' and also for propaganda to rally the people in South Africa.

The trial continues today.

Hospital vigil for man hurt in car blast

MBABANE—Swaziland police are waiting at the hospital bedside of a man who was critically hurt when his car exploded as it was inspected for road barrier in Swaziland at the weekend.

Police at Siphofanini removed the injured man and searched the car, finding an assortment of weapons and explosives, including landmines and grenades.

Policemen are anxious to trace other people who may have been in the same car but who managed to escape serious injury.

They are also still searching for two men, allegedly members of the ANC, whom they wish to question concerning a South African-registered Toyota found packed with explosives outside a block of flats in Mbabane three weeks ago.

A black South African woman who was arrested immediately after the discovery was later handed over to the South African authorities. — (Sapa)
Govt curbs on unrest filming, reports

PRETORIA — A notice forbidding local and overseas journalists from filming and recording unrest, boycotts or the actions of the security forces in the 38 state of emergency areas was issued by the government on Saturday.

In a statement accompanying the extraordinary Government Gazette, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange, said:

"The government is concerned with the presence of television and other camera crews in unrest situations which proved to be a catalyst to further violence.

According to the Gazette, a new regulation, "prohibition in respect of certain films, representations and sound recordings," has been added to the original emergency regulations proclaimed by the State President on July 21.

Public

The latest regulation prohibits journalists who do not have the permission of the Commissioner of Police from filming, drawing or recording by sound "or other representation" incidents in the emergency areas related to the unrest.

According to the Gazette, the prohibition will mean a news blackout of public disturbances, boycotts, assaults on people and property, and the conduct of members of the security forces in unrest operations.

"While the government has no intention of curtailing the right of the public to be informed of current events, it has decided to curb the presence of television and other audio-visual equipment during unrest situations in "emergency areas without the consent of the Commissioner of the SA Police," Mr. Le Grange said.

Here follows the complete text of the latest emergency regulation, published in the extraordinary Government Gazette:

Permission

No person shall, without the permission of the Commissioner of the SA Police, or of a commissioned officer, as defined in Section 2 of the Police Act (Act 7 of 1956), authorize thereto by the Commissioner, in any manner make, take, record, manufacture, reproduce, publish, broadcast or distribute, or take or send to any place within or outside the Republic, any film: as defined in Section 47 (1) of the Publications Act (Act 42 of 1974), or any photograph, drawing or other representation, or any sound recording of:

(i) Any public disturbance, disorder, riot, public violence, strike or boycott, or any damage of any property, or any assault on or killing of any person;

(ii) Any person, present at or involved in any public disturbance, disorder, riot, public violence, strike or boycott, or any damage of any property, or any assault on or killing of any person, or

(iii) Any conduct of a force or any member of a force with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or for the termination of the state of emergency, or cause it to be made, taken, recorded, manufactured, reproduced, published, broadcast or distributed, or to be taken or sent to any such place, or to attempt to commit any such act.

2. Any person who contravenes a provision of sub-regulation (1) shall be guilty of an offence.
Nel denies ANC approach reports

PRETORIA. — Reports yesterday which claimed the government was putting out feelers on negotiations to the exiled African National Congress were dismissed as "devoid of all truth" last night by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel.

The reports could not be other than "part of an ongoing disinformation campaign which is being planned and executed against South Africa by ruthless propaganda experts from behind the Iron Curtain who support the ANC," he said in a statement in Pretoria.

According to yesterday's reports, Pretoria has sent clear, direct signals to the ANC during the past fortnight that it could not solve the serious crisis alone.

It was also claimed the government had decided to release imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, but was unable to work out the mechanics because of the continuing crisis.

"The government has not put out any feelers whatsoever to the ANC and has not changed its policy on the release of Nelson Mandela," Mr Nel said.

He said the claims were being made to "create a continuing international climate" against South Africa.

"The ANC is committed to violence and conducts a reign of terror against moderate black South African citizens in order to make South Africa supposedly ungovernable." The reports were "a transparent attempt to create the impression, this situation has been reached, which is of course laughable", Mr Nel said. — Sapa
‘Rank-and-file’ ANC men jailed for treason

Johannesburg. — Two men who admitted being members of the African National Congress (ANC) and undergoing military training abroad were given effective sentences of three and four years' imprisonment by a Rand Supreme Court judge on Friday.

Sentences for treason range from a fine to the death penalty. Mr Justice L W H Ackermann said. He found Joseph Boitumelo Leepile (26) and Justice Mafa Ngidi (31) were “rank-and-file” members of the ANC, whose treasonable acts were not committed inside the Republic.

The judge said he had to weigh the interest of society against the factors mitigating in favour of both accused.

The two men ceased to be part of the ANC in May last year — almost a year before the ANC "took its decision to go for soft targets".

The judge said people who were tempted to join the organization now knowing the targets included civilians, would have to receive heavier sentences than the accused.

Leepile's sentence was lighter than Ngidi's because he was only 17 in June 1976 compared with Ngidi, who was 20.

He had suffered greater lack of stability in his home life (he was abandoned as a child and brought up by two families) and suffered greater trauma during the 1976 unrest.

The court heard that Leepile's close friend was the second person to be shot by police on June 16, 1976 and his death deeply disturbed Leepile. Another student was killed soon afterwards.

At the time Leepile, who was the head student in his class, was not a member of a political body and was not taking any active part in the unrest.

The judge accepted the conclusions of Professor B Helin, of UCT who had made a special study of the events of 1976. She compared it to disasters like the Laingsberg flood and the collapse of a slag heap on the Welsh village school at Aberfan.

The judge sentenced Leepile to six years and Ngidi to eight years with half the sentence suspended in each case.

The suspended sentences were an inducement to rehabilitation and because of mitigating factors, he said. The judge said both men had good prospects for rehabilitation because they have innate intelligence and personality, are not revolutionary and had not previously broken the law.

Considering their backgrounds, their past achievements in South Africa were to be commended. They left, not with hostile intent, but to further their education and become victims of ANC indoctrination, the judge said.

He also took into account they had worked actively for the ANC for seven years.
UDF motorcade: Bid for appeal fails

Supreme Court Reporter

AN APPLICATION for leave to appeal by Mr M Abrahams and 25 others convicted of attending an illegal gathering while in a convoy of cars, failed in the Supreme Court yesterday.

They were convicted last year of contravening the Internal Security Act on October 29, 1983, by driving in cars festooned with UDF posters advertising a "people's weekend".

Mr S Desai, for the applicants, said he would not argue on the validity of the proclamation in terms of which the convictions were made.

A full bench of the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court had set the proclamation aside, and it was now before the Appellate Division, he said.

He said that the applicants should have been acquitted as they had shown circumspection by consulting an attorney beforehand and had acted on his advice.

A motorcade could not be regarded as an assembly of persons as defined by the Internal Security Act.

Mr Justice A J Lategan said these points had been dealt with fully in his judgment, and he was not of the opinion that another reasonable court might differ.

There was no reasonable prospect of success, so the application was refused. Mr Justice H A van Heerden concurred.

Mr S Desai, instructed by Bernadt, Vukic and Potash, appeared for Mr Abrahams and the 25. Mr D van Niekerk, instructed by the office of the State Attorney, appeared for the State.
Police deny harassing Azapo official

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Allegations of security police harassment by the secretary of the local branch of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azopo), Mr Sicelo Magopheni, have been denied by the security police.

Both Brigadier G. J. Rossouw, head of the security police in East London and Major J. F. van der Merwe of the security branch here, said they did not know Mr Magopheni.

Mr Magopheni had alleged he had been visited by security policemen from Cambridge while at work, and had had a visit by Ciskei security police at his Mdantsane home.

Brig Rossouw said if Mr Magopheni had not committed a crime, he need not be worried about anything.

Mr Magopheni said two security policemen from Cambridge had visited him at work in August this year and asked questions.

He said on November 15, 1965, he had been visited again by two security police at work and asked whether he was aware of a meeting that was to take place between Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). He had denied any knowledge of the meeting.

MR MAGOPHENI

Mr Magopheni said he was visited on December 6 last year by Ciskei security policemen at home and they had confiscated his membership card, an Azapo magazine called Frank Talk, and had taken him away at 11.30 pm and interrogated him the whole night, releasing him the next day.

Mr Magopheni said he wished "to condemn this in the strongest possible terms."

Major Van der Merwe said: "I deny that security police harass people. If Mr Magopheni has had security police visits and he is not happy, he must see his attorney."

Ciskei security police could not be contacted for comment.
CONCERN that the only form of political expression available to the black community is seen to be through their emerging unions, is expressed by the chairman of Nampak, Mr D Brown, in the company's annual report for the year ending September.

"I accept union activity as an interface between employer and employee, but I am worried that unless changes are forthcoming, business will become the arena for dealing with their (the blacks') political frustrations," he says in his chairman's statement.

While the adverse effects of the drought and level of interest rates have seen "some relief" the worsening socio-political and unemployment problems have resulted in a further deterioration in trading conditions and a low level of business confidence, Mr Brown says.

"Stability, as a prerequisite to economic recovery, is now urgently required and it is encouraging to note that government has irrevocably embarked on a process of reform.

"However the pace of reform needs to be stepped up before confidence can return and have its effect on both the social and economic fronts," he says.

Of Nampak's performance he says 1985 has not been easy and he believes that to have achieved earnings per share of 143 cents, which is 18 percent down on last year, was "a creditable performance".

The interim results to March this year were about 16 percent down on 1984 and it was felt that at that stage that the percentage reduction in earnings for the year as a whole would be less than experienced in the first half.

"However the effects of the erratic trading conditions in the second six months are reflected in the further reduced earnings," Mr Brown says.

He believes that as trading conditions are not expected to improve in the short term "the group will do well to maintain earnings in 1986." — Sapa.

Azapo looks at 1986

THE Azanian People's Organisation will hold its 6th annual congress at the David Lan desc Community Centre in Asherville, Durhan, from December 14 to 16, an Azapo spokesman announced yesterday.

The theme of the congress is "forward to a socialist Avania".

"While reflecting on the current state of the nation, the congress will map out the direction the country should take during 1986," the spokesman said.

All the "oppressed and exploited" in the country were welcome, he added. — Sapa.
Police in boots 'violated' mosque

Staff Reporters

SHEIKH Nazem Mohamed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council, has accused police of violating the sanctity of a Cape Town mosque by defying the Islamic law that no shoes be worn on entering.

It was "an affront to the Muslim people of Cape Town" Sheikh Mohamed said several. Policemen entered the Park Road mosque in Wynberg about 9am today.

Angry Sheikh Mohamed said: "They just marched in. Not only did they not ask for permission to enter but they also had the audacity to do so without removing their boots, which is a desecration."

The incident followed the detention "for questioning" last night of the co-owner of Wynberg's Luxurama Cinema, Mr Yunus Ismail, who was taken into custody outside the mosque.

A witness said about 200 people marched down Park Road and into Ottery Road but police, who erected a barricade near Wynberg Senior Secondary School, told them to turn back.

The crowd walked to the mosque and were holding a candlelight vigil outside when security forces moved in.

NO RESPECT

"We went into the mosque and the security forces surrounded it. They told us to disperse. We left the mosque at 9pm," the witness said.

Sheikh Mohamed said it was reported to him that when the policemen were asked to remove their boots a policeman replied he would act the way he did in his own church.

"It seems the police have no respect for a place of worship. It is an affront to the Muslim people of Cape Town," he said, adding he would demand that the police respected others' sacred places by not entering mosques.

Captain Jan Calitz, police liaison officer, declined to comment. He said police were busy with a "prevention of crime operation" in Wynberg.

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, another liaison officer, confirmed that Mr Ismail had been taken in for questioning.

Mr Ismail's brother Anwar was detained two weeks ago.
Candlelight vigil for people’s sacrifices

THOUSANDS of people took part in a candlelight vigil organised by UDF-affiliated organisations and area committees last night.

Residents of Bo-Kaap, Woodstock, Walmer Estate, Salt River, Wynberg, Lotus River, Grassy Park, Athlone, Irlands, Manenberg, Bontebouw, Belair, Eerste River, Primrose Park and Sherwood Estate observed the vigil between 8pm and 9pm.

The theme of this week’s vigil was sacrifice, said UDF interim organiser Mr Naseef Jaffer.

"Those taking part spent the hour thinking of all those who sacrificed their lives or have been maimed or injured during the current unrest, as well as the students who sacrificed classes and their final exams," he said.
Treason trial hear of clenched fist salutes

Nelisengm Abanafini

A LIEUTENANT in the security police told the treason trial here yesterday how he had watched accused Archie Gumede, a co-president of the UDF, and Paul David lead a funeral procession to Clairwood cemetery with clenched fists in the air and a black, green and gold flag flying behind them.

Lt Victor Raju of the Security Police told the court yesterday how he had watched accused Archie Gumede, a co-president of the UDF, and Paul David lead a funeral procession to Clairwood cemetery with clenched fists in the air and a black, green and gold flag flying behind them.

Lt Victor Raju of CR Swart Square, Durban, said he spotted the two accused while keeping watch on the funeral service for Mrs Poomanie Moodley, which was held in the Tamil Institute Hall on August 14, 1982.

Mrs Moodley, 50, a nurse who worked in the Clairwood area of Durban, died on August 11. She had been an active member of the Natal Indian Congress.

Lt Raju said he and a colleague, WO Moodley, observed Mr David, Mr Thamba Pille, who was appearing as an instructing attorney for the defence in the trial, and another man carrying the coffin into the hall.

After three hours of speeches and the singing of freedom songs, such as We will follow Mandela, people came out and Archie Gumede stood in front of the coffin and marched through the street to the cemetery, which was about 330 m away, Lt Raju said.

Marched

Behind them, two black men held a white banner with the words 'Allied Workers' Union — injury to one is injury to all' and another two held a yellow banner reading 'Arabbo stands for student union', the lieutenant said. The funeral procession formed, comprising of about 600 people, and Archie Gumede raised his right arm with fist clenched and all the people in the procession raised their right fists and marched through the street to the cemetery, which was about 330 m away, Lt Raju said.

As the coffin was lowered into the grave Nkosi Sikelelwa Afrika was sung.

At the start of the service, he noted a 4 m by 1.5 m banner hanging from the roof of the hall outside on which the Freedom Charter had been printed.

People were also handing out pamphlets at the hall's entrance. One of the pamphlets was printed on yellow paper with black and green writing, saying Mrs Moodley was 'constantly guided in her organisational work by the Congress membership, Nelson Mandela, Yvonne Naidoo, Monty Naicker, Archie Gumede and George Senjerathwa were her leaders'.

Detention

A badge made of yellow cardboard with green and black ribbon with the words 'Congrats on the victory of the clenched fist', a clenched fist, was handed in to the Court.

A secret witness, called 'S', said that after agreeing to testify for the State, the witness had been released from months of detention and given opportunities to read banned political literature at a police station so 'I could inform myself of the ANC, Umkhonto We Sizwe and South African Congress of Trade Unions'.

Under cross examination by Mr Marumo Moe- rane, for the defence, witness S admitted that in not wanting the ANC to know the witness's whereabouts the witness had lied to the Court about a letter to the witness's mother.

'I did not expect the letter to be produced in Court. This shows I can't even trust my mother because I asked her in the letter not to tell anyone that I had written to her,' the witness admitted that when he called the police before the meeting, the witness was also threshed by a police lieutenant and beaten with a hosepipe by a warrant officer at a police station, suffering injuries to the head and thighs.

Lifetime

When arrested as an ANC-trained activist, the witness told of fears of being assaulted, but realised this would not happen and was only 'slapped once' for not giving the witness's real name to the security police, the Court heard.

'The police told me if I gave evidence, charges would be dropped. I realised some opportunities came only once in a lifetime and as I was dissatisfied with the ANC, I realised maybe I'll be free.' witness S said.

I wanted to give evidence as I wanted to prove I had reformed and I wanted to lead a normal life, witness S said.
Teachers deserve support — UDF

Education Reporter

TEACHERS who refuse to administer final exams are acting as responsible educators and deserve unconditional support, says the United Democratic Front (UDF).

It condemns the Department of Education and Culture's actions towards teachers "of good standing" taking a stand and urged the authorities to abandon their "strong-armed" tactics.

"The teachers' stand indicates their concern for the type and quality of education pupils are receiving. With detentions, bannings, harassment and troops on school premises as the order of the day, an exam atmosphere can hardly be said to exist," said a statement issued by the UDF interim organiser, Mr. Naseegh Jaffer.

"It is thus obvious that the current examinations hold no educational value."

The Department of Education and Culture's actions in suspending and withholding salaries due to teachers taking a stand against the exams was "hardly a mature approach to solving the education crisis", the statement said.

"Teachers who refuse to administer such examinations are exercising their duty as responsible educators and people in our community will appreciate their action. Their stand deserves unconditional support.

"The authorities should stop this strong-armed attitude. These are teachers of good standing and we repeat the call for their unconditional reinstatement," the statement said.

Education for an Aware South Africa (Edasa), a new group of white teachers, has expressed solidarity with teachers in coloured schools and is to launch a petition calling for those suspended or dismissed to be reinstated.

An Edasa spokesman last night called for teachers' salaries to be paid, suspensions lifted, detained teachers' release and a postponement of the exams to March.

"As white teachers in secure posts in white schools we feel we need to show our solidarity with teachers in coloured schools," the spokesman said.
My solution to violence,
— Naude, Buthelezi

RAMSAY MILNE, Argus Foreign Service
NEW YORK. — Two South African political figures, the Rev Beyers Naude and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have presented to Americans their own prescriptions for a solution to South Africa's "bloody violence" — and both shared the view that the violence would continue until the government made a meaningful "declaration of intent" concerning the political future of blacks and released all political prisoners, including Mr Nelson Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi and Dr Naude were responding to US News and World Report, which had asked them what they considered to be a solution to South Africa's problems.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not believe township violence was spreading, pointing to the fact that a state of emergency had been declared in only 36 out of more than 200 magisterial districts.

"But if you look at (US) television, you would think that the whole country is burning," he said.

He added that he believed the violence was caused not only by political factors. The situation, he said, had been worsened by the downturn in the economy, which had placed large numbers of blacks in "dire straits."

He believed the violence could be stopped, or "it would subside a bit," if the state of emergency were lifted and if some political prisoners, including Mr Nelson Mandela, were released.

"Thirdly, it was essential for President Botha to declare an intent about power sharing by all the people of South Africa.

Dr Naude, in a much stronger line, said that although he prayed for a basic change of policy by the government, he simply could not see it occurring.

"The government can only go in its reforms as far as its own white electorate will allow it to go. And that white electorate will not allow P.W. Botha to take any steps they believe will jeopardize their dominance of political and economic power. The black community rightly demands a full sharing in political rights and in the economic wealth of the country. So you have these two immutable forces, the one against the other."

Dr Naude said one of the very least factors blacks would be prepared to accept would be the release of political prisoners so they can participate in the future decision-making process.

"Secondly, the security forces had to be withdrawn from the townships so that peace could return to the community."

"Thirdly, the entire pass laws system had to be abolished and, fourthly, the government should make a clear statement of intent about the political future of the black community."

Asked whether communists were involved in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, Dr Naude said the ANC was in alliance with the South African Communist party and added: "but to say there is a massive communist conspiracy against South Africa is simply, to my mind, talking nonsense."

"Because anyone actively opposing apartheid has in the past been labelled a communist, blacks have drawn the logical conclusion: "If every person who identifies himself with us in our struggle for liberation is termed a communist, then communism must be a very good thing."
Another stay for advocate

MBABANE — Disbarred South African advocate Yusuf Patel, has from another stay in his battle against deportation from Swaziland.

Mr Patel, who is wanted in South Africa to serve an effective two-year prison term for defeating the ends of justice, has asked the Swaziland High Court for an order permitting him to go to the country of his choice. He wants to go to Ireland, where a brother lives.

When his application came before the court his lawyers said they had not had time to prepare their submissions and the hearing was postponed indefinitely.

Mr Patel was returned to the prison where he is being held.

Mr Patel was convicted in Johannesburg on three counts of defeating the ends of justice. One count was set aside on appeal to the Transvaal Supreme Court. The other two were upheld by the Appellate Division in March 1977.

In September 1978 Mr Patel, who had fled to Swaziland, was struck off the roll of advocates.
Thousands of people, like these three Bo-Kaap children, took part in a candlelight vigil organized by UDF area committees and other organizations between 8 and 9 last night. In the Bo-Kaap, Woodstock, Salt River, Wynberg, Grassy Park, Lansdowne, Athlone, Primrose Park, Surrey Estate, Manenberg, Bonteheuwel, Belhar and Elsie’s River house lights were turned off and candles lit.
11 unrest victims' funeral postponed

Dispatch Reporter:
QUEENSTOWN — The mass funeral for 11 victims of the unrest will be held next weekend and not this weekend.

This was announced at the memorial service for the victims attended by more than 500 people yesterday at the Church of God and Saints of Christ in Mungusi.

In a reconciliatory speech, the Reverend Michael Hall, called for enmity and animosity to be cast aside and for people to unite as brothers.

The Reverend John Mlawane of eZibileni urged people to rely on God for everything — even on the question of “impimpi” who were getting necklaces.

"Don’t burn people with tyres, take them to God," he said.

The Reverend Simon Lukwe said that people who died in the unrest would always be remembered because they died that peace may reign.

Police kept a low profile from a distance and there was a roadblock at the entrance to Mungusi.

The service ended with power salutes and shouts of “forward to freedom”. Derogatory remarks about homeland leaders, Renamo and Unita were made.
ANC colours at funeral, court told

PIETERMARITZBURG - Two treason trialists were key figures in a funeral procession in Durban in 1962 during which a black, green and gold flag was flown, the court here heard yesterday.

A state witness, Lieut. Victor Raju, said black green and yellow lapel badges and yellow pamphlets printed in black and green were also distributed at Mrs Poomanie Moodley’s funeral.

He told the court Mr Archie Gumede led the procession to the cemetery and Mr Paul David was one of two people who held the flag.

The judge, President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, ruled that the evidence was inadmissible after Lieut Raju told the court that he was told during training lectures that these colours were used by the ANC.

The evidence of a secret state witness ended yesterday with the defence alleging the person told lies and “spiced” his evidence with information fed to him in detention.

The court heard that once the witness agreed to give evidence, he was allowed to read banned literature “to inform myself about the ANC, Unkholo we Sizwe (the ANC military wing) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.”

The witness, who “traded off” imprisonment for freedom by becoming a state witness, said “it was a chance of a lifetime that you only get once.”
Soldiers tell of Maseru attacks

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER
Pietermaritzburg

TWO SADF soldiers told the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court this week how they had attacked alleged ANC bases in a Maseru residential area in December 1982, "eliminated" the male occupants and seized numerous documents.

The two men, who may be named only as O'Brien and Heyns, were giving evidence in the trial of 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders who are charged with treason.

Both witnesses said women and children were present in the houses they raided during the pre-emptive strike, but in the words of Heyns: "We tried, as far as possible, to keep them out of the line of fire."

Of the documents allegedly seized, one was signed "Yours comradely, T (or Y) Qgwere". It was handed in as evidence on Monday, and allegedly refers to one of the accused.

The documents were, however, returned to the state after the defence team, led by Ismail Mohamed, SC, objected to their admissibility as evidence because the state had not yet proved their relevance or that the houses they were found in were in fact ANC bases.

The trial was adjourned on Wednesday after the Judge President of Natal, Justice Milnie, reserved judgment until 8.30am this morning on an almost six-hour application by the state to hear the evidence of their next three witnesses in camera so as to protect their identities.

The court heard on Tuesday from Heyns that two men in the Maseru house he had invaded on December 8/9 1982, shot back at them.

The two men were "eliminated" and two firearms, a pistol and an AK47 rifle, were found beside the bodies in the bedroom.

Heyns said he then searched the two bedrooms, but not the remainder of the house, and seized documents which he handed to police Colonel Jacobus Buchner, who was waiting at the South African border.

O'Brien, who allegedly attacked another house, said four men were killed, but two women were released.

No weapons were found.

Buchner, a member of the Security Branch in Pretoria and an interrogator of "terrorists", told the court Lesotho was a springboard for the African National Congress in 1982, and ANC high command had been accommodated in houses in Maseru.
Family say men murdered activist

THE family of missing political activist Hassan Solomon now believes he has been killed by a rightwing "hit group".

Solomon, 23, has been missing for more than three months.

He worked for the youth forum in Durban, an organisation set up by the Durban church agency Diakonia to coordinate youth activities in the city and to run leadership and training courses.

His family last saw him on the night of August 10. He had left the family flat to wait outside for a car to fetch him at midnight to attend the funeral of murdered civil rights lawyer Victoria Mxenge in Transkei.

He took no spare clothing or money and was not seen at the funeral.

"We feel frantic because it is not his style to disappear without any message. Even if he had gone away somewhere, he would have been in touch with us," his mother, Kookaya Solomon said.

She said the family feared that Solomon would be yet another name on the growing list of politically active people who disappeared without trace.
By HOWARD BARRELL in Harare, MOIRA LEVY in Cape Town and ANTON HARBER in Johannesburg

AS rumours multiplied yesterday of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela, the ANC in Lusaka said any plan to fly their jailed leader to freedom in another country would be unacceptable.

And a representative of the State President's office in Pretoria said there was absolutely no truth in speculation that an unconditional release of Mandela was imminent.

"Nothing has changed," he said.

The Prisons Department maintained a tight-lipped silence.

However, press and television crews from all over the country set up camp outside the Voelkshospitaal in Cape Town, hoping for an indication that the ANC leader was not returning to Pollsmoor Prison.

Mandela's wife and family have moved back into the Mount Nelson Hotel and are making lengthy, daily visits to him.

After her visit yesterday, Mrs Mandela spoke briefly to the press. She is banned and cannot be quoted, but she had nothing to add to the speculation.

Mandela, 68, is recovering from a minor operation in the hospital. It has been clear for nearly a week that he had fully recovered and was medically fit to return to the prison cell he has occupied for 22 years.

The fact that he is still in hospital and his family has been travelling frequently between Cape Town and Johannesburg has given rise to rumours that he may not be returned to prison.

Prison Services has said he is being kept in hospital for post-operative care.

However, the speculation was that the government would use his illness as grounds for release on compassionate grounds. This would enable them to release Mandela — the most famous of South Africa's political prisoners — without releasing his colleagues.

The possibility that he may be released and flown to Lusaka has been raised in the press in recent weeks.

In recent years, the government has offered their hottest prisoner freedom in the Transkei and, when that was rejected, freedom on the condition that he renounced violence.

Sources close to the family yesterday said no new offer had been made to Mandela.

Yesterday, an ANC spokesman in Lusaka told the Weekly Mail that only the unconditional release of Mandela would be acceptable to the ANC.

He said the ANC had no firm evidence Mandela was to be released, but added that the outlawed movement was demanding the unconditional release not only of their leader, but of all political prisoners and detainees.

Winnie Mandela is in Cape Town in defiance of an order to return to Brandfort in the Orange Free State.
Cape Town-bound Winnie Mandela checks in at Jan Smuts airport ... keeping the world guessing

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP.
DURBAN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed to business leaders to take newspaper proprietors to task over the way in which they allowed reporters and sub-editors to determine the content of newspapers, thus turning them, he claimed, into vehicles for African National Congress propaganda.

He also slammed the media for their “appalling lack of recognition” of the real progress being made in South Africa.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister was addressing the South African Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors in Ulundi.

He said he fervently believed in freedom of the Press, but there was a section of the Press where “journalists were no more than propagandists for the ANC and UDF”.

“As a South African, I am appalled by the lack of perception in the media which does not see the real progress that South Africans are making.”

Proof of this was the way in which many organisations were united in their opposition to apartheid.

Everywhere there was evidence of South Africans longing for a normalised country.

He appealed to big business to do more to help Inkatha.
Two more die in Vryburg vigilante campaign

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The death toll is mounting in the remote Vryburg township of Huhudi after Monday’s murder of a youth leader by vigilantes said to be linked to certain community councillors.

A police unrest report said two more people — an unidentified girl and a man — died in the area during 24 hours of stoning, burning and fighting.

The first death was that of Sylvester "M: Ref" Gasebatho (17), whose witnesses said he was hacked down, beaten and shot by a group of vigilantes who have allegedly been involved in repeated attacks on political activists since Sunday.

A man was seriously injured in an attack which claimed the life of the young girl yesterday. Both were allegedly doused with petrol.

The death of the unidentified man allegedly occurred when police tossed fire during a petrol bomb attack.

Police reported that they shot and arrested a man who had attacked a member of the force with an axe. Certain councillors’ homes were stoned.

Sources in the community claim that at least one girl was shot and injured.

On Tuesday night and yester-
day morning three homes — two belonging to United Democratic Front members and one to a hometown councillor — were razed to the ground.

A young boy was seriously burnt in an attack on the home of the Huhudi Civic Association chairman and regional UDF president, Mr. Hofman. The house was burnt down.

See Page 3.
The Annual People's Congress (Azapo) has announced it would hold its 29th national congress next month in Durban. Azapo's General Secretary, Mr. George Wauchope, said the theme for the Congress, which will be held on 8 April, would be "Forward to a Socialist Arabia." The Congress will leave on the 14th Str. House in Winders before 8 pm on Durban. Azapo's General Secretary, Mr. George Wauchope, said the theme for the Congress, which will be held on 8 April, would be "Forward to a Socialist Arabia." The Congress will leave on the 14th Str. House in Winders before 8 pm on Durban.
Barclays directors held few meetings with Tambo

LONDON — Directors of Barclays Bank met African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo and colleagues a number of times during his recent visit to London, it is learnt here.

It was part of a series of informal meetings between the ANC and British businessmen.

Sir Timothy Bevan, speaking at a branch managers' dinner in London on Wednesday, announced that Barclays had "met and talked to the ANC in London", as well as meeting and talking to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he described as a "great believer in foreign investment".

Barclays is the first company to confirm its involvement with the ANC.

An ANC spokesman in London said: "We aren't authorised to discuss this at all."

Sir Timothy also accused South Africa of being "woefully slow" in dismantling apartheid, which he called "repugnant, wrong, unchristian and unworkable". He also deprecated the "muzzling" of the news media.

The speech marks an extraordinary reversal of Barclays's usual low-key defences of its involvement in South Africa, which have never contained strong language about the South African regime.

It comes days after Oxfam announced that it would withdraw its account from Barclays. A spokesman said the two were not connected.

Barclays recently reduced its stake in Barclays National Bank of South Africa from 50 percent to 40 percent, and it has been increasingly sensitive about its identification in public with its South African associate.

A spokesman for the Confederation of British Industry said he did not know of any members meeting the ANC.

But he disclosed that the CBI's Overseas Committee had decided that any approach from any South African political groups should be considered on merit.

The CBI had met the Urban Foundation, the spokesman added.
New phase in ‘people’s war’

TOM LODGE
is a senior lecturer in Political Studies at Wits University and an authority on the African National Congress.

PAUL BELL
Political Correspondent

THERE is evidence that the ANC’s armed struggle — since the adoption in June of a “people’s war” strategy involving large numbers of people and modest technology — is becoming increasingly internally-based and able to be sustained independently of external resources.

But this week’s spate of mine attacks on the north-western edge of the Transvaal and yesterday’s attempted rocket attack on Sasol indicate the implementation of another decision — to expand the armed struggle in rural areas to complement the “people’s war”.

According to Dr Tom Lodge, the “people’s war” is already in motion and is evidenced by:
- The spate of grenade attacks in the Western Cape;
- The greater activity this year of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (UWS), in the form of attacks on those defined by the ANC as collaborators or Security Police agents;
- More attacks on people this year than on installations; and
- Increasing reports of thefts of weapons from security forces — “disarming of the enemy” — providing a local supply independent of external sources.

Addressing the SA Institute of Foreign Affairs this week on the subject of black politics since the emergency, Lodge said the ANC had decided in June, its second consultative conference in Kabwe, Zambia, to embrace the concept of people’s war.

Two other Kabwe decisions had been:
- The inclusion of soft targets in broadening the scope of violence.
- Heavy township casualties and cross-border raids had helped persuade the ANC Old Guard that, while attacks should not necessarily be aimed at causing large numbers of casualties, they should not deter them.

The rejection of negotiations with the SA government unless it demonstrated its willingness to dismantle apartheid and free political prisoners.

The adoption of “people’s war” required the integration of the armed struggle in the lives of the people, particularly youth. It also required the “democratisation” of the technology of this warfare — developing the use of simple technology for use in guerrilla actions involving large numbers.

This was aimed at achieving maximum political impact on the target group, and on making the “war” more visible to whites without necessarily killing them in larger numbers.

Lodge described this week’s landmine attacks as “significant, a new tactic, one not used before and a pointer to the future, which might make the lives of people in rural areas increasingly uncomfortable”.

The ANC distinguished between talks and negotiations. Negotiations with government would, in their view, be premature because it would still be dealing from a position of weakness.

But Lodge believes there might have been some level of contact through intermediaries on the question of Nelson Mandela’s release, because both sides would have something to gain.

The ANC was willing, however, to talk to those as an educational process to make its own position clear. There was also a new climate of openness in the ANC, as was evidenced by the naming of all ANC executive members for the first time.

“They seem to be less defensive, less sensitive to outside inquiry, partly because they are concerned to build bridges, to attract people in areas in which they were hitherto not interested or hopeful of winning support.”

Lodge saw September’s talks with the SA business delegation as an attempt to show business the ANC was not as devilish an alternative as it might seem. More important, the discussions had involved issues the ANC itself had yet to resolve on the management of a post-apartheid economy.

Regarding the impact of the emergency on the ANC, Lodge said it had not affected areas in which there were high levels of UWS activity. Durban, for example, had traditionally been an important area of activity, but was exempt.

The ANC’s influence abroad had been enhanced by the emergency, which was perceived externally as an admission by government of a state of crisis.

Internally, among whites, the emergency’s effect on the economy had increased the perception that some form of settlement with the ANC might be an unpleasant but necessary solution to current economic instability and recession.

Regarding the UDP, Lodge said the emergency had been aimed at immobilising the organisation through the detention of its local-level activists.

It had helped to paralyse the UDP’s formal structures, to limit the role local leadership could play in community politics, and to remove any possibility the UDP could provide a disciplining or controlling function over communities in which it exercised moral leadership.
Slabbert: if apartheid ends ANC will talk

EAST LONDON — The ANC would be prepared to negotiate and consider compromises once apartheid had been removed, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said here yesterday.

Responding to a question at a business luncheon in the city, Dr Slabbert said he had gained this impression on his recent meeting with the ANC in Lusaka.

But, he said, the public should be in a position to judge for itself. "Official news" had left many uninformed on important issues.

"A democratic system would have to be devised because simplistic majoritarianism," would not work.

The Government would have to take a "big step to get ahead in the game," and this would make irrational violence unacceptable in the light of clearly stated reform goals.

Dr Slabbert repeated his warning, given in Port Elizabeth yesterday, that South Africa was on the threshold of becoming a siege society.

"People can survive as they have done in Northern Ireland and Lebanon but the economy cannot operate normally under such conditions."

A further negative factor in a society under siege was that "inconclusive violence" could last for a long time.

One of his aims as leader of the Opposition was to seek ways of moving out of siege, to undercut violence and to promote negotiation.

He warned that the strength of opposition to apartheid outside the country should not be underestimated.

DOMESTIC

On his recent trip abroad, which included visits to Australia, New Zealand, the United States and Britain, it was apparent that apartheid had become a domestic political issue in those countries.

It had also become apparent that the sanctions debate overseas had "its own momentum."

Businessmen are assessing the situation in South Africa because they don't see their investments as safe any more."

A positive development was that a distinction was being drawn between getting rid of apartheid and what it would be replaced with.

The Government had essentially restored freedom of choice of the individual to participate in certain activities by repealing the Mixed Marriages Act, section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, but at the same time it had highlighted the absence of choice in other spheres.

The Government could scrap laws, such as the Population Registration Act, without having to commit itself to an alternative political system.

INITIATIVE

"It has to say clearly that apartheid will not work and it wants to end it. Only then can it say it wants to negotiate. This could get a domestic initiative going."

The heads of the police and defence force would have to be told what reform package the Government had in mind.

"They have to understand the package and back it," he said. — Sapa.

LP to discuss Group Areas?

Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party is to hold a regional conference in Uitenhage tomorrow at which all four of its House of Representatives Ministers are to speak.

The party's Leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Allan Hendrickse, is to address a public rally at 2.30pm on Sunday.

He is expected to deal strongly with the support expressed this week by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for the retention of the Group Areas Act, to which the LP is intractably opposed.

Both the conference and the rally will take place at the Allanridge Centre, Uitenhage.
Many people were increasingly becoming convinced that there was a deliberate plan to kill blacks in the country because the number of those who have died at the hands of security forces was increasing daily, Father S'mangaliso Mkhathwana, patron of the United Democratic Front told a press conference held at Khanyis House on Wednesday.

The conference, attended by both the local and foreign press, was held to announce details of recent unrest in Pretoria's black townships.

Dr Nico Smith and the Reverend Lucas Mbuthuma also addressed the conference. The two priests were among a group of clergymen who recently had to cancel plans to meet the African National Congress in Lusaka.

Father Mkhathwana said the country was becoming one huge prison where thousands of the opponents of apartheid were being detained without trial. The truth, Father Mkhathwana said, was the ultimate sufferer.

Father Mkhathwana said there was an uneasiness among black people which was caused by a government that was imposed on them. School children were also sacrificing their education because they wanted to register their rejection of the present system.

"The present situation in South Africa had all the characteristics of a civil war. Those entrusted with maintaining peace and justice were in fact the very people who were terrorising residents. We also noticed extreme polarisation and alienation in the townships", Father Mkhathwana said.

Defining the recent Mamelodi March in which 13 people were killed, Father Mkhathwana pointed out that the protest march was meant to echo the demands of all oppressed people in the country.

According to figures released at the conference, 44 people have been killed in Pretoria's townships Mamelodi alone accounted for 34 deaths. More than 1200 people have been detained since July.

Immediate demands announced at the conference included the following:
- that police and army personnel be withdrawn from the townships;
- that all restrictions on funerals be removed;
- that peaceful demonstrators be protected.

FATHER S'mangaliso Mkhathwana.
Swazis arrest 16 ANC members

MBABANE Sixteen members of the African National Congress have been arrested the past few days, a police source in Mbabane said today.

He said they were being held pending their appearance in court to face charges of illegal entry into Swaziland.

The source said five were arrested near Nhlangano and 11 in the Lubisi area.

They have admitted that they were members of the ANC in transit from South Africa through Swaziland to other African states.
LONDON — The eagerness everyone is suddenly showing to meet ANC leader Oliver Tambo suggests that he has emerged in the centre as the best hope for a “moderate” solution to the South African problem.

This is one of the points made in a major profile of Tambo in The Observer.

But the article adds that the risk for Tambo is that “moderate” is a dirty word in Africa: “Bishop Abel Muzorewa had that label, and it finished him in Zimbabwe.”

The article says it is paradoxical that Tambo, accused of masterminding lawlessness, finds himself more and more courted by church leaders, businessmen and bankers.

But he finds a particular logic in the belated recognition by Britain of the ANC’s likely role in shaping the future of South Africa. It is not merely the predominance Britain has in investment and trade with the Republic: there are also the historic lines. He argues that for the majority, the system persists as it did under British colonial rule.

In many ways, says the article, Tambo personifies the British connection. While he has to globetrot constantly from the ANC’s headquarters in Zambia, his wife Adelaide lives in Boswell Hill, North London.

His three children went to schools in Britain and his eldest daughter Tembi was married to an Englishman in St Paul’s Cathedral — just after Prince Charles was married there.

By getting out of South Africa when he did, Tambo may be said to have been fortunate. He kept his liberty. “But it is a life of secret itineraries and meetings in anonymous offices behind heavily padded doors.”

“The parcel-bomb murder three years ago in Mozambique of Ruth First, one of the ANC’s Marxist intellectuals, exemplified the risks.

“In the African front-line states, the likelihood of punitive raids by South Africa must increase as domestic violence escalates. The movement’s regional headquarters in a Lusaka back-street is a sitting target.”

How far the ANC had control over the deeds done in its name is a topic of much debate.

The article notes that the ANC remains a potent symbol in South Africa, but the prospect exists that “the longer the trial of strength lasts, the more likely it is that a far more revolutionary movement will emerge.”
Lieutenant denies he tampered with pamphlet dates

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A SECURITY policeman denied having tampered with dates which showed when pamphlets, handed in as evidence against 16 UDF and trade union leaders, were 'seized' during the funeral of a Natal Indian Congress activist.

Lt Victor Raju, of C R Swart Square, Durban, made the denial here yesterday after Mr Ismail Mohamed SC, for the defence, noticed a discrepancy between his photocopies of two pamphlets and the originals handed in to the Court this week.

Lt Raju said the pamphlets had been among those handed out at the funeral service of Mrs Poonamie Moodley, a community nurse in Clairwood, Durban, on August 14, 1982. Mrs Moodley had died on August 11.

Photocopies of the pamphlets showed the date of seizure, written in by Lt Raju, to be 'August 11, 1982' while on the original pamphlets 'August 14 1982' appeared as the date of seizure.

Mr Mohamed said the 'in 'August 14 obliterated the comma and the figure was in a darker colour ink than the rest of the handwriting.

Lt Raju initially told the Court he could not see the discrepancy raised by Mr Mohamed.

Observed

After cross-examination the lieutenant conceded there was a discrepancy and said: 'It looks like somebody had altered the date from "August 11" to "14", but it was not me.'

Mr Christo Meiring, for the State, agreed the dates seemed altered and said that during consultations Lt Raju had said that in his statement he had mentioned 'August 11' when he had wanted to say 'August 14'.

Lt Raju said he had not taken any notes of the funeral service or the subsequent "march with clenched fists" to bury the coffin at Clairwood Cemetery.

W/O R Moodley of the Security Police said he observed the service with Lt Raju and had seen him write descriptions of the funeral in an SAP issued notebook.

Lt Raju had said that before 1979 the Natal Indian Congress was more 'Indianised, calmer, more passive and no freedom songs were sung' but this changed and after that year "it was policy" not to attend such events.

Discretion

W/O Moodley said he had used his discretion, rather than complying with instructions, in preferring to stand outside the hall than attending the service.

Under cross-examination by Mr Mohamed, Lt Raju said he was not aware that a Hindu priest had delivered a sermon during the service, that hymns were sung and references were made to peace, non-violence and justice.

The policeman denied a suggestion from Mr Mohamed of having a "myopic vision" about black political protest and that he was "blinkered by the Security Police and experiences as a policeman."

Maj Harold Miles, of the Security Police in Durban, said he had paid an Indian informer-between R20 and R50 for attending an Albert Luthuli Memorial Service at St. Anthony's Hall, Durban, on August 11.

Two of the speakers were allegedly Mr Archie Gumede, 70, a co-president of the UDF, and co-accused Mr Duze Ngcobo, 36, treasurer of the South African Afro-Workers Union.

Song sheet

After the meeting the informer handed Maj Miles a Zulu song sheet, pamphlets and badges allegedly distributed at the meeting.

The song sheet had one song with the words: "We the black Nation cry for our country which was taken by the boers! Assault them! Assault them, and they will leave our country. (2x) Children of Africa will die for their country taken by boers. They must leave, they must leave our country."

Mr Mohamed said the song was not on a transcript of the meeting and those who knew the song in its "correct form" say the words "assault" do not appear in it.

Under cross-examination by the defence, Maj Miles said he did not know where or from whom inside the hall his informer had received the song sheet and other documents handed to him.

He said it was possible that an 'agent provocateur' acting as a member of the audience had given his informer the documents.

The trial continues today.
Narrowing the gap

The differences are still considerable, but the gap between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the western Cape appears to be narrowing. Moves towards closer cooperation between the two groups have become increasingly evident as the crisis in the region deepens.

Earlier this month, after government banned a protest meeting organised by 23 mainly UDF-affiliated organisations in the Cape Town city hall, the PFP quickly arranged another meeting with a similar theme and invited speakers from many of the 23 organisations whose own rally was prohibited. The move was seen as both a challenge to the authorities and a determined effort to ensure that the right to peaceful protest was maintained at least at some level.

As it turned out, there was no official UDF speaker at the PFP meeting and relatively few UDF supporters in the audience. UDF patron, Allan Boesak, was invited to speak, but declined, although his close friend and confidant, UCT religious studies professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, spoke, as did Western Province Council of Churches leader Lionel Louw. Most of the 11 organisations and individuals represented on the PFP platform were probably closer to the UDF than the PFP.

Out of the limelight, cooperation is also growing. The PFP unrest monitoring group is winning acceptance in coloured and black communities and the relatively radical stance of the PFP youth wing in the western Cape has ensured acceptance in UDF circles. The PFP youth group was one of the 23 organisations whose meeting was banned.

PFP MPs Micky Blackburn and Dr Bishop have for years been accepted in UDF-linked communities.

So far the overt moves for cooperation have all come from the PFP.

At the PFP protest meeting, federal executive chairman Alex Boraine (who at the time was acting leader of the party) made an "urgent and passionate appeal" for unity among apartheid's opponents. Boraine said he did not see the UDF as an opponent of the PFP and would welcome closer ties.

Villa-Vicencio, on the other hand, was critical of PFP perceptions of the dynamics of South African politics and warned that the party risked being absorbed into white capitalistic power politics.

The significance of the meeting, however, was that the PFP and UDF-oriented speakers were sharing a platform and that the bickering between them was relatively innocuous.

Boraine later told the FM that Boesak's initial response to the invitation to speak at the meeting had been positive, but he turned it down after further consideration.

It is clear that ties with the PFP is an explosive issue in the UDF. It is a problem that Boraine acknowledges. He believes that because of the diversity of views among UDF affiliates, it is far more difficult for leaders of the organisation to publicly favour positions which are unpopular in certain UDF circles.

He says he has had encouraging approaches behind the scenes from UDF supporters and officials.

"I wish to place on record that we are determined to try to work towards closer cooperation, a deeper understanding of positions, goals and strategies and will continue to work for these things all the time in whatever we do," Boraine says.

The PFP does not believe its strategy of participation in Parliament puts it in competition with extra-parliamentary opposition groups. The party is also aware that the UDF has borne the brunt of government's strong-arm tactics while the PFP has escaped lightly, says Boraine.

"For this reason it is perhaps understandable that we are more positive in our overtures to the UDF," says Boraine. He says he is aware of the feeling in some UDF circles that the PFP is trying to "take over," but this is not so. "We acknowledge that we are just a small part of the overall opposition to apartheid in South Africa," he says.
Riddles and rumours

Government spokesmen and the African National Congress (ANC) remain tight-lipped about events which aroused frenzied speculation and the expectation that the world’s best-known political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, was about to be released. What seems certain, however, is that there is some substance to theories and rumours that a negotiated release is on the cards.

A senior Western diplomat in SA tells the FM his government firmly believed that Mandela’s release was imminent. This appears to have been the information obtained by other Western capitals, which impelled local and foreign correspondents to take up positions outside his point of departure, Cape Town’s Volkshospital, and his supposed point of arrival, Lusaka.

As early as Monday last week ANC leaders in Lusaka told SA-based journalists they were expecting Mandela in Lusaka last Friday. They were very vague about why they thought that would happen. At more or less the same time, the story spread like wildfire through SA.

The authorities’ first reaction to press queries strengthened the credibility of the rumour. There were no outright denials that something was afoot, and journalists were referred from one department to the other.

On Friday the commanding officer of Pollsmoor prison, Brigadier Fred Munro, had two hours of talks with Mandela in hospital. It seemed fairly safe to assume at the time that the brigadier, who knows Mandela very well, acted as an emissary for government and had some message to convey. In Lusaka it was said that Munro conveyed a fresh offer of conditional release. Later that day Mandela had a long meeting with his legal representatives. They apparently conveyed a message back to Munro, and the next morning Mandela was taken back to his cell in Pollsmoor.

No change

Only this week did spokesmen from the office of the State President state that there was “no change” in the situation.

NP watchers and insiders explain that there is a strong body of opinion inside the party which favours his release on humanitarian and medical grounds. He is 67, after all. There were no serious objections from rightwing whites when PAC leader Robert Sobukwe was released a few years ago when his health was deteriorating. The (unconditional) release last year of Swapo founder Andimba Toivo ja Toivo and the release two weeks ago of 22 more Swapo prisoners from Robben Island also passed with little attention.

NP sources explain that most government leaders now acknowledge the only way to end the violence is a negotiated settlement with the ANC and the UDF. While they don’t believe the time for such a settlement has arrived, the thinking is that it would do no harm to let Mandela go to Lusaka (with an undertaking that he will not come back without permission), even if negotiations don’t take place for another year or two. They believe he could have one of two effects on the ANC: have a moderating influence or precipitate a leadership struggle. The latter seems unlikely in view of statements by Oliver Tambo that he would step down immediately in favour of Mandela. Also, the two men have been bosom friends since childhood. The perception, therefore, is that government has nothing to lose by releasing Mandela.

The other important consideration is that government has run out of reform steam — most of next year’s reforms have already been announced — and may well favour the move to give heart to disillusioned friends in the West. The pitch of international excitement aroused by the Mandela rumours indicates the extent of the reprieve SA could buy abroad.
Official news ‘spins cocoon’

Political Staff

EAST LONDON. — The ANC would be prepared to negotiate and consider compromises once apartheid had been removed, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

He was replying to a question at a business lunch here on his recent meeting with the African National Congress in Lusaka.

He said the public should be in a position to judge for itself and be able to form an informed opinion. "Official news" had spun a cocoon of ignorance which left many people in the dark about important issues.

Democratic

A democratic system — without forced association — would have to be devised because "simplistic majoritarianism" where the winner takes all would not work.

He repeated his warning given in Port Elizabeth the previous day, that South Africa was on the threshold of becoming a siege society.

"People can survive as they have done in Northern Ireland and Lebanon but the economy cannot operate normally under such conditions." He also said that in a society under siege "inconclusive violence" could last for a long time.

One of his aims as Leader of the Opposition was to seek ways of moving out of siege, to undercut violence, and to promote negotiation.

‘Choice’

The government had restored freedom of choice by repealing the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 38 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, but at the same time it had highlighted the absence of choice in other spheres.

"The government has to say clearly that apartheid will not work and that it wants to end it. Only then can it say it wants to negotiate. This could have the effect of getting a domestic initiative going," Dr Slabbert said.

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Sasol attack: three killed

Dispatch Bureau

JOHANNESBURG — Three suspected ANC insurgents were killed after a rocket attack on the Sasol 2 and 3 plants at Secunda yesterday morning.

The attack occurred at 1 am when between four and six 122 mm rockets were fired at the two plants.

No damage was caused because the targets were missed, General P. J. Coetzee, Commissioner of the South African Police, said yesterday.

The three suspected insurgents were killed in a shoot-out with the security forces near the Swaziland border, he said.

The latest attack follows five landmine explosions in the Soutpansberg military area which killed one person, injured four soldiers and a civilian and damaged five vehicles, including an SADF troop carrier and a police vehicle.

GENERAL COETZEE, violent shoot-out.

Shortly after the rocket attack, a Piet Retief security policeman traced a light truck with three black occupants and forced the vehicle off the road, Gen Coetzee said.

They exchanged fire and the three men then fled into a dense plantation.

SADF units were called in and the men were traced to the Swaziland border where they were killed in a “violent shoot-out with the security forces,” the general said.

No members of the security forces were killed or injured, he said.

Most Secunda residents seemed to be oblivious of the attacks taking place while they were in bed.

One resident, Miss Fiona McGregor, however said she heard a few “big explosions” but did not realise what had happened.

A spokesman from the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, said yesterday afternoon they were studying reports on the Sasol and Soutpansberg attacks and would issue a statement on them today.

Gen Coetzee said it had been established that one of the suspected insurgents killed after the Secunda attack was involved in a previous attack on the same Sasol installation in 1980.

On June 1 1980, ANC saboteurs set off a series of explosions causing a massive blaze at Sasol I which took over 13 hours to bring under control. Damage ran into millions of rands.

Police in Bophuthatswana shot dead four armed men in the early hours of yesterday morning in a fierce gun battle near the Thabane township near Rustenburg.

According to a resident, the Bophuthatswana Army rammed into a private house with a Caspir — completely wrecking the house and leaving only the foundations.

The men had apparently sought refuge in the house.

When the occupants ran out of the house shooting between them and the police followed, lasting for about two hours.

Colonel David George, liaison officer for the Bophuthatswana police in Mafikeng said yesterday that “police had contact with a group of armed criminals and in the ensuing gun battle four people were killed and two injured”.

Police recovered arms and ammunition in the raid, which followed a “tip-off”.

No casualties were reported by the police.

Bophuthatswana police are investigating the incident, Col George said.
And police swoop also nets large ANC arms cache

Mercury Reporter

TWO people are being held in connection with the Amazimtoti bomb blast last week in which five people died and more than 60 were injured.

And several other people are also being detained in connection with at least eight other terrorist bomb attacks in and around Durban this year. Police say more arrests are possible.

A further setback for an alleged ANC sabotage cell was the discovery by the police of a large cache of foreign-made arms, ammunition and explosives.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday that the arms cache included sub-machine guns, personnel mines, hand-grenades, a lead mine, as well as a large amount of explosives and subversive literature.

"After intensive investigation the Durban Security Branch of the South African Police has made an important breakthrough in the investigation into the Amazimtoti terrorist attack," Mr le Grange said.

Several people have been arrested, two of whom are being questioned in connection with the Amazimtoti incident.

"The investigation is continuing and more arrests could follow," Mr le Grange said. He said that during the recent series of acts of terror had occurred in Durban and the surrounding area. He said the ANC had claimed responsibility for most of these acts.

Mr le Grange praised the members of the S.A. Police involved with the investigation for their excellent detective work.

Explosions

The acts of violence Mr le Grange referred to were:

- On June 12 two bombs rocked Kwazulu police buildings under construction in Umhlanga and a powerful explosion occurred at the Natal Development Board in Llandudno.
- On June 19 a bomb exploded at the X1 Headhouse on South Beach, injuring seven people.
- On June 21 a blast in area wrecked a high-voltage transformer and damaged an old people's home.
- On September 28 a terrorist bomb blew up a shanty central Durban when three out of four devices planted in major supermarkets exploded.
- On October 32 two terrorist bombs were blown up and killed by their own powerful bomb which they had planted at the Groenvlei Girls High School shortly before the Natal Provincial election.

On December 9 a powerful dynamite mine exploded at the Mobi 1 office injuring eight people.

Mini-bus

On December 14 a bomb went off at the Magistrate's Court buildings in Chatsworth causing damage to the buildings and other structures in the vicinity.

On December 17 a bomb ripped through the Umhlanga Post Office destroying one bus and damaging six others.

On December 21 a mine exploded under a parked mini-bus in Pine Street injuring a woman and her two daughters.

On December 23 two women and three children died and more than 50 people were injured when a bomb exploded at the busy Saddle Centre in Amazimtoti. Several victims of this blast are still in a serious condition at Addington Hospital.

In a speech earlier this year Col Jac Buchner, head of terrorism research for the Security Branch, said Durban was the most bombed city in South Africa.

He said 60 of the 200 acts of terrorism committed in nine years since the ANC received a fresh infusion of recruits in the wake of the 1976 unrest had been committed in Durban.

Recovering

Col Buchner said Durban had been the ANC's favourite target because of, among other factors, the city's central location and its main infiltration route through Magazine.
The African National Congress has vowed to escalate "the armed and political struggle" after claiming responsibility for mining roads among isolated white farms on the Zimbabwe border, and firing rockets at two oil-from-coal refineries this week.

In a message telephoned from its offices in Lusaka, the ANC said that the landmines and rockets were "a generalised escalation of both the political and military struggle against the South African racist regime".

The mines exploded just inside what the Government has always called its most secure border, the heavily policed frontier with Zimbabwe.

Life came to a virtual standstill in the area as police halted all traffic until the unpaved roads were painstakingly swept.

"The ANC vows that it will continue with the struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime and replace it with a united, non-racial, democratic and just society," said the ANC statement telephoned to the Associated Press bureau in Johannesburg.

The ANC also denied South African charges that their guerrillas sneaked into South Africa by way of Zimbabwe. The saboteurs, said the ANC, were based and operating inside South Africa.

BACK TO NORMAL

The ANC statement accused South Africa of marshalling troops along the Zimbabwe border. This was denied by military-affairs spokesman Colonel Timothy Krynauw.

Dirk Nel of The Star's Northern Transvaal Bureau reports that farming operations returned to normal in the Wiepe and Ertrus areas near Messina yesterday as the Defence Force opened all roads.

However, military authorities have not discounted the possibility of some ANC infiltrators still being in the Limpopo region west of Messina. Troops have been spread over a wide area, and are no longer deployed only in landmine sweeping operations.

The commanding officer for the Soutpansberg military area, Colonel J Swanepoel, declined to comment about speculation that a huge counter-offensive was about to be launched across the Zimbabwean border.

Sapa reports that Minister of Law and Order Mr. Louis le Grange has announced that, from next week, police will no longer help guard South African borders. Mr. le Grange said policemen were too badly needed in riot-weary black townships, and the army would assume border duties.
LONDON. — Nelson and Winnie Mandela have been named joint winners of the Third World Prize for their "efforts to end apartheid" in South Africa.

The Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies, a London-based organisation that administers the prize, said in a statement yesterday the Mandelas would receive about R260,000.

An award ceremony is to be held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in May, but the sponsors said a cheque would be sent to Mrs Mandela.

The statement commended the jailed ANC leader "for his vision of a non-racial society" and said he "is honoured for his message of freedom for all the world".

The statement called his wife Winnie a "symbol of the anti-apartheid campaign in South Africa" and praised her "courage and unbroken determination to serve the people" and for working "in assisting women and children under apartheid, suffering its inhuman practice.

The prize is awarded to individuals and organisations that make outstanding contributions to the economic, social, political or scientific development of the Third World or serve the general good of the people of the Third World.

The Bank of Credit and Commerce International, based in Luxembourg, provides the prize money.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal is chairman of the Third World Prize selection committee.

Former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt won the prize last year. Among other previous winners have been former President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. — Sapa-AP.
Hit squad's out to kill me — Msoni

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

UMLAZI United Democratic Front activist Bright Msoni fears a political hit squad is out to kill members of his family.

Mr Msoni, who was severely burnt when his house was attacked and burnt by "impi" in a minibus, says "strange armed men" traced him to his hospital ward. Fearing for his life, he has discharged himself from Clairwood Hospital and has gone into hiding.

Mr Msoni's family is also in hiding, while his brother Michael, 13, is in Clairwood Hospital — partially paralysed from a gunman's bullet. His sister Florence was shot in the left arm during the attack.

Mr Msoni said his family had positively identified two of the attackers. Charges of assault, arson and attempted murder have been laid against them.

Bright Msoni ... in hiding for fear of his life.
Let's forgive and forget, Inkatha asks ANC in telex

INKATHA has sent a telex to the ANC headquarters in London asking them to let bygones be bygones.

The telex, according to highly-placed sources, was from Inkatha executive member Oscar Dhlomo, asking for a return to the pre-1979 cordial relationship between Inkatha and the ANC.

The telex, believed to have been written by Inkatha president Chief Gerrard Incwala, said Inkatha was perturbed by the ANC's acts of aggression against Inkatha - which had the cumulative effect of "perpetuating black-on-black conflict and play into the hands of racist oppressors".

ANC officials, however, have been quick to interpret the telex as a sign that the ANC was ready to return to the pre-1979 relationship.

Dr. Dhlomo, who was sent to London by the ANC leaders to meet with the ANC leadership, is expected to return to South Africa soon.

The telex was sent on November 7, the day before the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting, which is expected to decide on the ANC's response to the Inkatha call for dialogue.

The ANC is expected to respond by urging Inkatha to return to the pre-1979 relationship and to stop its acts of aggression.

Dr. Dhlomo, however, is expected to return to South Africa on November 8, where he is expected to discuss the ANC's response to the Inkatha call for dialogue.

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Dr. Dhlomo, however, is expected to return to South Africa on November 8, where he is expected to discuss the ANC's response to the Inkatha call for dialogue.
Comrades' raid ‘cop informer’

AN alleged police informer escaped death when a group of “comrades” attacked her house and set it alight on Saturday night (see pic above).
Mary Skhosana of White City Jabavu and her family allegedly ran away and haven’t been seen since the incident.
The attack came a few hours after the burial of Teboho Hogher Primary pupil Kenneth Lewatla.
A group of “comrades” moved towards Mrs Skhosana’s home and started pelting it with stones.
After smashing all the windows, the “comrades” set the house on fire. All the furniture was burned.
Also affected by the raging flames were Mrs Skhosana’s next-door neighbours.
Giant federation of unions is born

THOUSANDS of supporters from all over SA attended a rally at Durban's Kings Park stadium yesterday to celebrate the birth of the country's largest union federation.

The launch of the new colossus — the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) — is regarded as a milestone in the unity of the union movement and a major development on the political and labour fronts.

Busloads of workers from about 34 unions arrived singing their support for Cosatu's stated commitment to playing a forceful political role in SA.

Jay Naidoo, of the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union, is expected to occupy a key position in SA's labour movement as the newly elected general secretary of Cosatu.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)'s Cyril Ramaphosa did not stand for election, but opened the congress with an important policy speech.

Ramaphosa said it was time for State President F.W. Botha to "lay down his powers and allow legitimate leaders to take over the government".

Officials said Cosatu's paid-up membership had swelled to 450 000 people after the inclusion of more unions. The most recent entrants include the United Metal Mining and Allied Workers' Union (Ummawu), the Motor and Component Workers Union of SA (Macwusa), the General Workers' Union of SA (Gwusa) and the SA Tin Workers' Union.

Allied Workers' Union is expected to occupy a key position in SA's labour movement as the newly elected general secretary of Cosatu.

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Ramaphosa said it was time for State President F.W. Botha to "lay down his powers and allow legitimate leaders to take over the government".

Elijah Baray, a Rand Mines employee, is Cosatu's new president-elect and Chris Dlamini, president of the Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu), is the first vice-president.

After his election, on Saturday night, Baray made an impassioned call for the release of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.
Botha must quit, Cosatu president tells Durban rally

DURBAN — President Botha had failed in his duty to rule South Africa and both he and the homeland leaders should resign, according to the president of the new Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Elijah Barayi.

Mr Barayi told thousands of workers at Cosatu’s inaugural rally at King’s Park Stadium this weekend that the organisation gave Mr Botha six months to abolish influx control laws or Cosatu would take action.

EQUAL PAY

Mr Barayi also called for:
- A distinction to be made between legal and illegal strikes and for the recognition of the worker’s right to strike.
- Equal pay for equal work, especially for black women.
- The lifting of the state of emergency and withdrawal of troops from townships.
- Disinvestment, he said Western firms argued that it would bring suffering to blacks.
- "Cosatu says black people have been suffering since 1652 when the Boers first came to this country."

He criticised homeland leaders who campaigned overseas against disinvestment. The money spent, he said, could be used to feed South Africa's starving people.

Mike Siluma reports from the Cosatu rally in Durban

Calling on President Botha to resign in favour of leaders such as Nelson Mandela, he said homeland leaders should "change their minds because time is running out for them."

Cosatu, he said, also envisaged mines and other big industries being nationalised and would co-operate with any progressive organisation.

Later he told reporters that, being the biggest umbrella union body in the country, Cosatu saw no need for another black union grouping.

For that reason it would be willing to hold talks with the Council of Unions of South Africa and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, which have not joined Cosatu because of its non-racial policy.

Cosatu’s first vice-president, Mr Chris Dlamini, opening the rally, declared:
"The time has run out for employers and their collaborators."
"The unity gained through the formation of Cosatu has foiled the rulers’ divide-and-rule strategy."
Victims of ‘commando attack’ to be buried

LUSAKA — The African National Congress announced yesterday that the six South Africans killed eight days ago in Lesotho will be buried in Maseru tomorrow.

A spokesman for the organisation said the six victims of what the Lesotho Government said was a South African-mounted commando attack included four men and two women. He said their families had agreed that they should be buried together in Maseru, capital of Lesotho.

In the raid, during which silenced weapons were used, three Lesotho nationals were killed. The Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) which opposes the Government of Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, claimed responsibility. — Reuters.
"True black leaders won't talk until apartheid ends"

Political Correspondent

THE Government was warned today that no credible black leadership would negotiate with it on constitutional development within the apartheid structure.

The warning came from Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

He clashed sharply with the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who challenged him on an earlier statement that any efforts to have a new constitutional system must not exclude "vital political actors with credibility".

This followed the announcement at the weekend that a series of "embryo" constitutional options were being drawn up to be presented to all leaders in favour of negotiation and peaceful change.

There are growing indications of Government impatience because many black leaders have so far not been willing to negotiate on constitutional change.

The Government has now decided to go ahead and negotiate with elected leaders who are prepared to do so on the possibilities for a race-geographic confederation.

The clash between Dr Slabbert and Mr Heunis took place shortly before they were due to meet in Pretoria today to discuss constitutional matters.

Mr Heunis claimed South Africa had in the past five years been involved in a dynamic process of constitutional negotiation and the public implementation of an impressive list of policy adaptations.

He challenged Dr Slabbert to furnish him with details of the people he proposed should take part in the constitutional negotiations.

Dr Slabbert said today that Mr Heunis was being facetious.

"By now he, and the Government, should realise that no credible black leadership is going to come forward and negotiate with the Government until freedom of association has been restored in South Africa.

"In other words, circumstances must be created in which people can freely support organisations and choose leaders they want to represent their interests.

"The Government must repeal legislation preventing this."

"Until it does this it is pointless to declare piously that it wants to negotiate.

"Only under these circumstances will it be possible for the Government to identify the leaders and to enter into negotiation with them."

"From my experience of talking across a wide spectrum this year I know that no black leader of any standing will come forward to negotiate a new position in the old apartheid structure."

Dr Slabbert said he was happy to provide Mr Heunis with the names of people who said they were prepared to talk under new circumstances and the Government could then decide if it was prepared to do something about it."
Black urban education faces a total breakdown in 1986 unless the Government introduces drastic reforms.

This emerged after a week of crisis for education — a week in which the black community was thrown into a panic by widespread rumours of a total boycott of classes for the whole of next year and a crackdown on teachers in the Western Cape.

The action against the teachers has been met by an equally strong reaction from students who have vowed to stay away from classes until the Government accedes to a list of demands.

The threat of a year-long stay away from schools comes on the eve of the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising which left 575 people, mainly students, dead.

Crackdown

Now many concerned parents are applying to enrol their children in homeland schools.

However, a spokesman for the Bophuthatswana Education Department confirmed they have received applications from South Africa for children to attend schools in the homeland, but said there is little hope of these children being admitted because of overcrowding.

The Government has launched a severe crackdown on dissenting teachers in the Western Cape.

Several teachers who refused to administer examinations have been suspended from their jobs.

And more than 100 have had their pay for November and December withheld as the Department of Education and Culture (House of Representatives) launched an inquiry into their conduct.

The department's hardline attitude has been matched by that of pupils, who have stuck rigidly to a list of demands they say must be met before they will return.

The implications for education in the Western Cape are extremely serious.

Already top educationists have predicted massive problems for next year, with a huge bottleneck of students expected and increased unemployment.

Guard

Examinations at coloured schools across the Peninsula have been thrown into chaos with massive boycotts, "disruption squads" active at schools and a large security force presence.

At some schools only a scattering of pupils have written exams, while others have reported a fairly high attendance. Official figures have put the figure at around 50 percent in the Western Cape.

Unofficial sources estimated that 2,500 of the 8,000 matric pupils have turned out on average to write final examinations.

The matric pupils have written under heavy guard at military bases and a showground. Standard six to nine pupils have been writing at the schools, and have been subjected to disruption squads smashing windows, setting off fire hoses in classrooms and generally disrupting proceedings.

Several teachers have refused to be involved in the examinations. A member of the Western Cape Teachers' Union said that by early this week 196 teachers had refused to invigilate at examinations.

Eleven had been suspended from their jobs by late this week and more than 100 had their pay withheld.

Refused

A spokesman for the Department of Education and Culture said a departmental inquiry was being held into the teachers' conduct, and each case would be investigated individually.

He refused to discuss details but said the teachers would be given a fair hearing.

Labour Party sources have indicated that the Department has decided not to "give even an inch" on the education issue.

This follows President Botha's refusal to consider a request by some of the country's foremost academics that the examinations be postponed to March next year.

The official intrusiveness has deepened the crisis and this week pupils, representing more than 50 schools, repeated their demands that Government:

Reinstate

- Lift the state of emergency;
- Remove the army and police from townships;
- Release all detainees immediately and unconditionally.
- End all forms of harassment, threats and intimidation of students and teachers;
- Unconditionally reinstate dismissed, suspended or expelled students and teachers;
- Allow SRCs and PTAs to function without harassment, threats or restrictions;

Demands

- Unban the Congress of South African Students (Cosas);
- Cancel the present examinations and postpone them to March. "It must be strongly stated that exams in March can only take place if the above demands are met within a reasonable period";

read a statement by Student Action Committees representing the schools.

Support

Obviously the Government is not going to meet these demands and the result will almost certainly be more school boycotts next year and a serious deterioration of the education system.

The United Democratic Front has come out strongly in support of the pupils and teachers.

Saluted

"The overwhelming student view, and one that has the wholehearted support of the UDF, is that exams are a small sacrifice when viewed against the deaths, shootings, detentions and ridiculous criminal charges against friends and family. Students are not going to write exams for the sake of it," read a statement released by UDF interim organiser Naseegh Jaffer, this week.

Mr Jaffer said the UDF saluted the stand of teachers and said it showed a "concern at the type and quality of education students are being fed."
Students list 'crisis demands'

Education Reporter

PENINSULA students' action committees have set a list of demands they insist must be met if the present educational crisis is to be resolved.

In a statement released on Friday, a total of 10 committees said the situation at schools was part of a struggle which had shown the "total rejection of the abhorrent apartheid system by all sectors of the community". They said the right of students to participate in the struggle for democracy should be recognized.

Commitment

"The many thousands of high school students who have not written have very clearly demonstrated the extent of student commitment."

They said it was clear to even those who had written that the final exams were a farce devoid of any educational value and must be scrapped.

Their demands are:

1. The lifting of the state of emergency.
2. The removal of the army and police from townships and school premises.
3. The immediate and unconditional release of all detainees, an end to all forms of harassment, threats and intimidation of students and teachers; the unconditional reinstatement of dismissed, suspended or expelled students and teachers.
4. That the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), which represents thousands of students throughout the country, be unbanned.
5. That the age restriction at schools be scrapped.
6. That the ministerial decree granting control of schools to the educational authorities be scrapped, and that present exams be cancelled and postponed to March.

Signatories

The exams in March could take place only if the demands were met "within a reasonable period of time".

The signatories to the statement are: Mitchells Plain student action committee, representing all schools in the area; BISCO, representing all schools in Bonteheuwel; HEISAC, representing all schools in Heideveld; MANSAC, representing all schools in Malmes- berg; HAPSAC, representing all schools in Hanover Park, ELSAC, representing all schools in Valhalla Park, Range and Elsie's River; BESAC, representing all schools in the Belleville area; EOGSAC, representing all schools in Grassy Park and Lotus River; RETSAC, representing all schools in Retreat area, and Vista Ad-hoc Students' Action Committee, representing all schools in Bo-Kaspar.

UDF

The Western Cape Regional Executive of the United Democratic Front yesterday released a statement giving unconditional support to the high school pupils' demands.

The UDF has not been a signatory to either of the two major public documents — one released on November 12 and subsequently supported by 11 Peninsula trade unions, and another on November 29 — which were signed by a total of 175 organizations representing a broad cross-section of anti-apartheid opinion.

"The overwhelming view is that exams are a small sacrifice when viewed against the deaths, shootings, detentions and ridiculous criminal charges," the UDF said.

Dismissals

The Elsie's River Region of the Western Cape Teachers' Union yesterday condemned the "unfair dismissal" of two teachers at Valhalla High School in Elsie's River, Mr Corneels Jafsa and Mr Jeremy Veary.

Mr Jafsa, an economics teacher, was told on Friday that his services had been terminated as from yesterday; while Mr Veary, a temporary staff member, was told he had been suspended as from today.

A WECTU statement yesterday said: "Both teachers have administered the end-of-year examinations. We reason for their dismissal has yet been given. It can only be surmised they have been chosen because of their active identification with the community struggle against the demonic apartheid system."

Students list 'crisis demands'
Cosatu takes a tough line

By Mike Situma

The formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) this weekend is likely to be perceived as a welcome news by many employers and by the Government.

For Cosatu's tough talk in Durban rejected out of hand both the capitalist system and the Government's policies.

What came through clearly was the belief that capitalism and apartheid were two sides of the same coin - responsible for blacks' hardships at work and in society respectively.

Cosatu's stand seems to con- form predictions that without a say in political decision-making in South Africa, black workers will increasingly use whatever strength in force remains of their grievances.

At a press conference yesterday Cosatu's newly elected leadership made it clear that Cosatu is the first and foremost a workers' organisation, geared to protect the interests of the workers.

But added the organisation's first vice-president, Mr Chris Dlamini: "Workers face problems such as high rentals and transport fees and a lack of housing. We have to address whatever problems face our members."

Cosatu has pledged itself to the nationalisation of mines and other big concerns because "the system of free enterprise in South Africa has been a very brutal experience for the workers'.

It has also fully supported disinvestment.

On the political front, it attacked the imposition of the state of emergency and the "shoot-to-kill" system and rejected as "illegal fraud" the proposed referendum.

Cosatu also demanded a constitution based on the principles of one-person-one-vote.

Dismay

Cosatu called on employers to halt all work stoppages, and to engage with the Government in talks which will lead to an end to disinvestment.

"We have not made up our minds about the disinvestment," Dlamini said.

The FPI said it was committed to the democratic relations bargaining system and in this spirit invited Cosatu to follow South Africa's foreign policy.

Worldwide backing for super-union

The Star Bureau

LONDON - Trade unionists worldwide have pledged support for the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and offered to give advice and practical support should it be needed.

In Brussels yesterday, the International Congress of Free Trade Unions representing 43 million workers throughout the world welcomed the formation of Cosatu as a positive move towards anti-apartheid trade union unity.

In Britain, TUC general secretary Mr Norman Wilkins said: "We hope our experience may be helpful to Cosatu as it extends its role in South Africa."

Britain's Labour Party has also warmly welcomed Cosatu to the world labour movement.

All the organisations said they were awaiting Cosatu's response to offers of help to see how best they could serve the new union realignment.

In Washington it is reported the United States Government has welcomed the new federation, but differed sharply with Cosatu's president, Mr Elijah Baray, on the issue of disinvestment.

The State Department agreed that laws should be abolished and apartheid dismantled, a State Department spokesman said.

However, it rejected Mr Baray's opposition to foreign investment in South Africa as it believed that to be a positive factor in bringing about peaceful change, he said.

He would not comment on Mr Baray's call on Mr PW Botha to resign his State Presidency to make way for Nelson Mandela.

Oh Come All Ye Faithful...

