

BLACK POLITICS

MARCH 1986 (1st — 31st)

# I'll probably join UDF — Boraine

1/3/86

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Star

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CAPE TOWN — Dr Alex Boraine will almost definitely join the United Democratic Front following his resignation from Parliament on February 13.

The former Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands and PFP federal council chairman said this after addressing a meeting at the University of Cape Town where he shared a platform with UDF executive member, Mr Graeme Bloch.

During question time after the talk, entitled "Parliament: Does it Have Any Future?" Dr Boraine was asked whether he would consider joining the UDF.

He replied to loud applause from the crowd of about 500 students: "If I did join the UDF, which is highly probable, it will be in a very ordinary capacity, I

do not want to be presumptuous.

● Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Opposition, met British Junior Foreign Minister Mrs Lynda Chalker yesterday to discuss the situation in South Africa, a British Foreign Office spokesman said in London.

In a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society later, Dr Slabbert outlined preconditions he said were needed for meaningful negotiations with the country's black leaders — an abandonment of all apartheid structures, the unbanning of all banned organisations and freedom for all political prisoners.

He said he had no intention of starting a new movement following his resignation from Parliament. — Sapa-Reuter.

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By Karen Brown 1



# Mother collapses after giving evidence

By Estelle Trengove

13/86 SPAT LIA  
A mother of 11, who has been in detention since November 1984, yesterday broke down after giving evidence in the Delmas treason trial.

She was called by the State to testify against 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front and members of Azapo and the Vaal Civic Association.

The men pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, subversion and murder.

Mrs Rina Mokoena told the court of two meetings she attended shortly before the march on September 3 1984 in Sebokeng, which erupted into violence in which several people died and property was damaged.

She said she was a member of the Vaal Women's Organisation and had been asked to speak at the meetings.

"I said they (the black councillors) should resign and should

be killed, because they were not doing their job," she said.

She said after her speech, one of the accused, Mr Hlabeng Same Matlole, also addressed the meeting, saying the councillors should resign and if they did not do so, they should be killed.

When the hearing resumed after tea, counsel for the State, Mr Paul Fick, said Mrs Mokoena had collapsed outside the court during the adjournment. He asked for the trial to be postponed so that she could see a doctor, but Mrs Mokoena told Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst she was feeling better, and the hearing continued.

When he began cross-examining Mrs Mokoena, counsel for the defence, Mr George Bizos SC, asked that the police investigating officers leave the court. The judge granted the request.

Mrs Mokoena's cross-examination continues on Monday.

# 3 killed in township clashes

CHIT 76/14  
1/3/86

own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Three people were killed and three others seriously injured in violent clashes in KwaNdengezi township yesterday.

The injured were admitted to hospital, one under police guard, for treatment.

A police spokesman said shots were fired at a mob of about ten people who had allegedly terrorized residents in the township, and a man was killed.

He added that two more people were injured later on when a group of more than 40 armed people entered KwaNdengezi, from Zwelibombu, and attacked several houses.

Witnesses said the apparent reason for the attack by Zwelibombu residents was the belief that some of the people living in KwaNdengezi had left Zwelibombu to escape faction fighting in the troubled area.

Meanwhile, one man was killed in renewed clashes between the Makhanyas and Embos in Umbumbulu on Wednesday night.

Police said about 50 Makhanyas had invaded the Embo district and stabbed a man to death.

An unidentified black woman was found dead with rope around her neck in the same township.

Police have opened a murder docket.

CAPE TOWN. (11A)  
11/3/86

# ANC favours 'non-racial democracy'

LONDON. — Former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday said that after his talks here on Thursday with executive members of the banned ANC he understands the organization is prepared to accept "a non-racial democracy" in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert told a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society here that he had not discussed with the ANC the details of what form a future government should take, but he believed that an essential step to make successful negotiation possible was the abolition of all apartheid laws.

It was essential, he said, to allow freedom of association in South Africa so that support for political organizations — including those currently banned — could be established.

Since he resigned the leadership of the PFP earlier this month, Dr Slabbert has embarked on a one-man campaign to discover what he terms "the minimum conditions" that could allow non-parliamentary groups to negotiate with the government on the country's future.

He said the ANC and other organizations he had spoken to in the past had made it clear that

they were prepared to consider negotiation if the government was prepared to reconsider apartheid.

"Even if they were lying to me, it is a bluff worth calling," he said.

● The Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos J Mabuza, left South Africa yesterday to hold talks with the ANC leadership in Lusaka.

Mr Mabuza, accompanied by a delegation of 19, will meet the ANC to discuss the current unrest situation and the future of South Africa.

At a press conference in Johannesburg Mr Mabuza said he was acting on a mandate from his constituency which believed that the leaders of the ANC play an important role in the present and future political scenarios of South Africa.

Meanwhile, in Lusaka a delegation of eminent people from the Commonwealth met ANC leaders yesterday amid tight security.

Pressmen were not allowed into the meeting.

The Commonwealth delegation, set up at last year's Commonwealth summit, was accompanied by Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal.

The ANC delegation was led by its president, Mr Oliver Tambo. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter



Young men ran through Lawaaikamp Township at George today, chanting slogans, before the funeral of three men shot dead there during unrest.

## Boesak N/E ARGUS 11/3/86 saves man from mob

VERNON MATZOPGULOS  
Weekend Argus Reporter

GEORGE. — Dr Allan Boesak saved a man today when angry mourners attacked him at the funeral of three men shot dead by police during unrest in George's Lawaaikamp township.

The man — singled out by mourners as a police informer — was at the service in St Paul's Church with his wife and children.

People in the crowd of 2 000 in and around the church began to beat the man.

Dr Boesak, who was due to speak during the funeral, jumped into the throng and shielded the man. He pulled him through the crowd and out of the church, bundled him and his family into a car and drove away.

### Tiny microphone

A perspiring Dr Boesak, who returned alone several minutes later, said: "I don't know if I saved the man's life. I didn't want to see him hurt. I just did what I had to do under the circumstances."

Earlier, a tiny microphone and battery-pack were discovered under the pulpit.

The parish minister, the Rev Johannes Eckstein, said a security policeman had asked to look around the church and the microphone was discovered soon after he left.

Police maintained a strong presence this morning and sealed off entrances to the township but they did not enter the area.

The service was expected to last several hours, with speakers from other centres.

### Uniforms and berets

The funeral procession was due to move to Sandkraal cemetery, several kilometres from the church.

Mourners from other towns began arriving early today and many youths wore khaki uniforms, black berets and badges with UDF colours.

Girls in black skirts and berets wore yellow T-shirts with the names and emblems of youth organisations from Paarl, Oudtshoorn and Mossel Bay.

At one stage, 250 men and youths ran through the township chanting slogans. They were led by a man in combat fatigues and another waving an imitation AK47.

Traditional Xhosa services for two of the victims were held at the homes of their parents.



Family and friends gather beside the coffin of Kghotse Michael Jack, 23, in his parent's home in Lawaaikamp Township, during the funeral service.

# ANC community on UK TV

W/C ARGUS 1/3/86

# After 1976, the world of exile

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Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service  
LONDON. — Daily life for  
hundreds of young blacks

who left South Africa after the 1976 riots is the subject of a major television documentary to be shown here next week.

It features a community of ANC exiles in Tanzania.

Ten years ago, Mazimbu was an abandoned sisal plantation. Now it is a thriving town of 2 000 people, with schools, a hospital, a farm and light industry.

The film, called *Mazimbu — Behind The Lines Of A Liberation Movement*, will be screened by Channel Four on Monday.

Mazimbu is shown as a busy, growing community, of whom 800 are children or students, in a settlement surrounding the Solomon Mahlangu College (named after an ANC member hanged in South Africa).

Many of the children at Mazimbu are orphaned or left their parents in South Africa.

The land was given to the ANC by the Tanzanian Government after the 1976 riots, on the understanding that if the exiles eventually return to South Africa Tanzania will inherit the facilities.

The town is funded largely by Scandinavian aid, with contributions from other Western and Eastern European countries.

The college is run by black, white, coloured and Indian ANC officials, with the help of volunteers, including teachers, doctors and nurses, who go to Mazimbu on two or three-year contracts. Many of the volunteers are from Europe.

The school curriculum places a heavy emphasis on science, and there is a well-equipped laboratory.

The medium of instruction is English, although Zulu, Xhosa, Swahili and a smattering of Afrikaans is heard.

# Mattie alarm at radical blacks

**Weekend Argus Reporter**  
**STELLENBOSCH** students who have been canvassing black political opinion have concluded that most blacks have been so radically politicised that no short-term reforms or security force action can subdue or suppress them.

They also found bitter animosity between rival groups, especially between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

The group of 10, which included five students who were prevented by the Government from going to Lusaka to meet African National Congress leaders, have produced a secret report that concludes that contact with the ANC is essential if there is to be effective political decision-making and action.

## SA tour

The students toured the country, meeting members of the UDF, Inkatha and black and white civic and business leaders.

They say there would have to be a proper understanding of the personalities, policy and strategies of the ANC before a proper evaluation could be made of Inkatha, the UDF, the Government — "and even of ourselves".

They expressed alarm at the intensity and momentum of the "freedom struggle", which they concluded was too strong and deep-rooted for force to quell violence. They said whites should realise that they can only hope to channel this feeling — they cannot stop it.

Some conclusions reached by the students following their discussions in December last year are:

- The implications of UDF attitudes lie hidden in Lusaka because UDF policies are seated with the ANC.

- Within the black community there is a spontaneous acceptance of non-elected leaders who have proved themselves to be fighters for the cause.

- The continued removal of community leaders through detention has created a leadership vacuum which is increasingly filled by weaker, younger and more radical leaders. The latter usually do not have the ability of their predecessors to control their community.

- Political leaders held in detention for a long time gain an unreal and even mythological image as the saviours of their people, and Mr Nelson Mandela probably has the biggest following.

- A critical phase of transition is approaching: "South Africa is sitting with the last of the recognised pre-apartheid African nationalists such as Tambo, Mandela, Motlana and Tutu, who are still in control.



Sonja Schneider in one of the second hand outfits she sells at her shop.

Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus

## Dead after crash

**Weekend Argus Reporter**

A DEPUTY director-general of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Pieter Oelofsen, 52, died from a suspected heart attack after being involved in a motor accident near Worcester.

Police said Mr Oelofsen's car collided with another vehicle and then with a signboard yesterday afternoon.

Mr Oelofsen was not seriously injured but became ill and was taken to Eben Dönges Hospital in Worcester, where he died.

## Sonja's second hand sortie

FROM the modelling ramps of Europe's top fashion houses to a second hand clothing store in Claremont — that's the story of Sonja Schneider.

But it is not a case of coming down in the world, simply a business venture on the lines that have become popular all over Europe — buying your clothes in second hand shops.

"My partner, Charles Dagnin, and I noticed this trend during my year of travel in Europe and we asked ourselves why it shouldn't work in South Africa. But it isn't as easy as we thought," said the stately blonde.

# 'Toti' bomber' to see his parents

**CP Correspondent**  
A SUPREME Court judge yesterday ruled that the KwaMashu teenager who this week admitted planting the limpet mine in Amazimtoti's Sanlam Centre be allowed to consult his parents and family.

He said Andrew Sibusiso Zondo, 19 - who

had not seen his parents since his arrest four days after the blast on December 23 - should speak to his parents to discuss how he will be represented.

Zondo told a Durban magistrate during a preliminary hearing earlier this week that he did not want to be represented by anyone.

However, at his first Supreme Court appearance yesterday, he agreed that he would accept the counsel appointed for him if his parents could not afford to pay for a lawyer.

The judge told Zondo it would be "dangerous" to defend himself because he faces serious charges.

"You are a very young

man and I assume you have no legal experience.

"It is difficult for someone without experience to conduct his own case. And the more serious the case, the more dangerous it is for you to do it on your own," he said.

Zondo will be tried in the Scottborough Supreme Court on March

17. The prosecutor said the South Coast venue was preferable "because of security arrangements for the accused and the general public" and because the case would be heard far sooner than if they had to wait for a vacancy in Durban.

Zondo said he wanted

to call Thembinkosi Mfokeng of Lamontville - who according to him is in jail - as his witness.

The State also added a sixth charge - that of attempted murder - to the five counts of murder on which which Zondo already appearing.

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# Teenage 'bomber' charged

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By SIBUSISO MNGADI

A teenage guerilla accused of planting the Amanzimtoti limpet mine which killed five people in December, stunned the Durban Regional Court this week when he told the magistrate he would conduct his own defence because "a lawyer will just waste time".

Andrew Zondo, 19, of KwaMashu, is alleged to have murdered Willem Arrie van Wyk, Corneo Smit, Anna Shearer, Irma Bencino and Sharon Bothma, who all died after an explosion at Durban's Sanlam Centre on December 23.

He has pleaded not guilty to five charges of murder, and says he'll conduct his own defence.

● Two Durban security branch cops appeared in the Durban Regional Court this week charged with assaulting Natal UDF vice chairman Billy Nair.



March 1986

# Book likens vigilantes to Blackshirts

1117

RIGHTWING vigilantes are sometimes actively supported by police in their brazen attacks on townships and anti-apartheid campaigners, according to a book published yesterday.

In the book, Nicholas Haysom of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand

By ANTON HARBER

documents and analyses the widespread emergence of these groups, which he compares to the fascist Blackshirts.

The book, called "Mabangalala: The rise of rightwing vigilantes in South Africa", warns that if vigilantes

continue to operate as they have in the past, the level of brutality in black areas will escalate dramatically.

In some areas, Haysom reports, the accusations against the police and development board authorities are that they have been indifferent to the vigilantes — giving them licence to act against anti-apartheid activists.

In other areas, however, "the police's role seems to have been actively support vigilantes."

"This was clearly so at Queenstown Ashton, Fort Beaufort and Thabong among others.

"In addition, the vigilantes' use of township council's facilities (notably

● To PAGE 2

# Court waits for De Jonge

DUTCH national Klaas de Jonge and his former wife, Helene Passtoors, are to be prosecuted in the Rand Supreme Court, the Witwatersrand Attorney-General announced this week.

Passtoors is to be charged with treason, alternatively terrorism in contravention of Section 54 (1) of the Internal Security Act of 1982, and a second count of "terrorism" under the same section of the act.

De Jonge is to be charged with one count of terrorism under the same section of the act.

Passtoors is due to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today.

The other trial will start on April 14 in the Rand

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Supreme Court.

"The date was arranged in consultation with the defence," the AG said.

The AG had "no comment whatsoever to make on possible speculation whether De Jonge will be available to stand his trial or not".

De Jonge has been holed-up in the former Dutch Embassy in Pretoria since last July after becoming the subject of an international row.

He was arrested earlier last year - but escaped in July by tricking cops into taking him to the embassy

while he was pointing out certain places during investigations.

At the embassy he broke free and dashed inside.

Cops hauled him out of the embassy - but returned him after Holland protested, threatening to break ties with SA.

De Jonge has lived on the premises ever since - even though the embassy moved to new premises in Pretoria late last year. Dutch officials maintain embassy protection by staying with him in the old embassy offices. - Sapa.

# Mabuza to meet ANC



KANQWANE homeland Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and an entourage of the homeland's Inyandza movement leave for Zambia today for talks with the African National Congress, writes cf2ZB Molefe.

Mabuza - least hostile homeland leader when it comes to the banned organisation - has so far declined to discuss his trip to Lusaka.

Before flying out this morning, he will meet journalists in Johannesburg to explain the background to his visit.

# Pelser's 'ANC car' gets GG plates

By MARTIN NTSOELNGOE

AN African National Congress member sentenced to seven years will forfeit his car and R4 000 cash to the State - because it is "ANC property".

Eric William Pelser, 21, will also forfeit his AK47, 120 rounds of AK ammunition, two grenades, two ammunition pouches and several books found in his Hillbrow flat on July 25 last year.

Judge FL Weyers gave this order in the Rand Supreme Court this week before sentencing Pelser to seven years for treason and the possession of LSD and banned books.

The judge said the sentence "may seem light" but he had taken Pelser's age into account.

The judge said he'd also taken into account that Pelser had been awaiting

trial for eight months, and that there was no proof he would have used the AK47 and two grenades "if it came to a push".

Pelser, an SA citizen, left the country in 1984 to avoid conscription into the SA Defence Force.

He joined Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's military wing, and trained with them.

The judge criticised Pelser for not explaining to the court why he had joined the ANC.

Pelser gave no evidence.

The judge said Pelser willingly went to Pango, an ANC camp in Angola, for military training for

two and a half months and was "too impatient" to wait for a six-year scholarship to study in West Germany promised him by the ANC.

In a statement read in court Pelser said he became worried about his ageing parents as he had no news about their wellbeing.

Judge Weyers said he could not understand why Pelser had not studied at universities in Zimbabwe or Lesotho.

In May 1985, Pelser and an ANC escort returned to South Africa.

The judge found there was no

evidence Pelser would have fired shots if there was a skirmish between them and security forces.

But instead of sending the AK47 and two grenades back with the escort, he kept them.

● The ANC's Freedom Radio, broadcasting from Ethiopia, devoted almost its entire half-hour program on Wednesday night - in English and Xhosa - to a tribute to "Compatriot" Eric Pelser, who it said had "chosen the Mandela way".

It compared him to other white members of the ANC and SA Communist Party.

# SAVE THE SIX

By STAN MHLONGO

ONCE again, Sharpeville – the dusty Vaal township that has known so much sorrow over the past three decades – is mourning.

But this time, the township that has seen so many of its young and old folk die at the hands of South Africa's security forces, will hold no funerals to bury its dead.

Rather, grief-stricken residents gather in little groups every night to pray for six of their young people who have a date with the hangman. The cold and chilly atmosphere that pervades the air is like that of a funeral.

Sharpeville's residents are united in their grief.

Unlike hundreds of other young people throughout the country who have been buried as martyrs because of their opposition to apartheid, the bodies of the six will become the property of the State after the hangings.

But already, Sharpeville's youth remember them as heroes.

The six – Theresa Ramashamola, 24, Reid Mokoena, 22, Duma Khumalo, 26, Francis Mokgesi, 28, Oupa Diniso, 30 and

Reginald Seratsa, 30, were recently sentenced to death for killing former Lekoa town councillor Khuzwayo Jacob Dlamini.

Ramashamola is believed to be the first woman in South Africa to be sentenced to death for an act which had serious political undertones.

The people of Sharpeville are hoping for a miraculous intervention to save their comrades from the hangman.

And throughout the country, people are praying daily that an appeal against the death sentence imposed on the six succeeds.

The people of Sharpeville – irrespective of political affiliation – have united in prayer and in their efforts to save the six.

Said one Sharpeville activist: "You find yourself a victim of apartheid despite your political affiliation – whether you support Azapo or the UDF, or the ANC or PAC.

"So you must understand that the comrades found themselves accused of murdering a councillor because they just could not stomach the humiliation and suffering under the Government's apartheid laws. They could not stomach apartheid."

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# Defending Freedom Charter

KEN OWEN challenged me in his column in August to "come forward and defend the Freedom Charter".

Mr Owen objects to my assertion that the charter is not a statement of principles for a socialist state. Mr Justice Rumpff, a former Chief Justice of South Africa who presided over the 1956 Treason Trial, agrees with me. However, Mr Owen is not convinced.

Neither is Mr Leon Louw, of the Free Market Foundation. Nationalization is "socialistic", says Mr Louw.

The main weakness in Mr Owen's and Mr Louw's position is that it equates nationalization with socialism. Only if we accept that nationalization can occur under both capitalism and socialism can we avoid the kind of absurdities their argument leads to. Let me remind them that it was that eminent champion of capitalism General Smuts who founded Escom as a nationalized industry.

How, then, do we tell the difference between nationalization under capitalism and under socialism?

First, if the nationalized industries are producing for a market, as in Britain and SA, they are capitalist.

Second, if the government which controls them is committed to capitalism, as are Thatcher's and Botha's governments, then the nationalized industries are under capitalist control. Only if the state is under the control of the working class would one say socialism prevailed.

The key issue then is not nationalization, but the form of state which controls the nationalized industries and the economy as a whole.

This is why the argument that the Freedom Charter is socialistic is silly. The charter never calls for working-class

By **DUNCAN INNES**  
Department of Sociology,  
University of the Witwatersrand

control of the state. Instead, it calls for a state "based on the will of the people" to exist in SA — which is a straightforward democratic capitalist demand.

Also, the charter calls for an extension of the market: "All people shall have equal right to trade where they chose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions". By no stretch of the imagination can this demand be called socialist.

The charter does not specify what political-economic system should come into being in SA. This is because it is primarily a statement of ideals for a non-racial SA and not a blueprint for a political system.

## Share in the wealth

This is both a strength, since it enables people with different political views to support it and a weakness, since it blurs an important issue.

For instance, the charter demands that "the people shall share in the country's wealth" — but it doesn't specify which political system will bring this about.

As Mr Owen pointed out, Raymond Suttner believes that capitalism cannot do this. According to Suttner: "Any programme to end racial oppression in SA has to be anti-capitalist." If this argument were true, then no doubt a socialist system would come into being here. But is the argument true?

Presumably the businessmen who recently visited the ANC and who have

expressed their opposition to apartheid do not agree with it. Neither do the FCI, Assocom, the AHI and all those other non-socialist organizations that have recently condemned apartheid.

But let us not be under any illusions: in setting out its ideal for a non-racial SA, the charter effectively puts capitalism on trial in SA. Can capitalism in this country change sufficiently to allow "the people" to share in the country's wealth? Can capitalism here "banish famine and land hunger" as the charter demands?

If capitalism can do these things, it will survive. If not, it is possible that a socialist alternative may well be attempted.

But it is not the charter that demands socialism. If capitalism fails, that demand will come from the people and will arise out of their disillusionment with capitalism.

In my view the debate around the Freedom Charter is only of significance to the extent that it raises the question of what a future non-racial SA should look like. That issue is becoming increasingly urgent.

We need to know what ideals we are striving towards; how practical it is to achieve these; what kind of political and economic system would best bring them about; and how such a system would function.

These are difficult questions and only if we enter into a full and free debate with one another can we hope to answer them. Attempts to interpret people's views as "communistic" or to refuse to listen to arguments because one disagrees with them can only do this country immense damage — especially in this time of crisis.

# TV film shows behind-the-scenes ANC education for

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Daily life for some of the hundreds of young blacks who left South Africa after the 1976 riots is the subject of a major television documentary to be shown here today.

A South African exile living in London made the film about a community of ANC exiles in Tanzania.

Ten years ago Mazimbu was an abandoned sisal plantation. Now it is a thriving small town of 2 000 people, with schools, a hospital, a farm and light industry.

Toni Strasburg's film "Mazimbu — Behind the Lines of a Liberation Movement", will be screened on Channel Four.

"One of the aims of the film was to show that the ANC, which is generally portrayed as a guerilla movement, or in South African terms as a terrorist organisation, is thinking creatively and constructively about the future," said Mrs Strasburg, who, with her

cameraman husband, Ivan, left South Africa on an exit visa in 1965.

With a small film crew the Strasburgs visited Mazimbu late last year and found a busy and growing community, of whom 800 are children or students, in a settlement surrounding the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (named after the ANC guerilla hanged in South Africa).

## SCHOOL OPTION

Many of the children at Mazimbu are orphaned or left their parents behind in South Africa. Others stay there while their parents are away on ANC missions.

"The students say they have a choice when they leave South Africa of joining a guerilla group or going to school and they say they get a lot of pressure from the ANC to take the school option," Mrs Strasburg said.

The land was given to the ANC by the Tanzanian Government after the 1976 riots, on

the understanding that if the exiles return to South Africa Tanzania will inherit the facilities.

The town is funded largely by Scandinavian aid, with contributions from other Western and Eastern European countries.

There is no military activity at Mazimbu, "none at all," says Mrs Strasburg. "In fact when some of the students included guns in a mural, they were told to paint them out."

The college is run by black, white, coloured and Indian ANC officials, with the help of volunteers, including teachers, doctors and nurses, who go to Mazimbu on two or three-year contracts.

"Morale probably goes up and down, but it seemed very high when we were there," said Mrs Strasburg. "You felt that here were people working constructively for their future, people with something to contribute."

"It's a very inspiring and optimistic place — it gave me a lot of hope for the future."

"For instance the woman who runs the garment factory worked in the garment industry in South Africa. Now she runs the whole factory. And this has happened in less than 10 years.

"This isn't to say there aren't problems. It's a small exile community, people live on top of each other, and the students can't go home for their holidays the way they can at an ordinary school. And some of the students were in jail before they left South Africa, and have to come to terms with that.

## CORRECT IMBALANCES

"But what struck me was how forgiving the people were. They want to go back home to build a new South Africa, not to carry out a vendetta. And there is a clear feeling at Mazimbu that the ANC is a non-racist organisation. There's no anti-white feeling there, although a lot of feeling against the South African Government.

"They're very impressive people. After all they've been through they've retained a sense of proportion and gentleness. They're an incredibly together bunch."

The school curriculum attempts to correct the imbalances of black education. "There is a heavy emphasis on sciences, which is neglected in Bantu Education."

"They're also taught about African culture and the history of the liberation struggle."

The medium of instruction is English, although Zulu, Xhosa, Swahili and a smattering of Afrikaans is heard.

The youngest people at Mazimbu are the toddlers in the nursery school and creches. Most were born in Tanzania, but they are "very aware of the fact that they're South Africans."

"That's partly because they live in an exile community, but also from the earliest age they're taught about South Africa, and why they're in Tanzania."

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY, Crime Reporter

**POLICE today shot dead seven terrorists in Guguletu who were planning to ambush a police vehicle.**

A police spokesman said the seven were members of the African National Congress and that the shootout came after police received information that the organisation planned to attack a police vehicle in Cape Town. "Preventive measures

were taken".

It is understood that a task force waited for hours near the scene of the expected ambush.

A hand-grenade was thrown and one policeman was slightly injured in the shootout. A second has a slight burn caused by shrapnel.

Police have taken possession of a loaded AK47 automatic rifle, handguns — one of them of Russian origin — and grenades.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said that after police stopped a vehicle at 7.20am there was a skirmish between police and the ANC members, during which a grenade was thrown and shots were fired.

He confirmed that seven people were shot dead.

It is understood that police, tipped off, planned the operation from Friday and were ready for the expected ambush near the intersection of NY1 and NY111 in Guguletu about 3am today.

### Stolen van

Shortly after 7am a panel van carrying policemen to Guguletu police station for normal duties drove past the Murray and Roberts hostel at the intersection.

This was the vehicle police expected terrorists to attack, but it is understood they arrived late and the police panel van had passed the scene when seven armed men were dropped off from a stolen panel van.

Police moved in to arrest them and a hand-grenade was thrown at a car carrying Captain Johan Kleyn of the Murder and Robbery Squad.

A shootout followed and seven men were shot dead. A policeman narrowly escaped death when bullets fired at him hit his weapon, causing shrapnel to fly off, hitting him in the face.

### Died in bush

Four men died near the scene of the initial shootout and the others are understood to have died in nearby bushes.

Cape Town's top policemen went to the scene. Among them were the divisional commissioner of police, Brigadier Chris Swart, divisional inspector Brigadier M van Staden, divisional criminal investigations chief Brigadier Ronnie van der Westhuizen and his deputy, Colonel Nick Acker.

Detectives from the Murder and Robbery Squad attempted to identify the dead as more than seven armoured personnel-carriers sealed off the scene.

A roadblock was set up at the NY1 entrance to Guguletu and no vehicles were allowed to pass.

At the scene the four bodies lay where they had fallen. One was next to the vehicles involved in the shootout and another lay across the road. A third was down a side street and a fourth was lying behind the vehicles.

# Police open fire on ANC terrorists in Guguletu after ambush 7 die in city shootout

APC's (11A)  
3/3/86

sh tip-off

Continue



TABLE 2 -

Statistics on street Statistics and reg:

Street - R

Total - T

Street - R

Total - T

Street - R

Total - T

Street - R

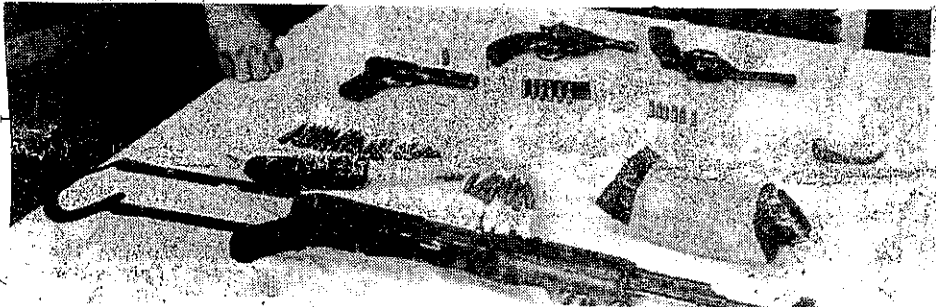
Total - T

Street - R

Total - Tot



A suspected terrorist lies dead next to the vehicle, left, used in the failed attack on a police panel van, centre. Members of the task force, traffic officers and investigators work on establishing the identity of the seven men killed in the shootout. The faces and registration have been obscured on police instructions. In terms of emergency regulations The Argus was obliged to submit the photograph for police clearance.



Weapons recovered by police during this morning's shootout.

PAID EMPLOYEES BY POPULATION GROUP AND SEX STATISTICAL MAIN REGIONS AND REGIONS

Age	Swedes - Blacks	
	Male	Female
4	382	183
1	248	110
1	123	43
1	88	27
1	36	28
7	857	391
94	370	197
20	82	18
102	420	371
216	872	586

63	219	176
56	132	146
1	79	98
1	56	32
131	407	196
48	135	145
699	711	711
299	1 727	1 504

47	126	32	349	144
1	67	19	261	85
7	73	13	217	71
16	76	11	208	75
5	112	59	467	253
1	66	20	134	52
1	-	-	28	18
78	520	154	1 664	699

# 'Muzorewa' tag for Tambo feared

Staff Reporter

THERE were fears that banned ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, would be branded a "Muzorewa" by radical elements following his meetings with white South African businessmen, politicians and church leaders, Mr Jan van Gend (PFP Constantia) said during the mini-budget debate in the Provincial Council on Friday.

He did not think ANC leaders were by nature or by choice men of violence and, as an example, he cited Mr Tambo's praise for the Black Sash as an indication of his moderate attitude.

Neither were the leaders of the NP inherently violent men, he said.

## 'Repression'

"I would like to think that the men who have been at the helm of government repression over the past 38 years, the men who have ordered mass removals of people, the men who de-

stroyed District Six, the men whose policies separate families, the men who detain their opponents often in solitary confinement for lengthy periods without ever bringing them to trial, the men who order our police force to open fire indiscriminately on crowds including women and children; I would like to believe that even these men are not violent by nature and would choose to avoid violent and repressive measures were it not for their perception that these measures and policies are a prerequisite to preserving power and privilege in their hands."

Peaceful ways to participate in real political power would be opened to all South Africans only if whites rid themselves of the "misguided" notion that they had to retain power to protect their rights and culture.

"Violence will continue until the NP faces the issue of real black political power."

CAPE Times 3/13/86  
11  
KaNgwane, ANC in talks

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Talks between the African National Congress (ANC) and a 21-man delegation from the KaNgwane homeland entered their second day yesterday.

The KaNgwane parliamentary delegation, led by Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, arrived here on Friday for what an ANC spokesman described as consultative talks. He said the ANC president,

Mr Oliver Tambo, was leading the ANC team.

Mr Mabuza's 21-man delegation — expected back in South Africa tomorrow — consists of members of his Inyandza Movement, which openly views the ANC and its jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, as unifying factors of all those fighting for freedom in South Africa.

The ANC is understood to be keenly interested in listening to Chief Mabuza's views.

the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him whether he is going to take legal action against the people who perpetrated the sale of this particular product.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, that is not possible because it is not the responsibility of my department to issue that specific permit.

Maj R SIVE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, does it not fall within the ambit of the Dairy Industries Control Board?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member himself is not sure about the position. These are not primary products involved here, but processed products. That means that my Department does not necessarily have to issue a permit therefor.

Mr R W HARDINGHAM: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him whether his department intends taking any action to ensure that the sale of these products does not take place in the future. Is he going to take any action in regard to this particular matter?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, should it fall under the jurisdiction of my Department and should it involve a threat to existing agricultural products in South Africa, then we can obviously take steps under the various schemes and we shall also do so in this case.

HANS Q. COL 287  
4/3/86  
Klaas de Jonge  
\*20. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) With reference to his reply to Question No 9 on 11 February 1986, what, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available, were the travelling and subsistence expenses of officials who negotiated with representatives of the Dutch Government in connection with the Klaas de Jonge case;

- (2) whether any progress had been made in connection with this matter since

his reply to the above-mentioned question; if so, what progress?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) R14 903.
- (2) The Netherlands Government has been informed that a charge sheet will be furnished to Mr de Jonge through the normal diplomatic channels which has been done in the meantime.

KwaDengezi, Pinetown  
HANS Q. COL 288 4/3/86  
\*21. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any incident involving members of the public and members of the South African Police took place at KwaDengezi, Pinetown, on or about 9 February 1986; if so, what (a) was the nature of and (b) were the circumstances surrounding the incident;
- (2) whether any persons were killed or injured in the incident; if so, (a) how many in each case and (b) what are their names;
- (3) whether an investigation has been instituted into the incident; if not, why not; if so, (a) who is in charge of the investigation and (b) when is it anticipated that a report will be submitted?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) and (b) Allegedly a police patrol on 9 February 1986 fired at six (6) Black youths, who threw stones at them.
- (2) Yes.
  - (a) Killed 1
  - (b) Mbongeni Mgedezi
  - Injured 1 Delani Sithole

- (3) Yes.
  - (a) A commissioned police officer.
  - (b) As soon as the investigation is completed the matter will be referred to the Attorney-General for a decision.

- (2) Yes.
  - (a) Killed 1
  - Injured 1
  - (b) Zaba Basic Mazibuko
  - Livingstone Dladla
- (3) Yes.
  - (a) A member of the Criminal Investigation branch of the South African Police.
  - (b) As soon as the investigation is completed, the matter will be referred to the Attorney-General for a decision.

Chesterville, Westville  
HANS Q. COL 289 4/3/86  
\*22. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any incident involving members of the public and members of the South African Police took place at Chesterville, Westville, on or about 16 February 1986; if so, what (a) was the nature of and (b) were the circumstances surrounding the incident;
- (2) whether any persons were killed or injured in the incident; if so, (a) how many in each case and (b) what are their names;
- (3) whether an investigation has been instituted into the incident; if not, why not; if so, (a) who is in charge of the investigation and (b) when is it anticipated that a report will be submitted?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) and (b) During the night of 16 to 17 February 1986, petrol bombs were thrown at two private houses and a private vehicle in Chesterville. At about 03h20 on 17 February 1986, a police patrol came across about 20 Blacks where they were busy making petrol bombs. They ignored a police command to stand still, hurled a knife at the police and ran away. The patrol then fired at the fugitives with shotguns.

Lebowa: Commissioner-General  
HANS Q. COL 290 4/3/86  
\*23. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

- (1) Whether any steps were taken in respect of the Commissioner-General of Lebowa recently; if so, (a) what steps, (b) when, (c) on whose instruction and (d) why;
- (2) Whether he or his Department has received any representations requesting that such steps be taken; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was the response thereto;
- (3) whether any action is to be taken in connection with these representations; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) It was decided that there will be no contact between the Lebowa Government and the Commissioner-General. This decision will be reviewed on request of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly.
  - (b) 14 February 1986.

ARGUS 4/3/66  
**SA playwright (11)  
dies in W Germany**

LONDON. — Mr William "Bloke" Modisane, one of the team of African writers of the 1950s who created Drum magazine and who later became an actor and playwright, has died in Dortmund aged 62.

He joined Drum as a reporter, short story writer and boxing correspondent. In Britain and later in West Germany he turned playwright and many of his works were produced by the BBC and West German radio. — The Argus Foreign Service.

Business Day Reporter and Sapa

THE COMMONWEALTH eminent persons group, seeking peaceful change in South Africa, were installed in an hotel a few kilometres from the Guguletu, Cape, shootings yesterday.

Seven people died and a policeman was injured in the incident.

The group, including former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian military leader Olusegun Qbasanjo, returned to SA on Sunday.

They spent the weekend meetings in Luanda with Angolan leaders, and in Lusaka with Zambian and African National Congress leaders.

More meetings were held in Cape

(S) (11A) (25D) BUW DAY 4/3/86.

## Eminent group in hotel near Guguletu shootings

Town yesterday.

Police took precautionary measures after it was learnt the ANC planned to attack a police vehicle in Cape Town, said SA Police Commissioner General Johan Coetzee.

Coetzee said: "After the police had received information that the ANC were planning an attack on a police vehicle in Cape Town, certain precautionary measures were taken.

"At 07h20 (yesterday) near the Guguletu police station, after the police

had stopped a vehicle with black occupants, a skirmish between the police and ANC terrorists ensued, during which a hand-grenade was hurled at the police and they were fired on.

"In the clash seven ANC terrorists were killed and one policeman was slightly wounded. The police seized several AK47 rifles, a number of rounds of ammunition and several pistols and hand-grenades."

Earlier police accounts, describing an apparent double ambush, said

BUSINESS D.

the insurgents attacked a truck carrying policemen to work. Other police who had been lying in wait for more than four hours opened fire on the attackers.

The earlier accounts, from spokesmen who declined use of their names, said the seven armed men got out of their own vehicle about 7am on a main road on the edge of Guguletu, and were immediately fired on by police.

They said four men were killed in a gun battle on the road and three others were chased by police into nearby bushes and shot there.

They said two policemen were slightly injured and an assault rifle, other guns and several grenades were seized after the shooting.

# Govt, ANC may talk soon, hint

11A Mercury 1/3/86

## London Bureau

**THE Commonwealth peace mission to South Africa may have achieved a potential breakthrough in the quest to bring the Government and the African National Congress to the negotiating table, informed sources here believe.**

It is understood that the group of eminent people, which has completed its visit to South Africa, has put proposals to President Botha, the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the exiled ANC president, Oliver Tambo.

The proposals if accepted, could lead to the release of Mandela later this year, possibly on May 31, the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the declaration of a truce by the ANC and the opening of a process of 'talks about talks'.

It was also learnt from reliable sources yesterday that the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and her Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, are greatly encouraged by the progress of the group.

### ***Delicate***

There were hopes that the group would be able to produce a sufficiently positive report to a Commonwealth committee of heads

Zail Singh said: 'The tour was strenuous but very rewarding. We were able to see all whom we wanted to see.'

They declined to give details of their stay in South Africa or what they had accomplished, responding with 'no comment' to several questions.

Former Tanzanian Foreign Minister John Malecela said the group would meet in London in June to compile its report and plan future action.

From Cape Town Sapa reported that Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, said yesterday he knew nothing about his client meeting the group.

Earlier, a spokesman for the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, refused to confirm or deny a London report of a meeting, saying it was not policy to do so.

or state in June to avoid imposition of sanctions.

Sapa also reported from Nairobi that World Council of Churches president, Dame Anita Barrow, told reporters when asked if the group had met Mandela: 'We are at a very delicate stage of the negotiations. It was agreed among us yesterday that we should do nothing to jeopardise further discussion.'

Former Indian President

# More than 20 years on Robben Island: Prisoners state their case

FROM Vassen and Co, attorneys, Cape Town, on behalf of Jeff Masemola and Mbane John Nkosi, Robben Island maximum-security prison:

IN THE Cape Times on Tuesday, February 12, 1985, there appeared a report under the heading "4 'islanders' accept offer".

The report referred to 15 political prisoners to whom the government's offer of conditional freedom applied and that four had accepted and further that a number who are serving life sentences had served more than 20 years already.

The report then went on to say: "They include six members of the Pan Africanist Congress jailed in 1964 and two members of the African National Congress. The six PAC members are Jeff Masemola, Dimake 'Pro' Malepe, Philimon Tefu, Isaac Mthimunya, Samuel Chibane and John Nkosi. The six are understood to have petitioned the State President for clemency last year."

Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi are still on Robben Island serving their life sentences. They wish to state emphatically that the Cape Times article is untrue to the extent that at no stage did they petition the State President for clemency as claimed in the Cape Times article. They regard the article as being damaging to their integrity and character. They point out that at no stage have they begged for mercy or their freedom.

To put the record straight, on April 27, 1984 a letter was written to the Minister of Justice and Prisons, copy of which letter is annexed hereto and which speaks for itself.

It will be seen therefore that there has been no petition for clemency or plea for mercy of any kind. Both Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi see no reason to beg for their freedom.

Once more during the current session of the South African Parliament, mention has been made of the offer which has been made to various life prisoners. Attention has therefore once again been focused on life prisoners. Mr Masemola and Mr Nkosi wish to reiterate their position that they at no time gave any undertaking to renounce

violence. They see no reason why they should be called on to renounce violence since they never participated in violence nor was there ever any evidence that they advocated violence. They persist in their demand that they should be freed unconditionally.

This statement is issued by the legal representatives for Mr Jefftha Masemola and Mr John Nkosi and on their instructions.

## Annexure

(The letter below was sent from Robben Island to the Minister of Justice and Prisons.)

I REFER you to the case: State versus Jeff Masemola and others in 1963. At the conclusion of this trial I was sentenced to life imprisonment. I would like to bring the following facts to your attention:

1. That the accused were not legally represented. The court refused our lawyer any time to interview us, as a result of which he withdrew from the case. I entertain no doubt that had we been legally represented, we should not have received such harsh sentences.
2. The political climate of the 1960s was such that it had considerable influence on the trial and sentences. The government was bent on setting an example with us, as ours was among the very first of political trials. Otherwise we should not have received such inordinate sentences.
3. When we wanted to have our sentences reviewed in 1968 and in 1975, our lawyers informed us that the court record of our trial was lost. We believe that the record was deliberately misplaced because there was nothing in it that could have resulted in the imposition

When writing to the Editor please be brief, double-space, use only one side of the sheet, sign your name and give your full address, not only a post office box number. Unless the circumstances are exceptional pseudonyms are not acceptable. Letters are liable to be shortened and edited.

of such heavy sentences.

4. We were charged for conspiracy to commit acts of sabotage. Please note that we did not commit any act of sabotage, we did not kill or injure anybody. Therefore the sentence is quite inordinate to the alleged crime.
5. A study of recent political trials reveals that people who were caught in combat and have committed acts of violence, armed with weapons of war, and whose actions resulted in death or injury to persons and destruction of property, received lighter sentences compared to us, when our only alleged crime was conspiracy.
6. In some cases, people who were sentenced to death because of the enormity and seriousness of their crime had their death sentences commuted to either life or 20 years of imprisonment. This is our 21st year in prison — for a lesser crime of conspiracy.
7. According to the latest parliamentary decision, political prisoners are serving on the same terms as common prisoners. In the case of the latter life sentence is from nine to 15 years. On the strength of this, will you consider parole and release us since we have served over 20 years?
8. We gather from hearsay that one of the necessary conditions for parole is that a prisoner must turn his back against the crime which brought him into prison. We would like to know what other conditions there are. We have been hopefully waiting for the day when the board, which was instituted two years ago for the consideration of remission of sentences and parole, would interview us. So far there has not been such an interview.
9. In conclusion I would like to appeal to you, to consider the above facts and plea sympathetically and to arrange for an interview by the institutional board, or some person or persons, so that our position should be discussed, thereby removing the myriad of uncertainties with which we are now tormented.



# Mugabe asked to bar schools to S A pupils

Mercury Reporter

THE Azanian Student Movement, Azasm, has asked Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe to impose a ban on black pupils from South Africa seeking admission to schools in Zimbabwe.

In a memorandum to Mr Mugabe, a copy of which was released yesterday, Mr Gomolemo Mokae, publicity secretary of Azasm, said some black parents in South Africa were trying to find an easy way out of the education 'crisis' for their children.

'The black parents are out to deprive their children of an opportunity to respond appropriately to the calling to participate in the liberation struggle.

## Inundated

'Then, like vultures hovering over a dying beast, the children would come back to South Africa after liberation to feast on the rewards of a freedom they would not have helped attain,' he said.

Asking for the Zimbabwean Government's help in our people's struggle against the forces of racism and capitalism', he said it had come to Azasm's notice that the Mugabe Government was inundated with pleas from black South African parents wishing to place their children in Zimbabwean schools.

'Azasm would certainly be the last one to condemn

any sincere attempt on the part of South Africans to acquire education, provided this attempt on their part is not driven by self-centred motives.

'Actually we subscribe to the belief that acquisition of education is inextricably linked to the struggle for freedom.

'They go hand in hand. Otherwise we would not have skilled man and woman-power to run our industries in the post-liberatory era, especially in the face of large-scale emigration by ex-colonialists, as has happened in Zimbabwe.

'However, self-interest, rather than national interest, is the driving force behind present attempts to gain admission to Zimbabwean schools,' he said. 'We humbly request you to close the doors of your schools to these people.'

# SA writer Bloke <sup>STAR</sup> Modisane dies in <sup>10</sup> 43/86 Dortmund

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Bloke Modisane, one of the team of African writers of the 50s who created *Drum* magazine and later became an actor and playwright, has died in Dortmund, aged 62.

In an obituary in *The Times*, a correspondent notes that William Modisane — his nickname "Bloke" — was "spanned for his writing" — lived in Sophiatown until 1958, when it was "bulldozed flat by Government order for being too close to white suburbs".

"When it went, Modisane left too, to seek his fortune."

## MANY PEOPLE

As one of the first black urban intellectuals, he became host, in his one room in Sophiatown, to many searchers for the real Africa.

He took many people from Europe and America, including Dame Sybil Thorndyke and Adlai Stevenson, as well as many South African whites, into the shantytowns and shebeens.

In Athol Fugard's plays "No Good Friday" and "The Blood Knot", in productions on the Rand and in London, he continued to interpret Africans to the outside world.

Later he appeared in Genet's "The Blacks" at the Royal Court Theatre in London.

## PLAYWRIGHT

When he joined *Drum* he became a reporter, short story writer and boxing correspondent.

In Britain and later in West Germany, he turned playwright. Many of his works were produced by the BBC and West German radio. But away from Africa he was always very much an exile, says the correspondent.

"As he said in the opening of his autobiography 'Blame Me On History', published in 1963: 'something in me died, a piece of me died, with the dying of Sophiatown.'"

He leaves his widow Ingeborg, a son and a daughter from a first marriage in South Africa.



# Eye-witness accounts of shootout anger police

11A  
[scribble]

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Police are furious at allegations that suspected terrorists were shot in Cape Town yesterday while they were trying to give themselves up.

Some reports after the incident in Guguletu township, in which seven people were shot dead, quoted witnesses as saying a suspect lying on the ground was "finished off" by police.

One witness said a man had his hands raised above his head when shots were fired and he collapsed.

A top police spokesman reacted angrily today. He said: "That is utterly ridiculous."

## SICKENING

"Apart from the fact that police simply don't behave in such a callous way, one must remember a very practical point: it is vitally important for the police to capture some of these people alive so they can be questioned."

"It is sickening that eye-witnesses can try to create such an impression and say the things they reportedly said."

The spokesman added: "It should also be remembered the policemen on duty were the planned victims."

"Now there is talk of 'urban guerrillas' when what we are dealing with is 'terrorists'," he said.

shot dead seven suspected ANC insurgents in a  
ers and investigators, as well as the registration  
terms of emergency regulations, *The Star's* Cape  
before publication. Police did not require the faces  
of the insurgents, next to the vehicle in which he  
e who had information about a planned attack on  
okesman.

# ehicles damaged despread unrest

Report issued by the Police Public Relations Division in  
morning listed the following incidents of unrest:

near Pretoria, a truck was set on fire and extensi-  
Two men were arrested when they stoned a SAP

area, a policeman's home was petrol-bombed. The  
sted two of the men involved.

near Potchefstroom, a policeman's home was stoned.

area, a bus, a truck, a policeman's house and a  
damaged by arsonists. Police arrested two women  
two youths when they dispersed a mob with shotgun

By Alan Dunn,  
The Star Bureau

# SA intelligence on ANC is excellent, says PW

WASHINGTON — South African intelligence on African National Congress acts and strategies was "excellent", President P W Botha said in an interview published here.

"Our intelligence penetration is very good on this front," he said, stating repeatedly that the authorities were well in control of unrest in the country.

The interview in Cape Town on February 2, with the editor-in-chief of *The Washington Times*, Mr Arnaud de Borchgrave, was published in the

newspaper yesterday.

Asked about the ANC's links with the South African Communist Party (SACP), Mr Botha said the Soviets were careful to operate in Southern Africa through proxies: "The SACP itself sits in London, where broad policy guidelines are decided. The specifics are worked out in Africa.

"Training is conducted in Angola and Tanzania. The key co-ordinating centre is Zambia. But they are not as well organised as they would like us to

believe. Our intelligence penetration is very good on this front."

Mr Botha said authorities had excellent intelligence on what the ANC was planning to do. Because they knew how the movement shifted tactics and where and how they were going to operate, they could deal with it and frequently pre-empt it.

"You only read about the ANC's successes and seldom anything about how we located an arms caché and captured the weapons, or disrupted one

of their operations," Mr Botha said.

On the recent violence in Alexandra, Mr Botha said new tactics were being seen. Mr de Borchgrave cited as examples radical black youths forcing people to dig trenches as tank traps for armoured personnel carriers in the township and the use of Soviet anti-tank landmines in the Eastern Cape.

It was a new dimension, Mr Botha agreed, "but nothing we can't cope with. I must also say that I have sympathy for many

of these youths who get involved in the violence, because those who do the proselytizing and conduct the training convince them that this is the only way of bettering their lot".

"Most of them are not communists. The master manipulators are the ones leading the others astray. You can't improve your situation by burning a school, or destroying a store, that belongs to another black man, or a post office.

"This gives some youths temporary satisfaction, but

leads nowhere because the forces determined to maintain stability are too strong and we are limiting and reducing the opportunities for these things to create havoc and then exploit chaos," he said.

Mr Botha said the authorities had "some very serious problems" in less than half the 13 percent of the country, magisterial districts. "Not the people there want chaos, but the conditions in these areas are propitious for instigation — unemployment, lack of pro-

day March 4 1986

17

er facilities, which we are trying to rectify."

The authorities were in control in all areas, he said.

Mr Botha was asked about ANC-ordered revolutionary administrations based on "block committees", which were beginning to collect rents and fees that the Government could not collect and determining syllabuses for schools the Government could not control.

"Those are the real problems, but again only in limited areas. We have more than 7,000 black schools and trouble in only 200 to 300. Our job is to see that it doesn't spread," Mr Botha replied.

CME Times 4/3/86

# 'Vigilante gang' terrorize Kagiso

From SIPHO NGCOBO  
JOHANNESBURG. — Residents of Kagiso Township on the West Rand are living in fear of their lives following numerous attacks on them by what they refer to as "a white right-wing vigilante group".

Two young men, both leaders of the Kagiso branch of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), are in a critical condition at the Leratong Hospital after they were allegedly shot by the "white vigilantes" who wore face-masks and overalls.

Mr Johannes Lethoba, 21, and Mr Amos Makhanya, 19, Azanyu's organizer and projects co-ordinator respectively, narrowly escaped death last Thursday when the "white vigilantes" pounced on them.

According to the parents of the two victims,

their sons were attacked for no apparent reason about 8.30pm in the township's streets.

Witnesses to the shooting said the two were confronted by a number of white men travelling in a van, who shouted: "Weg is juile!" (Run away!) at the two Azanyu members.