More than 1000 people laid out their picnic supper on the lawns around Johannesburg's Zoo Lake yesterday evening at the Round Table Concert by Condell's band. Captain Don O'Driscoll and Mrs Wendy Ford (left) were among the members of the Salvation Army Band which performed at the event, along with the Welsh Male Voice Choir. Dignitaries included the Mayor and Marquesas of Johannesburg, Mr and Mrs Enos Fataf (top right), Barlow. The crowd stands with lighted candles.
NEW YORK — The Reagan administration has initiated contact with the African National Congress (ANC), and twice sent a State Department official to ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, to meet its leaders, Newsweek magazine reported at the weekend.

According to the magazine, US officials expressed an interest in establishing a "relationship" with the ANC.

Newsweek said State Department officials did not deny the contacts, but said they took place "at lower than policy level".

The ANC has claimed responsibility for attacks against the South African government in a campaign they said was "to make South Africa ungovernable".

Based in Lusaka, the ANC consists primarily of black South Africans fighting South Africa's white government.

The ANC says its political goals, which it now believes can only be achieved by the overthrow of Pretoria, include one-man, one-vote elections.

The United States has been a strong supporter of South Africa, which it has urged to make changes in its apartheid policy.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said yesterday he was "not aware" of any contact between the Reagan administration and the ANC.

He said he did not think contact would serve any purpose at present, because the ANC was opposed to the US's policy of constructive engagement with Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter and AP.

Concrete-road controversy

CONTROVERSY surrounds the use of concrete for an extension to the N3 near Frere, especially after complaints about the section near Markburg.

But road experts say modern methods negate the arguments.

Stocks Roads is to use concrete for its R28.6m contract for the 18,7km road section and consulting engineers De Leuw Cather will use a 216m concrete pavement to withstand heavy traffic.

The National Transport Commission says 20% of its roads will be built with concrete, 20% with bituminous bases, and 60% will be on various factors.

Arms sales boom

THE low value of the rand has made export of South African arms profitable, says Armscor chairman Piet Marais.

Marais said Armscor, which celebrated its 21st birthday yesterday, had grown from an importer to an internationally competitive arms exporter.
No sign of dialogue in SA, says Crocker

DAKAR — The situation in South Africa is deadlocked and, apart from “some discreet contacts”, there is no objective sign of dialogue between the white regime and the black majority, Dr Chester Crocker, US under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, was quoted as saying yesterday.

In an interview published in the Daily Soleil, Crocker praised the contacts between white opposition figures and members of the banned ANC, but said the ANC was not the only credible organisation in SA.

“The leaders of the ANC do not necessarily represent all the currents which run through the so-called non-white society,” he added.

When asked if President P W Botha might resign to end the deadlock, Crocker was quoted as replying that Botha “does not necessarily match the description of him. I know him well and I can say that he is a man of courage, determination and conviction”.

“I'm not the only person who thinks that of him. (Nobel Peace Prize winner) Bishop Desmond Tutu has had occasion to say it himself,” Crocker was quoted as saying.

He stressed that SA’s “major preoccupation, if apartheid is solved, is to ensure that whatever happens, the nation's economy, the most dynamic of the region, is not destroyed”.

He was quoted as saying that “whatever happens, we must all ensure that South Africa does not become a second Lebanon”.

After apartheid was eliminated, there must be true sharing of power, opportunities and responsibilities at all levels, Crocker said.
— Sapa-AP.
Nothing will change, says new super-union

Cosatu rejects federal plan as fraudulent

THE 450 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has rejected the proposed federal system of government as “fraudulent” and undemocratic.

The general secretary of the newly-launched body, Jay Naidoo, told a Press conference yesterday that member unions would continue to demand a unitary, non-racial and democratic state.

In its resolutions, the congress said the intention of the proposed federal system was to maintain power and control in the hands of the present minority and perpetuate the present system.

Cosatu resolutions also criticised homeland administrations for thwarting establishment of a unitary state and for oppressive practices against trade unions.

Cosatu has warned that its unions will organise in plants in the homelands, despite measures prohibiting this.

It rejects lower wages and poorer working conditions for workers in the homelands and says it plans to initiate a national campaign — in alliance with other progressive organisations and trade unions in SA — for a legally enforced national minimum wage for all SA workers.

This will be done by fighting in every industry — through worker action and negotiation — for a minimum living wage, to be determined by the central executive.

Other resolutions include initiation of a “relentless campaign” for the removal of security legislation which denies workers rights to freedom of association, assembly and picketing for strike action.

It also plans to campaign against police and state intervention in strikes or industrial disputes.

Another demand is the right of trade unions to establish strike funds and to fight for the removal of the designation of essential services so all workers can enjoy equal rights.

Cosatu has repeated its call for the scrapping of the migrant labour system by ending pass laws and influx control. Workers and their families should be allowed to live where they wish, the Cosatu statement says.

Cosatu also plans to boycott all Johannesburg’s centenary celebrations and organise an alternative programme to “highlight 100 years of exploitation and oppression in Johannesburg and in particular in the mining industry”.

Federation ‘will fuel pressure on apartheid’

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) would increase pressure on government to dismantle apartheid and negotiate a new constitution, PFP manpower spokesman Alex Boraine said yesterday.

Boraine said it should come as no surprise that there were militant political overtones in Cosatu’s declarations.

If government denied political rights to blacks, it was inevitable other avenues would be used to give expression to both political and economic demands, he said.

Federated Chamber of Industries chief executive Johan van Zyl said the FCI was committed to reinforcing the integrity of industrial-relations bargaining and had invited the new federation to talks.
NEW YORK — The Reagan administration has initiated contact with the African National Congress (ANC), and twice sent a State Department official to ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, to meet its leaders, Newsweek magazine reported at the weekend.

According to the magazine, US officials expressed an interest in establishing a “relationship” with the ANC.

Newsweek said State Department officials did not deny the contacts, but said they took place “at lower than policy level”.

The ANC has claimed responsibility for attacks against the South African government in a campaign they said was “to make South Africa ungovernable”.

Based in Lusaka, the ANC consists primarily of black South Africans fighting South Africa’s white government.

The ANC says its political goals, which it now believes can only be achieved by the over-throw of Pretoria, include one-man, one-vote elections.

The United States has been a strong supporter of South Africa, which it has urged to make changes in its apartheid policy.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said yesterday he was “not aware” of any contact between the Reagan administration and the ANC.

He said he did not think contact would serve any purpose at present, because the ANC was opposed to the US’s policy of constructive engagement with Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter and AP.

Concrete-road controversy

CONTROVERSY surrounds the use of concrete for an extension to the N3 near Frere, especially after complaints about the section near Maritzburg.

But road experts say modern methods negate the arguments. Stocks Roads is to use concrete for its R29,6m contract for the 15.7km road section and consulting engineers De Leuw Cather will use a 210mm concrete pavement to withstand heavy traffic.

The National Transport Commission says 20% of its roads will be built with concrete, 20% with bituminous bases, and 60% will be on various factors.

Give it with confidence
Super-union Cosatu calls for united working class

CLAUDE REYNOLDS

THE COUNTRY'S new super-union Cosatu, which took the stage on the back of the deaths of leading activists, is said to have aggressive political aims and is calling for a united working class to resist the anti-apartheid policies of the government.

Leaders at the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said members were demanding greater political involvement by unions as a result of mounting social and political pressures.

They said members unions saw industrial and political issues as intertwined, and were demanding a greater involvement of unions in the struggle for political change.

Cosatu's call for disinvestment — and its announcement that it has a task to fulfill in bringing about "liberation" — indicates a leftward shift in terms of the Federal of South Africa Trade Unions (Fosita) principles.

Cosatu, which is to be absorbed into the new national federation, said previously that it supported all forms of pressure against SA. But it steered clear of calling publicly for disinvestment.

Cosatu is struggling to define the political role of unions in the struggle against apartheid.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said Cosatu sees the organization of the unemployed, rural workers and farm workers as an important priority.

Cosatu's planned involvement in community issues is also highlighted by resolutions to press the state into initiating a national programme to provide jobs for the unemployed and improve facilities in working-class communities.

Other resolutions, which were announced at a Press conference last week, include calls for an end to the state of emergency, the withdrawal of SADF and security forces from the townships and the release of all political prisoners.

Cosatu leaders said they supported all forms of international pressure on the SA government, including disinvestment.

Equal pay for equal work is an important aim, and member unions are to step up demands for childcare facilities at work, and maternity and paternity rights.

However, sweeping predictions cannot be made about Cosatu's long-term impact until the arduous task of completing mergers among about 34 unions — with a total paid-up membership of 460 000 — has been completed.

Naidoo said at yesterday's Press conference that the effecting of union mergers was one of their most immediate tasks.

In all the unions have committed themselves to merging into one union per industry within the next six months. If these developments have not materialized by the end of next March, a special national congress will be called to assess such a failure.

Ten regional areas of Cosatu have been agreed on, and congress has instructed the central executive committee to establish regional structures in each area as soon as possible.

The congress will also work towards seeking an alliance with other trade unions in Africa, particularly those with members employed by the same multi-national companies.

THE 34 Cosatu affiliates are to establish a single union in the following sectors:

- Food and drink
- Textiles, clothing and leather
- Paper, wood and printing
- Mining and electrical
- Metal, motor assembly and components
- Chemical and petroleum
- Commercial and catering
- Transport, SA Transport Services, cleaning and security
- Local government and public administration, including health, education, posts and telecommunications
- Domestic workers

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

However, although the congress has decided on the broad political direction it will take, Naidoo points out that concrete planning in this regard has still to be done by the central executive committee.

The federation is to be tightly-knit in terms of policy and leaders say there will be an increase in united national action with a more unified response to problems facing member unions.

Cosatu is also to campaign against discrimination affecting women. It plans to promote confidence and experience amongst women workers so that they can participate fully at all levels in Cosatu.
Super-union Cosatu calls for united working class

The country’s new super-federation of unions has taken up the cudgels in declaring it will play an intensive shop-floor and political role in the country. Leaders at the launch of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) said members were demanding greater political involvement by unions as a result of mounting social and political pressures.

They said union leaders saw industrial and political issues as interlinked, and hard-hitting resolutions were taken which involve a wide variety of political, labour and community-related grievances.

Cosatu’s call for disinvestment — and its announcement that it has a task to fulfill in bringing about “liberation” — indicates a leftward shift in terms of old Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fotus) principles.

Fotus, which is to be absorbed in the new federation, said previously that it supported all forms of pressure against SA. But it stressed clear of calling publicly for disinvestment.

Cosatu is focusing on the importance of a united working class and has announced that the unity of employed and unemployed workers is vital in the struggle for a living wage and against apartheid.

Significantly, Cosatu resolved over the weekend to establish a national union for unemployed workers as an affiliate of the new federation.

The federation is to fight for improved unemployment benefits and to support efforts by retrenched and dismissed workers to establish co-operatives based on Fotus principles.

Cosatu general secretary Joe Naidoo has said Cosatu sees the organisation of the unemployed, rail workers and farm workers as an important priority.

Cosatu’s planned involvement in community issues is also highlighted by resolutions to press the state into instituting a national programme to provide jobs for the unemployed and to improve facilities in working-class communities.

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The congress also called for work towards seeking an alliance with other bodies, in the event that those with members employed by the same multinational companies.
Concession bid for grassroots support

Political Correspondent

The National Convention Movement has launched a massive publicity blitz in an effort to gain nationwide grassroots support.

Full-page advertisements placed in newspapers on Sunday are to be followed with similar promotions in the dailies and in knock-and-drops, Mr Jules Browde, chairman of the movement, said yesterday.

The movement's manifesto has also been translated into all the major black languages, so that particular attention can be given to winning the grassroots support of these communities.

Mr Browde said support for the movement had grown since it was formed by a cross-section of black and white leaders in Sandton in September.

"Our publicity campaign intends to inform people what we think a national convention means, how it should be constituted, and what should come out of it. That is, a democratic constitution for everybody.

"We also want to stress that by supporting this movement people in no way compromise their political affiliations and ideologies."

He said the movement hoped to muster under one umbrella all the political forces that were currently fragmented.
Diplomats join crowd at Mamelodi funeral

They were stopped and checked at an army road-block on the way. An estimated 50,000 people, including Opposition politicians, packed a sports stadium for the funeral as residents stayed away from work.

Thirteen people, including a two-month-old baby and a 60-year-old man who were both overcome by teargas, were killed when security forces broke up a protest march here on November 21. All but one of the victims were to be buried today.

"The reason we are here is to express support for the principle of peaceful protest," Mr Tim Carney, political counsellor at the US Embassy, told reporters. "Many of us have friends in Mamelodi and many of our employees live here."

Mr David White, first secretary at the British Embassy, said he had handed over a letter to the funeral committee from the British Ambassador "expressing sympathy with the people of Mamelodi and the other Pretoria townships".

Police and troops stayed away from the stadium where the funeral service was being held but several hundred waited in the streets nearby.

The coffins were draped in the flags of the banned African National Congress and marshals handed out lapel rosettes in the ANC's colours of green, gold and black to mourners as they filed into the stadium.

Senior officials of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches also attended the service, along with local and foreign camera crews and journalists.

Mamelodi is outside the state-of-emergency zone, and therefore not covered by restrictions on film coverage.

Organisers had pleaded with authorities to allow the mass funeral to go ahead without limits on the size of the crowd or a ban on the usual procession to the cemetery. Police headquarters said yesterday no restrictions had been imposed.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has denied that police fired sharp ammunition and teargas into a helicopter at crowds in Mamelodi two weeks ago when the 13 people died as a result of police action. *Sapa*
Diplomats join mourners at Mamelodi mass funeral

Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — About 80 percent of Mamelodi residents stayed away from work today — with many Pretoria businesses and some motor plants hard hit — as the mass funeral of 12 unrest victims began at the Mamelodi sports stadium.

The 12 were among those who died during police action at Mamelodi on November 21.

Diplomats from at least nine Western nations joined the thousands of mourners heading for the funeral in what they said was a move to convey the sympathy of those countries as well as to protest against police conduct.

Representatives from the British, Dutch, US, Canadian, Belgian, French, Italian, Swedish and West German embassies drove in convoy.

Dr Nico Smith, a white Mamelodi clergyman, said police promised to keep a low profile today after lifting their requirement that only 50 mourners attend the funeral.

At mid-morning the situation was calm.

The call for a work stay-away seemed more than 80 percent successful.

Handbills calling for peace and calm during the funeral service were distributed in Mamelodi overnight. Their origin could not be established.

A large city supermarket reported that up to 90 percent of its staff had not reported for work.

Another chain store spokesman said they had a 60 percent stay-away and managers were working the tills. They were still sorting out the problem, the spokesman said.

Most motor assembly plants, with the exception of the giant Samcor complex, and other big industrial employers have, on the other hand, reported "only a small" degree of absenteeism.

Mr Pierre de la Rey of the BMW plant at Rosslyn said the stay-away would not affect the firm because almost its entire black labour force came from Bophuthatswana.

But Mr Ruben EIs of Samcor said the firm had been "hard hit" by the stay-away and that only a fraction of its labour force had turned up for work today.

Atteridgeville, Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane and Soshanguve showed no signs of a stay-away. Traffic ran normally and the townships were peaceful.
Five in family hacked, burnt to death; 10 in court

PORT ELIZABETH. — Five members of a prominent family in the Uitenhage township of Kwanobuhle and a family friend were hacked and burnt to death by a mob as they fled from a blazing funeral parlour, according to details before the Supreme Court in Grahamstown.

Ten people appeared in the court today accused of murdering five members of the Kinikini family and a friend on March 23.

Mr Ben Kinikini, 57, his two sons, Silumkho, 20, and Kwarla, 13, two cousins, Mr E Z Kinikini, 25, and Mr Q Kinikini, 18, and Mr Z Pram were hacked and burnt to death by a mob two days after the killing of 21 funeral marchers by police at Langa, near Kwanobuhle.

At the time Mr Ben Kinikini was the only member of the Kwanobuhle Community Council who had not resigned.

According to documents before the court, the deceased were murdered as they fled Mr Kinikini’s funeral parlour which had been set alight by the mob.

The accused, who also face charges of public violence, are: Moses Jantjes, 21, Mlamli Machel, 22, Luncile Bobby, 22, Tobile Mamlamla, 19, Mqondo Vena, 26, Zandiseli Ndwaya, 18, a youth of 17, two of 16 and another of 15.

Mr Justice T M Mullins is on the Bench, assisted by Mr B P Loots and Mr E A Logie as assessors. Mr C D Nel appears for the State, Mr J N M Pouw and Mr H K Naidu appear for the defence.
Tragedy for SA if black demands are not met

By KIN BENTLEY

TRAGEDY could befall South Africa if by April the long-term demands of the black people had not been met.

This is the view of the spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee in Port Elizabeth, Mr Jakkie Leow, who today said to avert this "tragedy", he would welcome discussions with PE's National Party MPs, "on condition they are going to be serious and are going to see the urgency of the volatile situation in SA."

Mr Jack was reacting to a statement by the MP for Newton Park, Mr Sakkie Louw, who said yesterday a meeting with black community leaders was "not only possible, but is very necessary and will take place as soon as possible."

Mr Jack said no formal invitation had yet been received from the MPs, but added he got the impression the National Party MPs "want to be enlightened about our long-term demands. We are prepared to go and explain them."

At the weekend the boycott was conditionally suspended until the end of April — with an ultimatum that unless certain long-term demands were met, it would be re-imposed as part of a national boycott.

Among demands cited at Sunday's meeting were: the dismantling of apartheid; the return of all exiles; the release of all political detainees, including Nelson Mandela; the unbanning of banned organisations like the ANC and Cosas; the creation of a proper atmosphere for the holding of peaceful negotiations; and information regarding the murder of Mathews Godlwe and others and the disappearance of Qaqawoli Godlozi and others.

Mr Jack said a national boycott was not the only type of action envisaged. He did not elaborate, but added: "We have national support."

"I foresee a great tragedy befalling the country — and that is not a threat."

For this reason, he said, "we will do all we can to see the whole thing is sorted out. We are prepared to talk to anyone about our long-term demands."
Resign call to Atlantis mancom

By HILARY VENABLES
Municipal Reporter

A MASS meeting of 200 Atlantis residents last night called on the Atlantis Management Committee to resign.

The meeting, called by the Atlantis Residents' Association (ARA), also demanded that the Divisional Council come to Atlantis to discuss evictions, unemployment and water and electricity disconnections with the community.

The council is to discuss the crisis in the town at a special meeting at its Wale Street offices tomorrow.

ARA chairperson Mr Noel Williams said he had invited the management committee chairperson, Mr Freddie Brandreth, to the meeting, but he had declined unless he was guaranteed "protection".

"I told him if he was confident he had not hurt and belittled the people of Atlantis, no harm would come to him," Mr Williams said.

'Spreading lies'

"We want an explanation from the management committee, we want them to resign tonight," he said to sustained applause.

Mr Williams said the management committee was "spreading lies" that the Divisional Council had promised not to evict any more people.

"We know people are being evicted. They have been carrying furniture back into their homes as long as the evictions continue.

"We will not let the council humiliate us any more.

"We demand that the council write off our arrears for rent, water, electricity and payments on our houses.

"If the government can write off the R800-million it spent on the stupid Sishen-Saldanha railway, it can write off the R2-million it claims we owe."

Mr Williams urged the audience to participate in the ARA self-help project which will organize the growing of vegetables in peoples' gardens.

He also said he would organize buses to take people to Bellville South where food was cheaper.

300 people a day

"We must show that we are and can be independent," he said.

Mr Williams said 300 people a day were coming to the Atlantis Advice Office soup kitchen for food.

The ARA has also called on people to observe a one-hour candlelight vigil tomorrow night in solidarity with detainees and those who have been evicted or had their electricity or water cut off.

Late last night, Mr Williams said police had fired over the heads of a group of about 300 people walking down the road after the meeting.

The crowd retaliated by throwing stones at the police vehicle. No one was injured or arrested, he said.

Police were unable to confirm the incident last night.
Man dies in arson attack

PRETORIA — A man burnt to death when a house was set on fire and a policeman received multiple stab wounds in "isolated but violent" incidents of unrest overnight, police said today.

The death occurred in New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, when the house in which the man was sleeping was set alight, police said.

At Galashewe, near Kimberley, a policeman was attacked in his home by "knife-wielding blacks", the report said. The policeman was stabbed several times. He was taken to hospital where police said his condition was serious.

Police also reported violence in the Western Cape, Paarl and Soweto. — Sapa.
ANC says Afrikaans will stay

THE surprise of the week for readers of the Afrikaans press was an assurance from a senior spokesman of the ANC in London that under a black majority government, Afrikaans would remain one of South Africa's official languages.

What is more, the spokesman apparently told Chris Louw of the Vaderland's London staff that Afrikaans language rights would be "protected in all respects". The ANC's viewpoint, he said, was that Afrikaans and English would remain the official languages, but people would be encouraged to learn to speak at least one black language.

Mr Louw found the Pan Africanist Congress less sympathetic towards Afrikaans. "Azania," said the PAC spokesman, "is one country, and its people must grow into one Azanian nation."

In a cautious editorial, the Vaderland said the ANC spokesman's views seemed "almost too reasonable to be true". Although it did not doubt that the spokesman and others in the ANC felt that way, it was improbable that this reflected the unanimous sentiments of the ANC.

Even with that reservation, the Vaderland considered the statement important, because it showed that in the ANC, as elsewhere, the "walls of implacability" were crumbling. Once such a process began, it developed a momentum of its own.
US plays down talks with ANC

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan administration yesterday sought to play down claims by the African National Congress that the State Department broke new ground by sending an envoy to Lusaka to discuss establishing a "relationship" with the outlawed organization.

The claim was published in the latest issue of Newsweek magazine which quoted ANC sources saying that "in recent weeks a US State Department official has made at least two trips to Lusaka for private meetings with ANC leaders."

A State Department official insisted that the talks represented no new departure in US policy and that US contacts with the ANC were not unprecedented.

He also said that the ANC made a habit of exaggerating the significance of such meetings.

State Department spokesman on African Affairs, Mr. Robert Bruce, said: "We have had contacts with the ANC at various levels."

The Reagan Administration has repeatedly called on Pretoria to release jailed ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela and to begin negotiations with genuinely representative black leaders, into which category it believes the ANC must be placed.
20,000 mourn at Mamelodi demos' funeral

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — The surprise arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela meant a spirited end to the funeral of 12 Mamelodi residents who died when police confronted demonstrators in the township on November 21.

Mrs Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, arrived at the cemetery shortly after the 12 had been buried. She was taken to the graveside through a cheering crowd.

The enthusiasm of people wanting to hear her speak prompted the funeral organizers to lead mourners back to the H M Pitje Stadium, where the joint funeral service was held. About 20,000 people attended.

Police and troops, camped on high ground near the cemetery and manning roadblocks on the outskirts of the township, did not intervene.

A police helicopter circled the stadium twice while Mrs Mandela spoke for three minutes to about 8,000 people.

Government attacked

Afterwards Mrs Mandela, who delayed arrangements to visit her husband in Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison to attend the funeral, left for Johannesburg.

Earlier speakers at the service attacked the Government for actions taken against demonstrators and called for restraint and dignity in the funeral proceedings.

Attending the funeral were diplomats from the Australian, Belgian, British, Canadian, Dutch, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish and United States missions, as well as church leaders from South Africa's major denominations.

Mamelodi's Mayor, Mr Bennett Ndlazi, blamed by some residents for the tragedy, was not present.

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman received a warm welcome. She was loudly cheered when she called on the Government to "talk to the people", not "lock them up".

"All regulations that do not permit freedom of association in South Africa must be withdrawn," she said.

Mrs Martha Mahlangu, the mother of Solomon Mahlangu, who was hanged for terrorism, said the thousands who had marched to the local offices on November 21 had been armed only with "words of peace", but those being buried had "died before their plea was made".

A huge ANC banner was carried into the stadium at the start of the proceedings.

It was also borne along the 1km route to the graveyard by singing youths.
Commerce asks to meet UDF

THE Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has requested a meeting with members of the Western Cape executive of the United Democratic Front after the UDF asked the chamber to use its influence to ensure that the minimum demands of our people be met.

And the director of the chamber, Mr Andrew Peile, said last night that demands being made by the UDF were similar to ones being made by commerce and industry.

In a memorandum, signed by Mr Y Adam on behalf of the regional executive, the UDF said "there has been from business in Cape Town no satisfactory response to the grave situation our people face and no appreciation of the urgency of the change that is required."

"The UDF, in the name of our many affiliates and millions of supporters, now demands that your chamber use its influence in a much more determined manner, to ensure that the minimum demands of our people be met."

Mr Peile said last night he had left messages requesting a meeting with Mr Adam "to discuss common ground."

He declined to comment further until the talks had been held.

• Repeal apartheid laws now — Peile, page 14
Winnie Mandela
gives speech after
Mamelodi funeral

By Chris More and
McKeed Kotolo

The colours of the banned African National Congress (ANC) dominated yesterday's mass funeral of 12 Mamelodi residents, including a two-month-old baby, who died during clashes with members of security forces.

The arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela, almost five hours after the funeral began, added to the defiant mood.

The funeral service, held at the Mamelodi Stadium, was attended by more than 50,000 people including diplomats from 11 countries.

All 12 coffins were draped with flags bearing the colours of the ANC and thousands of mourners were handed lapel badges with the colours.

The arrival of Mrs Mandela at the local cemetery caused a stir among the mourners as everyone tried to touch her.

Mrs Mandela had cancelled a visit to her jailed husband Nelson Mandela, the former leader of the ANC, at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town, to attend the funeral.

An impromptu meeting was called at the stadium to enable her to address the crowd as this was impossible at the graveyard. There was no public address system and the crowds surged forward in an attempt to get closer to her.

At least two cameramen, one from a foreign television network, fell and were nearly trampled in the stampede to photograph the "Mother of the Nation."

Some mourners at the graveyard demanded that Mrs Mandela address them and one of the 300 marshals on duty announced that she would speak at the stadium.

A crowd of about 5,000 then returned to the stadium for Mrs Mandela's speech, which lasted about 10 minutes. The mourners chanted slogans and sang freedom songs while groups ran around the arena singing.

Other speakers, including the chairman of the Pretoria Council of Churches, Dr Nico Smith, a representative of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, Dr David Webster, and a representative of the Federation of South African Women, Sister Bernard Neube, condemned the Government for its "racial policies and intransigence to reason."

Those who were buried were:
- two-month-old Trocia Ndlovu, who died from teargas fumes,
- Mrs Elizabeth Mzila (45), Mrs Miriam Mello (63), Mrs Sarah Tefo (65), Mr Dipuo Masombuka (19), Mr Jacob Buti Masanabo (32), Mrs Thoko Beauty Malaza (24), Mr Jerry Shikwane Ngwatile (19), Mrs Salome Mabena (45), Mr Jacob Songo (19), Mrs Anna Gomba (54), Mr Jacob Mvimbela and Mrs Magdelene Mlambo.

This report has been restricted in terms of the Internal Security Act because Mrs Mandela is a banned person and may not be quoted in South Africa. See Page 4.
Decree brought more death, suffering — funeral speakers.

Call for end to emergency.

The Star, 4/13/82

Western envoys at funeral

Donors and police get a 'thank you'

LUXURY LUGGAGE . . . 
To Take you Around the World from Western

Police withdrew as mourners dispersed quietly.

By 6 p.m., riot police and about 400 protesters had withdrawn from the township.

The Donors and police get a 'thank you'.

By Melvyn Katula

The Mamelodi Relief Committee (MRC), which organised the mass funeral for the 12 residents who were killed when police opened fire on more than 8,000 protesters on November 21, thanked the donors for their generosity and cooperation throughout Saturday's service.

The committee and all those who participated in the funeral arrangements thanked the bereaved families for having allowed us to bury their beloved members in a mass funeral and change all the arrangements they had already made.

Mr. Makwenda also thanked the police who kept their promise by not intervening anywhere near the funeral service.

He also thanked the donors who contributed funds towards the funeral service.
Change urged to ‘dampen violence’

RADICAL movements such as the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress and the United Democratic Front would dampen their violence if government made positive moves to dismantle apartheid, FFU leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

He was addressing the South Africa Britain Trade Association (SABITA) at a lunch in Cape Town.

Dismantling apartheid meant giving people freedom of choice to live, work, and be educated where they wanted to, he said.

Slabbert said foreign politicians found it difficult to define apartheid when discussing conditions for negotiation with movements such as the UDF, the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo).

He was referring to his recent visits to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Britain.

"South African apartheid has become a part of domestic politics overseas. It has now become a part of British electoral politics, for instance. "And because of this, sanctions have developed their own momentum. If you are for sanctions, you are against apartheid. If you are against sanctions, you are for apartheid," he said.

But there was no thought of a replacement for apartheid.

"Only South Africa can supply that answer. What we need is a workable definition. It is not simply a question of domination or racism, although racism is undoubtedly a part." — Sapa.
Badge-wearer puts case

A WORKER at Atlantis Diesel Engines in Cape Town, who was fired after refusing to remove a United Democratic Front (UDF) badge from his overall, is fighting for re-instatement in the Industrial Court.

Isaac Phooko, a member of the Engineering Industrial Workers Union, has applied for permanent re-instatement in terms of Section 46 of the Labour Relations Act (LRA) on grounds that he was unfairly dismissed.

Phooko was ordered by a supervisor to take off his badge on April 30. The supervisor said he should do so for his own safety because this could cause "friction" in the workplace. Phooko refused and received a written order saying he was abusing company property by putting the badge pin into his overall.

The company introduced a new rule on May 1 outlawing the promotion of any political cause or organisation on company property. He was ordered again to remove his badge and was fired on May 3 after further warnings which he refused to comply with.

Phooko has argued in court that disciplinary proceedings began against him before the company had introduced any rule which effectively prohibited him wearing his badge. He also maintains the company did not consult with the union or any of the workers before introducing the new rule.

Phooko applied for temporary re-instatement in terms of Section 43 of the LRA in August. But this was not granted because the Industrial Court found then that the dispute had not been properly referred to the Industrial Council.

Sapa reports that Phooko told the court yesterday that the foreman who ordered him to take off the badge was "opposed to organisations like the UDF."
Mandela defies banning to attend unrest funerals

WINNIE MANDELA, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, yesterday defied her banning order to attend the mass funeral of 12 unrest victims killed at Mamelodi near Pretoria on November 21.

Mandela cancelled a scheduled visit to Cape Town to see her husband to go to the funeral, which was attended by about 50,000 people.

Standing near the 12 coffins covered in ANC colours, Mandela was mobbed by crowds shouting "Viva Mandela." Funeral organizers used sjamboks to keep the crowds away.

Mandela later gave an emotional address, but as she is a banned person Business Day cannot report her speech.

Police, who had promised to keep away from the funeral after a request from Mamelodi residents, watched proceedings from a barbed wire encampment on a hill overlooking the township.

Helicopters flew over the township but police did not interfere with the funeral.

Pretoria shopkeepers yesterday reported an 80% stayaway of workers.

Those buried included 11 shot dead by police, and a two-year-old baby who died, it is alleged, after being overcome by teargas fumes.

Sapa reports that diplomats from 11 Western nations, including the United States, Canada, and the Netherlands, joined mourners at the funeral ceremony. Several delegates drove in a convoy and said it was a move to convey the sympathy of their countries as well as to protest at police conduct.

"The reason we are here is to express support for the principle of peaceful protest," Tim Carney, political counselor at the US Embassy, told reporters.

"Many of us have friends here in Mamelodi and many of our employees are living there."

In another development yesterday, the British government called for a "full investigation" into the deaths, saying the latest loss of life in South Africa is a "matter of the"...
Commerce asks to meet UDF

THE Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has requested a meeting with members of the Western Cape executive of the United Democratic Front after the UDF asked the chamber to use its influence "to ensure that the minimum demands of our people be met".

And the director of the chamber, Mr Andrew Peile, said last night that demands being made by the UDF were similar to ones being made by commerce and industry.

In a memorandum, signed by Mr Y Adam on behalf of the regional executive, the UDF said "there has been from business in Cape Town no satisfactory response to the grave situation our people face and no appreciation of the urgency of the change that is required.

"The UDF, in the name of our many affiliates and millions of supporters, now demands that your chamber use its influence in a much more determined manner, to ensure that the minimum demands of our people be met."

Mr Peile said last night he had left messages requesting a meeting with Mr Adam "to discuss common ground."

He declined to comment further until the talks had been held.

© Repeal apartheid laws now — Peile, page 14
MRS WINNIE Mandela made a short but emotive speech — as a police helicopter hovered above — to about 8 000-odd mourners who had returned to the H M Pitje Stadium, Mamelodi, after the mass funeral of 12 unrest victims yesterday.

Between 50 000 to 60 000 people attended the funeral of the 12. Among the dead was a two-month-old baby.

They were killed when police opened fire on demonstrators in Mamelodi, Pretoria, two weeks ago.

As she is banned Mrs Mandela cannot be quoted.

Sapa reports that attempts to get the crowd, still numbering many thousands, to sit and listen quietly to a speech Mrs Mandela wanted to make were unsuccessful, and organisers appealed to the people to return to the stadium for it.

As a police helicopter circled high over the stadium, Mrs Mandela delivered a short, but emotive speech to the 8 000-odd people who had returned to the venue.

According to those close to her, however, she cancelled her visit to Pollsmoor at the last moment to attend the funeral. She had intended visiting her husband, Nelson Mandela, at the prison.

Mamelodi residents staged a massive boycott from work and went in their thousands to the funeral.

They were joined by ambassadors from many embassies, priests and political organisations from all over the cou-
Mass burial drama

From Page 1

The victims who died on November 21, are Mrs Miriam Mello (65), Mrs Sarah Tefo (63), Mrs Anna Gomba (54), Mrs Elizabeth Msiza (45), Mrs Salome Mabena (48), Mr Jacob Buti Ma'asanabo (32), Mrs Thoko Beauty Malaza (24), Mr Dipuo Mombuka (19), Mr Jerry Shikwane Ngwatie (19), Mr Jacob Songo (19), Mr Jacob Mavimbela, Mrs Magdelaine Mlambo (69) and two-month-old Trocia Ndluvu.

Although Mamelodi residents had been subjected to funeral restrictions recently, yesterday's mass burial, which was organised by the Mamelodi Relief Committee, went ahead without restrictions following an order by the chief magistrate of Wonderboom, Mr J Burger. He authorised the burial on Monday.

The 12 coffins were lined inside the H M Pieder Stadium draped in the black, green and yellow colours of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

Speaker after speaker attacked the Government and condemned "brutal police action on defenceless mothers who had staged a peaceful demonstration".

Sister Bernad Neube said: "Our country is at war but mothers should not be deterred to fight the evil system of apartheid".

Mrs Suzman called on the Government to lift the state of emergency and to release political prisoners. Dr Smith said the whole country should mourn the death of the twelve victims "because life has become cheap in our country".

- A pamphlet distributed to the mourners who attended the funeral of 12 people killed in a violent clash with police after a demonstration claims a two-month-old baby girl died after she suffocated from tear smoke fumes. Trocia Mdlalu died on November 22, a day after the clash. The pamphlet claims...
Activist hacked to death in Parys

JOHANNESBURG — A young political activist in the Parys township of Tumahole was allegedly hacked to death by vigilantes using garden implements.

The man, Mr Lefa Rasego, 19, was attacked on Friday and is one of two young men said to have died in political conflict in the small township in four days.

The other death reported by community sources is that of Mr Apa Daniel Mosholo who was allegedly killed on Monday. The circumstances of his death are not clear.

Police in Parys have been unable to confirm either death.

A witness to the attack on Mr Rasego said the vigilantes, known as the A-Team, had seen a group of activists waiting for a taxi soon after 7pm on Friday and had given chase.

“We scattered, but Lefa was caught. He ran into a house but the A-Team took him out. One stabbed him in the shoulder as they came out. They dragged him into the street and attacked him with knives, spades and gardening forks.

“After this I couldn’t watch because they were looking for me and I had to run.”

The witness said he later learnt Lefa had died.

Tumahole has been in the grip of violence since two community leaders, Mr Ace Magashule and Mr Sam Magashule, were detained in November.

Sapa
Sjamboks not issued at funeral — witness

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — A state witness told the magistrate's court here yesterday he saw no sjamboks being issued on the day police were alleged to have used them on youths in Grahamstown.

Lieutenant G. P. J. Laubscher, a Middelburg policeman who was stationed in Grahamstown at the time of the alleged incident in November 1984, could not say under cross-examination by Mr Mike Hannon, SC, for the defence whether there had been sjamboks in Casspirs which monitored the movements of a procession during the funeral of an unrest victim.

The editor of the Eastern Province Herald, Mr J. C. Viviers and a reporter, Miss Juliette Saunders are charged with contravening Section 27(1) of the Police Act. They have pleaded not guilty.

The state alleges that on November 10, 1984, they published statements about the actions of the South African Police without having reasonable grounds for believing them to be true. The charges stem from the Herald's coverage of the funeral of an unrest victim in Grahamstown on November 8.

Mr Viviers is charged in two capacities — as editor of the Herald and representative of the owners and publishers, South African Associated Newspapers. The trial continues today.
Buthelezi: Cosatu 'new front for ANC'  

ULUNDI — The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday accused Cosatu, the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions, of being a "new front" for the ANC.

"They must resign from their jobs as an example of what they want others to taste when sanctions are applied in South Africa," he said. Inkatha also urged all its members who belonged to trade unions to report any hostile reference to the cultural "liberation movement" by trade unionists.

It also warned that it had the right to find alternative means of negotiating for workers if any trade union abandoned industrial bargaining in favour of party politics.

These warnings came yesterday in a press release on resolutions of the Inkatha central committee passed here at the weekend. — Sapa
"Fighting worse than wearing badge"

Staff Reporter

FIGHTING on the shop floor was a far more serious offence than wearing a badge, a worker, fired from Atlantis Diesel Engines factory for refusing to remove a United Democratic Front badge, told an Industrial Court.

Mr Isaac Phooko, 23, was fired on May 3 after two years' service with the company. He had been unemployed since then, the court heard yesterday.

The dismissal followed his refusal to heed company warnings on "abuse and misuse" of company property, refusing to obey a legitimate instruction and refusing to accept a disciplinary procedure "prohibiting employees to advance and/or promote political organisations within the confines of ADE".

Mr Phooko said he was "disturbed" about a rule introduced "overnight" prohibiting the "promotion of any political cause on the premises" after he was warned by a foreman, Mr P P Wollner, to remove the badge and his refusal to comply.

"USING THE LAW"

He refused, he said, because he felt the foreman had "used the company law to satisfy himself — he seemed opposed to organisations like the UDF".

Mr Phooko said the rule was "fair to a certain extent".

"If it had been a case of someone wearing a T-shirt with slogans or carrying a banner, I might have accepted the law, but the badge was probably no bigger than my thumb and a person walking past might not even have seen it."

He had seen men fighting on the shop floor and getting away unpunished — yet this was "a far more serious offence than wearing a badge".

The hearing continues today.

Mr P E Roux, SC, is presiding. Mr L J Bozalik of the Legal Resources Centre, appears for Mr Phooko and Mr P Erasmus, ADE general manager, human resources, appears for the company.
PW move "minimal\"  

Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The areas in which the state of emergency was lifted yesterday were never trouble-spots and the move does not mean much, according to the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo), the Black Sash and the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC).

"The revolutionary feeling in townships is certainly not 'losing momentum' as the President says," said the Rev Joe Seoka, Azapo vice-president.

"People are simply reassessing his attitudes towards reform.

He challenged the President to allow the Press into townships if he believed things were back to normal.

A spokesman for the DPSC said Mr Botha was "beating about the bush. He knows the state of emergency must be lifted immediately to gain peace," he added.

Mrs Ethel Walt, vice-president of the Black Sash, said the relaxation was "minimal\"."
Staff Reporter

THE Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has indicated its willingness to discuss with the United Democratic Front a memorandum urging the chamber to use its influence "to ensure that the minimum demands of our people are met".

The author of the memorandum is Mr Yusuf Adam, an executive member of UDF Western Cape.

The president of the chamber, Mr Andrew Peile, said today: "The chamber has made it clear from its actions that we are prepared to discuss things of this nature. Our purpose is to generate dialogue and transmit opinions from different sections of the community."

The memorandum charges that "there has been from business in Cape Town no satisfactory response to the grave situation our people face and no appreciation of the urgency of the change that is required".
Mandelas share $100 000 and Third World award

Own Correspondent

LONDON. - Imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Mrs Winnie have won the 1985 Third World Prize of $100 000 (about R220 000)

The prize, awarded annually by the London-based Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies, said that Mr Mandela was honoured for his message of freedom for all the world.

As leader of the African National Congress, he has been in jail for the past 23 years.

The citation named Mrs Winnie Mandela as a "symbol of the anti-apartheid campaign in South Africa" and praised her "courage and unbroken determination to serve the people".

The chairman of the selection committee is Sir Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary General.

The citation for the prize which includes a medallion, stated: "We salute him for his heroic fight against oppression based on a profound faith in the equality of human beings and their right to be free."

It continued: "In the year that marks the end of the United Nations decade for women, it is appropriate that as we honour Nelson Mandela, we also honour Winnie Mandela for her own outstanding contribution to the struggle for justice in South Africa."
Buthelezi praise for defence force hospital help

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.—Kwazulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi praised the South African Defence Force for sending conscripted doctors to Kwazulu hospitals.

He was speaking at the opening ceremony for a R100 000 outpatients clinic at Nkonjeni Hospital, in the Mahlabathini district of Kwazulu near Ulundi.

SITE OFFICE

The clinic has been donated by Murray and Roberts Construction Ltd. It was formerly used as the site office during the construction of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi congratulated the contractors for building the hospital.

He also thanked the young doctors who were prepared to move away from the glitter of city lights to serve their people in rural areas such as Mahlabathini.

"We are also grateful to the SADF for allowing some of the doctors to come to serve here in our hospitals instead of going to the borders."

However, while Kwazulu had a single doctor for every 80 000 people, there was still a long way to go, Chief Buthelezi said.

Free flights for servicemen

Staff Reporter
candlelight protests
on

I once crack down on
Alexander bares his soul on SA

DR NEVILLE Alexander's sensitivity as a national leader and noted educationist is the basis of this collection of speeches.

These are speeches Dr Alexander gave to various audiences, including youth, students and women's organisations and political and educational gatherings.

Dr Alexander might be relatively unknown in popular political circles, he is however a leader whose intellect, integrity and vision have won him respect among leaders on the continent and elsewhere.

He has not scratched the surface, but has looked deeply and realistically into the cauldron of South Africa's politics.

One is left with no doubt that Dr Alexander is a black nationalist.

Political
His thinking is much closer to Black Consciousness than to that of the Progressive Democrats.

Dr Alexander's speech at the National Forum meeting in Maritzburg in 1984 is an example of his abilities in political analysis and evaluation. This is one of his most outstanding speeches.

He prepared it with J Pease and N Dolly, according to the book.

In this speech he examines the continuing conflict between the capitalist West and socialist East over the control of Africa.

Title: SOW THE WIND
Author: DR NEVILLE ALEXANDER
Publisher: Skotaville
Subject — a collection of 12 speeches by Neville Alexander.
Review by THAMI MAZWAI

Dr Alexander contrasts American designs in South Africa with the Soviet ones.

For both America and the Soviet Union, it is not the interests of black South Africans that are at stake, but rather American and Soviet interests, including the build-up of their nuclear arsenals.

Most black politicians, while decrying Western imperialism, seldom address themselves to Soviet expansionism. Dr Alexander does.

Role
The three then look at southern Africa and the various forces at play here.

They look at the role Umtata and Renamo are playing in protecting South Africa's interests, and the role the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference is playing in trying to free Frontline black majority from exercising democratic rights in an undiluted system of adult franchise.

This is an accurate assessment of what little change there has been in South Africa.

Central to their argument is the statement that whatever happens, capitalism in South Africa will continue to thrive, bolstered by apartheid. Capitalism and apartheid have become twins.

The authors concluded that the new direction that P W Botha and his Government were taking would include "coloureds", "Indians" and "a black middle class" in a new alliance with the ruling class.

Strategy
Neighbouring states would be subjugated and white South Africa would reign supreme on the sub-continent.

The Nkomati Accord was a result of this new strategy by South Africa, Dr Alexander concluded.

The litmus test for any political analysis is whether events prove it right or not.

Dr Alexander's brilliance shines through other speeches in this collection. His address to a youth congress in Windhoek, for example, is another work of art.

This book will be a worthy addition to any library.
SA faces catastrophe, Tutu tells churchmen

Communion Press

HARARE — Christian leaders from all over the world were told South Africa was on the brink of catastrophe and that the churches were facing a crisis in their efforts to find a peaceful solution.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, told a special meeting of the World Council of Churches: “We who are trying to advocate reasonably peaceful solutions are becoming irrelevant.

“Our credibility is being eroded and the young are saying ‘what have you got to show?’

“If I were young I would have rejected Tutu by now,” said the bishop.

He was speaking as one of nearly 40 South African churchmen who have gathered in Harare for a meeting with church leaders from Europe, North America, Australia and other parts of Africa.

“DIFFICULT”

The president of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, said churches in South Africa were finding it difficult to preach the gospel of love.

“We are being challenged to interpret what reconciliation means in the face of forces that make it unworkable,” he said.

Bishop Tutu said the system in South Africa was “mad, crazy”.

Bishop Tutu

Children, mothers and grandmothers were being killed to the extent that they were becoming statistics.

The authorities were trying to enforce order at the end of a gun barrel.

“We speak peace,” he said. “They speak bullets, dogs, detention and death.”

At a news conference, Bishop Tutu was asked if the churches would come out in support of the armed struggle.

He replied: “The church, as church, at no point in its history could ever advocate force.

“What the church has done is to say it is faced with two evils, in this case the evil of the oppressive system, apartheid, and the evil of the other kind of violence of the force that seeks to overthrow this oppressive system.

“The church says to Christians: ‘We want to say to you that there may come a set of circumstances which would make it justifiable for individual Christians to decide the time had come for them to overthrow the system by force.

“We use the criteria of the just war. But the church as an institution can never say it espouses force and violence.”

Bishop Tutu gave as the “base line” for a solution in South Africa the following requirements:

● The Government must recognise all South Africans as citizens.
● It must declare firmly, precisely and without ambiguity its intention to dismantle apartheid.
● It must lift the state of emergency immediately.
● It must release all detainees and political prisoners.
● It must allow exiles to return.
● It must drop the charges in the two treason trials.
● It must engage in serious negotiation with leaders freely chosen by the people.

During his stay in Harare, Bishop Tutu said he would meet the representatives of liberation movements.

“I make a point to meet the leaders of the liberation movements when I go out of the country,” he said.

“I am not going to let the South African Government choose my friends for me.”
QUEENSTOWN — There was no change in the situation in Mlungisi and the authorities had to realise that the demands in the township were part of the "national liberation struggle", the regional organiser of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Mncedisi Mhilini, said here.

"The sub-human conditions still exist in Mlungisi. These are the things that the people articulated and until such time as these are corrected, together with national demands, there will always be efforts by blacks to free themselves from their oppression."

"The consumer boycott must been seen in this regard. It was because of conditions in which they live that the residents decided to take whatever means at their disposal to make the authorities aware of these conditions."

"But what has happened here is that the authorities have also decided to react violently against defenceless and unarmed people. In the first week of the consumer boycott, several people were detained."

"The authorities must understand that these people are not terrorists and communist agitators as they believe they are. They are blacks responding to their black experience."

Mr Mhilini, who served five years in prison for furthering the aims of the banned Black People's Convention, said he was still "in prison" when he heard about moves to upgrade Mlungisi.

"The black forces are showing their anger against the forces of Malan and Le Grange who are trampling on the aspirations of the people."

"The events in Mlungisi on November 20 when defenceless people were killed will remain vividly in my memory."
THE leader of the defence team in the
treason trial in Maritzburg yesterday
accused State witness ID de Vries, a
lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans Univer-
sity, of giving misleading information in
his report to the court.

Ismail Mahomed SC also accused De
Vries of merely reading the ANC publi-
cation Scothub "without having the ex-
pertise to make an assessment of its
content."

Mahomed alleged that the cumulative
effect of the misleading statements
made the evidence unworthy of an aca-
demic doing serious research. — Sapa.
ANC rejects Inkatha peace-talks overtures

THE ANC has rejected an Inkatha offer of peace talks to heal the swelling conflict between the two organisations.

In an interview with Business Day, the banned movement also delivered a scathing attack on Inkatha and its leader, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is understood the ANC does not intend replying to a telegram it received in Lusaka from Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo four weeks ago.

In the telegram Dhlomo protested against the bombing of Inkatha's Amsterdam office, allegedly by the "Benjamin Moloiwe Commando", and of repeated ANC propaganda attacks against Buthelezi.

He proposed "consultations with you or your nominee which would hopefully culminate in restoration of pre-1979 relations between the two organisations". Animosity between the ANC and Inkatha has deepened since 1979, when the two groups met in London in an unsuccessful attempt to develop a low-key working relationship.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said yesterday: "The ANC does not see the possibility or the likelihood of sitting down to talk to Buthelezi or Inkatha at any time in the future."

He accused the KwaZulu leader and his movement of being "squarely on the side of the government" and of endangering the lives of UDF and affiliated leaders by branding them as fronts for the ANC.

He indicated one of the principal reasons against talking to Inkatha was its actions against UDF members, particularly in Natal — "which are unacceptable to the ANC and to our people generally".

PETER HONEY
ANC got what it wanted in raid across the Limpopo

Michael Hartnack
Agents for Euromoney

THE moon was just approaching full when, on the night of Monday, November 25, Ali along the wild "back road" of the Zim-

habe-Botswana border, a group of armed men came out of the bush, shooting and killing the inhabitants of the village of Zabori. They were a group of Portuguese mercenaries, who had been hired by the South African government to carry out a raid into Botswana.

Survived

A 15-year-old Irish volunteer teacher, Mr. Jack Burns, was one of the casualties. Burns was shot dead as he was trying to save one of his pupils. Further reports of heavy fighting and casualties were received at the nearby town of Tshembe. The raid was a surprise attack, and the Portuguese were able to escape. The bodies of the Portuguese mercenaries were later found by the local police.

Disidents

Mr. Khumalo, the head of the local police, says that the Zambian police were not aware of the operation. He also confirmed that the Portuguese mercenaries had been operating in the area for several days, and that they were planning to attack again.

The Zambia government has confirmed that the raid took place. It has also stated that it will not tolerate such operations. The government has called on its military to take action against the Portuguese mercenaries.

From hideouts

The Zambian government's main priority is to ensure the safety of its citizens. It has placed a high priority on the elimination of the Portuguese mercenary threat. The government has also taken steps to increase its border security.

The Anti-SA

Despite a tough stance against South Africa, the government has not taken any action to stop the influx of illegal immigrants. The government is under pressure to do something about the situation, but it is not clear what the government will do.
Mutilated bodies found

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two unarmed plainclothes policemen were tortured before being murdered by their attackers in KwaZakhele on Tuesday night, according to police.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said the two policemen, Constable M J Mollanthe of Dennilton, Transvaal, and Constable M S Mdingwane, of Honeydew, were on guard duty at the house of another policeman in KwaZakhele before the incident.

He said they left their post at 9pm on Tuesday and the next day police found their mutilated bodies near the Swartkop power station.

He said the two had been in plainclothes and had left their weapons at the house.

It was clear they had been tortured and dragged across the ground, he said.

Colonel Van Rooyen said the men were stabbed numerous times. Sharp objects were then stuck through their necks and their throats ripped out.

Murder is being investigated. No arrests have been made.
Cosatu: a political force, but champion of the workers

The biggest black trade union, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), was launched in Durban this week. The inauguration was attended by thousands of workers and about 900 delegates from around the country. Cosatu was formed after nearly five years of negotiations among the emergent unions.

An article about the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and its activities, discussing the political significance of its formation and its role in the struggle against apartheid.
Not enough expertise

Treason trial expert tells court he erred

MARITZBURG — The treason trial here was adjourned early yesterday for both sides to consider the position of an expert State witness who said his opinion could never be conclusive.

Mr Isaac de Vries, the key witness in the trial of 16 United Democratic Front and trade union leaders, also admitted under cross-examination that he had no expertise to assess the correctness of statements and acts in revolutionary literature.

His original task had only been to identify revolutionary-directed actions in revolutionary literature and in transcripts of meetings before the court.

Mr de Vries also admitted “fundamental mistakes” in his evidence that could have misled the court.

Defence team leader Mr Ismail Mahomed SC told Mr de Vries: “I want to prove you are a theoritician who has no factual background and no expertise to make statements or assessments.”

On Monday Mr Justice J Milne asked Mr de Vries why he had not formed opinions on certain organisations’ commitment to violence before the trial.

TWO SOURCES

Mr de Vries’ admission came when Mr Justice Milne asked if he had found some organisations and people were involved in violent revolution. He said he had, but would be unable to draw a conclusion because of historical backgrounds and other factors.

Mr Mahomed also said a statement by Mr de Vries was “fundamentally incorrect” because he had attributed to the ANC a statement on the UDF that originated from two sources.

Mr Mahomed said the quotes came from an editorial in the same publication.

Mr Mahomed also asked why Mr de Vries had alleged in court that only ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo had, in the publication, called for the formation of a United Democratic Front.

“Why did you not tell the court Mr Tambo denied making this statement?” he asked. Mr de Vries said he had erred and should have been more explicit.

“I have not said these statements are historically and factually correct. I said I have read these things in revolutionary literature.”

Mr Mahomed accused Mr de Vries of having created the impression that what he had mentioned was fact.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.
Churches are losing credibility, says Tutu

‘Advocates of peace in crisis’

The Star’s Africa News Service

HARARE — Christian leaders from all over the world were told here yesterday that South Africa was on the verge of catastrophe and that the churches were facing a crisis in their efforts to find a peaceful solution.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, told a special meeting of the World Council of Churches: “We, who are trying to advocate reasonably peaceful solutions, are becoming irrelevant. Our credibility is being eroded and the young are saying ‘What have you got to show?’

If I were young I would have rejected Tutu by now.”

He was speaking as one of nearly 40 South African churchmen here for a meeting with church leaders from Europe, North America, Australia and Africa.

‘Mad systems’

Bishop Tutu said the South African system was “mad, crazy”. The authorities were trying to enforce order at the end of a gun barrel, but it would only be a brittle, superficial order until they got to the root of the problem.

He said: “We speak peace. They speak bullets, dogs, detention and death.”

The South African Council of Churches’ president, Bishop Mamas Buthelezi, said South African churches were finding it difficult to preach the gospel of love.

“We are being challenged to interpret what reconciliation means in the face of forces that make it unworkable,” he said.

Later, at a news conference, Bishop Tutu was asked if the churches would come out in support of the armed struggle.

He said: “The church, as the church, could never advocate force.

“What it has done is to say it is faced with two evils: the evil of apartheid and the evil of the kind of violence of the force that seeks to overthrow apartheid.

“The church says to Christians there may come a set of circumstances which would make it justifiable for individual Christians to decide the time had come for them to overthrow the system by force.

“We use the criteria of the just war. But the church as an institution can never say it endorses force and violence.”

Bishop Buthelezi said the church was immersed in the reality of violence and it was an academic issue as to whether it should do so or not.

It was no longer a question of whether the violence should be initiated or not. But the church did not have the instruments on the basis of its mandate from scripture to deploy Christians and say they must do this or that.

Then Bishop Tutu gave as his “base line” for a solution to South Africa’s problems these requirements:

1. Recognition
   • The Government must recognise all South Africans as citizens.
   • It must declare firmly, precisely and without ambiguity its intention to dismantle apartheid.
   • It must lift the state of emergency immediately.
   • It must release all detainees and political prisoners.
   • It must allow exiles to return.
   • It must drop the charges in the two treason trials.

2. It must engage in serious negotiation with those whom the people had freely chosen as their representatives.

Bishop Tutu said he would meet liberation movement representatives while he was here.

He said: “I make a point of meeting such leaders when I go out of the country. I am not going to let the South African Government choose my friends for me.”

Bishop Tutu said the three-day meeting had already achieved one objective in that Christian leaders had shown their solidarity with the victims of apartheid by coming to the gathering.

The perpetrators of apartheid could not dismiss as insignificant men such as the Archbishop of Sweden, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of West Berlin.

He said he hoped they would go back and support the initiatives in their own countries to assist in the dismantling of apartheid.

How long that took depended to an extent on what the United States, Britain and West Germany decided.

The meeting was opened by the BBC’s president, the Rev. Casarano Banda, who said the South African regime had unleashed violence on the people of the country on an unprecedented scale.
Scores in court after unrest

SCENES of people, among them members of the Azanian People's Organisation and several youth bodies, this week appeared briefly in the Ga-Rankuwa Magistrate's Court following incidents of violence in the area.

Some of them were brought to court on Monday while others appeared on Tuesday.

No charges were put to them. They were not asked to plead.

Further hearings have been set for February next year.

Their appearance arose from recent unrest in Ga-Rankuwa, Mahopane and Winterveldt.

**Children**

Scores of parents crammed the small courtrooms on Tuesday to see if their children were among those appearing.

Some said their children had been missing for several days before they knew that they were arrested in a swoop by the Bophuthatswana Police.

Children under 16 were released into the custody of their parents.

Bail between R200 and R300 was fixed for others.

A senior control prosecutor, a Mr Groen, refused to give The SOWETAN the actual number of people and other details.

His office was said to have been the only one authorised to brief reporters since the outbreak of violence in the homeland a few weeks ago.
Police 'break up' township candle vigils

Staff Reporters

CALLERS from townships all over the Peninsula claimed last night that police were breaking up candlelight vigils by entering homes and either removing candles or ordering householders to put them out.

A caller from Mitchells Plain said police had smashed a candle held by her elderly mother into her face, injuring her and setting fire to her blouse.

However, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said last night police were carrying out "normal crime prevention patrols throughout the Peninsula" and were not breaking up candlelight vigils. These patrols could be found day and night, he said.

'Slapped'

Mrs Carima Semaar of 5 Burgundy Street, Mitchells Plain, wept as she described how police had arrived in the street in Casspirs, entered people's property and slapped candles out of their hands.

She said a policeman had slapped the candle held by her mother, Mrs A Semaar, into the elderly woman's face and the candle had set fire to her blouse.

Mrs Heather Barends of 102 Acacia Road, Grassy Park, also wept as she said police had grabbed candles out of people's hands and thrown them down.

"They entered our properties to do this," she said.

Mr H van Wyk of Retreat said police had ordered him to blow out his candle and that "many" people, including some children, had been arrested.

Anonymous calls saying police had broken up candlelight vigils were also received from Wynberg, Grassly Park and Manenberg.

The Relief Centre also reported receiving calls from people in Lavender Hill, Bonteheuwel and Rocklands and Westridge in Mitchells Plain, complaining about police breaking up vigils.

A person who lives near the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre reported that a woman and three youths were put into police vans at the centre after police broke up a vigil and proposed march.

'Scared'

According to the resident, police instructed the owner of a shop at the centre to close his premises.

A group of youths took refuge in her backyard and police jumped over a wall and allegedly beat them up before taking some of them away.

"I was too scared to go outside to see what was going on. I just heard the commotion as they hit them with sjamboks. The police were still parked outside the centre at 10pm with the four people in the vans, while other policemen were standing around," she said.
TRADE UNIONISTS LIVING IN FEAR

Police have apparently cracked down on trade union leaders and some are believed to have gone into hiding following the launching of the consumer boycott in Pietersburg.

Ms Geraldine Popeli, an administrator of the South African Allied Workers Union (Sawwu) yesterday claimed she was questioned for several hours by the Security Police about the union's activities and the consumer boycott before she was allowed to go.

Three unionists — Mr Alfred Mokeleng, Saawu's Northern Transvaal organiser, Mr Elias Nong, of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (Cawusa), and Mr Ephraim Lekvangane of Saawu, are worried after Security Police demanded to see them at their offices in Pietersburg this week.

Hiding

Several other unionists and members of political organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) are in hiding.

The Police Public Relations Division for the SAP in Pretoria said: "We do not see our way clear to comment on routine police investigations. Enquiries take place everyday, and you must appreciate that it will be impossible to comment on them all."

The consumer boycott of white-owned shops in Pietersburg was started in November.

Although the organisers of the boycott claim it is gaining momentum, the secretary of the Pietersburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr L Searle, has contended that the boycott has very minimal effects.

Mr Searle said pamphlets were distributed in the area last month, but said members have reported no effect whatsoever.

"Business is slack in the area because of the current economic recession and one is unable to say it is due to the boycott," he added.

The general secretary of the Black General Workers Union, Mr Harold Madikoro, who was released from detention recently, said police visits to union offices have "almost become our daily bread."

He was detained for 14 days under Section 52 of the Internal Security Act.
Ross joins resign call to mancom

By HILARY VENABLES Municipal Reporter

DIVISIONAL councillor Mr Neil Ross has joined the call for the Atlantis management committee to resign.

At the end of the council's special meeting yesterday on the crisis in the town, Mr Ross said the management committee should accept the call to resign issued by a meeting of 1200 Atlantis residents on Monday night.

"I should like to see them accept the challenge and find out what the people really think."

The Atlantis Residents' Association (ARA) has branded the management committee "part of the apartheid system" and claims it has done nothing to help the community during the current economic crisis.

According to a report tabled at yesterday's meeting, the economic recession has hit Atlantis harder than any of the council's other housing estates.

Writing off

By the end of October, tenants in Atlantis owed the council a total of R156 854 in rent — double the figure for January 1983.

The chairman of the council, Mr Louwtjie Rothman, told the meeting that the council had asked the government to consider writing off the rental arrears of all those who qualified for relief.

Council has also recommended that home owners who are unable to pay instalments on their houses should have their debts capitalized and their housing loans "renegotiated".

The current six-month relief measures granted to both tenants and home owners suffering hardship should be extended "indefinitely."

The council is to call an urgent meeting with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry, to discuss these proposals and various other relief measures suggested by councillors at the meeting.

The council's staff committee is to investigate complaints from residents that council staff are "rude and uncooperative" when approached for help.

A car carrying four executive members of the ARA to the meeting was stopped at a roadblock and searched in Tableview yesterday morning, according to the ARA chairperson, Mr Noel Williams.

Eight ARA members attended the meeting.

Rejected

Mr Williams last night welcomed the council's attempts to offer relief to Atlantis residents but said the problems in the area could not be solved until the council agreed to talk to the ARA on its own terms.

The Atlantis management committee has rejected claims by the ARA that it does not represent the people of Atlantis.

In a press statement released yesterday, the management committee claims it received 7000 votes in the last general election in 1983 and that this "clearly represents a mandate."

According to newspaper files, only 813 votes were cast in the election. The poll was 6.88 percent.
Treason trial witness 'confused'

STATE WITNESS in the Maritzburg treason trial I de Vries told the court yesterday he had been confused about the exact role he had been meant to fulfil as an expert witness.

He asked Mr Justice A J Milne if he could read out a statement he had prepared.

Defence counsel leader Ismail Mahomed, SC, objected, saying De Vries was still under cross-examination and the information he sought to give might affect the evidence.

He said one of the reasons for the court adjourning early on Wednesday was to discuss whether he should continue to cross-examine De Vries.

Judge Milne said De Vries would be given an opportunity to clarify his standpoint when the trial resumed. He postponed the trial to Monday. — Sapa.
ANC has re-emerged

ONE of the most significant events of 1985 had been the re-emergence of the African National Congress on a public level, locally and internationally, a former president of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) said in Durban on Wednesday night.

Addressing Nusas' 39th annual congress, Andrew Bhe, also a former UDF executive of the Western Cape, said it was clear the ANC was confident and was preparing itself for a future in SA.

The publicity the ANC had received through its talks with the PFP and business leaders, and the attempts by Afrikaans students and church leaders to meet it, had made many white South Africans see the ANC as a significant body.

But the ANC had also re-emerged on a mass level; through songs, the ANC flag at funerals and the march on Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of the organisation's leader Nelson Mandela.

This was in clear contrast to the political crisis facing government, which was losing white support.

— Sapa.
SABC attacks new federation

Govt playing it cool over the launch of Cosatu

GOVERNMENT will adopt a wait-and-see attitude to the newly-launched giant trade union federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

A senior government spokesman said yesterday Cosatu was newly-born and there was still uncertainty about what it stood for and what its aims were.

"Knowledge about Cosatu's intentions is still based on speculation rather than on definite guidelines," the spokesman said.

Despite the collision course Cosatu has adopted towards government, government spokesmen would not comment on-the-record yesterday about government's attitude towards Cosatu.

Speculation about government's response was fuelled yesterday by the tone of the SABC radio programme Comment, widely-regarded as an indicator of government thinking.

The programme asked whether Cosatu should be allowed to continue in view of the fact that it would be "furthering the aims of the ANC".

The programme said: "This organisation, with its declared aim of standing in for the ANC is, under the guise of a trade union movement, intent on furthering the aims of a banned organisation, namely to make the country ungovernable. The question is whether it should be allowed to do so."

Responding to the programme yesterday, Cosatu's president-elect Elijah Barayi, said Cosatu was not linked to the ANC.

"People are making premature statements about Cosatu. They should allow it to continue working and then assess the situation."

Statements concerning Cosatu's intention to link labour and community struggles, made at Sunday's rally at Durban's Kings Park Stadium, were elaborated on by Cosatu executive members at a Press conference on Monday.

They said at the conference that it would be premature to name the political organisations with which Cosatu would co-operate. It was also made clear that Cosatu saw itself as contributing to the establishment of a democratic government, rather than being the dominant party in a new ruling body.

Some analysts see the exiled SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) as the forerunner of Cosatu, pointing out that both organisations are committed to playing a forceful political role in advancing worker interests.

Industrial relations lecturer at the Wits Business School Geoff Verschoor said Sactu had about 53 000 members from 35 unions at its height in 1961, whereas Cosatu already has 450 000 paid-up members.

He said Sactu was aligned with the ANC and, although it was never banned, it went underground after government action against its leaders.
Expert witness in treason trial was 'confused'

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

An expert on the ANC's methods in South Africa, Mr Issie de Vries, told the treason trial here yesterday he had been 'confused' about his role in giving evidence.

Mr de Vries said this before the court adjourned for the day to allow the defence and the state to discuss his evidence as well as 'certain other matters'.

This is the third time this week that the trial has been adjourned since Mr Ismail Mohamed, SC, for the defence, started his cross-examination of Mr de Vries on Monday.

Under cross-examination Mr de Vries said he could not say conclusively that 'certain individuals in the country were responsible for violent action', and that his report to the court about the ANC had some errors.

Mr Mohamed said that as a witness still under cross-examination Mr de
Jail for illegal SA group in Swaziland

MBABANE. — Seven young South Africans who crossed illegally into Swaziland hoping to go for insurgent training were on Wednesday jailed for 10 days each.

The seven, aged between 18 and 21, told a magistrate they were intercepted by a Swazi army patrol while heading for the Mozambican border. They had intended ultimately to cross into Angola for military training.

They all pleaded guilty to entering Swaziland illegally, but asked the court not to send them back to their homes in Natal.

They were fined R60 or 10 days imprisonment each, but preferred to go to jail because they said they did not have money to pay the fines.

Political asylum

Five other South Africans, arrested and charged with illegally entering Swaziland from South Africa, were convicted and each fined R40 or 40 days imprisonment by the Nhlangano Magistrate’s Court on Tuesday.

The five accused, who were alleged to have first claimed to be members of the ANC in transit through Swaziland to Zambia, later pleaded that they had simply run away from South Africa to escape the escalating violence in the townships and now sought political asylum in Swaziland.

Five other South African blacks reported to have been arrested last week in eastern Swaziland after illegally entering the country from South Africa are being held in police custody in Siteki pending their court appearance, according to informed sources. — Sapa
Man of the Year title for Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been chosen Man of the Year by the Financial Mail.

A profile of the KwaZulu Chief Minister in the latest issue of Financial Mail says he "occupies what remains of the middle ground in South Africa", and is "an eloquent spokesman for the aspirations of moderate blacks".

It calls him "a key player in any move to create a democratic, broadly-based national government in South Africa".

"Increasingly, in a land where there is much to despair about and little that gives rise to hope, Buthelezi and his million-odd followers in Inkatha hold out the prospect of an accommodation eventually being struck between South Africa's different race groups," the article says.

"In enunciating the politics of compromise, he carries with him the hopes of much of white South Africa and certainly that of a sizeable group of moderate blacks and other people of colour."
Winnie leaves her home of exile for political spotlight

By Michael Tissong

An arson attack in which Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela's Brandfort home of exile was destroyed on August 12 seems to have been the spark which brought her out of her shell.

She has entered the spotlight of political activity despite the strict conditions of her banning and banishment orders.

The attack destroyed much of what made life comfortable for Mrs Mandela since she was banished to the Free State village after the 1976/77 unrest which swept the country.

Mrs Mandela had occupied herself in the township by running an Operation Hunger project, a clinic, a sewing circle and a creche. The two-roomed clinic which was built in her yard was gutted in the attack and many possessions of sentimental value also went up in flames.

Stocks of medicine and charity food parcels, clothing and awards given to the family over a period of decades were reduced to ashes.

Mrs Mandela, who was in Johannesburg for a medical examination at the time of the attack, returned to her three-roomed house to salvage what she could and left, never to return to live in it.

Mrs Mandela moved back into her Soweto home which she once shared with jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964.

Since then she has made many public appearances, including:
- Addressing a meeting at Khotso House in memory of executed ANC member Benjamin Motlohe.

MOURNERS
- Addressing mourners at a mass funeral for unrest victims in Mamelodi.
- Addressing a Press conference at the offices of her lawyers in Johannesburg.
- Attending a wedding in Soweto where she spoke to several guests.

Her most-publicised appearances took place on October 18 when she addressed a packed meeting at Khotso House in Johannesburg and this Tuesday when she addressed some of the approximately 50,000 mourners at a mass funeral in Pretoria's Mamelodi township.

Mrs Mandela's return to the spotlight worldwide this year was accelerated by a series of happenings.

A book by journalist Nancy Harrison, "Winnie Mandela -- Mother of a Nation", was released in England.

In May the Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts planned to confer on her an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters. When she was prevented from attending the ceremony, she once again made headlines in America.

In June, American television carried an interview with her on the "Nightline" series on South Africa.

On August 14 she was interviewed by Britain's Channel Four television news on her husband's challenge to President Botha to visit him in his prison cell to discuss his release.

Nelson Mandela said, however, that he would never negotiate his release.

Last month, she was given a Government order to return to Brandfort.

Later in November the Security Police made it known that they were investigating several charges against Mrs Mandela.
HARARE – South African church leaders have had two series of meetings with top level representatives of the ANC and the PAC.

The first meetings with the two banned organisations took place separately at a hotel in Harare on Wednesday night and lasted for about two and a half hours.

Last night the church leaders again met ANC and PAC representatives.

No statement was issued.

News of the church leaders' contact with the movements came at the same time as disclosures that a group of Stellenbosch University and Cape Town University students also had talks in Harare with the two organisations.

The students, on an ecumenical tour of Zimbabwe, were approached by the banned organisations at the World Council of Churches meeting on South Africa. The students attended the meeting as observers.

APARTHEID

The meeting of the church leaders with the ANC and PAC was described by a WCC official as "a very useful exchange of ideas on how to overcome apartheid — and on ways to bring about peace with justice in South Africa".

The chief ANC representative was Mr. Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the Organisation. The top PAC leader was labour secretary, Mr Ngilu Mutsomedze.

There are 67 South African churchmen attending the Harare conference and it is understood that all of them except Bishop Desmond Tutu were present at the meetings.

Bishop Tutu, said he had personal matters to deal with but he fully supported the get-together.

Those who met the ANC and PAC representatives included Archbishop Phillip Russel, primate of the Anglican Church, Archbishop George Daniel of the Roman Catholic Church, leaders of the Methodist Conference and of the Presbyterian Church and the president of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Mosisa Bulwadi of the Lutheran Church.

APPRECIATED

The source said both organisations had said they fully appreciated the role of the churches in the "struggle for liberation which took many forms".

During debate at the WCC conference yesterday, it became clear that there were divergent views on how far sanctions should be supported.

Archbishop Edward Scot of Canada who is on the Commonwealth's eminent persons group to promote dialogue within South Africa, said sanctions should be applied but the intention must be to bring about fundamental change and not just "to get even" with Pretoria.

From Britain, Archbishop John Habgood said the British Council of Churches favoured targeted sanctions such as the withdrawal of loan facilities.

From the United States, Dr Avery Post of the United Church of Christ, said one strategy concerned the roll over of loans from US banks.

"We will do what we can on that critical issue when we return," he said. The conference ends today.
Seven men found guilty in ANC terrorism trial

MARITZBURG — Seven men were convicted under the Internal Security Act in the Estcourt terrorism trial yesterday, while another six accused went free.

The 13 were all alleged to be members of the African National Congress, and were charged in the Estcourt Circuit Court with terrorism.

Mr Justice Wilson found the first four accused, Wilfred Mapumulo (28), Robert Dumisa (26), James Marupeng (20) and Norbert Buthelezi (23), who demanded prisoner-of-war status and refused to participate in the proceedings of the trial, were active members of the banned African National Congress.

The fifth and sixth accused, Vusumzi Nyawo (30) and Dumezweni Myeni (35), were found guilty of terrorism for aiding the first four accused in the furthering of their activities, which included recruiting and training residents of the Ingwavuma area in the use of military weapons.

The eighth accused, Boy Mvubu (39), should be convicted under section 54 (4) of the Internal Security Act for failing to report the actions of the other accused although he knew of their illegal activities, the judge found.

The remaining accused, Mr Bafana Mafu (35), Mrs Nokuhamba Nyawo (64), Mr Bhekizazi Mthethwa (31), Mr Amos Mafuleka (21), Mr Joel Makungu (27) and Mr Mninywani Bamali (41) should all be discharged because they were entitled to the defence of necessity.

"They believed their lives would be in jeopardy if they did not take part in the activities of the group and for this reason, and for this reason only, they went for training in the bush," the judge said.

He said there had been evidence that the method of recruitment was aggressive in the extreme. A witness was told if he informed on other members he would be killed so brutally the nurse would vomit, the judge said.

Mr Ross Stuart, for the State, asked the judge to sentence the first four accused to life imprisonment, as had been done in a previous case, but Mr Denis Kuny SC, for the defence, said this was preposterous and a sentence of between 10 and 15 years would be appropriate.

A security policeman, Mr Hendrik Kotze, gave evidence as to the destructive capacity of the arms stashed in caches in northern Natal.

The trial was adjourned for sentence today. — Sapa.
CAPE TOWN — A group of five Matie (University of Stellenbosch) and four Ikey (University of Cape Town) students, including an NG Kerk minister, held "impromptu" talks in Harare yesterday with the African National Congress.

The meeting took place after contact had been made at an emergency session of the World Council of Churches (WCC), the Afrikaans morning newspaper, Die Burger, reported today.

South African churchmen also met ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leaders, who addressed the WCC meeting on Wednesday, although they were there officially as "observers".

Another group of Maties had their passports withdrawn by the Government recently because they intended having talks with the ANC.