"As they ran away, the white men started firing at them with their guns and I saw the two falling. As I was also confused and scared, I ran into one of the nearby houses," said one witness who declined to disclose his name.

According to residents, the "white group" went on the rampage for the whole of last week, attacking with pick-handles and shooting with guns anyone they saw walking in the streets during the evening.

Scores of people were injured as a result and youths are said to be major targets of this group which, when on the offensive, wear overalls and face-masks.

Residents said the "right-wing group" imposed a curfew in the township last week, shooting on sight and ordering everyone to remain indoors.

"These white people want to kill us all. I cannot even send my child to the shop after dusk. Many of us have been beaten up with pick-handles. They want to kill us. They just shoot at us," said one resident.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said they had no knowledge of "a white vigilante group" stalking the township and said it was unlikely that the story was true.

## Violence claim disputed in treason trial

# Woman concedes that her evidence was inconsistent

STAR  
111A  
4/3/86

Staff Reporter

**DELMAS** — A Sebokeng mother of 11, who has been in detention since November 1984, conceded in the treason trial here that her evidence yesterday was "inconsistent" with her previous statements that calls to violence had been made at meetings before her arrest.

Mrs Rina Mokoena was called as a State witness at the trial of 22 United Democratic Front, Azanian People's Organisation and Vaal Civic Association members. All have pleaded not guilty to charges of incitement to murder, treason and subversion.

### 'Kill the councillors'

Mrs Mokoena said in evidence last Friday that she saw one of the accused, Mr Hlabeng Samuel Matlole, who was then a Vaal Civic Association executive member, tell a gathering of people to "kill the councillors if they do not resign".

The meeting occurred days before violence in the Vaal Triangle erupted after a protest in Sebokeng on September 3 1984, which allegedly resulted in the deaths of councillors.

Mrs Mokoena said she had also spoken at the meeting and had endorsed that sentiment, although she later said she was not sure about that.

Under cross-examination by Mr

George Bizos, SC, for the defence, Mrs Mokoena said she could not remember Mr Matlole uttering those words at the meeting, saying that she had become "confused".

She said she had "heard voices" speaking to her since 1968 and that that had also occurred while she had been in detention. She said she was not feeling well and had not been able to think properly since she had been detained.

Mrs Mokoena's husband had been detained by police shortly after the meeting. She had begged the police to detain her as her husband was the family breadwinner. Later they had brought her husband back and detained her.

She could not explain why she had failed to state, in the first of two statements made in detention, that Mr Matlole had called for violence.

Mr Bizos put it to her that neither she nor anyone else had called for the death of councillors at the two meetings she had attended that day. Mrs Mokoena said she could not dispute that. She also agreed that her statement on Friday — that she had called for violence to give her speech "more effect" — did not tally with what she told the court yesterday.

And she admitted that the religious tenor of the speech she had made that day "did not go with" her evidence that she had called for the councillors to be killed.

The hearing continues.

114 8007  
2 Cape Times, Tuesday, March 4, 1986

## ANC man 'didn't kill police'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Relatives of the trained African National Congress insurgent who blew himself up with a hand-grenade last week have alleged he killed two policemen first.

Relatives and witnesses yesterday claimed that Mr Cornelius Oupa Tau, 32, blew up two policemen at a house in Zola before killing himself.

But a police spokesman in Pretoria yesterday denied this, saying: "The man was blown to pieces but none of the members of the police force was killed or injured."

An earlier police report said that when the man was cornered by the police he was lying on a couch.

"He then jumped up and held a cushion to his chest, concealing the hand-grenade. He fell on to the hand-grenade and was blown up," it said.

He will be buried at the Doornkop Cemetery on Saturday at 1pm.

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TIA SOWETAN 4/3/84

# Robben Island 2 deny report

TWO members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress serving life sentences on Robben Island, Mr Jeff Mase-mola and Mr John Nkosi, have denied reports that they petitioned the State President for clemency.

Their legal representatives in Cape Town this week said the two men saw no reason to beg for their freedom.

The statement by the lawyers says the two men "wish to reiterate their position that they at no time gave any undertaking to renounce violence."

"They see no reason why they should be called upon to renounce violence since they never participated in violence nor was there ever any evidence that they advocated violence.

## Freedom

"They persist in their demand that they should be freed unconditionally."

The controversy around the two men started in February last year after the State President, Mr P W Botha, had offered freedom to political prisoners who renounced violence as a political weapon.

At the time it was reported that Mr Mase-mola, Mr Nkosi and four other PAC prisoners serving life sentences on the island had petitioned the State President for clemency.

The two men's lawyers have given The SOWETAN a copy of the letter Mr Mase-mola wrote to the Minister of Justice on April 27, 1984.

In the letter Mr Mase-mola asks the Minister of Justice to arrange for an interview with the board that was instituted in 1982 to consider the remission of sentences and parole.

The letter says: "According to the latest parliamentary decision political prisoners are serving on the same terms as common law prisoners. In the case of the latter, life sentence is from nine to 15 years. On the strength of this, will you consider parole and release us since we have served over 20 years?"

Mr Dimake "Pro" Malepe, Mr Philemon Tefu, Mr Isaac Mthimunya and Mr Samuel Chibane — the four who were jailed with Mr Mase-mola and Mr Nkosi — were released from jail last year.



## Treason trial told of arson charge

# Witness claims he was assaulted

Staff Reporter

**DELMAS** — A State witness at the treason trial here said he was assaulted and detained by a community councillor — who was also a security policeman — before being detained again to make statements about the activities of his former colleagues.

Mr Peter Mohapi, vice-chairman of the Boipatong Residents' Committee (BRC), has been in detention since December 11, 1984. He gave evidence yesterday at the trial of 22 United Democratic Front, Azanian People's Organisation, Vaal Civic Association and Azanian Youth Unity members. The men have all pleaded not guilty to charges of incitement to murder, high treason and subversion.

Mr Mohapi said he and an accused, Mr Sekwati John Mokoena, the BRC's secretary, were detained by a Vaal Triangle councillor, a Mr Mpondo, who was also a security policeman, on September 21, 1984.

They were assaulted, accused of trying to burn down Mr Mpondo's house,

then charged with arson and released on bail, he said.

Mr Mohapi said he later appeared in court alone as Mr Mokoena had been detained again and the arson charge was withdrawn.

In his evidence-in-chief, Mr Mohapi said that before unrest broke out in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984, Boipatong residents had formed the BRC in anticipation of township rent increases.

He said Mr Mokoena had told a committee meeting that the community councillors should resign if they were going to increase township rents.

Mr Mokoena also said that if the councillors did not resign, their businesses were to be boycotted. And if the boycotts did not have the desired effect, their houses were to be burned.

Under cross-examination by Mr George Bizos, SC, Mr Mohapi then denied he had said Mr Mokoena said such things at the committee meeting. He said that Mr Mokoena told him that when they met one day in the street.

The case continues.

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## Dispute over Moutse area taken to Supreme Court

PARLIAMENT — The dispute over the incorporation of the Moutse area into kwaNdebele at the beginning of this year following its earlier excision from Lebowa would not come before the House as the matter had been taken to the Supreme Court, the Speaker, Mr Johann Greeff ruled yesterday.

Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) has had a private member's motion on the Order Paper for a number of weeks. The motion would give two former Moutse members of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly leave to be heard at the Bar of the House to tell of their disapproval of the disputed area's incorporation into kwaNdebele.

The Speaker said he had been notified that the Lebowa Government had applied to the Supreme Court to have the proclamation incorporating Moutse into kwaNdebele declared null and void.

"I accordingly rule that as (the proclamation) is now going to be adjudicated upon by a court of law, the matter is sub judice and the honorable Member for Houghton's notice of motion ... cannot be considered by Parliament before the court has pronounced judgment."

Mr Dave Dalling (PFP, Sandton) asked if he could ask him a question on the matter.

Mr Greeff said he could see him in his chambers later. — Sapa.

## De Jonge sent charge sheet

PARLIAMENT — Mr Klaas de Jonge, the Dutch fugitive wanted on terrorism charges, was supplied with a charge sheet through diplomatic channels, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Mr Frank le Roux (CP, Brakpan), Mr Botha said R14 903 had been spent on travelling and subsistence expenses for officials negotiating with the Dutch Government over Mr de Jonge, who has taken refuge in his country's Pretoria embassy.

"The Netherlands Government was informed that a charge sheet would be furnished to Mr de Jonge through the normal diplomatic channels," he said. — Sapa.

# kaNgwane's Mabuza back from talks with ANC

Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — The Chief Minister of kaNgwane and president of the Inyandza national movement, Mr Enos Mabuza, returned from Lusaka yesterday after a four-day meeting with the African National Congress.

In an exclusive interview with *The Star*, Mr Mabuza said his discussions with the ANC, led by Mr Oliver Tambo, were characterised by a warm spirit of comradeship.

"We spoke about the current situation in South Africa as well as the political future of the country," he said.

Mr Mabuza said the meeting had taken place at the request of Inyandza, who are convinced South Africa's problems cannot be resolved without the participation of the ANC.

"It is vitally important for the South African Government to speak to the ANC," he said. "They are part of the South African situation and cannot simply be wished away."

Mr Mabuza stressed, however, the meeting with the ANC did not mean a change in Inyandza's policy.

"We will continue to work for non-violent change," he said.

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# No bail for six accused in ANC case

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PORT ELIZABETH — A bail application by six people charged with furthering the aims of the African National Congress and having firearms and explosives was refused by a Port Elizabeth magistrate yesterday.

Mr E L de Kock said the six had not proved they would return to stand trial.

The accused are Mr Fuzile Tsewu (36) of New Brighton, Miss Nontembi-so Ndabeni (28) and Mr Bonisile Gage (27) of kwaZakhele and Miss Bukiwe Sofute (32), Mr Madoda Budaza (28) and a 17-year-old Soweto youth.

## STATEMENTS

Mr de Kock said they had told the court they would not leave the country but he could not overlook the evidence of Major H B du Plessis.

- He told the court:
- The accused had made incriminating statements and some of their fingerprints were on the explosives.
  - Other suspects connected with the accused had left the country during the investigation and a considerable amount of firearms and explosives had not been traced as a result.
  - The police, through an informer, had heard that the accused had agreed to ask for bail on their first day in court so they could leave the country.
  - They were linked with an ANC cell involved in a shootout with police in New Brighton.
  - Miss Ndabeni and Miss Sofute had already been to Lesotho.

The hearing was postponed to April 18 for the accused to plead and will then resume in the Port Elizabeth Regional Court on April 21. — Sapa

# David Russell 'going home'

Staff Reporter

MOVING to St John's Diocese in Transkei would be much like "going home" to the Rev David Russell, who last month was elected Bishop Suffragan of the diocese.

For the past two years Mr Russell has been assistant priest at St George's Cathedral and has been ministering "about 80 percent of the time" to hostel-dwellers in the Western Cape.

His recent work has also included the Caritas caring group involved in a ministry to the sick and elderly.

Over the years since he was ordained as a priest in 1966, Mr Russell's concern for justice and a caring society in South Africa has meant that he has become closely identified with the struggle for human dignity.

## Discarded

In the early 1970s his campaign to highlight the "dreadful suffering of the discarded people, the victims of mass removals" in Dimbaza, near King William's Town, focused local and international attention on that aspect of government policy.

Mr Russell spent six months living on R5 a month — the pension paid to Dimbaza's elderly residents — to highlight their appalling conditions.

Due largely to his efforts Dimbaza eventually became an industrial growth point with employment opportunities and improved living conditions.

After Dimbaza came Crossroads. While ministering to the Peninsula's migrant labourers, Mr Russell played a significant role with others in another successful campaign which drew international attention to the plight of this community.

But Mr Russell, who was banned from 1977 to 1982, disavows any overt political motives.

"I am concerned primarily with the dignity of people and God's justice. There's a basic evangelical message to



The Rev David Russell, who has been elected the Bishop Suffragan of St John's Diocese.

people about the need for a caring, sharing and just society which I want to convey: Do unto others as you would want them to do unto you."

However this approach to his ministry has inevitably involved him in the burning socio-political issues of the day.

He describes, for instance, Dr Boesak's ac-

tion last Saturday in saving an alleged police informer from the wrath of a group of mourners at a funeral of three unrest victims in George, as "a magnificent act of Christian mercy and universal concern which confounds the simplifiers who want to see all as 'good or evil'.

"There's no question

that informers are enemies of justice because this is an unjust system which needs to be healed of such aberrations, of betrayers such as Judas himself.

"But I am not a hero-worshipper, in fact I retreat from that sort of thing. To say that high-profile Christian leaders such as Dr Boesak and

Bishop Tutu are more than human is, I'm sure, the last thing they would want.

"There is a wonderful Xhosa expression which, translated, says 'There is no handsome man without a blemish', meaning we all have faults.

"That does not detract from Dr Boesak's or Bishop Tutu's acts in saving alleged informers, however. They are people, but wonderful people and I am sure that God is using them for His purpose in creating a caring and healing society here.

"That minority — and I believe it is a minority — within the Anglican Church who have become concerned with the perceived extremism of the church through the statements of Bishop Tutu and other leaders, are in my experience confused and fearful.

"Many of them feel the need to do something and recognize that the system is unjust, but when it comes to what action to take, they are at a loss.

"To them I say, 'Hold on to your faith and to God, then you have nothing to fear.'"

## 'Honour'

About his move to St John's Diocese, Mr Russell said it was not such a drastic change as it might seem since there was a great movement back and forth between the Peninsula and Transkei by migrant workers — in a sense it was "going home".

"I feel this is a great honour and a privilege. I am not going to new post with the intention of telling people what to do or what needs to be done.

"After immersing myself in a new area, learning about the actual situations and needs of the people, in terms of God's justice, then I will be in a position to know what needs to be done."

● Mr Russell's consecration ceremony as Bishop Suffragan of St John's Diocese will take place in St George's Cathedral at 2.30pm on May 11.

# QUIET

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**A SPEECH prepared by Mrs Winnie Mandela was read to between 70 000 and 80 000 people who packed Alexandra Stadium for the incident-free funeral of 17 unrest victims.**

Although Mrs Mandela was at the funeral — the biggest since the Langa shootings — her speech was read to the applauding crowd by the Reverend Frank Chikane, an executive member of the United Democratic Front.

The banned Mrs Mandela may not be quoted.

Other speakers included Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Mr Elijah Barayi, national president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the Federation of South African Women; and Bishop Reginald Orsmond, the Catholic Bishop of Johannesburg.

Police kept a low profile throughout the proceedings. They set up roadblocks at the entrances to the town-

**By SY  
MAKARINGE**

ship. No incidents of violence were reported during the service at the stadium and during the march to and from the cemetery.

A large Communist Party flag was hoisted in the centre of the stadium.

Marshalls, believed to number 400, were posted at strategic points to keep order.

Messages of condolences and support from as far as Namibia and from organisations such as the Council of Unions of South Africa, the Na-

## as 70 000 mourners bury Alex victims

SOWETAN

tional Union of South African Students, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, Black Sash, Soweto Youth Congress, Media Workers Association of South Africa and the Detainees Parents Support Committee were read at the stadium.

Police and other security forces watched from a distance, as mourners left peacefully after the 17 unrest victims were buried.

Speakers told the gathering that lifting the state of emer-

gency was meaningless unless the Government released political prisoners and unbanned the African National Congress.

They also called for unity among blacks in the liberation struggle.

The 17 were among at least 23 people who were killed during confrontations between the security forces and Alexandra residents in a week of unrest following the burial of two Alexandra youths more than two weeks ago.

# BANNED

**THE SOWETAN could not use any pictures of the funeral in Alexandra yesterday because of a proclamation by the Divisional Commissioner of Police of the Witwatersrand, Brigadier J R P Bekker, which stated that "... No person shall take into the area known as Alexandra on the 5th March, 1986, any camera, television-recording equipment, tape recorder, movie camera or any such equipment."**

# Cosatu meets Tambo for 'lengthy' talks

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo was among ANC leaders who held two lengthy sessions continuing until late yesterday with members of a Congress of South African Trade Union delegation visiting Lusaka.

Mr Tom Sebina, chief ANC spokesman, declined to comment on the content of the talks yesterday morning and afternoon.

The ANC representatives included its director of information, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and national executive committee members Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr James Stuart.

After arriving in Lusaka on Tuesday the Cosatu team, led by Mr Cyril Ramaposa and Mr Jay Naidoo, had dinner with President Kenneth Kaunda and called on him again at State House early yesterday.

State House spokesmen said the president gave the visitors a "message of encouragement" and urged them not to see the situation in their

country as a struggle of black against white, but as a fight against an unjust system.

A Cosatu spokesman told our Durban correspondent that the unionists had been invited to Lusaka by the International Labour Organization.

Neither Mr Ramaposa nor Mr Naidoo was available for comment.

The spokesman said that soon after their arrival in Lusaka, Mr Naidoo lashed out at the reform proposals announced by President P W Botha and called for the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

"It is evident from recent events in the country that the ANC does have massive support," he said.

South Africans had refused to co-operate with the country's tricameral Parliament, community councils and homelands.

Cosatu wanted all political prisoners released, bans on political parties lifted, and the fundamental dismantling of apartheid, he said.

Mr Naidoo criticized Western countries for supporting Pretoria.

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# Cosatu men meet Tambo and Kaunda

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — African National Congress president Oliver Tambo was among ANC leaders who held two lengthy sessions — continuing until late yesterday — with a Congress of SA Trades Unions (Cosatu) delegation visiting Lusaka.

Chief ANC spokesman Tom Sebina declined to comment on the substance of yesterday's morning and afternoon talks. The ANC representatives included information director Thabo Mbeki, and national executive committee members Mac Maharaj and James Stuart.

After arriving in Lusaka on Tuesday the Cosatu team, led by Cyril Ramaphosa and Jay Naidoo, had dinner with President Kenneth Kaunda and called on him again at State House yesterday.

State House spokesmen said Kaunda gave the visitors a "message of encouragement" and urged them not to see the situation in SA as a struggle of black against white, but as a fight against an unjust system.

The Cosatu team's main purpose in visiting Zambia was to see representatives of the International Labour Organisation based permanently in Lusaka, a government spokesman said.

Neither Ramaphosa nor Naidoo was available for comment.



# ANC show of 'military confidence'

By EBRAHIM MOOSA  
Political Reporter

THE recent ANC attacks on police installations in Cape Town and Johannesburg formed part of a major offensive against the State to demonstrate the "military confidence" of the ANC's armed wing, says Dr Tom Lodge, expert on the ANC and political scientist at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Tuesday's bomb blast at John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg and Monday's attempted guerilla attack in Guguletu in which a seven-man cadre were killed, contained definite signs of the men being attached to Umkhonto we Sizwe — the ANC's military wing, Dr Lodge said.

In an interview he said lack of information from independent sources at the scene of Monday's shootout in Guguletu — other than police sources — made it difficult to make independent conclusions.

However, Dr Lodge said, the "ANC is organizing larger groups into its military units" compared to its previous tactic of one-man sabotage operations which involved planting bombs or limpet mines.

This also meant that Umkhonto had embarked on a more "up stage" and "sophisticated" strategy since the Nkomati Accord in 1983 which restricted much its insurgency activities from Mozambique, he said.

Dr Lodge said the ANC was "anxious to demonstrate Umkhonto's military confidence and superiority" and to prove that it was a "military adversary of formidable character" by making two successive attacks in two cities.

He added that the pattern showed that Umkhonto now aimed at implementing its avowed goals to attack more "conspicuous" urban targets which included policemen and police installations in a bid to demoralize members of the security forces.

# Thousands at Alexandra funeral

From SIPHO NGCOBO and PETER HONEY JOHANNESBURG.

Seventeen of the victims of bloody rioting in Alexandra last month were buried yesterday beneath the colours of the African National Congress in one of the biggest funerals held on the Witwatersrand.

More than 40 000 people crammed into the township's dusty soccer stadium as Alexandra's 100 000 residents staged a mass stayaway from work to mourn.

## More dead

Community spokesman Mr Mac Lekota said more funerals were likely as 13 bodies remained unclaimed.

Flags of the ANC, the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) and the Soviet hammer-and-sickle waved to the rhythm of freedom songs as speakers and churchmen urged an end to white minority rule.

The gathering roared approval when Mrs Winnie Mandela walked through the crowd, her head shaded by a large floral wreath in the shape of Africa and bedecked with the ANC's black, green and gold.

Her restriction order prevented her from addressing the crowd, but a letter was read on her behalf expressing ANC solidarity with the people of Alexandra.

Hundreds of youths hung on to scaffolding at a nearby warehouse while others perched



Above: Police search a student's bag at Alexandra yesterday. Below: Civil rights lawyer Mrs Priscilla Jana is filmed at the funeral.



in the branches of trees overlooking the stadium.

South African Council of Churches general secretary Dr Beyers Naude warned that State President P W Botha's intention to lift the state of emergency was not enough to bring peace to the country.

"The state of emergency can only truly be lifted if other crucial steps are taken," said Dr Naude.

## Troops

These included the removal of troops from the townships, an end to racial laws and detentions without trial.

UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, the wife of Mr Walter Sisulu who was sentenced to life with Mr Nelson Mandela, said the Alexandra killings by police amounted to "murder" and described the government's security clamps as "the kicks of a dying horse".

"You white mothers must say no when your children go to war. You should feel as our mothers do when there are 17 coffins lying here.

"There is no peace in South Africa. What is happening to black children today will happen to white children tomorrow," she said.

Catholic Bishops' Conference general secretary Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa led the funeral service.

Other speakers included the Roman

violence which has broken out at so many other funerals in the past. However, one car was set alight as mourners filed home. Vehicles, including six buses from Witwatersrand University, ferrying mourners to the burial were evacuated as police conducted intensive searches. Even the cars carrying Mrs Suzman, diplomats and Sandton city councillors were searched.

The Witwatersrand Divisional Police Commissioner, Brigadier J R P Bekker, slapped a tight ban on audio-visual media, although several cameras, tape recorders and even some television cameras slipped in to record the event.

Mourners carried the coffins shoulder-high to the graveyard 2 km from the stadium. Those buried, including several children, were: Owen Hlapolosa, Lidia Ledwaba, Jabu Mkele, Jacob Moroka, Joseph Meyers, Orsborne Modinger, Reuben Mosaka, Jerry Mthembu, Mahlaba Nkosi, Stephen Sithole, Dexter Williams, Jerry Smiles, Jabu Sithole, Mercy Tshabalala, Solomon Sithole, Amos Ramokgobane and Wilson Molepo.

Foreign diplomats from seven countries were among the mourners, who included PFP law and order spokesperson Mrs Helen Suzman, church and community leaders and representatives of the Black Sash.

In a letter to the Alexandra Civic Association chairman, Mr Mike Beebe, the United States Acting Consul-General in South Africa, Mr Nick Stigliani, expressed "profound sympathy and condolences" to the bereaved.

Strong contingents of armed police, assisted by traffic officers, manned roadblocks at all entrances to the township, which nestles in squalor beside Johannesburg's most affluent suburbs.

But the police kept away from the proceedings which were not marred by the kind of

From page 1

Catholic Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Reginald Ormond (who delivered a message from Archbishop Denis Hurley), UDF national chairman Cerinck Ndlovu, UDF Transvaal vice-president the Rev Frank Chikane and Congress of South African Trade Unions president Mr Elijah Barayi.

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In a letter to the Alexandra Civic Association chairman, Mr Mike Beebe, the United States Acting Consul-General in South Africa, Mr Nick Stigliani, expressed "profound sympathy and condolences" to the bereaved.

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But the police kept away from the proceedings which were not marred by the kind of

Sunday

# Mass Alex funeral free of incidents

8/3/86

11A

SIPHO NGCOBO and PETER HONEY

THE funeral of 17 victims of bloody rioting in Johannesburg's Alexandra township was remarkably incident-free yesterday as more than 40 000 people crammed into the township's dusty soccer stadium.

It was the biggest funeral yet held on the Witwatersrand as thousands came from as far afield as Bophuthatswana, and Alexandra's 100 000 residents staged a mass stayaway from work to go into mourning.

Community spokesman Mac Lekota said more funerals were likely as 13 bodies remained unclaimed from last month's violence.

Flags of the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and other anti-apartheid groups — and even the Soviet hammer-and-sickle — waved to the rhythm of freedom songs as civil rights speakers and churchmen urged an end to minority rule.

The gathering, which included several hundred whites, roared approval when banned activist Winnie Mandela walked through the crowd, her head shaded by a large floral wreath in the shape of Africa and bedecked with the ANC's green, black and gold.



Civil-rights lawyer PRISCILLA JANA is filmed at the funeral. Picture: DAN SIMON

Vehicles, including six buses from the University of the Witwatersrand, ferrying mourners to the burial were evacuated as police conducted intensive searches.

Banners of the UDF and the National Union of South African Students were seized, as were rolls of film from news-

● To Page 2 →

## 40 000 at Alexandra funeral

Sunday 8/3/86

paper photographers.

Even the cars carrying Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton), diplomats and Sandton city councillors were searched.

Both UDF president Albertina Sisulu and SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude warned that State President P W Botha's intention to lift the state of emergency tomorrow was not enough to bring peace to the country.

SA Catholic Bishops Conference general secretary, S'mangaliso Mkhathshwa, led the funeral service.

Other speakers included the Catholic Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Reginald Orsmond (who delivered a message from Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley), UDF national chairman Cernick Ndlovu, UDF Transvaal vice-president Frank Chikane and Congress of SA Trade Unions president Elijah Barayi.

11A

← ● From Page 1

In a letter to Alexandra Civic Association chairman, Mike Beea, the US acting consul general in SA, Nick Stigliani, expressed "profound sympathy and condolences" to the bereaved.

Police kept away from the proceedings which were not marred by the kind of violence which has broken out at so many other funerals in the past. However, one car was set alight as mourners filed home.