A statement from the student group issued and signed by Dr Ben Kruger, of the Observatory congregation, and Mr A R Brugg, R M Conradie, R H H kan, M Kade, Miss Liesl Kruger, Mr J C R Liebenberg and R M Williams said they were Christians on an errand.
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They heard of the emergency meeting and had decided to attend as observers. They had then received the ANC invitation for informal talks.

The ANC group consisted of the chief of publicity, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and two members of the executive committee, Mr. Mac Maharaj and Mr. Jacob Zuma.

"We do not claim to represent any university, student organisation, church or church group. Since this matter is of a sensitive nature, no further comment will be issued," the statement added.

The Rector of the University of Stellenbosch, Prof. Mike de Vries, said the university was completely unaware that the five Maties would visit Harare.

News of the other meeting with the ANC and PAC was contained in a statement issued by 37 South African Council of Churches (SACC) representatives at the WCC meeting, being attended by clergymen from throughout the world to discuss how to aid South African churches in their confrontation with apartheid.

There had been a very "useful" exchange of views on how to overcome apartheid and how to bring about peace in a just way, the statement said.

The churchmen met the two nationalist movements separately. They were represented by the SACC president, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, an SACC administrator, Mr. Dan Vaughan, and several others.

Bishop Buthelezi said today that the church leaders had held consultative talks with the movements in the past, but the Harare meetings had been the first to be held "on a certain formal level".

A PAC spokesman described the talks as "intensive" and said his delegation had discussed with the churchmen "many issues ranging from the history of the struggle in Azania (South Africa) to the type of society we are all fighting for in that country".

Informal discussions between officials of the movements and SA churchmen, including Bishop Desmond Tutu, have been going on during the past three days.

- In September, several businessmen led by Anglo American's chairman, Mr. Gavin Relly, went to Zambia to meet leaders of the ANC. — Sapa

SKIE was the only woman in uniform to receive an award at today's Eastern Province Command in Port Elizabeth. Behind her are some of the women who received medals and awards. Picture by Mike Holmes
against Zimbabwe. Harare undoubtedly has some economic leverage, especially as far as pensions of ex-Rhodesians and investment in Zimbabwe by South African companies are concerned.

What Chidzero did not deal with, though, is how Zimbabwe could survive a transport embargo by SA, given the fact that 94% of Zimbabwe's traffic uses SA Transport Services. There is no doubt that both sides would suffer considerably from military and economic confrontation, and little doubt, too, as to who would suffer most.

BLACK SCHOOLS BOYCOTT

Private extensions

Private schools have now been drawn into the black schools boycott ingoing. Immaculata High School, St Matthew's High School and Pace College in Soweto closed down and, like many government-run schools, have been affected by the negotiations between the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) and the Department of Education and Training over when this year's examination will be written.

The negotiations are currently deadlocked over the presence of the SADF in the township, and a final decision about whether examinations will be written is to be made at a report-back meeting between the SPCC and the Sowetans later this month (Current Affairs November 29, 1985). In a new — and alarming — development this year, some black pupils writing at private schools in white areas were threatened for being so.

Black parents are beginning to take seriously the rumour that, in commemoration of the 1976 uprising, there will not be any schooling next year. But because the UDF-affiliated Congress of South African Students (Coasa) is banned, it is impossible to find out what the students' “strategy” is. It is therefore difficult to know whether the rumour has substance or is only being circulated with mischievous intent by individual student activists. Also unclear is whether any boycott will apply to private schools.

Meanwhile, parents in some of the townships are scrambling to place their children in private as well as homelands. Private schools in Johannesburg report an increase in the number of applications from blacks for next year. “Thousands” of parents are converging on Bophuthatswana in a bid to place their children in local schools.

Woodmead has received 600 applications in response to adverts in a black newspaper offering five bursaries. Principal of Mmbatho High School, Martin Mulelbshe, says he has had over 700 applications from children in (black) urban areas but it was “highly unlikely that many would be placed as children from Bophuthatswana are given preference.”

Some of the applications, says a headmaster in Bophuthatswana, are from pupils at private schools whose parents fear reprisals against them for writing exams and whose parents prefer them to be atboarding schools outside the township.

Woodmead's headmaster, Peter Nixon, thinks private schools won't become an issue, although he qualifies this by saying that in the present climate anything could happen. “Private schools are seen as not supporting the Bantu education system,” says Nixon. “We have asked the SPCC how we should react and have been told to go ahead as our credibility is intact. They want education, not Bantu education,” says Nixon.

The slogan “liberation first, education later isn’t borne out — children do still want education.” He says that in Alexandra township this year, while the schools were closed, pupils were willing to participate in alternative classes arranged by non-government education organisations.

Other private schools fear that if a boycott is called for next year those black pupils in white areas may be asked to boycott in solidarity with the government school and that, if they do not, they could be victimised.

OPINION SURVEY

Radical turn

SA blacks, frustrated by the slow pace of change in the country, are increasingly turning to radical organisations for support, which is estimated at least 60%. And over half of a canvassed sample of 1,500 blacks at the PWV area believe that relations between blacks and whites are deteriorating or unchanged, while support for the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) should be consensually reckoned at 50%.

These are the conclusions reached by a group of 21 academics after extensive surveys. They are published in a booklet sponsored by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) which is to be released this week.

Called South Africa: A People's Society in Transition, the booklet is edited by D. J. van Vuuren, head of politics science research at the HSRC. Professor Peter Wood, director of the University of Pretoria's Department of Economics and Nic Rhodie, senior research specialists at the HSRC.

It details very thorough research but, inevitably, with most of it having been done in 1984, its weakness is that it may be somewhat dated in view of the pace of the past year's political events.

The study advocates a federal model of government for SA, but says a return to the Rule of Law and a Bill of Rights are prerequisites, according to professors J A du Pisane and L Kritzinger, the authors of a chapter on the federal option.

It concludes that English-speaking South Africans remain more liberal than Afrikaners speakers on the issue of scrapping apartheid and they are clearly more sensitive to economic issues. However, English speakers only narrowly favour separate schools.

The poll, conducted in March 1984, a while before the intensification of political unrest, revealed that half of whites surveyed were satisfied with the situation in SA.

Researchers Rhodie, C P de Kock and M P Cooper said most Afrikaners accepted that “classic apartheid is not the best investment in survival.”

“Hence,” they write, “the obvious swing to compromise policy which, many people hope, will guarantee that communal decision-making by all the main population groups about general affairs on the one hand, and white sovereignty on the other hand, can be reconciled in a joint state system.”

The survey showed that a majority of Afrikaners supported the retention of 21 specific apartheid measures with an 80% support for Section 16 of the Immorality Act and for the Mixed Marriages Act, and 76.8% support the retention of the Group Areas Act.

More than half of white respondents regarded communism as the greatest external threat to peace in SA, black nationalism as the second.

Earlier this year another survey found that 82.3% of whites were in favour of negotiation with blacks but only 16% supported talks with the ANC and 32% with the United Democratic Front.

Other surveys of white opinion conducted this year show that a large proportion of whites accept the principle of power-sharing with blacks but are also reluctant to discuss the loss of white dominance. The more recent, done last month, showed white opinion is still open but confused on the question of political change.

Opinion or black leadership was frustrated. Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, nominated by 9.7% enjoyed the largest single body of support thought to be some 30,000 figures and may be inhibited by his lack of a “face”. Exiled ANC leader Oliver Tambo, is supported by a mere 0.5%.

Surprisingly, President PW Botha was chosen by 7.5% of black respondents as the person they would choose to lead the country, while Bishop Tutu polled 3.2% and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi a surprisingly low 2.4%.
Funeral goes off without incident

Dispatch Reporter

ZWELITSHA — There was a strong police presence at the funeral of Daniswa Ngcongo, 13, which was held here yesterday.

There were at least 16 police vehicles outside the cemetery keeping a watch on proceedings. They did not interfere and there were no reported incidents.

The police filmed the funeral procession from the Catholic church to the cemetery.

Daniswa died of gunshot wounds about a fortnight ago. Three policemen were suspended after the incident.

Restrictions had been placed on the funeral by the Zwelitsha magistrate. The restrictions were that the funeral should be held only on a weekday and that there should be no more than 200 mourners who should not travel by foot but in vehicles.

After an application in the Supreme Court against some of the restrictions this week, it was agreed by counsel for the family and the respondents — the Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of Police and the magistrate, Mr Zwelitsha — that the restriction on the number of mourners and the order that they travel in vehicles, be removed.

An orderly procession walked from the church to the cemetery on foot. Two police landrovers followed closely behind to the cemetery.
THE Representative Council of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA) yesterday expressed alarm at widespread allegations that Labour Party MPs were in possession of confidential lists of applicants for senior teaching posts.

Two hundred delegates from 66 CTPA branches, who met in Bellville South for the quarterly meeting of the CTPA Representative Council (RC), unanimously passed a resolution saying the allegations had debased the profession.

Delegates claimed LP MPs were using lists of teaching candidates to canvass support in constituencies and were telling candidates unless they backed the LP, they would not be considered for posts.

Delegates questioned the fact that lists for teaching posts, previously chosen by a selection committee and sent to individual school committees, were now being sent to the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, for approval.

The RC asked the Executive Committee to investigate the allegations and, if they proved true, to investigate the possibility of a Supreme Court injunction or an urgent CTPA intervention to "restrain the minister from deprofessionalising education by making politics of teaching appointments".

The delegates also passed a resolution expressing appreciation of the actions of the Executive Committee in bringing a Supreme Court action against the Minister of Education and Culture in an attempt to have "totally unacceptable" regulations issued by the minister put aside.

The resolution gave the Executive Committee a mandate to apply to the Supreme Court to compel the minister to allow supplementary examinations for pupils and students.

Earlier, Mr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon and president of the CTPA, told delegates he had written to Mr Carter Ebrahim requesting supplementary examinations. If Mr Ebrahim did not allow the supplementary examinations, then the CTPA would go to the Supreme Court.

The Rev Allan Hendrieks, leader of the Labour Party, said from Uitenhage yesterday that he wished to refute the allegations against his party entirely. "It is entirely false to suggest that people are being canvassed for the sake of party membership."
Govt will ignore student talks with ANC

By Hannes de Wet

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday indicated he would do nothing about this week's meeting in Harare between the African National Congress (ANC) and students from the universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town.

According to a spokesman for Mr Botha, he merely reiterated that the Government had clearly stated its serious opposition to talks with the ANC.

The group of five students from Stellenbosch and four from Cape Town, as well as a minister from the NG Kerk, had talks with the ANC in Harare after meeting at the conference of the World Council of Churches (WCC).

Dr Nico Smith, president of the Pretoria Council of Churches, told The Star he knew the Harare meeting had not been planned in advance, because the students had visited him before leaving for Zimbabwe. Talks with the ANC had not been on the cards, he said.

It should be remembered that the ANC attended most international gatherings, he said.

*See Page 4*
INKATHA
Buthelezi — playing for the very high stakes...

GRAHAM LINSCLOTT
Weekend Argus Correspondent
Dorothy DURBAN

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi continues to steer his Inkatha movement along the enigmatic course which so infuriates his opponents to the left and the right.

He dismisses the "armed struggle" as a suicidal course promoted by armchair revolutionaries overseas. He is just as disparaging about economic sanctions and disinvestment as another form of national suicide.

His relations with the African National Congress, once cordial, are at rock bottom. He claims he is putting the world putting the arguments against disinvestment to leaders who are unapproachable to President P.W. Botha at the best of times and simply would not be seen in his company since the crackdown on unrest. He really ought to be in the Government's good books.

Yet when President Botha meets the leaders of non-independent homelands, Chief Buthelezi is not there. The man who argues against revolution and economic sanctions (at great personal risk) wants no part in the indaba.

The truth is almost certainly that Chief Buthelezi is playing for stakes considerably higher than anything he is likely to be offered by Mr Botha at a meeting of homeland leaders. He no doubt believes that as leader of the country's largest ethnic group and leader of a mass political movement, he has a right to something approaching summits in his dealings.

Whether the outbreaks were spontaneous or, as some allege, a deliberate challenge to Inkatha, there can be no doubt who emerged on top.

There are, in fact, several strands woven into Buthelezi's political mantle.

He heads a Zulu clan whose leader, by tradition, plays right-hand man to the King. He is therefore able to argue that by heading the KwaZulu Government he is doing no more than gather the fragments of the Zulu nation, which was destroyed by the British, and forge it anew.

He is also a Fort Hare graduate (which puts him in the same category as Mr Robert Mugabe and ANC leader Oliver Tambo) and a former member of the ANC Youth Wing and lieutenant of the late Nobel prize winner Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of the ANC.

These are good credentials for a black nationalist. And there has tended, among ordinary Zulus, to be a blurring between the ANC and Inkatha. They have the same colours, they sing the same anthem.

Afrikaans included

Until relatively recently, the ANC at least tolerated Inkatha activities. And Buthelezi has consistently frustrated Government designs. He has refused to accept independence. He successfully fought through the courts the attempted nationalisation of Ciskei.

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SONY
MICRO CASSETTE
MODEL M-7

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2 WAY SPEAKERS
ANTENNA SYSTEM
AV CONTROL UNIT
2 WAY AMP
SURROUND FOCUS
Pebco asks youths to halt violence

Weekend Post Reporter

THE Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) has appealed to youths in the townships to refrain from any form of violence, including the stoning and burning of buses.

Pebco, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF), this week voiced strong criticism of violence.

Mr. Jackson Mdongwe, an executive member of Pebco, said groups of mothers had approached Pebco and appealed for an end to such activities.

"They point out that our organization promised residents that peace would return to the townships after the troops moved out. They told us that this has not been the case lately."

Mr. Mdongwe said the mothers claimed buses were either stopped, stoned or petrol-bombed while they were inside, thus endangering their lives. At best, it forced them to walk long distances to their homes after such incidents.

"These unnecessary acts of violence appear to be creating some misunderstanding. Mothers are angry," he said.

If these violent activities continued to occur, said Mr. Mdongwe, the mothers felt the State would send the SA Defence Force, the Railways Police and SA Police reaction units back into the townships.

Pebco, he said, appealed to the young people of the townships not to interfere with the bus service or with delivery trucks and thus allow the situation which was back to normal at present to remain this way."
Terrorist leader gets 12 years’ jail

Pic: Merc. 2/7/88

FOUR convicted terrorists were sentenced in the Supreme Court, sitting in Estcourt, yesterday to jail terms ranging from eight to 12 years.

Mr Justice Wilson said it was quite clear the terrorists’ ultimate intention had been to embark on military action against the police, Defence Force and others in authority.

After sentence was passed on the four men, who had refused to participate in their trial because of their political views, their spokesman, Norbert Buthelezi, asked the Judge if their weapons could be returned to them ‘on the day of freedom’.

Smiling, Mr Justice Wilson replied that they should perhaps ‘wait and see’.

The Judge found that Robert Dumisa was the leader of the group which infiltrated the Ingwavuma district last year and established arms caches and recruited and trained the local residents in the use of military weapons. He sentenced him to 12 years’ imprisonment.

Supporters

The commissar of the group, Norbert Buthelezi, was jailed for 10 years and James Marupeng and Wilfred Mapumulo were each jailed for 12 years.

Vusumuzi Nyawo and Dumezweni Myeni, who were also convicted of terrorism after the Judge found they had willingly participated in military training and had become active supporters of the ANC members operating in the district, were each sentenced to seven years’ imprisonment, of which four years were conditionally suspended for five years.

Mr Justice Wilson said he was satisfied that Nyawo and Myeni were not aware of the full dangers of the explosives which were introduced into the area, nor did they have full knowledge of the ANC’s plans.

They are rural, unsophisticated people. They were subjected to pressure, both are first offenders and have been to prison for a year,’ the Judge said.

Finally, Boy Mvubu, who was found guilty under section 54 (4) of the Internal Security Act for failing to report the presence of the ANC in the area, was sentenced to two years’ imprisonment, suspended conditionally for three years.

Diary

Mr Justice Wilson said he was satisfied that Wilfred Mapumulo, Robert Dumisa, James Marupeng and Norbert Buthelezi were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, that they underwent training outside the borders of South Africa in the art of warfare, the use of weapons and aspects of politics.

He said it was clear from a diary kept by the leader, Robert Dumisa, that their ultimate aim was to embark on military action against the police, Defence Force and other authorities.

The Judge accepted that the four men were completely dedicated to their cause and regarded themselves as soldiers.

He said it was to be ‘sincerely hoped’ that as a result of changes that ‘have and are still occurring’ in this country young men in the future would not be driven into the hands of organisations dedicated to violence.

Bravery

The Judge praised the security policemen responsible for the investigation of the case — Maj P de Kock, WO EC van Niekerk and Capt AJ Venter — and said he could not recollect a case of this sort where the investigation had been conducted ‘more efficiently or thoroughly’.

Mr Justice Wilson also paid tribute to the bravery of WO GS Schoon, whose task it was to ascertain that the arms caches which were pointed out were not booby-trapped.

The Judge said it was clear from photographs that WO Schoon had in fact had very little chance of escape if he had come across a booby-trap.

The cold-blooded courage with which he carried out his duties was in the highest tradition of the South African Police Force, the Judge said.

He said the same held true for WO van Niekerk in collecting the explosives and dismantling a home-made bomb.
Mkuseli Jack and Henry Fazzie lead the people’s delegation to say...

ABOUT 50 000 people this week decided that Port Elizabeth’s consumer boycott would remain suspended until April – and at the same time demanded the release of Nelson Mandela by next June.

The decision at Sunday’s meeting at Danquele Stadium was aimed at coinciding with pressure from the Commonwealth countries, who have threatened to impose economic sanctions on SA until the Government dismantled apartheid, released Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, and allowed exiles to return.

It was the first public meeting since the ban on such meetings in the area last October and was free of police presence.

Earlier community leaders led by PE Youth Congress president Mkuseli Jack, PE Black Civic Organisation president Henry Fazzie, Pebo vice-president Ernest Malgas and Eastern Cape UDF vice-president Michael Zitho were met by a guard of honour – formed by youth dressed in black, green, red and gold.

The crowd gave their leaders a standing ovation.

Consumer Boycott Committee leader Mr Jack told the meeting of plans to launch a national boycott in April.

Mr Jack said an envoy would be sent overseas to address Commonwealth leaders who were reluctant to impose economic sanctions on SA on the grounds that it would hurt black people mostly.

A number of businesses have agreed to reinstate workers who lost their jobs because of the state of emergency, and several departmental stores had undertaken to offer black people the same discounts offered to white senior citizens, he said.

A statement, regarded as “a declaration of intent to do away with discrimination” by the PE Chamber of Commerce, was read at the meeting.

“We want Mandela out by June next year,” declared Mr Jack.

“Our dear comrades have been killed and others are missing, but the day shall dawn when the people shall govern.

“And we know who the murderers are,” he said.

Mr Jack condemned the authorities for not allowing white people into the townships to attend the weekend meeting as “foolish and a way of dividing the people of SA”.

“Those who have banded white people from coming into the townships have again exposed their dirty ways of trying to suppress us,” he said.

Among those present were Father Ronnie Voisen, in charge of the Danbozio Roman Catholic Church. Local and foreign newsmen were barred by the security forces from entering the townships.

To chants of “Viva UDF”, PE Black Civic Organisation vice-president Ernest Malgas said: “We are not fighting white people whom we regard as our comrades, but we are fighting apartheid – a cancer which is killing our nation.

“We are therefore asking them to join us in this just and holy struggle we are waging,” he said.

It was clear that the sudden withdrawal of troops from the townships and the release of local community leaders had brought relief to residents.

There was no confrontation between the people and the security forces, who kept watch from a distance.

Despite the sweltering heat, the thousands ululated and chanted freedom songs.
"Tired" Winnie taken to clinic

By MONO BADELA

Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, is ill.

She was admitted to a Soweto clinic only a day after after she had charmed and excited about 8,000 mourners in Mamelodi on Tuesday this week.

However, it is hoped Mrs Mandela will be discharged from the clinic soon.

Family lawyer Ismail Ayob said she was admitted to the clinic on the advice of the family doctor.

"She has not been feeling too well recently," he said in a statement.

"She is extremely tired and needs a rest.

"She is not in a serious condition."

A spokesman for the clinic said they would not issue formal health reports about her.

"We don't want her to have to contend with hoards of people... she needs a rest," the spokesman said.

It is understood Mrs Mandela has been tense since her husband was admitted to the Volks Hospital near Cape Town early last month for a major operation to remove his prostate gland.

Mrs Mandela caused a stir among the more than 50,000 mourners who attended the funeral of 12 unrest victims in Mamelodi on Tuesday, when she arrived at the cemetery almost five hours late.

Mrs Mandela had cancelled a visit to her husband at Pollsmoor prison in Cape Town to attend the funeral.

An impromptu gathering was arranged at the stadium to enable her to address the mourners as this was impossible at the graveyard. The 50,000 mourners were then asked to reassemble at the stadium after the funeral and 8,000 turned up to hear Mrs Mandela's short but emotional speech.

As she addressed the mourners, the excited crowd surged forward in an attempt to get closer to her. A police helicopter hovered above as she addressed the crowd for 10 minutes.

As Mrs Mandela is banned under the Internal Security Act, she cannot be quoted.

Mrs Mandela has been staying in Soweto for the past month—in defiance of the Government banning order restricting her to Brandfort in the Orange Free State.
Nel hits at meetings with ANC

Political Reporter

People who conducted negotiations with the African National Congress faced the danger — without being aware of it — of becoming an instrument of that "terror" organisation, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said last night.

"Discussions with the ANC serve no constructive purpose and promote the ANC's obvious propaganda attempts," Mr Nel added.

He was reacting to news that several South African students and an NGK minister visited Harare to meet the ANC last week.

The Government remains committed to negotiations with recognised leaders of the various population groups in South Africa, who reject violence as a method to achieve political goals.

"The ANC and the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) are organisations of terror and they have proved it," Mr Nel said.

"It is shocking that representatives of these organisations were allowed to address a meeting of the WCC (World Council of Churches) and to make a call for moral support for a violent struggle in South Africa," he added.

According to Mr Nel, unless churches were prepared to declare that they were in favour of murder and violence, organisations such as the ANC had no place at a church meeting of any type.
Mwasa supports Ilanga sit-in.

The Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) yesterday pledged its solidarity with journalists on the Ilanga newspaper in Durban, who have been on a sit-in since Thursday to protest against the newspaper’s alleged bias towards the Inkatha movement.

The managing director of Natal Newspapers, Mr. J G Featherson, said the editor of Ilanga would be meeting the newspaper’s staff today.

"There is no intended bias in the part of Ilanga towards Inkatha or any other political group," he said. — Sapa.
PARIS — France has started diplomatic and private moves aimed at giving Nelson Mandela political asylum in this country, according to African diplomatic sources.

President Francois Mitterrand is anxious to be able to flourish a major success at the three-day Franco-African summit opening on Wednesday. Reports here say Mr PW Botha and his Government would be "delighted" to release Mandela — if he forswore a policy of violence towards South Africa.

In terms of the French plan, Mandela would be offered political asylum in France but would not be allowed to take part in politics.

This is a formula believed to be acceptable to Pretoria.

African diplomats in Paris to prepare for the Franco-African summit, say President Mitterrand's son, Mr Jean-Christophe Mitterrand, presidential adviser on African affairs, is involved in the plan.

RESIDENCE

It is understood here that preparations to welcome Mandela to Paris are so far advanced that a residence has been chosen outside the capital.

Officials have even worked out a generous allowance which will be paid by the Ministry of Co-operation.

On the sidelines, Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, who has sworn a personal commitment to end apartheid, is using his personal contacts with South Africans to try to ensure the release of Mandela.

The belief here is that an agreement might be reached within a matter of days and Mandela could be in Paris for Christmas.

Mrs Winnie Mandela left a Johannesburg clinic yesterday after a four-day stay to recover from exhaustion and hypertension, a spokesman at the Florence Nightingale Nursing Home said.
Man killed in Walmer fighting

A 40-year-old black man was axed to death and a black woman was injured when members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) fought in Port Elizabeth yesterday, police in Pretoria said.

The two groups shot at each other in a black area of Walmer, a predominantly white suburb near Port Elizabeth airport.

A police public relations spokesman could not confirm whether fighting in Walmer had continued throughout the day.

The death was the second reported yesterday.

A Mamelodi man died in hospital after being wounded when police dispersed a crowd who set two houses alight.

The incident followed a funeral in the township, which is east of Pretoria.

— Sapa.
Marais withdraws bid to join Labour

DURBAN. — A member of the President’s Council and leader of the People’s Congress Party (PCP), Mr Peter Marais, has withdrawn his application to join the ruling Labour Party (LP) in the House of Representatives, and paved the way for a united, official opposition to the LP and the Government.

Mr Mårais met Mr Peter Marcus, Natal leader of the PCP, and Mr Morris Fynn, provincial leader of the Democratic Workers’ Party, the official opposition in the House of Representatives, for unity talks at the weekend and said he had sent a telegram to the Labour Party in Cape Town cancelling his application to join it.

He said that from the time his decision to apply for LP membership was made public he had been subjected to “extreme criticism and pressure” from his family, friends, PCP members and supporters.

VOTERS’ ANGER

“I was not fully aware until now of the extent of the coloured community’s anger at the direction the Labour Party’s policy was taking,” he said.

“My visit to Natal has convinced me of the need for efficient and united opposition.”

The DWP came into being as a result of a split in the PCP whose breakaway MPs banded together to form the DWP. It has three seats in the House of Representatives against the LP’s 81. One seat is held by the Freedom Party.

The PCP has no seat in Parliament and Mr Marais is its only representative on the President’s Council.

Welcoming Mr Marais’s action, Mr Marcus said a PCP meeting would be convened in Durban later this month with Mr Marais billed as the main speaker.

Mr Fynn said political differences between the PCP and the DWP had been ironed out and he was now certain a merger of the two parties was possible.

Mr Marcus and Mr Fynn, who is a former Natal leader of the PCP, said more than 50 000 coloured people voted for PCP candidates in the last election and therefore the party had considerable constituency support.

“We have a definite role to play in opposition politics and we consider Mr Marais’s decision to withdraw his LP application to be wise and meaningful,” they said.

Mr Fred Peters, general secretary of the Labour Party, said today he had not yet heard from Mr Marais.

The Western Cape regional council of the party was to have considered Mr Marais’s application tomorrow. — Sapa.
French offer asylum to Mandela — claim

ARGUS Foreign Service
PARIS — France has started diplomatic and private moves aimed at giving Nelson Mandela political asylum, African diplomatic sources claim.

President Francois Mitterrand is anxious to flourish a major success during the three-day Franco-African summit opening on Wednesday.

The President and his Minister for External Relations, Mr. Roland Dumas, believe they can solve the predicament facing President P.W. Botha over Mr. Mandela.

‘Delighted’

Reports here say Mr. Botha and his Government would be ‘delighted’ to release Mr. Mandela, but he must foresee a policy of violence towards South Africa, something he has so far refused to do.

In terms of the French plan Mr. Mandela would be offered political asylum in France, but would not be allowed to take part in politics.

This is a formula believed to be acceptable to Pretoria.

African diplomats in Paris to prepare for the Franco-African summit say President Mitterrand is operating on parallel channels.

Allowance

Officials have even worked out a generous allowance which will be paid by the Ministry of Cooperation to Mr. Mandela, his wife and his children.

The belief here is that, if the French government succeeds in persuading the South African Government to release Mr. Mandela before Christmas, the latter will be able to go to Paris and could be here for Christmas.

Mr. Mandela left a Johannesburg clinic yesterday after a four-day stay to recover from exhaustion and hypertension. A spokesman at the hospital confirmed that Mr. Mandela was believed to be in good condition, that he must forego political activity before he will be released.

Some diplomatic sources say President Botha’s condition, that he must forego political activity before he will be released.
A policeman fired shots in the air with his service pistol to prevent a crowd from charging a mortuary. A vehicle collided soon after, with no injuries. The funeral in Mokweni earlier in the day was attended by about 10,000 people, the police van being used to transport the body of the deceased. During the traditional singing and dancing, a police van was seen to be covered with a 'vehicle-kill' sticker. The funeral is being held at the Main Road, Mokweni.
The chairman of the Atlantis Management Committee, Mr Freddie Brandreth, last week declined an invitation to address the people of Atlantis at a public meeting unless he was guaranteed "protection".

He decided instead to defend the mancom in a press statement.

In the typed statement, Mr Brandreth attacks the press, the Atlantis Residents' Association and certain divisional councillors for projecting a "negative" image of his committee.

He denies that the management committee has no mandate from the people of the town, claiming that 7,000 votes were cast in the last election in 1983.

According to press reports, only 813 votes were cast.

At each voter was entitled to cast four votes, the actual number of votes cast was considerably less than this. The poll was 6.68 percent of registered voters.

Mr Brandreth accuses the press of inflating the number of people attending ARA meetings, saying press reports have claimed attendances of up to 2,000 people.

"We believe that our goals and objectives, where the interest of the people is concerned, are the same and appeal to all to put aside personal differences and join forces," he says.

The mancom also attributes the relief measures granted to unemployed people in Atlantis to its own efforts.

"We believe that our objectives were, however, initiated only after pressure from the ARA."

ARA chairman Mr Noel Williams has repeatedly identified the differences between his organization and the mancom as political.

"The interests of the people cannot be served by relief measures alone, but by people being given the democratic right to decide their own destinies."

As divisional councillor Mr Neil Ross said last week, if the mancom believes it truly represents the people of Atlantis, it should accept the challenge to resign, hold another election and see how many turn up at the polls.

FORMER Table View Ratepayers' Association chair and newly-appointed town councillor, Mrs June Gee, has been informed by her Mayor, Dr B H Reich, that she is not welcome in his parlour.

Mrs Gee, who was the driving force behind the successful campaign for more councillors for the Table View suburb, has obviously driven Dr Reich to distraction by her stand on democratic rights.

She has clashed with the council on numerous occasions, particularly when far-reaching and controversial decisions were taken at secret meetings instead of in open council.

Dr Reich, who considers her parlour an extension of his home rather than the office of a public representative, is answerable to both his constituents and his council, says it would be hypocritical of him to invite Mrs Gee through its portals because she has damaged the council's "internal harmony".

During her term of office, Mrs Gee is bound to disagree strongly with the council on a number of issues.

As the representative of the ratepayers in her area, she has a duty to attend to their interests. Whether or not she disrupts the harmony of the council in doing so, is irrelevant.

In conclusion, however, it is not intimidated easily and her constituents can rest assured that even the prospect of tea with the Mayor is unlikely to tempt her to stray from her course.
Big crowd at Q’town funeral

Dispatch Reporter
QUEENSTOWN — Around 20 000 mourners attended a mass funeral in the Mungisi sports stadium here for 11 people who died in police action at Mungisi’s Nonzakazi Methodist church on November 17.

The proceedings were peaceful although emotional. Except for three Casspirs that parked between the crowd and their cars and buses at the end of the funeral while a helicopter circled overhead, police did not interfere.

A banner of the banned South African Communist Party was displayed at the entrance to the stadium at the beginning of the proceedings. It was also paraded later, together with a banner bearing the colours of the banned African National Congress.

Marshals at the funeral, who formed a guard of honour for the coffin bearers, were dressed in khaki uniforms and military-style berets. They all sported rosettes with ANC colours and some wore ANC badges.

Groups of youths chanting “Viva Tambo” and “Viva Mandela” were also seen with toy and wooden replicas of machine-guns.

Mourners came from all over the country, some wearing SWAPO T-shirts. Police roadblocks were mounted at Stutterheim and also outside Queenstown. Foreign and Transvaal-based news staff arrived at the Queenstown aerodrome in various chartered planes.

At the end of proceedings police searched all cars leaving Mungisi. Some foreign reporters were also body-searched.

The victims who were buried were: Lizo Ngcena, 61, Jémez Myendeke, 54, Mungisi Qofu, 27, Billy Toto, 25, Ndyisile Phembani, 25, Zandisile Mabubi, 24, Zhindani Ndlovu, 19, Luyungu Sizishe, 18, Thamsanqa Kamati, 15, Bastille Pikile, 15, and Mkhulise Songelwa, 15.

Mr Lizo Ngcena was involved in the Mungisi Ad-Hoc residents committee’s talks with businessmen on the four-month-old boycott in Queenstown.

A pamphlet issued by the Queenstown Boycott Committee and distributed at the funeral called for an intensification of the boycott. It said: “Our people have been shot dead, charges framed against some, others have disappeared from the face of the earth. Our demands have been met with naked brutality.”

More reports P11.
Pictures P9.
Cosatu leader Barayi urges PW to resign

QUEENSTOWN — The president of the newly-formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Elijah Barayi, has again criticised the government strongly and has urged the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to resign.

"Cosatu's message to P. W. Botha is that he must resign because he has failed to do his job — the only man that can do his job is Mandela," he told mourners at the mass funeral on Saturday of 11 people who were killed in police action in Mlangisi on November 17.

Mr Barayi reiterated calls he made at Cosatu's launch last weekend. He said he warned President Botha he only had six months to dismantle apartheid.

He said people were moving forward in their struggle for a "free South Africa", and that they could not be stopped any more.

Mr Barayi said he could not see why President Botha had banned Cosas, seeing that both Mr Botha and former President and premier, John Vorster, were active in the Ossewa-Brandwag.

"They were not killed in those days by the Smuts regime. Why are they now killing our children? We also know that Mr Botha was then campaigning in the schools for the teaching of Afrikaans — why then is he now banning Cosas?," he said.

He also reiterated his warning to the South African Government that Cosatu was determined to take over the rule of South Africa and would nationalise all the mines.

One of the other main speakers at the funeral was the national chairman of the UDF, Mr Curnick Ndlou. Mr Ndlou is a listed person and may thus not be quoted.

Mrs Molly Blackburn, the MPC for Walmer and Black Sash member, made a call on the State President to clarify his policy on violence.

"Mr P. W. Botha said he will not speak to Mandela if he does not foreswear violence. I asked him what his policy on violence is. He must tell us where he stands on the Langa massacre, the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto.

"Where are the Pecbomen? We are also told that 93 per cent of all black males detained suffer from some form of torture. We demand an answer. What is P. W. Botha's policy on violence?" she said after she had offered her condolences to "especially the wives and mothers" of the 11 unrest victims buried here on Saturday.

Mrs Blackburn said it was her hope the people did not die in vain, and said people attended mass gatherings such as the funeral because they were seeking peace and prosperity for the people of South Africa.
Cosatu official meets ANC men

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — The general secretary of the newly-formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Jay Naidoo, held talks here at the weekend with leaders of the African National Congress.

Mr Naidoo is understood to have met ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Thabo Mbeki and other members of the ANC executive who had travelled here from Lusaka for last week's emergency conference of the World Council of Churches.

The conference ended with a call for an international trade blockade of Pretoria and world backing for South African liberation movements.

An ANC spokesman denied that Cosatu was a front for his organization, although he welcomed its recent formation in Durban as an umbrella body for all workers opposed to apartheid.

Mr Naidoo predicted the Republic would face "one of the worst strikes in its history" if the government carried out its threat to repatriate migrant workers from neighbouring countries.

This was mooted by President P W Botha as possible retaliation if comprehensive economic sanctions were imposed.

Mr Naidoo said Cosatu was committed to strengthening ties with labour organizations throughout the region, and while in Harare he had held discussions with the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions.

The ANC's sudden prominence on the Harare scene came hard on the heels of an accusation by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that the organization is infiltrating its guerillas into the Northern Transvaal from the remote Zimbabwean south-west to plant landmines that have killed one person.

This has been denied by the Zimbabwean Government.
'PAC trial':
judgment
today

JUDGMENT in the Benoni "PAC trial" will be given today.

Appearing before Mr L Kotze in the Benoni Regional Court on charges under the Terrorism and Internal Security acts are five alleged members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

They are: Mr Jan Shoba, Mr Mlandeli Morris Ketye, Mr Elby July, Mr Michael Mosa Gqamana and Mr Bonise Raymond Nkabinde.
QUEENSTOWN — The recent incident-free Mamelodi funeral was proof there was no violence at mass funerals if police stayed out of the picture, said the South African Catholic Bishops Conference general secretary and UDF patron Father Smangaliso Mkhathwana, to the around 20,000 people at a funeral here on Saturday.

He said the laws of South Africa were insulting and were responsible for the absence of peace and prosperity in the country.

"The time has come for everyone of us to pronounce a grand "No," that apartheid must go," he said and added Mr. P. W. Botha and General Magnus Malan should not believe the policies of apartheid would be acceptable if they "brushed them up a bit."

"They have now realised the world does not accept apartheid, and have responded with reforms, but apartheid must go. Some people are also beginning to realise that apartheid is not good for business."

He said it would not be easy for peace to come, and made a call on the government to lift the state of emergency, withdraw troops from townships, release "the true recognised leaders," ban organisations and allow exiles to come back to South Africa for negotiations on the "transfer of power from the white minority to the people of South Africa."

"We are saying loudly and clearly to the people of the world that we are the people who want peace, because only then will there be prosperity," he said.

The UDF's Eastern Cape secretary, Mr. Stone Sizani, said progressive organisations were getting more organised every day and were forming "people's committees" to hit back where it is most effective.

He said people all over the country were hitting back at the government through consumer boycotts against the businessmen who supported the government.

Mr. Sizani said progressive forces were already mobilising to "hit back in a more effective way on December 16." He indicated he was not happy about the boycott suspension in Port Elizabeth, but added there was still "something behind" the suspension. He also said the UDF would be much stronger if it joined forces with the "trade union organisation of the day."
Shots fired after funeral collision

Mercury Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—A policeman fired shots in the air with his service pistol after a police van had been in a collision with a private vehicle soon after the funeral in Nyanga on Saturday of Mr Abraham 'Rasta' Mokoena, 27.

Mr Mokoena, a United Democratic Front member, was allegedly stabbed to death by members of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) in Mbekweni, Paarl, on November 27.

During the traditional washing of hands after the burial, which was attended by about 10,000 people, a police van turned into Falsa Road, Nyanga, and collided with a vehicle owned by Mr Alfred Mhushia of Site C Khavelithsha.

A crowd of about 150 people gathered around the two vehicles, and a black policeman in civilian clothes drew his service revolver and fired two shots in the air, eyewitnesses said yesterday.

The crowd scattered and within 10 minutes, five police vans and a Casspir arrived at the scene, but there were no further incidents.
About 20,000 people attended a mass funeral in Queenstown on Saturday held for 11 people who were killed in police action at a meeting at Nonzakazi Methodist Church in Mlungisi near Queenstown on November 17. There were no incidents at the funeral and police observed proceedings from a distance.

Youthful coffin bearers with clenched fists.

One of the many placards displayed at the funeral.

A banner of the banned South African Communist Party was displayed at the gate of the Mlungisi sports stadium where the funeral was held. The banner was also held up during proceedings.
Crackdown threat over talks with ANC

NEARLY 50 South Africans of all races last week directly challenged the State's authority by holding talks with the banned African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress in Harare.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said there would be no Africans when they returned but he warned that their passports would be withdrawn if they planned to hold further talks with the organisations.

A spokesman for the State President's office referred to President Botha's previous statements on the issue of South Africans who planned to meet the ANC.

"Any further attempts by South Africans to talk to the ANC can only lead to serious embarrassment for the Government."

"A continuation of these naive talks despite all the pleas of the Head of State and all his Cabinet would amount to a challenge to the State's authority," said the previous statement from the President's office.

But last week's discussions in Harare happened unannounced and caught the Government off-guard.

About 37 South African church leaders attending the emergency meeting on South Africa of the World Council of Churches, took part in talks with the ANC and PAC.

So did a group of five Stellenbosch University students and four University of Cape Town students and an NGK minister who attended the WCC meeting as observers.

Asked whether the Government would now withdraw the passports of all South Africans who saw the ANC and PAC in Harare, Mr Stoffel Botha, the Minister of Home Affairs, said there was no point in withdrawing passports now because the meeting had already taken place.

But he said that if any further meetings were planned, passports would be withdrawn.

But if they persisted in their aim to visit the ANC, their passports would be withdrawn again, he said.

"If anyone travels overseas and decides to meet with the ANC, I cannot do anything about it. But we are still opposed to the idea of private citizens talking to the ANC. In this we are in good company. Mrs Thatcher also thinks the same about talking to terrorists," he said.
UDF and Azapo exchange shots

PRETORIA — A black man died of shotgun wounds sustained during unrest in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, and a black woman was injured when members of the United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organisation exchanged fire in the Eastern Cape, according to a spokesman for the S.A.P's Public Relations Division in Pretoria.

The man was admitted to Kalatong hospital, near Atteridgeville, where he later died of shotgun wounds. Police could not say in which unrest incident he was injured.

The S.A.P had earlier used shotgun fire to disperse a group of blacks who gathered, apparently after a funeral, in Mamelodi.

Police in Atteridgeville arrested seven black men, four of them under 18.

Two groups, apparently members of the UDF and Azapo, shot at each other near Port Elizabeth, the police spokesman said. A black woman was wounded in the incident and police used tear-gas to disperse the group.

At Nyanga, in the Western Cape, a private vehicle was set alight, and at Guguletu a private home was set alight.

A white man was slightly injured after stones were thrown at his motorcycle near Bishop Lavis.

Police arrested six black men and two black women in Leslie, in the Eastern Transvaal, after a petrol bomb was thrown at a home of an S.A.P member. Police used tear-gas to disperse the attackers. — (Sapa)
The struggle continues’

President of Natal, said the behaviour of the 12 “is an example to others” but he urged them to restrain themselves from “very natural and understandable relief” until they were outside.

The judge said: “What is about to happen may be thought appropriate to the season. I find you not guilty of the charges.”

Mr Mewa Ramgobin, Durban insurance broker and national treasurer of the UDF, said the ruling placed in question security legislation and the trial had highlighted how police and their informers provided information which led to people being detained and banned.

Outside the courtroom, there was near pandemonium as the former accused were hugged, kissed and applauded by counsel, relatives and friends.

Mr Archie Gumede, UDF president, said afterwards he and fellow president Mrs Alberta Sisulu would continue their leadership role for as long as the people desired.

A spokesman for the 12 said they would meet their lawyers to decide whether to take legal action against the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, for unlawful detention.

Dr Essup Jassat, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, thanked the judicial system for their freedom.

Clare Harper reports from Johannesburg that seven of the freed trialists arrived at Jan Smuts Airport later to a jubilant welcome from friends and relatives.

The seven who returned to
One school, one clinic, one tar road for 200 000 people

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

Primitive conditions, the ongoing crisis in black education in the area and police harassment of township leaders were major contributing factors to the increasing tension in the Mzinoni township near Bethal, youth leaders said last week.

The Mzinoni Youth Organisation (MYO), a non-aligned organisation which is considering affiliation to the United Democratic Front (UDF), last week told Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Peter Soal of their problems.

The major issues raised with Mr Soal were:

- Allegations of local community council corruption, also involving land and housing allocations.
- Uniform rentals in the township — whether for a three-bedroomed house or a tin shanty. Even those who had built their own homes were subject to the same rental, according to the organisation.
- The lack of sewerage and communal taps, described as serious health problems. The township’s 200 000 residents were served by only a single clinic.
- School pupils were allegedly forced to pay a R20 ‘security fee’ as well as their regular fees. The township is serviced by only one high school which is overcrowded.
- There was a massive housing backlog in the township with about 10 000 people waiting for homes. There is only one tarred road in Mzinoni.
- The MYO leaders had been detained and were continually harassed by the local police.
- The MYO highlighted the near total lack of recreation facilities and said work on a recreation centre which was started in 1974 had not yet been completed.

“We presented these and other problems to Mr Soal and asked for his assistance,” spokesman for the organisation, Mr Raymond Mavuso, said after the lengthy meeting on Friday.

Another MYO official, organiser Mr Collie Hayward, said that while the township was reasonably calm now, he feared for what would happen next year unless something was done to ease the situation.

“It is the students and education which is our primary concern,” Mr Hayward added.

Mr Soal and the Star were taken on a tour of the township which highlighted the primitive conditions. Thousands of the residents live in tin shanties which MYO spokesmen described as a serious health problem.

One MYO spokesman said at least 10 000 people were waiting for houses in the area.

The organisation pays the fees of many local students and is planning to expand the programme next year so that more pupils are able to attend school.

The local high school was not equipped to teach scientific subjects and consequently the choice of subjects offered was limited, according to Mr Hayward.

Alleged police harassment of MYO leaders was a grave problem, Mr Mavuso said.

DISCORD

“They follow us around, park outside our homes, shout at us on the street calling us ‘terrorists’ and threaten us with arrest,” Mr Mavuso added.

Mr Mavuso described as “a transparent attempt to sow discord” a recent poster which appeared in the township threatening all Indian traders and businessmen.

The poster, purportedly issued by the African National Congress, the UDF and the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo), warned local Indian traders and workers to stay away from work this month or face the consequences.

“The poster was certainly not issued by anyone with any knowledge of black politics in this country. Anyone with even an elementary background would not have linked Azapo and the UDF,” Mr Mavuso added.

Mr Soal, who had to field some tricky questions on PFP policy and outline his party’s plans for the future, undertook to contact several Government departments and Cabinet Ministers in connection with the township’s problems.
Cosatu leader meets ANC, Sactu

The secretary-general of the new Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Jay Naidoo, has met senior members of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) in Harare.

Mr Naidoo, in Harare to address a World Council of Churches conference, described the talks as "very fruitful" with a frank exchange of views.

A Cosatu spokesman said yesterday the meeting had been suggested by the ANC and Sactu.

The two organisations welcomed Cosatu's formation as "a progressive step in the struggle for workers' rights and for freedom in South Africa".

They also agreed with Cosatu's aim of uniting all workers while remaining independent of other organisations.

Other issues discussed included the recent meetings between the ANC and South African businessmen.

During the meeting Mr Naidoo reiterated Cosatu's demand for the release of political prisoners and detainees and the lifting of the state of emergency.

This would open the way for all organisations to canvass, in a democratic manner, the aspirations of the people and lead to the emergence of a free, non-racial democratic society.

Mr Naidoo also spoke to the president of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions about how links between Cosatu and other African unions could be consolidated.
French deny asylum deal for Mandela

PARIS — The French Foreign Ministry has denied negotiations with South Africa on political asylum for jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his daughter Zinzi has asserted he would reject any release involving banishment or exile.

The French spokesman added, however: “If Mr Mandela were freed, if the question of his leaving South Africa were raised and if he expressed a desire to come to France, the French Government would be ready to welcome him.”

The report in The Star yesterday quoted South African diplomatic sources as saying negotiations were advanced and that Mandela could be in Paris for Christmas.

The French added: “The story is totally without foundation. France does not negotiate with South Africa.”

He said France and other European Common Market nations had repeatedly called for the release of all South African political prisoners.

Miss Mandela’s statement said: “Any agreement between the South African Government and a foreign government for my father’s release into banishment or exile is without his knowledge or consent and would be rejected by him.

“My father’s views are well known. He has consistently maintained that his place is in South Africa and should he be released he will continue the struggle for a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa based on one person, one vote.”

— Sapa-Associated Press.
Questions as treason 12 go free

The trial began in earnest on October 21. Isaac de Vries, a political science lecturer, was the first witness.

De Vries later admitted having made "fundamental mistakes" in his evidence that could have misled the court.

It was after an adjournment during De Vries' evidence that the case was withdrawn against 12 of the accused.

The four who remained on trial are Baboo Ooms, Pudhoo Dass, Solomon Pillay and Susan Pillay.

The 13 accused 112, numbers, occupied of standing in further the court.
Invasion threat tension

SOUTHERN African tension edged up a notch yesterday when SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan threatened to strike at insurgents, even in countries where "they think they are safe".

The threat followed Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's claim at the weekend — immediately denied by Malan — that SADF troops were massing on the border for an invasion.

A cross-border raid at this time is, however, considered unlikely.

South Africa also drew fire yesterday from Lesotho Prime Minister Chief Lesobu Jonathan who blamed SA — and its alleged support of the rebel Lesotho Liberation Army — for the murder by the

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Tension after SADF strike threat

LLA last Friday of seven Basotho in the southern border area of Qacha's Nek.

The SA-Zimbabwe war of words erupted two weeks ago when, according to government, a band of African National Congress insurgents crossed the Limpopo from Zimbabwe into the north-western Transvaal district of Welgevonden and planted landmines.

Those that exploded killed one man and injured seven others.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha immediately warned Zimbabwe that it would "follow the trucks" of insurgents into Zimbabwe, should there be similar incidents. Zimbabwe replied that it did not permit its territory to be used as a base for armed attacks in SA.

Despite Malan's tough reply to Mugabe yesterday, diplomatic sources in Pretoria and Harare said they had understood that both sides had accepted each other's assurances and that the possibility of any SADF cross-border strike was remote.

Zimbabwe, with its 40 000-strong British-trained army, would prove a somewhat tougher military nut to crack than Mozambique, Lesotho or Botswana.

Zimbabwe's daily newspapers and state-run television and radio highlightted Mugabe's comment that Zimbabwe took the threat seriously.

But Western diplomats were sceptical: "One understands the anxieties of government but ... reality is that Pretoria has enough problems on its plate."

Malan said SA dared not give in to the ANC. He said the SADF would "reach the terrorists wherever they are hiding — also in those neighbouring countries where they think they are safe".

Referring to internal unrest, Malan said: "Those who walk around with ideas to throw bombs, commit murder, arson and intimidation, should take note of the fact they have not even experienced a tiny fraction of our firepower."

If anything, Lesotho has more reason to fear a strike. Pretoria remains convinced that Maseru is still harbouring ANC elements, while Maseru continues to accuse Pretoria of allowing the LLA to operate from SA against Lesotho.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said it had no knowledge of the LLA incident and the Lesotho government had not informed SA of it.
Release of 12 treason trialists a political victory

UDF

The UDF hailed the freeing of 12 of its leaders from treason charges in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday as a political victory.

Seven of the 12 flew into Johannesburg’s Jan Smuts airport to a jubilant welcome from about 100 relatives and supporters last night.

In a statement on their arrival, UDF national treasurer Arthur Cachalia called for charges to be dropped against the remaining four Pietermaritzburg trialists and also against the 25 people on trial for treason in Delmas.

He also demanded the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Railway policemen with dogs kept wellwishers and the media away from the arrival gate as supporters chanted freedom songs and shouted UDF slogans.

Those who arrived in Johannesburg were Pietermaritzburg trialists Peter Holy, Linda Ensor and John Batterbee.

Others released yesterday were UDF president Albertina Sisulu, treasurer Casamorn Saloojee, Transvaal vice-president Frank Gilmour, Transvaal anti-President’s Council committee member Ismail Mohammed, Transvaal Indian Congress president Sipho Jadiel, UDF regional vice-president Curtis Nkowelo and National executive member Aubrey Mohona.

Others released yesterday were UDF president Archile Glimon, Natal Indian Congress president George Swepetsho, national co-treasurer Moses Rangwuch, UDF member Paul David and Natal Indian Congress vice-president Moorooma Nkowelo.

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UDF men might sue State

had committed treason.

Addressing an International Human Rights Day gathering in Johannesburg yesterday, Saloojee said the charges against them "had to do with the resurgence of real opposition to the injustices of the apartheid system; it had to do with the emergence of the UDF; it had to do with the resistance that we are seeing all over the country.

"Instead of confronting the real problems they wanted to lay blame for the troubles in our country at the doors of so-called agitators," he said.

Government had begun to act irrationally out of desperation because it sensed the majority wanted to be free, Saloojee said.

Albertina Sisulu, UDF joint president, called for the release of "authentic leaders", the withdrawal of troops from the townships and the lifting of the state of emergency.
Barayi: ‘When blacks rule, mines will be nationalised’

CLOSE confidantes of “super unionist” Elijah Barayi — president of the new Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — see him as one of the most powerful men in South Africa right now.

But the man himself said yesterday in an interview that he was a “mere cog” in a very big wheel. “Perhaps an important cog,” he said with a wry smile.

Barayi, 53-year-old personnel assistant at the Blyvooruitzicht gold mine at Carltonville in the Transvaal (who now heads Cosatu with more than 450 000 paid-up members in 34 affiliated unions) said he regarded himself as a moderate, had no particular communitistic leanings, but was committed to attaining one-man-one-vote in a unitary SA.

‘Peanuts’

The existing tricameral Parliament must go, because it was initiated by “a minority white government with the help of two minority groups, coloureds and Indians,” he said.

As a black leader he would be willing to talk to State President P W Botha on the country’s future only when Botha made a public commitment to dismantle apartheid, he said.

ed willingness to settle for a federal system for SA.

With 25 years experience on the mines, Barayi said he felt deeply for mineworkers who were receiving “peanuts” in return for the gold they were digging out — which made mining companies and the country wealthy.

“...That is why I strongly believe that when blacks rule the country the mines will be immediately nationalised,” he said.

Pressure

Asked how his employers would react to his publicly-stated aim, he replied: “This is the will of the people ... black people.”

He supported international pressure on the SA government — including disinvestment — as an effective way to bring changes.

“If the government remains intransigent, then this pressure will have to be increased,” he said, adding that Cosatu was actively involving itself in politics, in addition to looking after mundane worker interests.

Barayi lives with his wife, Nontobeko, and their five children at Blyvooruitzicht’s Ekuphakemli Village.

— Sapa
THE time has come to unbend the African National Congress (ANC), Ernie Wentzel, SC, chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council and of the executive of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said yesterday.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of Cape Town, he called on government to allow the ANC to return home to campaign openly in the political arena.

Wentzel said the original ANC, founded in 1912 with a view of the future as a non-racial social democracy, was still there in the hearts and minds of millions of South Africans seeking a moderate, peaceful solution.

“What we can do is convey a sense of urgency to those who govern us to allow all South Africans to participate fully in the processes by which that solution can be found,” said Wentzel.

He said there was a danger of fatal political polarisation — a struggle between capitalism and authoritarian socialism.

“Such a development would be disastrous for South Africa. It would falsely present an extreme, hardline leftist solution as the appropriate alternative to apartheid.

“We would change one form of authoritarianism for another.”

He said many South Africans did not want the moguls of capitalism as their champions.

Yet he believed it was necessary to encourage free enterprise with its energy and capacity to create wealth.

But, Wentzel noted, SA society was characterised by abnormal inequalities which had to be redressed with vigour.

He suggested this could best be done by striving for a social democracy — “a society with a healthy mix of public and private endeavour”. This was a solution that the capitalists would be well advised to accept, Wentzel concluded.
Cosatu holds talks with the ANC in Harare

JOHANNESBURG — The general-secretary of the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Jay Naidoo, has held informal talks with senior members of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Council of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The meeting took place at the World Council of Churches' (WCC) conference in Zimbabwe last week.

A Cosatu statement said Mr Naidoo had been approached by an ANC/Sactu delegation at the conference in Harare "to exchange views on the present crisis in South Africa".

"Comrade Naidoo reported that the talks were very fruitful and allowed a frank and open exchange of views."

The organisations agreed with the necessity of Cosatu uniting all workers while remaining independent and accountable to the needs and aspirations of the working class as expressed through its leadership and structures. Another issue discussed was the recent series of meetings between the ANC and big business, the Progressive Federal Party and other bodies.

The statement said Mr Naidoo had reiterated the resolution taken at Cosatu's inaugural congress calling for the unbanning of all individuals and organisations, the release of political prisoners and detainees and the lifting of the state of emergency.

While in Harare, Mr Naidoo also met church leaders and the president of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), and discussed ways of consolidating links and solidarity between Cosatu and democratic unions in Africa.

ZCTU welcomed the formation of Cosatu as "a watershed in the struggle of the working class in South Africa". — Sapa
Gruesome details of Uitenhage killings

Own Correspondent
GRAHAMSTOWN. — Graphic details of injuries to five of six Uitenhage residents who met gruesome deaths when a rampaging mob destroyed an undertaker’s complex in KwaNobuhle on March 23 were given in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Dr W Verschuur, Uitenhage’s district surgeon, who conducted post-mortems on Mr Benjamin Kinikini, 57, Mr Silumko Kinikini, 20, Mr Eric Kinikini, 22, Mr Qondile Kinikini, 18, and Mr Zolisticile Pram, 20, was the first State witness in the trial of 10 people charged with their murder.

Body never found

The body of a sixth victim, 13-year-old Stanley Kinikini, was never found. It is believed that, after he was battered on the head with rocks, his body was hurled into the blazing complex.

Asked about Mr Benjamin Kinikini, Dr Verschuur said he was unable to say what caused his death. He saw what appeared to be the remains of a human being — a small pile of ash and bone.

Replying to Mr J M M Poswa, who is appearing for the 10 accused, he said it would not have been possible for anyone to have identified the deceased (Mr Benjamin Kinikini) from the remains.

There had been almost total carbonization of the body of Mr Silumko Kinikini, whose right leg and arms had been amputated, probably by an axe.

All of the ribs had been fractured, 25 percent of the head was missing and the sexual organs had been burnt off.

Some of the wounds may have been caused after death.

Mr Eric Kinikini, who died from brain injuries, received deep burns all over the body. The back of his head had been bashed in and his genitals mutilated.

Mr Qondile Kinikini’s death was caused by brain damage and a deep neck wound. There were severe burns on 96 percent of his body and his left arm had been practically severed. He also had serious facial, head and throat wounds.

Massive stomach wound

Brain injuries also caused the death of Mr Pram, whose head and upper body were carbonized. His intestines had spilled out of a massive stomach wound and the district surgeon found the tip of the handle of a 20-cm knife protruding from his mouth. The knife, which was handed in as an exhibit, was lodged in the man’s throat.

The trial was adjourned to today, when the court will inspect the scene of the killings.

Appearing before Mr Justice T M Mullins on six charges of murder and one of public violence are Moses Janjies, 21, Miamli Mielies, 22, Luncile Bobby, 22, Tobile Mahlahla, 19, Mcqondo Vena, 26, Zandistile Ndwenya, 18, a youth of 17, two of 18 and one of 15.
5 members of PAC guilty of terrorism

JOHANNESBURG
Sentence is expected to be passed today on five Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members who were yesterday found guilty of terrorism under the Internal Security Act.

Appearing before Mr. L Kotze in the Benoni Regional Court were Mandell Ketey, 30, of Mdantsane, Elby July, 26, of Kimberley, Michael Mosana Gqamana, 23, of Port Elizabeth, and Bonise Nkabinde, 23, of Soweto.

Jan Schoba, 26, of Pretoria, was in hospital and convicted in his absence.

They had pleaded not guilty. The court found that they were members of banned PAC and had undergone military training. They have also recruited people for training in sabotage and warfare.

Schoba was found guilty of being in possession of an unlicensed firearm and 40 rounds of ammunition.
Nkabinde was found guilty of being in possession of a forged passport, which he used to enter South Africa from Botswana.
They also promoted the PAC's aims and objectives. — Sapa
Freeing of UDF

12 is welcomed

Pretoria (Radio Monitor) 12
12 is welcomed

THE State's decision here yesterday to withdraw charges against 12 United Democratic Front leaders accused of treason was greeted in legal circles as being further evidence of the importance of the courts to decide the fate of detainees rather than the Internal Security Act.

The UDF said in a statement after the trial that they feared the Government would retaliate by banning or "restraining" those involved.

The dropping of charges against 12 of the 16 people faced with treason and other charges, led to jubilant scenes after the trial was adjourned to February 3 to continue the case against the remaining four.

The four are: Richard Gweta, 33, national president of Soweto; Sipho Nkishi, 29, general secretary of Soweto; Sam Kikane, 36, general secretary of the union in Durban; and Dube Ngcebo, 36, treasurer of Soweto.

Mr Justice Milne Judge President of Natal, found the 12 not guilty of plotting with the ANC to overthrow the Government by violence.

‘Importance’

The 12 who were released were: Mr Mawale Dangobin, 32, Mr Mangaliso Gwamba, 32, Mr Mopooli Shabangu, 32, Mr Essop Esack Jasat, 32, Mr Dube Ngcebo, 36, Mr Ephraim Curtis Xhade, 36, Mr Archibald Joseph Gumede, 36, Mr Donnald Patel, 40, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 66, Dr Frank Chikane, 34, Mr Cassim Saloojee, 36, and Prof Ismail Mohammed, 54.

Mr Graham Cox, president of the Association of Law Societies of South Africa, said the withdrawal of all charges against the 12 demonstrated the importance of courts to decide who should be granted bail and that should not be left to the Attorney General.

In May this year Mr Justice Milne, Judge President of Natal, ruled that Mr Mike Imber, SC. Natal’s Attorney General, must withdraw his certificated issued under the Internal Security Act, preventing the 16 being granted bail.

This enabled the 16 trialists to be released from detention under the Internal Security Act with bail totalling about R170,000.

‘Vindicated’

Mr Mike Cowling, for the Lawyers for Human Rights, said: "This case shows the dangers of conferring wide powers under the Internal Security Act to executive officers such as the Attorney General."

He said the acquittal of the 12 had vindicated the Court’s decision to intervene and overrule the Attorney General’s decision.

Mr Bally Nair, spokesman for the UDF, said the dropping of charges against the 12 was a victory for all those who support the UDF’s principles for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

For veteran activists Mr Archie Gumede, 70, a co-president of the UDF and one of the 12, this was the second time he has been acquitted of treason.

Mr Gumede was one of 156 people tried for treason in a three-year trial, which started in 1966 in which all the accused were found not guilty.

Six of the 12 had expected to celebrate the first anniversary of their arrest and detention today.

After the six-person defence team had told the 16 of the State’s decision to drop charges, they entered the courtroom and the atmosphere in the Court became charged with excitement and anticipation which was soon passed on to members of the public.

After waiting for Mr Justice Milne to begin the session, the Court was adjourned for 35 minutes because accused Mr Kikane had not arrived in court.

Silence broken

When the Court was reconvened and Mr Kikane was still absent from the dock, Mr Justice Milne started to make an order concerning the accused’s absence but the silence was suddenly broken when Mr Kikane rushed into court with a suitcase and took his seat.

After the suspension Mr Imber told the prosecutor to stop all charges dropped against the 12. Mr Justice Milne addressed the court, asking them to restrain the accused and save their behavior in the court room.

Mr Justice Milne said: "What is about to happen may be thought appropriate to the session I find you not guilty of the charges.

Our London Bureau reports that the withdrawal of charges against the 12 was widely welcomed in Britain yesterday.

The first reaction came from the British Government. A Foreign Office spokesman said the Government welcomed the development.

We hope the decision will improve the relationships between the prospects for reconciliation and for the genuine dialogue about the political future of South Africa for which we and our partners in Europe and the Commonwealth have repeatedly called.

News of the withdrawal of charges against the 12 was the main item on the BBC’s World at One yesterday and was prominently reported on television news broadcasts.

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, who is visiting Britain, told the BBC that the decision was tribute to the independence of the judiciary in South Africa.
Police seize 'ANC fabric'

SECURITY police raided a clothing factory in Athlone Industria just before midnight last night, detained five people and seized a large quantity of fabric, allegedly in the African National Congress' colours of black, green and gold.

The security policemen, led by Lieutenant Frans Mostert, were backed up by riot police and soldiers in two Casspirs and two patrol vans.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said early today that four women and a man were detained on the premises in terms of emergency regulations.

He said a large quantity of fabric in the colours of the ANC was seized during the action.
ANC, Cosatu talks 'fruitful'

JOHANNESBURG. — The general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Jay Naidoo, held informal talks with senior members of the ANC and Sactu "to exchange views on the present crisis in South Africa."

A Cosatu statement released here yesterday said Mr Naidoo was approached by an African National Congress/South African Congress of Trade Unions delegation at the World Council of Churches conference in Harare last week.

"Comrade Naidoo reported that the talks were very fruitful and allowed a frank and open exchange of views," the statement said.

The ANC/Sactu delegation had welcomed the formation of Cosatu as a progressive step in the struggle for workers' right and as part of "the broader struggle for freedom in South Africa."

"They also agreed with the necessity of Cosatu uniting all workers while remaining independent and accountable to the needs and aspirations of the working class as expressed through its leadership and the structures of Cosatu."

Other issues discussed were the recent meetings between the ANC and big business, the Progressive Federal Party and other organizations. — Sapa
PARIS. — The French Foreign Ministry yesterday denied a report in a South African newspaper that France was negotiating with South Africa to give political asylum to the imprisoned ANC leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

But a Foreign Ministry spokesman said that "naturally, if Mr. Nelson Mandela was freed, if the question of his leaving South Africa was raised and if he expressed his desire to come to France, the French Government would of course be ready to welcome him".

Mr. Mandela's daughter, Miss Zinzi Mandela, denied that her father would accept such an offer.

"Any agreement between the South African Government and a foreign government for my father's release into banishment or exile is without his knowledge or consent and would be rejected by him," she said in a statement issued on her behalf.

Yesterday afternoon, reports quoted South African diplomatic sources as saying negotiations were in an advanced stage and that Mr. Mandela could be in Paris for Christmas.

Sapa-AP
Boy, 15, among 4 burnt to death

FOUR people — including a 15-year-old boy — were burnt to death in incidents of unrest over the past 24 hours.

According to the police report yesterday morning a man and women were burnt to death when their Khayelitsha home was set alight by unidentified arsonists.

The burnt body of a woman was found near Queenstown and the burnt body of a 15-year-old youth was found close to Dorrington, near Fort Beaufort.

Also in Khayelitsha, police said a 20-year-old man was seriously wounded after police opened fire with buck-shot on Saturday.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Attie Laubscher said police had been called to Khayelitsha at 6.30pm on Saturday as a group of about 75 people were stoning local residents.

Police tried to arrest a man but had to call for assistance when they were stoned.

A police dog was stabbed in the head with a hunting knife by the man they wanted to arrest.

The man attacked a policeman, a shot was fired and he was wounded in the back of the head and shoulders and taken to Tygerberg Hospital where he was being treated under police guard. — Sapa and Staff Reporter.
LONDON. — The withdrawal of charges against 12 of the 16 accused in the Maritzburg treason trial was widely welcomed in London yesterday and the US State Department called it “encouraging”.

The 12 were unexpectedly released yesterday morning when the Natal Attorney-General, Mr. Michael Imber, SC, appeared in court in person for the first time since the start of proceedings and withdrew all the charges against the UDF leaders.

Those who were released are Mr Mewa Ramgobin, 32, Mr George Sewpersad, 45, Mr Mooroogah Naidoo, 53, Dr Essop Jassat, 52, Mr Aubrey Mooeena, 37, Mr Curtis Nkondo, 56, Mr Archie Gumede, 70, Mr Paul David, 40, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 67, the Rev Frank Chikane, 34, Mr Cassim Saloojee, 49, and Professor Ismael Mohammed, 54.

The trial against the four trade unionists — Mr Thozamile Gqweda, 33, Mr Sisa Njikelana, 29, Mr Samuel Kikine, 36, and Mr Isaac Ngcobo, 38 — will continue on February 3 next year.

Prospects for reconciliation

A British Foreign Office spokesman said: “We hope the decision will improve the prospects for reconciliation and for the genuine dialogue about the political future for South Africa for which we—and our partners in Europe and the Commonwealth—have repeatedly called.”

US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said the acquittal “constitutes an encouraging development” which demonstrated the importance of the role of South Africa’s judiciary.

But he added that the US remained concerned about the other four defendants.

In a statement released by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Geoffrey Bindman, a London solicitor in charge of the campaign to release the treason trialists, described the decision as a “great breakthrough” which was “in no small way a tribute to Mr Justice Miene and his courage for making clear his criticism of the State case”.

Television news broadcasts

The withdrawal of charges against the 12 was prominent on television news broadcasts yesterday.

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, who is visiting Britain, told the BBC that the decision was a tribute to the independence of the judiciary in South Africa.

The UDF said in a statement after the trial that they feared the government would retaliate by banning those involved in the trial.

Meanwhile South African legal circles saw the decision as further evidence of the importance of the courts to decide the fate of detainees.

Important for courts to decide

Mr Graham Cox, president of the Association of Law Societies of South Africa, said the withdrawal demonstrated the importance for courts to decide who should be granted bail and that this should not be left up to the Attorney-General.

Mr Mike Cowling, for the Lawyers for Human Rights, said: “This case shows the dangers of conferring wide powers under the Internal Security Act to executive officers, such as the Attorney-General, and that the acquittal of the 12 had vindicated the court’s decision to intervene and overrule the Attorney-General’s decision.”

Professor Tony Matthews, of the School of Law at the University of Natal, and an authority on security legislation in South Africa, said allegations that people, such as the 12, were attempting to overthrow the State were “banded around much too freely”.

UDF spokesman Mr Billy Nair said the dropping of charges against the 12 “has vindicated UDF policies and allegations made against them as fraudulent” — Own Correspondents and Sapa-Reuters

*The struggle continues*, picture, page-6
Inkatha is UDF target, claims chief

AMATIKULU—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday that bands of United Democratic Front youths were now being trained in neighbouring Sates to attack not the SADF Defence Force, but Inkatha members.

He said that in Durban's Lamontville township some UDF youths were talking proudly of possessing 'pineapples'—a reference to hand grenades being made available to them by the External Mission of the ANC.

Those over the borders were being taught to 'maim, kill and incinerate our people in their houses,' he told boys and girls at the annual Amatikulu Summer Camp.

He said it was a fact that the UDF had started the violence in the Greater Durban area in August. And, because the UDF had white members and the support of the liberal far-left, Inkatha was being projected abroad as the unlesher of violence.

He had been told overseas that Inkatha had attacked Indians at Phoenix and had destroyed the Gandhi Memorial Settlement.

'And yet we saw our Indian brothers and sisters weeping on our television screens who stated that the UDF was responsible for their plight,' Chief Buthelezi pointed out that, on November 13, he had received the Nadaraja Award from the Indian community for his contribution towards race relations.

'These lies will just not stick,' he said.

'Horrors'

Inkatha would ensure South Africa did not change white oppressors for black oppressors, he said.

Black people knew the 'horrors of police brutality' used by a white government and did not want a black government that did the same thing.

Chief Buthelezi said boycotts and protest actions were powerful weapons, but lost their potency when the tactics and strategies of oppression were used to force them on people.—(Sapa)
Award for Allan Boesak

Staff Reporter

THE leader of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, will be presented with the Human Relations Centre Man of the Year Award at a City hotel on Monday, December 16.

Proceeds from the event will go to the Cape Flats Hunger Project.

It is the first year that this award has been presented by the centre, a non-political organization involved in community self-help.

Awards were made in the following categories:

- Academic achievement: Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape.
- Business excellence: M Farah Ebrahim, businessman.
- Contribution in striving for human liberties: Mr Brian and Mrs Di Bishop.
- Eloquent leadership: Dr Boesak.
By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

It was the beginning of the end for the present system and black South Africans would not rest until the country was given back to them, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, freed this week of treason charges, said yesterday.

Mrs Sisulu, wife of the jailed African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu and one of 12 United Democratic Front officials against whom charges of treason were dropped this week, was addressing a Human Rights Day meeting at the Methodist Church in central Johannesburg.

She and several other freed trialists joined the luncheon meeting which had been previously addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash and Mr Sidney Kenvtridge SC, QC, one of the country's leading advocates.

"The struggle continues. We will not stop until freedom is won," Mrs Sisulu said to cheers and shouts of "Amandla!" from the large crowd.

"It is high time that we tell this Government what we want. And, even if we are jalled again, it is not going to scare our people. We are used to it.

"This is the beginning of the end and unless our country is given back to us we will never rest," Mrs Sisulu said.

"We will not stop until the authentic leaders of the people of South Africa are taken out of jail to lead their people.

"We are here to stay, we are not going anywhere. We may be jailed, harassed, detained and killed, but that will not stop our demands. The soldiers must be removed from our townships, the state of emergency must be lifted, we do not need such things because we can look after ourselves.

"This is a country where there is no honest, where there is no law, where there is no justice. Even if you are doing the right thing, once the Government decides that it doesn't like it — that makes you wrong," she said.

"It is a country where you are taken to jail for saying 'this is wrong' — a country where they call you a 'terrorist' for saying something is wrong."

Another freed trialist, Transvaal Indian Congress member Mr Cassim Saloojee, also addressed the large crowd.

He said that it was on the basis of flimsy evidence, information obtained by the police from paid informers and the so-called "expert" evidence of Government witnesses that the 12 trialists had been arrested in the first place.

"We say the charges against us had nothing to do with treason. They had to do with the resurgence of real opposition to the injustices of the apartheid system, the emergence of the UDF and the resistance we are seeing all over the country," Mr Saloojee added.

He believed that the Government had sensed the determination of the peoples of South Africa to win back their freedom and that, driven by sheer desperation, the rulers had become irrational.

"Their actions are the actions of people who know that the days are numbered.

"These are the last convulsions of the oppressors and we say that we know that, while we have been discharged, we are not free people. None of us can be free until this country becomes totally free."
Treason trial: 'Govt was embarrassed'

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Because the treason trial prosecution withdrew its charges before the bench was called upon to give a verdict, it was not the judiciary which has embarrassed the South African Government, but rather the Government itself, says the British newspaper The Guardian.

Not only was the State doing the prosecuting, says a leading article in the newspaper yesterday, but it also decided to bring the charges in the first place.

The article says the Government had tried to blame the UDF for the disorder which has so often accompanied it.

"The trial was wholly political."

If the Government had had its way, the accused would have been detained indefinitely without charge or trial under the Internal Security Act, as it tried to do in September 1984 with the Durban Six.

Its only gain was to keep the UDF leaders out of circulation for more than a year. "The Government would be much better occupied talking with these people instead of locking them up," the newspaper adds.
At the Kwanobuhle inspection were, from left, Mr E Logie, an assessor; Mr C Nel, State counsel; Mr B P Loots, an assessor; Mr Justice T Mullins; Mr C Poswa and Mr H Naidu, defence counsel. The funeral parlour is in the
background.

‘He must roast’ --- 1 000
people shout death threats

Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. — People shouted death threats at a murder trial witness when the court inspected the scene of the deaths in Kwanobuhle township near Uitenhage.

The alleged witness to the killing of members of the prominent Kinkini family trembled yesterday when he heard cries of: "We’ll get you" and "He must roast!"

Additional troops and police were called during the inspection.

About 1 000 people surrounded the inspection party, some dancing and ululating and others shaking their fists.

The visit, led by Mr Justice T M Mullins, with his two assessors, Mr E A Logie and Mr B P Loots, was to the area where Mr Benjamin Kinkini, 57; Mr Silumko Kinkini, 20; Mr Eric Kinkini, 22; Mr Qondile Kinkini, 18; and Mr Zolile Pram, 20, were slain.

The body of a sixth victim, 13-year-old Stanley Kinkini, has not been found.

Two police vans carried the 10 accused — Moses Jantsies, 21; Mlamle Mielies, 22; Lungele Bobby, 22; Tobile Mablabla, 19; Macqondo Vena, 26; Zandile Ntwana, 16; a youth of 17; two of 16 and one of 15. All face six charges of murder and one charge of public violence.

The court party inspected the charred shell of the Kinkini funeral parlour complex in Jongluanga Street.

Members of the inspection party were shown the spots where the badly burnt bodies of Mr Benjamin Kinkini and Eric and Qondile Kinkini were found at the back of the parlour.

The bodies of Mr Pram and Mr Silumko Kinkini were found in Mabandla Street behind the parlour.

The hearing continues today.

In a tense encounter yesterday armed security forces stood guard while the court trying 10 people for the murders of members of the Kinkini family carried out an in loco inspection in Kwanobuhle, Uitenhage.
Sentence on 5 postponed

East Rand Bureau

Five Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) members who have been found guilty on charges of terrorism and charges under the Internal Security Act will be sentenced in the Benoni Regional Court on Friday.

Mr L Kotze postponed sentencing Mandleni Ketyi (30), of Mdantsane; Elby July (26), of Kimberley; Michael Mosana Gqamana (23), of Port Elizabeth; and Bonise Nkabinde (23), of Soweto because the fifth accused, Jan Shoba (26), of Pretoria, was in hospital.

In mitigation, Mr R Selvan SC, for the defence, said his clients were members of the PAC and that since 1982 no acts of violence had been committed by the organisation.

He also said that they had not entered South Africa armed.

Mr Selvan asked that a minimum sentence of five years be imposed. He explained that the men had already spent almost a year in custody.
Walter Sisulu has been in jail now for 21 years and has not been in a position to influence events outside his prison walls, but last Sunday his name was dropped at a meeting and this resolved an impasse.

This happened during a meeting organised by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee to try to solve the continuing education crisis in the township.

Delegates from 30 organisations, including pupils' representatives, attended the meeting at the Funda Centre.

The pupils' representatives were against a return to school next year and called on children at pre-school centres and pupils from sub-standard A to Standard 5 to abandon their desks and join the struggle against Bantu Education.

Their slogan was "Phambili Namzabalanzo, phansi nemfundo" ("Forward with the struggle, down with education").

The pupils argued forcefully and appeared to be winning the day. They applauded one another after speaking. They were spread strategically throughout the hall. Their voices were heard here, there and everywhere.

A former pupil leader from the 1976 era, who is now an activist, restored the balance when the parents were on the defensive and not being assertive about why all pupils, particularly those at primary schools, should return to school.

The activist, who maintains links with the pupils, stood up and dropped Walter Sisulu's name. (Walter Sisulu was sentenced to life imprisonment with Nelson Mandela in the celebrated Rivonia Trial). He told the pupils what Sisulu had said to him about the importance of education while both of them were at Robben Island.

The activist served a four-year term on Robben Island after being convicted during the SSRC trial at Kempton Park in 1978.

Sisulu told him then that the country was highly industrialised and it would need equally skilled people to run it after independence.

Nobody is sure if that is what Sisulu told him. But Sisulu, like Nelson Mandela, is revered by young political activists.

Though the pupils continued arguing it was clear the wind had been taken out of their sails. They then compromised and agreed pupils should return to school even if it was to continue fighting Bantu Education.

The pupils had previously argued forcefully that they were going to teach their younger brothers and sisters who the enemy was, and castigated the parents for not having told them who the real enemy was.

They did not want to accept that it would be difficult for them to mobilise youths who were unlettered. "Half a loaf is not better than not having bread. It is equally poisonous," they argued.

But in the end the pupils reluctantly gave in. The pupils were piped, but it does not seem the parents will have the last word. Brace yourselves for another battle.
Now Gaddafi gets in on the anti-apartheid action

NEW ON THE anti-apartheid bandwagon front is none other than Libya, spearheaded by Colonel Gaddafi — known for bankrolling radical movements and terrorist activities around the world — the little-publicised Anti-Apartheid Conference in Tripoli was funded by him a week ago.

Involved included 225 lawyers from 37 countries, as well as members of the Association of African Jurists.

Prominently represented were delegations from the ANC, SWAPO and the Palestine liberation movement.

In the forefront of the activities was SA-born poet — and author of "True Confessions of an Albanian Terrorist" — Breyten Breytenbach.

Personal coup

The outcome of the jamboree was the "Declaration of Tripoli." Anti-SA action is called for on a broad front. Blueprinted is a Soweto-like university in Libya.

Meanwhile, the intention is to structure an international fund to further solidarity with international liberation movements.

American anti-apartheid activist George Crockett was awarded the Nelson Mandela prize for his anti-apartheid endeavors.

Not surprisingly, Gaddafi dismisses the mileage which accrues from aligning himself with Black Africa on the sensitive anti-apartheid issue.

At this moment his image in Africa is black, Libyan expansionary movements in Africa — notably Chad — hardly endeared him to Black states on the African continent.

The successful outcome provides the polish and the timing was perfect. Gaddafi could point to the fact that the previous January conference scheduled for 1983 is the French Socialist Party, which in the recent past has scored in the vanguard of the anti-apartheid sanctions campaign.

Collecting with the Tripoli conference, French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius orchestrated his own anti-apartheid get-together at the Parisian cultural Pompidou Centre.

The occasion was the launch of a new book on SA, Breytenbach's "Divided Man," and the time between Paris and Tripoli for maximum exposure on the anti-SA front.

Also present at the Pompidou Centre were Nirmal Gutterson, former on French television news sets, and Beyers Naudé, who made a particularly vibrant appeal for sanctions.

Trade unions Donal Khumalo was there as well. And Khulu Guma, from City Press, stood in for Percy Qoboza.

On the calling list of the visitors from SA was President Mandela's top advisor on SA Guy Penne. The SA visitors also met other members of the Foreign and Co-operation Ministries.

The rendezvous in the Pompidou Centre was seen as a working rehearsal for this week's three-day Franco-African summit conference, which started yesterday.

Disconcerted

Although the Franco-African summit is an annual affair, this year's summit is scheduled to be held in the atmosphere of the SA issue.

Among those taking part is the current head of the OAU President Dicolora Senegal, who recently visited all front-line states.

He noted that he was not only struck by their economic interdependence with SA, but also by their commitment to the liberation struggle. The reality clearly unconcerns him.

Died, eager to endure himself to the French Socialist Party, describes France as a "locomotive" in the anti-apartheid struggle.

France, openly committed to this "locomotive" role, inclusion on the summit platform this year members of all the front-line states.

It is obvious that this occasion will mark yet another milestone for the Socialist Party in its intended attempt to intensify the annual campaign against SA.

Concerned

Desmond Colonna, SA Foundation director in France and a keen student of Francophone African affairs from his Paris base, comments that in the last year Africa's Francophone states have undergone a "major consciousness-raising process."

"They are now more concerned with SA. In bygone days when President de Klerk spoke up for dialogue with SA, there seemed to be a veiled chance that SA could come to terms with Black Africa.

"If we had made ourselves politically more acceptable, the African states could have come out of the closet as regards their economic relations with SA.

As he says, there could have been a Nakasone-type formula on a bigger scale — political realism traded off against economic realism.

Now, even with record exports from SA to Africa, the tide appears to be running in the opposite direction.

Behind the inevitable rhetorical overkill, the Paris summit should give us some indication of where the African states are headed on the anti-apartheid issue.
No end in sight to De Jonge affair

Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge, holed up in the old Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria for nearly five months, is almost certainly dreaming of a white Christmas.

De Jonge, wanted by SA police for alleged ANC arms running, spends his time writing, reading or exercising as he awaits the outcome of negotiations between Pretoria and The Hague over his fate. There is speculation he is writing a book about his experiences.

Last week he annoyed the embassy's newly-appointed first secretary Willem Simonsz by pasting posters on his window, on the first floor of the Nedbank Building, calling for an end to apartheid and freedom for political prisoners.

The posters were removed hurriedly when Dutch officials noticed them, and since then De Jonge has occasionally tried to flirt with women in offices in an adjacent building.

Estimates put the cost of his asylum to SA and Dutch taxpayers at more than R500 000, including salaries for security guards and telegraphic messages. Dutch officials will not say whether they intend billing De Jonge for the costs.

Recent statements by Dutch negotiators suggest some sort of solution to the affair is on the cards. The Hague has not denied speculation about a tentative deal to allow SA security police to question De Jonge and then to deport him after facing trial in SA.

But nobody is suggesting a solution this month, which could mean De Jonge's white Christmas will have to remain a dream.
SYDNEY KENTRIDGE, SA’s most eminent advocate, yesterday called the country a police state and said Law and Order minister Louis le Grange appeared powerless to stop the men from brutally abusing their powers.

He was addressing a Human Rights Day meeting, along with Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Black Sash’s Sheena Duncan, attended by at least 500 people at a Methodist Church hall in central Johannesburg.

Towards the end of the meeting, six of the 12 members of the UDF against whom the State dropped treason charges in Maritzburg on Monday, were given an overwhelming reception.

Kentrige said the emergency powers “tell a policemen he may do whatever he pleases to maintain what he considers to be law and order”. “He may shoot, or whip, or tear gas. However unnecessary or excessive his action, he knows that he is safe as long as he acted in good faith. And he is told that anything he does will be presumed to be in good faith.”

Kentrige said: “It would appear that the police do not always tell Mr Le Grange the truth. And he appears to believe nobody else. And even when abuses are exposed, he seems powerless to stop them.

“This is not because he is a particularly weak or ineffectual man. What his powerlessness demonstrates is that there just is no substitute for control by law.”

Duncan summed up the rights described in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as freedom from fear. Fear, she said, governed the lives of most people in SA.

She cited examples from cases she had heard at the Black Sash advice office on Monday:

- A woman who, on Sunday, had had her permed hair shaved off with a broken bottle, and was left, bleeding, beaten, and almost scalped — simply because “someone somewhere had decided that black people with permed hair must be punished”. Two Shangaan men who, on separate occasions, had been allegedly arrested, beaten, made to sign “confessions” that they were illegal Mozambican immigrants, then jailed and deported;

- A Soweto man allegedly beaten by soldiers who “wantonly tore up every document he had on him. The weals were all over his face, his head, his arms”.

Tutu said apartheid was a foul system which could be defended only by equally-foul means. He said he, at the age of 56 and Bishop of Johannesburg, could not vote, nor could he live where he wanted, even if he could afford it.

“Freedom is indivisible,” he said. “The Frankenstein that eats into the vitals of black freedom won’t say, ‘I have had enough’ It will say, ‘My appetite is insatiable’.”
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HARARE — One of the Commonwealth 'group of eminent persons' has hinted that it might not visit SA if it is denied a chance to see all the political figures it chooses. These would certainly include Nelson Mandela.

Archbishop Ted Scott, Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, told the Herald newspaper that the group saw no point in travelling to SA if it would not have access to 'all political parties involved in that country's political problems'.

However, while he was attending the World Council of Churches' emergency meeting in Harare last week, Scott said he was pleased by the willingness shown by SA government to meet Commonwealth representatives.

He told the Herald the indications were that Pretoria was 'not closing the doors on the group'.

Eminent group might not come if it cannot see all leaders

The 'eminent persons' — six men and a woman — are expected to hold their first meeting in London tomorrow.

Formed as a result of an initiative at the Nassau Commonwealth conference, they have six months to try to start a dialogue between the rival interests in SA.

"If we have not done what we are expected to do within the six-month period, the group will probably be disbanded.

"But if we make some progress, the group's period of work may be extended," said Scott.

Asked what chances he gave the proposed dialogue, the archbishop said: "I really don't know. I think it is an open question.

"Given the seriousness of the political situation in SA, we think dialogue is worth a try.

"But there is no way of saying what the odds are as we are dealing with a very difficult and complicated situation.

"At our meeting in London this week, we will be discussing, among other things, possible dates, and the sending of official requests, for visits to target countries. The actual dates will depend on the outcome of negotiations for permission to visit the countries concerned."

Scott noted that the group's task necessitated the co-operation of all those involved in SA, including liberation movements and political parties, churchmen and business representatives.

The overall objective of the exercise was to "enlarge prospects for an orderly transition to social, economic and political justice in SA, and peace and stability in the region."
Acquitted UDF 12 might sue Le Grange

THE 12 UDF leaders acquitted of high treason in Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court on Monday are considering bringing substantial claims for damages against Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

Instructing attorney for the group Norman Manoum confirmed this yesterday. He said the claims would be for loss of earnings and liberty. He declined to speculate on the possible amounts involved.

Most of the acquitted trialists are professional people — doctors and lawyers — whose defence since the trial began in May is thought to have cost about R100,000 a month.

The case against the 12 crumbled this week because of flimsy evidence, legal experts said yesterday.

Rain saves OFS farmers

MAIZE farmers in the north-western Free State have been saved from almost certain disaster by this week's good rains. Conditions in the Western Transvaal remain critical.

Had the Free State rains been delayed for even another week, heavy losses would have been unavoidable.

Now, according to National Maize Producers Organisation (Nampo) GM Piet Gous, provided there are good rains in early January and February, an average harvest in an area which produces about 30% of the national crop would be possible.

The position in the Western Transvaal — which produces 40% of the crop in an average year — is critical. Farmers say there must be a fall within the next 10 days if there is to be any hope of a reasonable crop.

Farmers say intense heat and strong winds in the area during the past three weeks have dried out their lands and, without heavy rains, it will be futile to plant.

In the Eastern Transvaal farmers also say they desperately need rain in the next few days.

Even the weekend rains were insufficient, says Anton Steyn, of the Department of Water Affairs.
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Last week he annoyed the embassy’s newly-appointed first secretary Willem Simonsz by pasting posters on his window, on the first floor of the Nedbank Building, calling for an end to apartheid and freedom for political prisoners.

The posters were removed hurriedly when Dutch officials noticed them, and since then De Jonge has occasionally tried to flirt with women in offices in an adjacent building.

Estimates put the cost of his asylum to SA and Dutch taxpayers at more than R500,000, including salaries for security guards and telegraphic messages. Dutch officials will not say whether they intend billing De Jonge for the costs.

Recent statements by Dutch negotiators suggest some sort of solution to the affair is on the cards. The Hague has not denied speculation about a tentative deal to allow SA security police to question De Jonge and then to deport him after facing trial in SA.

But nobody is suggesting a solution this month, which could mean De Jonge’s white Christmas will have to remain a dream.
NP-ANC talks ‘not official’ — Soal

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A conference between the National Party and the ANC could be run under the aegis of the British Foreign Office but Mr Geoffrey Denton, director of Wilton Park Conferences, says the conference will be independent. “We are under the aegis of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, but it will not be an official British conference and will not take place unless we can raise sufficient funds.” Invitations would be in “personal capacities”.

‘Moutse scandal’ amounts to forced removal — Soal

By David-Brown, Political Correspondent

The incorporation of the Moutse district into kwaNdebele against the wishes of so many of its residents was tantamount to a forced removal, the Progressive Federal Party said today.

The South African Government announced its firm decision to go ahead with the transfer of the land to the homeland last week. People who do not want to live under a kwaNdebele government have been offered alternative land and they will be relocated voluntarily at no expense to themselves.

However, the PFP’s spokesman on Transvaal black affairs, Mr Peter Soal, said today: “The most appalling thing about the whole Moutse scandal is the fact that the residents have been refused a plebiscite. This is the same as a forced removal. The Government is also showing insensitivity to the warnings about violence if the people are forced to live in kwaNdebele.”
Supreme Court Reporter

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in papers before the Supreme Court yesterday that he had not considered "the evidence and judgment of the Court which decided on Dr Allan Boesak's bail conditions" before withdrawing his passport.

He was referring to Dr Boesak's successful application before the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court on November 4 for the scrapping of most of his bail conditions, one of which had been that he had to hand in his passport.

'Critical'

On the day that Dr Boesak's application succeeded, Mr Botha issued an order withdrawing Dr Boesak's passport. It is this order which Dr Boesak contested in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Botha said he would not have withdrawn Dr Boesak's passport "merely because he is strongly critical of the government and its policies". His decision, taken some days before the magistrate's judgment, was based on "detailed information which was at my disposal!"

This included reports by the State Security Council, the National Intelligence Service and the State Security Branch of the South African Police.

Some of this information belied Dr Boesak's statement that it was well known that he has always taken a strong non-violent line, Mr Botha said.

'Misusing'

"I am unable to set forth the details and sources of such information, as to do so would be against the interests of the State and its security," Mr Botha said.

Dr Boesak was "misusing his leadership position", Mr Botha said, "to the detriment of the Republic and its interests".

He had "had contact with various radicals abroad who are overtly anti-South Africa, more particularly with leading members of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and its overseas leader Mr Oliver Tambo".

Mr Botha said Dr Boesak had "furthered the interests of this banned organization", and he gave the example of a wreath-laying ceremony in Signapo which Dr Boesak attended after an SADF "attack".

'Disinvestment'

Dr Boesak had also "propagated civil disobedience and consumer and schools' boycotts, and unabashedly expressed himself in favour of disinvestment by overseas concerns in the Republic", Mr Botha said. He did not accept that Dr Boesak would not advocate disinvestment if he were allowed to travel abroad.

Mr E L King, SC, for Dr Boesak, said he would have thought Dr Boesak would be more effective in propagating "civil disobedience, consumer and school boycotts" here than abroad.

He argued yesterday that Mr Stoffel Botha did not have the authority to withdraw passports.

Such decisions had become the prerogative of the State President since the 1983 constitution came into effect.

'Ludicrous'

This was because passports were a "general affair", Mr King said.

Mr P Hodes SC, for the minister, said this was a "ludicrous" interpretation of the new constitution. He submitted that the constitutional convention that the minister was responsible for the issue and withdrawal of passports was retained under the new constitution.

The hearing continues today.

Miss Justice Leo van den Heever presided, with Mr Justice W Vivier and Mr Justice G Friedman. Mr P Hodes SC, with Mr P Brand and instructed by the State Attorney's office, appeared for the Minister of Home Affairs and his regional representatives, Mr E L King SC, with S Desai and instructed by E Moosa and Associates, appeared for Dr Boesak.
Minister tells of passport decision

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, said in Parliament before the Supreme Court here yesterday that he had not considered the evidence and judgment of the Court which decided on Dr Allan Boesak’s bail conditions before withdrawing his passport.

He was referring to Dr Boesak’s successful application before the Malmesbury Magistrate’s Court on November 4 for the scrapping of most of his bail conditions, one of which had been that he had to hand in his passport.

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Mr Botha said he would not have withdrawn Dr Boesak’s passport merely because he is strongly critical of the Government and its policies. His decision, taken some days before the Magistrate’s judgment, was based on ‘detailed information which was at my disposal,’ Mr Botha said.

This included reports by the State Security Council, the National Intelligence Service and the State Security Branch of the South African Police.

Some of this information belied Dr Boesak’s statement that it was well known that he had always taken a strong non-violent line. Mr Botha said:

‘I am unable to set forth all the details and sources of such information as to do so would be against the interests of the State and its security.

Dr Boesak was masquerading his leadership position,’ Mr Botha said.

He had had contact with various radicals abroad who are overtly anti-South Africa, more particularly with leading members of the banned African National Congress and its overseas leader, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Dr Boesak had also ‘propagated civil disobedience and consumer boycotts and unabashedly expressed himself in favour of disinvestment by overseas concerns,’ Mr Botha said.

No authority

He did not accept that Dr Boesak would not advocate disinvestment if he were allowed to travel abroad.

Mr E. L. King, SC, for Dr Boesak, argued yesterday that Mr Stoffel Botha did not have the authority to withdraw passports.

Such decisions had become the prerogative of the President since the 1983 constitution came into effect, he said.

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The hearing continues today.
Tories call for ANC talks

Own Correspondent

LONDON, — A newly-formed Tory pressure group for fundamental change in South Africa has called on the British Government to hold talks with the African National Congress.

Mr Robert Adley, MP, disclosed that the group would hold talks with ANC representatives in London next week.

He said the group would seek to bring pressure on the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to pursue fundamental change in South Africa with a greater sense of urgency.

Mr Adley said he believed that probably a majority of Tory MPs would support British Government talks with the ANC and other representative groups such as the UDF.

The new pressure group was launched at a press conference at the House of Commons yesterday by three Conservative Party MPs, including Mr Adley, who is MP for Christchurch, who visited South Africa at the expense of the SA Government in September and October last year.

The others are Mr Timothy Rathbone, MP for Lewes, and Mr Hugh Dykes, MP for Harrow East.
Wife, daughter visit Mandela

Staff Reporter

IMPRISONED African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela was visited at Pollsmoor Prison yesterday afternoon by his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, and daughter Zinzi.

However — in interviews at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport before and after the hour-long visit — the visitors could not add to the growing speculation concerning the 68-year-old leader's possible release.

"We know nothing and we could not discuss this at the prison," Zinzi told local and foreign journalists.

Mr Mandela was in "good health," although the ANC leader was still confined to bed at the prison's sick bay following his recent prostate gland operation, she said.

Since the operation, he had been allowed visits from his fellow inmates and colleagues in prison on one occasion — last Wednesday, December 4.

"He was allowed one visitor at a time for 40 minutes only," Zinzi said.

Her father would be spending his 25th Christmas — "a day like any other day behind bars" — in prison this year, she said.

The Mandelas arrived at D F Malan at 11.50 from Johannesburg and were greeted at the airport by well-wishers and friends, who included Cape Town artist Sue Williamson.

After Mrs Mandela was briefly interviewed by a BBC correspondent, she and her daughter were driven to Pollsmoor, where they arrived shortly before 1pm.

Mrs Mandela is under a banning order and may not be quoted in South Africa.

After the visit, the Mandelas were driven back to D F Malan, where they checked in for their return flight at 2.30pm.
SEVEN people detained after allegedly participating in a candlelight vigil at the Luxurama cinema last Wednesday in protest against detentions, this week appeared in Wynberg Magistrate's Court.

They were not asked to plead and no charges were put. The charge sheet indicates they may be charged with attending an illegal gathering.

Six of the people have been in detention since last Wednesday.

The hearing was adjourned to January 9 and the seven were warned to appear.

The seven are Miss Patricia Fiederman, 32, of Observatory, who was released last Friday, Mr James Baggatt, 41, of Mowbray, Mrs Abdiah Grimwood, 55, of Steenberg, Mrs Gayatunisa Swart, 48, of Fairways, Mrs Joan Leukes, 43, of Montana, Mr Faruk Musdorp, 32, of Wynberg, and Mr Ralph Saaman, 43, of Lansdowne.

Mr S.J. van der Walt was the magistrate. Mr W.J. Downer appeared for the State. Ms A Durbach and Mr Y Ebrahim appeared for the seven people.
Candle protests 'a tactic

THE candlelight protests held in large areas of the Peninsula on Wednesday nights were not innocent, but 'deliberate tactics aimed at stirring people's emotions, which leads them to violent acts', the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Chris Swart, said yesterday.

In a press statement, Brigadier Swart said that on the past few Wednesday nights, 'certain organizations' had held 'so-called' candlelight protests in different 'coloured' townships in the Peninsula.

"The image that is presented is that the innocent lighting of candles serves as a gesture of sympathy with detainees being held under the emergency regulations," the statement said.

"In truth, it is a planned tactic aimed at stirring the emotions of members of the public which in turn leads to violence."

Large numbers of people were enticed to form illegal gatherings. "The South African Police are compelled to act against illegal gatherings," he added.
In his latest book on industrial relations in South Africa since 1979 he said that the ability of the economy to absorb this 'explosion of black youth' through to the 21st century was seriously doubted by many and would have a major impact on the social, political and economic structure of South Africa.

His views have been echoed by the launch last week of South Africa's newest and most powerful trade-union federation which collectively represents more than 500,000 workers from a wide spectrum of the economic fabric.

The launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Cosatu, which is committed to a militant stand against apartheid, marks a major shift in the role of South Africa's emergent black unions.

Federation

The best organised of the country's new black unions, granted legal recognition only over the past six years, have so far concentrated on improving pay and working conditions for individual employees.

But after four years of heated discussions they have agreed to form a federation based on politically principled and equal organisations in forming South Africa's biggest-ever labour federation, pledged to mounting a tough challenge to the Government.

Cosatu decided at its weekend launching conference in Durban to use the political muscle of its affiliated unionists to challenge apartheid and to enforce the nationalisation of major industries.

The federation, Labour activist Mr Brown said that by mid-1985 it was obvious that the labour movement had entered puberty and that an important phase in South African industrial relations was coming to an end.

A new maturity was evident in the strategy and tactics of employers and unions alike. The formation of new unions had slowed considerably from the heyday of 1979/80 and many employers were displaying a measure of skill and confidence in the collective bargaining process, he said.

'Similarly, as the labour movement matures and greater bargaining developments, Mr Brown added.

A prerequisite for greater political involvement is the establishment of a broad-based unity in the labour movement and a major grouping of unions into what has been dubbed the 'superfederation'.

Those unions that had displayed a reluctance to merge in the new superefederation had done so for various reasons.

'There were very few employers in the country for whom dealing with a strike was still a theoretical exercise,' Mr Brown added.

Against a background of drought, an economy in deep recession, rising real unemployment and a certain loosening of the apartheid system, it seemed certain that the South African trade-union movement would become a key factor in future political and social developments.

With the majority of the black population growing, the future industrial base will be younger, more educated and more politically oriented, according to Mr Brown.

Cusa, was particularly displeased with the influence of this group as it ran counter to Cusa philosophy of promoting black leadership above all others.

Mariah Vengtas

Labour Reporter

Cusa was joined in this view by a number of other unions, all of whom adhered to the 'black consciousness' philosophy.

'Whatever the philosophical merit of their stance it had the practical effect of denying these unions access to important skills at a time when such skills were already scarce in the labour movement.'

Perhaps for this reason they had consistently failed to show the growth and resilience which were evident among the unions who cared little about the colour of their officials' skins,' Mr Brown added.
Hunt for policeman's killers

PRETORIA. — Police have launched a massive manhunt for the killers of a Pretoria police constable whose body was severely mutilated before it was set alight.

The charred body of Constable Morris Ndlovane, 23, was found in open veld by passers-by in Pretoria’s Nkwenkwe township shortly after 8am yesterday.

The policeman was attached to the uniform branch of the Pretoria Moot police, the district commandant, Colonel Dane Calitz, said.

He was apparently called out of his fiancée’s house by a group of people at 2am yesterday. He left with them and was not seen alive again. — Sapa
Pretoria boycott takes hold

From MIKE CADMAN

JOHANNESBURG, — The black consumer boycott has taken hold in Pretoria with some retailers reporting a 50 percent drop in trade.

Retailers in Johannesburg claim that they have not yet been affected by the boycott.

The Consumer Boycott Committee has called for the boycott on the Witwatersrand to last until December 31 and in Pretoria until January 2.

The boycott is in its second week in Pretoria and started in Johannesburg on Monday.

Sales in some Pretoria Sales House outlets, which serves predominantly the black clothing market, are reportedly down as much as 50 percent on last year's sales and Pep Stores sales are down by 35 percent at some stores.

Discussion

Some small businesses have been so hard-hit they have called on Pretoria Chamber of Commerce to call a meeting with the boycott organizers and to make representations to the government.

Yesterday the Chamber of Commerce met Assocom (the Association of Chambers of Commerce) to discuss the boycott.

The secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr C Viljoen, yesterday declined to comment on the issue.

Some firms have had to lay off casual staff and some say permanent staff will be hit soon by job cuts should the boycott continue.

The chairman of the retailers' committee of the Johannesburg Central Business District Association, Mr Rick Beattie, said that, as yet, the boycott had not been felt in Johannesburg.

Turnover

"On Monday (the first day of the boycott in Johannesburg) it rained heavily and sales were down but this is always the case when it rains," Mr Beattie said.

He said that turnover yesterday appeared to be normal.

Pick 'n Pay turnover has not yet been seriously affected and the furniture store chain Ellerines report that their sales are still fairly good.

A spokesman for OK Bazaars declined to comment.

In townships surrounding Pretoria, black commuters have been stopped by youths and forced to consume any food bought in city stores. The same practice has occurred sporadically in Soweto but is expected to increase over the next few weeks.

Peacefully

Pamphlets calling for the boycott have said that black people should not buy goods from stores in the cities or from stores owned by community councillors.

The pamphlets say the boycott should be carried out peacefully.
Crowd unrest during trial inspection

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH — Close on 2,000 residents of KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, danced and chanted "We must roast them" and "Kill, kill, kill" during a two-hour inspection in loco by the Grahamstown Supreme Court yesterday of burnt-out buildings linked with the deaths of Mr Benjamin Kinikini, the 57-year-old former mayor of the township, and five others earlier this year.

Court officials and reporters were at all times surrounded by a heavy armed police and defence force presence during the visit, which quickly attracted a quite well-behaved crowd.

The crowd gave the 10 accused in the murder trial — handcuffed in two police vans protected by wire mesh — a "black power" fists-in-the-air send-off when the party moved from the first of three sites visited.

Mr Justice Tom Mulhins and his assessors, Mr B P Loots and Mr E A Logie, accompanied by Mr C D H O Nel, who is appearing for the State, and the defence team of Mr H K Naidu and Mr J N M Poswa, were shown over the roofless shell of Mr Kinikini's undertaking complex.

Blackened, broken walls and the remains of burnt cars were testimony to the attack which took place on March 23.

Gutted house
Under a boiling sun, the swaying, yelling crowd followed the party to the former mayor's gutted house. There was a burnt-out vehicle in the garage.

When the party was inspecting the last of the three sites on the agenda, a potentially explosive situation had developed, but the singing and dancing crowd dispersed without incident when the party left the township.

The trial, which has generated considerable interest in the black community, resumes in Grahamstown today and is expected to be postponed on Friday until February.
Social events put off until New Year

SQUEEZE ON FUN

Boycott spokesman

SEVERAL social events planned for this month have been cancelled and others suspended following a call by the Consumer Boycott Committee and related organisations for a "black" Christmas.

Drakensberg Promotions, organisers of the Miss Black South Africa beauty contest, have postponed their 1985 finals which were to be staged at the Eyethu Cinema in Soweto on Friday.

In a statement to The SOWETAN, the organisers, Mr Leonard Sithole and Mr Mike Bhengu, said: "The decision was taken in keeping with our policy to respect the wishes of community leaders."

Fun Valley Holiday Resort has suspended all its outdoor activities until December 31, according to the manager Barney Cohen.

"This is in solidarity with the people," he said.

Club Manzattan in Moletsane has cancelled performances by Image (on Friday) and The An-...
Councillor stoned and set alight, court told

SHARPEVILLE 8 FOUND GUILTY

A PRETORIA Supreme Court judge yesterday found six Sharpeville residents guilty of murder and two of public violence.

Mr Acting Justice WJ Human found all eight guilty of subversion, malicious damage to property and arson.

SOWETAN Reporter

The trial followed the death of a town councillor during last year's unrest in the Vaal Triangle.

Mr Khuzwayo Jacob Dlamini, then a Lekoa deputy mayor, was stoned and set alight by a rampaging mob on September 3, last year. He died of brain damage and burns.

Attacks

Finding the six guilty of murder, the judge said State witnesses explained fully the role each played in the attack on Mr Dlamini and his property.

They are Mojalefa Regina Selafatsana (30), Oupa Moses Diniso (30), Mr Reid Malebu Mokoena (22), Theresa Ramashamula (24), Duma Joshua Khumalo (26) and Francis Don Mokgesi (28).

Those found guilty of murdering Mr Dlamini are Mr Motseki Christiana Mokubung (23) and Mr Motsiri Gideon Mokone (21).

The judge said although they were on the scene of the crime that day, there was no evidence to convict them on that charge.
Sisulu warns government at Human Rights indaba

IT WAS the beginning of the end for the present system and black South Africans would not rest until the country was given back to them, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, freed this week of treason charges, said yesterday.

Mrs Sisulu, wife of the jailed African National Congress leader, Walter Sisulu, and one of 12 United Democratic Front officials against whom charges of treason were dropped this week, was addressing a Human Rights Day meeting at the Methodist Church in central Johannesburg.

She and several other freed trialists joined the Human Rights lunchtime meeting which had been previously addressed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash and Mr Sidney Kentridge, SC, QC.

"The struggle continues. We will not stop until freedom is won," Mrs Sisulu said to cheers and shouts of "Amandla" from the large crowd.

"It is high time that we tell this Government what we want. And, even if we are jailed again, it is not going to scare our people. We are used to it," she said.
Dr Boesak fights for his passport

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has denied he withdrew Dr Allan Boesak’s passport to “silence” an “outspoken critic of the Government”.

“Dr Boesak is free to continue criticising the Government and its policies — but only from here,” Mr Botha said in an affidavit before the Supreme Court, Cape Town, yesterday.

Dr Boesak, United Democratic Front patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, is seeking a court order to overturn the “unfair and unlawful” withdrawal of his South African passport on November 4.

He said the “deprivation” of his passport had “severely hampered and restricted” his work with the WARC.

Mr Botha said he had “the highest respect for the cherished and time-honoured principle of freedom of speech and movement” and found it “anathema” to interfere with these basic freedoms.

It was only when he was “completely convinced” that it was essential for the continued existence of the State that he would take such a decision.

Dr Boesak’s case has left him “with no alternative”. He had deliberated for months and studied reports from cabinet ministers, the State Security Council, the National Intelligence Service and the Security Branch.

These led him to conclude that:
- Dr Boesak was “misusing” his leadership position;
- Many of his actions and pronouncements had been followed by unrest;
- He had contacted “various radicals abroad” including the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo;
- Dr Boesak had openly propogated civil disobedience and consumer and schools boycotts; and
- He had expressed himself in favour of divestment.

These were “unacceptable anti-South African activities.”

Mr Botha denied that he or his predecessors were “rubber-stamps for the Security Police.”

He did not accept Dr Boesak’s undertaking in terms of his bail conditions that he would not advocate disinvestment if he travelled abroad.

The regional representative of the Department of Home Affairs was cited as the second respondent.

A full bench, comprising Miss Justice L van den Heever, Mr Justice G Friedman and Mr Justice W Vivier, is hearing the application.

Proceeding.
Mr E E King, SC, assisted by Mr S Desai and instructed by E Moore and Associates, appears for Dr Boesak.
Mr P Hold, SC, assisted by Mr F D Brand and instructed by the State Attorney’s office, appears for the respondent.
Kinikini killing: skull crushed

Argus Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Events on the morning of the killing of the Mayor of Kwanobuhle, Mr Benjamin Kinikini, and five members of his family have been recalled in the Supreme Court here.

Colonel G.S. Theron, officer commanding the unrest unit in Kwanobuhle at the time of the alleged murders, was giving evidence in the trial of 10 people charged with murder and public violence.

He said that at 7am on March 23 he encountered between 2,000 and 3,000 people in Mabandla Road.

After the crowd had been assured that certain children who they suspected had been kidnapped were safe at the Kwanobuhle police station, they were asked to disperse.

They resisted and teargas and a sneeze machine were used.

Colonel Theron left the township and returned by helicopter about 10am.

About 12.45pm he noticed several buildings burning, including the Kinikini funeral parlour.

At the scene a witness pointed out the bodies of three people, including that of Mr Benjamin Kinikini.

About 2pm he received a report of a crowd marching on the Kinikini home.

On the way there he passed two more bodies in the street.

He saw a crowd running to the Kinikini home from three sides.

KNIFE IN MOUTH

They had kerries and some carried buckets and wore rags over their faces to counter the effects of teargas.

Buckshot was used to disperse them.

He returned to the funeral parlour, stopping to inspect the bodies he saw earlier.

One had a knife protruding from the mouth and a drinking-straw forced between the teeth.

The skull of the other had been crushed and a soft-drink bottle forced into it.

Burning tyres and cartons had been placed on top of both bodies.

(Proceeding)
Trade unionist shot dead in S.A. township

Mercury Reporter

TWO people, including a well-known Natal trade unionist, were shot dead in the Durban township of Chesterville where two warring groups are still locked in a fierce fight, it was revealed yesterday.

The body of Mr Ian Phumza Zamisa, a Natal branch organiser of the South African Allied Workers’ Union, was found near his home in Road 7 this week with several bullet wounds.

A spokesman for the union said Mr Zamisa had apparently been abducted and shot dead by members of one of the two fighting groups in the township.

Mr Royce Melfata, an East London organiser for the union, said Mr Zamisa had been confronted early last week by a group of people who had threatened to kill him and had called him a "SADF spy".

Plagued

Police confirmed that a murder docket had been opened.

A police spokesman said Mr Patrick Blox, 40, had also been shot dead in the troubled township which has been plagued by fighting between a vigilante group calling itself the "A Team" and another made up mainly of youths, calling themselves "Comrades".

Meanwhile a crowd of 200 was dispersed by police at KwaMakhuta near Durban after they had set alight a car yesterday. No arrests were made.

A group of Umlazi youths, armed with knives and pangas, stole alcohol worth thousands of rand when they forced a truck to stop in the township this week.

The vehicle was stripped of its contents and set alight.

Police later arrested a man in connection with the incident.
Howe sets out 'line' over ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON — British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday resisted pressure from the Tory-led Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs to hold talks with the African National Congress.

Sir Geoffrey told Sir Anthony Kershaw, MP, Tory chairman of the 11-member committee that the British Government's "policy line" was not to enter into dialogue with the advocates of violence.

"We see no reason to move from our present position," he said.

Sir Geoffrey faced vigorous questions from the committee on the British Government's policy of no dialogue with the ANC.

'Broke ranks'

The questioning came 24 hours after three Tory MPs broke ranks to form an anti-apartheid pressure group urging Britain to talk to the ANC.

Sir Geoffrey would however not rule out a shift in attitude to the ANC in the future.

"It is the experience of all of us in politics that you don't ever say never," he said.

Britain acknowledged the ANC as "an important representative component" for the prospects of dialogue in South Africa.

"If the ANC was able to move towards with-
DURBAN — Two people, including a Natal trade unionist, have been shot dead in the Durban township of Chesterville, where two warring groups — the “Comrades” and the “A Team” — are locked in battle.

The body of Mr Ian Phumza Zamisa, a Natal branch organizer of the South African Allied Workers Union, was found with several bullet wounds near his home in Road Seven this week.

A spokesman for the union said Mr Zamisa was confronted early last week by a group of people who threatened to kill him and called him a “UDF spy”.

A murder docket has been opened in connection with his death, a police spokesman said yesterday.

He also said Mr Patrick Blose, 49, was shot dead with a firearm in Road Thirteen this week.
ECP ‘to ask to see Mandela’

Own Correspondent
LONDON — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) is expected to ask the South African Government for permission to interview the jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Nelson Mandela.

This is the view of sources close to the initiative who indicated that its success could stand or fall according to whether permission was granted.

Whitehall sources indicated, however, that the British Government would be prepared to talk to Mr Mandela only once he had renounced violence or the ANC called a truce in its armed struggle.

Expectations
The sources suggested that the EPG could play an important mediating role with Mr Mandela, paving the way for his release and the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

Expectations of Pretoria’s co-operation have been raised by Mr Pim Botha’s statement last month that the SA Government would seek “ways and means of assisting the Commonwealth group”.

Members of the EPG gathered in London yesterday for three days of talks amid a mixed atmosphere of expectancy and scepticism.

As the group prepared for its first meeting today, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, pledged Britain’s “strongest possible support” for the initiative.

But Sir Geoffrey warned that the mission had an “enormously difficult task” and would need to be handled with “considerable skill”.

Britain has welcomed the South African response to the initiative and is hoping that the EPG can play a role in bringing conflicting groups in South Africa to the negotiating table.

Britain can be expected to step up its involvement in a negotiated settlement once a process of dialogue gets underway.

The EPG has been established in terms of the Commonwealth accord on South Africa signed by members of the 50-nation Commonwealth at its summit in the Bahamas in October.

Its mandate is to promote the climate for a dialogue between the South African Government and representative black leaders “within the context of a suspension of violence”.

Demands
The group will also be responsible for monitoring progress towards a list of Commonwealth demands which includes Mr Mandela’s release and a lifting of the ban on the ANC, the lifting of the state of emergency and a declaration renouncing apartheid.

The group will advise the Commonwealth on whether a tougher sanctions package should be imposed by June.

The group is made up of the former Australian prime minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, a former British chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Anthony Barber, the Prime of Canada, Archbishop Edward Scott, a former Indian foreign minister, Mr Swaran Singh, a former military ruler of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo (representing Zambia and Zimbabwe), a former Tanzanian foreign minister, Mr John Maleela (Zambia and Zimbabwe), and a president of the World Council of Churches, Dame Nita Barrow (The Bahamas).

The group is expected to begin an intensive programme of contacts and shuttle diplomacy early in the New Year.
SA will not tolerate ANC infiltration, warns Malan

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has warned that continued African National Congress (ANC) infiltration there could lead to a situation similar to that of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Angola.

After visiting the area with top Defence Force officers on Sunday and being briefed by field officers, General Malan said there was no doubt the mine, and others over the past few weeks, had been planted by ANC insurgents who had crossed the border from Zimbabwe.

"The Republic of South Africa will not tolerate such actions, and I must warn that this could lead to a situation similar to that of SWAPO in Angola," he said.

In recent years, the South African armed forces have repeatedly crossed the Angolan border for attacks on SWAPO bases or on hot pursuit operations in response to guerrilla attacks and sabotage in northern Namibia.

Asked if the Government intended retaliating with force to the latest landmine explosion, General Malan said: "If we were, I wouldn't tell you anyway."

Less than three weeks ago, the first landmine to be detonated on South African territory exploded near Messina, which is only a few kilometres from the border with Zimbabwe.

This was followed by a string of landmine incidents in the area, during which some mines were detected by security forces sweeping roads following the general alert.

The South African Government said the landmines had been planted in the area by ANC insurgents who had crossed the border from Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwe Government strongly denied South Africa's allegations and warned it was ready to repulse an invasion by the South African Defence Force.

Although permitting an ANC presence in Zimbabwe and maintaining a highly critical approach to South Africa after it came to power, Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe's government has refused to allow the ANC to use its territory as a base for guerrilla operations against South Africa.

In a speech following the first few mine incidents, General Malan last week warned neighbouring states against harbousing "terrorists".

The emergence of border conflict along the Transvaal's hitherto fairly quiet border with Zimbabwe has spotlighted the South African military presence there and the enormity of the task facing security forces patrolling the isolated area.

— Sapa.
Boycott leaders tell youths to stop harassing shoppers

Pretoria Correspondent

The Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee (PCBC) has made a strong appeal to militant township youths to stop molesting or intimidating residents and not to destroy confiscated provisions bought from white businesses.

The urgent appeal follows a growing outcry from black consumers who have been harassed by youths in the city and the townships and had their provisions damaged.

Some complainants have said the actions against them seemed like blatant robbery by thugs who claimed to be PCBC boycott enforcers.

A spokesman for the committee yesterday confirmed that such complaints had also reached the committee.

The spokesman said "area committees" had been appointed to ensure that people defying the boycott were not harassed, because it was not the aim of the committee that people should be coerced to observe the boycott.

Residents in Soweto and Reef townships have been asked to boycott white-owned businesses and to make this Christmas a "Black Christmas". This means no parties, weddings or other festivities until January 2. Some residents are unhappy about the whole concept, while others are unhappy about the way it is being implemented. However, the organisers of the boycott and other people in the community say that hurting the white businessman is the most effective way to hurt the Government.

The Star would like to know from readers affected by the boycott how they feel about the move. Telephone us tonight between 8 pm and 7.30 pm at 833-2826 and 833-2207.

He called on township youths to refrain from attacking food delivery trucks.

Having a "black" Christmas did not mean that people should starve, he stressed. There had to be adequate provisions in the townships so that residents should not buy their food in town.

The committee had also decided that consumers might take their clothing to the dry cleaners of their choice and their shoes to any repairer in the city.

The PCBC had marshals in the townships monitoring the boycott and these were the only people "authorised" to check whether people were breaking the boycott.

The marshals had instructions not to destroy confiscated goods. Before taking the goods, they had to be sure that they had been bought from a white store.

The spokesman said that since the boycott started the committee had "arrested" four youths who had posed as marshals. It still had to decide on what action to take against the culprits.
The Star's Foreign News Service

GLASGOW — Glasgow’s business community is all in favour of naming a city street after Nelson Mandela. They just don’t want it to be their street.

Glasgow’s District Council — in a move designed to embarrass South Africa — has decided to rename St George’s Place, the city centre’s main street which houses the South African consulate, Nelson Mandela Place.

But Glasgow’s Stock Exchange is also in St George’s Place, and Mr Gordon Milne, whose company owns the building that houses both the Stock Exchange and the South African Consulate, says the business community will refuse to acknowledge the change. "It appears the renaming plan is entirely because of the existence of the consulate."

Mr Milne said businessmen would ignore the change. "I am sure as long as we have the correct postal code our mail will get through."

Mrs Winnie Mandela has been invited to be present at the naming ceremony, at the council’s expense. Councillor Patricia Chalmers said the vast majority of Glaswegians supported the street name change.
Court reserves judgment on passport

Supreme Court Reporter

JUDGMENT was reserved in the Supreme Court yesterday on an application by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, to have his withdrawn passport returned to him.

Dr Boesak, who is to face subversion charges in May next year, applied successfully in the Malmesbury Magistrate's Court to have most of his bail conditions set aside. Among those set aside was a requirement that he hand in his passport.

On November 4, the day the application succeeded, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, summarily withdrew the passport.

Dr Boesak contended that this withdrawal was "unfair and unlawful". Mr E L King, SC, submitted that under the new constitution only the State President could withdraw passports.

Mr P Hodes, SC, who appeared for the minister, said yesterday travel abroad was not a right, but even if it was, the minister could "undo" that right without consulting anyone.

Passport withdrawals were not subject to judicial review, Mr Hodes submitted. However, there was nothing stopping Dr Boesak from "making representations to the minister to have his passport returned".

Mr King said Dr Boesak had a "legitimate expectation" that before his passport was withdrawn his side of the story would be heard.

Miss Justice L van den Heever said Dr Boesak could not properly submit his version unless he was first allowed to hear the allegations against him.

Miss Justice L van den Heever presided with Mr Justice W Vivier and Mr Justice G Friedman. Mr P Hodes, SC, with Mr F Brand and instructed by the State Attorney's office, appeared for Mr Botha and his regional representative. Mr E L King SC with Mr S Desai and instructed by Mr B Waslavy of E Moses and Associates appeared for Dr Boesak.
LONDON — The Guardian newspaper said yesterday the withdrawal of treason charges against 12 United Democratic Front members was an embarrassing setback which SA could easily have spared itself.

The newspaper said the failed indictment had been an attempt by the state to blame the UDF for the disorder in SA, making the trial "wholly political".

Recalling the failure of the 1961 treason trial, an editorial said: "The authorities have clearly learned nothing and forgotten nothing in the interval, but have been reminded that opposition to apartheid, even when criminal violence is involved, is not to be equated with 'treason'. The government would be much better occupied with talking with these people instead of locking them up."

Commenting on the role of the judiciary, the Guardian said: "Except when it uses its swinging executive powers under the infamous security laws to bypass due process of law, Pretoria generally observes the principle of the separation of powers.

"South African judges (if not magistrates, who are State servants) have never shed their capacity for independent thought and have often delivered rulings against the government, notably during the constant unrest of the past 15 months."

"The Justices of the Natal Supreme Court have played their part in maintaining this encouraging record."

"On this occasion, however, the prosecution withdrew its charges before the Bench was called upon to give a verdict. So it is not the judiciary which has embarrassed the government but rather the government itself, and doubly so.

"Not only was it the State that was doing the prosecuting but it also decided to bring the charges in the first place..."
LONDON — The Commonwealth "eminent persons" group is expected to ask the SA government for permission to interview jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, according to sources close to the Commonwealth initiative.

The sources indicated that the initiative's success could stand or fall according to whether permission was granted.

Whitehall sources indicated, however, that the British government would be prepared to talk to Mandela only once he had renounced violence, or the ANC called a truce in its armed struggle.

The sources suggested that the group could play an important mediating role with Mandela, paving the way for his release and the lifting of the SA ban on the ANC.

Expectations of Pretoria's co-operation have been raised by Foreign Minister Pik Botha's statement last month that government would seek "ways and means of assisting the Commonwealth group".

Members of the group gathered in London yesterday for three days of talks amid a mixed atmosphere of expectancy and scepticism.

As the group prepared for its first meeting today, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe pledged Britain's "strongest possible support" for the initiative.

But Howe warned that the mission had an "enormously difficult task" and would need to be handled with "considerable skill".

Britain has welcomed the SA response to the initiative and is clearly hoping the "eminent persons" can play a role in bringing conflicting SA leaders to the negotiating table.

The group is expected to begin an intensive programme of contacts and shuttle diplomacy early in the new year.

See Page 6
LONDON — British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday resisted pressure from Tory-led Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs to open dialogue with the ANC.

Howe told MP Sir Anthony Kerslake, Tory chairman of the 11-member committee, that British government policy was not to enter into dialogue with the advocates of violence.

Howe faced vigorous questioning from the committee on the government's policy of no dialogue with the ANC.

The questioning came 24 hours after three Tory MPs broke ranks to form an anti-apartheid pressure group urging the British government to talk to the ANC.

Howe conceded there were several precedents in recent history — Ireland, Palestine, Kenya, and Cyprus — where British governments had abandoned this guideline and yielded to talking to the advocates of force.

However, he would not rule out a shift in government attitude towards the ANC in the future.
Mixed reactions to black freehold rights

SIPHO NGCOBLO

THE issue of freehold rights for blacks has been greeted with mixed feelings by the black community.

Some people interviewed by Business Day received the news with jubilation while many others, especially "migrant labourers", described the announcement as "senseless."

Maliyeni Twala from Kranakop, Natal, who lives at the Jabulani Hostel, did not know about government's freehold plan. He is employed as a cleaner with a Johannesburg company and renews his work contract annually.

He was disappointed on hearing the news, shook his head and said:

"The government is being impossible. Why must one have a lot of money to qualify for urban rights?" "The government knows well that we cleaners earn too little to be able to buy stands."

Soweto housewife Rebecca Twetwa described the plan as one of "those senseless government changes."

She added: "We need meaningful changes and not only freehold rights."

Others took a different stance. "We are happy that government has finally realised that we deserve full ownership of our houses and the land they occupy," said bank clerk Gordon Shanyeni.

James Khunise, who leases a house in the prestigious Dobsonville Extension under the 99-year leasehold scheme, was jubilant: "This is good news! We will be paying for something we know belongs to us."
Man in court for harbouring two ‘terrorists’

Court Reporter

A GUGULETU man yesterday appeared in the Magistrate’s Court on a charge of harbouring “trained terrorists”, who have been connected with a grenade attack on the home of Mr Luwellyn Landers, Labour Party MP in the House of Representatives.

Mr Ntzelizwe Talakumeni, 27, was not asked to plead to the charge of contravening the Internal Security Act.

The State alleges he harboured a man connected with a grenade attack on the Langa police station and the placing of limpet mines or further grenade attacks on the homes of Mr Landers, Mr Fred Peters, LP MP, and community councillors Mr Bolise, Mr Shwalane and Mr Njoli, between June 12 and 16 this year.

Mr Talakumeni is alleged to have:

- Transported the two on several occasions in his car and gave them food and drink, or took them to, or was aware of, pickup points for food and drink.
- Allowed the two men free access to his home and allowed them to live there and/or to leave and/or fetch goods from his home.

Weapon

The State also alleges that Mr Talakumeni provided Joseph Majoli with a place to sleep on at least two occasions in May 1965 that he gave him a sack full of tinned foods and a portable radio and that he provided one or both men with clothes.

The State also alleged that Mr Talakumeni was instructed in the operation of a weapon.

The hearing was adjourned to March 7 and Mr Talakumeni was remanded.

Mr J S Leonard was the magistrate. Mr W C Viljoen of the Attorney-General’s Office appeared for the State. Mr John Whitehead, instructed by Mr Ramesh Vassen, appeared for Mr Talakumeni.
Parents plan alternative education

Transvaal Bureau

JOHANNESBURG — A programme of “anti-apartheid education” is being planned by black parents, students and teachers as an alternative to the nation-wide school boycotts which have spread throughout the country this year.

If all goes as planned black students will return to school next year, but except for primary school pupils, it will not be to participate in the Department of Education and Training (DET) curriculum.

The idea is that students will return to classes where they will be taught “alternative education” programmes and will not write DET examinations.

Behind the move is the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC), a group formed three months ago to coordinate the activities of teachers, parents and students in South Africa’s largest black township.

The role of the SPCC, which claims the support of most community, church and student groups in Soweto, is to formulate a united black response to the education crisis, and to present demands to the government authorities.

“Our task is to be a link between students, teachers and parents and to convey the feelings of these groups to the government,” SPCC secretary, Mr Vusi Khanyile, said.

Mr Khanyile, 35, an accountant, is also secretary of the Soweto Civic Association, a leading affiliate of the United Democratic Front. He has twice been detained under the emergency regulations over the last two months.

He was one of the SPCC delegates who participated in a series of meetings with government, police and SADF representatives about relieving conditions which led to the Soweto school boycott. The meetings are believed to have been the first between Soweto community leaders and government authorities for several years.

Since September there has been a virtually 100 per cent boycott of classes in Soweto. Only 200 out of over 6 000 Soweto matriculants wrote their final exams, despite elaborate security measures, Mr Khanyile said.

The short term demands of the students, parents and teachers are the removal of South African Defence Force (SADF) troops from the township, the release of all detained students and the recognition of democratic SRCs. Students have said that until these demands are met they will not consider returning to classes.

The decision to negotiate with the authorities was taken at a public meeting attended by about 3 000 parents, teachers and students.

The SPCC delegation met three times with the government authorities: first with DET representatives including the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, and after that representatives from the Department of Law and Order and the SADF as well.

According to Mr Khanyile, the DET made minor concessions about exam dates but all the major demands were refused.

He said most of the detainees are still being held and the SADF decided that the situation in Soweto was still “too ugly” for troops to leave the townships. Only when things returned to “normal” would they be able to leave, they said.

The SPCC argued that until the army left the township it would be impossible for things to return to “normal” in the schools.
Unions raise storm over Cosatu's politics

**SOWETAN Reporter**

TWO weeks after being formed, some affiliates of the Council of South African Trade Unions are already questioning its political leanings.

Some affiliates of the federation have claimed that there were elements that are trying to sway the movement to support the African National Congress (ANC).

The claims were made after the visit to Harare by Cosatu's general secretary, Mr. Jay Naidoo. While in Zimbabwe, Mr. Naidoo met and held informal talks with the ANC and South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) officials.

The unions claim that Mr. Naidoo was not given a mandate to talk to the ANC and Sactu.

However, Mr. Naidoo said he was approached by the organisations in Harare where he had gone to address a meet-

Mr. JAY NAIDOO

ing of the World Council of Churches (WCC).

- He refused allegations that Cosatu was a front of the ANC asserting: 'We are a workers front.'

The president of the National Textile Workers Union (formerly affiliated to Cosatu), Mr. Nelson Mthombeni said his union would discuss Mr. Naidoo's visit to Harare and the meeting he had with the ANC and

Sactu.

"This matter raises concern because we have suspicions that we might be swayed to support the ANC." - Metal and Allied Workers Union's Transvaal secretary Mr. Moses Mayekiso said the federation would decide next year on its political affiliation.

A spokesman for the Transport and General Workers Union said they were "shocked" by the recent moves by Cosatu executives regarding affiliation to political organisations.

"We did not give any political direction to Cosatu. Mr. Naidoo's move is a clear indication that we might be swayed to support the ANC and this may divide us because we have different political affiliations. Workers should not be divided along these lines," he said.
A KAGISO councillor yesterday said he resigned because he feared for his life.

Mr Samuel Bushy Galekhutle resigned on Wednesday.

He is the second Kagiso councillor to resign this week. On Monday, Mr Mike Mabasa, deputy mayor, resigned. Both said pressure from the community forced them to quit.

Another councillor, Mr Ruben Mabalanle, is said to be on the run after his Munsieville township house was petrol-bombed about a week ago.

Mr Galekhutle said the present situation in the townships made it dangerous for councillors.

Mr Galekhutle, whose previous house was petrol-bombed in 1977 when he was a member of the defunct community council, said he resigned to save his life and that of his family.

He said pressure from the community also made him resign. He said he would meet residents to tell them of his decision.

"The residents are critical of these Government-created councils. Because of the present political climate, they are doomed to fail. Why should I stick my neck out that long," said Mr Galekhutle.

Councillor Anthony Zulu is in Leratong Hospital after his house was petrol-bombed about three weeks ago. Mr Zulu's twins, Dumisani and Sibusiso (3), were also taken to the same hospital with severe burns. Dumisani was discharged on Wednesday and Sibusiso is in the hospital's intensive care unit.

Mr Samwel Bushy Galekhutle ... shows a copy of the letter of resignation he handed to Mr Zouika Moeketsi, the mayor of Kagiso.
SA ‘destined to be truly multiracial’

Education Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA, like all other African countries formerly under white rule, is destined eventually to become a truly multiracial country with a preponderantly black central government, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, executive president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, said yesterday.

Addressing a morning graduation ceremony in the commerce and engineering faculties of the University of Cape Town’s Jameson Hall, Dr Motsuenyane said: “How long it will take and by what means this transition is to be effected, whether peacefully or violently, these considerations must be left to history.

“What of course is very important for the present rulers of South Africa to comprehend is that it will be totally unwise to try to stand in the way of this transition or by devious means to endeavour to put a stop to it, for it is inevitable.”

Radical reforms

“Our best choice in the interests of securing the long-term peace and stability of the country will be to facilitate desirable changes and not to prevent them from taking place at the appropriate time.”

The introduction of radical reforms was the only effective way the country could be assured of internal peace, prosperity and solidarity among the various racial and ethnic groups.

Dr Motsuenyane said recent political changes in South Africa fell “laudably short” of satisfying existing black aspirations and had largely tended to generate increasing resistance against and scepticism about the policy of separate development.

The only reasonable choice left was for the government to move rapidly away from its present race-oriented policies, towards alternative policies that would give black people their rightful share in the political life of the country.

“Events in Zimbabwe, and I hope later in Namibia, will show that basic rights can never be denied to a people who are determined to have them.”

“At this stage everything should be negotiable, everything — including the release of Nelson Mandela and the very many issues which are seen as taboo in this country by government.”
own homes. Indeed Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, who last week announced the advent of private black land ownership (designated by State President Botha in January), has urged businessmens to assist.

Black Sash president Sheena Duncan, who welcomed the implied relaxation of influx control, tells the FM: "Restoration of freehold rights to the black people is welcome. But limitations placed by the Group Areas Act and the Land Act make it impossible for them to enjoy the free enterprise system. Unless the government puts into effect the President's Council's recommendation that large areas of land be made available, the announcement is not going to enable more than just a handful of people from the homelands to enter the urban areas."

The Urban Foundation, which sees the move as one of "great significance," interprets it to mean "that any black South African will now be able to acquire full property rights in any black township without questions being put about his legal status."

But the foundation is "concerned that this relaxation should not be seen as the substitute for a positive urbanisation strategy and the complete removal of influx control as already recommended by the President's Council."

Government's new approach to influx control is to replace it with "orderly urbanisation," details of which have yet to be itemised. However, the policy looks like being based upon the 1979 Riekert Commission proposals which made a house and a job the criteria for legal entry into the urban areas. Whether or not the hated pass raids will continue remains to be seen. Reports suggest that the number of pass law arrests and convictions has significantly dropped.

On the question of black property rights, the Urban Foundation also says it is "essential that the same approach - that Section 10 qualification should not be required - be applied to the acquisition of 99-year leasehold rights which we were pleased to see have been retained as an option."

The sale of existing houses under the 99-year leasehold scheme failed to take off; only some 38 000 units have been sold.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has also disclosed that by the end of September this year, 273 000 99-year leasehold plots had been surveyed and approved by the Surveyor General, while 174 000 more plots were still to be finalised. In addition, 43 000 plots were sold and built on or were being built on by owner himself. Another 90 000 houses were sold under the old "home ownership scheme."

Soweto councillor Nelson Botle told Heunis at a ceremony in Florida, Roodepoort, after his pathbreaking announcement, that there was a need for more reforms like the granting of freehold rights. Such steps, he said, could prove to township residents, who "call us sell-outs, that these town councils do have authority. We want to sell-in, not out," he said.

WCC IN HARARE

Calling on outlaws

Possibly the most constructive aspect of last week's World Council of Churches (WCC) meeting in Harare was the opportunity for South African church leaders and student leaders to meet prominent African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) officials.

Thirty-seven representatives of SA churches met the ANC secretary general, Alfred Nzo, and the leader of the PAC, Nqiga Muendane. In a separate meeting, nine student leaders from Cape Town and Stellenbosch universities also met ANC leaders.

For the rest, the WCC gathering was utterly predictable. The church leaders came out in favour of "immediate and comprehensive mandatory sanctions" against SA and also urged governments to prevent the extension or rolling over of loans to the South African government, to parastatals, and to banks and private corporations. In the case of bank loans, this sounds suspiciously like bolting the stable door after the horse - or at least half the horse - has bolted, while, as long as America's Ronald Reagan and Britain's Margaret Thatcher are in office, there is little prospect of the UN Security Council agreeing to mandatory sanctions.

What gave the meeting a new dimension was the apparently successful effort to distance the 37 South African church leaders from their government and from at least some of their flocks by arranging a dialogue with black nationalist leaders. But, not for the first time, the WCC leadership was unable to satisfy some newsmen on the issue of violence.

Why were church leaders, who favour non-violent pressure against Pretoria such as economic sanctions, silent in their communiqués on the issue of violence? Violence, said Dr Emilio Castro, WCC secretary general, was "a theoretical issue." He added that the churches preferred instead to focus on the potential that existed for using non-violent methods to achieve political change.

The WCC declaration reiterated calls for the lifting of the State of Emergency in SA, the return of exiles, the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibia and a peaceful transfer of power on the basis of a one-man-one-vote constitution.

The church leaders believe the tide is now running so strongly against apartheid and against the Botha government that there is now a greater likelihood of their representations being taken seriously than when they issued their historic condemnation of apartheid at Cotteseo in Johannesburg 25 years ago. Well-intentioned though the church leaders might be, it's all too likely that their calls for non-violent changes and economic sanctions are a case of too little too late.

Far more to the point was Zimbabwe PM Robert Mugabe's Vienna statement that there was little prospect of a negotiated change of government in SA. This pessimistic viewpoint was underscored by the Moscow reports of top-level talks between the

COSATU MEETS THE ANC

Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) general secretary Jay Naidoo held informal talks last weekend with senior members of the African National Congress (ANC) and the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), the exiled union organisation allied with the ANC.

Naidoo, who was in Harare to address the meeting of the World Council of Churches (WCC) on behalf of Cosatu, says he was approached by the ANC/Sactu delegation for the meeting. The talks were in line with Cosatu policy which advocates discussions with all "progressive" organisations. The delegation was led by ANC secretary general John Nkadineng.

Cosatu describes the meeting as "fruitful" and "allowing for a frank and open exchange of views." Among the matters discussed were the recent talks between the ANC and business leaders, the Progressive Federal Party and others. The statement says the ANC/Sactu delegation welcomed the formation of Cosatu, and agreed that the organisation should remain "independent and accountable to the needs and aspirations of the working class."

Naidoo, meanwhile, refutes allegations that Cosatu is a front for the ANC. Cosatu, he says, was formed in the face of an "onslaught by the State and capital designed to divide workers," and that the organisation's leadership is bound to act in terms of the constitution and policies approved at the inaugural conference. "The launch followed four years of painstaking discussions. This involved unions reporting back to members and getting mandates from them. In contrast, we live in a system devised to concentrate power in the hands of a minority using bastusants, local authorities and the tri-cameral parliament. These are fronts of the apartheid state which operate without mandates," he says.
A double as UDF 12 go free

TWO strokes of the pen in Cape Town and Durban yesterday bolstered the UDF's morale and capped a week of rising fortunes for the political mass movement.
- In Cape Town, 12 detainees, including UDF and affiliate members, were released.
- In Durban, a magistrate granted the UDF permission to hold a mass rally to launch a national Release Mandela Campaign. ANC leader Nelson Mandela's daughter Zintzi and banned wife Winnie are expected to attend.

The moves follow the dropping of treason charges against 12 prominent UDF members in the Maritzburg Supreme Court on Monday.

The mass rally, expected to attract more than 20,000, will be held at the Curries Fountain soccer stadium on Sunday afternoon.

Permission for the UDF rally, the first of its kind since the organisation's formation in 1983, was granted subject to stringent conditions by Durban's Chief Magistrate Pine Pienaar after a lengthy meeting with the UDF's legal representatives.

A spokesman for the Durban office of the UDF told Business Day the organisation would abide by all conditions.

Freedom and nod for UDF

From Page 1

From Page 3

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PETER HONEY, SIPHO Mgobu and Saps

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Permission granted for UDF rally on Sunday

DURBAN — The UDF has been granted permission by Durban's chief magistrate to hold an open air rally in Durban on Sunday to call for the release of Nelson Mandela and to celebrate the acquittal of 12 UDF leaders of treason charges.

The jailed ANC leader's daughter, Miss Zinzi Mandela, is expected to be one of six high-profile speakers.

The other speakers will be UDF chairman Mr. Curnick Ndlovu, UDF presidents Mr. Archie Gumede and Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, acquitted this week of treason charges, Natal UDF executive member Mr. Billy Nair and the acting leader of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr. Henry Fazi.

In terms of conditions laid down by the chief magistrate, Mr. J.J. Pienaar, the six speakers are the only people allowed to address the crowd.

The rally will be held at the Curries Fountain at 6 pm on Sunday.

Mr. Pienaar stipulated that:

- No displaying or distribution of banners, placards, flags or literature of banned organisations will be allowed.
- No banned organisation may be quoted or even mentioned.
- No poems may be read to the audience.
- No singing or "ensemble singing" except for "the anthem" — Sapa.
France: Mandela cause just

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — Mr Nelson Mandela was "fighting for a just cause", French President Francois Mitterrand told African heads of state here yesterday.

President Mitterrand was opening the 12th annual French African summit.

Recalling action already taken by the French Government, he said France would carry on until apartheid was abolished and there was a free, multiracial, society in South Africa. Apartheid was the legalization of what should be by rights outlawed, he said.

France did not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of South Africa, but would defend international law and human rights.

In his reply to President Mitterrand, President Jean Baptiste Bagaza of Burundi called for increased support for the frontline states and for sanctions against South Africa from the international community.
QUEENSTOWN FUNERAL

Marshals in uniform
At Mungisi township near Queenstown on Saturday, 11 of 14 victims of a police shooting were buried after a service attended by about 20 000 people.

The funeral procession was led by about 300 United Democratic Front (UDF) marshals dressed in khaki uniforms and wearing black berets. Many also wore African National Congress (ANC) colours and badges.

A number of youths carried wooden replicas of rifles with "AK 47" painted on them. The coffins of those who died on November 17 — when police opened fire on protesters in the township — were draped in ANC colours.

The victims were aged between 15 and 71.

In a speech at the funeral, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) leader Elijah Barayi again warned government of tough worker action and possible civil disobedience, including a mass burning of pass books, unless demands to end apartheid were met within six months. Barayi called on President PW Botha to resign because he has failed to direct the country towards a peaceful future.

During the service, the Saco-affiliated South African Cricket Board distributed pamphlets urging mourners to support a protest campaign against the rebel Australian cricketers currently touring the country.

Police and soldiers kept a low profile, but arrested three people at a roadblock outside the township where some cars were stopped and searched.

EM 13/12/85
Permission given for UDF open-air rally

Political Reporter
THE UDF has been granted permission by Durban's Chief Magistrate to hold an open-air rally in Durban on Sunday to call for the release of Nelson Mandela and celebrate the dropping of charges against 12 UDF leaders in the Pietermaritzburg treason trial.

Nelson Mandela's daughter Zinzi is expected to be one of six speakers.

The other speakers will be UDF chairman Curnick Ndlouv, UDF presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, both former treason trialists, Natal UDF executive member Billy Nair and the acting leader of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Henry Fazi.

In terms of conditions laid down by the Chief Magistrate, Mr J J Piennar, the six speakers are the only people allowed to address the crowd.

The rally, which is to be held at Curries Fountain at 2 p.m. on Sunday, will replace an indoor meeting which was to have been held at the Lamontville Methodist Church.

Mr Piennar granted the permission yesterday after a meeting with UDF legal representatives.

He stipulated that there was to be no displaying or distribution of banners, placards, flags or literature of banned organisations, and no banned organisation may be quoted or even mentioned by the speakers.

No poems may be read to the audience and there may be no singing or 'ensemble singing' initiated by the speakers, except for 'the anthem'. The conditions do not mention which anthem, Die Stem or Nkosile Sikelelwa Afrika, was referred to.

A UDF spokesman said the purpose of the rally was to launch a campaign to call for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and to 'welcome back' the 12 former Pietermaritzburg treason trialists.

Ali 12 — Archie
MARK DICKINSON (left), as Joseph, listens to Pharoah (NICK VAN DER MERWE), bewail his woes in the East London production of Joseph and His Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat, directed by Di Ruddick for Dramsoc. The show will run in the Guild Theatre till next Saturday.

Top film musical
Peter Taylor, chief foreign correspondent of The Sunday Telegraph, has been travelling through South Africa talking to people of all races and all persuasions.

He describes, in the first of a two-part series which will continue next week, the mood of black and coloured activists, some of whom are being introduced to the politics of violence at a poignantly early age.

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He took a black friend home three years ago and his father pulled a gun. He doesn't see so much of them, these days. "I've lost all my old friends, too."

These credentials seemed impeccable, but the intermediaries who introduced me to a small group of young radicals in the coloured township of Elsie's River seemed wary. I was rather grandly pronounced "checked out" — they looked at my Press card — but the distinct sound of a police siren was sufficient to send one of them peering through the closed curtains.

They were all members of the Cape Youth Congress, the youth wing of the UDF. Most of their leaders had already been detained and they lived in constant expectation of the same fate.

The average age was late teens, but some had been in the classroom. The schools were not for the "schools boycott". Even where children are going to school, they are only participating in "alternative programmes" — largely half-baked political lectures.

In an effort to create an impression of normality the authorities have compelled children to take exams for which they are wholly unprepared.

"We are not saying that the white man has to get out of the country," one of them said. But did they think a settlement could be negotiated.

"This Government has said that it won't hand over power, so we have no choice but to fight. The armed struggle is the only solution."

"I'll support that," said an intense-looking lad in a forage cap. "We're not going to accept what happened to all generations, man. We have a boy of 11 near here. He was shot through the knee, but next night he was out with the stones again."

Then someone chimed in brightly: "The Cubans say they could win a war against South Africa."

This produced a flurry of excitement, as if the cavalry was coming to the rescue. "But we can't depend on the Cubans to do it for us," the oldest of them said, and the mood became subdued again.

So would they leave the country for military training? "It is not necessary. We can be trained here. We will fight in a military system, but we are also talking about organised violence. We are talking about hard and soft targets."

There was plainly an element of bragging and wishful thinking in what they were saying. Perhaps it is unreasonable to expect these would-be urban terrorists to have a clear idea of what they are doing, but a similar confusion prevails in more educated circles.

Earlier this year the South African Council of Churches decided to pray for the downfall of the Government and issued a "theological rationale" justifying that course of action. To this non-theological mind, it reads like a simple fiddling of the union rule book. Certainly, it provoked a split among churchmen in the Cape.

An enthusiast for the new dispensation told me: "We became more credible in the eyes of people because we were theologising about what they had been praying for for years."

She added, somewhat menacingly, I thought: "It became clear who, in the Church, wanted real change." Prayers are to be supported by "direct action" from these radical Christians: participation in the consumer boycott of leading white stores (suspended in some areas so that blacks can do their Christmas shopping) and possibly a programme of civil disobedience.

The Western Cape's 200,000 Muslims have also joined forces with the radical Christians. Although they are Sunnis, they claim to take their inspiration from Khomeni's revolution.

No doubt some of these churchmen act from the purest of motives, but with others you get the uneasy feeling that they are just longing to win their battle colours in detestation: "And what did the South African Government do to you, Daddy?"
LUSAKA. — A parcel bomb exploded at Zambia's main post office in Lusaka yesterday, seriously injuring a man identified by the African National Congress as one of its workers.

An ANC spokesman said the bomb had gone off in the hands of Mr. Lobatsi Molele, blowing off his left arm as well as several fingers on his right hand.

"This can only be the work of the ANC's enemy — the South African racist regime which always resorts to desperate actions whenever under pressure inside the country," the spokesman said.

A Zambian Government spokesman described the afternoon blast, which shattered several windows of the post office building along Cairo Road, the Zambian capital's main shopping area, as "a regrettable and deplorable incident".

The injured ANC worker, who had gone to the post office to collect mail, has been admitted to hospital, the spokesman said.

Police sources said bomb disposal squads cleared crowds and searched for any other explosive devices.

The ANC, which has claimed responsibility for several sabotage attacks inside South Africa, has its headquarters in the Zambian capital. — Sapa-Reuter
Boesak's speeches now on record

By Michael Tissong

Three of Dr Allan Boesak's speeches are now available on a double-album record.

One of the speeches, "God Of The Poor - God Of The Oppressed", covers two sides of the first record.

In the introduction to the speech, made at the national conference of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), a speaker says: "We should not expect God to raise a messenger from the dead... because we have Allan Boesak and other prophets."

Dr Boesak's next speech, "Of Grass, and of Flowers and of the Living Word", was delivered at the Riverside Church in New York City in February 1982.

The third speech Dr Boesak introduces as "a story of Cain and Abel."

The back cover has a quote which would fit in with current boycott efforts: "The Lord says - I hate your religious festivals; I cannot stand them. When you bring me burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them. Stop your noisy songs; I do not want to listen to your harps. Instead let justice flow like a stream and righteousness like a river that never goes dry."
Soweto man shot dead by ‘soldiers’

JOHANNESBURG — A young black man was shot dead by security forces in Soweto yesterday afternoon as hundreds of Sowetans stopped cars and seized goods bought in defiance of the “Black Christmas” boycott of white stores, witnesses said.

Armoured personnel carriers arrived in the Diepkloof section of Soweto to break up bands of youths confiscating clothes, food and Christmas presents from scores of black commuters returning home.

A resident reported that “soldiers” shot dead one man, apparently in his early 20s, in breaking up the crowds.

Littered

The boycott began in Johannesburg on Monday, aimed at pressuring white business to join black calls for an end to the state of emergency in Pretoria, where the boycott is two weeks old, the Chamber of Commerce has said sales are down at some stores by as much as 60 percent.

Youths stopped virtually every car and taxi at improvised roadblocks, destroying products bought at white-owned stores.

“All the streets are just littered with groceries and other things bought from town, and hundreds of youths are lining up in the streets, carrying stones and stoning any car that refuses to stop,” said one resident by telephone.

More black consumers were in Pretoria shops yesterday following the distribution by helicopter of thousands of pamphlets over Mamelodi on Thursday night, the chairman of the Committee of the Pretoria Business Community, Mr D W Rolt, said.

Mr Rolt said the pamphlets had indicated that shoppers could do their shopping freely and in peace, and a survey undertaken by the committee has revealed a decided improvement in the situation in that area.

“Not only is the situation more peaceful in the township, but prominent business undertakings have indicated that there has been a decided increase in their floor traffic of black buyers as well as in their turnovers,” Mr Rolt said.