Those buried, including several children, were: Owen Hlapolosa, Lidia Ledwaba, Jabu Mkele, Jacob Moroka, Joseph Meyers, Orsborne Modering, Reuben Mosaka, Jerry Mthembu, Mahlaba Nkosi, Stephen Sithole, Dexter Williams, Jerry Smiles, Jabu Sithole, Mercy Tshabalala, Solomon Sithole, Amos Ramokgobjane and Wilson Molepo.

## Solidarity tries to heal rift

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Last-minute attempts are being made by the Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates to heal the rift within its ranks by the end of this week.

Differences arose within Solidarity earlier this year over moves to set up a working relationship with the ruling National People's Party.

However, four Solidarity MPs opposed the move in a Supreme Court application, on the grounds that it contravened a party resolution.

Attempts are now being made to reach an out of court settlement before Monday, when the application is due to come up.

# Violence and looting was not our aim, says witness

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A State witness at the treason trial here said protest marchers in Boipatong on September 3 1984 turned violent and stoned a police vehicle until it turned and sped off, before stoning community councillors' houses and shops.

Mr Peter Mohapi, vice-chairman of the Boipatong Residents' Committee (BRC), who has been in detention since December 11, 1984, testified at the trial of 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front and members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Azanian Youth Unity and the Vaal Civic Association.

The men have all pleaded not guilty to high treason, terrorism, subversion, murder and furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Mr Mohapi said the march had started at Boipatong Square. The BRC had decided to march to the community councillors' offices at Houtkop, where they intended to speak to the councillors about township rent increases.

## 'UNCONTROLLABLE' CROWDS

He said he and other committee members realised they could no longer control the crowd when youths started stoning a police vehicle in Boipatong Square. The vehicle turned and sped off.

The crowd then started breaking up and some of the youths went to the house of Mr Daniel Mpondo, a community councillor who is also a security policeman, and started throwing stones at it.

Later, youths stoned the house of another councillor, a Mr Ndzunga, and tried to set it alight, before looting his shop and stoning a beerhall.

"If we had stood in front of the crowd with our arms raised and told them to stop the violence, we could easily have been killed by them," Mr Mohapi said.

He said one of the committee members, Mr Ernest Sotso, had told him: "Our aim was to get these people in a march. We must not take part in what the crowd are doing, we must just watch."

Some of the people who watched the youths stoning the councillors' houses, shouted encouragement to them. Others did not. Mr Mohapi said that neither he nor other committee members encouraged the violence.

After a period of illness, during which time he left the courtroom and was treated in hospital, one of the accused, Mr Hlabeng Sam Matlole, was welcomed back into the dock yesterday by Mr Justice Kees van Dijkhorst.

The hearing continues today.

# Call to unban ANC, PAC

7/3/80  
SOUTHERN

THE president of the Council of Unions of South Africa, Mr James Mndaweni, yesterday called on the Government to release African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Addressing a workers' meeting at Unilever factory in Boksburg, he said the Government should also unban the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and other organisations.

Mr Mndaweni also condemned the Government's intention to incorporate Moutse into KwaNdebele. He criticised the Government's policy of forced removals.

# Cosatu, UDF to decide on Kwa-Natal

THE United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions are not rushing into any quick response to the invitation to attend the "Kwa-Natal indaba".

Their decisions are not expected for about a week.

The African National Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation have indicated that they would not participate.

Meanwhile one of the organisers, Mr Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC, said yesterday: "Although it is early days, it looks as though there will be sufficient people of good will to get this thing going."

The indaba is scheduled to start in Durban on April 3 to formulate proposals for a legislative body to govern the Natal-KwaZulu region at second-tier level.

The Natal publicity chairman, Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, said an invitation had been received but would have to be considered by the Front's affiliates throughout the country before a decision was made.

A spokesman for Cosatu said a decision would be made at a meeting next Wednesday.

# Botswana

# ousts

# ANC

(11A)

7/3/86 E-Post.

**GABORONE —** Two representatives of an African National Congress guerilla group have been withdrawn from Botswana as "their security can no longer be guaranteed", Botswana President Quett Masire has announced.

In Cape Town, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, welcomed the announcement.

"Any news which indicates stability in the Southern African region is good news," Mr Botha said.

In a statement broadcast by Radio Botswana last night, Dr Masire said ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo had taken the decision after talks with Botswana's Presidential Affairs Minister Mr Ponatshego Kedikilwe and Zambian President Mr Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka.

The statement said a "solidarity news service," founded in Gaborone by South African exiles and attacked by South African troops during a raid last June would not be allowed to resume operations "for security reasons".

The moves follow talks last month between Botswana and South Africa over Gaborone's alleged support for the ANC, a charge Botswana has frequently denied.

Dr Masire said last night that, during the talks, South Africa had reiterated its position "that the presence in Botswana of the ANC in whatever guise" constituted a threat to the security of South Africa — which reserved the right to take action to protect its citizens and property.

Diplomatic sources said that, after the talks, Botswana told the few ANC people still in the country to leave for their own safety.

Hundreds of others had left earlier.

In the past three months, South Africa repeatedly warned Botswana it would take military action against it unless ANC activities in the country were stopped.

Botswana says it does not allow its territory to be used as a base for attacks on South Africa and that it only gives sanctuary to refugees fleeing South Africa.

Botswana's action against the ANC follows similar moves last January by Lesotho's new military government, which deported 99 ANC activists in return for Pretoria lifting a crippling economic siege on the landlocked country. — Sapa-Reuter.



**BATTLE OF GUGULETU**

The killing of seven suspected African National Congress (ANC) insurgents in Cape Town's Guguletu township on Monday this week was the most serious clash so far between police and guerrillas in the region.

The incident raised the question of how the heavily armed men were able to infiltrate the area. Their closest foreign base would have been Lesotho, from where they could have travelled via Transkei to Cape Town.

Police were aware of the presence of the armed men in Guguletu and intercepted them while they were travelling in a mini-bus to the local police station where they allegedly planned to attack a police patrol. The seven were killed in a brief battle with police in the vicinity of the mini-bus and in surrounding bush. Two policemen were slightly injured.

The clash was the latest in a series of confrontations over the past few months between police and ANC insurgents in townships around the country.

# UDF campaign to save six

WEEKLY  
7/3/86  
THE United Democratic Front has launched a campaign to save the "Sharpeville Six" from the hangman.

The six were found guilty in the Pretoria Supreme Court last December of murdering Lekoa's deputy mayor, Kuzwayo Jacob Dlamini, during the Vaal rent protest in 1984.

Dlamini, his house and his car were burned on December 3, 1984 after widespread rioting in the area over proposed rent increases.

Ever since they were sentenced, their families have been living in hope, awaiting an appeal lodged by their attorney.

The six under sentence of death are:

- Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, 30, married with one child, a self-employed fruit and vegetable vendor.

- Moses Oupa Diniso, 30, married with two children, an inspector at a steel factory before his arrest.

- Reid Malebo Mokoena, 22, is unmarried but has a son aged three.

- Theresa Ramashamola, 24, unmarried, was employed at a roadhouse at the time of her arrest.

- Joshua Duma Kumalo, 26. He is unmarried, with a six-year-old son.

- Francis Manentsa Mokhesi, 28, married, with a seven-year-old daughter, was

employed as a window-dresser in Vanderbijlpark. He is well-known in the township as a first division soccer player of Vaal Professionals.

Two of their co-accused Motseki Christian Mokubung, 23, and Gideon Motsiri Mokone, 21, were convicted of public violence and subversion and were each sentenced to an effective eight years' imprisonment.

The UDF and the Vaal branch of the Detainees Support Committee hope to bring the case to the attention of the public through prayer services and the media. The first prayer meetings was held at Khotso House last Friday.

Ramashamola is the first woman sentenced to hang for an unrest-related crime.

She told acting Justice W F Human that while she was part of the march she was hit on the head by a rubber bullet and had then gone to a nearby house for treatment.

The judge, however, ruled that although she had been injured she had continued in the attack.

Ramashamola was also found to have slapped a woman who screamed that Dlamini be left alone and that the fire be put out.

The judge said that showed Ramashamola identified herself with the crowd's intention to kill Dlamini.

By SEFAKO NYAKA

# Barricades didn't keep out grenade attackers

7/3/76 WEEKLY 11

By SEFAKO NYAKA

PRECAUTIONARY measures taken by an Atteridgeville, Pretoria activist against possible petrol bomb attacks proved inadequate when her home was blasted by a hand grenade this week.

Esther Madiphoso Masuku, 51, a member of the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Women's Organisation (Sawo) and the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Organisation (Asro) died when a hand grenade exploded in the living room of her Mashifane Street home at about 1,30am on Wednesday.

This was shortly after she was woken by heavy gunshots and her son Oupa's screams from his front bedroom.

Her sons Oupa, Thabo and Ndumiso, political activists, were also injured in the attack.

The Masuku home was a mangled wreck of steel, bricks and mortar.

The lengths of corrugated iron sheeting they used to barricade the front windows every evening before going to bed were twisted and spattered with blood.

The windows themselves were blown out and the door and corrugated iron barricades were penetrated by several bullets.

Oupa, a youth organiser of the South African Council of Churches and treasurer of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Youth Organisation (Sayo) is recovering in the Kalafong Hospital from three bullet wounds — two in the right shoulder and one below the

left rib cage.

He seemed to have lost the use of his right arm and was able to talk only with great difficulty.

Thabo suffered shrapnel wounds on his body and Ndumiso received leg injuries.

"Oupa says he heard footsteps in the yard followed by heavy gunshots. He jumped out of bed and started screaming.

"We also jumped out of bed and when we rushed into the living room I heard a loud explosion and my mother fell to the ground," Thabo said.

His mother had deep wounds and her whole body was covered in blood.

She was taken to hospital where she was certified dead on arrival.

One of the other sons, Clifford, claims he was picked up from the B-H Peta School by white policemen a few hours after the blast.

He was taken to the local police station, made to sit under the table and asked what he had seen.

He said he had seen nothing because he was woken by his brothers.

Neighbours said they saw a car and a white van speeding off from the scene immediately after the explosion.

The attack brings to 11 the number of activists' homes attacked in the Pretoria townships in the past three weeks.

This had resulted in activists barricading their windows at night.

# A homeland embrace for Lusaka

THE forging of cordial ties between the outlawed African National Congress and Enos Mabuza's Inyandza National Movement may presage the end of Inyandza's alliance with Inkatha, given the enmity between the ANC and Inkatha.

But Mabuza, who is Chief Minister of the Swazi "homeland" of KaNgwane as well as Inyandza's president, was careful to keep his options open this week when he returned from talks with the ANC in Lusaka, Zambia.

Asked how Inyandza could reconcile its links with the two warring organisations, Mabuza said: "The differences between Inkatha and the ANC concern them. They do not concern us."

But, he added, should the ANC-Inkatha dispute become an issue for the 100 000-member Inyandza movement, then Inyandza would review its position.

A joint communique issued by Inyandza and the ANC, and read out by Mabuza at a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return, left little doubt that Inyandza had warm fraternal feelings towards the ANC.

The ANC leadership was recognised by the majority of South Africans as their leaders and genuine representatives, Mabuza said, telling a sceptical looking SABC reporter that the ban on the ANC should be lifted so that its popularity could be tested in the political market place.

The ANC, for its part, recognised Inyandza as an "integral part" of the democratic movement, the communique said. Similar status has definitely not been conferred on Inkatha, judging from recent remarks made by ANC president, Oliver Tambo.

The ANC-Inyandza communique expressed opposition to "bantustans", black town councils and the tri-cameral parliament. Mabuza was asked how he reconciled his position as KaNgwane Chief Minister with that declaration.

His delegation had met the ANC as members of Inyandza, and not as members of the KaNgwane government, Mabuza responded, adding: "Our position on bantustans is very clear. We will resign if we have to."

He declined, however, to define what conditions would cause him and his lieutenants to quit their positions in the KaNgwane government. "We will cross that bridge when we come to it," he said.

But had the ANC pressed him to resign? The ANC understood the

position of Inyandza and Inyandza understood the position of the ANC, Mabuza parried.

One of the ANC positions which Inyandza understood more fully as a result of the talks last weekend was its commitment to armed struggle.

"The ANC stressed the importance of the armed struggle to defend the people against enemy armed forces and to give the people the possibility to seize power from the white minority regime which holds on to

The unthinkable happened this week when a homeland leader paid a cordial visit to the ANC — then returned home to sing the praises of the banned movement.

PATRICK LAURENCE reports

power by the use of force," the communique said.

"Inyandza expressed its understanding of the reasons which forced the ANC to resort to armed

struggle."

Inyandza, however, reiterated its commitment to non-violent struggle within South Africa.

The two parties agreed that "political organisations working within the Pretoria-created institutions should actively involve themselves in the struggle for the genuine liberation of our country".

It is not clear exactly what that meant. But, according to a well-placed source, it did not involve acceptance

by the ANC of these separate institutions *per se*.

Rather it meant that the ANC would not regard men within the institutions automatically as "enemies of the people", provided they worked towards discrediting those institutions from within and creating the conditions for their disintegration, the source added.

"It is accepted that people within the system will have to get out eventually," the source said.

up to 10,000 million realistic.

# RMC chief held by police

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*[Signature]*

**PETER HONEY and Sapa**

**PUBLICITY SECRETARY** of the Release Mandela Committee (RMC) Aubrey Mokoena has been arrested by East Rand police in connection with allegations of contravening the Prisons Act.

Lieutenant Chris Liebenberg of the East Rand police said Mokoena had been taken to John Vorster Square after holding a Press conference at the RMC offices in connection with a fire which almost destroyed two offices of the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters early yesterday.

Police denied allegations by Mokoena that the fire had been caused by a bomb and said they had opened an arson docket.



● Secretary Patricia Mafatsi peers from the ruined RMC offices. Picture: DAN SIMON

Attorney Priscilla Jana, acting for Mokoena, confirmed yesterday he had been arrested in terms of Section 44 of the Prisons Act and would appear in the Benoni Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

A Benoni printer, Percy Pillay, who was arrested yesterday in terms of the same Act, will appear with Mokoena.

X

# Buthelezi: <sup>Opp. Times</sup> Use NSC for real change

ULUNDI. — Every decent South African would support the State President if he used the proposed National Statutory Council as an effective instrument of real change, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said here yesterday.

He listed several radical prerequisites for the wide acceptance of Mr PW Botha's intentions in this regard — including the release of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of black organizations and the scrapping of the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts and the Tri-cameral Parliament.

And he warned that the alternative of continuing apartheid would bring increased violence in which Afrikaner identity would finally be obliterated and many whites would perish.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at a meeting with top industrialists, including Mr Mike Rosholt of Barlow Rand, Mr R A Williams of C G Smith and Mr Philip Heber-Percy of W G Brown.

## Release black leaders

Chief Buthelezi said that if Mr Botha seriously intended using the National Statutory Council for real change he would:

- Release Nelson Mandela and other leaders and unban black organizations so that all who wanted to could participate in the council.

- "Pronounce the death sentence" on the Tri-cameral Parliament so that negotiations could take place outside the framework in which whites laid constitutional claim to 87 percent of South Africa.

- Scrap the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts.

- Begin to act in recognition that the principles of political democracy were the only ones which could finally safeguard individual and group rights.

"I will incur any risk, and I will make every endeavour to make the National (Statutory) Council work," he said. "Because we live in crucial times we dare not blunder. We will proceed towards a stable destiny only if there is a legitimate power and legitimate opposition." — Sapa

# Mandela offices destroyed

CHL FMS  
7/3/82  
110

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Police are investigating arson following a mysterious fire which gutted the headquarters of the Release Mandela Committee (RMC) in Jorrisen Street early yesterday.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said the matter was regarded as an ordinary arson case.

He denied an allegation by RMC publicity secretary Mr Aubrey Mokoena that the fire was caused by a bomb and that security police were responsible.

## 'Absurd'

Three security policemen visited the smoke-blackened premises shortly before midday.

One of them, explosives expert Major Dries Struwig, described Mr Mokoena's bomb allegation as "absurd".

Mr Mokoena claimed that the premises had been burgled.

Three panes of louvre glass had been removed from a window of the Beleidendekring office next door. The burglars had apparently rifled a filing cabinet in this room, and gained entry to the passage leading to the RMC office by removing a vent in a door.

## Pamphlets

The RMC office, a second room and the adjoining passage, was a soggy mess of charred files, pamphlets and blistered filing cabinets, which appeared to have been emptied on to the floor and a desk before being set alight.

Heat had caused

chunks of plaster to fall from the ceiling, but the furniture was not disturbed as it would have been if an explosion had occurred.

Mr Mokoena linked the incident to Tuesday's limpet mine blast in John Vorster Square, saying it amounted to a warning from the authorities to the RMC to stop its agitation for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Secondly, they were saying that if our friends attack them they will retaliate in kind against movements like ours," he said.

Mr Mokoena said damage to the two rooms could be as high as R200 000.

## Arrest

● Sapa reports that Mr Mokoena was later arrested by East Rand police for allegedly contravening the Prisons Act.

Lieutenant Chris Liebenberg, of the East Rand police, said Mr Mokoena had been taken to John Vorster Square police headquarters during a press conference he was giving at the RMC offices about the fire.

He was arrested by the East Rand police at John Vorster Square shortly after he had given a statement about the fire.

Mrs Priscilla Jana, the attorney acting for Mr Mokoena, confirmed he had been arrested. He will appear in the Benoni Magistrate's Court today.

# Minister quit unrest march after hearing gunfire

11/A Staff Reporter

tions.

STAR

7/3/86

**DELMAS** — A State witness in the treason trial here told the court that he left the ranks of people marching on the administration board offices during unrest in the Vaal Triangle in 1984 because he heard shots being fired and was "a coward".

The Rev Jacob Mahlatsi, of the Apostolic Church in Sebokeng, was testifying at the trial of 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front and its affiliate, the Vaal Civic Association (VCA), and members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Azanian Youth Unity and other organisations.

They have pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason, murder, subversion and furthering the aims of banned organisa-

Mr Mahlatsi said he attended a meeting at the Small Farms Catholic Church in Evaton on August 26 1984.

There he saw a previous witness, Mrs Rina Mokoena, who told the audience to resist increased rents.

She also called on community councillors to resign, adding that if they did not they were to be killed.

Mr Mahlatsi said that on September 3 he went to another meeting. Mr Esau Raditse-la, then vice-chairman of the VCA, who has since left the country, told the people to follow placard bearers as they left the church.

He said they should go past councillors' houses showing them placards and telling

them to resign.

Mr Mhalatsi said Mr Raditse-la told the meeting that if the councillors refused, they were to be killed and their shops set on fire.

He said he ran away when the marchers heard gunshots ahead of them as Mr Raditse-la urged them on, because he was "a coward".

Under cross-examination by Mr George Bizos, SC, for the defence, Mr Mahlatsi said he had been in detention since December 18 1984.

He admitted that the first statement he made in detention had been false.

In it he had denied any involvement in the march and also omitted Mr Raditse-la's "calls for violence against the councillors".

The hearing is continuing.



FINAL 7/3/86

Court charged with treason.

The near convergence of the two trials — plus the alleged involvement in terrorist activities of Passtoors's ex-husband, Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge, who is holed up in the old section of the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria — focus attention on the role of whites in the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

Pelser, who was jailed for seven years, was a trained member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, underground fighting wing of the ANC. He was the first trained "MK," as Umkhonto members are known, to be captured, brought to trial and convicted for more than 20 years. Passtoors and De Jonge are alleged to have undertaken reconnaissance missions on behalf of the ANC, including surveillance of the strategic Durban-Johannesburg oil pipeline, and to have hidden at least five caches of arms and explosives.

It is difficult to assess how many whites there are in the ANC and the extent of their influence. Except for its top echelons, ANC membership is secret. So too are most of its activities. Only one white, a South African Communist Party leader and MK Chief of

Staff, Joe Slovo, was elected to its 30-man executive committee at Kabwe, Zambia, last June. But the executive was mandated to nominate five additional members. Their names and skin colour are not known.

Before the Kabwe conference decision to open the executive to members of all races, the ANC national executive was exclusively black. Non-blacks did, however, serve on the now defunct Revolutionary Council, which had close ties with both the ANC national executive and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A white, Dennis Goldberg, was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial of 1964 as a member of the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Slovo, another high command member, escaped just before the police net closed on the Rivonia trialists.

But it was not until 1969 at the Morogogo conference in Tanzania that the ANC decided to abolish the clause restricting its rank-and-file membership to black South Africans. The next step came in June last year at Kabwe, when the national executive was opened to all races.

Since 1969 some white members of the

Continued on page 67

THE ANC

(11A)



### Whiter shade of pale

Eric Pelser had hardly been convicted for treason last week when another white — Belgian national Helena Passtoors — appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's

ANC have been captured and imprisoned, but not, as far as is known, white members of Umkhonto we Sizwe. In the Seventies captured ANC members included Australian Alexander Moumbaris, Irishman Sean Hsey, and Afrikaner poet Breyten Breytenbach. In the Eighties they included English-speaking South Africans Renfrew Christie and Barbara Hogan, and their Afrikaner compatriot, Karl Niehaus, who was assisted by his fiancée, "Jansie" Lourens.

#### New species

But the Kabwe conference may have set the stage for the emergence of a new political species: trained white members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, of which Pelser was the forerunner. The Kabwe conference resolved that all ANC members, irrespective of function or race, should receive military training at MK camps. Although Slovo and Goldberg were members of the high command they were not actually trained with rank-and-file recruits. The new species will have rubbed shoulders with black Umkhonto we Sizwe recruits in training camps in Angola and Tanzania, and, perhaps, the Soviet Union and East Germany.

Reports by  
John Glen-Leary

# Ndamase: ANC, PAC T'kei have same atm

11A

7/3/86. DISPATCH



PRESIDENT TUTOR NDAMASE

UMTATA — The State Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, said yesterday that despite possible ideological differences between the ANC, PAC and Transkei, they had a common but limited objective — the liquidation of apartheid.

"The ANC and PAC were founded as nationalist organisations whose ideologies spurned the diverse ethnic groups, church, civic and cultural organisations in South Africa.

"They therefore represented the legitimate aspirations of

the black people of South Africa," he said.

He said the intransigence of apartheid regimes over the decades had polarised the ruling white group on the one hand and the ANC and PAC on the other hand.

He said the absence of a democratic forum had led to the radicalisation of these organisations, some of whose members had embraced Marxist philosophy or others which promised some salvation and "heaven alone knows what else."

"In a democratic state and under ideal

conditions, people with different philosophies should learn to accommodate each other's views and find common areas of agreement.

"We in Transkei believe in a free enterprise economy and a non-racial democratic political order."

He said the government was prepared to enter into discussion and negotiations with all groups who sought to achieve this goal through peaceful means, and that included the ANC and PAC if they agreed to the parameters within which to co-operate.

## Unitra — symbol of a liberated mind

UMTATA — The State President of Transkei, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase said in an interview yesterday that the University of Transkei (Unitra) had not been immune from the unrest that had permeated the whole country and other continents as well.

Speaking from the presidential palace here he said: "The major focus of most unrest in Southern Africa has been opposition to apartheid and institutions of higher learning and education generally have been most hit by these disturbances.

"I do not wish to prejudge our situation by anticipating what steps will be taken concerning a problem which is constantly being examined and re-examined.

"But I can say this — we are very proud of our university as an institution of higher learning, as the symbol of a liberated mind."

He said Transkei had great faith in the future of Unitra, and in the dignity of the human individual whose liberal mind it intended to develop to the full.

He said his government would do everything possible to maintain high standards of discipline and scholarship.

## Role of opposition parties outlined

Dispatch Reporter

UMTATA — The State President of Transkei, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, said he had no intentions now to reshuffle the cabinet which he inherited from the former State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

"When the need arises it will be a decision that the Prime Minister and I will determine in accordance with established procedures," he said.

Outlining the role of opposition parties in a democratic society such as Transkei, Paramount Chief Ndamase said the ruling party in any country was expected to satisfy, to the best of its ability, the aspirations of the constituency it represented.

"It must also be remembered that opposition parties have a constituent

cy whose aspirations are also legitimate grassroot sentiments and it is easy for a political party, once in power, to blunt its ears to these grassroot sentiments.

"It is therefore the duty of the opposition parties to keep the people's interests alive in Parliament and administrative circles," he said.

He also said there was great value in disagreement and honest debate that took place in a democratic parliament because people were able to question those things which were taken for granted when all agreed as a party.

"It must always be remembered that the opposition party has a constituency of its own whose interests cannot be sacrificed at the altar of the winner-take-all philosophy," he said.

VIA STAR 7/3/86

By Andre Meyerowitz,  
Political Staff

## Emergency created as much trouble as it defused

CAPE TOWN — The state of emergency, now ending after 230 days, was a technically successful exercise which has left South Africa frightfully diminished.

Unrest had been building up for many months before President Botha shook the country and its friends abroad by imposing the emergency on July 21 last year.

Only 36 of the 300-odd magisterial districts were covered initially — in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal.

One of the immediate effects was to beset the offices of organisations such as the United Democratic Front and Azapo and freeze their activities. A

side-effect was to disrupt many other groups not even remotely connected with endangering public safety.

Over the months, as activists headed south towards Cape Town to escape the special regulations, there was much tinkering with the emergency's geographic limits.

The Government could rightly point to the fact that only a relatively small portion of the country was covered at any one time. Some whites, as far as their own comfortable lives were concerned, could even say to themselves: "What emergency?"

But large numbers of middle-class and hitherto politically apathetic people were sensitised, and the polarisation in South Africa grew.

Suddenly, troops were lining the roads which people always travelled at the end of a working day — and suddenly they became involved in community solidarity against inappropriate action by the security forces.

Such people had to "take sides".

International news cameras feasted for a while on footage of violence (the SABC much less so) until the authorities clamped

down and simply banned cameras from unrest scenes.

There were suggestions that the best way to stop Americans and other foreigners from seeing police beating blacks was for the police to stop beating blacks.