The committee appealed to employers of Mamelodi residents “to allow additional time to their employees to make use of this opportunity to make their purchases during the special days specifically arranged for them”. — Saps

Churches call for ‘Christmas of Concern’

— page 2
Boycotts darken Yuletide

By Brendan Ryan

CHRISTMAS sales generally appear to be going well, but traders are concerned about the effects of black-consumer boycotts.

"In money terms, our sales are running about 10% ahead of the Christmas period last year, which means that in real terms we are about 15% to 20% up," said Pick n Pay chairman Raymond Ack-

"We see the position hopefully staying that for the full Christmas period, but trade has been affected by the black boycotts, though not significantly in our stores.

"I think there has been a slight pickup in consumer confidence with some lifting of gloom and doom, but it is still hard to get sales.

"The chairman of Pick n Pay is also quite bullish, say- ing that sales so far have been very encouraging, though to be cautious on the effects of the boycott.

Phenomenal

"The Pretoria area has been the worst hit, with some effect also on downtown Johannesburg.

"November was a phenomen- al month for us, and it is feared that this trend is maintained from now on, with sales running 20% up.

"Picking some of the boycott- ing activity in consumer fear of higher prices to be charged for imported goods, which is encouraging consumers to buy now rather than put off purchase and pay higher prices later.

"We have seen this in our radio and electrical goods line, where we bought back enough stock for the Christmas period but have run out in some cases," says Mr. Goldin.

"This trading pattern has also been noticed by Disa's merchandising director, Steve Ralston.

Figures up

"We have experienced consider- able buying in the kitchen appliances and white goods line as well as such items as informal and vid- eo recorders, ahead of ex- pected price increases from January.

"Our trading figures over the foreseeable period of last year are up, but only in a single-figure percentage terms.

"Our trade is not primarily with black consumers, so we have been affected only to a limited extent by the con- sumer boycott.

"That is the picture elsewhere, with stores of similar types in stores catering largely to the black- consumer market through in-store run-downs by applic- ants to evade store security guards and prevent pur- chasing.

"Furniture, household items and sundries sales have improved and, de- pending on new acquisitions and a Centre, store for October and November were up by 21%.

"We expect a good Christmas and were concerned about boycotts and arrests, which cost the company R1.5 million last year.

"He reports that the boycott had been 100% effective in the Eastern Cape but not elsewhere, and said furniture sales have been less and 40% drops in turnover have been recorded.

Political

"We are all involved in the problems of the boycott and we are concerned about the effect of the boycott.

"So far we are about 10% up in our sales, which means 4% drop in real terms.

"Costs have been rising, up to 50% of their peaks for the year in the Christmas trading period. If they are to be reduced we must pull back on staffing levels, he added.

"That could mean the boycott putting more black workers on the unemployment lists.

"Customers are happy with their performance, though he does not expect to see the boycotters which have taken place over previous Christmas trading seasons. He is optimistic over the effects on consumer fear of higher prices.

"It has only been because of consumers because cheap prices last year had been cut.

"We have, however, started a campaign to have prices adjusted downwards and we have already had some success in reducing some prices.

"But township retailers will not be able to compete with main chain stores, because of their limited buying capacity," says Mr. Goldin.

"Responding to reports that small businessmen have to buy in their own name to avoid boycott, he said.

Campaign to cut township prices

By Amrit Mangla

THE Transnet Committee Boycott Committee has started a campaign to buy goods in black townships where many of the people have been boycotting.

Mr. John Nwagwia confirmed that prices were significantly higher than white stores, but he ex- pected that township retailers were inflating margins to exploit the boycott.

"Prices have always been lower in the town- ships, but the reason is mainly economic and a lack of entrepreneurial skills.

"An additional problem is that townships retailers price their goods in relation to the township market and not supermarkets in town," he adds.

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Angry community

They say they want to escape any unnecessary exposure to an angry, frustrated community after the effects of a politically-tumultuous year, following the unrest.

They took an historic, but controversial, decision in 1984 to participate in the tri-partite system. It promised the electorate then — and last year during the August elections — it had been for participation in order to "dismantle apartheid from the inside".

Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse still stands by the ultimatum he gave the Government — to dismantle apartheid "within five years" or go ahead without Labour's participation.

Doubts

In many political circles, it is being seriously doubted if more-drastic reforms will not cause an early demise to the tricameral Parliament if a new constitution is negotiated before the end of the five years.

During the past year, certain race-based laws have been revised (from the statute book) for which the Labour Party claims a share of the credit.

However, Mr Hendrickse stands accused by many of the community (and even by elements within the party) of having dealt a death-blow to the good intentions by accepting a position in the National Party Cabinet of the State President, Mr PW Botha.

Equal status

As a Cabinet Minister with status equal to the others — albeit without a specific portfolio — Mr Hendrickse is seen as "part of the system" by the community.

Some of his party members believe he has seriously "compromised" them and the party by accepting a Cabinet post.

However, Mr Hendrickse insists his presence in the Cabinet has had a profound, positive effect on decisions taken there to repeal certain laws.

In their public debates on SATV, Mr Hendrickse, as chairman of the Ministers' Council (mini-Cabinet) in the House of Representatives, and the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, have found themselves in uncomfortable positions when taxed on the unrest situations.

They appeared to be condemning the police handling of the unrest situation in black-and coloured townships, yet their guarded comments sometimes made them appear like Government apologists in the eyes of some viewers.

Guarded

It is against this background, and with the image among many of siding and abetting the system that the Labour Party will meet.

They will review past performances, plan strategy for the next parliamentary session, which starts at the end of January, and also try to placate their detractors by tabling controversial motions.

One of these calls for the unconditional release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Impatience.

If some of the motions to be tabled are anything to go by, however, they also reflect an impatience with the Government in the dismantling of fundamental apartheid measures.

Before the advent of the tricameral Parliament, each and every race-based law that conflicted with the clauses in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, used to be blamed exclusively on the Government — with the Labour Party being one of the Government's most vociferous accusers.

Now, the party's dilemma is that it finds itself as co-accused.

More than one region has submitted motions calling for the scrapping of specific race-based laws, including the best of the apartheid octopus, the Population Registration Act.

Motions

There are also motions from both Natal and the Transvaal calling on the Government:

- To clarify itself on the concept of a single Parliament for all;
- To bring about the fusing of the different educational departments into a single, integrated system of education following the same school calendar;
- To call on the Government to release ANC leader Nelson Mandela, together with other political prisoners "unconditionally";
- To call on the Government to "engage in constructive negotiations with all leaders in order to draw up a new, acceptable constitution for all South Africans".

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The tale of the parents and the Deputy Minister

The crisis has become a source of concern for the community because of the force of community radicalism and the ministry by an insistent Government ethos that favours silencing rather than suasion when confronted with opposition. The story of the Deputy Minister and the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee has become a tale with impelling relevance.

In mid-October, the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) was formed by black leaders to extricate their children's futures from the wreckage of burnt-out schools, empty classrooms and a mindless exchange of violence between security forces and youngsters.

There were very few illusions about the role. The committee knew that to maintain credibility with a generation of indescribably angry young people they would have to take on the political issues — troops in the townships, detentions of pupils, unequal education and the boycott of classrooms.

The flexibility of the educationalist has met with the inflexibility of the policeman who, in pursuit of order, has increasingly succeeded in paralyzing effective black community leadership and helped turn the streets over to the criminally, like nature, abhor a vacuum.

The short-term effects on the nascent mobilizations in black education are severe.

Members of the SPCC are coming under increasing pressure from black militaries, opposed from the beginning to any suggestion of talks with the Government and now openly delighted that the SPCC is hitting heavy weather.

Radicals who threaten, and in some horrific cases have used the "Soweto Necklace" against pupils guilty of the crime of furthering their education, clearly take no joy in seeing the interests of education raised above the banner of revolution.

There are reports that members of the SPCC have been threatened with burning of their house — denied by spokesmen for the group.

"But it might not be long now," warned one committee member recently, acutely aware of the damage the committee faces if it cannot come up with some substantive advances. Generally, there is pessimism.

And in the Department of Education and Training the impasse is no less severe. They, having committed themselves to making the principle of negotiations with all relevant groups, have suffered particularly from action, official or otherwise, against dissidents. In the Eastern Cape earlier this year they saw four influential activists, among them Mathew Gomse, murdered in highly suspicious circumstances, literally the day before the education authorities and Government were due to reach agreement on measures to end the simmering classroom insurrection in the area.

And then later, in August, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) was summarily banned by the Government.

The ban was not supported by the education authorities who remain unconvinced that all the violence in the schools can be attributable to COSAS and who, in any case, argue it is better to have an opponent with differences than an opponent without an opponent.

But their commitment to negotiate with even radical groups is not widely endorsed in other Government quarters.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

So a promising initiative, undertaken by parties with the most sincere intentions, has become mired. The bridge-builders, although some progress, have again caught between the impossible poles of black militancy and state intransigence.

Talk, now, of a total schools boycott in 1986.

What are the wider implications of the parable of the Deputy Minister and the SPCC?

A strange irony is at work. The more the Government talks of constitutional options and equitable political ends, the further the country moves from an acceptable starting point for negotiation. The Government wants to talk, but so many of its actions are interpreted as a further process of black students caught between concern for their educational future, sympathy with the political struggle and the most naively optimistic.

The options left, many in the community believe, are a coup, as they talk, a situation of new apartheid; the students caught between concern for their educational future, sympathy with the political struggle and the most naively optimistic.

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LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA
ON GUTTER EDUCATION

It is rather ironic that the term "GUTTER EDUCATION" should be freely used when reference is made to the EDUCATION OF THE "COLOURED" CHILD, especially if it is remembered that it is in the field of education where THE "COLOURED" HAVE MADE THE GREATEST STRIDES TOWARDS EQUALITY.

Let us examine to what extent our educationists, teacher organisations and political leaders have succeeded in the struggle for equality.

** THE COLOURED PUPIL

Do you know . . .

* that THE "COLOURED" CHILD IS SUBJECT TO COMPULSORY EDUCATION up to and including his sixteenth birthday
* that NO "coloured" child IS EVER REFUSED ADMISSION TO SCHOOLS
* that EDUCATION IS FREE
* that an INDIGENT CHILD in a state hostel is required to PAY ONLY R1 PER QUARTER FOR BOARDING

** THE CURRICULUM

Do you know . . .

* that the syllabuses for SECONDARY SCHOOLS HAD NEVER BEEN DIFFERENT to those of white secondary schools throughout our whole history of secondary education
* that our PRIMARY SCHOOL COURSE IS SIMILAR to that used in WHITE PRIMARY SCHOOLS
* that our TEACHER TRAINING COURSES ARE BASED on those of white teacher training courses
* that in TECHNICAL EDUCATION WE NEVER HAD SYLLABUSES OF OUR OWN. We need those of the Department of National Education.

** DO YOU KNOW THAT ALL EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS ARE REQUIRED BY LAW TO FOLLOW THE CORE SYLLABUSES DRAWN UP BY THE JOINT MATRICULATION BOARD?

** THE HISTORY SYLLABUSES

* History is a SENSITIVE SUBJECT
* History is the only SUBJECT where the Department of Education and Culture HAS A FREE HAND
* History is NOT A COMPULSORY SUBJECT in STD 7 as in white schools
* The PRESENT HISTORY SYLLABUSES that are being used in our schools have been STRUCTURED by the DEPARTMENT, TEACHERS and TEACHER ORGANISATIONS

** RIGHTS OF PARENTS

Do you know . . .

* that the "COLOURED" PARENT HAS A GREATER SAY in the education of his child than the white parent?
* that a "coloured" parent CAN SEND HIS CHILD to ANY SCHOOL
* that a "coloured" parent DETERMINES the MEDIUM of INSTRUCTION of his child. Whites have mother tongue instruction
* that parents NOMINATE TEACHERS they prefer to teach their children

** THE "COLOURED" TEACHER

Do you know that . . . the "coloured" teacher HAS COMPLETE EQUALITY with the white teacher

* they have EQUAL PAY for EQUAL WORK and QUALIFICATIONS
* they have EQUAL PENSIONS
* all other SERVICE CONDITIONS ARE EQUAL
* the "COLOURED" FEMALE TEACHER has A GREATER DEGREE OF PERMANENCY than white female teachers

There are, however, TWO MAIN DIFFERENCES between "coloured" and white teachers

* the "coloured" teacher can ONLY TEACH in "COLOURED" SCHOOLS whereas WHITES CAN TEACH in ANY SCHOOL
* the "coloured" teacher HAS GREATER PROMOTIONAL OPPORTUNITIES than his white colleague

** FACILITIES

Do you know . . .

* that ALL TERTIARY EDUCATION IS EQUAL in regard to FACILITIES, STAFFING and FINANCE
* that NATIONAL NORMS for FACILITIES, STAFFING and FINANCE are being drawn up for secondary and primary schools.

** WHAT IS EDUCATION

* Education is NOT A CLASSROOM
* Education is NOT TEACHING AIDS
* Education is a TEACHER-PUPIL RELATIONSHIP

What a teacher imparts to the pupil can BE EDUCATION or GUTTER EDUCATION

* If a teacher imparts to a pupil benefits, it is EDUCATION
* If a teacher teaches a child to make PETROL BOMBS, TO BOYCOTT CLASSES, TO DEFY AUTHORITY then it is GUTTER EDUCATION

** OUR CLAIM to EQUALITY

* If we gave our pupils GUTTER EDUCATION
* If our teachers BELIEVE THAT THEIR EDUCATION QUALIFICATIONS ARE INFERIOR
* then WE CANNOT LAY CLAIM to EQUALITY
* then our TEACHERS CANNOT CLAIM EQUAL PAY for EQUAL WORK and QUALIFICATIONS

We lay claim to equality because OUR QUALIFICATIONS are EQUAL.

We lay claim to equality because the EDUCATION of our CHILDREN is EQUAL.

** WE HAVE MADE GREAT STRIDES in EDUCATION as a RESULT of . . .

* successful NEGOTIATION
* the CONTROL "COLOURED" TEACHERS have gained in the educational system

** WE BELIEVE in . . .

* ONE education department
* ONE certificate
* ONE examination
* ONE syllabus

Issued by the LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA
A REIGN of terror has been established in the Reef’s black townships as a non-violent consumer boycott ran bloodily off the tracks this week.

In major developments:

- VIGILANTES are preparing to strike back at the youthful intimidators who are brutally enforcing the week-old boycott.
- YOUNG hoodlums have hijacked the political campaign and converted it to a wave of organised pillage directed against innocent citizens.
- HORRIFIC punishments are being visited upon those guilty of “buying white”.
- BOYCOTT organisers are desperately trying to turn the tide of lawlessness — a meeting with the township youth is scheduled for Thursday.

TV newsmen marched off at gunpoint

By NEIL HOOPER

AMERICAN television viewers will see a CBS TV crew being arrested and marched off by South African policemen holding pistols to their heads.

The new team were detained briefly by police while covering a memorial service at Mamelodi yesterday.

Mr Bill Mutschmann, CBS bureau chief in Johannesburg, said last night that film of the incident had been filed to America for screening.

He said two black CBS cameramen were among eight foreign correspondents held briefly while covering the service for three victims of the November riot police shootings in Mamelodi.

In addition to the two CBS cameramen, whom Mr Mutschmann declined to name, police also arrested Graham Leach, the BBC’s Southern Africa correspondent.

Mr Leach said afterwards that the group were taken to a nearby police station where they were asked to hand over all films and sound recordings of the funeral.

After the journalists had pointed out to the police that Mamelodi was not an area covered by the emergency regulations, the police seemed to “give up”, he said.

They were released after about 20 minutes, and their films and recordings were returned.

Another of those held said the funeral had been uneventful until the two cameramen were seized as the 2000 strong crowd was leaving the stadium where the service had been held.

“Two white uniformed policemen grabbed two CBS cameramen, held pistols to their heads and marched them down the road,” a witness said.

The witness said this had attracted stone-throwers, and a freelance cameraman, Brian Tiley, was hit on the leg.

“It was totally peaceful until then,” the witness said.

Mr Mutschmann agreed: “There was no trouble until the cameramen got arrested. The police started this one. If they hadn’t harassed them . . .

“We deplore this type of police action. We were entitled to be in Mamelodi.”

A spokesman for police headquarters said yesterday afternoon the incident had not been reported to them.
Gaddafi offers troops for SA terror

By NEIL HOOPER

The Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi — notorious sponsor of international terrorism — has reportedly become actively involved in terrorist attempts to overthrow the South African Government.

South African intelligence sources who have been monitoring the situation claim that Colonel Gaddafi has:

- Aligned himself with the ANC struggle for liberation, and says Libya is prepared to intensify its aid to "black national movements" in their fight against the South African Government.
- Said that he will make his country's forces available to fight against South African troops.

'Collapse'

- Offered to supply Zimbabwe and other black states bordering on South Africa with arms to counter the Republic's destabilisation of Southern Africa.
- Called on "Black Africa to step up the armed struggle", saying that "unless the Pretoria regime is destroyed" Africa stood in danger of collapse.
- Financed a recent anti-apartheid meeting in Tripoli attended by representatives of Swapo, the ANC and jurists from 37 countries. The outcome of the meeting was the "Declaration of Tripoli", which called for anti-SA action on a broad front.
- Allowed East German instructors to train Swapo and ANC terrorists at camps in Libya. Since December last year Swapo terrorists have for the first time received training in urban terrorism.
- Said that Libya is prepared to train "guerrillas" to sabotage South African "overseas interests".

Gaddafi's most recent foray was the hosting and funding of the African Jurists Association (AJA) conference against apartheid in Tripoli at the end of last month.

Chaired by Benoit Njom of Senegal, the conference in its Declaration of Tripoli called for anti-South African action on a broad front, and the creation of an international fund to provide financial support for liberation movements.

Apartheid

Prominent among those attending the Tripoli meeting was self-exiled South African poet Breyten Breytenbach, promoting his latest book, "True Confessions Of An Albinor Terrorist".

Breytenbach was also present at another recent anti-apartheid meeting organised by the French Prime Minister, Mr. Laurent Fabius, at the Paris cultural Pompidou Centre.

Several other well-known South Africans were at the Paris meeting. They included author Nadine Gordimer and the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Dr. Beyers Naude.
Students must return to class, says Nkondo

By MONO BADELA

TOP educationist Curtis Nkondo - speaking publicly for the first time in 16 months - this week came out strongly in favour of students countrywide returning to their classrooms next year.

Mr Nkondo and eleven other UDF leaders were acquitted of high treason by a Maritzburg Supreme Court judge earlier this week after charges against them were withdrawn by Natal Attorney General Michael Imber.

Mr Nkondo and his fellow accused were barred from talking to the Press or attending public gatherings after they were granted bail earlier this year.

Mr Nkondo, who is also president of the National Education Union of SA - a non-racial body representing school teachers - said he fully supported the decision taken at a special meeting by delegates of 30 organisations, including pupil representatives, at Funda Centre near Durban last weekend.

The meeting decided that Soweto pupils should go back to school next year. It was convened by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee.

Mr Nkondo said it was essential that students return to school next month.

"If they do not go back they will fail to organise themselves and will not be able to work as a coherent force. If they are not together they will be easily manipulated and divided by the system," he said.

Mr Nkondo said going back to the classroom did not mean the students were abandoning their fight for a better system of education. Their fight for a uniform, non-racial system of education would be more effective and purposeful if they were united because they would be fighting from a position of strength, he said.
BY MUHINDI MAIVHA

A LEANDRA community leader narrowly escaped death this week when a gunman missed him with nine bullets.

Eastern Transvaal community's Youth Committee chairman Abel Nkabinde was ambushed outside his home by a mysterious gunman who disappeared into the night after the unsuccessful attempt on his life.

Three of the bullets struck Albert Mahlangu — a Leandra resident who was nearby — on the left side of the body, seriously wounding him.

Police are investigating the incident after Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange was contacted by Johannesburg East Anglican Bishop Suffragan Simon Nkoane.

Bishop Nkoane said Mr Le Grange would see another Leandra leader, Chief Ampele Mayisa, about the incident.

The bid to kill Mr Nkabinde came less than 48 hours after a fierce confrontation between Leandra residents and the police last Saturday over the detentions of 20 youths.

Mr Nkabinde, a Transvaal Rural Action Committee organiser, has consulted lawyers about the attempt on his life.

Mr Nkabinde said his father, Simon Nkabinde, had first seen the gunman standing outside the house. The gunman walked away when he saw Mr Nkabinde.

"Later he chased my younger brother Johannes into the yard," said Mr Abel Nkabinde.

The gunman first fired four shots at Mr Nkabinde after a meeting at Chief Mayisa's house. Three bullets struck Mr Mahlangu, who was walking with Mr Nkabinde.

"Everyone ran away when we tried to get Mr Mahlangu to hospital. The gunman came for me, and chased me up the street until I got into my yard," said Mr Nkabinde.

The man missed Mr Nkabinde with five more bullets while chasing him.

Towards midnight a man was seen peeping through the window of Chief Mayisa's bedroom. The man ran away after he was seen by Chief Mayisa's wife.
Twelve leaders were wasted for a year

We are all relieved that the 12 United Democratic Front leaders who faced charges of high treason have had their withdrawal. It was a painful, tense experience that lasted just over a year.

We all knew they were innocent. They themselves maintained an air of innocence that justice would be done at the end.

Within a day of their acquittal, leading activist Carl Niehaus, who had been among them, made a stirring and urgent plea for students to return to school next year.

This still comes from a leader whom the Government regards as a rabble-rouser and a troublemaker. No doubt their absence has been deeply felt by society which saw them as symbols of resistance and courage.

We hope therefore they will, as a matter of course, take the lead in the proposed consumer boycott which has been called for a possible state of the nation.

The issue being expected is an act on the part of all. We have all the victims of a generation of five young children having had the courage to go to a township supermarket, washed from his hands.

She does not have a gun to bear as the moment.

Her children are starving and battered, but she knows what type of Christian she is.

Any attempt must be made with sensitivity, compassion and good will as soon as it can be handled.

They are the hands of people who have been hurt and for this reason they must be measured.

Any action that comes to the public is a rousing for a just society to only have constructive in the struggle for that society.

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

Huge rally for the UDF twelve

In the wake of the acquittal of 12 United Democratic Front treason trialists, Durban is buzzing with another activity - the "Free Mandela Rally", to be held in Lamontville this weekend.

Recently acquitted Paul David told City Press the UDF national executive committee has decided to spearhead the campaign for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, which has been led for five years by the Release Mandela Committee.

Mr David said the UDF had been its historic responsibility to launch a mass campaign for their release.

"There can be no peace and democracy with Mandela and others in jail. The oppressed people and some Afrikaners know this - even white business accepts this truth.

"South Africa is in chaos and power cannot give us peace," said Mr David.

The rally will be addressed by UDF stalwarts like Ahmed Kathrada and Andries Botha.

As it was also served to welcome them, other speakers will be Cyril Ramaphosa and Rory Nair - Mandela's former cellmates - and Elia Mandela.

Describing Mandela as his "father", Mr Nair said, "Nelson is a leader brought up in the proud tradition of the Congress movement."

"He practised his beliefs all his life. He never used his personality or his position to make himself small. He treated everybody equal.

"It was not surprising that many warders at Robben Island would be seen in his cell, when he would explain to them in detail what he stood for and the free and democratic SA of the future.

"He was not a racist and believed strongly that SA belonged to all who live in it. It was his task to win over everybody - including warders - to support the struggle of the oppressed people.

"Through his tireless efforts and willingness to give his life, he would have made a difference in the future of our people."

Mr Nair said his colleagues included committed freedom fighters of the highest calibre - such as ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu, whom the Rivonia judge described as the "engine" of the ANC.

He said he was convinced that Mandela and other political prisoners would be free and would make an important contribution to building a better SA for all.

"The struggle continues ..."
Huge rally for the UDF twelve

IN the wake of the acquittal of 12 United Democratic Front treason trialists, Durban is buzzing with another activity—the "Free Mandela Rally", to be held in Lamontville this weekend.

Recently acquitted Paul David told City Press the UDF national executive committee has decided to spearhead the campaign for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners. He has been led for two years by the Release Mandela Committee.

Mr David said the UDF believed it was its historic responsibility to launch a mass campaign for their release.

"There can be no peace and democracy with Mandela and others in jail. The organized people and some Africans know this. Our voices are even more important in the big business society we operate in."

"South Africa is in chaos and (PDF) Bohla cannot give us peace," said Mr David.

The rally will be addressed by UDF national presidents Arche Gemede and Albertina Sisulu.

As well as a large parade to welcome them, other events will be cultural, sport, and social. The rally is expected to reach 300,000 people by the end of the day.

The Release Mandela Committee has been charged against Mr Mandela and others, as well as against the ANC and the South African National Congress.

Reports of the voice of the people will be heard on the radio and television, said Mr Hlabusa.

"The release of Mandela and all political prisoners is an important step towards a more democratic and peaceful South Africa."
The twoANCs
and the perils
of polarisation

By ERNEST WENTZEL SC
Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the SA Institute of Race Relations

Faith

It is also an indictment of those who do not see the state publicly the quite sensible, if
ill-thought-out, things they believe.

are some of the less happy features of university life today. They
are a product of a society under great stress.

The challenge to the universities, and to the great majority of those
who teach and study there, is to keep faith with the university's purpose in
the search for truth where dialogue

and diversity is promoted. However,
even our society, the university cannot
play the role of the technician of revolu-
tionary training.

Of course, the overwhelming ma-

In South African society itself,
there is a danger - analogous to
some of your experience on the cam-

To survive, any system in South

Africa must acknowledge in a way
that is obvious to all, and real in
content, the political and economic
worth of all South Africans.

A society with a healthy mix of
public and private endeavour is worth
striving for; a social democracy is
worth striving for.

It is a solution that the capitalists
would be well advised to accept.
Many people will perhaps be scepti-
cal about whether the ANC will do so.

There are, however, two ANC's
one is a liberal solution in the
hearts and minds of millions of South
Africans, black and white. That ANC
founded in 1912 has a noble history of
liberalism in the face of insult and
a steadfastness for non-racialism.

The other is the ANC in exile, with
its ardor and the longing to be home,
and its more militant policy of violence
and even terror, and a hardline politi-
cal programme forged in the alliance
with the African National Congress.

Friends

Those are the wages of exile. Let us not
forget that in those long years of
exile it was not yet fashionable to
make pilgrimages to Fansko, Ameri-
ca had not yet done its reverse-Cu-
mbus and discovered Africa.
The ANC made its friends where it could;
the influence of those who introduced
the friends grew with the ANC.

The time has come to let the ANC
be unbound. Let it return home to
campaign openly in the political ar-
ena. The ANC of 1912, which saw the
future as a non-racial democratic
state, is there in the hearts and minds of
so many people who seek a moderate,
peaceful solution.

What we can all do is to convey a
sense of urgency to those who govern
us to allow all South Africans to par-
ticipate fully and equally in the pro-
cess by which that solution can be
found.

Extracted from a Graduation
Day speech at the University of
Cape Town this week.
AZAPO: 'Eye for an eye'

DURBAN, — The tide had turned against the system of capitalism and racism in South Africa, Mr. Ismael Mkhabela, president of the Azanian Peoples Organization, told about 700 wildly cheering supporters at Azapo's congress here yesterday.

Delivering what he called 'the state of the nation address', Mr. Mkhabela said: 'Our people shall no longer passively die in the hands of their adversaries.'

'They have turned their backs on the passive sympathies of foreign allies and their local counterparts, the affluent fair-weather white liberal supporters.

'The gun-shy Azanians have, in struggle, gradually learnt the lesson 'an eye for an eye'. Enemy fire is answered by revolutionary fire. The law of the jungle — the survival of the fittest — is the order of the day.'

The two government structures for blacks — confederation of homelands and federation of city states — were a recent package deal for old collaborators.

The struggle was not for symbolic gains but the transference of power and land to the black majority. — Spor
DURBAN. — More than 4,000 people yesterday gave a rousing welcome at a UDF rally here to the 12 treason trialists acquitted in the Maritzburg Supreme Court last week after the charges were withdrawn.

The rally at the city's Curries Fountain sportsground praised them for their sacrifices and demanded the unconditional release from jail of African National Congress leader Mr. Nelson Mandela.

The 12 — all senior members of the United Democratic Front and its affiliated organizations — are Mr. Archie Gumede, Mr. Mews Ramgobin, Mr. M.J. Naidoo, Mr. George Sapershad, Dr. Essop Jassat, Mr. Aubrey Mokoena, Mr. Curtis Nkondo, Mr. Paul David, Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, the Rev. Frank Chikane, Mr. Cassim Saloojee and Professor Ismail Mohammad.

Mrs. Sisulu, 67, who was given a standing ovation, told the rally there could be no peace in South Africa until Mr. Mandela was unconditionally freed by the government.

Demanding the dismantling of apartheid, Mrs. Sisulu said the government was the cause of unrest in the country because it refused to listen to the pleas of the blacks and others for apartheid to be scrapped.

"We demand that the state of emergency be lifted immediately, the Defence Force removed from our locations and detention without trial must come to an end," she said.

Mrs. Sisulu said the UDF was "sensible enough" not to demand that the country's white rulers must run away but that they should share South Africa with blacks. — Sapa
Magistrate refuses to allow Carols by Candlelight service

The committee said in a statement issued last night that it was considered that the permission to hold the service was not in line with the regulations for religious freedom and the prohibition of the public assembly.

Organisers made an urgent application for an invitation to the Police, but were refused. They said that the service was in line with the regulations for religious freedom and the prohibition of the public assembly.

The attorney for the organising committee, Mr. E. Moore, said yesterday that Mr. Thomson, who had refused to hold the service, would constitute an unjust discrimination against the committee.

On behalf of the Council of Churches, the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches, the committee said that the service would constitute an unjust discrimination against the committee.
YOUTHS stoned cars and buses and smashed some shop windows at the intersection of Warwick Avenue and Old Dutch Road after a UDF rally at Curries Fountain in Durban yesterday.

Police baton-charged the running youths, sjambokking several, and forced people coming out of the stadium to get into waiting buses.

Tear-gas was thrown near a group of buses crowded with UDF supporters to get them to move away from the scene.

The incidents occurred as police vans drove past people pouring out of the stadium after the rally.

The running youths ran after the vans, circling the Warwick Avenue bus terminus, and then threw stones and bottles at vehicles driving through the Warwick Avenue/Old Dutch Road intersection.

The windows of at least four cars were broken as the drivers tried to thread their way through the crowd streaming across the road. One police vehicle was damaged and nearly every window of a Puteco bus was smashed.

Broken leg

At the running youths circled back towards Curries Fountain, police charged, sjambokking several and forcing people into the waiting buses.

A police spokesman confirmed that a police vehicle had been damaged. He said the crowd had been brought under control but no arrests had been made.

One woman, Miss Gladness Sihlahla, broke a leg as she ran from the police.

The crowd of more than 4,000 had been peaceful during the UDF rally, which was addressed by several of the former Pietermaritzburg treason trialists who had charges against them dropped last week.

The rally was held to launch a campaign to call for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and to celebrate the dropping of charges against UDF leaders in the treason trial.

**Blocked view**

The former treason trialists present were UDF presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, Mewa Ramgobin, Curtis Nkondo, M J Naidoo, Frank Chikane and Cassim Saliouee.

Nelson Mandela's daughter Zinzi, who had been expected to speak at the rally, did not appear.

At the start of the rally, one of the speakers called on police who were voicing-taping the proceedings from the perimeter wall of the stadium to 'be responsible and leave'.

He called on some of the crowd, who were jeering the policemen, to return to their seats. Later several youths held up banners to block the policemen's view of the inside of the stadium.

**Compensation**

Speakers demanded the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and the removal of the SADF from the townships.

UDF Natal executive member and former Robben Island prisoner Billy Nair said the liberation of political prisoners would mean the liberation of the people of South Africa from a wider prison.

He called on the Government to compensate the freed treason trialists for the ruin of their businesses and family lives while they were in detention and on trial.

He called on homeland leaders and coloured and Indian members of the tricameral Parliament to 'jump off the apartheid bandwagon and join the people'.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison, blamed the Government for the unrest in the country.
Omar: Resolve ‘strengthened’

Staff Reporters

DETAINEES in Victor Verster Prison near Paarl have “not been weakened”, advocate Mr Dullah Omar, who was released on Thursday and banned as long as the state of emergency lasts, said at the weekend.

In a statement by him “on behalf of detainees held at Victor Verster”, Mr Omar said “detention has not weakened us. On the contrary, the inhumanity of the system of which the state of emergency and detentions are a part, has strengthened our resolve to fight until the system of oppression and exploitation has been eliminated.

“We have been strengthened by the courageous struggle of our people, families and friends. We express deep gratitude for the solidarity displayed towards detainees and the sacrifices made.”

But restrictions on visits had caused unhappiness as detainees were unable to maintain contact with families except through visits.

Detainees were not allowed to have contact during the visits and this was “traumatic for both detainees and relatives”.

What was most alarming, he said, was that in the case of detainees from the Paarl area, security police sat in on the visits and a number of detainees from Zwenkawula, Worcester, had had no visits.

“It appears they are being victimized.”

The Victor Verster detainees said children under 16 were still being detained there and that there were a “large number of other juveniles”.

They also said requests that our own imams and priests be permitted to minister to the religious needs of detainees have not been met.

“On one occasion when it was allowed, the sanctity of the chapel was invaded by prison authorities who barged in and sought to stop the congregation singing Nkosi Sikele Afrika.”

On behalf of the detainees, Mr Omar said: “We pledge to continue the struggle, side by side with our fighting people until freedom is won, exploitation and oppression ended and respect for human rights and human dignity established.”

Ban

Concerning his own position, Mr Omar said his banning order, which confined him to the Wynberg magisterial district, was preventing him from working effectively.

He has brought the banning order, valid for the period of the state of emergency, to the attention of the Cape Bar Council.

“My chambers are not in the area to which I am confined, which makes it very difficult for me to practise. I also cannot accept briefs outside the area. My position is entirely unsatisfactory.”

It is understood that the Bar Council is considering the matter, with a view to making representations to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, on Mr Oma’s behalf.

Commenting on the statements made to Mr Omar by detainees, a spokesman for the Prison Services said last night: “Prisoners detained in terms of emergency regulations are treated in accordance with rules pertaining to the regulations.

“Juveniles under the age of 16 are held separately.

Religion

“With regard to the spiritual care of the detainees it must be pointed out that religious workers are appointed as far as possible for each religion, denomination or belief to minister to the religious needs of all prisoners, including detainees.

“Due to circumstances the appointed religious worker for the Muslim religion is not available on Fridays. Attempts to appoint a religious worker in his place have until now been unsuccessful,” he said.

“Joint prayer services are allowed within each religious group or belief but the different denominations or beliefs make use of the chapel separately.

“At no time was the chapel invaded by prison staff during a church service.”
DURBAN. — A man was seriously injured in a shootout between members of the “A-Team” vigilante group and rampaging youths in Chesterville after the funeral of a slain trade unionist on Saturday.

A police van was also stoned, a police spokesman said.

After the funeral of unionist Mr Ian Zamisa, a group of youths stoned the home of a man said to belong to the A-Team.

Later, the group clashed with people armed with bushknives and a shootout began between the groups.

A man believed to be a member of the A-Team was taken to King Edward VIII Hospital with bullet wounds.
LUSAKA. — The African National Congress guerrilla injured in a letter-bomb explosion here on Friday is out of danger and cracking jokes even though he is in great pain, an ANC spokesman said at the weekend.

The spokesman said Mr Paul Lobatse Molele was in good spirits in a Lusaka hospital.

The bomb went off as Mr Molele was picking up mail at the main post office in Lusaka.

The spokesman said his life was probably saved by his colleague, Miss Jeanette Solwandle, who shouted "What's that?" when she noticed a suspicious-looking parcel.

Mr Molele was about to throw down the package when it exploded in his hands. He lost his left hand and several fingers on his right hand.

Miss Solwandle was slightly injured. — Sapa-Reuters
DURBAN. — Two men were killed and eight people were injured when a gang of killers attacked two kraals at KwaNdengezi near Pinetown early yesterday.

Police believed the attack to be the latest incident in a feud.

A band of between five and 10 men, some armed with shotguns, attacked the Ndlovu family kraal.

The head of the family, Mr Zwelakhe Ndlovu, 55, was shot in the forearm with a shotgun but stabbed his assailant with an assegai. Later a man was found dead with a stab wound.

Shots were fired which injured three children, two men and two women.

The gang then moved on to the Cele kraal, where Mr Thulani Walter Cele, 24, was killed.
New head spells out Azapo’s future

DURBAN — The new president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), former Robben Island prisoner Mr Saths Cooper, yesterday spelled out Azapo’s future role in what he called the liberation struggle.

Speaking at the organisation's annual congress in Durban he called on the United Democratic Front (UDF) to join hands to stop internecine violence.

"I trust the UDF will accept the invitation we are extending," said Mr Cooper, a 33-year-old clinical psychologist.

Mr Cooper, a BA Honours graduate of Unisa and the University of the Witwatersrand, said at the closing stage of the three-day congress that Azapo rejected out of hand solutions to end apartheid imposed by external forces, including the Commonwealth.

MAJORITY

He said Azapo rejected a national convention to bring about a new South Africa as it could not represent the standpoint of the majority of people.

"We want true and meaningful change," he said.

A close friend of the black consciousness leader, the late Mr Steve Biko, Mr Cooper served a term of a little more than eight years on Robben Island in the 1970s.

He said Azapo had 80 active branches in five regional centres throughout South Africa. - Sapa.
ANC in threat to life of Boesak

CAPE TOWN — A threat on the life of Dr Allan Boesak by someone claiming to represent the ANC led to the postponing of the Human Relations Centre's annual man of the year award here last night.

Mr Phil Martin, chairman of the Human Relations Centre, told newsmen after the postponement was announced that of the five nominees, only one had appeared following "intimidation".

"There have been numerous phone calls to the hotel by anonymous people who sent messages that caused concern. The phone calls started on Sunday and were linked to the banning of a carols-by-candlelight service.

"One person said he was calling on behalf of the ANC and said that Dr Boesak's life would be in danger if he attended. We have not been able to verify the authenticity of this call as yet.

"Dr Boesak spoke to me earlier and told me he would be prepared to accept the award at another time, but that it was inappropriate for him to attend tonight in view of the banning of the carols by candlelight.

"He said this banning was a violation of the human rights of the community," said Mr Martin. — Sapa.
Where it happened

Families drove over site twice before tragedy

Landmine blast kills 6 on game-viewing trip

By Don Holliday

Six people were killed and five injured on Sunday night when their pickup truck ran over a landmine on a secluded dirt track on a farm near town of Messina.

The victims were two Zimbabwean families on a weekend game-viewing trip to the area. The family were the owner of the farm, Mr. and Mrs. Tsengen, their daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Tsengen, their daughter, and their son. The injured were taken to the Messina Hospital and later transferred to the Pretoria University Hospital. The victims were treated for shock and later released.

The conditions of the others was described as "serious".

A South African Defence Force spokesman said that Mr. and Mrs. Tsengen had twice driven over the area, where a mine was buried on the farm and had later returned. They were with four other people on the farm, including a friend and a relative. The friends had earlier been warned about the mine, but had ignored the warning.

The vehicle was a Datsun 1600, and the mine was a French M26 landmine, which is known to be a slow-burning type. The mine was set to go off in 15 minutes, but it did not.

The vehicle was recovered from the site, and the area was marked with warning signs.

The mine was set to go off in 15 minutes, but it did not.

The area was searched for other mines, and additional warning signs were placed.

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Farmers in N'Zul get shot at by the army

By Don Holliday

Farmers in the Mozambique area are "not at all scared" by the recent rash of landmine explosions, according to Mr. Apiw van Wyk, whose farm borders the war zone. He said his farm was not affected by the recent explosions.

"I was not worried when I heard about the explosions," Mr. van Wyk said. "I am not afraid of the army, they cannot destroy my farm."
The explosion left a crater 1.5 m wide and 0.6 m deep.

Units in SA placed mines, says ANC

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has said it was responsible for planting the landmine that killed six people on Sunday.

An ANC spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, said yesterday the mine was one of a number planted by units operating within South Africa, some of which exploded last month, killing a farm worker and injuring a number of other people.

Mr Sebina said: “We have never used Zimbabwe as a launching pad. We have many units in South Africa, planning and executing our strategy within the country.

“This latest mine blast is part of the same batch which were first detonated last month.”

Mr Sebina said the Northern Transvaal border area with Zimbabwe was militarily sensitive and therefore a natural target.

“There has been a large concentration of South African troops there for several months, well before this incident took place,” he added. — Sapa-Reuters.
Pik Botha gives rare television interview

‘There will be no talks with ANC’

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

The South African Government intends to ignore the African National Congress in any future negotiations on the constitutional development of the country, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a live interview with SABC TV on Sunday night.

During the interview, conducted by Dr Willem de Klerk on TV’s Network programme, Mr Botha said the Government could not negotiate with an organisation which refused to renounce violence.

“You cannot negotiate with the ANC.

“It is not because they are black. There are also some white leaders — those on our right who want to destroy the country — that I cannot negotiate with either,” he said.

“You cannot negotiate with people like the ANC.”

Questioned on the likely extent of ANC support in the country, in other words, could South Africa afford to ignore the ANC, Mr Botha said: “I am the last person who will say that the ANC does not have any support in South Africa — they probably have very large support — but how is it to be measured?”

“Is their support freely given or based on intimidation and fear?” he asked.

The television interview — one of the rare occasions that a South African Cabinet Minister has agreed to such an appearance — may have been live but was, however, anything but lively.

At one point the credibility of the South African Government was raised in the discussion and Dr de Klerk asked Mr Botha why even the Western world appeared reluctant to admit progress was being made.

“They don’t believe us,” Mr Botha said.

“They just think that this is one or another schlenzer we are busy pulling,” he added.

Mr Botha went into a lengthy explanation of what could be done to improve the Government’s credibility.

Reform process

“Within South Africa we have to systematically proceed with the implementation of the reform process.

“In this way the black leaders can see that they are really a part of the new deal.”

He said he was not downhearted or pessimistic about the prospect of getting negotiations with black leaders under way.

Mr Chris Heunis and his Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, as well as other Cabinet Ministers, were working day and night to get meaningful negotiations under way and that they were bound to succeed in the long run, Mr Botha said.

“We are always meeting with black leaders, often behind the scenes, in an attempt to determine their minimum demands,” he said.

But, according to Mr Botha, the enemy (ANC) South Africa had to deal with was a formidable one.

“This enemy that we have to deal with has differing facets, different heads and feelers. He does not stand still, he does not want the reforms (past and future) to be marketed in the outside world.

“I am convinced, especially as regards the State President’s announcements in January, that the ANC and its assistants in South Africa — and there are many, even in the churches and on the newspapers and other places — decided that it was an opportunity to destabilise the country,” Mr Botha added.

He was not challenged on his statements that the church and Press in South Africa contained ANC elements.

Mr Botha said the ANC was bent on making the country ungovernable and that the organisation was not interested in sharing power but wanted it all.
FORMER Robben Island prisoner Saths Cooper was yesterday elected president of the Azanian People's Organisation at its sixth annual congress in Durban.

And in his acceptance speech he challenged the leadership of the United Democratic Front to join with Azapo in putting an end to black-on-black violence and in the march to a socialist Azania.

This is Mr Cooper's second spell in the national executive of the organisation: he was vice-president in 1983.

The keynote address on the congress theme of Forward to a Socialist Azania was delivered by Mr Vekuui Rukoro, the secretary-general of the radical faction of the South West Africa National Union (Swanu).

Mr Rukoro told the congress that "the struggle in Azania (and Namibia) is not simply of a nationalist character," a struggle for self-deter-

mination and national liberation from apartheid colonial rule, but it also constitutes a class struggle between the two antagonistic forces of capitalism and socialism.

He urged Azapo to address itself to:

- The question of land, with its related problems of forced removals, balkanisation, and bantustanisation;

- The ownership of capital which "today vests in multi-national corporations and the local capitalists"; and

- The workers' ownership of the means of production.

The congress did not complete its business, and a "planning congress" is to be called again within three months.
Riot after UDF's 'Free-Mandela' rally

VIOLENCE followed the launch of the UDF's national "release Mandela" campaign in Durban on Sunday.

Scores of teenagers stoned vehicles and broke shop windows. Riot police moved in with teargas and sjamboks.

Hundreds of people leaving the Curries Fountain stadium on the outskirts of downtown Durban scattered or piled into buses as teargas drifted into the crowd and police ran among them wielding sjamboks.

The rally, attended by about 4,000 UDF supporters, had proceeded peacefully in spite of persistent confrontation between members of the crowd and a security police television team trying to film the event from outside the stadium.

PETER HONEY

The spying eye was eventually obscured by supporters holding banners calling for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Several speakers — UDF activists, Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress members and former treason trialists — called for black representation in government, an end to apartheid, lifting of the state of emergency and the removal of troops from the townships.

UDF national president Albertina Sisulu said there would be no peace until Mandela, other political prisoners and exiled black nationalists were permitted to take part in primary decision-making.
Malan warning on cross-border conflict

The SA trade mission in Harare was closed yesterday to mark the Day of the Vow so it was not possible to obtain confirmation that its officials had passed on a formal request from Botswana.

Mugabe has in the past been adamant that he will not allow any discussion at ministerial level, but it is understood contacts have been continuing between officials and senior security-force officers.

Britain yesterday condemned the landmine blast and deplored the loss of life.

"The British government has always condemned violence, from whichever side it may come, as a means of achieving political objectives," a Foreign Office spokesman said.

Although he did not refer directly to the ANC, the speed with which it was issued reflects the serious concern within Whitehall that attacks against whites could intensify the level of violence and destroy initiatives towards dialogue and negotiation.

There is a widely-held view in diplomatic and intelligence circles in London that ANC members responsible for recent landmine explosions have been given access by the Mozambique government in retaliation for gross violations of the Nkomati accord by South Africa.

Zimbabwe's denial that it is allowing its territory to be used as a conduit for insurgents are generally accepted in diplomatic circles.

It is being said, however, that Pretoria's threatening attitude towards Harare could persuade Mugabe to lean on President Samora Machel of Mozambique to block further access for ANC members infiltrating into South Africa.

ANC spokesman Tom Selina said it was unfortunate that civilians were killed in the Sunday explosion. He said landmines were aimed at the military presence in the area.

However, he said the security system in the region included farmers, and so had become a "grey area".

Those killed in the landmines explosion were Mrs Kobie van Eck, 34, Ignatius van Eck, 2, Nellie van Eck, 2, Kampa Denyschen, 9, Kobus Denyschen, 3, and Marie Denyschen, 26.

Those injured were D van Eck, 36, and D van Eck, 36. They were treated at Mains Hospital before being moved to Pietersburg Hospital.

The hospital superintendent, Dr E du Plessis, said yesterday the five patients were in satisfactory condition. Both families are from Tzaneen.
Zimbabwe warned after landmine kills six

Control terrorists or else, says Malan

SA-ZIMBABWE relations could deteriorate into cross-border conflict, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday.

His warning came in the wake of Sunday's landmine explosion which killed six people — four of them small children — and injured five others near Messina, raising the number of landmine deaths in the area to seven over the past three weeks.

The ANC has claimed responsibility but denies its operations came from Zimbabwe. Spokesman Tom Sehina said the mines were planted by an ANC cell operating inside SA.

Malan was adamant the action originated in Zimbabwe. He warned neighbouring states, especially Zimbabwe, to get their territories under control and to prevent the ANC from using them as launching pads for terror actions against South Africa.

President P W Botha said yesterday the nation was shocked by the manner in which innocent citizens were killed by terrorists launching their attacks from other countries where they took shelter.

He said the incident proved once again that talk about peace negotiations with terrorists was inappropriate.

Malan and senior SADF officers yesterday visited Chatsworth game farm — scene of Sunday's atrocity — and warned that continued ANC action along the Transvaal border could lead to a situation "similar to that of Swapo in Angola".

SA troops have repeatedly crossed into southern Angola to attack Swapo bases in retaliation for insurgent attacks in South West Africa.

Malan would not elaborate on his warning, saying that even if SA were considering retaliation, "I wouldn't tell you, anyway."

He said it was clear the ANC was going out of its way to force conflict between SA and its neighbours.

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Tension after SADF strike threat

LLA last Friday of seven Basotho in the southern area of Gacha's Nek. The SA-Zimbabwe war of words erupted two weeks ago when, according to government, a band of African National Congress insurgents crossed the Limpopo from Zimbabwe into the north-western Transvaal district of Welpe and planted landmines.

Those that exploded killed one man and injured seven others.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha immediately warned Zimbabwe that it would "follow the tracks" of insurgents into Zimbabwe, should there be similar incidents. Zimbabwe replied that it did not permit its territory to be used as a base for armed attacks in SA.

Despite Malan's tough reply to Mugabe's statement, diplomatic sources in Pretoria and Harare said they had understood that both sides had accepted each other's assurances and that the possibility of any SADF cross-border strike was remote.

Zimbabwe, with its 40,000-strong British-trained army, would prove a somewhat tougher military nut to crack than Mozambique, Lesotho or Botswana.

Zimbabwe's daily newspapers and state-run television and radio highlighted Mugabe's comment that Zimbabwe took the threat seriously.

But Western diplomats were sceptical. "One understands the anxieties of government but, in reality, is that Pretoria has enough problems on its plate?" Malan said SA dared not give in to the ANC. He said the SADF would "reach the terrorists wherever they are hiding — also in those neighbouring countries where they think they are safe".

Referring to internal unrest, Malan said: "Those who walk around with ideas to throw bombs, commit murder, arson and intimidation, should take note of the fact they have not even experienced a tiny fraction of our firepower."

If anything, Lesotho has more reason to fear a strike. Pretoria remains convinced that Maseru is still harbouring ANC elements, while Maseru continues to accuse Pretoria of allowing the LLA to operate from SA against Lesotho.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said it had no knowledge of the LLA incident and the Lesotho government had not informed SA of it.
Azafo calls for UDF link

THE new president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azafo), former Robben Island prisoner Saths Cooper, yesterday spelled out Azafo's future role in what he called the liberation struggle at his organisation's annual congress in Durban.

He called on the United Democratic Front (UDF) to join hands to stop internecine violence.

"I trust the UDF will accept the invitation we are extending", said Cooper, a 35-year-old clinical psychologist who now heads one of the most militant of the black liberation groups.

Cooper told the closing stage of the three-day congress that Azafo rejected out of hand solutions to end apartheid imposed by external forces, including the Commonwealth. — Sapa.
Freedom and nod for UDF

more than 20 000, will be held at the Curries Fountain soccer stadium on Sunday afternoon.

Permission for the UDF rally, the first of its kind since the organisation's formation in 1983, was granted subject to stringent conditions by Durban's Chief Magistrate Pine Plessar after a lengthy meeting with the UDF's legal representatives.

A spokesman for the Durban office of the UDF told Business Day the organisation would abide by all conditions.
ANC admits it planted killer mine

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The African National Congress yesterday admitted it had killed six people, including four children under the age of 10, in Sunday's landmine attack in the Northern Transvaal in which five other people were injured.

Warning

Gen. Magnus Malungo, the Minister of Defence, Gen. Magnus Malungo, today called for the United Nations to order South African soldiers to be deployed immediately to the border between Transvaal and Zimbabwe to prevent the ANC from launching such attacks.

The attack, he said, was the latest in a series of attacks by the ANC, which is operating in South Africa, to disrupt the border security of the United States.

Traders had been warned to keep their businesses closed for the day.

The ANC has denied any involvement in the attack, claiming it was carried out by a group of local farmers.

The attack comes just days after the ANC announced it would be launching a series of attacks on South African targets as a show of force.

The ANC has been operating in South Africa, particularly in the Northern Transvaal, since 1989, when it was expelled from the United Nations for its activities.

The ANC has been involved in a series of attacks on South African targets, including a series of bombings in Pretoria last year.

The ANC has been accused of using landmines and other weapons to disrupt the border security of the United States.

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ANC admits killing

vehicle's right rear wheel detonated the landmine. It flipped over end and landed facing the opposite direction about 10 m away and burst into flames.

The rear of the pick-up disintegrated and all the occupants had been thrown out on the left side.

Gen Malan and his party were taken some distance into the bush to be shown the spots where the victims had landed, some up to 20 m away.

A Mrs du Preez in a farmhouse a few kilometres away heard the explosion and contacted security forces immediately.

A patrol in the area saw a cloud of smoke and ran through the bush to get to the scene about 30 minutes later.

Mr van Eck, who had been driving the vehicle, ran 6 km to his farmhouse in spite of head and eye injuries and returned to the scene in another vehicle with blankets and water.

Yesterday a bloodied child's slipper, about 10 m from the burnt-out wreck, bore testimony to the tragedy.

Officers showed Gen Malan how the terrorists had hidden tell-tale soil of a different colour under some branches a few metres from the mine.

The minister said afterwards he was satisfied after discussions with senior commanders that the situation was under control and that there was no reason to panic.

The security forces are continuing to sweep the roads for landmines and are doing everything possible to make the area safe.

Meanwhile the British Government yesterday condemned the blast and deplored the loss of life, according to our London Bureau.

President Botha said yesterday the whole country had been shocked by the manner in which peaceful citizens were killed by terrorists moving in from other countries and retreating there for shelter.

He described the attack as the work of cowards and said the incident again proved that talk about peace negotiations with terrorists was inappropriate.

Our Harare correspondent reported that the Zimbabwean Government yesterday declined to comment on the call by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, for talks on preventing a recurrence of the landmine incident.

Pro rugby 'on its way'

time, are each expected to earn R500 000 over the next three years in the English game.
Azapo invites UDF to help end hostilities

DURBAN. — The new president of the Azanian People's Organization, former Robben Island prisoner Mr Saths Cooper, yesterday called on the United Democratic Front to join hands with Azapo to stop internecine violence.

Speaking during the closing stages of the three-day Azapo annual congress here, Mr Cooper, a 33-year-old clinical psychologist, said: "I trust the UDF will accept the invitation we are extending."

Mr Cooper, a BA Honours graduate of the University of South Africa and the University of the Witwatersrand, said that Azapo rejected means to end apartheid imposed by external forces, including the Commonwealth.

He said Azapo rejected a national convention to bring about a new South Africa as it could not represent the standpoint of the majority of people.

"We want true and meaningful change," he said.

A close friend of the late black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko, Mr Cooper served a term of a little more than eight years on Robben Island in the 1970s.

He said Azapo had 80 active branches in five regional centres throughout South Africa.

The Durban congress was attended by more than 600 delegates, mostly black.

Azapo's outgoing president, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, told the congress earlier in what he called his "state of the nation address" that the government's "twin reform and brutality strategy" had not quelled unrest and blacks would no longer passively die at the hands of their adversaries.

"They have turned their backs to passive sympathies of foreign allies and their local counterparts, the affluent fair-weather white liberal supporters.

"The gun-shy Azanians have, in struggle, gradually learnt the lesson 'an eye for an eye'." Mr Mkhabela said. — Sapa
Johnny Issel, wife held in Athlone

By TONY WEAVER

ONE of South Africa's most wanted fugitives, Mr Johnny Issel, was arrested with his wife, Ms Zubelda Jaffer, in Athlone yesterday.

This was confirmed by Lieutenant Atilie Laubscher, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, who said they were being held for questioning.

Mr Issel and Ms Jaffer have been in hiding from the security police since late August.

Saso

At least eight prominent activists detained under emergency regulations have been questioned in connection with the whereabouts of Mr Issel and Ms Jaffer.

Mr Issel was first detained in 1973 when he was regional secretary of the now-banned South African Students Organization (Saso) in 1973.

In October 1974, he was arrested and sentenced to seven years in prison for a series of activities.

In November of the same year he was detained again along with a number of other Sasos and held until April 1975, spending 166 days in detention.

During the 1976 unrest, he was detained again and this time held for four months.

At the height of the 1980 Cape school boycott, he was served with another banning order, and detained for three months, while in 1983, he was detained again for spending eight months in detention.

In July of 1983, his banning order expired, but he was banned again in terms of the new Internal Security Act.

He has spent over 19 months of his life in security police detention.

On August 10 this year, he was arrested outside the Wynberg Magistrate's Court and with Ms Jaffer and three others, charged under the Internal Security Act for attempting to attend an illegal gathering, and warned to appear on November 13.

He was arrested again on August 14 after an altercation with a policeman in Athlone. He was not charged and was warned to appear again on November 12.

Controversy arose recently when police had his photograph broadcast on SATV and said he was wanted in connection with a series of grenade attacks in the Western Cape.

Police offered a R5 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of Mr Issel and a colleague.

Ms Jaffer, a former reporter on the Cape Times, is secretary of the Clothing Workers' Union.

Ms Jaffer was first detained by the security police on August 26, 1980, while she was working for the Cape Times.

She spent seven weeks in detention and was then released and charged with possessing banned literature. She was acquitted on the charges four months later.

Mr Issel's former wife, Mrs Shahida Issel, secretary of the Rockland Civic Association and a community worker in Mitchells Plain, was detained in early September, held for a month and released on bail of R50 on October 4.

She was redetained on October 25, the same day before the state of emergency was extended to the Cape, and is still in detention.

Her father, Mr Isgack Issel, said yesterday the family believed she had been admitted to Valkenburgh Hospital.
ANC claims responsibility for landmine

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress yesterday claimed responsibility for planting the landmine which killed six people and injured five others near Messina in the Northern Transvaal on Sunday.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, visited the area yesterday and warned South Africa's neighbouring states, particularly Zimbabwe, to get their territory under control to prevent the ANC from using them as launching pads for terrorism against South Africa.

General Malan interrupted his holiday to visit the same farm, Chatsworth, where the blast occurred, with other top Defence officials.

"South Africa will not tolerate such actions and I must warn that this could lead to a situation similar to that of Swapo and Angola," he said. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in a statement that "urgently approaching Zimbabwean authorities to make sure the incident is not seen as a threat to the area. The blast occurred, with a view to finding ways and means of removing the threat of violence and terror of this nature."

Last night President PW Botha said the whole country was shocked by the attack in which peaceful citizens were killed by terrorists who launched their attack in the territory of another country.

Three weeks ago, a farm worker was killed and six people, including four soldiers, were injured in six landmine explosions in the same area.

Yesterday afternoon Chatsworth was empty of people. The dead were all from two Traneen families on holiday in the area.

The two families were travelling on a road in the area. The driver of the vehicle was killed when the landmine exploded 30km from Messina, when their light pickup truck detonated as landmine at 6.08pm.

Mr Kobie van Eck, 34, Ignatius van Eck, 2, Nellie van Eck, 8, Karna Denyschen, 9, Kobus Denyschen, 3, and Mrs Marie Denyschen, 59, were killed in the blast.

Tracks
The five survivors — Mr K Denyschen, 35, owner of the Chatsworth farm, Mrs T Denyschen, 35, Mr D van Eck, 36, E van Eck, 1, and G Denyschen — are all in satisfactory condition in Pretoria Hospital.

A Defence Force spokesman said the vehicle was traveling on a road in the area when it hit the landmine.

The blast, a Defence Force captain told Sapa that on November 28, 11 insurgents had been seen by 95 metres from the blast site and that the next day, five had been seen on top of a nearby kopje.

Tracks had been followed to the Limpopo River, which forms the border with Zimbabwe. He said the blast was probably linked to this group of infiltrators.

He said the landmine, detonated by the right rear wheel of the pickup truck, was near two families were travelling, flipped the vehicle end over end. The vehicle burst into flames and the rear disintegrated.

A woman who survived the blast was thrown out of the vehicle and some of them up to 20 metres away.

A Mrs Du Preez, in a farmhouse a few kilometres away heard the explosion and contacted security forces immediately. A patrol in the area saw the smoke and ran through the bush to arrive on the scene about 30 minutes later.

Mr van Eck, who was driving the pickup, ran eight kilometres to his farm with a burnt face, lost his right eye and other injuries. He returned to the scene in another vehicle with blood-stained clothes.

Defence Force ambulances evacuated the injured by 8pm after on-the-spot treatment.

The Cape Times Lusaka correspondent reports that ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sehina said the mine was one of a number planted by units operating within South Africa. He denied that the insurgents entered the country from Zimbabwe, claiming that they were still in South Africa.

Mr Sehina said the Northern Transvaal border area with Zimbabwe was militarily very sensitive and therefore a natural target.

There has been a large concentration of South African troops there for several months, well before this incident took place. The Cape Times Harare correspondent reports that the Zimbabwean Government has not yet commented on Mr Botha's call for talks.

Zimbabwe has denied that it allows ANC guerillas to operate within its borders.

Blast: UK deports loss of life, page 8
Township plan to fight crime

OWN CORRESPONDENT
PORT ELIZABETH. — Street and area committees to fight crime in the townships were established yesterday at a meeting of about 1 000 people who vowed to uproot the criminal elements which have been carrying out a reign of terror in Port Elizabeth’s African townships.

At a prayer service organized by the United Democratic Front, which was addressed by the former outlawed African National Congress member and an ex-councillor of the Jabhati Town Council, Mr A Peter, it was resolved that area committees to wipe out vandals who were terrorizing people under “the guise of the UDF” be elected to monitor the situation.

The prayer service, which was held at Siwonke Community Centre in Zwide, was organized by committees from the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (Pebco) also to commemorate the disappearance of three prominent Pebco executive members and others who died during unrest.

A strategy for the maintenance of peace in the townships was called for and was followed by the announcement of the elected area committee members.

Each street would have a five-member committee who would report to the area committee. Mr Peter, now a staunch Pebco member, who received a standing ovation before and after his address, told the crowd that the time had come for the community to unite and bury the hatchet to fight for true liberation of the oppressed.

The peaceful service, which was not monitored by the police, was marked by the chanting of freedom slogans and dancing and there were no incidents afterwards.

Pebco executive member Mrs B Fazie, the wife of the UDF regional vice-president, Mr Henry Fazie, told the meeting that the existing street committees would be disbanded.
Award: 'ANC' threat to Boesak

Staff Reporter

With one exception, the presentation of the Human Relations Centre's Annual Man of the Year Awards were last night postponed until later this month following a threat to the life of Dr Allan Boesak, one of the nominees, by someone claiming to represent the ANC.

The venue of the ceremony, which was attended by only one of the nominees and a handful of guests, was changed late last week from a City hotel to another in Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Phil Martin, chairman of the Human Relations Centre, told pressmen last night after the postponement was announced that of the six nominees, only Mr Farouk Eladher, who was nominated by the organization as Businessman of the Year, had appeared following "intimidation".

"There have been numerous phone calls to the hotel by anonymous people who sent messages that caused concern. The phone calls started on Sunday and were linked to the banning of the Carols by Candlelight service that was to be held tonight."

"One person said he was calling on behalf of the ANC and said that Dr Boesak's life would be in danger if he attended. Another of the nominees, Professor Jakes Gerwel, who was to receive his award for academic achievement, cancelled after speaking to Mr Boesak."

Dr Boesak earlier told him he would be prepared to accept the award at another time but that it was inappropriate for him to attend in view of the banning of the Carols by Candlelight ceremony that was to be held in Athlone.

Mr Brian and Mrs Di Bishop, who had been nominated jointly for the organization's award for their contribution to the struggle for human rights, did not attend the ceremony after an apparent confusion between the nominees and the organizers of the event. They had thought it had been "amicably decided" that the event would be postponed after receiving messages from both Dr Boesak and Professor Gerwel.

The other award nominee was Imam Hassan Solomon, nominated for religious contributions to human liberty, who was out of the country but was to receive the award via a representative, who also failed to attend.

Mr Martin said the remaining awards would be conferred before the end of the year.
Call for 'joyful' Christmas

Staff Reporter

CHRISTMAS is to be celebrated with joy, no matter how difficult the times, the Catholic bishops of Cape Town have said in a joint statement in the Roman Catholic weekly newspaper, the Southern Cross.

The statement, issued by Archbishop Stephen Naidoo, said the bishops had noted a call in UDF News for a "Christmas of Concern".

They had also noted rumours of a call for a "Black Christmas", asking for the suspension of spiritual celebrations such as midnight mass.

Prince of Peace

The bishops said: "While we appreciate the concern of those who call for a Christmas with greatly reduced material celebrations, we have to point out that for Christians, Christmas is a key event in the church's calendar."

"On that day we recall and celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind and the Prince of Peace, as scripture calls him.

"We remind our faithful that this feast is an essentially religious event to be celebrated with joy. So great is our joy that we seek to share it with others in a spirit of love.

"No matter how great our tribulation, the fact of the incarnation overcomes our sadness.

"The Catholic Church in Southern Africa has been praying every day all this year for peace in Southern Africa. We shall continue to pray for peace, joining our prayers to the call for an international year of peace.

"Christmas is the climax of our campaign of prayer. We encourage all to follow the call of Christ: 'Love your enemies. Do good to those who hate you. Pray for those who persecute you and eulogise you.'"
POLICE and soldiers last night patrolled Athlone where a Carols by Candlelight service was to have been held.

A burning barricade was erected in Belgravia Road about 8.30pm.

Soon after, a crowd began gathering outside the Wembley Roadhouse in Belgravia Road. Police Casspirs and army Buffels made repeated sweeps through the area, and as they neared the roadhouse, patrons leaned on their hooters.

Petrol bomb

At 9.50pm, a barricade of burning tyres and metal railings was erected across Belgravia Road outside the roadhouse. Five minutes later an army Buffel arrived, and as a petrol bomb was thrown at it, fired teargas into the fleeing crowd.

Earlier, at least four Casspirs and about five Buffel armoured vehicles were seen in Thornton Road, Athlone, outside the City Park stadium where the service was to have been held.

The organizers of the service appealed yesterday to people who had planned to attend not to do so for their own safety.

Police outside the stadium ordered people to leave and warned residents standing in Thornton Road to disperse.
JOHANNESBURG —
Claims that South African-based members of
the African National Congress planted a killer
landmine suggested the organization had “bla-
tantly” planned to bring
about a military con-
frontation between Pre-
toria and Zimbabwe, a
Progressive Federal Par-
ty MP said here yester-
day.

The landmine killed six
people at the weekend.

Mr Horace van
Reensburg, MP for Bryan-
stow, said in a statement
the attack was “callous in
the extreme and dis-
played a total lack of con-
cern for life”.

He added: “The ANC
claims that the mines
were laid by internal ANC
groups. If this is true, it
means that the ANC blat-
tantly planned to precipi-
tate a military confronta-
tion between South Africa
and Zimbabwe.

“If this deduction is
correct, it was a very de-
vious and dangerous thing
to do. Zimbabwe should
take serious note if this.”

He said innocent blacks
could just as easily have
been killed in the blast.

This showed the ANC was
“prepared to kill blacks in
an attempt to achieve
their violent revolution-
ary objectives”.

“Violence can never
achieve a solution of
South Africa’s political
problems. It will only
lead to a hardening of at-
itudes on all sides

“The ANC should call
off all violence and in-
dicate their willingness to
negotiate. The South Afri-
can Government should
equally indicate a willing-
ness to negotiate,” he
said.

Condemning the land-
mine attack, the Leader
of the Opposition, Dr Fre-
derik van Zyl Slabbert,
said last night in a state-
ment calm and reason
should prevail and every-
thing should be done to
undercut a further escalat-
ion of violence.

A Harare report says
high-ranking officers of
the South African and
Zimbabwean security
forces may meet shortly
at a secret location some-
where along the Limpopo
in an attempt to defuse
border tension following
the landmine incident.

Mr Waldemar Kuhn,
head of the South African
trade mission in Harare,
yesterday confirmed that
a message requesting a
meeting had gone to the
Zimbabwean authorities.

On Monday South Afri-
ca’s Minister of Defence,
General Magnus Malan,
warned that an “Angolan
type situation” could de-
velop along the border if
Zimbabwe did not pre-
vent the ANC from using
its territory as a launch-
ing pad for attacks on
South Africa. — Sapa

See Page 14.
The government of Zimbabwe and Manicaland, under the leadership of President Robert Mugabe, have expressed concern over the increasing violence in the region. The President called for an end to the violence, stating that it was unacceptable and would not be tolerated.

General M. T. Chiwenga, the head of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, has strongly condemned the violence and called for calm and reason to prevail. The military has been deployed to maintain order and ensure the safety of the people.

The opposition party, MDC-T, has also condemned the violence and called for a peaceful resolution to the crisis. The party has called for an immediate dialogue between the government and the opposition to address the underlying issues.

The United Nations has expressed concern over the escalating violence and called for an immediate cessation of hostilities. The UN has urged both sides to engage in dialogue and find a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

The region has been hit by a series of violent incidents, including the killing of civilians and the displacement of hundreds of people. The government has been accused of using excessive force to quell protests and to suppress opposition activities.

The international community has condemned the violence and called for an immediate end to the violence. The United States has imposed sanctions on the government and has called for a peaceful resolution to the crisis. The European Union has also imposed sanctions on the government and has called for a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

The situation in the region remains tense and volatile, with both sides accusing each other of using excessive force. The international community is calling for a peaceful resolution to the crisis and an end to the violence.
Maties to meet
Nico Smith

The Stellenbosch University students who planned to hold talks with the African National Congress Youth League in October will meet with the Rev Nico Smith in Johannesburg today.

The students' Lusaka trip was thwarted when the Government withdrew their passports and Mr Smith, who planned to meet the ANC with other church leaders, was dissuaded by the State President, Mr P W Botha, from going as well.

Mr Smith said he did not know what would be discussed at today's meeting.

The student group will be led by Mr Rennie Bester and will include Maties' student representative council president Mr Philip Verster.

The students also plan to hold discussions with black community leaders and white businessmen.
LONDON — Governments which suppressed the news were no better than hijackers or kidnappers, the International Press Institute said in London.

The IPI — representing 2,000 publishers and editors worldwide — strongly defended the publication by the Cape Times of an interview with banned ANC president Oliver Tambo.

In its annual World Press Freedom Review the IPI report defended Cape Times editor Tony Heard's decision to publish the interview and described his prosecution as “selective and punitive” action against a journalist.

“When Tony Heard knowingly broke the SA government's strict rules on quoting a banned person, he did so for very good reasons. By presenting the full facts to people, both in SA and elsewhere, the Press opens the way to free debate and possible solutions. Shutting your eyes will not make it go away,” the IPI said.

The report also published a profile of Heard from the London Sunday Times and an article by Heard from the Los Angeles Times entitled: “Another Step in the Minefield.”

The Journalist — official organ of the 30,000-strong British National Union of Journalists (NUJ) — said in a special report on Cape riot coverage that since the fall of the Rand Daily Mail, the Cape Times had emerged as the leader of Press opposition to apartheid.
Buthelezi/ANC drift further apart

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is being attacked by the African National Congress because he has not supported its armed struggle, and that his recent statements on the ANC have been in response to its attacks on him.

A rift between Buthelezi and the ANC, which apparently has its origins in failed talks between him and Oliver Tambo in 1979, has been considerably widened this year — virtually into open war.

Buthelezi says the ANC cannot win the liberation struggle without Zulu support, blames the ANC for black disunity and black-on-black violence, and describes the UDF and Cosatu (the recently-formed black super-union) as ANC fronts.

The ANC refers to Buthelezi as an apartheid stooge and an apostate for the system who uses his rejection of violence as a smokescreen to continue to serve Pretoria.

Buthelezi has now written to newspaper editors, asking them to judge who is attacking whom. He has also sent them a dossier of supporting material which includes a year-old copy of the ANC's official organ, Sechaba, and a host of transcripts of ANC radio broadcasts.

He says he appreciates that editors walk a difficult tightrope in deciding what to publish, but that newspapers have played a very important role in SA's political development.

He appeals to editors to "do as much as you humanly can to ensure that reports in your newspaper are not biased and do not distort the black political situation in such a way that internecine black strife is deepened".

Buthelezi believes in "political decency, democracy, and... rightfully striving to normalise SA as an open, race-free society".

He says the public is given to believe by these references that it is he who is on the offensive, and that this offensive is backgrounded by his bid for power.

But, he says, the ANC does not choose to ignore him, and he refers editors to the dossier, the statements in which reflect "a bitter antagonism to me on the part of the ANC".

"Businessmen and PFP members who visited the ANC mission in exile in Lusaka will confirm that the mission in exile is bitterly antagonistic to me.

"My recent statements about the mission in exile are in response to their attacks on me. My statements about the mission are necessitated by the fact that some Inkatha members have been killed, and a great many more have had their homes and property destroyed, or have been beaten up, because they adopt attitudes which are not subservient to the ANC."

He says most people, particularly whites, do not know the ANC has declared war on him and that it will ban Inkatha if it comes to power.

His crime in the eyes of the ANC is, he says, to have not supported the armed struggle because he believes it wastes black lives for no gain, and to have not stepped down as leader of the KwaZulu homeland government.

He says every success that Inkatha, the legislative assembly and he achieve in moving SA towards the politics of negotiation, deeply threatens the ANC, which is why they attack him.

Believing in "political decency, democracy, and that I am rightfully striving to normalise SA as an open, race-free society", Buthelezi says it would be "hazardously irresponsible" of him to allow the ANC to destroy Inkatha in "poisonous propaganda campaigns" against him.
Zimbabwe reiterates its position

ZIMBABWE said yesterday it will not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for violence against SA. Foreign Minister P.W. Botha announced in a statement from Pretoria that Botha confirmed that SA's representative in Harare had been in contact with the Zimbabwean government in the wake of Sunday's Matabeleland landmine blast which killed six people, including four young children.

It was understood to be the first time a meeting has been formally requested by SA. Normally routine contacts between the two countries' officials are organised on an ad hoc basis.

Botha said Zimbabwe had reaffirmed it would not allow itself to become a base for the planning and execution of acts of violence against any of its neighbouring states, including SA. "Trust talks will be held between the two countries' security officials in order to solve this problem," Botha said.

"Earlier reports that talks between 'junior' officers from both sides had been held yesterday were denied, but SADF spokesmen said that a channel for talks between commanders on both sides of the border had been established. No date for these talks had yet been established but they would be held, 'shortly'." Botha said in the contact with the Zimbabwean government, the SA envoy had "emphasised the seriousness of the situation caused by the explosion."

Eli Levine
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"I trust talks will be held between the two countries' security officials in order to solve this problem," Botha said.

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"The class struggle for Azania" by Michael Tissoud

The "struggle in Namibia and Azania (South Africa) is not simply for national liberation from apartheid colonialist rule, but it is also a class struggle between the two antagonistic forces of capitalism and socialism," a visiting Namibian politician said in Durban.

Mr. Veluji Rukoro, the general secretary of the South West African National Union (Swanu), added that the "collapse of the apartheid oligarchy will not in itself bring about a socialist revolution".

Mr. Rukoro was the guest speaker at the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) congress. He said the liberation struggle would be "consummated in Azania when the transfer of political power to the working class is carried out".

In Azania, he said, this would mean addressing oneself to forced removals and bantustanisation, the ownership of capital which today vests in multinationals and local capitalists; and, thirdly, the workers' ownership of the means of production.
AN elderly Soweto couple and a 20-year-old youth were burnt alive by groups of rampaging youths in two unrelated incidents of violence during the weekend and yesterday.