But this was ignored by the authorities, who rode out the temporary storm about Press freedom, and the camera ban proved highly effective in curbing foreign coverage.

A disadvantage from the Government's point of view was that worst-available casualty figures were sometimes accepted in the absence of Press verification of

incidents.

It was also difficult during the emergency to confirm by observation that the police were using state-of-the-art techniques of unrest control, as they claimed to do.

They were frequently seen in ordinary uniforms or fatigues — but sneeze machines, water cannons and even perspex shields were not much in evidence.

What was new in their technique was use of the odd helicopter and dye-squirting machine, and of course the Caspir anti-insurgent vehicle, designed not for city streets but

for the wastes of Namibia.

Since the emergency was declared, about 600 people have been killed. About 7 200 have been detained without trial and 3 600 held under permanent security legislation.

Nearly 1 000 schools were damaged or destroyed — not to mention churches, clinics, shops, liquor stores and private homes. More than 10 000 buses and private vehicles fell foul of the unrest.

Clearly, the emergency created trouble as much as it defused

trouble.

Incidents of violence continue but at present there is more "law and order" in the country than when the emergency was declared. In the sense of superficially restoring peace, therefore, the imposition of emergency measures was a successful move.

At the same time the emergency has proved to be a disaster in the sense that large sectors of the population have been politicised and mobilised not only against the Nationalist Government but also against authority

and civilised norms in general.

To that extent the African National Congress can also say, from its own nefarious point of view, that the declaration of an emergency worked well.

One of the few positive things, though, is that by crystallising the unrest into the form of an emergency, the Government may have brought home to complacent whites that there is a desperately urgent need to accommodate black political interests.

And it may now be clearer to whites that a solution must lie in genuinely de-linking white self-interest, which is perfectly legitimate, from white supremacy, which is not.

## Outlook is

## Unifying opposition

It was like a family reunion. Everyone got on famously, even though a homeland leader was meeting the top echelon of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) at its exile headquarters in Lusaka.

Indeed, if KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza had any trepidation about the landmark meeting, it was dispelled by the warmth his Inyandza National Movement received from the ANC. Their three days of talks in the Zambian capital last weekend was more like a meeting of political allies. Their main difference, however, is over the use of violence and the so-called armed struggle. The ANC expressed its understanding of this and of Inyandza's non-violent methods, even though it, of course, employs armed methods.

### Frontline contact

Significantly, Mabuza and his 21-member group were treated to a reception by the High Commissioner of that "friend of liberation movements," Tanzania, at which the representatives of two other frontline states, Angola and Botswana, were present. And, to crown it all, the homeland leader was granted a 40-minute meeting with the ANC's great benefactor, Kenneth Kaunda, before flying back to Johannesburg on Tuesday morning. According to Mabuza, the Zambian President's message was that unity and peace were essential in the black South African struggle.

Mabuza comes away from what Tambo described as their historic meeting with his stature much enhanced. He is now clearly no ordinary bantustan leader to be dismissed out of hand by anti-government forces.

Yet the glory is by no means all Mabuza's. From the ANC's viewpoint, the visit must be a tremendous coup — arguably more important to it than the string of visits by other



Inyandza's Mabuza and ANC's Tambo ... two sides to a coin

South African detachments, such as the clerics, students, politicians and businessmen who went to Lusaka last year, and one that was due from the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) on the day Mabuza left Lusaka. After all, Mabuza's Inyandza Movement is (or rather has been) a member of the SA Black Alliance (Saba), which is led by KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Saba is an important plank of Buthelezi's black leadership role.

It was clear that the ANC sees the historic meeting as a new beginning, not only in the unity of Inyandza and the ANC, but also a joint offensive to rally the people together. It was keen that the occasion feature prominently in the annals of its struggle.

### Homeland politics

The Inyandza-ANC indaba and the tenor of their resolutions — such as a shared belief in a "united, democratic and non-racial South Africa," and mobilisation of the "democratic opposition" to apartheid — would also seem to augur a change in the shape of homeland politics.

Specifically, it seems likely that Mabuza will now try to resuscitate the aborted SA Federal Union (Safu) plan, or something like it. The little-reported Safu idea was to bring together the homelands and other black groups such as Inyandza and Inkatha. It burst apart late last year when, apparently, some of the homeland leaders, particularly QwaQwa's Kenneth Mopeli, became irked by Buthelezi's apparent attempts to personally direct matters. That meeting broke up in acute acrimony. Further, not all the homelands are enamoured of Buthelezi's tough anti-ANC stance.

At any rate, Mabuza will approach the KwaZulu leader and the others with a view to unifying all black opposition, including extra-parliamentary groups such as the United Democratic Front (UDF). As Ma-

buza puts it: "We (Inyandza) have no differences with the UDF's aims; our roles are complementary."

After his in-depth deliberations with the ANC's 21-member group, including most of its national executive, Mabuza told the FM: "We met down-to-earth South Africans committed to change in our country. The fact of exile hasn't changed their view of a peaceful future, despite their methods of armed struggle..."

"Personally, I am convinced of the urgency of the need for the government to talk to the ANC. And, despite the fact that they seem poles apart, common ground can be found. The stumbling block seems to be government's fear of being seen as capitulators."

# Passtoors indictment: No mention of Pretoria bomb

7/3/86 WEEKLY (11A) (circled scribbles)

By PAT SIDLEY

THE indictment against Helene Passtoors and Klaas de Jonge makes no mention of one of the charges levelled against the pair in the media — that they helped plan the Pretoria car-bomb blast.

De Jonge and Passtoors have been charged jointly with terrorism charges in terms of the Internal Security Act, and Passtoors with treason as well, apparently on the grounds that she had been resident in the Republic between February and June, 1985 when she was arrested. She was a post-graduate student during that time.

Passtoors was kept in detention in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act between June last year and February this year when she appeared in court to face her charge.

De Jonge escaped his detention and has been in the old premises of the Dutch embassy in Pretoria since June.

He did not appear in court to face his charges and as things stand, he is unlikely to be handed over by the Dutch government to face charges under South Africa's security legislation.

During the time Passtoors was in detention, and while the two governments argued over what to do with De Jonge, South African "security sources" leaked allegations of the couple's behavior to influence public opinion on the issue.

One such claim, widely publicised in Holland, was that the couple were involved in planning the Pretoria car-bomb blast which killed nineteen people.

The indictment also makes no mention of the earlier-mooted, less-political charges under the Arms and Ammunitions Act or the Explosives Act. A warrant of arrest was issued in terms of the Explosives Act at the time De Jonge was handed back to the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria.

Allegations in the indictment include:

● Passtoors and De Jonge were members of the African National Congress (ANC);

● They established or helped establish or knew about several arms caches in various places in the Transvaal, Natal and the Eastern Cape.

● Passtoors set up a communications network for the ANC and used De Jonge, Brigitte van Leynseele (her daughter) and others to send information.

● Passtoors helped smuggle an alleged ANC member out of South Africa.

The indictment lists 81 state witnesses, one of whom was Passtoors' professor while she was a

student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor of Linguistics, M Aldgridge, was shocked when asked if he knew he was listed as a state witness and said he had not been questioned, approached or subpoenaed to give evidence.

Passtoors appeared on Friday, February 28 and was remanded in custody until March 14, when the Attorney-General will make known whether or not he is issuing a certificate preventing bail.

Looking well, with newly-permed short hair, she was greeted warmly by a campus friend. She waved across the court at her mother who travelled from Holland, and smiled at journalists in the press gallery.

# ANC must go, says Botswana

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Botswana announced yesterday that the African National Congress representation in the country would be "removed" and its Solidarity News Service closed down.

*The Star's* Political Correspondent reports from Cape Town that South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, reacting to the announcement, said: "Any news on moves towards stability and peace in Southern Africa is good news."

The Botswana announcement follows intense diplomatic pressure from the South African Government, which had warned Botswana that it would not tolerate any ANC presence whatsoever in the territory.

## TALKS IN LUSAKA

This week Botswana's acting Minister of External Affairs, Mr P K Kedikilwe, travelled to Lusaka for talks with ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and President Kenneth Kaunda.

Botswana has now fallen in line with Lesotho and Swaziland, who have agreed to keep the ANC out of their countries.

Mozambique has also agreed not to allow the ANC to use its territory as a springboard for operations against South Africa.

Lesotho was brought into line earlier this year after South Africa applied measures on the border which amounted to an economic blockade.

After a series of landmine explosions in the Northern Transvaal and a clash between South African security forces and ANC insurgents near the Botswana border, South Africa warned Botswana that it reserved the right to take whatever action it thought necessary to protect its citizens.

# ANC envoys withdrawn from Botswana

GABORONE. — Two representatives of the African National Congress have been withdrawn from Botswana as "their security can no longer be guaranteed", Botswana President Quett Masire has announced.

In a statement broadcast by official Radio Botswana on Thursday night, President Masire said ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo had taken the decision after talks with Botswana's Presidential Affairs Minister Mr Ponatshego Kedikilwe and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka.

The statement did not name the two officials.

## News service

It also said the Solidarity News Service founded in Gaborone by South African exiles and attacked by South African troops during a raid last June, would not be allowed to resume operations for security reasons.

However, confusion appears to be reigning in ANC ranks about the Botswana decision to expel the organization.

ANC spokesmen said they had not received of-

ficial confirmation on this and that although they had been in touch with the Botswana Government, the possibility of expulsion had not been raised.

South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs has responded to the news saying: "Any announcement of this nature that can help bring peace and stability to Southern Africa is welcomed."

ANC spokesmen said the Solidarity News Service was not run by them and had been closed last July after the SA raid.

The expulsion follows talks last month between Botswana and SA.

Diplomatic sources said that after the talks Botswana told the few ANC representatives still in the country to leave for their own safety. Hundreds of others had left earlier.

Botswana's action against the ANC follows similar moves last January by Lesotho's new military government which deported 99 ANC activists in return for Pretoria lifting a crippling economic siege. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

# Buthelezi attacks KaNgwane chief <sup>11A</sup>

CAPT. T. M. P. 1/3/86  
Staff Reporter

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused the Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Chief Enos Mabuza, of trying to discredit him in the eyes of black South Africa and of trying "to to set my coloured brothers and sisters against me".

In a statement released in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said that after a visit to Lusaka, Chief Mabuza had accused him of "attacking the ANC mission in exile" and threatened to withdraw Inyandza (the Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane) from the South African Black Alliance (SABA), of which Chief Buthelezi is president.

"He gives as an excuse that I, as chairman of SABA, blamed all the coloured people when the Labour Party joined the tri-cameral Parliament," Chief Buthelezi said. "I wish to set the record straight."

## 'Wipe the mud from my face'

"I did not seek to establish SABA. It was Mr. Y S Chinsamy, the leader of the Reform Party, and the then leader of the Coloured Party, Mr Sonny Leon, who approached me to set it up.

"Mr Mabuza sought the inclusion of Inyandza in SABA. Now he talks as though he needs to dissociate himself from SABA.

"Mr Mabuza knows my hand of friendship has always been held out towards the ANC mission in exile. He knows it is they who attack me, not I who attack them. He knows that all I do is wipe the mud they sling at me from my face. He knows that in broadcast after broadcast they vilify me and that in their official publications they denigrate me."



# The face of South Africa 1986



Mrs Tsepiso Miya lost a son in an unrest-related incident in Cape Town this week.

# SA plans to attack ANC bases, claims Kaunda

8/3/86 STAR

(11A)  
(360)

ZURICH — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia was quoted yesterday by a Swiss newspaper as saying that he had "indirect" information that South Africa plans to attack the headquarters of the exiled African National Congress in Lusaka.

"I have received indirect information. We are expecting this attack," he was quoted as saying in an interview in Lusaka with a correspondent of the Zurich-based *Tages Anzeiger* newspaper. "There is no way for us to prevent it."

He did not give the source of his information, nor say when the attack was expected.

Dr Kaunda said the attack would most likely be launched from South African bases in the Caprivi Strip — about 400 km from Lusaka.

He was also quoted as saying that the United States decision last month to support Dr Jonas Savimbi and his rebel Unita movement equalled a "declaration of war" on Angola, and was an "enemy act" against African states bordering South Africa.

"I find it shocking that the great American people let themselves be led by their President to support a rebellion in a completely independent, internationally recognised country," he was quoted as saying.

It is reported from Gaborone that the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has decided to withdraw ANC representatives from the country because their security can no longer be guaranteed, according to a statement from the Office of the President.

It said it had also agreed that the Solidarity News Service, which was attacked in June last year, should not resume operations for the same reasons.

The decision followed protracted exchanges between South Africa and Botswana on the matter of security of South Africa, and the presence of the ANC in that country.

In two meetings recently, South Africa reiterated its position that the presence in Botswana of the ANC, in whatever guise, constituted a threat to the security of South Africa and was therefore not acceptable.

South Africa reserved its right to take action to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

After consultative discussions in Lusaka between Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration Mr Ponatshego Kedikilwe, President Kaunda and Mr Tambo, it was decided to withdraw the ANC representative and his assistant from Botswana. — Sapa.



ANC's Tambo Cosatu's Naidoo

# Cosatu talks to ANC & Sactu

CP Correspondent

JOINT talks between the ANC, Sactu and the 500 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions entered their second day in Lusaka yesterday.

The talks covered a wide range of trade union and political issues, but no details of the discussions had been made available to journalists at the time of going to press.

It is known that the ANC regards the talks as the most important since various legal SA organisations started holding talks with the outlawed movement last September.

The ANC holds that the working class is the "leading social force" in the South African struggle.

ANC President Oliver Tambo led the ANC-Sactu delegation - which included Sactu general secretary John Nkadimeng, ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki, ANC deputy army commander and Umkhonto we Sizwe political commissar Chris Hani, and National Executive Committee members Mac Maharaj, Joe Jele and James Stuart.

The Cosatu delegation included general secretary Jay Naidoo, deputy general secretary Sydney Mufamadi and mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa.

On Wednesday morning, the Cosatu delegation had breakfast at the State House in Lusaka with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, before moving into their first day of talks with the ANC/Sactu delegation.

## 'Eminent' group talks to Tambo

A COMMONWEALTH team trying to promote peaceful change in South Africa met African National Congress leaders this week. *CITYP. 9/2/86.*

Five of the group - dubbed the Eminent Persons Group - accompanied by Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal, were received by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Kaunda hosted a dinner for the group and ANC leaders, including Oliver Tambo.

● The group was set up at last October's Commonwealth summit to promote dialogue between Pretoria and the black majority.

# 'Why did they shoot our children?'

TWO of the seven alleged ANC members shot dead in Guguletu this week will be buried on Saturday - with their families still insisting the pair had nothing to do with the ANC.

The mothers of the two firmly believe the police killed two innocent people.

And a spokesman for the ANC said the organisation was still sifting through the information. "We will issue a statement later, but it looks like murder to me," said the spokesman.

The two men - Christo-

## CP Correspondent

pher Piet, 25, of 8 NY 54 in Guguletu and Jabulani Miya, 23, of 226 NY 21 - will be buried next week.

Piet will be laid to rest next Saturday. Relatives expect to bury Miya on the same day.

Shocked relatives told *City Press* this week that the two music lovers, who were fond of Bob Marley's music, had never been involved in politics, with the police or with the ANC.

"My son was never interested in politics. He never discussed it with us. He was never in trouble, detained or

in jail. He has never left the Cape. He only lived for his music - I can't accept claims that he belonged to the ANC," said Nomvuyo Piet, mother of Christopher Piet.

Mother Eunice Tsepiiso Miya said:

"Jabulani was a quiet man who was fond of his music. He has never been outside Cape Town and was never detained. He did not belong to any political organisation. I find it strange that the police have not been around to our house."

Piet did not know her son had been killed until neighbours told her late on Mon-

# Cops deny claims

THE SA police public relations division in Pretoria has replied to the mothers of two alleged ANC members killed in Monday's shootout with police, who said their sons were "not interested in politics".

Police headquarters said:

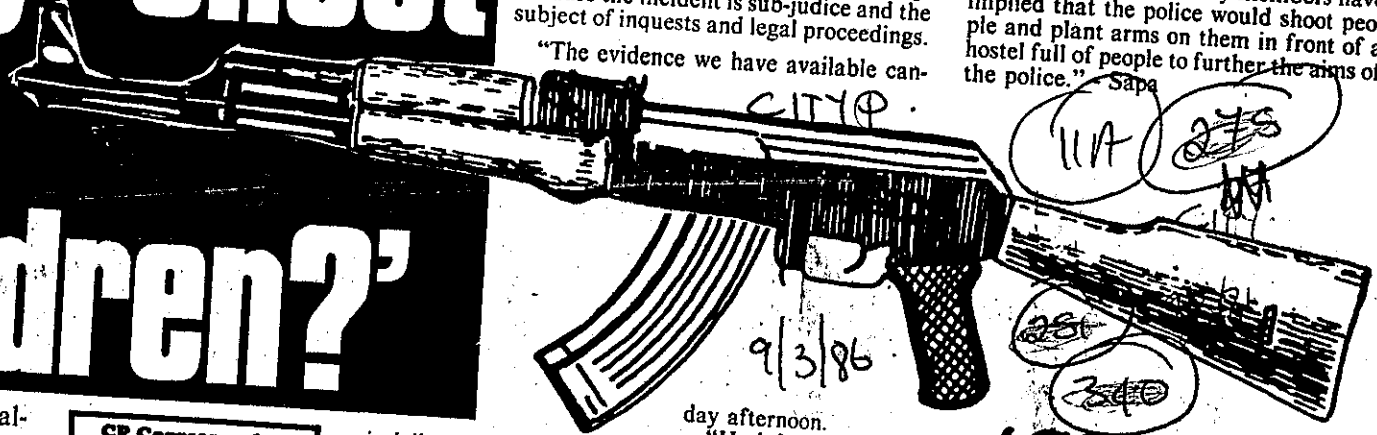
"The police cannot elaborate on the circumstances surrounding the shootings because the incident is sub-judice and the subject of inquests and legal proceedings.

"The evidence we have available can-

not be furnished to a newspaper for publication."

The cops said the "evidence" will be made available to the "appropriate judicial officials" for the inquests that are to follow the deaths.

An additional observation reads: "We find it strange that family members have implied that the police would shoot people and plant arms on them in front of a hostel full of people to further the aims of the police." Sapa



day afternoon.

"He left home on Sunday night and said he was going to look for work. That was the last I saw of him. I did not believe my neighbours until I saw the news on television.

"It was awful. Why did they have to kill him like a dog and drag his body with a rope? I still can't get over seeing my son being dragged like a dog."

She went to the Salt River mortuary on Tuesday to identify her son.

"He had a big hole in the side of his head and had bled through the nose and mouth. Words can't describe my feelings at seeing his body," she said.

## 'Give us names'

THE *Cape Times* is expected to be summonsed by police this week to supply the names of the people who witnessed the shootout between police and alleged ANC guerrillas in Guguletu on Monday morning.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Attie Laubscher said the *Cape Times* had made "no effort" to supply the names.

He said the newspaper quoted witnesses who allegedly saw one of the guerrillas shot dead in cold blood after he had surrendered, and pointed out that a live guerilla meant more than a dead one. - Sapa.

7, 1986

# It might happen to you tomorrow - Sisulu warns

\* From Page 1

Democratic Front, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee and the Alexandra Students' Congress were also displayed.

Activists with clenched fists shouted "Viva Mandela, Viva Kathrada, Viva Tambo", and freedom songs in praise of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, and its leadership shook the packed stadium during the four-hour funeral proceedings which took place in sweltering heat.

Marshalls with blue T-shirts emblazoned with the words "Alexandra Massacre - all power to the people" and below it the title of Mandela's famous speech "No easy walk to freedom" controlled the disciplined crowd.

In his address, fiery priest and



BEZA: 'No peace until blacks are free'



BARAYI: Major speaker



SISULU: 'Mothers unite'

UDF leader Frank Chikane said a war was taking place "between the apartheid forces and the oppressed majority".

"A government that gives orders to troops to kill our children is not a government of the people," he said.

Chikane said he had realised

that the process of negotiation with the authorities did not produce peace.

"In fact, when you talk to Cape Town you always come back empty-handed.

"It is not the ANC that does not want to talk - it is President PW Botha who is refusing to talk to the ANC," he said.

He said there was no way Botha could continue to rule South Africa the way he is now. Communities throughout South Africa were determined to resist oppression, he said.

"There is no way the problems of South Africa can be solved by guns. There is no way."

Chikane said the army could not solve problems of the country.

"You do not use troops to solve a political problem. Only a constitution can bring peace."

Alexandra Civic Association chairman Mike Beza told the crowd they should be grateful to the youths who had sacrificed their lives in 1976.

"No-one is free as long as black people are not free," he said.

SACC general secretary Dr Beyers Naude said the imminent lifting of the state of emergency meant nothing as long as there was "no justice".

"As long as people are shot and wounded and killed, there can be no peace in South Africa," Naude warned.

Albertina Sisulu - wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Si-

sulu - appealed to the mothers of white soldiers to stop the Government from "sending military forces to kill black children", writes a City Press reporter.

"We as mothers - black and white - should be fighting together more and more.

"What happens to black children will happen to white children," she told the hushed multitude.

Referring to the "17 crosses" - the 17 unrest victims - she said to white mothers: "You must feel it, it might happen to you tomorrow."

Sisulu continued: "Today there is no peace in South Africa, but the Government says there is.

"Why then are soldiers roaming the streets of our townships killing the children?"

"We can excuse fathers for

not getting together.

"They have very little to do with the rearing of children, but mothers must stand up to stop the soldiers from killing children in the townships," she said.

She also appealed to the remaining Progressive Federal Party leaders to follow the example of former party leader Frederick van Zyl Stabbert and resign from Parliament.

Some four hours later the coffins were carried shoulder-high by comrades to the cemetery on a hilltop overlooking the Alexandra township while thousands of mourners - among them elderly men and women - followed the cortege.

A police helicopter circled above the stadium while speakers addressed the mourners, and was later seen circling the cemetery.

Handwritten notes and signatures: "3/8/86", "JIA", "CITY P. 7/3/86", and several scribbled-out words.

# MABUZA'S MARRIAGE WITH THE ANC

CITY P.  
11A  
11A

9/3/86



**IN FOCUS: KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza arrives at Jan Smuts airport this week after his five-day meeting with the ANC in Lusaka.**  
*PHOTO BY EVANS MBOWENI*

**By ZB MOLEFE**  
**KANGWANE** Chief Minister Enos Mabuza arrived at Jan Smuts with this message after his meeting with the ANC: The solution to this country's problems lies in majority rule in a united, democratic non-racial South Africa. The homeland leader was addressing a Press conference this week after his five-day meeting with African National Congress officials led by Oliver Tambo

in Lusaka. Asked if he and his 21-man Inyandza Movement delegation and the ANC-led delegation had discussed the spiralling township violence which has claimed many lives, Mabuza said: "We didn't talk about violence. "After all, I didn't have a grenade in my pocket." Pressed on the question of violence, particularly on the ANC's vow to step up its armed struggle and hit "soft" targets, Mabuza

said: "We had no interest in this violence matter. "And it's high time questions were also asked about apartheid violence." Earlier, the busy airport came to a standstill when chanting Inyandza members in brown uniforms welcomed Mabuza and his party back from Lusaka. A joint ANC-Inyandza statement said the two groups were united in their opposition to separate development, the tricameral parliament, bantustans, community councils, re-

gional services councils and the proposed national statutory council. "The ANC emphasised the need for the greatest possible mobilisation of all the people of our country to join in a united political action against the apartheid regime," the statement said. It said it was important that political organisations working within Pretoria-created institutions "should, in the interest of all the people of our country, actively involve them-

selves in the genuine liberation of our country". The statement called for the intensification of the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners. A highlight was the audience granted by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and the Tanzanian High Commission in Zambia, Sale Tambwe. "President Kaunda is monitoring the situation here," Mabuza said. "He is a great son of Africa, a great statesman." ★ The Zambia Daily Mail reported this week that Mabuza had pledged to mobilise support for the ANC in South Africa.

The newspaper also quoted the KaNgwane leader as saying he would urge other homeland leaders "to be on the side of the ANC". In another development

after Mabuza's visit, sources in Zambia were reported to have said a number of homeland leaders have sent out "feelers" to Lusaka about meetings with the ANC soon.

**'Eminent' group talks to Tambo**  
 A COMMONWEALTH team trying to promote peaceful change in South Africa met African National Congress leaders this week. CITY P. 9/3/86

Five of the group - dubbed the Eminent Persons Group - accompanied by Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal, were received by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. Kaunda hosted a dinner for the group and ANC leaders, including Oliver Tambo. ● The group was set up at last October's Commonwealth summit to promote dialogue between Pretoria and the black majority.

**PUBLIC**

ANC and unions reach accord

Sunday Times Reporter: London

THE banned African National Congress and South Africa's two major nonracial trade unions have reached a "common understanding" on a number of matters after a three-day meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, this week.

Afterwards a spokesman described the meeting as an "historic" move in achieving black unity against apartheid.

A lengthy joint statement — which the Sunday Times may not print in terms of a law prohibiting the publication of statements which further the aims of banned organisations such as the ANC — indicated a high degree of agreement in several fields.

The statement was issued by the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosas) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sacos).

RED SA EXILE DIES ON VISIT

Sunday Times Reporter: London

THE general secretary of the banned South African Communist Party, Moses Mabhida, 62, died while on a visit to Maputo yesterday.

Mr Mabhida joined the SACP in 1942 and at the time of his death was a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and of the national executive of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

Mr Mabhida, who went into exile in 1960, took part in all the major anti-apartheid campaigns in the '50s, including the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, and was particularly involved in the black trade union movement.

He is believed to have died of natural causes.

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SUN. TIMES. 9/2/88 (20)

# Violence at ANC funeral

**Sunday Times Reporters**  
VIOLENCE flared briefly at the funeral of an alleged ANC cadre when riot police dispersed about 3 000 mourners in Soweto yesterday.

Witnesses said at least three people were slightly injured and several others arrested when police allegedly fired teargas canisters.

The funeral of Mr Cornelius Oupa Tau — who police say blew himself up with a

grenade last Sunday while they were trying to arrest him — started peacefully but erupted towards the end.

In Fort Beaufort, released detainees reportedly clashed with police yesterday, and others have sparked a row over allegations that they were tortured during their detention.

A police unrest report claimed a group of recently released detainees — two

men, six teenage boys and two teenage girls — were arrested in Fort Beaufort.

In the Port Elizabeth township of Kwazakhele, a one-year-old baby fainted after inhaling teargas fumes during a funeral of unrest victims.

Several stoning incidents in which private vehicles were damaged occurred at Joza near Grahamstown.

Similar incidents were re-

ported from Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, and Mohlakeng, near Randfontein.

At Tembisa on the East Rand, about five blacks set fire to a delivery vehicle.

Meanwhile, police in Johannesburg are tightening security at all police stations after the second bombing incident in a week.

Police detonated a bomb found in the Hillbrow police station late on Friday night.

# Nair sues Le Grange

CP Correspondent

NATAL UDF vice-president Billy Nair – one of the “British Consulate Six” – is suing Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange for R50 000.

Nair – who has served 20 years on Robben Island for ANC activities – claims two cops assaulted him while he was detained for 49 days under the Internal Security Act last year.

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SPECIAL  
10/3/86

## CBS executive in SA for talks

A top CBS television network executive, Mr David Buksbaum, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and will join three members of his company in talks with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, today.

Mr Bill Mutschmann, one of the network's three staff members who, on Friday, were told to leave South Africa, said that Mr Buksbaum, a CBS vice-president in charge of news coverage, "is here to observe or support at our meeting with the Minister".

He said there was no other comment as the matter was sub judice. — Sapa.

STAR 10/3/86

## Pwawu workers will get rises

The Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (Pwawu) has reached a wage agreement with Nampak's Printpak Gravure, which will see workers getting rises of up to R18,50 a week.

Agreement was reached last week through mediation after the union had declared a dispute in January.

A Pwawu spokesman said the union had asked for R20 a week across-the-board at the time.

The union had also demanded that May 1 and June 16 be recognised as paid holidays for employees. The spokesman said Printpak had indicated a willingness to discuss the issue.

Nine of the 74 detainees released said during a Press conference on Friday they had been tortured, assaulted and deprived of food and exercise.

Mr Sidney Molekane (24), president of the Soweto Youth Congress, who was detained on July 21 last year, alleged he was assaulted during the first three days of his detention.

He said he had been subjected to various forms of torture, including the "helicopter treat-

tened with a back of my head

## Senior off

Assaults were prison warders officers, and thrown into si Johannesburg

Colonel Imm He said he had been subjected the allegation channels exist quests and c

STAR 10/3/86

## Murder probe 3 offer to testify

CAPE TOWN — Three witnesses to the Guguletu gun battle in which police shot and killed seven suspected urban guerillas last Monday have agreed to come forward and testify publicly at a possible murder hearing.

The murder probe began after the three claimed police had shot and killed a man after he had attempted to give himself up and had shot another man lying on the ground.

A *Cape Times* crime reporter, Mr Chris Bateman, will tomorrow hand police an affidavit in terms of a Section 205 subpoena served on him after the witnesses' claims were published.

The subpoena requires that Mr Bateman furnish the names and addresses of the three witnesses by Wednesday.

Police have obtained statements from two of the three witnesses, the *Cape Times* said.

These witnesses released Mr Bateman from his obligation not to furnish their names soon after making affidavits to the police.

A third man, traced by the *Cape Times*, said he was "quite prepared" to testify.

The police said a special task force was withdrawing from a counter-ambush when the guerillas were inadvertently uncovered.

STAR 10/3/86

## Alleged petrol-bomber shot dead

A man who allegedly hurled a petrol bomb at a house was shot dead by police in a Cape township last night, police reported today.

A woman passerby was "slightly wounded" in the shooting, they added.

The incident took place at Bongweni, near Cookhouse, where police also found the body of a 15-year-old youth who had been hacked to death.

Police said in their morning unrest-

situation report that it was not known if the boy's death was related to unrest.

At Zwide, near Port Elizabeth, police reported various stonings and petrol-bombings of homes, cars and a school.

Four men were arrested in kwaNdebele after a car was stoned and in Soweto, three people — two men and a woman — were arrested after the stoning and petrol-bombing of a policeman's house. — Sapa.

CALL 7-15/10/3/86

# SACP leader Mabhida dies

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Joe Slovo is believed to be a front-runner to lead the banned South African Communist Party following the death of its veteran general secretary, Mr Moses Mabhida, 62, on Saturday.

Mr Mabhida, who joined the SACP in 1942 and fled into exile in 1960, died in Maputo of a heart attack.

He was an executive member of the African National Congress and vice-president of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

After the 1960 Sharpeville shootings he left South Africa to present the case of black unions to the International Labour Organization, and never returned. He was made the party's general secretary in 1981.

Mr Slovo, 59, who was a brilliant and prominent advocate in South Africa before fleeing into exile, is considered the most capable person to succeed Mr Mabhida.

Mr Slovo is deputy commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

IN THE present climate, it is a moot point if the tax system can be improved to benefit SA society. Given the downward spiral of SA's economy and government's urgent need for increased revenues to finance socio-political modernisation programmes, it is apparent the forthcoming Budget can change nothing.

It can only reflect the outcome of the decisions we've taken in the past and the decisions we're currently taking. So says 41-year-old tax specialist Costa Divaris.

Can he suggest a blueprint of bold initiatives for urgent reforms? From the taxpayers' point of view, the present system is grossly inefficient. And it takes a terrible toll. Tax payments by individuals increased 40% in the past 15 years. They now total close on 25% of GDP; 10 years ago the figure was a relatively modest 18%.

How can the present system be restructured to relieve the tax burden? I ask Divaris. Confident and knowledgeable, he is known to have a very strong handwriting of his own, backed up with an impressive CV on matters of tax.

He is the author of "The Ned-Equity Tax Guide to Company-owned Policies" and co-author of "Silke on South African Income Tax," "Old Mutual Income Tax Guide" and "In Touch with the Sixth Schedule."

He is also editor-in-chief of "Businessman's Law" and co-editor of "Juta's Tax Service." He co-edits and co-founded "Juta's GST, Tax Planning and Taxgram." He runs BSP Seminars on tax and is a partner in Silke Divaris Stein and Divaris Stein Publishers.

He doesn't spout forth conventional wisdoms in his seventh floor African Life eyrie. Instead, sitting behind a round, glass-topped table which displays a splendid reclining bronze nude sculpted by Naomi Press, he parries my questions about reform imperatives.

With a grivitas born of passion for the issue under discussion, he claims: "South Africans are thoroughly bored with people coming out with prescriptions of what we should be doing."

"We're getting to the situation where you get three South Africans together and what emerges is four reform proposals, whether it's for tax or politics. They're closely linked."

"What we need to realise is there are no options. That we have painted ourselves into a corner on both the tax front and politically. We have no room to manoeuvre."

His voice rises as he undercores the core issue. "We have to consider what is politically possible. Not wonderful schemes. Not proposals. Not things that will change the face of society. And what is politically possible? I'm afraid, Mr and Mrs SA, that if you look carefully enough, very few things are politically possible — both in tax and ordinary politics."

Glub assurances on the tax system he does not dish out. Rather, he sees the tax problem as one more dimension in an overall troubled scenario. Enmeshed in a cycle of escalating violence, South Africans appear to be in the middle of a middle-through mood with little clear direction as to where they should be going.

Tax and politics are part of the same problem, Divaris emphasises. "Because we run our tax system the same way we run the country — for the purpose of control and for preserving Afrikaner and National Party hegemony. We run it without any

# Bureaucracy and big business are destroying SA

Tax expert COSTA DIVARIS talking to Hellouise Truswell

underlying philosophy. And we run it without faith.

"SA's biggest problem today is that it has no faith. We have no faith in ourselves, no faith in our people, no faith in what we can do and achieve."

Divaris does not foresee any problem for government in balancing the forthcoming Budget. "For the moment it is sitting pretty. Its fiscal base is secure. It knows, even though it can't control its spending, that it has enough wealth left in the country to raid that wealth and make the Budget balance."

The crunch comes later, says Divaris. "The question I'm asking is how are they going to balance the 1990 Budget when they are going to be looking for R60bn to R87bn?"

"For some reason, politicians and businessmen have very short horizons. They're using up the easy sources of wealth. They are destroying that wealth because they have created a wonderful system for destroying wealth."

The system, he explains, is the bureaucracy. "It is going on like a doomed train rushing at 100-miles-an-hour down the tracks that leads to the bridge that's been blown up. They're enjoying that ride. As long as there's rail in front of them, they're stoking the fires. We can only hope we won't be around when they reach the bridge that isn't there."

The bureaucracy, he points out, grows bigger at the rate of 20% every year. "Most of our money gets thrown away on salaries of bureaucrats. The talk is that more than R1bn a month is spent on salaries."

What is called for is a change in philosophical outlook, he notes. Until then, you can't change institutions. "Until that and our morality changes we are going to carry on as we are at the moment. I think it is leading to the path of destruction."

He believes the massive bureaucracy on the one hand and big business on the other are destroying the country. "Big business blatantly manipulates the tax system for its own benefit. You just have to look at the collections coming from big companies and the mines, for example. Their contribution on a proportionate basis is minuscule because they have used the system."

Instead, he believes, big business needs to examine its own behaviour.

"What it's doing at the moment is demeaning. Where was it all this time? Now it's jumping up and down when it sees the cost of the system

from which it's been benefitting all these years. Now it's running around like a chicken with its head off.

"Let's hope the cost increases to such a point that big business sits down and thinks more deeply about what it can do to make the long-term changes needed."

As he says, he can't tell big business what to do. But he suggests they analyse their long-term interests. "Not just the next reporting date. You know, one of our major faults in this country is our greed for unearned wealth."

Big business, he notes, might decide it would pay them in the long-term to stop asking for favours from government. "They might just perceive that the favours are destroying the economy — the individual favours that have short-term benefits but none in the long-term."

Tax concessions; import protection from overseas competition; monopoly powers granted by government; standards imposed to keep competition out; regulated prices; cartels maintained by government.

All sorts of things that have a short-term effect to make the balance sheet look great. We are a country that is run on paper. The bureaucracy judges everything by what is said on paper. And business seems to judge everything by what is said on balance sheets.

One of the problems in SA, warns Divaris, is "we practice a statist philosophy. Government is consistently chosen in favour of the individual. We have the most incredible amount of government intervention, with dire results."

"For example, we have seen the utter destruction of the motor car industry, which is an outcome of our philosophical outlook. Does that stop us from carrying on?"

At the moment the blight is spreading to "commercial vehicles. And we're doing this again with the computer industry, with textile machinery. We are doing it with the paper industry. We know these systems fail to produce moral or efficient results. Why do we do it? I believe there are two reasons.

"First and foremost is that we're under the power of a massive bureaucracy, and secondly we are under the power of big business. Between the two of them they are destroying us."

He points the finger at tax authorities. "Despite their professing to be unconcerned with economic realities,



□ DIVARIS ... "no options"

they believe they have the right and the duty to secure certain economic results through the tax system.

"For example, they'll destroy particular products for industry through the tax system without any compensation whatever. And they'll favour others. The most immoral propositions can be put to them by Parliament and they'll enforce them."

The policies which are framed, he says, are not necessarily made by any governing body as such. "They're made by vested interests that are seeping their influence into the system and controlling it at a thousand different points."

The same thing happens in tax, he believes. "Years ago, officials in the tax department began saying we must cut out tax concessions, tax expenditures, disguised ways of benefiting vested interests. Since then we have had more tax expenditures, not less."

What role can the Margo Commission on Tax Reform play in improving the tax structure? "It can make as many proposals as it likes. If they are not politically feasible in the context of our philosophy and our moral precepts, they will have no effect whatsoever."

He believes that radical changes that would have a positive effect would be defeated by vested interests. "We've had this before. We have had radical proposals where an immediate change is made. What happens is the old system carries on working as it has always worked. In the end, the radical change has been whittled away."

As an example he quotes the introduction of GST. "We then made a significant decrease in income tax, because we had found a new source of revenue. The theory was that the tax burden would be distributed more equitably. It would be more efficient. People would be more productive because there were less taxes.

"That was the story line. It concealed the true facts that a new source of wealth had been created. A new source of revenue means that the man in the street is going to be robbed. That's exactly what happened, because after that income tax and sales tax both went up. So what is the use of making proposals that will be defeated and destroyed by institutional constraints ..."

Prescriptions and reform programmes, he says, are simply going to be smashed in the system. "The same thing applies to tax. I see, with all due respect, the current commission of enquiry is being almost irrelevant. It is delaying tactics.

"Because it has no power it can not achieve fundamental change. It has in fact enabled gross abdication of responsibility of the authorities. In the last few years the authorities have simply abdicated from their responsibility of running a sound, reasonable, efficient and — above all — moral tax system because the commission is going to look at it all. It has been a device for not doing anything about the tax system."

## THE SHARP END/Peter Wilhelm

SO THEN ... it seems that we're the fourth happiest people in the world. This applies to white South Africans; blacks are the 14th happiest, more so than the people of France and Spain, but less so than Chileans. All this according to the World Happiness Index, compiled by a London-based market research outfit.

The Index lists the top 20 happy nations in descending order of well-

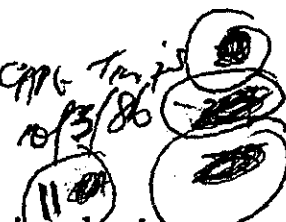
# Happy, happy

the economy and politics. But British gremlins have only to say:



The Japanese are worse off than the French because they have to get up early in the morning to invent new microchips to go with their fische (an

CAP 6 Times  
10/3/86  
11



## Brigade in ANC colours

Staff Reporter

THE Rev Allan Boesak was met in De Aar at the weekend by a youth brigade dressed in African National Congress colours.

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and United Democratic Front patron was in the area for the launch of a new branch of the South African Council of Churches, the Midlands Council.

Dr Boesak was escorted through the streets of the Wentworth coloured area of De Aar to Nonzwakazi by about 200 youths dressed in black and khaki uniforms adorned with rosettes, bow ties or "Free Mandela" stickers in black, green and gold. Police did not intervene.

● About 2 000 people attended the SACC council launch in Middelburg, which included a service to commemorate the deaths of a number of civil-rights activists.

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# The vital questions

## PART ONE

By the end of June we may be in our worst position yet. The ultimatums set by Cosatu, Bishop Tutu and the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee will have matured, as will the 10th anniversary of Soweto '76. There is likely to be an upturn in the number of political deaths and their self-perpetuating funerals, a downturn in the rand and a new wave of emigration and despair.

Government will doubtless respond by more reforms, which:

- The Right denounces as leading to black domination.
- The Left denounces as modernising white domination.
- Stir short-term hope in the centre, but do not allay the belief that we are ordained to violence and disturbance by inevitable struggle between black liberation and white resistance.

This belief springs from a premise which we consider so self-evident that we never examine it. We assume that black liberation means that whites lose out.

### Attrition

We know there will be no rest until one man, one vote is achieved. But since white people believe this means their destruction, we settle in for a war of attrition, hoping that reforms and compromises will stave off the worst.

- But does black freedom have to mean white destruction?
- Is there a way of ensuring a stable, democratic, outcome?
- Does democracy mean "black rule"?
- Does it relegate whites to an impotent minority?

These questions are worth asking, if we seek true peace.

They are seldom asked, because we do not seek true peace. We take it as a remote ideal, unrelated to our reality.

But the lack of a political target is what causes the problems of the present. Because there is no faith in the future the economy suffers. Because white people live under the cloud of eventual "black takeover", all black advancement meets resistance as a "thin end of the wedge".

Because black co-operation strengthens the State, black people cannot freely exercise civic responsibility or even hold normal personal ambitions. Because every

Denis Beckett (right), editor of Frontline magazine, argues in the recent book "Permanent Peace" that white fears of black liberation can be disposed of by the creation of a fully democratic structure. In a three-part series written for *The Star*, Beckett outlines the need for "intensive democracy". Today's first part maintains that a full-scale resolution has to be sought because the half-measures embodied in the ideas of reform, negotiation and power-sharing do more harm than good.



activity is coloured by its effects vis-a-vis apartheid, issues from education to industrial relations to civic festivals become sources of unnecessary tension.

No amount of reform can solve these things. They are built-in consequences of the absence of a political foundation which society can agree on.

Reforms may make people's lives easier, but they do not make South Africa a more secure place. They make it a less secure place.

Each reform does something to inflame the black liberation struggle — "see, we've got them on the run".

Each reform also strengthens resistance from white people in fear of being pushed ever closer to the point where "the blacks take over".

In particular, the reformist principle of power-sharing has a disastrous effect. The "moderates" who participate are branded as "traitors", and the idea of moderation becomes linked with betrayal.

If blacks were to acquire half the central power, this does not stop the conflict. The forces which reject compromise scent victory and pursue boycotts and warfare with increased vigour. The forces which co-operate set out to increase the proportion of black power to reflect equality of population. White people

see their own power as diminishing inexorably towards oblivion, and resist accordingly.

The longer this process goes on, the more damage is done. Reformists hope, in defiance of the evidence, that the "moderates" will prevail. But even if a major reform move should win widespread black support for the time being, anything which leaves unfinished business in terms of further black access to a higher quality of citizenship leaves the core conflict intact.

Insofar as the mood of reform contributes to better national housekeeping, through improved education, housing and the like, it is obviously to the good.

But in the political sense there is little hope in "faster reform". The faster reform proceeds, the closer we get to the vortex of conflict.

The same effect applies to a negotiated compromise. If a structure involving minority protections or a federal arrangement were initially agreed, it would form a new basis for the same conflict.

In any case, it is unlikely that a negotiated settlement could be agreed or even entered into. Both major parties have sound reasons for rejecting it.

For the ANC and most other black factions, a single common enemy is the absolute baseline. The

closer the Government comes to offering to negotiate, the more encouragement it gives to the revolutionary forces.

The route of negotiation, like the route of reform, is a whirlpool. Behind each concession lurks a new demand.

White people see their backs being forced to the wall. Black people see the task at hand as being to "defeat the whites". Both are impelled towards ethnic unity, and the perception of the South African conflict as a matter of "the whites versus the blacks" is continually fortified.

The outcome I want to see to the South African predicament is an outcome in which the peculiar conflict which faces us is disposed of — a "first prize" outcome.

One of the problems in seeking this is the belief that not only is "first prize" unattainable, but "second prize" is nearly as good.

But in reality there is no such thing as "second prize". It's first prize or no prize at all.

### Disputes

First prize does not mean that disputes disappear. It means a foundation on which disputes can be handled effectively, which cannot happen while the political structure itself is the focus of conflict.

Any such structure must simultaneously fulfil the demand for black liberation and the demand for white security. If it compromises either of these criteria, it remains in dispute.

An instant response is to say that it is impossible for Azapo and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging to co-exist in the same society. But the Ku Klux Klan and the Nation of Islam co-exist in America, which is not conspicuously facing collapse.

The driving force behind Nationalist and Conservative determination is the fear that if it is not "our" country then it is "theirs".

Yet why should it be either? The European democracies were once ruled by upper-classes whose fear that they would be suppressed once they relinquished control turned out to be unfounded? Have we a lesson to learn?

● **TOMORROW: Is it possible to create a democratic structure strong enough to guarantee that it works?**

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SAPAC 10/3/86

# SA Communist Party leader Mabhida dies

10/3/66

The Star's Africa  
News Service

11A

MAPUTO — General secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Moses Mabhida, has died, aged 63.

Mr Mabhida, also a member of the national executive of the ANC and vice-president of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), died of a heart attack on Saturday. He suffered a stroke last year.

Since going into exile in 1960, he has held leading positions in the Communist Party and the ANC, including that of political commissar for the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

An ANC statement describes him as a great revolutionary whose work contributed enormously to the building up of the international campaign for the total isolation of South Africa and for support for the ANC and the democratic movement of the country.

The ANC plans to bury Mr Mabhida in Lusaka, where the organisation has its headquarters.



# UDF accuses Botha

11/3/86 (11A) DISPATCH

EAST LONDON — The Border region of the United Democratic Front has denounced the current political situation in South Africa.

In a statement released after its closed second annual meeting here at the weekend, the UDF said it had been able to inflict telling blows against apartheid.

"It is such blows that have forced Botha and his minority regime to finally confess that apartheid is evil.

"Even as Le Grange's forces continue to mete out violence against our people and their organisations, our people continue to render apartheid unworkable.

"Even Botha's imperialist allies are worried about us.

"Only dreamers and opportunists like K. D. Matanzima still regard apartheid as a noble ideology."

The statement said if President Botha meant what he said about apartheid, he would release people convicted or detained for opposing apartheid, dismantle all apartheid structures, unban all the "people's" organisations, allow ex-

iles to return and stop destabilising African states.

The statement accused President Botha of being committed to apartheid and said his offer to release Nelson Mandela had been aimed at hoodwinking the international community into believing that his reforms were being effected.

"If Botha were serious and genuine about lifting the state of emergency, he would not be extending quasi-martial lawpower to the army.

"If Botha was serious about repealing the pass laws he would abolish the Bantustans and scrap the Population

Registration Act," the statement said.

● Two presidents were elected at the annual meeting of the Border UDF.

They are 75-year-old Mr T. Chalimagne who spent two terms of imprisonment on Robben Island, and another former prisoner, Mr M. George.

The Rev M. A. Stofile is general secretary with Miss L. Meyer as administrative secretary.

Mr M. Goci takes over from Mr Andrew Hendricks as publicity secretary while two treasurers have been elected: Mr H. Siwisa and Mr S. Nube.

at 3:15  
MPC inquest  
SMP  
postponed (11)

HUMANSDORP — A formal inquest into the death of Mrs Molly Blackburn, PFF MPC for Walmer, was postponed to April 11 by a Humansdorp magistrate yesterday so that medical evidence could be led.

Mr Knoetze had found that, from written statements, Mrs Blackburn died as a result of multiple injuries sustained in an accident on the national road between Humansdorp and Kareedow.

But he said he would reserve his findings until after the evidence of the doctor who conducted the autopsy on Mrs Blackburn.

The magistrate found that Mr Brian Bishop, the driver of the car in which Mrs Blackburn was a passenger, died of multiple fractured ribs. — Sapa.

# Soweto five face treason and terrorism charges

By Estelle Trengove and Jenni Tennant

Veteran anti-apartheid activist and United Democratic Front patron Mrs Albertina Sisulu was at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday when her nephew appeared with four others on charges of treason and terrorism.

The five entered the dock singing. They are appearing in connection with several incidents, including a shoot-out with police near Vereeniging, an attack on two policemen near the Jabulani police station in which a constable was killed, and two bombings of policemen's cars.

The men are Mr James Mncedise Hamilton Dubasi (28) and Mrs Sisulu's nephew, Mr Jongumuzi Sisulu (26), Mr Lumkile Happy Mkefa (21), Mr David Matsose (24) and Mr Joseph Themba Maja (25), all of Soweto.

They were not asked to plead and their appearance lasted barely 15 minutes.

## ELECTRICITY PYLON DESTROYED

The State claims the men were members or supporters of the banned African National Congress and the following allegations have been made against them:

- Mr Dubasi and another member of the ANC allegedly sabotaged an electricity pylon in Mamelodi, Pretoria, causing an interruption in the power supply to large areas in and around Pretoria on August 20 1983.
- On the night of March 11 1984 Mr Dubasi, Mr Sisulu and two others allegedly tried to sabotage a railway bridge on the Golden Highway near Vereeniging. A police vehicle arrived on the scene. Shots were exchanged. The men fled into the nearby farmlands and escaped.
- In May 1984 Mr Mkefa allegedly attached a bomb to a security policeman's car. It exploded the next morning. Mr Mkefa allegedly also exploded two hand grenades.



Mrs Albertina Sisulu was mobbed by foreign Pressmen as she left the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, where her nephew faces charges of treason and terrorism.

- In mid-1984 Mr Dubasi and Mr Sisulu allegedly attached explosives to a railway pylon near New Caledonia station. The explosives were discovered by a railway worker and later defused.
- Mr Mkefa allegedly attached a bomb to the car of Detective Warrant-Officer R R Ranaka in July 1984. The car was destroyed.
- One night in July 1984 two policemen on duty at Jabulani police station went to buy a snack at a fast-food outlet. Constable N B Maphala waited in the car. Mr Dubasi, Mr Sisulu and Mr Mkefa were allegedly waiting nearby, each carrying a loaded AK-47 rifle. When Constable K S Tsotetsi returned with the food the three men allegedly opened fire and ran away. Constable Tsotetsi was killed and Constable Maphala seriously injured.

The hearing continues today.

# Police get affidavits on Cape shootings

CAPE TOWN — An affidavit containing the names and addresses of three witnesses to the gun battle in Guguletu last Monday when police shot and killed seven suspected urban guerillas was handed to the Murder and Robbery Unit in Bishop Lavis by the *Cape Times* yesterday.

The affidavit was in terms of a section 205 subpoena served on crime reporter Chris Bateman last week.

Police opened a murder docket after the *Cape Times* published claims by the three witnesses that police shot and killed a man after he had attempted to give himself up and shot another man lying on the ground.

Two witnesses released Mr Bateman from his obligation not to furnish their names soon after making affidavits to the police.

A third man said he was prepared to testify.

Mr Bateman had until today to furnish the names to police or face questions before a magistrate.

Refusal to furnish names carries a penalty of up to five years' jail under section 205. — Sapa.

— it had to run before it could crawl. Few people in the corporation understood the voracity of the medium, or the ways it could happily co-exist with radio. The present financial difficulties (and, to some extent, the confusion in programming philosophy) can be ascribed at least in part to this naivete.