Mr Mbuyi Nhlapo (59) and his 50-year-old wife, Mrs Methato Nhlapo, were trapped inside their Zola house by a group of people who allegedly wanted to avenge the death of a youth.

The couple was accused of hiding their son who had allegedly killed the youth. The two were then burnt alive in their house.

Mr Robert Mzizi, of Orlando East, was set alight after he was dragged out of an outside toilet by a mob of youths.

"Comrades"

According to eyewitnesses, Mr Mzizi was accused of having been part of a group that clashed with the "Comrades" after the disruption of a party at the weekend.

His grandmother, Mrs Ellen Mzizi, told The SOWETAN yesterday that "Comrades" hid in the toilet when the clash between the two groups resumed early yesterday morning.

"It did not help because the 'Comrades' had already spotted him. They dragged him out of the toilet, stabbed him several times before they doused him with a bucketful of petrol and set him alight," said Mrs Mzizi.

The fight started on Saturday when a party was disrupted by the "Comrades" who accused the organiser of throwing the party without permission, she said.

A large quantity of liquor was looted and the organiser of the party was allegedly robbed of R600 cash.

Some of the people who attended the party then gathered together to avenge the attack. Members of a gang called the "Fast Guns" were allegedly asked to assist in the clash against the "Comrades".

Two other youths are also believed to be in a critical condition at Baragwanath Hospital after they were assaulted by the "Comrades".
Call to extend candlelight vigils

Staff Reporter

The Black Sash has called on "concerned Capetonians" to extend to Cape Town's white suburbs the weekly Wednesday night candlelight vigils at present being held in most black and coloured areas.

And in a separate statement, United Democratic Front interim executive organizer Mr. Naseeoh Jaffer said: "We call for the candlelight vigils to be extended by residents to areas throughout the entire greater Cape Town area."

In a statement released yesterday by its Western Cape Regional Council, the Black Sash asked why only the Carols by Candlelight service planned for Athlone on Monday night had been banned.

The statement said: "the banning of the Athlone Carols by Candlelight Service raises the question whether the other open-air candlelight services have been authorized. If they have been, why the discrimination against the Athlone service? If they have not been authorized, are they also to be banned?"

White suburbs

The statement said that "in keeping with the proverb, 'it is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness', we call upon all concerned Capetonians to extend the 8pm to 9pm Wednesday evening candlelight vigils into the white suburbs by 'lighting a candle against apartheid' in their own homes and churches."

Mr Jaffer said in the UDF statement that "our candlelight vigils in all areas this week will focus on family life under the apartheid system. We call on the people of Cape Town to think about families who have suffered detentions and deaths."
CAPE TIMES photographer Owed Zilwa was attacked, beaten up and stabbed by a “crowd of tsoths” during widespread unrest in Nyanga on Monday evening.

Mr Zilwa said yesterday that he was walking in Section 14, Zweelitsha, Nyanga, with his camera, but had not been taking any photographs.

“There were burning barricades everywhere... and everyone seemed to be taking part in the candlelight vigil...” he said.

About 20 guys came up to me and asked me why I was walking around with a camera. They said they didn’t want photographs taken and I told them I was from the Cape Times.”

Mr Zilwa, who said the men were “tsoths — not activists”, walked away.

While he was standing at the gate of a friend’s house, one of the men came up to him and said “give me the camera” and soon afterwards started swearing at Mr Zilwa.

“The crowd of tsoths came up behind him, shouting at me, calling me ‘impimpi’ (collaborator),” he said.

Mr Zilwa started to run away but was attacked. “They all took turns at hitting me with metal bars, sticks and their fists. Someone stabbed me in the back and I was also hit on the back with a stick.”

More than 50 onlookers gathered.

Mr Zilwa had inside the house. He was taken by his father to Conradie Hospital where doctors treated him and stitched his stab wound.
Mental slavery

SIR — I would like to tell readers about the difference between the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) of Azania and the ANC (African National Congress).

Pan Africanist is a collective form of African nationalism. It is the consciousness of a common belonging to that group or creation. The ANC is waging the struggle, multi-racially, and view themselves as non-racial. Its military wing is Umkhonto We-sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) and that of PAC was Pogo.

The PAC believes that negotiations with the enemy will get them nowhere and leaders who maintain ties with the enemy will never genuinely lead the national liberation movement. Scrutinise their ideologies! You will realise that the PAC believes in war, while the ANC believes in negotiations. I am commenting, because Johannesburg afternoon newspaper is waging a cold war propaganda against the "Africanist by suppressing that and promoting the conservative individuals or organisations in order to undermine the genuine national liberation movement. We are conscious of that press, radio, television belong to the capitalist although we keep them in our houses. An organisation is not an organisation through slogans but it is an organisation by the role that it plays. Mugabe says None but ourselves advocating that the struggle cannot be replaced by revolutionaries from other countries in any part of the continent but it is the inevitable battle of the oppressed. We must decolonize our thoughts, that is to free yourself from mental slavery through the principles of self-determination and reliance.

PATRICK KAUNDA
Kahlehong
Trial cost UDF 12
‘about R1,4 m’

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

LEGAL costs and loss of earnings incurred by the 12 UDF and Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress leaders who were acquitted of treason this month are estimated to be about R1 400 000.

Mr Thumba Pillay, a senior instructing attorney for the 12 during their detention and trial in Pietermaritzburg totaling about 11 months, said: ‘Usually in this type of case the money to pay the costs comes from people overseas concerned with human rights matters.’

He would not disclose the identity of the ‘people overseas’.

Mr Pillay said the estimated total legal cost was probably more than R1 100 000 or an average of about R100 000 a month.

Estimates for loss of earnings from those of the 12 who earned salaries, including four attorneys, a medical doctor and an insurance broker, were in the region of R321 000.

The 12 accused of treason included Durban attorneys Mr Archie Gumede, 70, a co-president of the UDF, and Mr George Sewpershad, 43, president of NIC, and Johannesburg medical doctor Essop Jassat, 52, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

The defence team, one of the biggest assembled in South Africa, was led by Mr Ismail Mohamed, SC, and Mr Ivor Schwartzman, SC, and consisted of four other advocates with six full-time and two part-time instructing attorneys.

Withdrawn

Mr Pillay said the legal costs also included hours of checking video and tape recordings and their transcripts, consultations with expert witnesses, interviewing people around the country and air fares, accommodation of the legal team and witnesses.

Earlier this month Mr Mike Imber, Attorney-General of Natal, withdrew the case against 12 of the 16 people who were charged for treason for allegedly plotting with the ANC to overthrow the Government between 1989 and 1995.

The remaining four accused, Richard Gqweta, Sisa Nyikaleni, Sam Kikine and Duze Ngcobo, are all national executive members of the South African Allied Workers’ Union.

Their trial continues on February 3.
Struggle belongs to the workers, youth fest told

Young people could consider themselves the lifeblood of the struggle against apartheid but they must remember that the leading role belonged to the majority — to the working people.

This caution was sounded more than once yesterday as nearly 2000 young Christians gathered in Johannesburg for the Churches International Youth Year Festival and considered the responsibilities of increased participation in social structures.

Mr Andile Sindelo, an organiser for the Cradock Youth Association, said that community organisations rather than statutory bodies were running the tiny Karoo township of Linge-lihle.

"The Government is not governing us. We are governing ourselves, but in doing this we need to know what we are striving for."

He recalled that assassinated civic leader Mr Matthew Goniwe had emphasised the continual need to broaden participation in community structures.

"The youth should not sit back while this task needed doing, he said.

"Many comrades did not write exams and that's a sacrifice." He said the goal of education should not be lost amid this sacrifice.

People should find ways of sharing knowledge outside of the classrooms.

Mr Sindelo cautioned young people against becoming unnecessary victims of State violence although he said he feared violence inevitable — "bloodshed is coming because Botha and Malan have led us to bloodshed".

He warned that attacks on innocent people should cease as they did not further the struggle against apartheid.

Ms Janet Cherry, chairman of the Port Elizabeth branch of the End Conscription Campaign, said that increasing numbers of whites were choosing to align themselves on the side of the majority and against apartheid. This, she said, gave rise for hope that "peace without bitternes" could be obtained.

She argued that while black youths were "involved in the struggle almost before they know what the word struggle means", whites had to make a conscious choice, at a more advanced age — often battling their family, friends and unwitting prejudices in the process.

The options for refusing to serve in the South African Defence Force were tough. Many people lacked "the strength, the support or the understanding" to opt out of military service, she said.
Azapo spells out its socialist vision


It sees the capitalist system in South Africa, rather than apartheid, as the oppressing force in the country.

Azapo makes no apologies for its socialist stance - as opposed to what it calls the system of "welfare capitalism" of the other major liberation movements. It has as a major objective the transformation of South Africa into a socialist state.

Azapo has concrete plans for this transformation in the form of working documents which spell out in detail how the process will take place.

The documents, which are obviously open-ended, entail the following ideas for the construction of a practical programme:

- The rationalisation of the economy after the nationalisation of all means of production - including heavy industry, all major commercial undertakings, transport concerns as well as the mining and fishing industries.
- The abolition of private ownership of productive land - including farms and all other properties hired out for rent.
- The confiscation of all property of emigrants.
- Abolition of all rights of inheritance. This must be done, according to the working documents, because all wealth must only be accumulated through one's own work. An exception will be that children may take over their parents' house.
- Banks and insurance companies will be nationalised and credit centralised in the hands of the State by means of a national bank.
- All means of communication - newspapers, radio and TV - would be centralised in the hands of the State.
- All the people of the country will be liable to work. Unemployment will be overcome by industrial armies, established to cope with the demands of agriculture and industrialisation, according to Azapo.

These measures would create, says Azapo, the economic foundation for a new Azania (South Africa).

This foundation includes:
- All means of production must belong to society as a whole. This rules out the possibility of exploitation of man by man.
- There will thus be no class deprived of the means of production and no class of private owners.
- Nobody is privileged or not privileged.

Azapo does not recognise apartheid as the major problem and believes that this will obviously disappear once the capitalist system is replaced by a socialist one.

Azapo says that the goal of socialist production is not profit, but the well-being of all citizens.

Socialist production serves the purpose of raising the living standards of people and the prices of goods will not always be linked to their value.

In other words, children's goods and books, for example, will be sold at below their value to make them affordable while this loss will be compensated for in pricing luxury items such as cigarettes and liquor at above their value.

As far as benefits are concerned, the major one highlighted by Azapo is that workers are now rewarded for a day's labour, decent housing for those who do not own their own, free health services for all and free and compulsory education for all up to secondary school level.

Azapo's philosophy and plans for future development, while obviously influenced by thinkers such as Marx and Lenin, are not the results of reading textbooks.

Its alternative South Africa has, according to Azapo, been forged from the historical development of the country.

The organisation points out that a 10 percent minority of people in South Africa owns the factories, the land and other means of production and says that through this ownership the capitalist class controls the economy.

This results, according to Azapo, in - among other things:
- That 90 percent of the population - who have been dispossessed by white settlers through the centuries - are deprived of their wealth which they do not share.
- Since the working class has no productive properties - factories or lands - it has no real stake in defending the present system.
- The consolidation of its military power has placed the white minority in a position to secure the upper ranks of the capitalist system. This has resulted in the divisions in the country - the capitalist, the middle and working classes - taking place on ethnic lines.
- White workers through the benefits of job reservation, influx control and wage discrimination - are given a stake in "apartheid" capitalism. The white labour aristocracy which this produces shows its loyalty to the Government by returning it to power at each new election.

This loyalty, argues Azapo, is in turn rewarded by the Government via a web of laws and regulations to keep the black majority in political, social and economic bondage.

Azapo does not speak in vague terms of socialism and has worked out an extensive programme which spells out both short and long-term goals as well as the practical nuts and bolts of implementing socialism.

The policy plans do not necessarily mean that no personal property is allowed.

Under Azapo's socialist system, personal property allowed will include:
- Articles of personal consumption and convenience.
- Implements and other objects of a small holding.
- A house.
- Earned savings.

The Azapo plans dealing with the details of the transition to socialism, nationalisation, as well as the benefits and processes in the legal, medical, educational, sporting and labour fields, are covered far more extensively in its working documents than it has been possible to illustrate here.

But the above gives some idea of the Azapo alternative.
Queenstown's days of madness

By MIKE LOVING
Port Elizabeth

It will probably never be established just how many Queenstown residents died in three days of racial violence in the township of Mthathga.

As a journalist walking into the town one is struck by the total lack of interest in holding an inquiry into the shooting and surrounding events.

In a way, you don't hold inquiries. You only record the different accounts.

The South African Police say they are confident of the numbers of African residents from Mthathga whose bodies were gathered in or at a church. Their account was relayed on Tuesday, November 19.

A report in the black residential area of Queenstown started circulating on November 17 when various instances of murder were recorded. This tendency continued on the 18th, November, 19, and 20, on Sunday, November 17. On Sunday a number of incidents were recorded through the day. As about 5pm on the date, a routine police patrol encountered a large group of blacks in this residential area.

The group was instructed to disperse and give a specified time in which to do so, which they did. They then, however, split up into smaller groups and up until about 11pm the police had to, on a number of occasions, use on groups who, on the scene, took their children and stones at SA police vehicles. We have no record of the police dispossessing a group of people other than the one mentioned above, and there is no record that this group gathered in or at a church. The dispersal of this group was not conducted in any manner that is consistent with the cause for this state of unrest because as it is stated above, it only occurred on Sunday at 5pm, whereas the unrest started escalating on the 15th.

A representative for the Mthathga Residents Association said a mass meeting was called to report back on negotiations with Queenstown Chamber of Commerce, the Queenstown branch of the National Chamber of Commerce, Cape Development Board and the Department of Education and Training, and had been attended by more than 2,000 people in the Mthathga Methodist Church on Sunday, November 17. Five members of the Civic body had been detained on Friday, November 15.

The meeting took place against a background of a highly successful consumption boycott of white businesses which had been called by the Queenstown Boycott Committee, an organisation which people are afraid to discuss for fear of harassment.

The boycott was called on August 18. After white schools have also been boycotted, white students have been expelled from schools and black students have been expelled from play grounds. We have just finished with the report-back meeting when the police arrived in two Capetown. We do not think much of it as the meeting was legal," the representative said.

The police drove past, then returned.

They said 'get out of this place the first time, but people are used to this sort of behaviour from the police and didn't take it seriously enough. We don't believe the reason they used was a headquarter.

Vigilantes on the outskirts

A group of about 500 coloured vigilantes set up barricades and ruled the nearby coloured area for the duration of the conflict in Mthathga.

They were led by local Labour Party chairman Winston Jassen and had the support of the police.

Jassen said a number of coloured homes were burned in the early hours of Sunday morning, November 17, and residents asked him to call a meeting. He invited several Queenstown policemen to address the crowd of over 500 because we didn't want to take the law into our hands.

"We needed the vigilantes because the police were running from pillar to post — there just wasn't enough," he said.

The District Commandant, Colonel Roelof Steyn, gave the vigilantes the go-ahead, as long as they did not enter the African areas.

Jassen said tension between Africans and coloureds started with the African consumer boycott which, he says, was endorsed against the will of the coloured community.

Jassen said: "I will not be heard above the loudspeaker in the hall.

An eyewitness, who did not wish to be named, said: "I was outside. I saw a Capetown enter the gate and push its way through the crowd. A second Capetown came. After a captain with grey hair whom we know as Capetown Van der Merwe, the other Capetown, he drove his Capetown to the

He claimed that coloured people had been "harassed" by Africans supporting the boycott.

Jassen said although the commandos would not be an official SADF unit, it would be armed and wear SADF uniforms. It would operate outside coloured areas, and its function would be to protect coloured lives and property.

McGerry Speelman, a coloured Anglican priest, accused Jassen of using "smart guys" tactics to turn coloured people against their African neighbours. He accused the Security Forces of being "patriots" towards the coloured community and hostile to the African community.

Another eyewitness said: "People were handcuffed and run everywhere. They began to run into the church. The glass in the windows began to bang at the batons came through.

A well-placed source at the local police station said 24 corpses were brought to the morgue. This man had asked the government for an inquiry.

Sandy Stevenson, brother chairman of the PNP, said the party had asked the government for an inquiry.

"The shootings will be followed up, and government machinery takes a long time and they don't ignore things," Stevenson said.

Meanwhile, 12 bodies have been handed, 11 of them at a mass funeral attended by more than 15,000 angry people.
AN ASSASSIN'S bullet ended the life of Chesterville's popular community leader and trade unionist Phumisani Zamisa while he was only in his early 30s.

His blood-stained body was found early on Sunday morning by residents who had heard a scuffle and a gunshot in the night but were afraid to investigate.

It is believed he was shot by gunmen from a group called the A-Team, posing as vigilantes.

An SRC member at the Chesterville High School, who asked not to be named, said his "close friend Phumi" had shared an altercation with a group of A-Team members the previous day.

"He was on his way home when he met the A-Team, who called him to come to them. He refused and walked away", he said.

The following morning Zamisa was found dead with a bullet wound in his chest.

A bachelor, he began as a volunteer for the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) in the 70s and became Pietermaritzburg branch organiser two years ago.

"No one could work so hard for SAAWU," said one of his colleagues.

"He had decided not to take his December holiday, because he said workers would suffer."

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

A Mauser Isaacs, of 650, Road 13, Chesterville alleges he is behind a campaign to root out youths who are said to be responsible for incidents of arson and murder.

The A-Team has openly declared war on "agitators" and other "murderers". And the Durban based Zulu bi-weekly, Illanga, has given it favourable publicity.

Two weeks ago the paper reported in a front-page article the activities of the A-Team. The tenor of the article was that the team was a peacekeeping force.

meanwhile, in Umlazi, heavily armed SAP members and local vigilantes swooped on a number of houses last week, detaining a number of youths and causing others to flee.

Already three young men have appeared in a local magistrate's court on a charge of murder, following the burning to death of three members of a group known to be organised by Inkatha regional organiser Winnington Sabelo.

One of the youths is Nka Mdluli, 18. Both the other two are 17 years old. The residents have slated the police action which is seen to be aimed at those who are anti-Inkatha.

One Xhosa resident pointed out that no-one had yet been arrested for the bombing of her home three weeks ago or that of David Gaza, leader of the Umlazi Residents Association and an affiliate to the UDF.

Gaza's house was petrol bombed two months ago and he has since disappeared.
UDF reply to Azapo

DURBAN — The United Democratic Front would have no difficulty joining hands with Azapo if it dropped its insistence that race was paramount, UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said yesterday.

He was reacting to a call made by Azapo's new president, Mr Saths Cooper, for the two anti-apartheid bodies to join hands.

Azapo's election of an Indian as president suggested it had discarded its "holier than thou" stance on race, Mr Gumede said.

"The UDF is a get-together of people from different backgrounds, with a lot of give and take, and Azapo will have to come down to earth and see South Africa and its people as they are," Mr Gumede said. — Sapa
Inkatha ‘will defend its rights’

Mercy Reporter

THE KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday warned that Inkatha members would not allow themselves to be ‘pushtovers’ for those in South Africa who have opted for the use of violence.

Speaking at a year-end function held by the KwaZulu Department of Economic Affairs in Ulundi, the Inkatha president said: ‘We do not mind if people disagree with us, but we are not talking here about differences in opinion only.

Moral right

‘Black South Africa seems to have decided to use violence for political purposes without any compunction.’

He said Inkatha had emphasised that it believed in a ‘multi-strategy approach’ and had never claimed to be the only organisation that had answers for South Africa’s problems.

‘We have recognised that all forces for change have a contribution to make in finding a solution. We therefore believe that we have a moral right to defend what we in Inkatha have decided to do about our problems.

‘We have never interfered with other people in carrying out their own strategies. We in turn do not expect anyone to interfere with us when we do what we have decided to do, and we will defend what we do with all the means at our command, even with our very lives,’ he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha believed in non-violence as a strategy for change.

He said he probably had the most difficult role of any politician in South Africa and every step he took was often watched by people beyond the borders of South Africa.

‘There is so much conflict among our people that anything is exploited by many operators to put me in a very negative light. Nowhere is this more manifest than in the case of the Ingwavuma district.’

‘I realise under what personal risk our personnel have to carry out their duties in a district which has become as hot a potato as Ingwavuma has become. A few years ago the South African Government attempted to excise the area to give it as a Christmas present to Swaziland.

‘Although the South African Government has stated that they will never try to deal with the issue of Ingwavuma unilaterally, it is well known that the Chief of the Tembe tribe is being manipulated both by certain officials of Pretoria and also by high-ranking personalities in Swaziland.’

Difficulties

‘In these circumstances there have been many people who have tried to put a spanner into the works each time we introduce projects in Ingwavuma for the benefit of that district.’

Chief Buthelezi paid special tribute to the ‘brave men and women who have not been constrained by the difficulties we face in this particular district from doing a good job so well’.
Surprise findings in black survey

JOHN D’OLIVEIRA of The Argus Africa News Service reports

A SURVEY of elite attitudes in Lebowa has contradicted the widely-held view that the current unrest in South Africa was due essentially to the activities of agitators.

Commenting on the survey, Dr Erich Leistner, Director of the Africa Institute of South Africa, said the degree to which teachers in the homeland identified themselves with their pupils’ radical attitudes and demands was “striking”.

The survey was conducted by Professor Johann Malan, of the University of the North, Turfloop, who questioned 120 members of the Lebowa government service, including teachers, teacher training college lecturers and government officials.

Its results will be published in the December issue of the Africa Institute Bulletin, together with articles by Dr Stan Schoeman, an institute researcher, and Dr Leistner.

In his article, Dr Leistner said the survey confirmed the view that very little agitation was needed to switch a community with deep-rooted dissatisfaction and resentment to active protest.

He stressed that the survey was based on the opinions of an elite group in an overwhelmingly rural milieu — a group which served a government which many of them rejected.

“One can surmise that the answers would have been much sharper had the survey been conducted in one of the metropolitan areas.

“It is striking how many of the respondents identified themselves with the radical attitudes and demands of their pupils.”

Dr Leistner said the survey, together with the analysis by Dr Schoeman, contradicted simplistic, single-cause interpretations which held that the present unrest in South Africa was purely a reaction to racial discrimination or suppression or that it was solely due to hostile agitation.

He said Dr Schoeman had showed that a combination of factors was present but that the factor or the factors which triggered eruptions could differ from one situation to another.

“What was of considerable importance was the fact that the widespread dissatisfaction — brought on by a combination of factors — was attributed solely to “apartheid” by the dissatisfied people and their supporters.

Of the 120 Lebowa secondary school teachers, teacher training college lecturers and government officials surveyed, more than three-quarters (78 per cent) approved the politically-inspired activities by school-children and students which many observers believe is a major component of the present unrest situation in South Africa.

And while some of the respondents were against the use of violence, they all justified student actions on moral grounds as a form of protest against discriminatory policies imposed on them by the white government.

Professor Malan said most respondents evaluated student actions, not against the background of educational interests but against the background of the medium- and long-term political objectives of the black community.

“In this context, they regarded these activities as an indispensable front in the liberation struggle of the black man.”

“The general contention is that, if less boycotts and violence occur, the Government will not be embarrassed enough to consider the dismantling of apartheid in order to allow for the realisation of the political aspirations of the black majority.”

The Lebowa group was divided on the issue of disinvestment: 52.5 percent emphasised the detrimental effects of disinvestment while 47.5 percent approved of it as a political strategy.

More than 90 percent labelled tribalism as grossly over-emphasised in South Africa and saw it as a mechanism used by whites divide and rule South Africa’s black majority — and to discriminate against them socially.
Buthlezi's UDF warning

DURBAN - The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi, yesterday warned that he would dismiss KwaZulu civil servants who worked with the United Democratic Front.

He told employees at an end-of-year function that his administration could not employ people who undermined it.

He said certain very senior civil servants worked closely with the UDF, and added that he would not bother about the UDF if it were just a political organization.

However, he said, the UDF had declared war on him, Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government, and this could be seen in the damage to clinics, schools, offices and other amenities. — Sapa.
Farm killing
no ANC link

PETER WALLINGTON

POLICE said yesterday there was nothing at this stage to implicate the ANC in Tuesday's murder of Komatipoort farmer Lukas Marais, although he was killed with an AK47 assault rifle.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said he knew nothing about the incident.

A police spokesman in Middelburg, Major NJ Janeke, said a criminal investigation was underway, and confirmed that nothing had been stolen from the farm.

Marais was lured out of his home on Tuesday night after the killers apparently cut electricity to the house. He was shot while returning to the farm-house.
Fierce words as victims are buried

en to the ANC yesterday by Dirk van Eck, whose wife, son and daughter were killed in the landmine blast, reports GAVIN EVANS from Tzaneen.

Van Eck, one of the five survivors of the blast, who was addressing the Press after the funeral at the Tzaneen NGK Church yesterday.

When calls for revenge were expressed after the service, the funeral itself went off quietly.

About 1,000 people lined the streets as the procession, led by traffic police, passed by.

The small church was packed with friends and family members.

Mrs Jacoba van Eck, 34, Nelmarie van Eck, 6, and Ignatius van Eck were buried side-by-side.

Pietersburg MP Willie Smyman and Waterberg MP Tom Langley attended the funeral, but there were no Cabinet ministers present.

After the service Van Eck, a former teacher who is now a farmer, said he was still shocked at the loss of his family.

"If you stood before the grave, like me, then you too would find it hard to believe there are still people who want to talk to Olivier Tambo (acting president of the African National Congress.)"

"I hope these murderers realise that, if they mess with the Afrikaner, they are messing with a people who won't be beaten," he said.

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Diplomatic row erupts as landmine victims are buried

WHITENOMM diplomats in Pretoria have rejected "political opportunities" claim of them by government and Afrikaners newspapers for not attending the funerals of the landmine victims.

Several embassy officials recalled that their governments had condemned the killings outright, and that they had attended the funeral in Mamelodi two weeks ago because of "special circumstances."

Two Western diplomats said they had been invited to the Mamelodi funeral, but

not to the ones in Tzaneen; had they been invited to Tzaneen they would have probably asked for attending yesterday's and today's funerals, they said.

"A lot of people thought us going to Mamelodi, and this seems to be the only opportunity to judge us to see whether we have been "balanced," one official said.

They added that many embassies' staffs lived in Mamelodi and some of the victims had been known to the staff.

"Because of this involvement, we believed attendance at the funerals was in

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PETER WALLINGTON

Said one embassy official.

They rejected comments attributed to Deputy Prime Minister Louis Nel in yesterday's Beeld - that their non-attendance at the landmine victims' funeral was a selective demonstration of sympathy - and said the newspaper was "sterile" to say they were "looking the other way.

They said it was regrettable that the matter was being "seriously up" when foreign relations were private and personal affairs.

A minister at the British embassy in Pretoria, Derek Tumlin, said Britain had condemned the landmine killings and had expressed its sympathy and condolences to the families through the SA Department of Foreign Affairs.

"I think the action we have taken is all that can be reasonably expected in these circumstances." A spokesman at the American embassy said Washington had already commented on the horror of the landmine explosion and had said the US deplored violence from all sides. US ambassador Herman Nickel had sent a message of condolences to the bereaved.

He added that a funeral was a private affair and was not an occasion from which political gain should be made.

One diplomat said that it would be impossible to attend every funeral in SA related to political violence. His embassy was normally represented as funerals, but there was some home country involvement.

"Don't awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner's soul" was the better warning given.
COMMONWEALTH COMMISSION

Treading cautiously

The Eminent Persons Group (EPG), assigned by the Commonwealth to enter into dialogue with President PW Botha over apartheid reforms, has concluded its preliminary meetings in London and dispersed for the Christmas holidays to ponder on its delicate mission.

The EPG has decided that the best way to steer a safe course between the Scylla of the Pretoria government and the Charybdis of the ANC-Anti-Apartheid Movement, is to keep such a low profile that it is almost invisible. Fewer people have actually seen the EPG than saw that other visitor from beyond, ET.

This explains why public comment by members of the commission has been almost non-existent. With the example of the ill-fated EEC troika to Pretoria behind it, the EPG is determined to advance step by cautious step.

President Botha can rest assured, therefore, that the EPG is not going to Pretoria to pick a quarrel with him or hold a pistol to his head. It genuinely wants dialogue, or at least, most of its members do.

This, anyway, is the EPG’s present intention: what happens when the irresistible force of Pik Botha meets the immovable object of Kenya’s John Malecela or Nigeria’s General Obasanjo, is another matter. There are wild cards in the pack (People December 13).

Soft ultimatum

Implied in the EPG’s visit is a ultimatum: if Pretoria does not make adequate progress with apartheid reform within six months of the issuing of the Commonwealth communiqué (on October 20), some Commonwealth members will proceed to impose even tougher sanctions.

April 20, therefore, is the nominal deadline. But the EPG’s starting point is January 1, so that will postpone the deadline to June 30. And if the talks make reasonable progress by then, even that deadline will recede into the distance.

Can reasonable progress be made? Within the EPG itself there are varying opinions, with Lord Barber at one polarity and Malecela and Obasanjo at the other. One good knockabout session with Pik Botha, and the EPG’s consensus could be sent flying.

As for the ANC-AAM, they are sceptical about the visit. At best they see the EPG as Commonwealth tourists who will achieve nothing; at worst, as a kind of Contact Group which will deflect the pressures now building up on the Botha government. Possibly, neither the ANC nor the AAM will go as far as Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who is openly hostile to the visit and who would regard a meeting between the EPG and Mandela in a prison cell as a betrayal of the Commonwealth position — Mandela must first be released and the ANC legalised, declares Huddleston. But the ANC-AAM will watch every EPG move like hawks, and it can be only a matter of time before Lusaka starts to take issue with the EPG over its programme.

There is another problem. If Botha agrees to see the EPG before he makes his ‘Son of Rubicon’ speech in late January, he will be deferring many of his own followers to be yielding to international pressure. But if he says he can see the EPG only after he has made his speech then what will there be to talk about, except an accomplished fact? It’s all very tricky. Perhaps ET should be sent to Pretoria instead of the EPG. After all, both ET and the Pretoria politicians understand the language of outer space.

CONSUMER BOYCOTTS

A black Christmas

The consumer boycotts on the Reef and in Pretoria presage a black Christmas for township dwellers. Economic realities are being elbowed aside as escalating boycott-related violence takes hold in the townships, catching ordinary black folk in the crossfire.

There have been widespread reports of intimidation and attacks on blacks still shopping in city centres, leading to security force intervention to protect those who want to Christmas shop despite appeals from consumer boycott organisers.

There have been open offers to negotiate over the boycott. The Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) has declared its willingness to talk to boycott organisers, and public support for such a move has come from retail industry leaders.

However, one problem in the PWV area appears to be a lack of leadership. This suffered another setback with the detention last week of Jabu Ngwena, chief spokesman for the Soweto Consumer Boycott Committee, which is likely to hamper negotiations. And retailers face the problem that none of the committee’s (political) demands can be met by them, since that is obviously in government hands. A boycott leader has reportedly said that it is not the committee’s intention to force retailers out of the market but rather to motivate them to force the authorities to meet their demands.

Official consumer body spokesmen say it is too early to gauge the effects of the boycott in Johannesburg, which relies on Soweto for as much as 80% of its trade, according to National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NaFoc) president, Sam Motsumenyane.

For small business in Pretoria the boycott has certainly begun to bite. Some shopkeepers report trade is down more than 50% and fear the blow to turnovers that even two more weeks of the boycott will take. This is despite Assocom’s information that business picked up over the weekend after Mamelodi residents were assured by police that they could shop (and return home with their goods intact) freely and in peace.
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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

The cauldron bubbles

Sunday's ANC landmine explosion in the northern Transvaal claimed the lives of six civilians. This, together with a reported new military offensive by the Cuban-backed Angolan government against Unita — which raises inevitable questions about SA's response — has heightened tensions in the region.

However, as the FM went to press it was announced that operational commanders of the SA Defence Force (SADF) and their Zimbabwean counterparts operating in the border area were to meet on Tuesday. This followed an urgent note from the SA Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Zimbabwe government designed to open up communications between the two sides.

News of the SA-Zimbabwe meeting came soon after an American call for level-headed responses in the hope of averting another damaging SA cross-border raid. Reacting to the landmine explosions, Washington reiterated that it deplored violence from any quarter.

After major ANC strikes in the past, such as the Pretoria car bomb in May 1983, the SADF has retaliated by carrying out “hot-pursuit” attacks against ANC targets in Lesotho, Mozambique and Botswana. However, in the case of Zimbabwe, from where Defence Minister Magnus Malan claims those responsible for the latest landmine attack came, the situation is somewhat different. This was apparent from the cautious reactions of both Malan and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and is supported by news of a meeting between the two countries.

Zimbabwe has never been close to the ANC or to the Soviet Union, despite PM Robert Mugabe's recent visit to Moscow after five years in power. The ANC is generally thought to have no more than a small official presence in Harare which has, partly out of self-interest, not supported the SA guerrilla organisation.

Further, says SA Institute of International Affairs director John Barratt, there would be military considerations in this case. Zimbabwe's armed forces are certainly more significant than those of its black neighbouring states, even if they are no match for the SADF. Harare is likely to have made preparations for any such hot-pursuit raid.

More importantly, Pretoria, in the present investment squeeze, is likely to have taken into consideration the international repercussions of a raid into Zimbabwe, Barratt points out. Such an attack would make the region seem inherently unstable from the point of view of foreign investment and depress South Africa standing in the world even further. The West also has a particular concern in seeing Zimbabwe maintain its relatively stable, prosperous course outside the Soviet camp.

The landmine explosion in the Maseha district was the latest of a series in the last three weeks. In this period, about ten explosions caused the death of a black tractor driver, as well as several injuries. Members of the SADF have found several other landmines and defused them in their sweep through the area.

Malan has described the incident as "a typically treacherous and cowardly ANC deed which, without discrimination, kills people of all races, sexes and ages." He has accused members of the ANC operating out of Zimbabwe of planting the landmines and then crossing the border back into Zimbabwe. The ANC has acknowledged responsibility for the mines, but claims they were planted by personnel operating within SA. The Zimbabwean government has also denied that ANC insurgents have infiltrated SA from Zimbabwe.

Malan has not explicitly threatened a "hot pursuit" operation into Zimbabwe, but he has warned that continued ANC infiltration "could lead to a situation similar to that of Swapo in Angola." In recent years the SADF has crossed into Angola on "hot pursuit" operations several times.

The Russian-backed Angolan-Cuban military build-up, in preparation for another concerted assault on Jonas Savimbi's Unita strongholds in the south of the country, probably after the rainy season ends in about February-March, is a far more serious development, says Barratt. Pretoria has now openly admitted that it backs Unita and is unlikely to abandon its client. Indeed, it is thought that South African air power played a large part in repulsing an Angolan drive against Unita two months ago. The ratchet of conflict potential has, however, moved up a notch.

Barratt surmises, though, that the prospect of drawing in the Russians (against their will) could give impetus to renewed negotiations on the complex Angolan question, backed by the US. It would, of course, require movement on the Cuban presence, on a Namibian settlement, and on Angola's internal conflict with Unita.

Another SA military strike into Angola would make it difficult for Luanda to return to the conference table. This could forestall Pretoria's direct involvement in Angola.

Moutse's short fuse

Violence is threatening to erupt in Moutse, the area Pretoria plans to incorporate into neighbouring KwaNdebele early next year, prior to the homeland's expected "independence."

Leaders of the 120,000, mainly North Sotho, Moutse population, warn that if the transfer goes ahead, bloodshed will follow. Already this week, the rural backwater erupted into rioting when police clashed with youths at a protest rally. Further clashes are anticipated. At a public meeting on Sunday, about 2,000 defiant residents declared their intention to resist being placed under the KwaNdebele government.

The Moutse dispute goes back a number of years. In 1980 the area was excised from Lebowa and placed under South African jurisdiction. At one time government contemplated moving the entire population to Immerpan in Lebowa to make the land available for white farming and mining.

Next came the plan to incorporate Moutse into KwaNdebele; this was formalised in consolidation plans released in September. Earlier this month, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Chris Heunis, announced the transfer would go through on January 1.

Moutse still has two elected members and several chiefs sitting on the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. They have indicated their preference for remaining part of either Lebowa or SA — not KwaNdebele.

The youth of Moutse, however, do not want incorporation into any homeland, including Lebowa. In what spokesman describes as "a marriage of convenience," though, young people have allied themselves to the elected leaders — whom they otherwise spurn — to fight incorporation into KwaNdebele.

John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies and lawyer for Moutse residents, says the KwaNdebele plan cannot even be reconciled with the policy of separate development: "It will create an ethnic minority a third of the size of the population of KwaNdebele," he says.

Dugard suggests that Moutse is being held out as a carrot to encourage KwaNdebele's acceptance of independence, which is sched-
ANC warned at land-mine funeral 20/12/85

THE African National Congress was warned yesterday, after the funeral at Tzaneen of three of the weekend's land-mine victims, "not to awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner".

The warning was issued by a grim-faced Dirk van Eck after the funeral of his wife Cobie, daughter, 8, Nelmarie and son Ignatius, 2.

The three other victims of the land-mine blast - all of the De Nyschen family - will be buried today from the town's Dutch Reformed church.

Speaking in Afrikaans to a strong contingent of local and foreign newsmen and TV crews, Van Eck said he was shocked at his loss, and that he could only hope "that these murderers will realise that if they tangle with the Afrikaners, they are tangling with people who will hurt them".

Referring to the ANC and recent discussions by various South Africans with the banned organisation, he said that as he stood at the open grave side it sounded incomprehensible that people still wanted to talk to the ANC.

Most of the mourners at the funeral were grim-faced and some made it clear to newsmen they were not welcome.

The Press were allowed inside the church to record the proceedings as the local DRC minister, the Rev Evert de Kock, called for the words of God and His message of hope to stand above the "mixed feelings" of those gathered.

After the 40-minute service, traffic police brought traffic in the town to a standstill as the funeral cortège wound its way to the cemetery on the outskirts of the town.

The six victims of Sunday's blast were among 11 people from the two families who were watching game on an unoccupied farm 3km from the Zimbabwe border when their pick-up truck detonated a powerful land-mine. - Sapa.
Border accusations echo past incidents

By Robin Drew,
The Star’s Africa News Service

HARARE — It was late on a Friday night at the end of July 1981 that 19 bullets from a silenced Uzi sub-machinegun thudded into the body of Joe Gqabi, African National Congress representative in Harare and a top man in the organisation. A silenced pistol and another Uzi were found at the scene. The professional assassins had been taking no chances. They wanted him dead.

The former Robben Island prisoner had escaped an earlier attempt on his life when a bomb was found wired to the same car in which he died several months later outside his home in a Harare suburb.

South Africa denied involvement but the finger was pointed from all quarters at the dirty tricks department of the SADF and specifically by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe at former members of the Rhodesian Selous Scouts serving in the South African forces.

The killing of Joe Gqabi came a few months after a warning by South Africa that it would not allow the ANC to conduct “its politically-orientated diplomatic offensive from Zimbabwe”.

There were warnings then of a military invasion, a threat which drew a categorical denial from the Zimbabweans that they were harbouring ANC guerrillas.

Now four years later the threats and the denials are being heard again.

In between there have been other occasions when relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa have soured sharply over the ANC presence.

But all along Zimbabwe has insisted that while it supports the liberation movements through the OAU and has given its full moral backing to the aims of the movements, it dare not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks because of the danger of reprisals from Pretoria.

Certainly since the Gqabi assassination, the ANC presence in the Zimbabwean capital has been low key.

There are about six ANC officials here and they work from an office. But they say it has no “official status” as such.

No statements are issued from the Harare office. They come from Lusaka and are sometimes channeled through Harare.

Their representative is a little-known official, Mr Reddy Mazinza. He replaced Mr Judson Khuwawayo who died in a road accident in May.

The current accusation that the ANC guerrillas who planted the landmines in the Northern Transvaal entered from Zimbabwe and returned there echoes a June 1985 incident.

Then South African forces caught two guerrillas who admitted crossing from Zimbabwe. Two others escaped back across the Limpopo and were eventually caught by Zimbabwean authorities. What happened to them is not known.

Staging Posts

But South African security officials seem to have accepted the explanation that the gang had used Zimbabwe as a conduit without the knowledge and consent of the government.

It is beyond the bounds of possibility that a small gang of well-trained men entered Zimbabwe and used it as a route to infiltrate South Africa.

In an article which appeared in the American publication Harper’s two years ago, Carole Douglas and Stephen Davis — who did an in-depth report on the ANC — wrote: “Unkontwo we sizwe cannot establish staging posts in frontier states because they are too vulnerable to South African attack or to economic and political destabilisation efforts by the regime.”

“But it can run its units quickly through frontier countries to South Africa’s border fences.

“In groups of three or four, the soldiers are flown or driven from Angola to sympathetic frontline state capitals where they may identify themselves officially as tourists, or as in transit. Immigration officials tend to look the other way.”

Zimbabwe has denied any knowledge of the current claimed incursion. But observers here note that it allegedly took place through the southwestern corner of the country where in the days of the fight against Rhodesia, ANC guerrillas operated with Zipra forces of Mr Nkomo’s ZAPU movement.

During the trial of a prominent Zipra man, Dumiso Dabengwa, who is in detention for allegedly plotting to overthrow Mr Mugabe’s government, he told how South Africa had threatened to bomb an assembly point where guerrillas had gathered in 1980 because of an ANC presence among them.
Azasm calls for restraint

Black youths should exercise restraint in their efforts to ensure the success of the "black Christmas" to avoid alienating the community whose support they sought, a black student organisation said yesterday.

In a statement to Sapa, Azasm's national publicity secretary, Mr Gomolemo Mokae, said the call was prompted by recent incidents of violence against blacks accused of disregarding the "black Christmas" call.

"The last thing we can afford is an alienation of the very community we seek to get fully behind our cause," he said. "We implore the black youth to exercise restraint in its efforts to see to the success of the programme."

He said the black community could not be in a festive mood while the state of emergency was still in force, political activists were detained, black students were being "killed by the SADF and SAP" and legitimate black grievances were being "brutally suppressed." — Sapa.
Kwazulu officials warned on UDF links

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangesuthu Buthelezi, has warned that he will dismiss Kwazulu civil servants who work with the United Democratic Front.

He told staff at an end-of-year function that the Kwazulu government could not employ people who undermined it and who worked with an organisation which destroyed government property and petrol-bombed homes of government employees.

There were senior civil servants who worked closely with the UDF, he said.

DAMAGE

The UDF had declared war on him, Inkatha and the Kwazulu government, and this could be seen in the damage to clinics, schools, offices and other amenities during “UDF-sponsored violence” in Durban townships in August.

The UDF was committed to making the country ungovernable through violence and to attacking, maiming and killing those it designated as “collaborators”.

The UDF had not confined its violence to Inkatha members — its Eastern Cape supporters had killed several members of the Azanian People’s Organisation, merely because that organisation had a different strategy. — Sapa.
Shebeens call for talks on 'Black Christmas'

From SOPHIE TEMBA
JOHANNESBURG. — The National Taverners' Association (NTA) has called on organizations in Soweto to convene a meeting with youths enforcing the consumer boycott.

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss and clarify issues relating to drinking and the "Black Christmas".

The chairman of the NTA, Mr. Lucky Michaels, said he had received complaints from a number of shebeeners who said they were being victimized by youths who had ordered some of them to stop trading.

Mr. Michaels said the NTA had tried to contact the youths enforcing the boycott, but had difficulty in tracking them down.

"The youths who will not sit down to discuss with us what they expect us to do seem to be abusing people in the name of the struggle."

We have an association, we do not operate as individuals and we as taverners need to know what is expected of us," Mr. Michaels said.

In Diepkloof shebeeners have indicated that they are disgruntled with the way in which "comrades" have been trying to enforce the "Black Christmas" call.

Shebeeners claimed they were visited by youths at night about a week ago and were told to stop selling liquor until January 21.

Meanwhile, the Krugersdorp Consumer Boycott Committee (KCBC) this week disassociated itself from any acts of hooliganism and criminal behaviour perpetrated by people claiming to be members of the organization.

The KCBC said it was working on a formula in which "activists" enforcing the boycott could be identified for residents not to confuse them with the criminal elements.

An executive member of the organization has warned that unruly elements would be dealt with accordingly if they did not stop their irresponsible actions.

The consumer boycott, which has been effective in Pretoria and the Reef, has now spread to the Northern Transvaal where youths have set up several roadblocks in some areas to stop police vehicles from entering the townships.

In Kgapane township youths threatened people travelling to Traneen and Duineiskloof to do their Christmas shopping.

Lebowa police yesterday confirmed that people who had returned from doing their shopping had been intimidated by youths in Kgapane. They had set up roadblocks in the area and only buses and taxis carrying workers where allowed to enter the township.

In Modjadji village, residents alleged that two elderly women were hospitalized after an incident in which they had been beaten and forced to drink bottles of cooking oil.

Police could not confirm the alleged incident.

Sunday Times reports from Pretoria that organizers of a boycott of white shops have said they will extend the stayaway unless the government releases a number of detained leaders.

The Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee (PCBC) said yesterday it had been decided at a meeting yesterday to call for the boycott to last until January 15 next year, two weeks longer than initially planned, if the condition was not met.

A spokesman for the PCBC said the detained leaders were Mr. Jibu Ngwenya, chief spokesman for the Soweto CBC, Mr. Louis Khumalo, Mr. John Tau, Mr. Joe Hlongwane, Mr. Johannes Kekana, and Mr. Jibu Chaka, all Mamelodi businessmen, and the Reverend Lucas Mabuza of the Mamelodi Ned Geref Kerk.
By CHRIS ERASMUS and TONY WEAVER

POLICE have opened an arson docket on the fire which burnt out the Old Crossroads Development Centre early on Monday morning — but have flatly denied allegations by two Crossroads residents that members of a police unit started the fire.

The fire destroyed thousands of rands-worth of property, including five vehicles.

On Monday, two residents, members of the township’s home guard anti-crime group, made detailed allegations of police involvement in a statement to the Cape Times and to Mr. Jan van Eck, Progressive Federal Party MEC for Groote Schuur and a member of the party’s unrest monitoring committee.

After police asked the Cape Times to withhold the report on two successive days for police investigation and comment, the Divisional Commissioner for Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier Chris Swart, issued a statement yesterday:

“A criminal case of arson is being investigated by the police. No press statement can be made on the matter because it might do an injustice to the investigation.

“The case is now sub judice.

“The police appeal to any eye-witnesses to come forward and help us in our investigation and to contact the detectives at Guguletu Police Station on 67-5948 or radio control 2 1011.”

In their earlier statement — in which they denied any police involvement in starting the fire — the SAP public relations division in Pretoria said in an initial reaction that the police patrol which discovered the fire was in a Land Rover, not a Casspir. They also said police had saved two men from the burning building.

“Too late”

“It is alleged that the fire brigade was called but the station could not attend and by the time a vehicle from a second station responded to the call it was too late to save the building,” said the Pretoria statement.

Mr. Van Eck said he had been approached by two police officers on Tuesday and a statement had been taken from them.

“It seems by their swift action that the police are taking this extremely serious allegation seriously and I hope that the full truth of the incident is brought to light,” he said.
We can cause damage, says father

Don’t mess with Afrikaner, mine survivor warns ANC

By Don Holliday

TZANEEN — The Afrikaner folk, Mr Dirk van Eck, one of the survivors of Sunday’s Messina landmine explosion, said after the funeral here yesterday of his wife and two young children.

At a Press conference, Mr van Eck (36) told representatives of the local and foreign Press he was still shocked at the losses caused by the explosion.

His wife, Kobie (34), son Ignatius (2), daughter Nelmi (8), Mrs Marie Denyschen (59) and her grandchildren, Kobus (3) and Carla (9), were killed when the truck on which they were travelling hit a landmine planted on a seldom-used game farm road 30 km west of Messina.

Mr van Eck, his 18-month-old son Erik, his wife's sister, Thia (36), and daughter Grizelle (6) survived the blast.

“I hope these murderers are tracked down,” Mr van Eck said.

“They must realise that if they mess with the Afrikaner folk, they mess with people who can cause damage.

“When I stood in front of those open graves today, I wondered how anyone could still wish to negotiate with the ANC. “You can tell Oliver Tambo to beware not to awaken the tiger in the Afrikaner,” he said.

Little Erik van Eck, showing no signs of injury, appeared unaware of the tragic circumstances of the funeral.

He played with his pram in front of the pulpit while the Rev Evert de Kock spoke.

They have gone to a safe place where no terrorist and no landmine can hurt them now,” he told the 500 people who crowded into the Tzanneen Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.

Among those in attendance was the heavily bandaged Mr Koos Denyschen. Solemn-faced Mr van Eck watched silently as the coffins were lowered.

The funeral of the Denyschen family victims will be held today in the same church at 11 am.

‘Sri Lanka army using SA cars’

COLOMBO — The Sri Lankan army is using South African-made armoured cars, according to a report in a Madras-based English newspaper.


The sources denied a Tamil guerrilla group’s estimate that Sri Lanka was using 48 of the South African vehicles.

SOPHISTICATED

The Hindu, also...
MORE than 700 members of the Azanian People’s Organisation from all over the country packed the David Landau Community Centre in Asherville, Durban, for three days for their sixth annual congress — and the only coverage they got in the media was the occasional paragraph.

Very near them, at Curries Fountain, the United Democratic Front (UDF) had a “Release Mandela” rally, and this was extensively covered by the news media.

Was this a deliberate snub or an indicator that Azapo is dying?

The enthusiasm at the community centre was not that of a dying body. And Azapo’s new leader, Saths Cooper (35), says the news media are deliberately snubbing Azapo, but he is not surprized by it.

**Focus**

**Struggle**

“The day that our organisation and our policies are vaunted in the liberal and imperialist media is the day I will know we are dead,” he said during an exclusive interview after his election.

And what does Azapo believe in?

“Our is not merely an anti-apartheid struggle: we are struggling for national self-determination and our goal is a socialist Azania,” Mr Cooper says.

Mr Cooper is the eldest in a family of three boys. He is not married and is about to complete his MA degree in clinical psychology.

His life has been like that of most black political activists in this country: banned and house-arrested at the age of 23; detained the next year and accused in the marathon Saso/BPC trial; jailed in 1976 and released in 1982.

He was among the first eight Saso/BPC leaders banned in 1973, including the father of black consciousness in this country, Steve Biko.

*How does he explain what is happening in the country today?*

“This is a crucial period in our history: there are power-sharing initiatives put forward by sections of the ruling class, by external governments, and various other groups who want to suggest certain dispensations for accommodating certain aspirations of the people.

“We also have a very unique situation where for the first time in the history of this country the people themselves are very vigorously prosecuting the struggle and having certain political groupings following them, rather than the other way round.

**Options**

“We need to restore true leadership to the people: we need to point out the various options, open to them so that they can choose for themselves and that they can be vigilant against multi-racial solutions which will only escalate conflict.”

Mr Cooper believes that the struggle took a more revolutionary character with the “anti-pass campaign that resulted in the massacre of March 21, 1960, spearheaded by the Pan Africanist Congress.

He now sees dangers of regression: “On the one hand the people will never tolerate any person they see as a collaborator addressing them. On the other, we are today seeing people who are in the white Parliament representing capitalist interests — like Peter Soal and Helen Suzman — being accorded comrade status.”

*Question: The common criticism is that Azapo might have the right policies, but it is doing nothing to attain its goals. Does it seem to be putting theory to practice?*

Mr Cooper again blames the Press for this. He says the Press wants the sensational, but when it comes to the day-to-day work, the media does not care.

“We have participated in local campaigns of the people. But we do not wear our campaigns on sleeves.

“We do not put forward our organisation first: we rather engage in activity with the people.

“That was clear, for instance, in the campaign against the tri-cameral Parliamentary elections. Our people were arrested, were attacked. Newsreels throughout the world showed Azapo activists against the elections. The media wrongly assumed they were members of another organisation even when the placards they were carrying were clearly Azapo.

“We sent an emissary to New Zealand to campaign against the All Blacks tour of this country, but again the Press ignored our efforts.”

See page 16
Neighbours get new warning on ANC aid

CAPE TOWN—The State Security Council, in a rare public statement, warned all of South Africa's neighbours last night that "all appropriate measures" would be taken to counter ANC activities within their borders.

The council is only one of four Cabinet committees whose composition is laid down by law. It is chaired by the minister of defence, and includes the ministers of defence, foreign affairs, police, and justice, the chief of security intelligence and the chief of the defence force and the commissioner of police.

It's statement, after a meeting last night, was seen as a warning to Zimbabwe in particular, as other repeated assertions that the terrorists who had attacked the border were unable to link Nkomati in the northern Transvaal had come from, and returned to, that country.

The council said it had invaluable evidence of the presence and activities of terrorist elements in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland. Repeated representations had been made to these governments, but the attitude of some was "unsatisfactory.

It warned these governments that unless they acted against the ANC, "all the peoples of southern Africa will pay a heavy price."

Yesterday's meeting had considered a report by intelligence and security authorities on the increased acts of violence and terror planned and executed by terrorist elements, particularly those in the northern Transvaal and mine incidents which killed civilians, including women and children.

The Foreign Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, reported on the progress of some of the African governments in South Africa's requests for them to eliminate the activities of the "Soviet-supported" ANC in their countries.

The State Security Council considered the attitude of these governments as unsatisfactory, his statement said.

It was clear that terrorist elements continued to operate independently from within Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland, in spite of repeated representations based on irrefutable evidence concerning the presence and activity of terrorist elements in those countries, and in spite of the abuse recently expressed by the United Nations in its unanimous repudiation of terrorism.

The council said that South Africa's islands were considered as criminal and that the warning was aimed at all African nations.

Firemen in rooftop battle against flames

Pietermaritzburg firemen in a rooftop battle to bring under control a blaze in a children's home.

This picture was taken from the Fire Department's new hydraulic platform used to spray the roof and to inspect damage afterwards.

Children escape blaze

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

Firemen Michael Brits, 23, rescued a baby from its home in the drive at the fire department's new hydraulic platform used to spray the roof and to inspect damage afterwards.

This picture was taken from the Fire Department's new hydraulic platform used to spray the roof and to inspect damage afterwards.

Bomb suspected at Delegates' HQ

Mercury Reporter

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Pietermaritzburg firemen in a rooftop battle to bring under control a blaze in a children's home. This picture was taken from the Fire Department's new hydraulic platform to spray water and inspect damage afterwards.

Picture by CHRIS JENKINS

Bomb suspected at Delegates' HQ

Mercurio Reporter

Mr. Aldo F. de Souza, the Indian Living Grounds Commissioner, yesterday received a bomb in his office that police had removed and which was thought to have come from a bomb that had been placed in the Indian Living Grounds. The bomb was located in the Indian Living Grounds and consisted of several 10-lb. bombs that had been placed in the building. The building was quickly evacuated and the police searched the area.

Tracy Sykes, 22, who died on Thursday morning in a fire that swept through a children's home in the Indian Living Grounds. The fire was caused by a bomb that was placed in the building.

Congo fever death

Kinsmelyn — Congo Fever patient, Simon Vosss, died on Wednesday at the Belgian Hospital. It is believed that the fever was caused by a bomb that was placed in the hospital.

Shepherds locked their crooks by fight

Lonron Bureau

Three teenage shepherds have been arrested from their school's sports competition after they were accused of throwing stones at each other with their crooks. Instead of peacefully watching their flocks, the boys engaged in a fight.

The superintendent of the hospital, Dr. Heinrich Voit, confirmed that a bomb was placed in the hospital. The bomb was found to be an incendiary device. The bomb was placed in the hospital and consisted of several 10-lb. bombs that had been placed in the building. The building was quickly evacuated and the police searched the area.

An 11-year-old boy is under treatment for minor injuries at the hospital.

A bomb was placed in the hospital. It is believed that the bomb was placed by the shepherds who were suspected of throwing stones at each other with their crooks. The bomb was located in the hospital and consisted of several 10-lb. bombs that had been placed in the building. The building was quickly evacuated and the police searched the area.

The police have arrested three teenage shepherds from their school's sports competition after they were accused of engaging in a fight with their crooks.

The shepherds were accused of engaging in a fight with their crooks. The police were called to the scene and found that the shepherds were using their crooks to fight with each other.

The shepherds were accused of engaging in a fight with their crooks. The police were called to the scene and found that the shepherds were using their crooks to fight with each other. They were promptly arrested because their fight disturbed the three wine vine, threatened to cause the infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary.

The shepherds were accused of engaging in a fight with their crooks. The police were called to the scene and found that the shepherds were using their crooks to fight with each other. They were promptly arrested because their fight disturbed the three wine vine, threatened to cause the infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary.
PW told to drop charges

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has sent a letter to President P W Botha, demanding the dropping of treason charges against four leaders of the South African Allied Workers' Union.

The four — Mr Sam Kikine, Mr Thozamile Gqwetha, Mr Isaac Ngcobo and Mr Sisa Njikela — were among 16 United Democratic Front leaders who were charged with treason. Charges against the other 12 were withdrawn last week.

In the letter, Cosatu threatened to take action if Mr Botha did not meet its demands.

Condemning the continued detention of other union leaders, Cosatu said the first step to resolving the present crisis was the release of all those held in detention.
Landmine found in Bop, claims CP

By Sue Dobson

Sources in the Conservative Party allege that a landmine was discovered between Pitsane on the Botswana-Bophuthatswana border and Ramatlahana in Bophuthatswana last week — just a few kilometres from the north-western Transvaal town of Zeerust.

The Conservative Party's spokesman on Defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, told The Star that a reliable SADF source in the Zeerust area had informed him that the mine was discovered on December 13.

The landmine is said to have been recovered by the South African Security Police. Its origin is not known.

Police Headquarters in Pretoria say they do not issue statements about events in neighbouring states, even where members of the South African Police assist in combined operations.

The acting commander of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force, Colonel B G Breedt, said: "We will not deny or confirm this incident. We have received orders not to comment."

Mr van der Merwe's source, who refused to be identified, confirmed the details of the incident and said that soldiers from the Zeerust Command had this week briefed border farmers and their workers of the discovery of the mine and to be on the lookout for strangers and report any irregular signs on farm roads.

He emphasised that, while the SADF was responsible for the country's northern areas, the SAP were responsible for the Western Transvaal border.

Mr van der Merwe has approached the SADF and has demanded an explanation of the incident.
Landmines pose a new challenge

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

The landmine explosions in areas along the Limpopo River have added a new dimension to South Africa's war against African National Congress subversion.

The use of landmines on public roads puts civilians at greater risk than any other tactic the ANC has tried except detonating bombs in public places.

In addition, it confronts the South African authorities with a new challenge, not only in dealing with the mines but also in dealing with those who lay them — and with the countries from or through which they operate.

Preventing the ANC from operating from neighbouring territories has always been a major element of Pretoria's strategy against the movement, for without the security of bases in bordering or nearby foreign states, effective and large-scale insurgency becomes difficult — if not impossible.

This was demonstrated in the Rhodesian bush war. Insurgents were effective because they were able to operate from bases in neighbouring Mozambique and Zambia.

South Africa, which can deploy vastly stronger forces than the Rhodesians could, is equally ready to strike at foreign bases.

Besides its major military assaults against SWAPO in Angola, it has made strikes on ANC bases in Maputo and ground attacks on ANC targets in Maseru and Gaborone.

Distant states

It is one thing to attack perceived targets in bordering states. But it is another matter if the ANC launches insurgent operations into South Africa from bases in more distant states, using the bordering states only as approach routes — possibly without the knowledge of their governments?

This is the situation that is postulated by the Harare Government's denial that the Limpopo mine layers operated from bases in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe could not repel the South Africans on its own, and to call for outside help would risk involvement in a prolonged and major conflict from which it could only suffer.

Where then did the Limpopo mine layers come from? From Botswana, only about 15 km away?

But Botswana also denies knowingly allowing the ANC to use its territory for operations into South Africa.

The ANC's claim that the mine layers were based in South Africa appears on the available evidence to be false. A more likely explanation is that they came from Angola, where the ANC has its main training camp, or Zambia, where it has its headquarters.

If the Limpopo landmines were isolated, the question of where the insurgents came from would be academic. But if landmines are used again, the question will become vital.
THE coloured student who drove with me to Paarl, 60 miles from Cape Town, seemed a good sort. He was training for the priesthood and, as we travelled, he explained that although the UDF enjoys majority support in the townships, it is under conflicting pressures.

On the one hand are groups even more radical, like theAssociated People's Organisation (Azapo), which wants a wholly black Azania, and despises the UDF for being multi-racial.

On the other is the older generation, which yearns for a bit of peace and quiet. I remembered an old lady telling me: "I approve of what the young ones are trying to do, but they mustn't make fires."

We reached Paarl's black township of Mbekweni after passing through a perforatory army road block.

"It depends on their mood," murmured my companion, who had gone home to put on clerical garb as a precaution. Our presence didn't seem to attract much attention, although I was assured that entering the township alone as a white would be extremely unwise.

There were a few slum looks from young blacks sitting idly in the shade, but, watching armoured police vehicles roll slowly by a couple of hundred metres away, one began to feel strangely conspicuous. Nervousness can be infectious.

"I didn't know you smoked," my companion said to the Anglican minister we had gone to see. "In these times, I do," he replied, puffing inexorably.

The minister confirmed the extent of UDF support. "Most people actually want some whites in Government. The examples of black African states to the north have opened their eyes. They think there is a place for whites, but Azapo doesn't.

Azapo may be a minority among Mbekweni's 15,000 inhabitants, but there is a bitter feud between the two groups.

Four days earlier an Azapo supporter, who the UDF claimed was a police informer, had his house burned down (a three-year-old child died in the blaze), so Azapo hacked a UDF supporter to death the following night.

There was speculation that Azapo themselves, realising they had a traitor in their midst, might have started the blaze and blamed the UDF. But the outcome is still two more young lives lost.

Politically-motivated violence is taking root at a shockingly early age. "Have you heard our own little drama?" the Anglican minister said. Next door lived the church's lay preacher, a retired policeman.

He and the minister's four-year-old son got on famously. Owing to the state of emergency, however, the preacher was called up to perform reserve police duties, and he arrived back home wearing his uniform.

"You are a policeman!" the boy cried, and dashed into the house. He emerged with one of his father's golf clubs and tried to set about the unfortunate man.

In the nearby coloured area of Wellington, Azapo is not present in any numbers, but the UDF is challenged by another group, the National Unity Movement (NUM). They, too, regard any contact with whites - even "progressive" ones - as collaboration.

A coloured doctor there told me why. "There is a feeling that white involvement is either paternalistic or just another matter of salving consciences. Because of their better education, so on, whites also tend to dominate any multiracial groups they are a part of. It is difficult to be unequal partners. And there is a lack of trust.

Impressed by this candid analysis, I asked the doctor what sort of government people wanted. "Most want a socialist system," he replied, "but it can't be a poor socialist system. We need to retain the infrastructure intact. The country must be rich enough to support socialism." The doctor's diagnostic powers clearly did not extend to economics.

In search of a clearer impression of the process of change from the black viewpoint - I went to see Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner, and Dr Ntshato Molitana, chairman of the Soweto 'Committee of Ten.'

Waiting for the bishop to come out of morning prayers, I became aware of a melodious bouncing sound. The diminutive bishop and his dean retinue came through the door with a shaven-headed Buddhist monk, who said, in an Australian accent: "Sorry we're late, folks. I went on a bit too long."

In the bishop's study I asked if I might use a tape-recorder. "We don't feel intimidated by these contraptions, they are all around," the bishop said, waving his hands at the ceiling. "Dr Molitana and I were talking on the telephone, being somewhat unfriendly about the Government, and someone was monitoring it, not just tapping it. He got so incensed that I interrupted and said: 'You're talking crap.'"

"I still hope for a peaceful solution," I asked, or did he, like the radicals, believe the Government would have to collapse first?"

"As a Christian, I go on hoping. But because no one gives us power voluntarily, they are going to have to be persuaded to negotiate. The alternative is that they will have to be brought down. I hope not, myself."

The bishop thought that international pressure would help to bring about the desired changes, but reminded me of his unequivocal stand on violence: "I have said to our people, 'Let us not use methods in our struggle which in the future we are going to be ashamed of.'"

So what would he say to a young man who sought his advice on going out of the country for "guerilla" training?

"Look, I support the ANC. I support them to the hilt. But I do not support the methods they use. 'I would have to say to this man: 'Have you worked through the proper list of Christian criteria? Do you think you have exhausted all methods other than violence? Is your cause just? Do you pledge to use methods which are consistent with your Christian persuasion - not shooting at random civilians, for instance, and therefore acting as a terrorist? Do you think that what you establish after you have overturned the present order of things will, in fact, be better?'"

I said the last point was apposite, since some people think the Church's efforts will result in an un-Christian, and possibly anti-Christian, Government.

Bishop Tutu's tone became sharper. "Why do people say that? I was in London a few weeks ago and Oliver Tambo was there as well. He came to see me where I was staying, and we started our meeting with a Eucharist. I told him that more than 75% of the ANC membership is Christian."

But look at Zimbabwe, I said. The churches rallied against Ian Smith's Government for years, and now they are horrified about what is going on under Mugabe.

"I think you are exaggerating. I think the West has
been quite unfair with Mr Mugabe. A brief sermon on the reconciliatory nature of Zimbabwean policies followed, but the bishop ended: "They highlight the admittedly awful things that have happened there, but you're talking about a Government in the earliest possible stages of its evolution."

I tried to change the subject, but the bishop had built up a head of steam. "No, no, I want to push this, because I think there is a gross unfairness about editorial policy. Look at the United States. After they gained independence, what happened? Very soon afterwards they had a civil war."

"Nearly a hundred years afterwards," I ventured. "What about the Wars of the Roses? All those wonderful, extraordinary things that happened: Your historical memory — on a par with most white people — seems to relegate these things to a limbo."

The bishop seemed to be giving me the ecclesiastical equivalent of the red card. His arms were making great propeller-like movements in the air. "Look at sophisticated countries, highly Christian, like Germany. They end up with a holocaust of six million people!"

I muttered something about advanced countries not being free from sin, and asked him again about a future ANC government. "Our chances are very good. You see, our antecedents include the Freedom Charter, which speaks of a caring, sharing kind of community. More socialist than capitalist, and I make no bones about it. I myself hate materialism."

Noticing some posters on the wall advertising works of "black theology," I had wanted to ask him about the difference between this and white theology, but the Buddhist monk had upset the day's schedule. A television team was waiting outside. "You'll have to go or I'm going to get clobbered," the bishop said.

I went to see Matlosana in Soweto, but the black taxi driver seemed edgy and uncertain of the way. At one point, he pulled up and removed the taxi sign from the top of his car. "It is safer," he said mysteriously. "Now they cannot see us coming."

We arrived an hour late, just as Dr Molema was setting off for a lunch appointment in Johannesburg. "We can talk in the car," he said. "The engine doesn't make much noise." Being a large BMW, it didn't.

"The Government is not about to negotiate fundamental structural changes to South Africa," the doctor said. "So the obvious thing that must be done is to make the maintenance of the apartheid system expensive. Change will come about when the Government has finally made up its mind that the cost of maintaining this system balanced against the cost of introducing a just society is simply too much."

I had been told time and again that black demands would not budge from "one vote in a unitary state" (although the consequences of this slogan have not been given much thought), but he saw room for manoeuvre.

"A unitary state is certainly negotiable, and a federal state might be acceptable to some people — as long as it is not based on race. The idea of 'group rights' is certainly not negotiable."

We cruised into leafy Johannesburg. Did blacks want revenge? I asked.

"It is certainly going to be a factor. A week after the violence which followed Benjamin Moloi's killing, the looting was repeated on a smaller scale. Pamphlets were being issued in Soweto which just said: 'To town! To town!' There is this feeling now that we've destroyed all we can in Soweto, and that we will now move into the city."

Most of ANC membership is Christian — Bishop Tutu
ANC activities
SA warns
border
states

By MICHAEL ACOTT

THE State Security Council has issued a forthright warning to neighbouring countries that “all appropriate means” will be taken to counter African National Congress activities within their borders.

The rare statement from the country's top security organization is a forceful reiteration of previous South African threats to take action against ANC bases if these countries would not curtail ANC activities on their soil.

It is seen as a warning to Zimbabwe in particular, following South African allegations that the people who planted the killer landmines in the Northern Transvaal had come from, and returned to, Zimbabwe.

The council said it had irrefutable evidence of the presence and activity of “terrorist elements” in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland. Repeated representations had been made to these governments, but the attitude of some of these states was “unsatisfactory.”

It warned these governments that, unless they acted against the ANC, “all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.”

The council said yesterday’s meeting was chaired by President P.W. Botha at Tuynhuys in Cape Town. The meeting considered a report by intelligence and security authorities on “the increased acts of violence and terror planned and executed from neighboring states,” particularly the Northern Transvaal landmine incidents which killed civilians, including women and children.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, reported on the reaction of some neighboring governments to South African requests for them to eliminate the activities of the “Soviet-supported” ANC in their countries.

The State Security Council considered the attitude adopted by these governments as unsatisfactory,” the statement said.

“It is clear that terrorist elements continue to operate inter alia from within Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland, despite repeated representations based on irrefutable evidence concerning the presence and activity of terrorist elements in these countries, and despite the abhorrence recently expressed by the United Nations in its unanimous repudiation of terrorism.”

“The State Security Council is convinced that all South Africans consider these crimes cowardly attacks on civilians of our country in a serious light and are unanimous in their condemnation of these acts of violence, particularly at a time when the most far-reaching reform is taking place in the country’s political, social and economic life.”

Duty

“...It was decided that the governments of these countries must again be informed of the South African Government’s grave concern at the increased terrorist activities from their territory, and that they be urged to realize that if this menace is allowed to continue, all the peoples of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price.”

“The South African Government has a duty to protect the people’s.”
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The State Security Council is convinced that all South Africans consider these criminal and cowardly attacks on civilians of our country in a serious light and are unanimous in their condemnation of these acts of violence, particularly at a time when the most far-reaching reform is taking place in the country's political, social and economic structures.

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"It was decided that the government of these countries must again be informed of the South African Government's grave concern at the increased internal terrorist activities from their territory and that they be urged to realize that if this menace is allowed to continue, all the people of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price."

"The South African Government has a duty to protect the country's boundaries and the security of its citizens by all appropriate means," the statement concluded.

Composition

The State Security Council is one of four cabinet committees, and the only one whose composition is laid down by law. It is chaired by the President and includes the ministers of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Police and Justice. Also on the council are the Chief of Security Intelligence, the Chief of the Defence Force, the Commissioner of Police, and such additional ministers or civil servants as may wish to co-opt.

The government has strongly denied that the State Security Council acts as a "cabinet within a cabinet" or that it has a predominant role in determining government policy.

PFP appeal to 'reduce tension'

Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday appealed to the government and to South Africa's neighbors to work together to reduce tensions in the region.

The PFP's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr. Collin Eglin, said the unprecedented statement by the State Security Council yesterday on behalf of the government underlined the serious deterioration of relations between South Africa and its neighbors.

"The fact that the State Security Council statement names all of South Africa's internationally recognized neighbors shows that South Africa's African regional accord, which looked so promising last year is on the brink of collapse."

Mr. Eglin said a tense and potentially explosive situation was developing which would best be resolved through mutual respect resulting from government-to-government discussions, not by rhetoric or threats from either side of the border.

"I trust that all governments will take note of the serious situation that is developing and that they will take steps within, their own countries to eliminate the causes of tension."

Territorial integrity

At the same time, I trust that the South African Government is also taking into account the serious consequences of pre-emptive action, and will do nothing to add to the violence or the threats to the security of the region," Mr. Eglin said.

South Africa was entitled to require that its neighbors respect its territorial integrity.
Lesotho blames SA for raid

MASERU — Lesotho last night said that the South African Defence Force was responsible for the raid on two Maseru homes early yesterday morning that killed nine people, including South African political refugees and Lesotho citizens.

Dismissing reports that it was the work of the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA), Lesotho's Minister of the Interior, Mr Desmond Sixishe, said the claim was an attempt by the Defence Force to 'cover up their immoral attack.'

A Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria said: "We categorically deny any SADF involvement in the incident."

Camouflage

But Mr Sixishe said last night, "We are not aware that the LLA has white members, Africans, who were seen by eyewitnesses at the scene of the attack."

"We are aware that the LLA has ANC targets. The claim is obviously a camouflage by the South African Defence Force to cover up their immoral attack."

Last night an ANC spokesman in Lobola said that four men and two women were members of the guerrilla organization. The other three were Lesotho nationals.

The official announcement of the raid was made by Radio Maseru, which did not name the deceased, although one of the eight dead persons has been identified as Mr. Jacques Monnet, 24, who was killed in the attack.

The radio also claimed that the killings were carried out by South African commandos using "silent firearms." However, last night a person calling himself Mphathe Mphathe and claiming to be the commando-in-chief of the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) phoned Sapa in Johannesburg claiming responsibility for the attack.

"It is the LLA who did the attack," he said. "Lesotho (Jonathan, prime minister of Lesotho) knows who did it and he should stop pretending otherwise and sneakily implicating people who are not involved in our war, with him.

When asked whether South African refugees were a target, he said "It was a mistake that the women must die, bullets go astray".

Neighbours said seven people were killed.

Man's body

Mr Makoae strongly denied the accusation and said that Lesotho believed in peaceful consultation and dialogue.

A neighbour in Maseru, Mr Makoae, 24, said she heard nothing during the night and discovered a man's body next to the garage yesterday morning. In the house she found a woman dead on the sofa in the sitting room and rushed to call police who discovered the rest of the bodies.

A man on the scene, who also asked not to be identified, said he shared the house with five Lesotho nationals and when he returned for the evening because they didn't drink.

Painted

One survivor, 18-year-old Richard Macaskill, said six people burst into the house where a party was under way and started firing pistols with silencers.

He said the raiders' faces had been painted black but their arms showing through short sleeves revealed white skin.

Lesotho Radio said police were searching for the owner of the house who had hosted the party and had "interrupted" the guests.

A neighbour said seven to page 2
ANC man banished to Transkei

UMTATA — A Transkeian former member of the banned African National Congress, who was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment by the Rand Supreme Court for acts of sabotage and terrorism, on Wednesday arrived in Umtata from Robben Island.

Mr Kwedi Mkalipi arrived in the Transkeian capital under escort and was handed over to Brigadier S Denga of the Umtata Security Police.

A police spokesman said Mr Mkalipi had been banished to Baziya near Umtata. Mr Mkalipi served his full sentence.

— Own Correspondent.
AZAPO has called for a head-on confrontation with the State and the ruling classes.

At its annual congress in Durban at the weekend, more than 500 delegates and observers cheered enthusiastically as new president Sitha Cooper said: “Let there be confrontation between the ruling classes and the ruled, the exploiters and the oppressed.”

At the same time Mr Cooper issued a challenge to UDF leaders to join with Azapo in putting an end to black-on-black strife and violence in SA.

“I call on the UDF to join with us in seeking the only way forward in a society...” Azapo,” Mr Cooper said.

Mr Cooper said that at a time when SA was facing a crisis it had never faced before, people were calling for leadership and unity in the name of the struggle.

Instead of getting leadership they were being duped by “party bungee jumpers” masquerading as supposed revolutionaries.

“Azapo is the only organization in SA prepared to take the struggle forward to achievements,” he added.

The theme of the congress was “Forward to a Socialist Azapo.”

Mr Cooper was elected president, defeating Phumzile Mlambo-NDlovu by 61 votes to 31.

Outgoing president Phelekezela Makhubu was elected vice-president, defeating Phumzile Mlambo-NDlovu by 61 votes to 31.

The meeting looked likely to be disrupted early on when several security cops grabbed the microphone, threatening to eject any speaker “except the president” and that no uninvited persons be quoted.

But the meeting went on with a strong and enthusiastic audience cheering and singing to the hymn “Free Nelson Mandela.”

The highlight of the meeting was the arrival of Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu.

After being greeted by the congress, she told the cheering audience: “We have come to demand what belongs to us...”

UDF president, Archibald Cooper, said this week.

He was referring to a call made by new Azapo president Sitha Cooper for the two organizations to join hands to stop what Mr Cooper described as “interstate violence.”

He said he hoped the UDF would accept his invitation.

Mr Cooper said the UDF would have no difficulty in taking Mr Cooper’s offer because if Azapo dropped its baseline on race being “a paramount factor in the conduct of affairs”.

The UDF president said Azapo’s rejection of solutions to root apartheid imposed by external forces – including the Commonwealth – was not acceptable.

“The UDF is a genuine party of diverse people from different backgrounds with a lot to gain and lose, and Azapo will have to come down to earth and see South Africa and its people as they are.” Mr Cooper said.

Cheers break the long silence.

Audience members sang and cheered and the meeting continued.

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UDF plea to release detainees

CAPE TOWN — The United Democratic Front (UDF) has asked the Government "to act with compassion" and release all detainees "so that they may spend this Christmas with those they love."

The plea is made in a message issued by Mr. Naseerh Jaffer, spokesman for the UDF's Western Cape branch.

The UDF's special Christmas message said:
"Christmas this year is filled with sadness for thousands of people in the Western Cape. Children as young as 14 will spend this period in the loneliness of prison cells.

There are mothers, fathers, relatives and friends whose thoughts will be on their loved ones, who will worry about their well-being and wonder when they are to be released.

The detainees themselves have sacrificed enormously. They have risked their health on hunger strikes to draw attention to their plight.

"We call on the authorities to act with compassion and make a small gesture to the true meaning of the Christmas period by releasing all detainees so that they may spend Christmas with those they love." — Sapa.
Cleric meets Matie students

A group of University of Stellenbosch students met the Rev Nico Smith in Pretoria at the weekend.

The students and Dr Smith discussed, among other subjects, talks with the African National Congress (ANC). No decisions were taken about further meetings with the outlawed group.

In October the group of Matie students, and Dr Smith and church leaders, planned to speak to the ANC in Lusaka. The students' trip was thwarted when the Government withdrew their passports and Dr Smith was dissuaded by the State President, Mr PW Botha.

SHY ABOUT PUBLICITY

Dr Smith said the students had instructed him not to release any information to the Press about their meeting at the weekend. "The students are rather shy about any publicity and they are afraid to talk to the Press," Dr Smith said.

The eight students, who met Dr Smith under the leadership of Mr Hennie Bester — the original leader of the planned talks with the ANC — also spoke to several community leaders while in Johannesburg. The students have returned to Stellenbosch.
ANC, OAU blame SA for attacks

De Cuellar slams Maseru killings

NEW YORK — United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has condemned Friday's Lesotho attacks as "brutal.

A UN statement said the Secretary-General "strongly condemns the brutal attacks which were carried out against the homes of Lesotho nationalists and SA refugees in Maseru" early on Friday, resulting in the deaths of four women and five men.

Sapa-Reuter quotes the African National Congress as saying at the weekend that the raid, which it blamed on SA, "will spur us to fight even more resolutely to destroy the Pretoria regime of terror."

The ANC said in a message from its Lusaka office that six of its members were slain, along with three Lesotho citizens, in attacks on two homes in the Lesotho capital.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), from its headquarters in Addis Ababa, has strongly condemned SA, which it said staged the armed raid.

SA repeated its denial of involvement at the weekend. A rebel Lesotho group claimed in an anonymous call to a news agency that its forces carried out the raid.

But Lesotho Interior Minister Desmond Sixishe said witnesses had seen white SA troops among the attackers. He dismissed the suggestion that Lesotho rebels would strike at what he said were SA refugees living in Lesotho.

Witnesses said seven blacks, including at least four South Africans, were slain at a party when gunmen burst into a Lesotho home near the SA border and opened fire.

One survivor, 18-year-old Richard Macaskill, said six people burst into the house where a party was under way and started firing pistols with silencers.

He said the raiders' faces had been painted black but their arms, showing through short sleeves, were white.

"Even as they broke through the doors, they were already firing their pistols," he said.

An SA couple — Jackie Quin and her husband Joe — died in an attack on their home in a wealthier suburb in Maseru about the same time. A neighbouring farmer said silencers were also used in that attack.
Govt takes harder line on ANC

Police arrest Winnie Mandela in Soweto swoop

SECURITY POLICE detained black dissident Winnie Mandela under the Internal Security Act yesterday, in a weekend of drama during which she was twice physically removed from her Soweto home.

The crackdown on Mandela is the latest in a series of developments which observers believe signal government's return to a hardline policy against both the ANC and neighbouring states sympathetic to the movement.

Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was being held at an undisclosed location last night for defying a new banning order. The order, effectively banning her from her Soweto home, only allows her to stay in black areas outside the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

Unofficial sources said she was being held in Krugersdorp, and would appear in court this week, but this could not be confirmed.

Journalists who witnessed the arrest added that yesterday said plainclothes policemen carried 50-year-old Mandela "creeping and screaming" from her home in Orlando West after she had refused to accompany them.

PETER HONEY

It was a dramatic replay of her removal on Saturday, after Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange relaxed the restrictions which had banished her to the Free State town of Brandfort since May 1977.

Witnesses said that on Saturday, after a three-hour altercation, armed police backed by troops bundled Mandela into a car and drove her to the Holiday Inn near Jan Smuts Airport. There the police left her, with a bruised ankle, penniless and without luggage.

In spite of police warnings to her not to return to Soweto, Mandela tried to board a train back to Johannesburg with money given to her by hotel staff.

Her daughter Zinzi and lawyer Ismail Ayob found her before she embarked. Mandela returned home to Soweto where she remained until her arrest about noon yesterday.

It is illegal to quote Mandela, but sources who spoke to her before her arrest said she was expecting police action "of any kind".

They also disclosed that Mandela's husband Nelson had been kept in isolation since his discharge from hospital recently, and that he had not been in touch with fellow Pollsmoor prisoners.

Political observers say Winnie Mandela's arrest signals government's return to a hardline policy against the ANC and anti-apartheid activists, in the wake of last week's landmine explosion which killed six people and wounded five near Maseru.

They point out that police took no action against Mandela when she defied her earlier banishment to Maseru by living in Soweto for more than four months. During that time she held Press conferences and made public statements in the presence of thousands of people.

She had refused to return to Maseru after her home and health clinic there were petrol-bombed in August.

Other recent developments which observers regard as significant in supporting their contention that government is taking a harder line include:

- The strike against ANC activists in Maseru. SA's denial of involvement has been sceptically received abroad and in many quarters inside the country.
- The unprecedented statement by State Security Council last week, which warned neighbouring states against harbouring ANC activists.

Editorial Comment Page
PARIS — France has condemned the arrest of black nationalist leader Mrs Winnie Mandela as "extremely regrettable."

A statement issued yesterday by the French External Relations Ministry said: "This new attack on human rights threatens to aggravate existing tensions in South Africa."

This follows a call on world leaders to persuade South Africa to release Mrs Mandela unconditionally.

The president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London, Bishop Trevor Huddleston, sent telegrams to Mrs Thatcher, President Reagan, President Mitterrand, Chancellor Kohl and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, urging them to persuade South Africa to release Mrs Mandela. — The Star Bureau and Sapa.
South Africa and its neighbours

The countries in Southern Africa are inextricably linked. At central stage is South Africa, but the relationship with its neighbours is a complicated one. Recession has affected all the countries and now the threat of sanctions has added yet another variable. JOHN D'OLIVEIRA, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service, analyses the situation.

Southern Africa moves into the second half of the 1980s family balanced between widespread upheaval and considerable promise.

At central stage, as always, is South Africa.

It dominates the region economically: its transport services are indispensable to the subcontinent, and its military machine is still the unchallenged master of almost all it surveys.

However, the past year brought a dramatic intensification of the pressures, both internal and external, on South Africa's ruling elite.

As a result, considerable apprehension has been generated throughout the region as black politicians and officials try to anticipate what sanctions against South Africa will do to their own economies, what South African military actions against its enemies will do to their countries, and what potential chaos in South Africa will mean to their transport infrastructures.

Already the South African recession has hit the region hard. Neighbouring economies are either almost totally dependent on South Africa (Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland), marginally so (Zimbabwe) or in a state of chaos (Angola, Mozambique, Zambia).

Any further deterioration in the Southern African economy might be more than mere neighbouring states might be able to bear.

However, some of the countries' leaders believe that, if sanctions are applied to South Africa, the rich Western countries will provide enough compensatory economic aid to see them through, or, at least, cushion the effects of sanctions on their economies.

What really terrify the South African military machine.

Countries such as Lesotho and Botswana fear that increased unrest in South Africa will lead to further strikes into their territories as South Africa tries to find and destroy the African National Congress activists it believes are fomenting the violence in South Africa.

Mozambique still insists - despite repeated South African denials - that South Africa continues to help the MNR rebel movement and that this help will increase as the situation in South Africa itself deteriorates.

Angola entered December claiming South Africa had massed troops, armour and other materiel on its southern borders. Ahead for another major offensive (a claim the South African military denied vigorously). This was followed by claims South African forces had actually invaded southern Angola in contravention of the Lusaka Agreement.

Zimbabwe warns anxiously to see whether the South African Defence Forces will strike across the Limpopo in pursuit of the ANC guerrillas who had a series of landmines in the Northern Tsumeb.

Perhaps the most dangerous situation is the one developing in southern Angola.

The Angolan government is committed to smashing Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement and the Russians have allowed themselves to be drawn deeply enough into this conflict to make its outcome an issue of Russian military credibility - as much as anything else.

There are now almost 30,000 Cuban combat troops in Angola, more than 5,000 Cuban military advisers and possibly 2,000 more advisers from other communist bloc countries.

Rumours and its allies have provided Angola with billions of dollars, worth of military equipment, much of it more sophisticated than anything South Africa can supply.

South Africa, in turn, is committed to providing "moral, material and humanitarian" assistance to Dr Savimbi, although it is not nearly as deeply committed as the Russians are to their Angolan ally.

Both the Russians and the South Africans are determined that Angola should not develop - for each of them, respectively - into another Vietnam.

However, the available evidence suggests that every round in the battle between Papia (the Angolan Defence Force) and Unita is fought at a higher level of intensity and, as the levels of intensity increase, do the risks.

So, as 1985 draws to a close, there is tension and apprehension almost everywhere in the region. The tragedy is that it could all be so different - if only the South African Government could resolve satisfactorily the issues of full black participation in the country's economic, social and political systems.

By most world standards, Southern Africa is under-populated and potentially rich. While South Africa has an infrastructure and levels of expertise found nowhere else in the Third World. The region's different countries, with their varied resources and characteristics, complement each other as do few other regional groupings.

If the whites could reach an accommodation with their black compatriots, the world would almost certainly feel so relieved that the rich Western nations would probably flood the area with investment and aid.

All this would not, in itself, resolve the region's economic, social and administrative problems - but the prospects would look a hell of a lot better than they do now.
Coalition in House seen as difficult

DURBAN — A coalition between Solidarity, the official Opposition in the House of Delegates, and the ruling National Peoples' Party (NPP) — to be explored at top-level talks today — would be hard to achieve because of fundamental differences, a senior Opposition MP, Mr. Pat Poovalingam, said in Durban at the weekend.

The move, which is said to have received the blessings of Mr. Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, will be discussed between delegations from the two parties at a meeting in Cape Town.

Mr. Poovalingam said differences between the two parties concerned fundamental principles and not "artificial" considerations as Solidarity's new national chairman and President's Council member Mr. Ismail Omar had been reported at the weekend as saying.

"I do not believe Mr. Omar had been quoted correctly," he said. There were at least three glaring differences which, on their own, would militate against a coalition or any form of working arrangement.

He said they were:

- Solidarity opposed the Regional Services Councils Bill because it entrenched apartheid, whereas the NPP "not only supported the Government on this, but also applied the guillotine and muzzled the Opposition in the House of Delegates".
- Solidarity was completely opposed to troops being used in townships during unrest, whereas the NPP leader, Mr. Amichand Rajbansi, had supported the Government's stand on this.
- Solidarity demanded the repeal of the Group Areas Act in toto, whereas the NPP's representatives on the President's Council "were going along with the Government's idea of replacing the Act with similar legislation under a different name". — Sapa.
Mrs Winnie Mandela is due to appear in court today, just two days before she is to visit her imprisoned husband on Christmas Day.

She was arrested yesterday for defying an order which excluded her from the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

The arrest followed an earlier incident in which she was forcibly removed from her Orlando West, Soweto, home by security policemen.

It is believed police dropped her at an airport hotel, but she defied them and boarded a train back to Soweto.

She joined several of her relatives, friends and lawyers who kept a vigil, saying they were shocked at the way she was forcibly removed from her home.

But yesterday morning about 16 security policemen again forcibly took her away saying she had been arrested for contravening her banning order.

She is being held at a Krugersdorp Police Station.

Police confirmed she would appear in court today but would not say under what charges.

The drama started on Saturday afternoon when Mrs Mandela refused to be taken away by five policemen and a policewoman.

The incident happened hours after the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, announced that restrictions on her had been relaxed.

After a six-hour wait during which Security Police communicated with their superiors, reinforcements arrived and after a brief struggle she was taken away.

Her daughter Zinzi said: “We are very angry. My mother has taken a stand that we all support. This is her rightful home.

“It is a pity she alone, a woman for that matter, had to be forcibly removed from her home by a contingent of policemen.

“We are angry that they are doing all this when we are supposed to be visiting my father at Pollsmoor on Christmas Day,” she said.

In terms of the amendments to her restriction order, Mrs Mandela is no longer forced to remain at her Brandfort home in the Free State and may now attend social gatherings which are not political meetings.

Her lawyer added that in terms of the relaxation, she may now travel and live anywhere in South Africa except the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

A police spokesman said he could not add to what Mr Le Grange had already announced.

Last month the Security Police ordered her to return to Brandfort where she had been banished since 1977.

The order came after her Brandfort home was firebombed. She moved back to her Soweto home which she once shared with her husband, jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.
Little boy’s Christmas shopping turned into a tragedy

Pretoria Correspondent

Eight-year-old Cornio Smit’s outing to buy Christmas presents for his parents, brother and sister ended in tragedy when he was killed by this week’s bomb blast at the Sanlam Centre in Amanzimtoti.

Cornio, of Paula Street, Pretoria Gardens, left Pretoria on December 14 and was holidaying at a Queensburgh caravan park with his grandparents Mr and Mrs C S Smit.

The dead boy’s father, Mr Johan Smit, a Villiersia businessman, said his parents and son were on their way to Scottburgh on Monday when Cornio asked his grandfather to stop at the Sanlam Centre.

He told his grandfather he had earlier seen gifts he wanted to buy for his parents, younger brother Juanico (4) and sister Semead (2) at the centre.

Mr Smit’s mother, Mrs Anna Smit, who was injured in the killer blast, is still in Durban’s Addington Hospital.

She is expected to undergo another operation this week.

Mr Smit said his parents were in a terrible state and felt responsible for Cornio’s death. “At first we did not want him to go on holiday with my parents but they insisted and we agreed,” Mr Smit said.

“My mother still believes Cornio detonated the bomb. He saw a decorated cake near the kiosk where the bomb exploded. The cake had the inscription ‘Press button to operate’.

“The bomb went off when Cornio pressed the button.”

“The police told my mother that it was mere coincidence.

“We received a message saying that Cornio was seriously injured on Monday and left for Durban immediately. On arrival, we went to the hospital right away and could at first not find our son.

“We were initially told that had been discharged. A mat however, told us about the body of an unidentified boy in mortuary. But she said it unlikely to be our son. My father only told us later that it was Cornio and that he had already identified the body.”

Cornio is to be buried at the Nederduits Gereformeer Kerk, Pretoria Tuine at 2 on Tuesday.
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Winnie Mandela’s arrest is “exactly the kind of encouragement protesters at home and abroad need to sustain their campaign for more sanctions” against South Africa, the Guardian newspaper says in an editorial today.

It says: “From the people who brought you the canonisation of Nelson Mandela, comes a new determined drive to promote the martyrdom of his indomitable wife, Winnie. The dilemma of the South African authorities as they contemplate the spiralling resistance of a woman they regard as a revolutionary truant is exquisite, though the consequences for her are nothing of the sort.”

Locking her up, the newspaper points out, enhances her status as an “African heroine”.

“The bonds tying this remarkable couple (Winnie and Nelson Mandela) together grow only stronger under the stresses of separation and persecution.”

Outlining the background to the adoption of a policy of armed resistance by the African National Congress — “whose spiritual leaders they are” — the Guardian says: “The latest ANC campaign included the planting of landmines on South Africa’s northern border, one of which recently killed four children and two women.

“The television cameras, banned from covering black unrest, were allowed to record the white funeral, at which chilling threats of revenge were made by some of the mourners. Nobody expects those bereaved by an atrocity to show readiness to compromise with its perpetrators at the height of grief. We may therefore leave the grave-side threats out of account.

“But the cynicism of those who set out to exploit the emotions provoked by the white coffins is ugly in the extreme.”

The landmine deaths had pushed the total number of whites killed in the present unrest into double figures.

Racial stalemate

“In the same week, the overall total of killings moved into four figures. It does not occur to the whites enraged by the landmine killings that the blacks might just be upset on a pro-rata basis over the deaths of so many hundreds of their race.”

The editorial says Mrs Mandela’s detention “underlines the tragedy inherent in the South Africa’s racial stalemate.

“White oppression leads to black revolt to which the only answer is more oppression. Just as blacks have shown that they can maintain their resistance indefinitely, so the whites set out to show they can contain it. The rogue element in the equation is the effect of the unrest on the economy, which may yet prove unworkable under apartheid.”
SA warned
Lesotho about
raid by ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — Pretoria warned Lesotho that
Maseru-based African National Congress members
would strike South Africa over Christmas — hours
before the raid in which nine civilians, including
Lesotho nationals, were killed in attacks on two
homes in the Lesotho capital.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Af-
fairs confirmed yesterday that South Africa had
sent a diplomatic note to Lesotho.

He said Lesotho had replied to the note, sent in
the middle of last week, and asked for further
information on the South African allegations.

Hours later, in the early hours of Friday morning,
commandos, alleged by Lesotho and the ANC to be
South Africans, launched an attack in Maseru and
killed nine civilians, six of whom the ANC says were
members of their organization. A SADF spokesman
and the SAP have denied any involvement.

The South African Government also hinted that it
had the right to take action to protect South Africa.

Pik Botha 'no longer in control'

Lesotho says it believes the Foreign Minister, Mr
Pik Botha, is no longer in control of South Africa's
foreign policy but is controlled by the military.

The ministerial press secretary, Mr Tseu Nisane,
said Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan received a
 telex from South Africa on Wednesday claiming
 evidence of a Christmas strike.

On Thursday Lesotho replied saying it did "not
have sufficient information to take any kind of ac-
tion" and wanted more proof.

The stunned Lesotho Government believes the
attack to be a SADF reprisal for the landmine
deaths in Messina early last week.

The Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr David
Makoae, said at the weekend that two burnt-out
 vehicles were found on the banks of the Caledon
River. The tracks of the raiders were still visible.

The ANC released a statement at the weekend
rejecting South Africa's denial of responsibility and
said the attack carried out by an "assassination
 squad" was a "dastardly act" which could not be
described as a military operation.

The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier
Perez de Cuellar, has condemned the Lesotho at-
tacks as "brutal" while the Organization of African
Unity also strongly condemned South Africa, claim-
ing that it was responsible for the raid.

The names of the dead have not been released
except for that of a South African-born teacher, Ms
Jackie Quinn, who was gunned down with her hus-
band, identified only as Joe, in their Maseru flat.

Ms Quinn's grief-stricken parents, Mr Phillip
Quinn and his wife Patricia, arrived in Maseru at
the weekend to spend Christmas with their daugh-
ter. They had been unaware of the deaths.

Mr Quinn said Jackie was not politically involved.

Her interest in Lesotho had been teaching.

In 1982 the SADF killed 42 people in a raid on
Maseru which the government said was aimed at
ANC members. — Own Correspondent and Sap-
Reuter-AP
WINNIE BEHIND BARS

MRS WINNIE Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, was yesterday arrested by police after she had returned to her Soweto home in defiance of a restriction order placed on her on Saturday.

On Saturday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced that some restrictions on Mrs Mandela (51) had been relaxed. However, she was prohibited from being in the magisterial districts of Johannes burg and Roodeport.

Captain Henry Beck of the police unit for public relations yesterday confirmed that Mrs Mandela was arrested under the Internal Security Act for contravening her new restriction order.

There was drama at Mrs Mandela's Orlando West home when 16 white plain-clothes policemen and a policewoman descended on the house just after 11 am.

Our reporters, who were on the scene, witnessed Mrs Mandela exchange words with the policemen and refusing to be taken away. She was later taken away in a police car.

Shortly before this, six foreign and local newspaper correspondents were asked by the police if they had permission to be in Soweto. The journalists were taken to a nearby police station and released about 30 minutes later.

Police yesterday confirmed that Mrs Mandela is held at the Krugersdorp Police Station.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer was last night trying to arrange her release on bail.

The most important amendment to Mrs Mandela's restriction order is the lifting of the prohibition on her leaving her Brandfort home — where she was confined by the Government in 1977 — at certain times, the withdrawal of the restrictions on her attending social gatherings and the lifting of the order enforcing her to report to police stations.

Among restrictions that still prevail are that she must not attend political meetings and gatherings of students or scholars, she may not be on educational institutions, provide teaching, except to her own children, or distribute or as-
World uproar over arrest

LONDON — Both Conservative and Liberal London daily newspapers have condemned the arrest yesterday of Mrs Winnie Mandela from her home in Soweto, saying it could only have dire consequences for foreign relations with South Africa.

The Conservative newspaper, The Daily Telegraph, said in its editorial today the arrest of Mrs Mandela, "however short-lived, will confirm the world's opinion of South Africa as a police state".

Although Mrs Mandela "may be no saint", she was politically more sophisticated than the police.

Her radical politics and links with the African National Congress had led her to "provoke the South African Police into behaving appallingly... they have obligingly done so".

It added that the police response was "partly because it is not in their nature to be reserved, and partly because they may have believed the recent ANC bombing in which four white children died would give them a fair wind within white South Africa".

The Guardian, a Liberal newspaper, said the arrest of Mrs Mandela "is exactly the kind of encouragement protesters at home and abroad need to sustain their campaign for more sanctions".

The Guardian went on to say that locking up Mrs Mandela would "automatically damage her hard-earned status as an African heroine".

"From the people who brought you the canonisation of Nelson Mandela comes a new determined drive to promote the martyrdom of his redoubtable wife, Winnie," it said.

"The latest detention of Mrs Mandela underlines the classical tragedy inherent in the racial state in South Africa. Anyone who dares to speak for the great African majority is locked up, regardless of any increase in tension that may follow."

"White oppression leads to black revolt, to which the only answer is more oppression. Just as the blacks have shown that they can maintain their resistance indefinitely, so the whites set out to show they can contain it."

"The rogue element in the equation is the serious effect of the unrest on the economy, which may yet prove unworkable under apartheid."

Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement urged world leaders today to demand that South Africa free Mrs Mandela.

Anglican Bishop Trevor Huddleston, the movement's president, said he had sent cables to United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, US President Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, French President Francois Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, asking for urgent intervention with South Africa.
Mrs Mandela in court today

Police arrested the 51-year-old Mrs Mandela at her Soweto home yesterday and took her to a police station in Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg.

Mr Ayob said after seeing her last night that she would be charged after spending the night in a cell.

Captain Henry Beck, of the Pretoria headquarters of the South African Police, said she was held under security legislation for contravening a revised order restricting her movements.

Mrs Mandela, wife of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, and a black leader in her own right, was banished to the southern Free State town of Brandfort, left there in August this year after her home was destroyed in a fire bomb.

Since then she has been living in her Soweto home and also spent time in Cape Town after her husband underwent surgery.

She was taken from the family's Soweto home by police on Saturday, but was not held in custody.

Mrs Mandela was told the State would pay expenses incurred by her if she moved from Soweto to comply with the revised terms of her order.

The police had also offered to pay for her accommodation in a hotel outside the Johannesburg area.

Police took her to the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, just outside the city limits, but Mrs Mandela refused to stay in the hotel.

Mrs Mandela spent Saturday night with friends in Laudium and returned to her Soweto home yesterday morning. Police then arrested her.

KRUGERSDORP — The black nationalist leader, Mrs Winnie Mandela, will be charged today in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court under the Internal Security Act for defying a restriction order to stay out of Soweto, her lawyer, Mr Akbar Ayob, said here.
For God's sake, stop this madness

THE African National Congress, by its own actions, is putting itself beyond negotiation. After yesterday's holiday bomb atrocity in Amanzimtoti, whatever slim prospects there were of dealing with the ANC are surely dead.

Terrorism is becoming a new reality in South Africa. Six people died in last week's landmine blast in Messina. A further six died yesterday in Amanzimtoti - a town whose only claim to fame is that it is a scenic holiday resort. Several others escaped death but were injured in another Durban blast at the weekend.

The response, predictably, is a crackdown by the authorities. It has already started, with the detention of Winnie Mandela and Friday's ominous warning from the State Security Council to neighbouring states about the risks of harbouring terrorists.

And make no mistake, any government anywhere in the world would react in the same way. What response can there be but the iron fist to indiscriminate murder? We trust the governments of the West will respond appropriately.

So the spiral of violence in SA takes another vicious twist. So more blood, some innocent, some not, will be spilled.

The ANC says that government in this country is inherently violent, and that this justifies violent opposition. We cannot agree that violence is the answer, although we accept that government carries much responsibility for our overall situation, as we spell out in our Christmas editorial on Page 4 today.

But what possible positive effect, long-term or short, can emerge from the mindless butchering of holidaymakers? How can this further the ANC's cause? What sane government or person anywhere in the world can condone this savagery?

We wonder exactly what the ANC is trying to achieve. It has never been better placed to become part of peace negotiations in SA. But who now, businessman, clergyman or student, will be seen talking to the ANC?

Further, any prospects for the release of Nelson Mandela have faded. Is this perhaps a deliberate strategy of the current ANC leadership?

Today, one day before Christmas, we have only one appeal. For God's sake, stop this madness.
Winnie flies to Cape Town after threat

LINDA ENSOR and JAYNE LA MONT

WINNIE MANDELA flew to Cape Town last night after security police had surrounded her Soweto home and given her until 5 pm to leave the Johannesburg area.

"Mrs Mandela has not been arrested. She is on her way to Cape Town by air," a spokesman for her attorney said last night.

Mandela, released on her own recognisances, limped out of court earlier yesterday after 24 hours in detention.

Lunch-hour traffic ground to a halt as onlookers joined in an impromptu
Le Grange vows round-the-clock action as 6 die

Natal coast death blast staggers SA

AS THE death toll in yesterday’s bomb blast in Amanzimtoti rose to six, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange vowed that police would work around the clock to find the culprits.

The blast, which tore through Christmas crowds in Amanzimtoti’s busy Sanlam shopping centre also injured — some seriously — another 61 people.

Dozens of bloodied people, some unconscious and others sobbing, were carried from the wrecked shopping mall.

They were tended by medical workers at a makeshift first aid post on the pavement, while ambulances and two disaster buses stood by.

The dead — three white women and three young boys — were laid out on a lawn outside the centre and covered with blankets before being removed by police mortuary van.

Yesterday’s blast was the worst terror attack in the greater Durban area.

It brought to 21 the number of people killed in recent regional terror activity. Six people were killed nine days ago in a landmine explosion in Maseru, while nine were gunned down in Maseru last Friday, six of them allegedly members of the African National Congress.

The blast also came just two days after eight people were injured when a hand grenade was thrown under a car in central Durban.

Three people were reported to have died on the spot in yesterday’s explosion, while the others died while being attended in an emergency bomb-aid reception centre at Durban’s Addington Hospital.

Early reports said at least 11 people were in a serious condition and one was critical.

Police put the official toll at six dead and 24 injured, but said it could still rise. No names of the dead or injured have been released.

In Pretoria, the State President’s Office expressed “sincere sympathy with the relatives of the victims of the terrorist attack in Amanzimtoti, and also wishes the injured . . . a speedy recovery.”

Le Grange, on holiday on the Natal South Coast, visited the area in shorts and a casual shirt and vowed police would work round the clock to find the culprits.

He was followed by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, who

*To Page 2*
ANC members shoot and kill man suspected of kidnapping

LUSAKA — Members of the African National Congress (ANC) shot and killed a suspected kidnapper at its transit camp in Lusaka early on Sunday, the Zambian Daily Mail reported yesterday. It was the second assault in Lusaka recently on members of the ANC. spokesman as saying that three people drove to the transit camp and tried to kidnap an ANC member.

A scuffle followed and shooting broke out. Two of the intruders died. Lusaka is a regional headquarters for the ANC. Executives meet there and members pass through on their way to and from SA. The ANC Information office in the city issues statements about events in Southern Africa. — Sap
Winnie flies to Cape Town

parade through the streets of Johannesburg.

More than 70 international and local Pressmen — including film crews — followed her as she left the magistrate's court building at about 1pm.

As she emerged from a courtyard leading to the cells, the Press swarmed around her. Passing motorists allowed to watch the action, sounding their hooters as the procession moved off down the road.

Limping because of a sprained ankle sustained, according to her lawyer, when police forcibly removed her from her Soweto home on Saturday, Mandela was hugged and cheered by friends and relatives — among them her daughter Zindzi Mandela.

Word of her appearance had spread from early morning and by 11am more than 100 people had crowded into the courtroom, but shortly before noon plain-clothes policemen entered the court and ordered all those not seated to leave immediately.

Among those ordered out was Jerry Jackson, a representative of the American Embassy who was there to observe the trial.

Yesterday Mandela appeared determined to continue her showdown with the authorities, which began when her Brandfort home was petrol-bombed in August and which gained impetus with the new restrictions evicting her from Soweto at the weekend.

She looked tired but composed when she appeared in court. She was not asked to plead to a charge of violating a banning order prohibiting her from entering the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Warning Mandela to appear in the Krugersdorp Regional Court on January 22, magistrate Hymie Brand asked her if she had understood his instructions.

Mandela replied: "Your Worship, I understand English."

As court evidence, these are the only five words SA media have been entitled to quote in her several years as a banned person.

Friends said she was prepared to risk re-arrest because she believed she had a right to live in Soweto.

Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was released on her own recognisances. The magistrate said it would serve no purpose to fix bail at R500 as requested by prosecutor G Thiaart, as money was no object to her.

Her lawyer Akbar Ayob said she would be taken to a clinic because she needed treatment for high blood pressure, bruises and a sprained left ankle. Mandela and her children are expected to pay their customary visit to Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison on Christmas Day.

and can be seen in a combi bus until they determined, he said.

Medical workers attended to the injured at the scene.
DRC minister Nico Smith meets ANC

CONTROVERSIAL Afrikaans churchman Dr Nico Smith has defied government and held talks with representatives of the African National Congress in New York.

Smith, of the Mamelodi parish of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa, held discussions with ANC executive member Tabo Mbeki and the ANC's UN representative Neo Mnumzana last week.

In November this year Smith and six other dominees called off a planned visit to the ANC in Lusaka after being told by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha that government would withdraw their passports if necessary.

"Yes it is true, I did speak to ANC representatives who were in New York at the same time as I," Smith said from Mamelodi yesterday.

Smith said the discussion covered aspects of the ANC and the general position in SA.

MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Harare that an ANC spokesman confirmed the meeting.

Smith was in New York to attend a conference entitled "The Church and Disinvestment". The ANC members were attending another conference.

In the past, government strongly criticised Smith's plans and President F W Botha said they "would amount to a challenge of the State's authority".

Despite government's antagonistic attitude Smith stressed that he had never abandoned hope of speaking to the ANC.

Two weeks before the government warned Smith that his passport might be withdrawn, several students from the University of Stellenbosch also attempted to arrange a meeting with the ANC, but government withdrew their passports.
CONSERVATIVE and liberal newspapers and politicians in Britain have condemned Sunday's arrest of Winnie Mandela, saying it could have only dire consequences for foreign relations with Pretoria.

The conservative Daily Telegraph said in its editorial yesterday that Mandela's arrest, "however short-lived, will confirm the world's opinion of SA as a police state."

Although Mandela "may be no saint", she was politically more sophisticated than the police. Her radical politics and links with the ANC had led her to "provoke the South African police into behaving appallingly... they have obligingly done so."

It went on to say the police response was "partly because it is not in their nature to be reserved, and partly because they may have believed that the recent ANC bombing in which four white children died would give them a fair wind within white SA."

"But the manner of Mandela's arrest will, as the more intelligent South African government ministers must surely recognise, damage SA's reputation still further."

The Telegraph also said Mandela's Free State home was "mysteriously burned down, presumably by the South African security police."

The Guardian, a liberal newspaper, said the arrest of Mandela was "exactly the kind of encouragement protesters at home and abroad need to sustain their campaign for more sanctions."

Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had been resolute not to impose sanctions on SA, but at the recent Commonwealth summit limited sanctions by those countries were decided on.

The Guardian went on to say that locking up Mandela would "automatically enhance her hard-earned status as an African heroine."

"From the people who brought you the canonisation of Nelson Mandela comes a new determined drive to promote the martyrdom of his redoubtable wife, Winnie."

"The latest detention of Mandela underlines the classical tragedy inherent in the racial statemate in SA."

"Anyone who dares to speak for the great African majority is locked up, regardless of any increase in tension that may follow."

"White oppression leads to black revolt to which the only answer is more oppression."

"Just as the blacks have shown that they can maintain their resistance indefinitely, so the whites set out to show they can contain it."

"The rogue element in the equation is the serious effect of the unrest on the economy, which may yet prove unworkable under apartheid."

"The arrest of Winnie Mandela is exactly the kind of encouragement protesters at home and abroad need to sustain their campaign for more sanctions."

And Members of Parliament from both of Britain's main political parties denounced the arrest of Mandela.

Denis Healey, foreign affairs spokesman for the opposition Labour Party, said the arrest removes the last possible excuse for Thatcher to resist imposing economic sanctions against SA's government.

Healey said the arrest was the culmination in a series of recent abuses by State President PW Botha.

"In the week before Christmas, President Botha has invaded Angola yet again, has sent his death squads into the independent state of Lesotho to murder his opponents, has moved a great stride towards martial law itself and, finally, has arrested Mandela for the crime of living in her own home."

"Yet Thatcher has just provided government finance for a trade mission to SA. Her odious hypocrisy over apartheid is a disgrace to Britain."

Thatcher's Conservative government opposes the imposition of economic sanctions against SA, an important trading partner, on the grounds such a move would be ineffective and would hurt the black majority.

And in France, a statement issued yesterday by the External Relations Ministry said that Mandela's arrest was "extremely regrettable."

It went on to add: "This new attack on human rights threatens to aggravate existing tensions in SA." — Sapa-Reuters
THE YEAR 1985 will be remembered as the year of blood, fire and the state of emergency.

The year's violence was inherited from that of 1984, which started during protests against Bantu Education, rent increases and community councils.

The education crisis started in March last year at Hofmeyr High School in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. Pupils at the school boycotted classes in protest against age restrictions, excessive corporal punishment and the Department of Education and Training's refusal to allow them to form student representative councils.

The department says an estimated 270 out of 7,500 schools and 250,000 out of 1,8-million pupils were affected by the school boycotts when schools closed for the December holidays.

The rent crisis was sparked off in the Vaal on September 3 when residents marched to the Orange-Vaal Administration Board offices to protest against rent increases.

During the march, violence broke out when mobs started looting shops, burning buildings and cars and stoning vehicles.

At the end of that day, five members of the Lekosa Town Council, including the deputy mayor, Mr Sam Dlamini, had been killed by the rampaging mob. Police shot 10 people dead and arrested 35.

Sixty buildings, which included homes of councillors, shops and administration offices were burnt down.

The violence later spread to other parts of the country such as the East Rand, Pretoria, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. Many councillors whose houses were attacked with petrol bombs and those who were threatened with death resigned.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation and Development, reported that by June this year a total of 240 councillors, who included 22 mayors, had resigned.

Feeling that the situation was getting out of hand, the State President, Mr PW Botha, on July 21, declared a state of emergency in 36 districts.

The declaration of a state of emergency was followed in August by a call for the boycott of white businesses in Port Elizabeth. Organisers of the boycott demanded the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

ANC LEADER, Oliver Tambo: More people are calling for dialogue between his movement and the Government.

FOCUS

By Sam Mabe

1985: The year of death, fire and state of emergency

More and more people are now calling for dialogue between the Government and the ANC.

Recently, five students from the University of Stellenbosch had their passports seized when they tried to go to Lusaka to meet ANC leaders.

Between 3,000 and 4,000 young white males are reported to have left South Africa for the United Kingdom to avoid being drafted into the army to help the police quell the unrest.

Many countries reacted to the state of emergency by recalling their ambassadors for consultation. These included the USA, France, Spain and the Netherlands.

Norway closed its consulate and Panama ended its consular relations with South Africa.

Also recalled were foreign ministers of the 10 EEC countries — Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Denmark.

The ANC has also changed its tactics, from attacking military and economic installations to attacking soft targets such as the landmine blasts which claimed seven lives in the past two weeks.

In September, Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said violence was abating and that the state of emergency would soon be lifted. At the end of October, it was lifted in only six districts and extended to eight others in the Western Cape.

Attempts by the Government to bring the situation under control are being defied.

Youths are still barring delivery vans from entering black townships. As a result, the vans stop at the outskirts of the townships and businessmen fetch their supplies from there. Alternatively, the vans are escorted by the police into the townships.

The official figure of people who have died this year stands at 685. Of these, 380 were killed by police and 201 were killed by fellow residents.

There were also 17 policemen killed by residents and a soldier was stabbed to death in Port Elizabeth.
Death toll reaches 13 in 10-day SA bomb blitz

Police vow to bring bombers to justice

Own Correspondent

Durban

Yesterday's explosion in Amanzimtoti, which killed five people, brings to 13 the number of people who have lost their lives in bomb blasts in South Africa in the past 10 days.

Nine days ago six people died in Midda when a landmine exploded. The African National Congress claimed responsibility for that blast.

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka said in a telephone interview today that the movement had no comment to make at this stage on yesterday's bombing.

"We are still waiting to hear about the people who have been injured in the blast," said the spokesman.

The latest bombing comes just two days after the explosion in Durban's Pine Street in which eight people were injured.

A police spokesman said today that they were working around the clock to track down those responsible for the blast. Police were today still at the shopping centre where the bomb went off and the centre was out of bounds to the public.

Police said about 60 people were injured – some seriously. Many were treated at Addington Hospital.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, yesterday promised that the police would track down those responsible for the blast and bring them to justice.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Kotze, also visited the shopping centre yesterday but declined to comment.

Mr Le Grange cut short his holiday on the Natal South Coast to visit the scene of the fatal explosion.

He said the blast was not altogether unexpected in the light of ANC threats that it would go after "soft targets.

The SAP will go all out to get the murderer or murderers and catch them before they carry out their next blow-up," he said.

The South African government has placed a serious moral responsibility on civilised Western governments not only to condemn the terrorists, but also to condemn those responsible.

* See Page 9
Natal terror attack is given prominence in UK papers

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The ANC’s loss of control over young militants has been cited as one possible reason for the escalation of attacks in the Durban area.

The Times newspaper says today: “The stepping up of attacks in the Durban area could mean the ANC has established internal bases in black areas in Natal, that infiltration has resumed from Mozambique, or that the ANC is no longer in control of young militants in the field.”

The report goes on: “The Durban bomb is arguably the most indiscriminate act of urban terrorism to date, except in so far as it seems to have been aimed mainly at whites.

PROMINENT COVERAGE

“It has long been predicted that pressure on the ANC leadership from impatient younger members of the organisation to attack white civilians directly would become irresistible.”

The Times report is part of the prominent coverage of the Amanzimtoti blast in British national daily newspapers.

The Times, The Guardian, the Daily Mail and the Daily Express all carry prominent reports.

The coverage is coupled with reports on the court appearance of Mrs Winnie Mandela and her determination to return to her home in Soweto in defiance of a police order.

The Times says of the Amanzimtoti blast that a reprisal by whites “seems certain”.

[signature]
Tragedy 'places onus on West'

Yesterday's bomb attack in Amman, Jordan, and similar recent incidents place a serious moral responsibility on civilised Western governments to not only condemn the terrorism, but also those responsible, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, said last night.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, he said the latest bomb attack was reprehensible "in accordance with the declared policy of the African National Congress to attack soft targets, in the case innocent women and children."

The Minister said the "terrorists responsible" for these deeds were cowardly murderers and that the police would work day and night to apprehend those responsible and then let the law take its course.

The State President's Office has expressed its sympathy with the victims of blast.

In reaction from the Right, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the Conservative Party's chief spokesman on defence matters, said the Government should instruct the Defence Force to wipe out all terrorist bases in neighbouring states.

Threat to life

The EPP MP for Brynstraat, Mr Horace van Rensburg, called on all South Africans to unite against what he called mindless terrorist attacks.

"We cannot afford to be divided or uncertain in the face of this threat to life and stability in this country."

The perpetrators must be hunted down. Persons or organisations who knowingly and willingly give support, sustenance or encouragement to violent revolutionary elements in our society must be brought to justice and punished.

"The Government and all moderate persons and organisations in South Africa must now bury their differences and establish a just, stable and satisfactory society that will not create revolutionary violence," he said. - Sapa.

An injured woman is wheeled to an ambulance after the shopping centre bomb blast in Amman.
Winnie leaves Soweto home

After threatening to re-arrest her, Security Police yesterday allowed Mrs Winnie Mandela to pack her belongings and leave her Soweto home.

They had earlier surrounded her Orlando West house after she was released on warning after appearing in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in connection with allegations that she had contravened her banning order.

Mrs Mandela arrived at her home at about 4.20 pm and, police, who had earlier patrolled the area, surrounded her house.

Her lawyer intervened and she was allowed to pack her belongings. She left for an undisclosed destination.

It is believed she will fly to Cape Town today where she is due to visit her imprisoned husband.

See Page 4.
CAPE TOWN — The ruling National People's Party in the House of Delegates and the opposition Solidarity Party moved closer to a merger at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday. An agenda for future co-operation was drafted and party leaders agreed to meet again on Monday for further discussions.

In a joint statement after the meeting, the NPP leader, Mr. Amrichand Ramjansingh, and Solidarity leader, Dr. J. N. Reddy, said they had met "with a view to explore possible co-operation between them."

The meeting took place in pursuance of decisions of the respective caucuses mandating their leadership to explore possible areas of co-operation."

Political observers have speculated on the possibility of a merger between the two parties and Mr. Rajbansi was quoted last week as saying his party's doors were "always open" to Solidarity.

The two delegations "discussed the level, institutions and mechanisms for co-operating so as to ensure that the interests of the community and of the country could be served."

"The meeting drafted an agenda covering the various aspects of possible future co-operation and further agreed to meet on Monday, December 30, to draft proposals to be submitted to the respective caucuses," they said.

They described yesterday's discussions as "fruitful, cordial" and that there had been an opportunity for the leadership of both parties to "discuss the future role of the House of Delegates in the Parliamentary system." — Sapa.
Winnie out on warning

MRS WINNIE Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was yesterday released on warning when she appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Regional Court on a charge of defying her banning order.

Her next appearance is January 22 in Krugersdorp.

Mrs Mandela (47) was arrested on Sunday by the police after she had returned to her Orlando West, Soweto, home in defiance of a restriction order served on her on Saturday.

She was not asked to plead to the charge.

Shortly thereafter Mrs Mandela was hugged and kissed by her daughter Zinzi and other well-wishers.

There was more joy outside the court building as Mrs Mandela emerged from the cells. Scores of newsmen and curious spectators craned their necks to get a glimpse of her.

More people joined the procession as she marched to her lawyer's offices, some 300 metres from the court. Along the way, shouts of "Viva Mandela" could be heard.
Outcry and renewed call for sanctions in Britain

LONDON — Conservative and Labour Members of Parliament yesterday denounced the arrest of South African civil rights leader Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Labour's foreign affairs spokesman Mr Denis Healey said the arrest removed the last possible excuse for Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to resist imposing economic sanctions against the South African Government.

Mrs Mandela was freed from police custody in Johannesburg yesterday pending trial on a charge of breaking a State order banning her from her Soweto home.

Mr Healey said the arrest was the culmination of a series of recent abuses by South African State President Mr P W Botha.

He said: "In the week before Christmas, Mr Botha has invaded Angola yet again, sent his death squads into Lesotho to murder his opponents, has moved a great stride towards martial law itself and, finally, has arrested Mrs Mandela for the crime of living in her own home.

"Yet Mrs Thatcher has just provided government finance for a trade mission to South Africa. Her odious hypocrisy over apartheid is a disgrace to Britain."

A Conservative lawmaker, Mr Robert Adley, also angered by the arrest of Mrs Mandela, said he sent her a Christmas card by way of the South African Embassy in London.

Mr Adley, founder of a parliamentary group of Conservatives pressing for reform in South Africa, said he asked British Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall to forward the card to Mrs Mandela.

He said: "Only a government as stupid and harsh as that running the South African police state would choose to arrest Mrs Mandela at Christmas.

"The South African regime seems to be proving the veracity of the old saying that those whom the gods want to destroy, they first make mad."

Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal called the arrest of Mrs Mandela "a violent act". - Sapa-Associated Press.

Friends, relatives and admirers crowded around Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday soon after she was released on warning after appearing in a Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on a charge of contravening her banning order.

Picture by Herbert Mabaza.
Holidaymakers won’t quit Durban despite ’Toti blast

Although the two bomb blasts in the Durban area have horrified and saddened Christmas holidaymakers, they will not be packing their bags and heading for home.

This was the opinion of senior officials of the Durban Publicity Association, Durban Expo ’85, and major hotels in the city when asked how the explosion in an Amanzimtoti shopping centre yesterday would affect holidaymakers.

"Security in public places will have to be tightened but the average holidaymaker and Durbanite will continue to live life as it should be lived," said Mr Frank Vincent, administrative director of the Durban Publicity Association.

There were more than 200,000 holidaymakers in the city and hoteliers and storekeepers were enjoying an excellent Christmas season, he added.

The executive director of Expo ’85, Mr Terry Tooleu, said the blasts had put a damper on the Christmas spirit and made holidaymakers more security-conscious.

"But life goes on and nobody is likely to head for home," he said.

Spokesmen at two beachfront hotels, the Elangeni and the Ocean City Holiday Inn, said they were not aware that any holidaymakers were cutting short their holidays.
WASHINGTON — President Reagan's administration yesterday criticized the South African Government's banning order in terms of which Mrs Winnie Mandela was arrested.

White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes issued a statement rebuking the South African Government for making the arrest.

"The United States Government deplores the South African Government's action in arresting Winnie Mandela," Mr Speakes told reporters. "We are concerned that this action could lead to further escalation of tensions within South Africa.

"We hope that the South African Government will refrain from such repressive measures and move toward discussions with the leaders of the black community."

He said the US had made a formal protest to South Africa's Embassy in Washington and sent an observer from the US Consulate in Johannesburg to Mrs Mandela's court hearing.

"Our consistent policy has been to reject any banning and any arrests stemming from a banning order," Mr Speakes said. — Sapa-Associated Press.
Violence not the answer to SA problems

ULUNDI—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwazulu, has expressed sympathy with those who suffered as a result of acts of violence in Amatohoti, Durban, Messina and Maseru.

In a statement yesterday, the chief said: "When the Durban explosion took place on Saturday, my wife and two of my children were shopping just opposite the bomb blast. I was also in Durban at the time.

It, and today’s explosion, are shocking even if they are not unexpected at this time.

I pray for a formula to be found as soon as possible, around the conference table.

Whenever I have alerted the population of South Africa about these gruesome plans which the External Mission of the ANC has as a strategy for resolving the country’s problems, the media have tried to play me and Inkatha off against the External Mission of the ANC.

GOODWILL

"Violence cannot solve South Africa’s problems, and if one side escalates violence then the opposite side must be expected also to escalate violence.

At this rate we will soon be faced with a Beirut-type situation in this country. It is sad that at this time, when we commemorate the message of Goodwill towards all men, there should be people who have their loved ones maimed or brutally killed through these bombings and AK rifles.

I express my sympathy to those who have been bereaved as a result of these acts of escalating violence in Messina, Maseru, Durban and Amatohoti. My sympathies and prayers also go out to those injured," Chief Buthelezi said.

Sapa.
Zambian police investigate incident

'KIDNAPPER' SHOT DEAD, SAYS ANC

A man was shot dead by members of the African National Congress in Lusaka, Zambia, when three suspected kidnappers attacked the organisation's Transit House yesterday.

A spokesman for the ANC confirmed the incident and added that it took place in self-defence.

The other two men are said to have fled, leaving behind a truck which police later impounded.

The spokesman said a detailed account of the incident would not be released yet as the Zambian Police were busy with investigations. He could also not say where the suspected kidnappers were from.

Meanwhile Lesotho authorities yesterday said they were continuing their investigations into the killing of nine people by an assassination squad allegedly from South Africa last week and that a statement might be issued today.

Gunmen allegedly crossed the border from South Africa into Lesotho on Thursday night and, at around midnight, killed seven people at a house in Maseru near the border.

In an apartment about a kilometre away, they killed a white South African woman, Miss Jackie Quin, and two coloured men with whom she was living, known only as Joe.

Their one-year-old baby, Phoenix, was unharmed and is now in the care of her grandparents, Mr and Mrs Phillip Quin, a wealthy Natal farming couple, who arrived in Maseru on Friday to spend Christmas with Jackie, Joe and Phoenix.

They were unaware of the killings until their arrival.

On Saturday a spokesman for the Lesotho National Liberation Army claimed responsibility for the killings, but this was contradicted within hours by the Lesotho Minister of Information, Mr Desmond Sixishe.

'Lies'

Mr Sixishe said the claim was "all lies" and that the Lesotho authorities had eye-witness accounts which confirmed that the killers were whites who spoke Afrikaans.

In any case, he said, the LNLA was "little more than an extension of the South African Defence Force".

Soon afterwards, the Lesotho Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr David Makoae, said the killers had either waded through the Caledon River (which forms the border between South Africa and Lesotho) or crossed by boat. Their tracks were still visible.

Fears

He claimed the raid coincided with South African fears of ANC attacks over Christmas.

A strongly worded protest note was sent to South Africa on Saturday, but the Lesotho Department of Information would not release the text of the note.

The Lesotho Mounted Police have not yet named the dead people and no arrangements have apparently been made for funerals.
Fast, prayers for six Vaal residents

SHARPEVILLE residents will fast and pray tomorrow and Boxing Day for the six people who were sentenced to death for killing a councillor last year.

The six, all Sharpeville residents, were sentenced to death by Mr acting Justice W J Human in the Pretoria Supreme Court on December 13 for killing councillor Mr Khuzwayo Jacob Dlamini on September 3 last year.

The six are Mojalefa Sefatsa (30), Reid Mokoena (23), Teressa Ramashamola (24), Oupa Diniso (30), Duma Khumalo (26), Don Mokgesi (28).

A spokesman for the Vaal Information Services appealed to residents in the area to attend services to be held at all churches in Sharpeville as an expression of solidarity with "our comrades sentenced to hang".
Blacks duped by UDF censors

By TONY CLARKE

The Directorate of Publications has told the United Democratic Front that its policy is one of "intransigent subversion of authority, rejection of sane dialogue and of undermining law, order, the army and the police".

The Observatory/Claremont area committee of the UDF wrote to the director of publications, Mr S F du Toit, requesting reasons for the banning of the October edition of its publication, Upfront.

Mr Du Toit replied that the Publications Committee had declared the publication undesirable because: "This is an organ of an organization, the UDF, which has come under growing scrutiny before and during the present emergency. "Its policy is one of intransigent subversion of authority, rejection of sane dialogue and of undermining law, order, the army and the police. "It is favourably disposed towards the ANC, and Cosas (Congress of South African Students), and if the policy it advocated were to be carried out, South Africa would erupt in flames — and not the least victims would be the duped blacks who seek salvation in the UDF."

The interim organizer of the UDF’s regional executive in the Western Cape, Mr Nasiegh Jaffer, said last week the directorate’s reasons for banning Upfront charged the UDF with an accusation which was rejected by the Maritzburg Supreme Court, which recently withdrew treason charges against 12 of our leaders. "It appears from the reasons he (Mr Du Toit) has given that the Publications Directorate sees itself as standing above the judiciary."

The UDF remained committed to peaceful protest against apartheid and "will continue to use this method to voice our peoples’ objections to the abhorrent political system of this country."
Winnie Mandela arrested in Soweto

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela was arrested by security police yesterday for defying her banning order by returning to her home in Soweto.

Her arrest comes a day after the government decided to relax her banning order. The new conditions, however, do not allow Mrs Mandela to enter Soweto.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate in Pretoria, Captain Henry Heek, confirmed that Mrs Mandela had been arrested for "contravening her restriction order" and that she was being held at the Krugersdorp police station and would be charged under the Internal Security Act.

He said the precise charges were still being formulated and that it had not been decided when she would appear in court.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer yesterday visited her at the police cells in Krugersdorp, but said he would know whether she would be granted bail only when she was charged.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced on Saturday that Mrs Mandela was no longer restricted to Bendor, the Free State town to which she was banished eight years ago.

Mrs Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, may also now attend social gatherings which are not political meetings or student gatherings, but is prohibited from being in the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

However, she remains a listed person and cannot be quoted without the permission of the minister.

Mrs Mandela returned to her Soweto home on Saturday, but was dragged out of her house by police. According to her lawyer, Mrs Mandela received bruises and a sprained ankle in the process.

A police spokesman confirmed she had been forcibly removed from her house but denied she had been "dragged".

"Police never drag anyone — especially not a woman... they only use the necessary force," he said.

Police left her at an airport hotel just outside the Johannesburg city limits.

Sapa reports that she refused to stay at the hotel and spent the night with friends in Laundum, Pretoria, before returning to Soweto yesterday morning.

Mrs Mandela has lived in her home in Soweto since August, when her home and clinic in Bendor were bombed in an armed attack.

Last night SATV quoted a police spokesman as saying that the State would pay expenses incurred by her if she moved from Soweto.

The police had also offered to pay for her accommodation in a hotel outside the Johannesburg area.

Six local and foreign journalists were arrested outside Mrs Mandela's house yesterday and released after half an hour. Police said they would be charged with violating emergency regulations governing press coverage in Soweto.

Among those arrested were Mr Allister Sparks of the Washington Post, Mr Alan Cowell of the New York Times, Mr Gordon McDonald of Agence France Presse and Mr Michael Parks of the Los Angeles Times.

Special restrictions were imposed in Soweto two months ago and reporters have been ordered to obtain a police permit every time they enter the township. The maximum penalty for breaking emergency regulations imposed since July is 10 years imprisonment or a R25,000 fine or both. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Outrage at Mandela arrest, page 4
A THIRTY-YEAR-OLD convicted member of the banned African National Congress is claiming R25,000 damages.

Tozake Masingule, who lives near Nabe in Middelburg, alleges that he lost his teeth and his right ear drum was shattered after being assaulted by a policeman.

Masingule is suing Constable J M Zulu and the Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange.

He claims that after being assaulted by Constable Zulu at Badplaas on September 6 last year, his right ear drum was damaged.

Masingule was convicted and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Middelburg Circuit in March this year for furthering the aims of the ANC, receiving military training and of engaging in terrorist activities. He is presently serving his sentence on Robben Island.

Mr Masingule alleges he was lashed with a cane over his neck by Constable Zulu who also struck him several times. He was hit several times on the chest and body. He also experienced "excruciating pain" around the kidney area.

According to the summons, Masingule was assaulted while being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He was unemployed at the time of his arrest on June 15 last year.

He claims that during the assault he lost his front teeth and his face was swollen around the cheek bone. He was medically examined about five occasions and is presently receiving treatment at Robben Island prison hospital.

Mr Masingule also alleges that Constable Zulu bit him by "pushing him around and assaulting him".
MRS WINNIE Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was yesterday released on warning when she appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Regional Court on a charge of defying her banning order.

Her next appearance is January 22 in Krugersdorp.

Mrs Mandela (47) was arrested on Sunday by the police after she had returned to her Orlando West, Soweto, home in defiance of a restriction order served on her on Saturday.

She was not asked to plead to the charge.

Shortly thereafter Mrs Mandela was hugged and kissed by her daughter Zinzi and other well-wishers.

There was more joy outside the court building as Mrs Mandela emerged from the cells. Scores of newsmen and curious spectators craned their necks to get a glimpse of her.

More people joined the procession as she marched to her lawyer's offices, some 300 metres from the court. Along the way, shouts of "Viva Mandela" could be heard.
YOUTH SHOT DEAD

SOWETAN
Reporter

A SOWETO youth was shot dead and several others allegedly injured after the funeral yesterday of Mr Michael Molebogang Modise (37), who blew himself up with a hand grenade during a shootout with police about a week ago.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria yesterday confirmed that a man was shot dead in Soweto.

He said the man was shot during a stone-throwing incident, but could not, at the time of going to press, elaborate. He could also not confirm an allegation that other youths were hurt.

The dead youth has been identified as Mr Tshepiso Mmolokeng (17), of Naledi Extension. He was shot near Menane Station on the way home from Avalon Cemetery where Mr Modise was buried.

Earlier in the day, police had fired teargas to disperse a group of youths who were marching to the graveyard.
Unrest: 2 die, 227 arrested

PRETORIA — Two people were killed, seven wounded and 227 arrested in unrest yesterday in Denilton, Soweto, the Eastern Cape and South Western districts, according to the police unrest report.

At Molenb, a mob attacked a group of policemen "performing a crime prevention operation." Police fired tear smoke and later birdshot to disperse the mob. Two men were wounded, treated and then arrested with 222 others.

In Fingo Village near Grahamstown, a vehicle was destroyed when a group set it alight.

In Denilton in Kwandebele, police arrested five men after vehicles were damaged in a stone throwing incident.

In Soweto, arsonists extensively damaged two delivery vehicles. A delivery truck was looted.

In another incident, flag carrying youths marched through the streets, refusing to obey a police order to disperse. Police used tear smoke and then birdshot to disperse the group.

Police later discovered the bodies of two men near the scene. Five men with gunshot wounds were admitted to hospital.

- The death toll in political disturbances has reached 891, the South African Institute of Race Relations said in Johannesburg yesterday. August, with 163 deaths, was the worst month followed by November (101) and July (96). — Sapa
Mandela appears in court: No charges

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, yesterday appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

Charges were not put to her and she was warned to appear on January 22 after the magistrate, Mr H Brandt, dismissed a request by the State for bail of R500 to be set.

Warning her to appear on January 22, Mr Brandt asked Mrs Mandela if she understood his instructions. Mrs Mandela replied: "Your Worship, I understand English."

Mrs Mandela's appearance was a sequel to her arrest for allegedly contravening the terms of her banning order, amended at the weekend to prevent her entering the municipal boundaries of Johannesburg or Roodepoort.

After being removed from her Soweto home by police on Saturday, Mrs Mandela was later arrested for returning to the house.

According to court records, charges, if they are formulated, may be framed under section 56 (1) (c) of the Internal Security Act, (Act 74 of 1982), which relate to the failure to comply with the terms of a banning order.

Spectators and reporters crammed into the courtroom, while cameramen stood on benches outside and craned through the windows.

At least 30 policemen in blue riot uniforms stood outside.

By 11am more than 100 people were crowded into the courtroom. Just before noon detectives entered the court to order all those not seated to leave the room immediately. Among those ordered out was Mr Jerry Jackson, a representative of the American Embassy who was to observe the hearing.

Representatives from national and international news organizations were present, including several journalists who were briefly detained on Sunday at the Mandela home in Soweto.

Photographers and an excited crowd of almost 100 people mobbed Mrs Mandela as she emerged from the door of the court building after her release.

The smiling crowd swept Mrs Mandela and her daughter to her attorney's offices, causing a number of short traffic jams.

Photographers scrambled over each other in their haste and members of the crowd chanted "Viva, Viva" and "Mayibuye".

Mrs Mandela, her ankle bandaged, arrived in Cape Town last night for her annual Christmas Day visit to her husband. She is due to visit her daughter Zinzi and her grandchildren will visit Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison tomorrow. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
POLICE PROBE TWO LENASIA BOMBINGS

JOHANNESBURG — The homes of the director of the Muslim World League, Dr Mohammed Momoniat, and his neighbour in Lenasia, civil rights lawyer Mrs Prisella Jana, were petrol-bombed early on Sunday morning.

A police spokesman said yesterday police were investigating the bombings.

The bomb thrown at the home of Dr Momoniat bounced off the burglar-proofing of a window and landed in the garden. The Momoniats said they were not aware of the incident until they were woken by Mrs Jana about 2am.

Dr Momoniat, a member of the South African Chapter of the World Council on Religion, is the father of Ismail Momoni, secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress who has been in detention since the declaration of the state of emergency.

Dr Momoniat was also detained for several days in October this year.

Mrs Jana said the bomb shattered the glass doors of their lounge.

This is the third time Mrs Jana’s house has been attacked. Her house was petrol-bombed in 1979 shortly after she was banned, and during the tri-cameral elections a brick was hurled through her window.
Bail for UDF nine

Dispatch Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH — There were emotional scenes outside the magistrate’s court here yesterday when Mr Edgar Dumile Ngoyi, 28, regional president of the United Democratic Front, and eight others charged with murder were reunited with their families and supporters after seven months in police custody.

Mr Ngoyi, Miss Nkinini Maneni, 24, Mr Lulamile Mkaliipi, 22, Mr Fumane Kile Siyani, 21, Mr Xolisile Phetha, 20

Mr Stephen Qwelela and three youths aged between 15 and 17 were released on bail after they appeared before Mr J. D. Mooy during a bail application hearing.

Another 16-year-old youth, who was also granted bail, was kept in custody after the court was informed that there was another charge pending against him.

According to the charge sheet, all the accused are charged with murder. It gives no further details of the alleged offence.

Mr Ngoyi, Mr Mkaliipi, Mr Siyani, Mr Phetha and Mr Qwelela were granted R600 bail each. The youths and Miss Maneni — who has been in custody since June 12 — were granted R200 bail each.

The application was heard in camera and only parents of the minors and the press were allowed to attend. Mrs Molly Blackburn, MDC for Walmer, was asked to leave the courtroom.

The case was postponed to January 18.
AZAPO has called for a militant confrontation with the state.

A total of 500 delegates and observers attended its congress in Durban at the weekend when former Robben Island prisoner Saths Cooper was elected president.

Speaking at the close of the congress, he said: "Let there be confrontation between the ruling classes and the ruled, the exploiters and the oppressed."

AZAPO, he said, was the only people's organisation that was proposing the true path forward to socialism in South Africa.

Cooper said AZAPO was not just an anti-apartheid organisation. It was seeking true national self-determination and the restoration of wealth and power to the majority.

AZAPO did not recognise minorities. Until whites had overcome their background and the propaganda they had been subjected to and regarded themselves as true Azanians, the organisation would concentrate on mobilising the black majority.

At a time when the country was facing tribulation it had never experienced before, he said, the people were crying out for leaders and dying in the name of the struggle.

Instead of getting leadership they were getting misled by "petty bourgeois charlatans who masqueraded as supposed revolutionaries."

He challenged the leadership in the UDF to join with AZAPO in putting an end to black on black violence in the country. "We call on them to join with us in working on the only way forward to a socialist Azania."

In his state of the nation address to the congress, outgoing president Ishmael Makhebele said the state's twin reform and brutal strategy had not succeeded in quelling unrest.

"The slogan 'Liberation now, education later', greets the army and police in the black ghettos of the country.

"The gun-shy Azanians have, in struggle, learnt the lesson 'an eye for an eye'. Enemy fire is answered by revolutionary fire. The law of the jungle, the survival of the fittest, is the order of the day."

The struggle in South Africa, he said, was not for symbolic gains but for transference of power and land to the black majority.

A key issue discussed was the attacks on AZAPO members by 'Black Consciousness detractors' after the Kennedy visit. Saths Cooper was criticised by the outgoing central committee for exceeding a mandate in setting up the Biko Foundation.

A message of support from AZAPO members in Modderbee prison was read out at the congress.
leaders vow to stop the thugs

By SEFAKO MVAKA

The Consumer Boycott Committee, which is spearheading the boycott of white businesses, has vowed to stamp out acts of thuggery.

This assurance comes in the wake of widespread reports of violence on boycott-busters.

Last weekend in Soweto hundreds of rands worth of goods were destroyed in "roadblocks" manned by stick-wielding gangs of youths enforcing the boycott.

Similar incidents were reported in Soweto, Sharpeville, Bophelong (Vaal), Mahlakeng and Vosheino (West Rand), Mamelodi (Pretoria), Krielberg, Tokie, Vosloorus, KwaThema, Tshwane (all in the East Rand), Soshage, Mankweng and Lebowa-Kgomo in the Northern Transvaal.

There were also reported incidents of shoplifters being made to drink liquid detergents believed to have been bought from white-owned shops.

In Montecillo, near Krugersdorp, Steven Mabugwe was shot dead earlier this month by police, after claims he had intimidated people who patronised white-owned shops and had destroyed goods they were carrying.

In other incidents:
- A man in Tshib was painted when he was found with a five-litre can of enamel paint and a set of brushes.
- A woman was made to eat raw meat she bought from a supermarket in town.
- People were made to strip, to prove they hadn't bought new clothes and worn them underneath the old ones.
- Women with permed hair had their hair shaved off with shears or broken bottles.

In a statement yesterday, the CBC and its members are working with monitoring groups in order to ensure strict discipline is observed in all forms of the boycott.

"The Boycott Committee is committed to stamping out acts of thuggery that have been carried out in some areas, such as the shaving off of permed hair. This must come to an end." The CBC, however, said the boycott itself will be intensified.

It also called for the release of CBC leader Jabu Ngwensya and "all detainees held under the depressive law".

The others detained are black businesses whose shops have experienced a sales boom since the boycott.

And the organisers of the boycott in Pretoria yesterday said they would extend the boycott by two weeks if their leaders were not released.

In a bid to break the boycott, pamphlets calling on residents not to heed the boycott call were dropped from a helicopter in Mamelodi this week.

On the SABC-TV programme "Powork" this week, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Architect Miki, said the Security Forces were "revising new strategies to combat the "intimidation" of shoppers.

The group also rejected a proposal by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce that the two groups meet.

"The JCC has not addressed itself to any of our demands, and consequently a meeting with them would be pointless."
MISSING PEOPLE

TO MANY FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES throughout South Africa, 1985 will be remembered as the year of political assassinations.

In the past, opponents of the South African government have been murdered or disappeared mysteriously. Darfur human rights lawyer Griffiths Mxenge was found with 45 sub wounds and a shot in the heart in a bicycle stadium in 1981. Port Elizabeth youth leader Siphiwo Mntumela, who doctors found, was poisoned during six months in detention, disappeared without trace shortly after he had instructed attorneys to sue the Minister of Law for damages, alleging that he had been tortured while in detention.

But in this year of probably unprecedented mass resistance, the killings and disappearances are on such a scale that observers began talking about South African-style death squads. Activists began travelling in convoy, even on short trips.

I was at the home of Cradock civic leader Matthew Goniwe, when he was notified that the three members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) were reported missing.

Gqwalini Godolokwane, Sipho Hlatshe and Chiroman Gcaca, who had organized a successful walkway in May, were scheduled to leave the airport to meet a foreign dignitary on May 8.

Goniwe was deeply disturbed by the news of the 'Pebco Three' as they came to be known. Goniwe had suspected he and his colleagues Fort Calata, Sibelo Mkhulazi and Sipho Mkhonto would be next.

The four, under whose leadership the Civic Organisation had grown into a highly organized and mobilized community, had attended a political briefing in Port Elizabeth on the eve of June 27 and insisted on travelling back to Cradock the same night. Their bodies were found some days later, mutilated and charred almost beyond recognition, near Bluewater Bay.

At the funeral for the Cradock four, an obvious choice as a speaker was Victoria Mxenge, Goniwe's widow, who took over his legal position on his death and vowed to bring his killers to justice. Mxenge told the story of thousands of mourners at Cradock on July 20 that the murder of the four civic leaders was "a damnation of cowardice".

Two weeks later, on August 1, she was gunned down in front of her Durban home.

The next killing took place in broad daylight in the tiny Transkei village of Cala, Bantwana Ndondo, a 35-year-old rural health worker and former student leader, was fetched from his compound by four men in a minibus on the morning of September 24. Less than an hour later he was seen running through a window of the vehicle.

Villagers watched in horror as he was chased around a small house in the edge of town and shot repeatedly at point blank range when he stumbled outside the front door.

In Natal, the lines between what the authorities refer to as foreign fights, and political killings are less distinct. A number of vigilante groups are believed to operate in concert, if not support, of the police.

The most recent case involved Chenzere community leader and lawyer who is concerned about individuals who claim to have knowledge of the last hours of Goniwe and his colleagues, and then disappear after making affidavits.

The police have suggested that the disappearance of the Pebco Three and murder of the Cradock men were connected with a video tape between the black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the nonracial United Democratic Front (UDF) in which Pebco and Goniwe's Cradock Residents Association were affiliated. But Azapo has strongly denied any responsibility for the incidents.

The UDF conducted its own investigation and concluded that only those with devices to listen in to telephone conversations could have known Goniwe's plans and movements on that fatal night. Shortly before leaving Port Elizabeth, Goniwe phoned his wife, Nokwazi, to say he was on his way home and would stop for no one except a uniformed police officer.

Speculation will end only if the killers are apprehended and brought to court—something police investigations and thousands of rand rewards have failed to achieve.

This is true, even in the case of Bantwana Ndondo's initial admission that they were involved in his death was followed by a series of bizarre cover-ups.

Although the four activists who identified themselves as 'troublesome friends of Ndondo,' were arrested and released from prison, they were never seen again. They were all members of Azapo, an organization that was designated a banned at the time.

Instead, key witnesses such as Ndondo's cousin Lungisele Ncolazi and friends who had been with Ndondo when his killers arrived, were detained. The Nyambe, an Azapo member who tried to expose the assassins, was also detained. On their release, the Nyambe were warned to remove them to rural villages.

Subsequently, Transkei President Kaizer Mntuzuma appeared to condone Ndondo's murder when he publicly blamed him for the July bomb attack in an Umtata restaurant.

'Many people are asking why Ndondo was killed,' Mntuzuma said. 'The only way to stop these people from terrorizing our people is by blowing up a restaurant in Umtata. Next month, there will be no more terrorist attacks."

(Until a court of law proves otherwise, there does indeed seem ground for fears that, in the words of a Transkei academic, detention without trial or oral has been replaced by execution without trial.

The odd cases of the activists who vanished

Killing and disappearances of black political activists have reached such a scale that there is talk of South African-style death squads, reports JO-ANN BECKER.

The odd cases of the activists who vanished.

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The odd cases of the activists who vanished.

The odd cases of the activists who vanished.
ANC literature
by courtesy of Buthelezi

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, is circulating photostat copies of "Sechaba", the banned official organ of the African National Congress.

A representative of his office said yesterday Buthelezi had not asked for permission to distribute the banned document.

The photostat copies accompany a letter sent by Buthelezi to all newspaper editors in South Africa. The letter contains an appeal to newspapers "to give a balanced view to its readers of the internecine Black strife which is so tragically characterising current South Africa".

The "Sechaba", dated September 1984 and stamped "Confidential", is intended to show that the offensive in the ANC-Inkatha conflict comes from the ANC rather than Inkatha.

Buthelezi's representative said yesterday one could view his action as "an act of civil disobedience. "He certainly has not asked if he can send it out — not for the sake of being disobedient, but because of the seriousness of the situation."

Asked what would happen if police raided newspaper offices and found the banned magazine, the representative said: "Tell them the Chief sent it to you — that will make it interesting."
Social scientist blames Natal faction fights on recession

The bloody Natal faction fights of the past three days stem from the economic recession, which has increased the influx of people to the region and aggravated tribal competition for land and water rights, says Natal social scientist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

At least 93 people were killed and at least nine injured in clashes between about 2,000 Zulus and 2,000 Pondo tribesmen rampaging through a wide area of the rugged Umbogintwini reserve south of Durban since Christmas Eve. Most of the dead were stabbed.

More than 150 Zulus and one Pondo boy fled their homes as a result of the fierce clashes between the warring factions, who used shotguns, knobkerries, assagais, pangas, knives and sticks.

The refugees sought cover at the local police station and were transported by bus to Red Cross headquarters in Durban on Christmas Day.

Schlemmer told Business Day the fighting was a product of decades of feuding, which flared into serious confrontation several times this year in an area with a 14% growth rate — one of the highest in Natal.

Thousands of predominantly Pondos people from the Tsakane have been moving into a region of Zulu tribal tenure in search of work in the Greater Durban area. While many Pondos have become naturalised in KwaZulu, many are considered foreigners.

"We have a land invasion which has got pressure on available resources, with both sides wanting land and water in the same area," Schlemmer said yesterday.

He believes the psychological release of the Christmas holiday — "the men are at home, liquor is consumed and exciting parties are sought" — contributed to the Christmas fighting.

Schlemmer said rivalry between Inkatha and UDF supporters probably contributed to the dispute — there was a definite UDF formation among the Pondos — but this would have been only a minor factor because fighting broke out in the region before the UDF emerged.

While more specific causes would probably be put forward in the next few days, Schlemmer said the root causes lay in the vested political and social interests of the groups concerned.

A police spokesman said yesterday that the situation had quietened, although it remains tense, and riot police were on standby.

An SAP spokesman said yesterday that police had not yet established the cause of the clash.

Refugees at the Red Cross hall said the fighting was a continuation of a feud between Zulus and Pondo who clashed over a woman in the sheekland of Malanga, north of Durban, last month.
MIKE CADMAN and RALPH

THE latest edition of Newsweek magazine has had a two-page interview with banned black activist Winnie Mandela torn out, and the December 16 edition was not delivered to SA—also because of an article on Mandela.

Newsweek SA bureau chief Richard Manning said in Cape Town that his two-page interview with Mandela in the January 6 edition of the magazine had been torn out.

Manning said neither edition of the magazine had been banned, but he had been told that the magazine's distributors in SA, Intermag, had decided to stop delivery of the December 16 edition.

He said Intermag had apparently shown an advance copy of the December 16 Newsweek to government officials, who were reported to have said the magazine would not be allowed to circulate in SA.