In the immediate future at least, money will be tight. Eksteen says privatisation of some kind may be considered, but he is quick to argue that this will not be an instant solution. Experts who have inside knowledge

of the SABC predict that, even if the legal monopoly is relaxed to some extent, control of news and political programming will be retained.

The SABC is not a State department, and it must pay its way. Yet for its two major sources of income — advertising and licence fees — it remains at the mercy of the economy and Parliament. Men in senior positions seem well-intentioned; many are talented and some are imaginative. All those interviewed by the *FM* seem almost desperate to get things right.

But, despite the good intentions, bloodletting and political infighting, the SABC remains a bureaucracy — there lies the key to its present image. However you streamline it, bureaucracy tends to kill initiative and corporate adventure, inspiring only caution and conservatism.

What the SABC really needs, apart from more money, is the sharp, prodding stick of unfettered competition. This applies nowhere more than in its political coverage. Right now, the consumer is captive; he cannot switch across, only off. ■

LABOUR MATTERS

## Inkatha goes shopping

There is a pamphlet doing the rounds in Natal at present which says: "Vote for jobs. Not hunger. Do you want the factories to close? . . . If you want to keep your job join the new giant labour union at King's Park on May 1."

The campaign is part of the build-up to the launch in Durban of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa). On the same day, at nearby Currie's Fountain, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) will be staging a May Day rally — one of many it will be holding around the country.

The congruence of the two Durban events is fitting. For the *raison d'être* of Uwusa — brainchild of the Inkatha central committee and some disaffected members and officials of Cosatu's Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union (PWAU) — is opposition to Cosatu.

There has long been an uneasy relationship between the emergent union movement and Inkatha. But in the past, because of an overlap in membership, the unions — and especially the now-defunct Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) — tended to downplay the differences. However, at the launch of Cosatu last December, its new president — Elijah Barayi — made a stinging attack on homeland leaders. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came in for particularly heavy criticism.

The response to this, earlier this year, was Inkatha's decision to step seriously into the labour arena by backing Uwusa. The decision comes at a time when Inkatha, through this week's KwaNatal Indaba, is making bold moves to expand its sphere of influence and enhance Buthelezi's political standing.

Opposition to Cosatu's socialist orientation and its support for disinvestment are the central planks of Uwusa's ideology. And it has an ambitious programme.

According to Simon Conco, chairman of Inkatha's labour relations committee, the target areas for Uwusa are Natal and the Transvaal. A kingpin in this process is former PWAU official Philemon Gumede who has been entrusted with the task of establishing a regional structure in KwaZulu

**A free-enterprise, anti-disinvestment general union in direct competition with Cosatu — this is the outcome of Inkatha's long-heralded foray into the labour arena. While there is some scepticism, some employers are taking Uwusa seriously.**

to serve as an example to other regions. An Uwusa office has been opened in Germiston to facilitate organising on the East Rand, and another office on the West Rand will come into operation soon. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly will shortly be considering a Bill which will iron out differences between labour legislation in the homeland and SA.

Uwusa will start off as a general union, with the ultimate intention of creating separate industrial unions. Membership will be open to all, regardless of race or political affiliation. Says Conco: "We are going for organised and unorganised workers and for farm and domestic workers. We will put pressure on government to release the National Manpower Commission's investigation into union rights for farm labourers and domestics. If its recommendations are against extending such rights to these workers, we will pressurise government to change its mind."

Uwusa is also seeking to create alliances with other like-minded unions. According to Conco, several major unions have indicated willingness to ally themselves with Uwusa. He says they do not want to go public on this just now, but that Uwusa will name them on May 1. One potential ally is the Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa). Conco says a date for a meeting with Tucsa is being arranged. Another likely ally is the Black and Allied Workers' Union. So too is the National Union of Sugar Refining and Manufacturing Employees (NUSRME), the only union formally affiliated to Inkatha at present. But an alliance between Uwusa and the sugar union is only likely to occur when the split in NUSRME — the subject of two Supreme

Court cases — is settled.

Uwusa, which has already held a number of rallies and which is planning to stage more, claims that responses to its membership drive have been "very good indeed." It says it has gained members at Hlobane coalmine near Newcastle, a stronghold of Cosatu's National Union of Mineworkers; and that Cosatu members at a number of Natal factories have swapped allegiances. However, Conco refuses to state how many members Uwusa has signed up, or how many workers have signed stop-orders in its favour.

Cosatu's response will be critical to Uwusa's success. Spokesmen for Cosatu deny any knowledge of Uwusa making major inroads into its membership, although they do say some individuals may have been won over. Despite vigorous denials by Uwusa that it is a "sweetheart" union, Cosatu has repeatedly alleged that certain employers are aiding it by granting it access to factories and giving it financial support. This claim was repeated by some employers interviewed by the *FM*.

Cosatu spokesmen say this support — and the fact of Inkatha's backing — means the threat posed by Uwusa has to be taken seriously. According to Cosatu education secretary Alec Erwin, active steps have been taken to explain to members exactly what Cosatu stands for. Decisions about whether to remain in Cosatu, or to join Uwusa, will be left up to members.

Another spokesman says Cosatu's support for disinvestment does not mean that it wants factories to close and jobs to be lost. In its view, disinvestment is not the cause of unemployment but, rather, is one of the few forms of pressure that has forced the South African government to change. It therefore feels these pressures should continue — and be intensified if government remains "intransigent." Says the spokesman: "We are opposed to the constructive engagement argument. That has shown no sign of bringing anything positive. Rather, it has assisted government to delay change."

Cosatu says it also is being forced to look into methods of protecting its members against violence which it claims is being perpetrated by Inkatha supporters. Cosatu

Labour MP  
disagree  
on Boesak

Political Star

PARLIAMENT  
A Labour Party MP has dissociated himself from his Chief Whip's furious attack on what was termed Dr Allan Boesak's weak personal morality.

Chief whip Mr William Dietrich (LP, Bethelsdorp) attacked Dr Boesak — president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches — over his alleged affair with Miss Di Scott, then an employee of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The attack came unexpectedly in the middle of a House of Representatives debate on slavery, from which Mr Peter Mopp (LP, Border) dissociated himself.

"We must all be free and we must refrain from attacking each other," Mr Mopp said.

EXTRAVAGANT

Mr Dietrich said it was strange how those who denounced the political, economic and social evils of oppression, exploitation and injustice in such extravagant terms, were so weak in their personal morality.

Dr Boesak had campaigned around the world against "the wickedness of the South African system".

Yet this married father of two children had had an affair with a 30-year-old divorcee, he said.

Did his Bible and his conscience not tell him that he was sinning against God, his wife and children, as well as the woman involved? asked Mr Dietrich.

He then aggravated the situation by denying the affair for a month, against all the evidence. Mr Dietrich also tackled the SACC and Miss Scott.

The SACC, he said, not only had no qualms about employing a divorcee (Miss Scott), but also put her in charge of its youth desk.

The Star Bureau

# The eccentric, the ANC and a 'gun smear' plot

LONDON — Mr Tony Travers, the mysterious "gunsmith" named in an alleged South African plot to smear the African National Congress, is emerging as a naive and bungling adventurer.

The Observer on Sunday claimed that Mr Travers was acting for Beeld here in London, offering to sell arms to the ANC's Mr Solly Smith.

Mr Travers himself has denied the allegation, as has Beeld's bureau chief Chris Koole. Even Mr Smith said: "We are confident it was set up by the South Africans, but I couldn't go as far as to say Beeld or its correspondent here

were behind it."

Mr Smith told The Star here yesterday: "The whole thing began after I threw him out of our offices when he came saying he could sell us arms.

"I was immediately suspicious — and became even more so when it emerged that he went straight to Beeld's offices."

However, Mr Koole says: "I made no attempt to deny that Tony Travers came to my office, not once, as The Observer says, but several times.

"Each time he came, claiming the ANC was buying arms illegally here, like any other

newspaperman, I said, come back when you've got some proof. He came back several times, but never had any proof, and I didn't even bother to tell my office in Johannesburg about his claim.

"The whole thing came as a big surprise to them, and they were furious, wanting to know what I was up to. They were angry, and so was I, at the implication that I was some sort of an agent operating in London to smear the ANC. Beeld makes no secret that it supports the Government. Dit is mos die ampelike mondstuk, but to claim we were setting up

the ANC is ridiculous. It's just as likely that the ANC was setting us up."

Mr Koole said he was satisfied from papers Mr Travers produced that he had been deported from South Africa in 1957.

"His story was consistently that he wanted to prove to the South African authorities that he was 'a friend' so that he could return," Mr Koole added.

Asked how Mr Travers struck him, Mr Koole said: "I think he is a naive and rather silly person."

Mr Travers's alleged involvement in "arms running" has

come as a surprise to former associates, most of whom consider he lived partly in a world of fantasy.

One man — who knew him when he was involved in an organisation rescuing endangered animals — said: "Not to put too fine a point on it, he always seemed a bit excessive. He was an eccentric, I suppose you'd say.

"I understand that after he separated from his wife, Jeanette, he became very lonely and wanted nothing more than to go back to South Africa to join his daughter there."

And Dr Terence Skinner,

whom Mr Travers invited to join his animal care organisation, remembers him as "a bit of a hot-air merchant".

He said: "I haven't seen him for some years, but Tony always was a Walter Mitty character with slight delusions of grandeur, although he also had some quite remarkable qualities.

"He was quite fearless and an excellent shot. It's true he was interested in arms, but in an entirely amateur sort of way — not the kind of interest which I would have thought would make a gun-runner, although perhaps I do him a dis-

service."

Mr Travers, who was living in Sunbury-on-Thames, subsequently moved to Suffolk.

But up until the time he left, he was known locally as "the crazy cat man" and unsympathetic residents claim the various rescued animals he lived with in a house called The Pines nearly ripped his home apart.

One visitor asked how to find the house. "Turn left and follow the smell," a local replied.

Among his "pets" were two ocelots called Tippy and Pasha, a puma called Pupur and a fox called Stinky.

He also had a three-legged leopard called Poppet in whose cage he used to sleep whenever she came on heat.

"My company keeps her quiet," he explained at the time. "Otherwise the neighbours complain about the noise she makes."

Of his latest alleged escapade, however, another former associate said: "I would think Tony has got caught up in something bigger than he bargained for. As I remember him, he enjoyed a good story — telling it and living it. I can't see him as a big illegal arms dealer. A go-between, perhaps, and hardly even that."

Mr Travers was not available last night for comment.

~~TOP~~ 11P ~~TOP~~

## Parliament and Politics

# KwaNatal plan may suit govt

### Political Staff

THE KwaNatal plan for closer co-operation at executive and administrative level between Natal and KwaZulu is already provided for in legislation the government has been working on for some time.

It appears that the proposals put to the government in Cape Town yesterday by the Natal Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Margosuthu Buthelezi, will fit neatly into plans for future provincial tier government.

### Cabinet

Nationalist sources suggested yesterday it will provide for close co-operation on a regional basis and would probably satisfy the needs of Natal/KwaZulu as put to Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development,

yesterday.

Mr Heunis said at a press conference after yesterday's talks that the proposals would be submitted to the cabinet.

If, as is thought, the proposals fit into current government thinking, the KwaNatal plan could start operating by the middle of the year.

Chief Buthelezi said that he and Mr Frank Martin had formally informed Mr Heunis that their ultimate goal was a joint legislature.

Rejection of the KwaNatal proposals would confirm the views of people who said there was no future in a negotiated settlement and that fighting was the only thing left, the chief said at the press conference.

### Savings

Natal and KwaZulu could save millions of rand a year through proposals for joint administration of the two regions, Mr Cadman said yesterday in a memorandum.

"For example, we believe that annual savings of between R2 million and R4 million are possible should both KwaZulu and ourselves purchase pharmaceutical requirements jointly," he said.

"This is only one example and I can assure you there are many others.

"In fact, we have identified 14 other fields of co-operation such as road traffic, education,

libraries, computers, planning, nature conservation and recreation, roads and the creation of employment opportunities ...

"The body we have in mind would, dependent on the nature of the function concerned, have to account to Parliament, the Legislative Assembly of KwaZulu, the Natal Exco or the KwaZulu Cabinet as the case may be.

"Equal representation would be afforded to both Natal and KwaZulu, the chairmanship will alternate on a mutually agreed basis, and decisions will be by consensus.


### Disagreement

"In the event of a disagreement, the matter will be referred to the Administrator of Natal and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu jointly for determination."

Mr Cadman said provision could be made for joint occasional and standing committees of the JEA and the creation of statutory bodies similar in concept to the Natal Parks, Game and Fish Preservation Board, the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission and others which would be responsible to the JEA.

He said the meeting was of historic significance "because I believe the welfare of the people we represent can be greatly improved were the government to accept our proposals".

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# 2 UDF MEN BANNED

**TWO prominent eastern Cape political activists were yesterday banned in terms of the Internal Security Act.**

Mr Mkhuseli Jack, head of the Consumer Boycott Committee and chairman of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, and Mr Henry Fazzie, vice president of the United Democratic Front in the eastern Cape, were detained by the Security Police in Port Elizabeth yesterday morning.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the eastern Cape, said the orders were in terms of Section 19 (1) A and Section 20 (A) of the Internal Security Act.

Restrictions on the two include confinement to their homes at night and at weekends, restriction of their movements to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district, and prohibitions on attending public meetings and being quoted by the media.

Their ban came only a day after a boycott of white-owned shops was lifted.

UDF president in the eastern Cape Mr Edgar Ngoyi said security police fetched Mr Fazzie from the UDF offices at about 11am. Mr Jack was stopped while driv-

ing through New Brighton township at about 10am. They were later released.

The UDF in the eastern Cape condemned the bannings, adding that they increased the probability of the consumer boycott being resumed.

## Apartheid

The Azanian People's Organisation publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said the bannings were a demonstration that the Government is incapable of withstanding opposition from people who do not agree with apartheid.

"The much vaunted move towards reform is furthermore showed to be void by this repres-

sive act," he said.

The banning orders were signed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Both men were detained last year during the four-month boycott which strangled trade at white shops, reducing some to near bankruptcy.

The banning of the two has left commerce and industry aghast.

The director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Gilson, said yesterday the chamber would "as a matter of urgency, carefully consider what action it is going to take".

Mr Gilson said: "We greet this banning news

with shock and dismay.

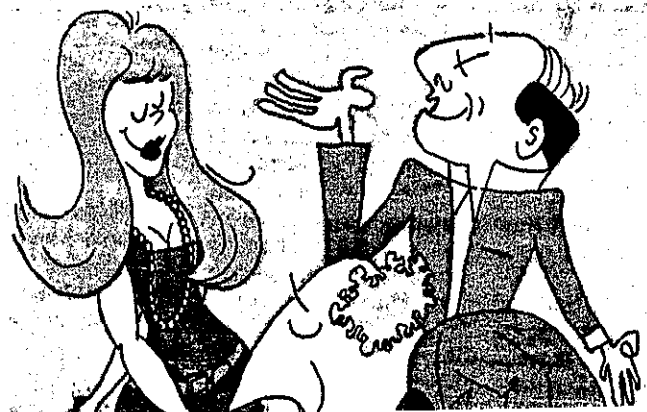
A carefully cultivated climate of negotiations is now in extreme jeopardy."

The national executive of the United Democratic Front has strongly criticised the banning of Mr Jack and Mr Fazzie.

A UDF statement issued to Sapa in Johannesburg yesterday said: "The banning and house arrest of two senior UDF members is part of a continuing onslaught against the UDF and its affiliates.

"These bannings confirm our view that the lifting of the state of emergency was merely an attempt to placate international opinion."

"When introduced to a lady, I can never remember who should make the first move to shake hands.  
\* But I do know precisely which cigarettes to present afterwards."



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# Mandela's M-plan alive in townships

BLACK activists, reviving a plan proposed in 1953 by black leader Nelson Mandela before he was jailed, are beginning to set up a system of township "street committees" to oppose government.

The grassroots committees, which are most developed in townships around Port Elizabeth, are being formed amid growing black support for radical opposition to government.

"This is a very important structure," says Edgar Ngoyi, Eastern Cape leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF). "We must reach the down-trodden people ... We must understand what is taking place in each particular street."

Based on the "M-plan" proposed more than 30 years ago by Mandela (M is for Mandela), the street committee cells are designed to be a two-way system to teach residents and to learn of their problems and ideas.

In a situation where most outdoor meetings are illegal, the small committees are less vulnerable to State repression, UDF officials say.

They also present an alternative to black local authorities, many of which have been rejected by black communities and destroyed.

In the Transvaal, black youths have already started clearing rubbish and building their own miniature parks, setting up monuments to black heroes such as Steve Biko, who died in police custody in 1977, and Mandela.

Members of the Eastern Cape street committees, which are set up under the auspices of the UDF-affiliated Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association in townships such as New Brighton, include residents representing youth, women and other interest groups, Ngoyi says.

Secretaries from each street committee report to area committees comprising perhaps 10 streets. The area committees report to the association.

"We are working very hard to make people grasp this method," says Ngoyi, who adds that the idea is being spread to other areas. "We can import the people from other places to teach them."

Government appears to be concerned by the growth of the committees, which were set up only in a few places, mainly in the Eastern Cape, when first proposed by Mandela and the now-outlawed African National Congress in the 1950s.

Johannesburg trade unionist Moses Mayekiso, who was recently detained and interrogated after violence erupted in Alexandra township, said he was repeatedly questioned about street committees.

"I was interrogated for five days and they beat me with their fists and thrust me on the floor repeatedly until my neck got stiff," he said. Police declined to comment on the allegations.

Ngoyi said he hoped the street committees would make black residents understand the policies of the UDF, which pursues the same ideals as the ANC.

"Even in future, when we achieve freedom, we doubt whether we can throw away the structure of area committees and street committees," he said.

Support for the ANC and for communism has become increasingly overt in the townships in recent years.

Speakers at mass funerals of riot victims frequently sing and shout the praises of the Soviet Union, as red flags and ANC banners are waved by supporters. — Sapa-Reuter.

# The safe way off the tiger's back

12/3/86

STAIR  
11A

White South Africa is in the position of the man on the back of the tiger. We want to get off, but can't see a way of getting off safely.

Intensive democracy provides that way — a way that does not merely dispose of the particular conflict which currently curses us but also provides a lasting framework for healthy further development.

However, it combats the prevailing belief that an untraumatic future is out of the question and is apt to be initially perceived as over-optimistic.

One objection is that it is impossible to expect the whites to swallow universal franchise. Some people like the rest of the argument — high devotion and pyramids of authority — but want it on a basis of something other than the dreaded one man one vote. This is like wanting to have dams without having water. Without universal franchise there is no democracy and no stability.

White people assume that a society without minority protection is ultra-left. But intensive democracy is not

**Denis Beckett, editor of Frontline magazine, concludes his series on "intensive democracy".**

left at all. It has no position on the right-left continuum. It is a basis on which political debates can be effectively resolved.

It gives a Botha or a Treurnicht no less than a Suzman or a Tutu a basis which enables their supporters to best pursue their real interests — way of life, security, jobs and general welfare, and notably the welfare of living in peace and confidence instead of turmoil.

This proposition obviously takes a certain amount of wearing in. But the wearing-in need not be lengthy.

First, believing the political process to be finally a holding operation against the future, many white people suffer from a feeling of progressing towards a locked door. Intensive democracy offers a way of turning the key.

Second, we are in the unusual position where our rulers know they can-

not go on ruling forever and have a strong incentive to debar one repression being replaced by another.

Third, unlike conventional anti-apartheid avenues, intensive democracy does not call upon the white conservative to abandon his concerns. It tells him that he can live the life he wants to live better in intensive democracy than by sustaining apartheid.

It offers him security beyond apartheid and it offers the recovery of the rand and the economy, the end of polecat status, and peace.

We are already seeing much drastic change in white attitudes, change which is mainly limited by the continuing fear that finally the future is a bad place. It is not through bloody-mindedness that the average white man is prepared to go through decay and violence and odium to preserve his constitutional separation. It is because he sees the alternative as suicide. If he has a future to look forward to, the cardinal cause of conflict is removed.

It is also alleged that intensive democracy "asks the blacks to be moderate". It does no such thing. It does not ask anyone to be anything other than what he wants to be. It simply states that where people are effectively free to seek their own progress, majorities gravitate towards peaceable methods.

Given the extent of the splits and fears and prejudices in South Africa, ordinary freedom is not enough, which is why it is necessary to exag-

gerate freedom. In intensive democracy there is no single controlling majority, but a profusion of majorities and minorities creating a full and strong infrastructure.

Quite why "the blacks" should be expected to conduct themselves destructively in such a system, mystifies me. They acquire the most effective weapon yet invented, the reusable vote. They acquire it in a structure which maximises its power.

There is no need to wish or hope that people will use it "responsibly" — a concept whose meaning is totally subjective. However they use it, the only way it achieves anything is through the democratic process.

Nor do people need to "understand democracy". There is nothing to understand. All that it takes to make democracy work is variety of choice. The bigger the variety, the greater the number of sites of power, the stronger the democratic web.

What I have said in this series is but a bare-outline, necessarily inadequate to settle any of the questions it raises. Some of those questions are discussed in my book "Permanent Peace". To others I do not claim to have any answers at all.

However, I suggest that the principle should not be discarded because of holes in the argument. The claim I am making is that there is an avenue available for establishing health and contentment in South Africa.

If there is even the smallest chance that this claim could be correct, or could be made correct through adequate expansion and examination, people who seek a sound South Africa should contribute towards that examination.

# Councillor 'unaware of 427 pc rent rises'

12/3/86 STAR

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By Andrew Beattie

DELAMS — A Lekoa town councillor, who testified at the treason trial in Delmas, said yesterday that before approving a rent increase he had not known rents had already risen by 427 percent in the previous seven years.

He had also not known residents there paid the highest rents, per house, in the country's black townships.

These figures, compiled by a University of Port Elizabeth research unit, were put to State witness Mr Piet Mokoena, of the Lekoa Town Council, by defence counsel Mr George Bizos SC.

According to the figures, rents in Lekoa had been increased by 214 percent more than the national average during the introduction of community councils between in 1977 and 1984.

The State alleges that members of various political organisations incited violence in the Lekoa area over rent issues in 1984.

Mr Mokoena was testifying at the trial of leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Vaal Civic Association, and members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and Azanian Youth Unity.

## ELECTRIFICATION

The 22 men have all pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason, incitement to murder, subversion and furthering the aims of banned organisations in conspiring to overthrow the State. They are in custody.

Mr Mokoena said the rent was increased so the council could electrify areas of Lekoa, install high-mast street lamps, build a creche in Boipatong and enclose a dam in Zone Three, Sebokeng, with a fence.

Asked by Mr Jacobs SC, for the State, how the council had reached agreement with the community on the rent increase of R5,90 a house, Mr Mokoena said meetings had been held "to inform them".

The councillors had wanted to make the rent increase effective from July 1984 but had not been able to inform the community by then, or advertise the decision in the Government Gazette, he said.

## 'STRINGS BEING PULLED'

The yearly budget of the Lekoa council was prepared and explained to the councillors in July by officials from the Orange-Vaal Development Board. No questions were asked by any of the councillors, Mr Mokoena said.

Mr Bizos said this placed a question over the independence of black councillors and gave the impression "the strings were pulled by others".

Mr Mokoena replied this allegation was unfair because it had been the first time the council had passed its own budget. "We had just started... we were busy teaching ourselves about it," he said.

On August 5 1984, he and other councillors had held a meeting to tell the community of the decision. He said that 500 to 600 people attended and there was only one person who disapproved.

He knew of only one rent-related incident of violence in the period up to September 3, when unrest erupted in Lekoa, he said.

The hearing continues.

# Explosives found in car, major tells court

By Estelle Trengove and Jenni Tennant

Explosives were found in a car in which two alleged members of the African National Congress were travelling when arrested, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Security policeman Major J C Coetzee said he watched from a nearby rise as the car was stopped at a roadblock in the Magaliesburg district in June 1984.

He was giving evidence in the trial of five men who are charged with treason and charges under the Internal Security Act.

The men, Mr Mncedisi Hamilton Dubasi (28), Mr Jongumuzi Sisulu (26), Mr Lumkile Happy Mkefa (21), Mr David Matsose (24) and Mr Joseph Themba Maja (25), all of Soweto, have pleaded not guilty.

Major Coetzee said when he went closer, he saw Mr Dubasi, Mr Sisulu and another man lying on the ground next to the car with their hands tied

behind their backs.

He said the men were informed they were under arrest.

They were initially blindfolded, but these were removed when the car was searched.

Among the packages and bags in the car, the police found two grenades of Russian origin, two detonators, two AK magazines and some reference books, Major Coetzee said.

Sergeant H C d W Marais, a member of the special task force, said he saw a man run away as police approached a farm store on July 31 1984.

Sergeant Marais said as he and his colleagues went to the back of the building, he heard shooting.

Mr Matsose was found inside the building and arrested, he said.

The hearing continues.

Mr Justice A M van Niekerk, sitting with two assessors, is on the Bench. Mr J A Swanepoel, assisted by Mr A G Berry, appeared for the State. Mr D V Duke SC, assisted by Mr M Basslian, appeared for the accused.

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*[Handwritten signature]*

...water the destruction of a wing of the old home.

### 'Informer' hurt in mob attack

A former executive member of the Tsakane Youth Congress, Miss Maria Masuku (22), was seriously injured when a group of youths attacked her after fire-bombing her home hours before the funeral of an unrest victim in kwaThema, near Springs, yesterday.

Miss Masuku had been accused of being a police informer because she resigned as secretary of the youth congress and had not been detained with other members, her mother, Mrs Elizabeth Masuku, said.

Mrs Masuku had been told by youths not to take her children to school. When she defied the order, her home was set alight, causing damage estimated at about R5 000.