"I have it on hearsay that our distributors (Intermag) then contacted our printers in Slough (Britain) and said they need not bother to deliver the edition. Newsweek subscribers would be able to read both articles, he said, as their copies were posted from overseas.

Intermag MD W Dean confirmed that he had asked regional distributors to remove the pages in the January 6 edition "because it is illegal to quote a listed person and Mandela is still listed."

Dean said that under SA law he would be viewed as the publisher of the magazine.
LONDON — A leading Conservative peer yesterday expressed concern at reports that African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was being held in solitary confinement at Pollsmoor prison.

Lord Nicholas Bethell, who had a lengthy interview with Mandela in prison last January, said he would be shocked if his prison conditions had deteriorated.

Bethell is vice-chairman of the Human Rights sub-committee of the European Parliament.

A BBC radio report on Christmas Day said Mandela was effectively being held in “solitary.”

The British Foreign Office refused to comment on the reports about Mandela’s prison conditions and a spokesman said their view was that Mandela should be released unconditionally.

Bethell described the Amanzimtoti bomb as “terrible” and called for a cessation of violence on all sides.
Nelson Mandela makes it as a contemporary American icon

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Hudson's death from AIDS doesn't have to figure about his purchase of the current edition of People.

He can say that his real interest is Nelson Mandela, intriguing, person number six and "a legendary black leader (who) may have saved South Africa from the horror of racial war.

It is hard to quarrel with his biography about Winnie's other half, except he is inherently a saint — perhaps he is — but because his incarcration seals us off from evidence to the contrary.

By keeping him in jail, Pretoria preserves and enhances his mystical status as the father of his nation even while his alleged followers are murdering Christmas daymaker.

One has to wonder whether People magazine would be declaring him one of its popular culture heroes if he were a free man, at large and possibly resentful for his actions in the anti-apartheid world.

My guess, and it has nothing to do with the virtues or otherwise of his man himself, is probably not.

Pollaner offers it to be seen that a population for whom the moving picture has become the coinage of political and social discourse as much as the St. James's Biba once was.

I imagine the Mandela will gratefully accept admiration of the society in which he is known to his mother and friends as actor Joe Don Baker, gets higher billing than Mandela Friday in a list of contemporary American icons.

They have a sense of purpose and just come in their own society that cannot be hurt by American mythologizing.

But there are several things they should bear in mind. The fame accorded by People is in line with the Andy Warhol dictum that everyone should be famous — or "instituting" — for 15 minutes. Bishop Tuba, the year of his Nobel prize over, is today about as interesting in the US as last year's Miss America.

Second, renown in this country is often accorded to people whose names it is morally uplifting to drop.

Nelson and Winnie are being mentioned because the mentioners look and feel good by mentioning them. So long as Giorgio Armani stays in fashion, wearing his suits will have the same effect.

Third, America canonises some pretty strange types.

Mandela did not make it into the People magazine's cover. The star of television's "Miami Vice," a film whose on-screen persona has made him a cult figure, growth of board and hate blacks, women, Colombians and the American constitution, did.

That detective Sonny Crockett, who is known to his mother and friends as actor Joe Don Baker, gets higher billing than Mandela Friday in a list of contemporary American icons is to be expected.

The show has an enormous closing following among the American intelligentists, real and would be, and he is closer to home. What boggles the mind is that anyone would put the two on the same list in the first place. Here can one set of people see both as icons?

"Miami Vice" is a show that maintained rock video with a plot that deals with the decencies of street drug pushers and jeans blowing away the rest of the world as they nap about in a Ferrari and designer clothes.

The rest of the world comprises black crooks, who are generally small-time and incompetent, or Hispanic crooks, who are successful long-time cocaine dealers, or CIA agents who are in league with the Hispanic crooks.

The universe of "Miami Vice" is extraordinary bad place. All bootleggers, from a thinly-shelled version of the chairman of Cigarbox down to the corner cafe owner, are in on the drug and/or flesh trade.

As for its own never explained renown, is the US government. The women with whom Crockett falls in love invariably are either in league with the baffles or sell his strength so that he fails to come across. Beyond the station house, there is nothing good except the car and the clothes.

And America thrilled to every Friday on Friday, because they feel deep down it empathises. Will it find Mandela such good drama once he is released?
INTERNATIONAL media attention will focus on Winnie Mandela today, as she is expected to leave Cape Town after spending Christmas with members of her family.

She was permitted to spend 40 minutes of Christmas Day with her husband, imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Family members say he is being held in solitary confinement in Pollsmoor Prison.

There was speculation yesterday that she intended returning to her home in Soweto.

Mandela is engaged in a cat-and-mouse game with government over a new banning order, which prohibits her from living in the Johannesburg and Roodepoort districts, thereby preventing her from living in her Soweto house.

She was detained and brought to court this week for defying the ban, after Security Police twice removed her physically from her house.

She was released on her own recognizance on Monday, to stand trial next month on as yet, unspecified charges. Mandela has been banned, imprisoned and harassed by the authorities many times, and in May 1977, she was banished to the remote Free State town of Brandfort.

She moved to Johannesburg in defiance of the ban, after her Brandfort home and clinic were petrol-bombed by unknown arsonists in August this year.
Dubious congress

The Labour Party's (LP) annual national congress, opening in Goodwood just outside Cape Town on January 2, will reveal the LP's strategy for the coming parliamentary session.

But the main focus of attention during the two-day gathering is likely to be outside the debating hall in the densely-populated coloured suburbs stretching across the Cape Flats.

Anti-LP sentiment is probably higher in Cape Town than anywhere else in the country.

The party was overwhelmingly rejected in the region during last year's election of coloured MPs and its popularity has plunged even further since then. When LP leaders decided a year ago to hold their next congress in the city, they knew they were taking a chance.

Since then, however, the situation has deteriorated into the worst civil strife ever seen in the western Cape and much of the trouble has been blamed on the LP's coloured education and culture minister, Carter Ebrahim, because of his harsh handling of the schools crisis. So there is little love lost between the majority of people on the Cape Flats and the LP.

While the prospect of open protest against the congress is slim considering the tough emergency rule in the area, security is expected to be unprecedentedly tight to prevent violent attacks.

The extent of the party's unpopularity is reflected in the fact that the opening public meeting is being held in the "white" Goodwood town hall rather than the "coloured" Athlone civic centre.

Ironically, the conservative Goodwood town council initially refused the LP permission to use the hall because they said facilities for coloureds were available elsewhere. But some behind-the-scenes arm-twisting at very high level soon changed the councillors' minds.

At the opening meeting, party leader and Cabinet Minister, Allan Hendrickse, will talk about "reconciliation." The rest of the congress will be held in a hall at the Goodwood showgrounds.

Congress organiser and MP, Abe Williams, expects about 1 000 delegates to register. He acknowledges the possibility of trouble from anti-LP factions, but says: "We are living in a democratic society. We don't cause trouble at other parties' functions, so we expect them not to cause trouble at ours. But we will be prepared for trouble, make no mistake about it.

The congress resolutions tabled so far contain no surprises. There are the expected calls for an end to all apartheid measures and demands for government to declare its reformist intentions more clearly. But most resolutions deal with fairly parochial matters and are likely to keep the "own affairs" coloured ministers busy during the congress.

Conspicuous by their absence, are resolutions on the State of Emergency and the education crisis. Both are burning issues in the coloured communities in the western Cape. As with resolutions at last year's LP congress in Kimberley, there again seems to be an inability to accept that the party is part of government and not in opposition to the Nationalists.

Resolutions are framed from an opposition point of view, attacking from without, rather than with a view to urging Hendrickse — as part of the Cabinet that has the final say on reform — to break down the system from within.

property, public violence and sedition to be sentenced to whipping, provided that all or part of any imprisonment also imposed is suspended. Provision is also made for males between 17 and 21 to be sentenced to "a moderate correction of corporal punishment" in addition to any other punishment, except effective imprisonment.

In terms of the Bill, certain offences not involving violence will no longer be punishable by whipping. These include bestiality, homosexuality and culpable homicide where no violence is involved.

Although neither the Bill nor the attached memorandum setting out its aims refer specifically to offences in unrest areas, some observers believe one of the motives for the proposed changes is to cope with the massive increase in certain types of politically linked crimes being committed in black and coloured townships.

"Barbaric torture"

The Justice Department's director of legislation, Deon Rudman, was quoted last month as saying the Bill aimed at shifting the emphasis to imposing whipping for offences involving violence. The moves have, however, been slammed by the PFP's law and order spokesman and civil rights campaigner, Helen Suzman, who says SA should be moving away from whipping as a punishment rather than increasing the number of offences for which it can be imposed. She describes whipping as a "barbaric torture" and says the effects of whipping even with a light cane are horrific.

Suzman likens the proposed measures to the "Whipping Bill" introduced — but later withdrawn — in the 1950s in an attempt to break the anti-apartheid Defiance Campaign.

In a recent interview the director of the University of Cape Town's Institute of Criminology, Dirk van Zyl Smit, described the proposed measures as "politically short-sighted." Drastic punishments being proposed for offences motivated by opposition to the State and to apartheid, he said.

Van Zyl Smit added that whipping was an inappropriate form of punishment, the effectiveness of which was scientifically questionable and which had been abolished in most civilised countries.

Among the Bill's other proposed amendments to the Criminal Procedures Act are a clearer definition of community service as an alternative punishment. In terms of the proposed clarification, this form of punishment will be imposed for a minimum of 30 hours and a maximum of 500 hours on people above the age of 15.
Churchman talks to ANC

Our Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Controversial Afrikaner churchman Dr Nico Smith has defied the government by holding talks in New York with representatives of the ANC.

Dr Smith, of the Mamelodi parish of the Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika, last week held talks with an ANC executive member, Mr Taso Mbeki, and its UN representative, Mr Neo Mmumana.

Last month Dr Smith and six other dominees called off a planned visit to the ANC in Lusaka.
Three die in township feud

Staff Reporter

SEVEN people died — three of them burnt to death — in township unrest in the Boland and on the Cape Flats over the Christmas season.

At least 31 people have died throughout the country since Monday taking the unrest death toll to well over 1 000 this year.

Three men died and three were wounded, one critically, when fighting broke out between supporters of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azanian National Youth Union (Azanyu) in Mbekweni, near Paarl, early yesterday.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the deaths and injuries, but was unable to identify the dead.

The clash, one of several in the strife-torn township over the past few months, happened shortly after 3am.

According to a resident, who wants to remain unnamed, the township has for some time been unofficially divided into a UDF-supporting section and an Azanyu one. He said a group of UDF supporters had allegedly gone to the section where the Azanyu supporters lived and a fight had ensued.

On November 24 a UDF supporter, Mr Abraham Mokoena, was killed by a group of youths and shortly afterwards Paarl police arrested a man who is to appear in court on December 30.

Sources close to the UDF said one of those believed to have died was Mr Niemi Phike, 18, son of Ms Lizzie Phike, national organizer of the Food and Canning Workers Union, who was detained under the emergency regulations on October 28.

Another person believed to have died is Mr Zwandile Sogwagwa, who is in his late teens.

Mr Patrick Quma, 28, is believed to have sustained a serious injury to his hip as a result of an attack with a panga.

Mr Jan Theron, general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, yesterday said the union was stunned at the deaths. He had been told that a Landrover was seen in the area just before the clash. The vehicle's licence number had been given to the police to follow up.

The vice-president (treasury) for Azapo, Mr Monde Ntwa, said reports had erroneously been

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made that Azapo was involved in fighting in the Mbekweni township. Mr Ntwa said Azapo had no connections with the Azanyu.

On Christmas Eve a man was killed when police fired tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse an illegal gathering in Mbekweni.

Asked to confirm that two 14-year-old youths, Mongezel Nixi and Mbombo Qumzi, had been killed during the incident, the spokesman said police were only aware that one man had been shot dead.

Meanwhile on the Cape Flats three people were burnt to death in separate incidents.

The burnt body of an unidentified man was found in Malakani Crescent in Khayelitsha yesterday.

On Christmas Eve an unknown man was killed after having been set alight in NY 108 Nyanga, and on Monday an unnamed Nyanga community councillor, who was trapped in his car, burnt to death when a group of people stopped his car and set it alight.
Five killed in battle over shebeens, liquor

JOHANNESBURG — Five people are believed to have died in a pitched battle between the Dobsonville Hostel inmates and large groups of township youths on Christmas Day.

Residents yesterday said that on Christmas Eve the youths went on the rampage in Dobsonville township and Meadowland’s Zone 10 area — which is closest to Dobsonville — raiding shebeens, attacking drinking patrons and breaking beer bottles and glasses.

Trouble started early in the evening when the youths raided the hostel, smashing liquor and groceries belonging to the inmates.

Hostel dwellers then held a meeting on Christmas Day and decided to retaliate. They moved into the township to look for the youths, and when they found them a violent clash erupted in which the five people — four hostel inmates and a youth — are believed to have been killed.

A police spokesman yesterday said he could not confirm any deaths, but said that there had been incidents at the hostel in which inmates had been attacked by a crowd of about 150 youths from the township.

He said security forces moved into the hostel and used teargas to disperse the attackers, who were armed with sticks.

Several residents claimed the youths then conducted a house-to-house search in one block of the area.

Angry residents said the youths had invaded the privacy of people’s homes, in some cases storming into their bedrooms looking for shebeen patrons suspected of hiding under beds.

Yesterday residents who live near the hostel claimed the hostel dwellers had threatened to move into the township once again to look for the youths.
Claims on Mandela are ‘utter nonsense’

Staff Reporter

THE daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela, the jailed African National Congress leader, yesterday said their family was shocked to find that her father was being kept “effectively” in solitary confinement at Pollsmoor Prison.

Ms Zinzi Mandela was speaking after she and her mother, Mrs Winnie Mandela, who cannot be quoted, had made the last of their three 40-minute visits to Mr Mandela over the Christmas period.

Ms Mandela said this was “the worst Christmas” her father had spent in jail since his imprisonment in 1964.

A spokesman for the prisons department, Brigadier Erika van Zyl, said yesterday the report that Mr Mandela was in solitary confinement was “utter, utter nonsense”.

“Apart from anything else he was seen on three occasions by his closest relatives over Christmas,” he said.

Mrs Mandela was accompanied by her legal representative.

“Mrs Mandela will return to her Soweto home. It is the only home she has,” he said.
1985 — THE YEAR OF THE BOYCOTT

And mounting difficulties in the sphere of black schools

By a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

It has been called the "Year of the Boycott," a year in which black consumers took their buying power to force white business owners to act against their own interests.

The financial toll in recent months has been substantial, according to the Department of Education and Training (DEAT). But the civil unrest in the Western Cape was the most significant event of the year.

In the Western Cape, where the civil unrest began in September, 1984, and continued throughout the year, at a cost of R1.2 billion.

On the other hand, if alternative education schemes take off, the DEAT would face a different kind of challenge that could force it to impose controls on black education.

PFP education spokes-
man in the Western Pro-
vincial Council, Peter Winnaar, said there is a nationwide boycott and alternative education is provided. Government can't do that, he said. They would like to.

It is war that white children were educated, they are not prepared to continue with the current DEAT system, and certainly not while school authorities would become more involved in the running of the schools.

Dr WENDY ORR
DANIE GERBER
Mr T LINDA
Mrs M BLACKBURN

They made 1985's news headlines
in Port Elizabeth

By KEN BENTLEY

This year 1985 will go down in history as one of the most turbulent years that the country has ever experienced.

And the Western Cape was at the centre of the storm — the Langa shooting, the Soweto student strike, the Violence Commission's report.

But out of this turmoil, the educational system was strengthened, the Soweto Commission of Inquiry opened doors, and the Bantu Education Act was finally repealed.

The SPCA will be holding a national anti-tiered public meeting this month, topics discussed include the role of the SADP in policing and the question of negotiation.

The Langa situation has been the source of the Department of Education's difficulties, and there is now a political will to resolve the impasse.

The political will is the key to resolving the impasse, but it is not enough. The department needs to be more flexible, and the education system needs to be more responsive.

The end result could be a more effective education system, but it will take time.
More tribal killing feared as peace talks fail

DURBAN — The threat of fresh tribal violence loomed in Umbo-
gentweni yesterday as talks between the hostile Zulu and Pondo
tribes failed to bring peace.

At least 58 people died in a Christmas Day battle between 2 000
Zulus and 3 000 Ponds. Police were yesterday still searching the
dense bush for more bodies.

Urgent peace talks arranged by riot police officers yesterday
failed to remove the threat of renewed hostilities as the local Zula
chief ordered Ponds to leave by tomorrow.

Chief Bhekizetha Makhanya told a Pondo delegation at an Umbo-
gentweni community hall they had undermined his authority by
appointing their own chief.

He did not say what steps he would take if the Ponds ignored his
ultimatum.

Police said five more bodies were discovered after the initial
tally of 53 dead. It was impossible to determine when the five had
been killed.

In another development, two people were injured in Durban when
a mob of blacks stormed on to a beach reserved for Indians.

"They had all kinds of weapons and were hitting anybody who
got in the way. Even children were trampled on," said Mr Krish
Blast victim protected girlfriend

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Amanzimtoti bomb victim Mr Andy Thompsett (24) of Boksburg, who has stitches from his chest to his navel after the removal of flying shrapnel that ruptured his spleen and punctured a lung, spoke to the Press last night for the first time from his hospital bed.

Mr Thompsett was holidaying in Deonside with his girlfriend Miss Charlene Pearse, also from Boksburg, when they decided to go to the Sanlam Centre on Monday.

GIFT SHOP

"I was with Charlene at the watch counter, which was in the middle of the centre near the stairwell," he said.

"We then walked to a gift shop and while my girlfriend was in the shop I walked back to the watch counter to buy a strap that I liked."

He said it was uncanny because at the exact moment he heard Charlene call him and he turned around — the bomb went off.

"I knew immediately what had happened because I could smell that bomb smell, so I threw Charlene to the ground to protect her."

Despite his severe injuries Mr Thompsett apparently told her to relax and helped her to one of the shops which had not been hit.

He was rushed to hospital while Charlene suffered only minor injuries.

Mr Thompsett's mother and father, Lynda and Jim Thompsett, were told of the disaster by Charlene's mother, who lives in Amanzimtoti.

They left Boksburg immediately to be with Andy.

His father said: "It was such a shock because we had happily waved off Andy on the Friday then on Monday we were told he was in hospital after being in a bomb blast.

"We left for Durban immediately and arrived at 1 am on Tuesday."

While they were travelling Andy was in theatre having the shrapnel removed and his lung and his spleen repaired.

Mrs Thompsett praised Addington Hospital for their concern and kindness.
Little boy's Christmas shopping turned into a tragedy

Pretoria Correspondent

Eight-year-old Cornio Smit's outing to buy Christmas presents for his parents, brother and sister ended in tragedy when he was killed by this week's bomb blast at the Sanlam Centre in Amanzimtoti.

Cornio, of Paula Street, Pretoria Gardens, left Pretoria on December 14 and was holidaying at a Queensburgh caravan park with his grandparents Mr and Mrs C S Smit.

The dead boy's father, Mr Johan Smit, a Villiera businessman, said his parents and son were on their way to Scottburgh on Monday when Cornio asked his grandfather to stop at the Sanlam Centre.

He told his grandfather he had earlier seen gifts he wanted to buy for his parents, younger brother Juano (4) and sister Sonia (2) at the centre.

Mr Smit's mother, Mrs Anna Smit, who was injured in the killer blast, is still in Durban's Addington Hospital.

She is expected to undergo another operation this week.

Mr Smit said his parents were in a terrible state and felt responsible for Cornio's death. "At first we did not want him to go on holiday with my parents but they insisted and we agreed," Mr Smit said.

"My mother still believes Cornio detonated the bomb. He saw a decorated cake near the kiosk where the bomb exploded. The cake had the inscription 'Press button to operate'.

"The bomb went off when Cornio pressed the button.

"The police told my mother that it was mere coincidence.

"We received a message saying Cornio was seriously injured on Monday and left for Durban immediately. On arrival, we went to the hospital right away and could at first not find our son.

"We were initially told that he had been discharged. A matron, however, told us about the body of an unidentified boy in the mortuary. But she said it was unlikely to be our son. My father only told us later that it was in fact Cornio and that he had already identified the body."

Cornio is to be buried from the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, Pretoria Tuine at 2 pm on Tuesday.
Ban on entry to Jo’burg, Roodepoort challenged

Winnie to fight
Minister in court

By Rich Mkhondo

Mrs Winnie Mandela has lodged an urgent application in the Rand Supreme court challenging the order barring her from the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

The respondents are the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mrs Mandela will ask the court to rule that the restrictions placed on her on December 29 preventing her from entering the two magisterial districts are invalid and “have no force or effect in law”. The hearing has been set down for January 7 next year.

Mrs Mandela will also ask that the police be restrained from interfering with her or arresting her for entering the areas concerned.

In terms of amendments to her restriction order announced last weekend, Mrs Mandela is no longer forced to remain at her Brandfort home in the Free State and may now attend social gatherings which are not political meetings.

**Travel**

In terms of the relaxation, she may now travel and live anywhere in South Africa except the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

It is not known if she can address meetings which are not political or if she can be quoted.

A police spokesman said he could not add to what Mr Le Grange had already announced.

On Sunday last week, Mrs Mandela was arrested for defying the new order.

The arrest followed an incident in which she was forcibly removed from her Orlando West, Soweto home by scores of armed security policemen.

It is believed police dropped her at an airport hotel, but she defied them and boarded a train back to Soweto.

On Monday she appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate’s Court. She was not asked to plead and was warned to appear on January 22 in the Krugersdorp Regional Court.

After her court appearance, she went back to Soweto and police told her to leave or be re-arrested.

She left for Cape Town, where she visited her imprisoned husband on Christmas Day and Boxing Day at Pollsmoor Prison.
Haste saved Pretoria man from death in Toti blast

Pretoria Correspondent

A Pretoria man's decision to buy a film for his camera from a bookshop instead of a kiosk in the Sanlam Centre in Amanzimtoti this week saved him from serious injuries and possible death — his second bomb blast escape in three years.

Mr Johan Kruger, of Wilhelm Street, Boxsens, was one of at least four Pretorians who were victims of Monday's horror blast which left five women and children dead and at least 61 injured.

Corno Smits (8), of Paula Street, Pretoria Gardens, was killed and Mr J B Craig, of Pretoria, and Mrs E M Kirsten, of Mutual Building, Capital Park, were injured.

Mr Kruger said the bomb exploded behind him as he was leaving the shopping centre and shrapnel penetrated his left hip.

He was in Amanzimtoti with his wife, Hanke, children and parents and the family had planned to spend Monday at an Amanzimtoti amusement park.

"We needed some provisions and most important was a film for my camera. I left my wife and kids in the car, which was in the parking area on the roof of the complex, and I and my mother, Mrs Nita Kruger, went shopping.

"This was an act of divine providence because I normally take the children with me," Mr Kruger said.

Mr Kruger's mother eventually returned to the car while he was looking for a film. "A kiosk almost next to the spot where the bomb exploded was too crowded, so I decided to buy a film from a nearby bookshop.

"This saved me.

"On my way out I bought soft drinks and, as I was about to leave the centre, I heard a mighty explosion behind me and felt a force from behind pushing me.

"I immediately realised it was a bomb, since I witnessed the Church Street bomb blast in 1983. But my first experience was one of astonishment.

"The entire complex was pitch dark and covered with dust within seconds. People were screaming and running in all directions. I realised there was nothing I could do and only tried to get back to my family as quickly as possible.

"I saw people covered with blood leaving the building. It was a horrifying experience. You always think you only read about this in newspapers and it can't happen to you.

"It took me about two minutes to get back to my car — the longest two minutes of my life."

Mrs Hanke Kruger also realised immediately that it was a bomb and was worried about her husband.

"I can't describe the relief when I saw him," she said.
Johannesburg — The brother-in-law of the Zulu king, Zwelethini Zulu, — Makhosana Klaas Mahlangu, — has fled from his kraal in KwaNdebele, after attempts to kill him and his family.

Chief Mahlangu, who is married to the sister of King Zwelethini — Princess Nonhlanhla Zulu — fled after he, his wife and mother were dragged from their kraal and threatened with death by a group believed to be supporters of Mr S S Skosana.

Last week two people, believed to be supporters of Chief Mahlangu, were shot and killed in the area during clashes between supporters of Chief Mahlangu and those of Mr Skosana after in-fighting in the KwaNdebele cabinet.

Shots had also been fired at the family's house after several other supporters of Chief Mahlangu were threatened with death and forced to flee.

Supporters of Chief Mahlangu said he and his wife would have been killed had it not been for the quick action of SADF patrols in the area.

This is the second attempt made on Chief Mahlangu's life. The first time was in 1976 when he was assaulted by a group of tribesmen in his kraal.
Johannesburg — Nobel peace laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday recommended that black pupils return to school in 1986, "but on very firm conditions".

He suggested that the community "down tools" if pupils' demands were not met in three months time.

He also delivered an ultimatum to the government, saying he would call for punitive sanctions if "things were not happening" as regards meeting of the demands by the end of March.

Addressing an audience of 600 people in the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand at a conference on the crisis in black education, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg said: "If we go back with these conditions and we have a strict timetable, you will have the whole community behind you, because you are being reasonable ... "So let us call them requests, but we know they are demands."

If the government refused then not only pupils, but "teachers, parents, workers, church leaders, university staff and students must all combine in a concerted effort to say wokhali (stop)."

He recommended that representatives of pupil, parent and teacher bodies at the meeting set a number of conditions for a return to classes.

These would be: free, elected student representative councils; the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students; the release of student leaders in detention; and that "suitable arrangements for catching up" be made.

Bishop Tutu said a day in the week should be set aside at every school for "conscientization".

"We (then) set up a non-racial body that says we are preparing a curriculum, a syllabus, for the new South African educational system."

He recommended that "ethnic education" be scrapped and that the government hand over most schools to the churches, who were sympathetic to the cause of those at the conference.

Bishop Tutu said school boycotts had been effective, but cautioned against an uneducated generation.

If liberation came tomorrow, who would be the engineers, computer experts and who would run Escom, he asked.

"We must prepare now for a post-liberation South Africa," he said.

He praised the pupils, saying black adults had compromised for too long. "We black adults must confess openly our complicity in our own oppression and let us be ... properly ashamed."

The conference was convened by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee. — Sapa
Winnie’s
Soweto
plans
unclear

WINNIE MANDELA’S return to Soweto depends on how many more times this week she will be allowed to visit her jailed husband, Nelson Mandela, in Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town.

She must, however, return to Johannesburg by tomorrow, the day set down for an application in the Supreme Court asking for the order banning her from the Johannesburg and Roodpoort magisterial districts to be set aside.

She and members of her family visited Mandela for an hour on Sunday. A further visit was scheduled for yesterday. Any others later in the week will depend on prison authorities.

During some of the visits Mandela was accompanied by representatives of the family attorneys — Ismail Ayob & Associates.

One of the attorneys, Akbar Ayob, who has since returned to Pretoria, refused to reveal details of consultations with the jailed ANC leader, saying they were a purely family affair.

He was further prevented from saying anything about the meetings by the Prisons Act.

He confirmed that Winnie Mandela would almost certainly be returning to Soweto before tomorrow.

He said that at this stage it was uncertain what progress had been made in persuading the police not to arrest her until the court application had been heard.

Winnie Mandela was forcibly removed from her Soweto home on December 23 in terms of her new banning order.

She was subsequently released on her own recognisances. She is to stand trial some time in January on, as yet, unspecified charges.
Back to school

The blessing of God and ended by requesting the audience to join hands, asking
them to repeat:

"Forward to a new South Africa. Forward to a united South Africa. Forward
to a non-racial South Africa. Forward to a democratic and just South Africa. Forward
to a free South Africa."

The African National Congress would abide by the decisions of the conference,
said Vusi Khanyile, one of a Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee delegation that
met four executive members of the ANC in Harare on Christmas Day.

"The ANC welcomed the calling of this conference on education," he said on
Saturday, the first day of the two-day conference.

"We trust the forces of good and evil will abide by the decision of this confer-
ence, even the Nationalist government."

A spokesman for the SPPC called for united action by teachers, pupils and par-
ants to solve the crisis in education.

Hamilton Tshimaneze told the conference: "You can't do anything alone.
"We must move as a community, parents, teachers and students together."

Father Sinangaliso Mkhaitsha, of the South African Catholic Bishops Confr-
ence, said a radical transformation in education would radically change
society.

He said: "By transforming education radically you will also transform the rest
of society radically."

"There is no neutral education. Education is either for domestication or for
freedom." Mkhaitsha said delegates had been
drawn from progressive organisations
throughout the country.

"People have risen up and declared
unequivocally that they are not prepared
to endorse their slave status.

"Students have made sacrifices, even
of their own lives. The contribution of the
now-banned Cosas cannot be praised
enough," he said.

A number of organisations were repre-
sented at the conference, which started
late because double the expected 400 del-
egates and observers registered and had
to be moved from a smaller venue to the
Great Hall.

About 200 pupils danced and chanted
while delegates registered.

People wore T-shirts bearing the col-
ours of the UDF (United Democratic
Front), Azapo (the Azanian People's Or-
ganisation), Soyo (the Soweto Youth
Congress), Azaz (the Azanian Student's
Movement), the Umlazi Youth League
many other pupil, parent and teacher
bodies. — Sapa.
Govt given till March to meet pupil demands

Back-to-school call by Tutu

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU has recommended that black pupils return conditionally to school next year. He also called for punitive sanctions against SA if their demands were not met by the end of March.

"I want to suggest that we resolve that we are going back to school in 1986, but on very firm conditions," the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg told the conference on the crisis in black education in Johannesburg yesterday.

"We give the government three months to meet these conditions," he said.

"If we go back with these conditions and we have a strict timetable, you will have the whole community behind you, because you are being reasonable... and the community will support you.

"So let us call them requests, but we know they are demands.

"If government refuses these requests in three months then it must not only be the students who lay down tools... teachers, parents, workers, church leaders, university staff and students must all combine in a concerted effort to say wokha (stop).

"We are not threatening," he said, "we are only saying that if that does not happen, this will be a consequence."

He was changing his deadline for proposing sanctions, he said.

"If by the end of March these things are not happening, I will be one of those who will call for punitive economic sanctions against the government." He urged that representatives of pupil, parent and teacher bodies present at the meeting set a number of conditions for a return to classes.

"We want free, elected SRCs (student representative councils).

"We want Cosas (Congress of South African Students) unbanned.

"We want student leaders who are in detention to be released.

"We want suitable arrangements for catching up to be made.

He said a day should be set aside in every school’s week for "conscientisation".

"We (then) set up a non-racial body that says we are preparing a curriculum, a syllabus, for the new educational system.

He recommended the government should hand over most schools to the churches.

The churches were sympathetic to the cause championed by the 600-strong audience in the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand, he said.

"We must scrap ethnic education so that what we have is education for all of the people of South Africa."

He called for the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of detained pupils and political prisoners and the readmission of exiles.

He thanked the convenors of the conference — the Soweto Parents’ Crisis Committee (SPCC) — for organising an important consultation on a crucial subject.

He opened his address by praying for...
Blackburn, Bishop die in E Cape motor smash

MOLLY BLACKBURN, MFC for Walmer and human rights activist in the Eastern Cape, and Dr Brian Bishop, MPC for Gardens, died on Saturday in a motor accident near Humansdorp.

Blackburn's sister, Judy Chalmers, and Dr Bishop's wife, Di Bishop, were injured.

Reports indicate that the two were returning to Port Elizabeth from Oudtshoorn when the accident happened.

A police spokesman said Blackburn's car was involved in a head-on collision at about 9:30 pm on Thursday on the road between Kareedouw and Humansdorp.

The driver of the other vehicle, who was also killed, has not been identified.

The two injured women were admitted to the Humansdorp hospital and later transferred to the provincial hospital in Port Elizabeth.

Blackburn had been detained several times for entering black townships in the Eastern Cape without police permission.

Dr Bishop was a prominent civil rights activist in Cape Town.

In a statement Slabbert said: "I am deeply shocked by the sudden and tragic death of Molly Blackburn. She was a courageous fighter for justice and had very high credibility and admiration from many black South Africans and colleagues.

"She will be sorely missed wherever communication between black and white is needed." — Sapa.
ANC pair held in connection with blast

Own Correspondent

DURBAN.—Two people, part of an ANC cell which operated in the Durban area, have been arrested in connection with the Amazimtoti bomb blast last week in which five people died and more than 60 were injured.

This was announced by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, yesterday.

In addition, several other people are being held in connection with at least eight other bomb attacks in and around Durban this year. More arrests are possible.

Arms cache discovered

A further setback for the ANC sabotage cell is the discovery by the police of a large cache of foreign-made arms, ammunition and explosives.

Mr Le Grange said the cache included sub-machine guns, personnel mines, hand grenades, a land mine and a "large amount" of explosives and subversive literature.

"After intensive investigation, the Durban Security Branch of the South African Police has made an important breakthrough in the investigation into the spate of terrorism acts," Mr Le Grange said.

"Several people have been arrested, two of whom are being questioned in connection with the Amazimtoti incident.

"The investigation is continuing and it is expected that more arrests could follow."

Mr Le Grange said that during 1985 there had been more than 10 acts of violence in Durban and the surrounding area. He said the ANC had claimed responsibility for most of these acts.

"The methods, weapons and explosives which were used in these acts are similar to those which the ANC normally use," he said.

Mr Le Grange praised the members of the SAP involved in the investigation for their "excellent detective work."

Most-bombed city

In a speech earlier this year Colonel Jac Buchner, head of Terrorism Research for the security police, said Durban was the most-bombed city in South Africa.

He said 69 of the 355 acts of terrorism committed in nine years since the ANC received a fresh inflow of recruits in the wake of the 1976 unrest had been committed in Durban.

He said Durban had been the ANC's favourite target because of the stand of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Prime Minister of KwaZulu, against the ANC and because of the city's nearness to the former main infiltration route through Maputo.
Deng beats Mandela to ‘Man of the Year’ award

WASHINGTON — Jailed black leader Nelson Mandela was on the shortlist for the title of Time magazine’s 1985 “Man of the Year”, the international news magazine announced yesterday.

Awarding one of the most important annual titles worldwide to the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, Time listed Mandela as one of the nominees.

He was nominated along with President Reagan, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and rock star-turned-Live Aid concert organiser Bob Geldoff.

Man of the Year is elected by the magazine’s editors as the individual they believe has had the greatest influence, good or bad, on world affairs during the past year.

This is the second time the Chinese leader has won the title. The 81-year-old leader won it in 1978, shortly after rising to prominence following the death of Mao Tse-tung in 1976.

He was chosen this year for “introducing in China sweeping economic reforms which have challenged Marxist orthodoxies and liberalised the productive energies of a billion people”.

Nelson Mandela was also recently named by People magazine as one of “the 25 most intriguing of 1985”. People reported that while he had not uttered a public word or been seen publicly for about 21 years, he had become the “very soul of the mounting struggle to bring down apartheid”.

Pupils will return to schools next year — meeting

By Michael Tissong

A national consultative meeting of 160 organisations in Johannesburg yesterday decided that pupils should return to classes next year and gave the Government three months to meet six short-term demands.

However the effect of the call on pupils who boycotted classes this year was questioned when the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) which had been part of the first day’s proceedings, did not turn up for yesterday’s session.

About 200 Azasm members from Soweto attended the proceedings on Saturday, but did not speak. The former president of the now-banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) addressed the meeting on behalf of all pupils. Cosas was affiliated to the multi-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) while Azasm is a Black Consciousness organisation.

The meeting, which was attended by parents, students and teachers from around the country, warned that if the demands were not met, the situation would be reviewed at another national consultative meeting.

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, said he would support the campaign and call for punitive sanctions against South Africa if the “reasonable demands” were not met.

The demands were for:

- The release of all detained students, pupils, parents and teachers.
- The withdrawal of the South African Defence Force (SADF) from the townships.
- The unbanning of Cosas.
- The reinstatement of dismissed and transferred teachers.
- The lifting of the state of emergency.
- The recognition of democratically-elected student representative councils (SRCs).

JANUARY 26

The meeting decided that pupils would return to classes on January 26.

Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Parents’ Crisis Committee (SPCC) which hosted the meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the boycott of schools had been so prolonged that some pupils had not attended normal classes for three years.

The resolution on the return to classes also said school buildings which were damaged should be repaired by the Government and tents should be erected if there was not enough space in the classrooms to hold the number of returning pupils.

The meeting also called for long-term demands including the abolition of corporal punishment, sexual harassment of pupils, ethnic education and an education suited to the needs of the South African community as a whole should be introduced.

The meeting also resolved that:

- Teachers’ associations should meet in a month’s time to establish a single national teachers’ body.
- Parents should pull out of statutory parents’ committees at schools and establish their own which would link up regionally and nationally.
- Parents should not pay fees for the education of their children or buy books and other educational material because some sectors of the population received these free.
Ideological differences cause split at education talks

The Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) attended the two-day national consultative conference on education only on the first day, writes Michael Tissong.

About 200 Azasm members from Soweto attended the meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand on Saturday — but did not turn up when the decisions were being made yesterday. It was learnt that the Black Consciousness-oriented Azasm had a separate meeting in Soweto instead.

The opening day of the conference was marked by the ideological split in the black community between the multiracial Freedom Charter movement and the Black Consciousness movement.

The Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC), which hosted the meeting, gave the platform on the first day to four speakers from organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

A prominent UDF personality in Pretoria, Father Smangaliso Mkhathwa, opened the meeting and spoke of conducting political education through the use of the Freedom Charter.

The former president of the now-based Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Lulu Johnson, spoke on behalf of pupils and said that the Freedom Charter "explained that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all".

Ms Ntombi Radebe of the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa) spoke on behalf of teachers and said Neusa had a good relationship with two other UDF-affiliated organisations, the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and Cosas.

The ideological bent of the conference was called into question when a member of the audience, Mr Sibusiso Mabaso, asked why only one side of the political spectrum of black opinion was being entertained by the SPCC. He said that it was distressing that when the SPCC went abroad to consult with exiled South Africans, it met only the African National Congress and not also the Pan-Africanist Congress or the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Members of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) also did not return to the conference, after being given observer status on the first day. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) had been given delegate status.

The Africanist-oriented Azanian National Youth Unity, which has its biggest following in the Western Cape, and the Durban-based Institute for Black Research, also said they were not given delegate status.
New bid to end parties’ differences

DURBAN — Solidarity opposition in the House of Delegates, and the ruling People’s Party were said to hold a second round of talks today, said to be aimed at a possible coalition before the start of the new parliamentary session at the end of next month.

Delegations from the two parties met in Cape Town last Monday and had agreed to meet again in Durban to explore common ground on which the two groups could work together.

Party spokesmen said that if agreement was reached at the talks, a third meeting would be held in January “to tie up loose ends”.

The two parties, which were at each other’s throats during this year’s parliamentary session, are said to have been brought together by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Solidarity’s national chairman, Mr Ismail Omar, has, however, denied that the current talks are aimed at a merger of the two parties.

“The purpose of the meetings is to establish whether common ground can be found to give a more meaningful role to the strategy of participation in the House of Delegates,” said Mr Omar.
ANC/business leader talks encouraging, says Kinnock

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock has singled out the talks between leading South African businessmen and the African National Congress as one of the “encouraging signs” from the Republic during the year.

"From the reports I get from both sides, they were extremely serious in the way in which they approached the efforts to secure, not the reform but the removal of apartheid," he said in a BBC radio interview yesterday.

"They recognise it to be a permanent source of disaster for South Africa."

Another encouraging sign was the movement which had taken place in international opinion to bring pressures on the apartheid system, he said.

In spite of the encouraging signs, he felt that South Africa’s “agony” would be prolonged in 1986.

This was because of the “recent spate of horrors and the way in which the South African Government, with complete clumsiness and callousness, is responding to them.”

Asked what would happen if the Commonwealth’s Group of Eminent Persons, after visiting South Africa, recommended the full application of economic sanctions, he said: “I think there’s a weak link in that chain, and the weak link is the attitude of the British Prime Minister.

“That attitude has drawn ignominy upon us in international councils in the course of 1985,” he said.
Schools: Govt gets 3 months to meet demands

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—A national consultative meeting of 160 organisations here has decided that school pupils should return to classes next year and has given the Government three months to meet six short-term demands.

However, the effect of the call on pupils who boycotted classes this year was questioned when the Azanian Student Movement (Aznam), who were at the first day's proceedings, did not turn up for the decision-making yesterday.

About 200 Aznam members from Soweto attended the proceedings on Saturday, but were not given a platform to speak. The former president of the now-banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) addressed the meeting on behalf of all pupils. Cosas was affiliated to the multiracial United Democratic Front (UDF) while Aznam is a black-consciousness organisation.

The meeting, attended by parents, students and teachers from the Cape, Natal, the Free State and parts of the Transvaal, was warned that if the demands were not met the situation would be reviewed at another national consultative meeting.

Action

In the discussions representatives said action taken would result in the mobilisation of the whole oppressed community against the Government.

In his address to the meeting the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, said he would support the mobilisation campaign and call for punitive sanctions against South Africa if the "reasonable demands" were not met.

The demands were for:

- The release of all detained students, pupils, parents and teachers;
- The withdrawal of the Defence Force from the townships;
- The unbanning of Cosas;
- The reinstatement of dismissed and transferred teachers;
- The lifting of the state of emergency; and

Communities are officially opened by the Government.

Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC), which hosted the meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand, told a Press conference that the boycott of schools had been so prolonged that some pupils had not attended normal classes for three years.

The resolution on the return to classes also said school buildings which were damaged should be repaired by the Government and that tents should be provided if there was not enough space in the classrooms to hold the pupils expected to return to classes.

The meeting also called for long-term demands, including the abolition of corporal punishment, sexual harassment of pupils and the scrapping of ethn ic education, to be replaced by an education suited to the needs of the South African community as a whole.

Coloured Matric results

Education Reporter

RESULTS of pupils who wrote the senior certificate examinations of the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives will be released today.

A statement from the Department said results would be posted to individual candidates today.

Coloured education in the Western Cape has been in a state of unprecedented turmoil this year, during which thousands of pupils boycotted classes from late July.

Last year 14 138 pupils wrote the exams under the then Directorate of Coloured Education. Of these 10 256 passed, a pass rate of 72.5 percent.

A total of 2 108 pupils (14.9 percent) obtained matriculation exemption, qualifying them for university study.

Bodies in forest: Fight death toll rises to 63

DURBAN.—The death roll in Malakazi, Umbumbulu, rose to 63 after five more bodies were found in a forest near the scene of the vicious clash between Zulus and Fofos at Christmas.

The bodies were found during "mopping-up" operations by Amanzimtoti police.

Fifty-eight bodies were initially found after the two-day battle between Zulus and Fofos.

Forty-seven people were seriously injured in the fighting, 17 of whom were admitted to King Edward VIII hospital.

Heart-lung patient dies

Medical Reporter

SOUTH Africa's fourth heart-lung recipient has died 55 days after the 13-hour operation.

Lolita Orffer, the sixteen-year-old schoolgirl from Bloemfontein, was the first South African to receive new organs after extensive heart surgery as a child. She died on Saturday, a hospital spokesman said.
GO BACK TO SCHOOL - TUTU

BISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday recommended that black pupils conditionally return to school in 1986 and suggested the community should "down tools" if pupils' demands were not met in three months. He delivered an ultimatum to the Government that he would call for punitive sanctions if the demands were not met by the end of March.

"I want to suggest that we resolve that we are going back to school in 1986, but on very firm conditions," the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg told the meeting on the issue at back education in Johannesburg yesterday.

"We give the Government three months to meet these conditions," Bishop Tutu said.

"If we go back with these conditions and we have a stick timetable, you will have the whole community behind you, because you are being reasonable... and the community will support you.

"So let us call these requests, but we know why they are demands.

"If the Government refuses these requests in three months then it must not only be the students who are being down tools... teachers, parents, workers, church leaders, university staff and students must all combine in a concerted effort to shut the schools." (Mail & Guardian)

"We are not threatening," he added. "We are only saying that if that does not happen, this will be a scorched earth." (Mail & Guardian)

He was changing his deadline for proposing sanctions, the bishop said.

"If by the end of March those things are not happening, I will be one of those who will call for punitive economic sanctions against the Government," (Mail & Guardian)

He recommended that representatives of pupil, parent and teacher bodies present at the meeting set a number of conditions for a return to classes.

"We want free, elected SRCs (student representative councils) and we want student leaders who are in detention to be released and we want suitable arrangements for catching up to be made," he said.

He said the Government should accept the conference's decisions on recommendations.

He said a day should be set aside in every school's week for "consultation days.

"We (then) set up a non-racial body that says we are preparing a curriculum, a syllabus for the new South African educational system.

He recommended the Government hand over most schools to the churches.

Pupils' demands must be met he warns.

The churches were sympathetic to the cause championed by the 600-strong audience in the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand and were on their side, he said.

"We must scrap 'white' education, so that what we have in South Africa is education, education for all of the people of South Africa."

Bishop Tutu called for the lifting of the states of emergency, the release of detained pupils and political prisoners and a re-admission of exiles.

Bishop Tutu said school boycotts had been effective, but cautioned against an unabated general strike.

"The only people who will be requiting whose children are not educated will be our enemies. It will be Preto." (Mail & Guardian)

If liberation came tomorrow, Bishop Tutu asked, would we be able to teach our children, to make them understand their own conceptions and set it as a challenge and properly mould them.

"I salute you young people, you have done a great job. You have not been duped.

"Your struggle is our struggle. We are at one, all of us, that our goal is liberation." (Mail & Guardian)

"We want a new South Africa that is non-racial, just and truly representative." (Mail & Guardian)

"A new South Africa in which we have an education system that is appropriate to our land."

"I am open-minded, I am prepared to learn, to accept. I speak now of volunteers, of teacheer of political ideals, of political ideals, of political..."

He thanked the conference for its support, the Swazi Parents Committee, for organizing an important consultation on a crucial subject.

"I am open-minded, I am prepared to learn, to accept. I speak now of volunteers, of teacheer of political ideals, of political..."

He ended by requesting the audience to join hands, asking them to repeat. "Forward to a new South Africa. Forward to a united South Africa. Forward to a non-racial South Africa. Forward to a democratic South Africa; Forward to a new South Africa." (Mail & Guardian)

Bishop Tutu, in a white robe with scrawny hair, then hurried to deliver a sermon on the East Rand. — Sowetan.
Blacks boycott PE beaches

PORT ELIZABETH — Bathers at New Brighton and St. George's Strand beaches here were shocked last week when men arrived in kombis, hauled them out of the water and told them to go home.

The two beaches are reserved for blacks. Residents have been asked by local boycott committees not to go to the beaches during the festive season because there is "nothing to celebrate" this year.

Most of the bathers who strayed into the "out-of-bounds" areas apparently came from up country since they spoke Zulu and Sotho. They explained that they were not aware of the township "regulation".
THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association is adamant that it will not heed the call to disband so that a new teachers' association can be formed.

A call in this direction has been made in the past and was repeated recently at a meeting in the Cape when those present wanted a 'progressive' organisation to be formed.

Mr. Franklin Sonn, the CTPA president, said his organisation would not disband, but it would also not stop those who wished to voice this opinion.

He believed that the CTPA's record spoke for itself and pointed out that when the original call for the organisation to disband was made, 54 teachers resigned. After being approached by officials of the union, however, 75 percent of these teachers withdrew their resignations.

In the same period the union received 1,500 new members.

RIGHTS
He said: 'This tells us the people think for themselves. We believe we are a progressive organisation.'

'We believe in the long term political rights for people. We are also fighting for the day to day rights of teachers, such as perks.'

'We are a union, therefore we do these things. It is good to have ideals, but the people will soon tell you that you cannot live on goals and ideals.'

SALARIES
'In any profession or trade, when it comes to salaries someone must speak with the employer for the employees.

Asked whether the CTPA carried favour with the Government by negotiating on various matters, Mr. Sonn said this was a total misunderstanding of CTPA's role and 'sheer prejudice'.

He said: 'People think that it is wrong to go to the Government. They forget that the Government sits with the purse. We believe in fighting across the table.'

On what the CTPA had done about recent transfers of teachers, Mr. Sonn said the union was actively involved in trying to stop them.

He said that from the time his organisation had come to know of the then pending transfers they were in touch with the education department.

The transfer of two teachers in particular hit the headlines. They were Mrs. Vincent Farrel, who was sent from Cape Town to Sutherland, and Mr. Reggie Oliphant, who was transferred from Oudtshoorn to Kimberley. Both men have since resigned.

'Mr. Sonn said, 'Mr. Farrel probably does not even know of our efforts.'

In Mr. Oliphant's case, we were asked to intervene and we did. However, in union business, some cases you win and some you don't.

There were so many teachers who faced transfers. However, after we supplied the department with information opposite to what they had, the department was big enough to change this.'

'We went so far as telephoning the Minister (Mr. Chris Heunis) with regard to teacher transfers.'

But what role does the CTPA see for itself in the black community's struggle?

ACKNOWLEDGED
Mr. Sonn said they acknowledged the efforts of sporting bodies, community organisations and churches. The teachers' task, however, lay in the field of education.

He said: 'We feel we can make a greater contribution to our liberation in the field we know best, which is education. In the final resort the quality of the education is dependent on the quality of the teacher. And, given the circumstances, our teachers are doing an exceptional job.'
LONDON.—Labour leader Mr. Neil Kinnock has singled out the talks leading South African businessmen 'had' with the African National Congress as one of the "encouraging signs" from South Africa during the year.

"From the reports I get from both sides, they were extremely serious in the way in which they approached the efforts to secure, not the reform, but the removal of apartheid," he said in a BBC radio interview at the weekend.

"They recognise it to be a permanent source of disaster for South Africa."

Bring pressure

Another "encouraging sign" was the movement which had taken place in international opinion to bring pressures on the apartheid system, said Mr. Kinnock.

But in spite of the encouraging signs, he felt that South Africa's "agony" would be prolonged in 1986.

This was because of the "recent spate of horrors and the way in which the South African Government, with complete callousness and callousness, is responding to them."

"Weak link"

Asked what would happen if the Commonwealth's Group of Eminent Persons, after visiting South Africa, recommended the full application of economic sanctions, he said: "I think there's a weak link in that chain, and the weak link is the attitude of the British Prime Minister."

That attitude has drawn ignominy upon us in international councils in the course of 1985, and eventually, of course, the Prime Minister herself had to make a shameful concession in Nassau at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference."
Magazine quotes Tambo

Political Staff

THE South African magazine Leadership has quoted the listed leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, and a prominent member of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, also listed.

Both Mr Tambo and Mr Slovo are named on the consolidated list of people who may not be quoted in South Africa without the permission of the government.

Both Mr Tambo and Mr Slovo, who was elected to the ANC executive earlier this year, were quoted in an article in the latest issue by Mr Hugh Murray, its editor.

Mr Murray quoted directly from BBC transcripts of speeches by Mr Tambo on Radio Freedom on September 7 and October 15 this year and a broadcast on Radio Freedom by Mr Slovo on October 6.

No indication was given in the article whether official permission was granted.

Soon after the Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, was charged for publishing an interview with Mr Tambo, it was revealed that Mr Tambo had also been quoted in the Citizen and the Aida Parker Newsletter, but neither publication has yet been charged for it.
No change in ANC policy

From MARGARET SMITH

LONDON. — A spokesman for the African National Congress (ANC) said from their Lusaka headquarters yesterday that they were not claiming responsibility for the Amazimtoti explosion because none of their units within the country had notified them that they were responsible.

He also said there had been no change in the official ANC policy regarding "soft targets".

Their policy was to go for hard targets but they had to admit that, as in any war, civilians could be caught in the crossfire.

Strategy

The questions of what constituted civilians was becoming more and more of a grey area as paramilitary forces were operating alongside the police, he said.

He said there was no difference of opinion or strategy between any sections of the ANC.

It would be incorrect to assume that there was a militant radical youth element as opposed to a more conservative older element.

At their National Consultative Conference, held in Zambia in June, the ANC had reviewed their policy of armed struggle and military and political strategy.

It had been decided to expand and escalate their struggle but by no means to switch their strategy to include children as targets.

This conference had also dispelled the popular myth that there were an Old Guard and Young Turks in the ANC, with a difference of opinion.

Voting power

About 75 percent of those attending the conference had consisted of the "’76 generation" — the young people who had fled South Africa at the time of the Soweto uprising in 1976.

These were the people who had held the voting power and had made a major contribution to decisions. And it was here that the decision had been taken to hit at the enemy — not at small children.

He said the Amazimtoti explosion could not be seen as part of a strategy to make South Africa ungovernable. That decision had been taken in 1993; it was not a recent element of their strategy.

Asked if he would condemn the Amazimtoti explosion, the ANC spokesman said he wanted to know if the South African Government would condemn the shooting of black children.

Escalate

Discussing the possibility of a backlash following the Amazimtoti explosion, he said the South African security forces had crossed borders before this to assassinate exiles in neighbouring territories.

They did not require an incident such as the bombing to make them escalate their activities.

Asked if the ANC was still interested in talking to South African whites, the spokesman said that anybody in South Africa who thought they could contribute, could request an interview — which would be treated on its merits.

In a final comment on the explosion, the ANC spokesman said it took a lot of effort on the part of the ANC to convince the parents of black children who had been killed in South Africa, not to seek revenge.
Johannesburg. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, arrested yesterday — the second time in eight days — for defying a banning order, has spent most of her adult life as a “prisoner” of South Africa, although no court has ever convicted her of a serious crime.

The wife of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, and a powerful figure in her own right in the black community, she has been banned, detained and sent into internal exile.

She has been under some form of government restriction for 22 of the past 23 years. But in recent months she has openly rebelled against a banning order designed to stop her making public statements and to confine her to a remote township near the Free State town of Brandfort.

The government sees the 31-year-old former social worker as a threat to public order, and banned her for the fifth time in 1981.

Mrs Mandela has been forbidden to practise as a social worker and may not be quoted.

Even friends must seek official consent for more than one of them to see her at a time.

Transkei has offered Mrs Mandela asylum. But Transkei has accepted from South Africa an independence not recognised internationally and rejected by anti-apartheid campaigners.

Former South African prime minister Mr John Vorster once said Mrs Mandela could leave the Republic and settle in Swaziland, where her elder daughter Zenani lives, married to a Swazi prince.

But Mrs Mandela prefers to remain a “prisoner” in her own country, supported by her family including her younger daughter Zinzi, a student at the University of Cape Town.

Since 1959, she has faced constant trouble with the authorities. First banned in 1962, she has twice been jailed for violating the order — for four days in 1968 and for six months in 1974. She spent 17 months in detention in 1969-70.

Her ban was not immediately renewed in 1975, and she became an executive member of the Black Parents' Organization in Soweto in the early stages of the 1976 riots over black education in which 575 people died.

Detained for nearly five months that year, she was banned on her release and later banished to Brandfort's township.

Since August this year, when the house was petrol-bombed by unidentified assailants, she has spent most of her time at the family home in Soweto, making frequent visits to Cape Town where her husband was recovering from prostate gland surgery.

She remains defiant against attempts to silence her. At one court hearing in the staunchly Afrikaner city of Bloemfontein, she appeared in the ANC's gold, green and black colours. — Sapa-Reuters
Police have released the names of five people detained over terror in the Durban area — but have declined to say which of the detainees is allegedly linked to the Amanzimtoti blast on December 23.

Colonel Jaap Venter confirmed today that Miss Sandra Africa, Dr Vijay Ramhacharran, Mr Qwazi Sithole, Mr Lulamile Xate and Mr Thanpal Naidoo had been detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

That section allows for the interrogation of suspects for indefinite periods, during which they are kept in solitary confinement and denied access to their lawyers.

Colonel Venter declined to give any more personal or other details about the five, saying strict security was being observed.

He would only say that the detainees were being questioned about their alleged involvement in various acts of terror in the Durban area in 1985. Charges would be formulated in due course as the police investigation proceeded.

The release of the names follows a statement at the weekend by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in which he said police had netted “various” suspects linked to at least 11 acts of terror in and around Durban this year.

Two people were being questioned in connection with the Amanzimtoti blast.

Mr le Grange said the police had also seized a large quantity of overseas-manufactured weapons.
DURBAN — The victims of the Amanzimtoti bomb blast still in Durban's Addington Hospital are in a satisfactory condition.

They are: Maria van Wyk (5) from Amanzimtoti, Sarah Hogan (6) of Amanzimtoti, Mr J L Elliot, Mr Alexander Thompsitt (24) of Boksburg, Yvonne Richie (4) of Umbogintwini, Lynette Lott, Mrs L Magewa, Gavin Bothma of Benoni, Letitia Makathini, Evelyn Reed (23), Mrs Anna Smit (53) and Mrs Anna Hogan (45).

The funeral service of Mrs Irma Elfreda Benchini of Randburg, one of the five people killed in last week's blast, took place in Durban yesterday. — Sap.
M2 traffic halted as police stop Mandela family and Press convoy

Winnie arrested on freeway

By Rich Mkbonde

Traffic on the busy M2 West freeway came to a standstill yesterday as police arrested Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Police stopped the car containing Mrs Mandela, her family and the media which followed her from Jan Smuts Airport.

Mrs Mandela was then taken to the Krugersdorp Police Station.

She will appear in court today.

It is believed she will be charged with breaking her new banning order, which prohibits her from entering the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

The drama started at Jan Smuts Airport when Mrs Mandela arrived from Cape Town, where she and her family had visited her husband, Nelson Mandela, at Pollsmoor Prison.

As she entered the domestic arrivals hall — where members of the Security Police and the Press waited for her — there was commotion as journalists tried to photograph her and ask her if she would defy the Government order and return to Soweto.

After an hour-long consultation, her lawyer, Mr Frederik Diou, said Mrs Mandela would be returning to Soweto.

Her party then left the airport followed by a convoy of cars belonging to members of the Security Police and the Press. Her car, driven by Mr Aubrey Makone of the Release Mandela Campaign, took the freeway toward Johannesburg and was stopped after it had crossed the Johannesburg-Germiston border.

Refused to get out of car

One of the policemen, a Lieutenant de Beer, leaned into Mrs Mandela’s car and said “We are stopping you to check if you have written permission to enter this area.”

Mrs Mandela initially refused to get out of the car.

A policewoman opened the car door and tried to pull her out.

Mrs Mandela then emerged, pushing back the policewoman and screaming at her.

She turned, smiled and hugged her daughter Zindzi, her grandchildren and Mr Makone and got into the police car.

It is her second arrest within eight days. On December 11 she was taken from her Soweto home and charged with defying her banning order and threatened with arrest should she return to Soweto.

Mrs Mandela was due to appear in court again on January 22 on charges of flouting the banning order.

Four days ago, Mrs Mandela made an urgent application to the Rand Supreme Court challenging the order restricting her from entering the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

The hearing is set down for January 7.

Police and media representatives surround Mrs Winnie Mandela’s car against the background of a busy freeway before she was arrested yesterday.

Picture by Alf Khumalo.
Stringent restriction orders for freed W. Cape detainees

CAPE TOWN — All 45 emergency and security legis-
lation detainees released from Victor Verster and
Pollsmoor Prisons yesterday — including virtually
the entire Western Cape executive of the United
Democratic Front — have been placed under wide-
ranging restriction orders.

The order, says, but many people are now confined
to their magisterial districts and prevented from con-
tributing to publications and participating in UDF
activities.

Many more will be unable to attend educational
institutions or criticise the Government "in any way".

Some of those released are journalists, teachers,
academics, students and pupils, who will now be pre-
vented from practising their professions or attending
school or university unless they obtain special ex-
emption.

The restrictions will remain in force until the lift-
ing of the state of emergency.

Mrs Avril Seria, wife of Mr Rashied Seria, media
worker on the Grassroots community newspaper,
said the restriction order would prevent him and Mr
Saleem Badat, the editor, from working.

"The Security Police said they would have to apply
to the Commissioner of Police for permission to do
their jobs," she said. "They are not sure they are
prepared to do this."

Mr Seria was detained with most of the others on
October 25.

NO SIGNIFICANCE

Mrs Seria added: "That they have been released
now has no significance. They are still restricted and
have been deprived of many freedoms.

"One can only speculate that the authorities
thought that by releasing them, the country would
have a quiet New Year."

"I am just very glad to see my husband free."

She said she had telephoned the police daily since
Mr Seria was detained. They had told her he would be
restricted.

"They told me the wives of the men should control
their husbands more", she said.

Friends of Mr David April, a Bishop Lavis teacher,
said the restriction orders "will make it impossible
for pupils to go to school."

"They also have to get special permission to write
examinations," they said. — Sapa.
Solidarity and NPP are finding ‘unity’ elusive

DURBAN — Policy differences between Solidarity, the official Opposition in the House of Delegates, and the ruling National People’s Party, appeared to be insurmountable at the resumed “unity” talks between party delegations in Durban yesterday.

“The talks have taken longer than anticipated, and are inconclusive,” Mr Ismail Omar, Solidarity’s national chairman and its representative on the President’s Council, said after the meeting.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, NPP leader and chairman of the Minister’s Council in the House of Delegates, said he “still saw hope of the two parties getting together”.

He said he and Solidarity leader Dr Jayaram Reddy would meet “within a day or two” to see if certain party differences could be ironed out.

Neither Mr Rajbansi nor Mr Omar would say what the differences were.

The initial talks, held in Cape Town a week ago, were said to have been “prompted” by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis. — Sapa.
T'kei urges talks on faction fight

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A unilateral decision could not be taken to expel Transkeians from the faction fighting area of Umbombulu, the Transkei Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Mtuuzeli Lu- jabe, said yesterday.

He was asked to comment on the situation following reports that Transkeians were leaving the area after the head of the Umbombulu reserve in KwaZulu, Chief Bhekizitha Mshama, had ordered them out.

A total of 63 people have died in the clashes between Ponds and Zulus and yesterday there were reports of more people fleeing the area. Some had sought refuge in the Red Cross Hall in Durban and moved yesterday to Umlazi's Prince Mshiyeni Hospital.

Mr Lujabe said he could not see how it could be decided unilaterally to send unwanted Transkeians home.

“I cannot comment fully at this stage because I am still awaiting a report from our consulate in Durban. But the order for the people to leave. I feel, is a decision that will have to be arrived at by consensus between all the governments concerned.”

In an interview from Durban yesterday, the acting Transkei consul, Mr B. Sekeleni, said he had been informed by the police yesterday that Ponds were not leaving the area.

“It is quite clear that we will have to put our heads together and try to solve this problem. We did not agree with the chief’s order as we felt it was a matter to be resolved with the South African, KwaZulu and Transkeian governments.

“I have drawn up a report and am sending it to our minister.” Mr Sekeleni said and outlined the role of the consulate since violence erupted.

He said they attended a meeting with the councillors from Umbogintwini and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Friday where they called leaders of the warring factions together.

“We wanted to identify the problems and try to find some solutions but only the leaders of the Pondo faction turned up. The Zulus said they could not find their leadership. We thus got only one side of the story.”
Father tells of threats after EL meeting

"I was summoned to a meeting held at the kraal of the headman, Mr Mheleli Aliva, where I was confronted with a pamphlet," Mr Tsoli said. The pamphlet was a notice of the city council meeting with the agenda and it was signed by the mayor, Mr Joe Yazbek.

"I explained that I had merely kept the pamphlet after the meeting but the group insisted that I was a member of the PFP. I denied this but they would not listen and said I had been out of the area by 2 pm on Sunday or I would be given a necklace.

"I had to leave my wife and children there and flee," Mr Tsoli said and claimed there had been a lot of intimidation in the area.

He said four members of the United Women's Organisation had also been quizzed by the group after they were accused of being members of the PFP.

Mr Tsoli said the men did not claim allegiance to any political grouping and that he knew them from the village where he lived. He alleged the men were operating kangaroo courts where corporal punishment was inflicted for misdemeanours.

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THE Soshanguve church of prominent priest and United Democratic Front patron, Father S'mangaliso Mkhathshwa, was petrol-bombed yesterday.

Also attacked was the home of a member of the Soshanguve Youth Organisation (Sayo), Mr Peter Machidi. Both attacks occurred between midnight and 2 am.

The priest and the Machidis said there was shooting before the bombings.

A spokesman for the public relations division of the SAP said the only incident reported to his office was that of an attack on a private house in Soshanguve.

He would not confirm the petrol bombing at the St Charles Lwanga Roman Catholic Church.

When The SOWETAN arrived at the church a window next to the altar was broken and

**Sacred**

"It is ironical that an attempt should be made on a church, a sacred place, in a country pretending to be Christian. And it is also surprising that this should happen in a township so heavily patrolled by the police and the army," said Father Mkhathshwa.

By ALINAH DUBE

Several pews partly burnt.

At the Machidis, neighbours were still busy removing the burnt furniture and other belongings from the house.

"We find it very strange and revealing that houses of activists are regularly attacked while culprits never get arrested. This will be regarded by residents as provocation," Father Mkhathshwa said.

**Blast: Doctor held**

A DURBAN doctor is being held as police continue investigating into bomb explosions, including last week's Amanzimtoti blast in which five people were killed - two of them children - in connection with the bomb blast at the Sunnамн shopping centre last Monday.

At least four others are being held in connection with the blast in the Sunnam shopping centre.
Strike activity reached record proportions

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

Last year was one of the most volatile and developments in the industry brought some major issues to the fore such as job reservation, mine safety and the position of legal strikers. Job reservation remained an emotive subject and talk between workers and the Chamber of Mines emerged as a focal point for discussion. The Chamber offered the findings, arguing that the bonus scheme encouraged better practices by miners who wished to continue in the industry.

The first half of 1985 was marked with strikes and incidents at mines, the most significant being in April when 14,000 workers took strike action at the Chamber's security of employment guarantees, in the event of a portion of the system. It was later on the condition that the Chamber's officers who had previously accepted the guarantees to favour increased and would not contribute to black advancement on the mines. The white Mine Workers' Union (MWU) said it would only negotiate on security of employment when agreement had been reached on establishing an industrial council with police agreements. However, the Chamber wants the council's formation linked to changes such as the scrapping of job reservations.

A key aspect of the report argued that exemptions, allowing some black leaders to perform certain duties of white miners, could increase accidents when team leaders were not given the formal training required. A new focus for industry council meetings was evident.

The company ruled that the company had not committed any unfair labour practice and upheld the claim of 45% of the workforce in collective bargaining.

The ruling has far-reaching implications for future negotiations and it is likely that these employers are likely to resist the demand for large settlements. Political issues creep increasingly into mine union demands. One important instance was a strike in July at the Chamber's Limpopo mine where workers had been paid in breach of a collective agreement. The ruling only pertains to a specific situation, but is likely to encourage workers to use legal channels.

Wage negotiations resulted in deadlock, followed by unilateral increases in July. This was followed by a widely publicised split in the Chamber's ranks with further improvements being offered by Anglo American, Rand Mines and JCI.

The National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) called for a boycott of white businesses in many mining towns springs to mind. The experience of the motor industry was an indicator that a high level of strike activity could hit an industry plagued by re-tradungen and strikes. Major motor manufacturers experienced higher levels of strike action than usual. Those most affected by strikes were Eastern Cape employers such as Mercedes-Benz in East London, Alfa Romeo in KwaZulu and Volkswagen in Uitenhage. Ford in Port Elizabeth and local component manufacturers. Causes were varied. The report argued that exemptions, allowing some black leaders to perform certain duties of white miners, could increase accidents when team leaders were not given the formal training required. A new focus for industry council meetings was evident.

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Amanzimtoti bomb blast not ours — ANC

THE ANC said yesterday it was not claiming responsibility for the Amanzimtoti bomb blast, which killed five people on December 23.

An ANC spokesman said from Lusaka that none of their units within SA had notified them they were responsible.

Asked to condemn the Amanzimtoti explosion, the spokesman said he wanted to know "if the SA government would condemn the shooting of black children".

He said there had been no change in the official ANC policy regarding "soft targets".

Its policy was to go for hard targets but they had to admit that, as in any war,

MARGARET SMITH

and JANE STRACHAN

civilians could be caught in the crossfire.

At least six Durban people, including a doctor and his student wife, have been detained since last week, apparently in connection with bombings in the city.

Business Day has established that Dr Vijay Ramlaa and his student wife, Sandra Africa, are being held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act, together with at least four other people.

Ramlaa and Africa were arrested in the early hours of Tuesday morning, less than 24 hours after the Amanzimtoti explosion.

Others arrested include student Ricky Dhanpal (aka Naidoo), Ordway Masi and medical students Kwazi Sithole and Lulamile Xate.

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange confirmed that two of the people arrested in a police swoop last week are being questioned in connection with the Amanzimtoti explosion.

At least four of those arrested are being held in connection with about eight bomb attacks in and around Durban this year.

The attacks included explosions at:

☐ The Grosvenor Girls High School, shortly before the parliamentary by-
elections during October.

☐ At the Putco bus depot in Umlazi.

☐ The Mobeni post office.

☐ The Chatsworth magistrate's court.

☐ The Kwazulu police station under construction at Umlazi.

☐ The Natalia Development Board in Lamontville.

Police also made a major breakthrough on Christmas Day when they discovered a large arms cache in Lamontville.

Weapons, including sub-machine guns, personnel mines and hand grenades as well as explosives and subversive literature were confiscated.
Highway arrest after flight from Cape Town

Defiant Winnie is back behind bars

WINNIE MANDELA has been detained under the Internal Security Act for allegedly breaking her banning order.

She was arrested on the Oberholzer Highway, Johannesburg, yesterday. She is being held at Krugersdorp police station.

Mandela was arrested shortly after her arrival in Johannesburg from Cape Town where she had gone to see her jailed husband, Nelson, at Pollsmoor prison.

Yesterday's was her second arrest under security laws in fewer than two weeks.

A lawyer for the Mandela family, Armichael Soman, of Ismail Ayob & Associates, said Mandela was being detained under Ordinance 56 (1) (K) in conjunction with Section (19) (1) (9) of Act 74 of 1982. He said Mandela had presumably been arrested for entering the magisterial district of Johannesburg without permission of the Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange.

In terms of her banning order, Mandela is excluded from the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

She would probably appear in court today, said her lawyer. He said he was preparing a bail application.

Mandela's daughter Zinzi told Business Day her mother's arrest had been dramatic. Zinzi's two-year-old son Zondwa was banged against a car by a policewoman during the arrest.

From the Oberholzer Highway where Mandela was arrested, a convoy of police vehicles escorted her to Krugersdorp.

When I arrived at the police station Mandela was in the charge office where policemen were choosing the toiletries and cosmetics she could take to the cells.

They refused her permission to take tins and bottles to the cells. Only cosmetics and toiletries in plastic containers were allowed.

With Mandela in the charge office was a senior official of the UDF and a leader of the Release Mandela Campaign Committee, Aubrey Mokoena, together with Mandela's two grandchildren and a lawyer.

Mandela appeared composed and smiled broadly at foreign and local reporters.

As she was being taken to the cells, Mokoena shouted "ngawethu" (power is ours).

On January 7 Mandela is to apply for an order in the Rand Supreme Court to invalidate a notice precluding her from being in the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

She will also ask for an order interdicting the police from arresting her.

Mandela was served with the order restricting her from entering Johannesburg or Roodepoort in terms of the Internal Security Act on December 21.

* Whitehall sources last night criticised the "clumsy move by the SA government, particularly as her appeal against her banning order is pending". Mandela's arrest provoked reaction from diplomatic, political and economic sources. Feeling in London was that the arrest would have economic repercussions for SA and a further loss of confidence in government.

Standstill modified

BLOCKED foreign loans in government coffers will be administered by the Public Investment Commissioners (PIC) from tomorrow.

This is the major change contained in amended standstill regulations which, from tomorrow, extend the ban on the repayment of certain foreign loans totalling $13.4bn until March 31. The ban was first imposed for four months on September 1.

There have been other minor changes to the standstill regulations, mostly in terms of clarification of definitions.

In terms of the regulations, when a foreign loan falls due, if no agreement to renew can be reached with the creditor, it is to be paid into a blocked account that until now has been administered by the Reserve Bank.

There is some speculation that the Reserve Bank does not want to be seen administering such an account.

The move may be a precursor to a rescheduling agreement.

Government may have decided to put the PIC in charge of blocked funds with instructions to maximise return on them.

The PIC is body which handles the investment of short-term funds.

There is no indication of how large these funds are, but it is believed they are in dollars, so it is likely the PIC will be dealing offshore.

Other changes to the regulations include clearer definitions of a number of vital terms. For example, "foreign government" now means any government except those of Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

A spokesman for the Standstill Coordinating Committee, which is administering the moratorium, says no word has been received from mediator Fritz Leutwiler on foreign bank reaction to SA's rescheduling proposals.
POLITICAL dissident Winnie Mandela was greeted by a barrage of jeering journalists and policemen as she arrived at Jan Smuts airport yesterday in an attempt to defy a ban preventing her from returning to Soweto.

Mandela had left Cape Town after visiting her jailed husband ANC leader Nelson Mandela. She was accompanied on the flight by her daughter, Zinzi, and grandchildren Mandla and Zindzi.

Mandela arrived wearing a long red dress and a bright red bandana round her head. She appeared composed but tired and barely spoke to the group of about 50 press representatives. She was carrying her youngest grandchild and appeared a little flustered when she could not make her way through the crowd of staring passangers and a sea of microphones.

Sources close to Mandela said she was not feeling well due to a blood pressure problem and had been hoping to get medical attention after her planned arrival at her home in Orlando West, Soweto.

Friends who met her at the airport said she had been staying at the Mount Nelson Hotel in Cape Town since Monday. This was the closest point from which to visit her husband.

She is understood to have visited him five times over the Christmas period where he is staying in the hospital wing of Pollsmoor prison. She told friends he had seemed well.

Winnie Mandela returns to commotion and police at Jan Smuts

The large crowd moved round the airport until Mandela, friends and lawyers from Imisi Ayob and Associates went inside the airport restaurant.

Some cameras fell backwards over pots and objects as the huge phalanx of people moved with her around the airport. Security policemen with guns visible on their sides watched the group closely. They did not stop Mandela while she was at the airport, which is in Rondebosch. Her arrival at the airport also drew some strange reactions from factory observers.

The group remained inside the restaurant for over half an hour while cameras and passers-by watched them closely through the windows, crowding the door whenever Mandela rose to attend to the crying Zindzi.

Her arrival at the airport also drew some strange reactions from factory observers.

A group of Afrikaner women kept saying sympathetically: "Poor, poor woman," when Mandela and her clinging grandson were surrounded by the flashing camera lights.

The group then went out to a white van and drove off, with security policemen on their tail amid a commotion and rapid communication on two-way radios.

Mandela's car stopped along the highway to wait for Ayob's car. When Ayob's car arrived, driver Mohamed Dungo said they had just been leaving the airport parking lot when they heard a loud bang and found their back window shattered. He said they had not found any stones in the car.

The source said Mandela was returning to return to Brindford's in the Free State, because she believed her life was endangered since her house was set alight and destroyed in August.

He said Mandela was a trained social worker and had erected a clinic outside her Brindford home.