Miss Masuku ran out and was attacked. She was saved by the arrival of the police.

### Maphala quits Alex Town Council

The youngest member of the Alexandra Town Council, Mr Albert Maphala (30), resigned yesterday as tension continued to grip the township.

He is the second councillor in the township to resign within a fortnight. The other was Mr Thomas Molepo (52), who quit after his son died of gunshot wounds in the wake of the recent unrest.

Mr Maphala said he decided to resign from the council after he was advised to do so by members of his family, friends and his karate students, who told him "you do not belong there".

● The council was dealt yet another blow yesterday when public relations officer Mr Darky Rametse also resigned.

### If apartheid ends, Cubans will go

TOKYO — Cuba will start withdrawing troops from Angola only when apartheid ends in South Africa, Cuban President Fidel Castro said today.

"We will start the immediate and complete withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist forces from Angola when the apartheid regime is liquidated in South Africa," he said.

President Castro thanked North Korean President Kim Il Sung for supplying Cuba with 100 000 automatic rifles and millions of rounds of ammunition to help bolster its defence against the United States.

Cuba and North Korea earlier signed a treaty of friendship and co-operation and Mr Kim denounced a joint US-South Korean military exercise as "a preliminary war and a nuclear test war" against the North. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# Mandela Botha's jailer, <sup>11A</sup> packed city meeting told



Ms Cheryl Carolus, a former United Democratic Front executive member, addresses the UDF-hosted "Free Mandela" meeting last night.

## Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela had turned the tables on President P W Botha — he was no longer Mr Botha's prisoner but rather his jailer, an emotion-charged "Free Mandela" meeting at the Claremont Civic Centre heard.

Ms Cheryl Carolus, a former United Democratic Front executive member, was addressing a packed hall last night at a UDF-hosted meeting.

The main speaker, UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, was unable to attend because of a subpoena to testify against her son in a Pretoria treason trial.

Ms Carolus said President Botha knew he would not determine the terms for Mr Mandela's release.

## "Whisked off"

The jailed leader would have to be allowed to go to his Soweto home if released — "he mustn't be whisked off to Transkei".

She said Mr Mandela's release would have to be "entirely unconditional".

If various liberties were prohibited he would be "protected by the people against this oppressive Government".

The release of Mandela was "the only option for a peaceful South Africa, where our workers and parents will not be treated like animals".

## Out of touch

Ms Amy Thornton, a former member of the Congress of Democrats who worked with Mandela in the 1960s, said no real change would come out of Parliament "whether it had one chamber or 10".

President Botha was "so out of touch that he's more concerned with the lunatic right than the legitimate aspirations of the people".

The UDF vice-president (Western Cape), Mr Christmas Tinto, led a standing tribute to the seven men who died in a shoot-out with police at Guguletu last week.

Messages of support from the Black Sash, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the leader of the British Labour Party, Mr Neil Kincock, were read.

## Poster stickers have sentences overturned

### Supreme Court Reporter

SEVEN Oudtshoorn men found guilty of sticking posters on post office property in George have had their convictions and sentences overturned on appeal by the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

They are United Democratic Front organiser Mr Reggie Oliphant, Mr Mbulelo Grootboom and Mr Humphrey Joseph, who work for Saamstaan community newspaper, Mr Willie Malambo, Mr David Pypers, Mr Samuel Jack and Mr Petrus Lewis.

Six of the men were fined R60 or 60 days, and a further 60 days suspended for five years, after being found guilty by a George magistrate of sticking posters advertising a prayer service on a post office cable box near Lawaaiikamp, George.

They were also ordered to pay R20 in lieu of damage, or serve 20 days' imprisonment.

Mr Malambo, a minor at the time, was sentenced to three strokes with a light cane.

The men were convicted under Section 44 of the General Law Further Amendment Act.

Mr D Yutar, for the appel-

lants, said no offence was created by Section 44, so it was not possible to contravene the section.

The State had not proved the men had the necessary intent to commit an offence.

Mr Justice Williamson concurred with Mr Justice Beriman in upholding the appeal.

Mr A D Stephen appeared for the State. Mr Yutar was instructed by E Moosa and Associates.

## Kahn in US, court is told

### Supreme Court Reporter

COMPANY director Mr Sydney Eric Kahn, who allegedly fled the country owing millions to his creditors, is believed to be in California, according to papers before the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

"His children mentioned in notes they wrote to friends that they would be staying in San Diego, California," an attorney, Mr F A Stander said.

He was representing chartered accountants Rosenzweig Wener, who applied successfully for the provisional sequestration of Mr Kahn's estate on February 14.

# Ban on PE leaders slammed

Dispatch Correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH — Five-year banning orders imposed yesterday on two black Eastern Cape leaders have been widely condemned.

The banning orders, running to five pages, were served on Mr Mkhusele Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, and Mr Henry Fazzie, regional vice-president of the United Democratic Front, in the late morning.

Earlier Mr Jack had been held for questioning by the security police while on his way to the city.

Mr Jack, a UDF regional executive committee member, and Mr Fazzie were previously among a group of community leaders and residents detained in the Eastern Cape in security force swoops.

Yesterday's banning

order prevents both men from taking part in labour, community and educational affairs or any "activities calculated to endanger the maintenance of law and order".

The MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, said: "They are mad!" while both the Labour Party and the National People's Party expressed their abhorrence of the principles of bannings without trial.

Two National Party MPs, Mr Sakkie Louw (Newton Park) and Mr Dawie le Roux (Uitenhage) who saw the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange yesterday, said that they had had lengthy discussions with Mr Le Grange during which the minister had explained the action of the police "and we accept it".

Mr Malcomess said he could not imagine anything more calculated to

re-start the consumer boycott on April 1.

"Jack and Fazzie are, by township standards, moderates."

The Labour Party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse said his party had always "resisted the implementation of laws that interfere with the right of the individual to have recourse to the law".

"We believe that if the National Party government has a case against any person he should be charged in a court of law where such a person can defend himself.

The MP for Malabar, Mr Raman Bhana, speaking on behalf of the NPP said his party opposed detention without trial and also "the silencing of people through banning orders".

The UDF said the banning of Mr Jack and Mr Fazzie had increased the likelihood of the con-

sumer boycott being reimposed.

April 1 is the deadline set for the government to meet the demands of the Port Elizabeth consumer boycott committee. The decision to lift the boycott temporarily was in line with an ultimatum issued by Commonwealth leaders in November, 1985, which gave the country six months to end apartheid before economic sanctions were instituted.

Mr Tony Gilson, the director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, said the chamber felt it was necessary to consider "right now" what action should be taken in connection with the bannings. He would not elaborate, however.

Mr Koos Alberts, the chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Port Elizabeth, said he accepted that there had been a good reason for the banning orders.

DISPATCH  
12/13/86



# GUGULETHU SHOOTINGS: FAMILIES DENY POLICE CLAIMS

RELATIVES of three of the seven men killed in a shootout with police in Gugulethu last Monday have rejected police claims that they were members of the banned African National Congress.

Last week the mothers of two others shot in what police claimed was an ambush of an ANC squad planning to attack a police personnel van, denied their sons had ANC links.

On Monday Mrs Elsie Konile, mother of Mr John Konile (30), of New Crossroads; Mrs Maggie Mbambo, mother of Mr Themba Molifi (30), of Nyanga Bush, said their relatives had not been members of the ANC or any other political organisation.

The three men will be buried in Gugulethu on Saturday.

Police, they said, had not informed them officially of their relatives' deaths, and, in the case of Mrs Mbambo and Mr Gove, not once searched their homes before or after the shootings.

Last week Mrs Nomvuyo Piet, of NY 54, Gugulethu, and Mrs Eunice Tsepiso Miya, of NY 21, Gugulethu, mothers of Christopher Piet (25) and Jabulani Piet (23), also rejected police claims that there sons were killed while on an ANC mission.

### Migrant

Mrs Konile (56) said her son, a migrant worker, had supported her and her two daughters.

"We live in the Transkei and I don't know where he was working but he sent money every week. He was a good boy and has never been in trouble with the police. As far as I know he was not a member of the ANC or any other political organisation," Mrs Konile said.

She did not know what her son had been doing at the scene of the shooting.

Friends told Mrs Konile of her son's death on Friday. She arrived in the city at the weekend and identified his body on Monday.

"He had been shot in the chest several times," she said.

Mrs Mbamba, a widow like Mrs Konile, said Themba had worked as a labourer for a construction company. She did not know the

### SOWETAN Correspondent

name of his employers, but "he was the eldest of my eight children and my breadwinner".

She last saw her son when he left for work last Monday morning. He did not return home that night, and, frantic with anxiety, she had gone to the mortuary the following day.

"I found his body there on Tuesday. I could not believe that the corpse I saw was my son. He had bullet wounds all over his body — in the head and chest. There were so many wounds, I was filled with sadness and despair and did not count them," she said.

Her son, she said, had not once been detained or arrested nor had her house been searched.

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# 'Police informer' burnt to death with 'necklace'

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**Staff Reporter**

A DEVELOPMENT Board clerk has been burnt to death with a rubber-tyre "necklace" in the black township of Lawaaikamp at George.

Residents said police were patrolling the township.

The smouldering body of Mr Afrika Nqumse was found yesterday.

Mr Nqumse's house and the home of the mother of Mr Madlavu Mathuka, who was saved by Dr Allan Boesak from a mob which accused him of being a police informer at a funeral in George two weeks ago, were burnt down on Tuesday night.

## MOTHER INJURED

Mr Mathuka apparently escaped in his car, but unconfirmed reports said his mother was injured and taken to hospital.

Police said a crowd which stoned three police vehicles in Lawaaikamp on Tuesday afternoon was dispersed with teargas.

Mr Kenneth Siboto, a spokesman for the George Youth Organisation, said Mr Nqumse had been accused of being a police informer.

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# Chamber in firm stand on weapons

By Sheryl Raine

The Chamber of Mines says disciplinary action will be taken against any employee, whether white or black, found carrying unauthorised weapons of any nature on mine property.

In a statement released yesterday the Chamber responded to a resolution adopted by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which called on the Chamber to clarify its position regarding threats by white mineworkers in Witbank to arm themselves.

The union also adopted a resolution giving the mining houses 14 days in which to force Mr Arrie Paulus, General Secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, to retract statements he allegedly made regarding white miners in Witbank being forced to arm themselves after black unrest.

"The Chamber expects the NUM to take immediate steps to discourage violence. Mine managements will not permit employees to carry weapons of any nature at work unless specifically authorised to do so," the statement said.

The statement said the Chamber deplored comments allegedly made by Mr Paulus and asked him to retract the statement attributed to him. Mr Paulus could not be contacted for comment.

# Detained sisters still being questioned

Sisters Marion and Debbie Sparg, arrested this week in connection with limpet mine attacks on three police stations, are still being questioned.

Police have not excluded the possibility of further arrests.

It is not known when the sisters will appear in court. Both are being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and they do not have to appear in court within any stipulated time.

In addition to questions about the alleged attacks on Cambridge police station in East London, John Vorster Square police headquarters and the Hillbrow police station, Miss Marion Sparg is also being interrogated about the 1981 bombings of PFP offices in Johannesburg.

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# Deadlock on De Jonge, say Dutch sources

The Star's Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — Negotiations over the future of Mr Klaas de Jonge, still in the sanctuary of the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, have reached deadlock, according to sources close to the Dutch Foreign Ministry.

This was due to South Africa's decision to charge Mr de Jonge under the Terrorism Act, said sources.

The Dutch ministry had hoped Mr de Jonge would be charged with illegal possession of arms, which would have resulted in an acceptably light sentence.

The charge under the Terrorism Act had ruled out this solution, said the sources.

# Return-to-work order is lifted

By Mike Sluma

Three strikes involving about 3 000 metalworkers in Pretoria and the East Rand continued yesterday with one of the affected companies suspending a return-to-work ultimatum.

The electric division of Asea Electric Ltd said yesterday it had shelved the ultimatum to about 580 workers, pending urgent negotiations today.

About 900 workers at Asea's electric and cable divisions in Pretoria have been on strike since February 10. The union wants plant-level bargaining.

On the East Rand, the strike by 2 000 workers at two Haggie Rand plants entered its sixth day yesterday. Workers want wages talks and the recognition of May 1 as a paid holiday.

At G B Engineering and Pan African Shopfitters, also on the East Rand, 300 workers are still occupying two factories despite a weekend Supreme Court order. The workers oppose plans to retrench 150 men.

# Stayaways force five Tvl schools to close

Staff Reporters

Classes have been suspended in at least five secondary schools in the Highveld region of the Department of Education and Training (DET), a spokesman for the department said today.

The region's deputy director, Mr Hannes Booysens, said secondary schools in Witbank, Ratananda (Heidelberg) and Bethal had been closed until March 20, because the "situation at the schools had not normalised".

Thousands of pupils in Ratananda, Alexandra, near Johannesburg, and the Witbank townships of kwaGuqa, Lynnville and Ackerville have been boycotting classes in protest against the detention of their colleagues and the presence of members of the security forces in their townships.

The DET's public relations officer, Mr Job Schoeman, said his department was aware of the "stayaways from classes in the areas".

"To refer to the situation as a school boycott is totally wrong. One must see the school attendance in these areas against the background of unrest in those townships," said Mr Schoeman.

"It is unfortunate, because the situation is not caused by educational issues, but political factors.

"We did not ask the troops to be in their townships, nor did we ask the security police to detain their colleagues. As this is out of our ambit, it is unfortunate that we cannot help them."

This morning, pupils at Mzinoni, near Bethal, were planning to ignore the official closure of their high school and to turn up at their classrooms in full uniform today, a spokesman for the Mzinoni Youth Organisation said.

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# Special Branch talks to Travers

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Tony Travers, alleged to have tried to smear the African National Congress by offering illegal arms, has been interviewed by Britain's Special Branch.

Mr Travers said on Tuesday his lawyers suggested he went to them before they came to them. "They seemed anxious to establish whether I had been 'tasked' by the South African Government to trap the ANC."

Mr Travers, regarded as an eccentric, shares his home with numerous cats, including a puma. He was apparently deported from South Africa in 1957 and is said to be keen to return to be with his daughter. Police would not comment but Mr Travers claims they think his life might be in danger as a result of an article published in *The Sunday Observer* which said he was a South African agent trying to smear the ANC through Beeld.

## PROOF WANTED

Mr Travers said: "It's true I was gathering evidence on ANC attempts to get arms, but no way was I operating on behalf of the South African Government or Beeld or anyone but myself."

He said he went to Beeld's London Bureau and suggested he write a story but was asked for proof.

"Everything I did was to get that proof. I wanted to get back to South Africa and thought this would help."

Both Mr Solly Smith of the ANC in London and Mr Travers confirmed a lengthy association and several meetings at which arms were discussed. Mr Smith, however, said he knew Mr Travers was trying to gain his confidence.

"I was stringing him along to see who he was acting for," Mr Smith said.

However, Mr Travers says Mr Smith initiated many calls and "up to a point" accepted he was an arms dealer sympathetic to the ANC.

"When he found out who I was he threw me out of his offices."

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# Major tells court of sketches of ANC targets

Staff Reporter

Sketches of alleged African National Congress targets were included in exhibits handed into the Rand Supreme Court yesterday during the trial of five alleged ANC members.

Security policeman and explosives expert Major Abraham Grobbelaar told the court two notes and two sketches, as well as explosives, pamphlets and other articles, were found in a farm building he searched after the arrest of two men on July 31, 1984.

Major Grobbelaar was testifying in the trial of five men who have been charged with treason and charges under the Internal Security and Terrorism acts.

## SEARCHED

Mr Mncedisi Hamilton Dubasi (28), Mr Jongumuzi Sisulu (26), Mr Lumkile Happy Mkefa (21), Mr David Matsose (24) and Mr Joseph Themba Maja (25), all of Soweto, have pleaded not guilty.

A farm store near Boons was searched by the police after Mr Matsose and Mr Maja were arrested by members of the special task force, the court was told.

Several items were yesterday handed in to the court as exhibits.

The notes were read out in court. They referred to sketches of targets.

## EMPTY DRUM

The State said it would be alleged the sketches related to the Witwatersrand Command Headquarters and Hollard Street.

Major Grobbelaar said on August 7, 1984, Mr Dubasi went with a police captain, an interpreter and a photographer to point out areas. They were followed by the major.

In the veld in Emdeni, they were shown a place where the police found an empty drum in the ground, he said.

## EXPLOSIVES

Near a drive-in in Langlaagte, a trunk was unearthed. In the trunk were AK 47 magazines and ammunition, handgrenades, plastic explosives and safety fuses, the major told the court.

The hearing continues.

Mr Justice A M van Niekerk, sitting with two assessors, is on the Bench. Mr J A Swane-poel, assisted by Mr A G Berry, appeared for the State. Mr H P Viljoen SC, assisted by Mr S L Joseph appeared for the accused.

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Dr Slabbert . . . his resignation from Parliament was not the result of a fit of pique.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress has given the assurance that it will renounce violence if the Government scraps apartheid, former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

But he told the Cape Town Press Club he did not think this would happen — and peaceful change was therefore impossible.

He said he had met the ANC in London. "I put it to them: Can I go back to South Africa

# SA caught in violent cycle — Slabbert

and tell them you will renounce violence if the Government restores freedom of choice, legalises the ANC, and releases Mandela?

"They said: 'You can go back and say it'."

Dr Slabbert said that if the ANC was lying, the Government could call its bluff by scrapping apartheid. "If you don't call its bluff, you can be sure the violence will continue. If you scrap apartheid, there is a chance of ending the violence.

"The Government will lose nothing. If it restores freedom of choice it will still be in charge. It will still have the Defence Force, the police, and, God forbid, the Civil Service."

Dr Slabbert said he had undergone a fundamental shift in political thinking towards the end of last year.

"I no longer think conventional constitutional change is possible."

The events of 1985 and his own experience in Parliament had convinced him that South

Africa was going through a process of violent evolution.

"There cannot be peaceful change in South Africa. We are not going through peaceful change even now. But this does not mean there cannot be peace after violence. The question is to find a less, rather than a more, violent process of change."

Three events over the past three years had shifted his thinking:

● The implementation of the tricameral system made con-

ventional constitutional change impossible because it entrenched basic apartheid laws and constitutionally excluded blacks from Parliament. Parliament would not change itself, so the initiative for change had shifted outside Parliament.

● The move of troops from the border to the townships had militarised the internal conflict.

● And the State President had opened dialogue with the ANC by offering to release Mandela

if they renounced violence. This was a political and not a compassionate or humanitarian offer. And the response of the ANC was also political.

"They said if you reject apartheid, we will renounce violence. This is the only debate of any consequence in South Africa today. The rest is political pageantry."

Dr Slabbert also denied that he resigned from Parliament because of the controversial bugged interview with President Botha.

It was a political and not a personal statement. It was not the result of a psychological aberration or a fit of pique.

He said it might have made more sense to have resigned after the referendum on the tricameral constitution. That was when he had begun questioning the relevance of staying in Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said that though the tricameral Parliament could not bring about negotiated constitutional change, at first he saw it still as a forum for protest and opposition.

"The tradition of Helen Suzman shows that protest politics has its own dignity," he added.

Passtoors (S) (11A)  
treason trial  
date set

12/3/85 By Inga Molzen

For a few quiet moments before being indicted to appear in the Rand Supreme Court on April 13 on charges of high treason and terrorism, Mrs Helen Passtoors (44) and her legal representative Ms Kathleen Satchwell sat together in the dock yesterday.

Mrs Passtoors' appearance in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday followed more than seven months in solitary confinement and a period in hospital this year to receive treatment for depression.

Held under the Internal Security Act as a Section 29 detainee, Mrs Passtoors was initially denied access to her attorney. Recently permission was granted for consultation in the presence of the Security Police.

A decision on a bail application for Mrs Passtoors is expected to be heard on March 13.

Mrs Passtoors was not asked to plead to the charge of high treason, alternatively participation in terrorist activities between 1981 and June 1985.

Mr I J J Luther was on the Bench. Mr A C Human of the Attorney-General's office appeared for the State and Ms Kathleen Satchwell appeared for Mrs Passtoors and Mr de Jonge.



# Forum will consider action to fight Govt

By Chris More

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13/3/86

The National Forum will no longer merely provide a platform for various groups but will consider taking action — in the labour, rent and consumer fields — that will bring the Government down.

This was said by the president of the National Forum, Mr Saths Cooper, at a Press conference to announce the forthcoming third National Forum to be held at the YMCA, Durban, on March 28 and 29.

He said actions such as a national strike, total school boycott, refusal to pay rents and a full-scale consumer boycott might be seriously considered in a joint effort by all anti-Government and liberation movements in a bid to bring the Government to its knees.

## CRITICISM

He said Western governments, notably America and Britain, would come under heavy criticism at the seminar for "their role in sustaining the oppressive Pretoria regime".

In a statement the forum announced the time had come for all resistance groups to seriously consider an alliance of the left and total withdrawal of participation in the present system of political repression, economic exploitation and social degradation.

Mr Cooper described the alliance of the left as all groups that were opposed to apartheid. Although he declined to state categorically if he included the United Democratic Front (UDF), he said several UDF affiliates were already working closely with National Forum groups on some programmes such as the consumer boycotts.

# Non-violence option for political prisoners queried

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — Two prisoners who signed undertakings to reject violence were still in jail, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) said yesterday.

Entering the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly, the MP for Houghton asked whether the offer to release Nelson Mandela if he rejected violence still held good, and whether it still held good for other prisoners in the same category as the State President said it would last year.

"I ask because I know of two such prisoners who signed the undertaking to reject violence and who are still in jail. The Minister of Justice knows to who I am referring," she said.

## HUMANITARIAN

Mrs Suzman said President Botha's latest initiative concerning the release of Mandela was bizarre.

"He has changed his original stance, adopted last year during the No-Confidence Debate. Then humanitarian considerations were a side issue. Release depended on Mandela's unconditional rejection of violence as a political instrument.

"The choice is his, the State President said. On Friday, however, the choice was no longer Mandela's. It had become an international issue with Shecharansky, Sakharov and Captain du Toit all in the act, and South Africa trading humanitarian considerations with Russia and Angola.

"Why, one wonders, would Russia want Mandela out of jail if, as the State President told us, the SA Communist Party and the ANC have much to gain by Mandela's remaining in prison?"

"By the same token why does the Government continue to keep Mandela locked up in Pollsmoor jail? Surely the State President lays himself open thereby to the charge of furthering the aims of not one, but two banned organisations?"

Mrs Suzman was heavily critical in her speech of the state of emergency and the role of the police.

The emergency had not restored peace and normality to the townships or anywhere else, she said.

"Police excesses, about which my colleagues will give details, are in good measure due to the blanket indemnity police and army enjoy under the emergency regulations," she said.

A special matter of concern, she said, was the detention of children, for those arrested under the emergency regulations did not enjoy the protection of the Children's Act. They were locked up with adult prisoners.

An extremely disturbing matter was the emergence of vigilantes and a sinister "Third Force".

The "Third Force", or "Death Squad", was widely believed to be responsible for a number of unsolved murders of black community leaders such as Mrs Victoria Mxenge, Mr Mathew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata and others.

"How come none of these thugs engaged in nefarious activities is brought to trial?"

"As for the vigilantes who terrorise and kill members of the black communities who are opposed to Government policy — these ruffians are allegedly not only tolerated, but are actively encouraged by the police."

## MOUTSE ISSUE

Mrs Suzman said she had affidavits about this happening in Huhudi, the black township at Vryburg, and in black townships at Parys, Kroonstad, Krugersdorp, Bloemfontein and Queens-town.

On the Moutse issue, Mrs Suzman said the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had asserted the incorporation of the region into kwaNdebele was irreversible.

"Section 37 of the National States Constitution Act of 1971 lays down a procedure whereby Parliament can reverse the idiotic decision taken by the Cabinet.

"Parliament merely has to disapprove of the decision of the proclamation of incorporation issued by the State President and it will be of no effect," Mrs Suzman said.

She said she intended introducing such a motion of disapproval as soon as the proclamation was tabled.



Mrs Helen Suzman... worried by detention of children.

Some police out of control  
Soal alleges

## Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had allowed some members of the police force to become "a law unto themselves", Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North) has told Parliament.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr Soal said the Minister was "a disaster" and should resign.

In many townships throughout South Africa matters had got completely out of hand, Mr Soal said.

"Ask any black person who has had experience of police activities in the townships and he will tell you it seems as though the police have declared war on the blacks of South Africa."

Referring to recent events in Pretoria's Mamelodi township, Mr Soal said Mamelodi had long been regarded as a township of conservative people.

After police action there on November 21 last year, there had been subsequent police activities during which police moved from house to house allegedly "intimidating residents".

Mr Soal said the shootings at Mamelodi on November 21 showed the Minister had lost control of certain sections of the police force.

'New council must include all parties'

PARLIAMENT — The National Statutory Council proposed by the State President would be able to achieve more than the recently formed National Convention Alliance, Mr Jac Rabie (LP, Reigerpark) said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate he said proposals needed to be sought from all political parties in South Africa, including the United Democratic Front, the Labour Party, the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, to form the agenda of the council.

Each organisation should send two representatives to the council, which will meet under the chairmanship of the State President, and weigh their proposals for a new constitution.

The council should not only be advisory council, he said.

The State President must also say whether he is going to let the council hold open proceedings or in secret. Some organisations will not contribute if it were not in the open.

Mr Rabie said the internal wing of the ANC, not the external wing committed to violence, should be unbanned to give them the ability to have a say in the politics of the country.

Mr Rabie said it is essential that the State President announce the Tricameral Parliament was a temporary measure. Democracy could not function if the ruling party in the House, the Labour Party, needed to speak to itself instead of with the parties it criticised, while the opposition parties within the House were of no consequence. — Sapa.

## POINTS FRO

"Can there be equal justice w/verted by detention without tr. Houghton).

"President Botha's announcement is the first step towards bla (CP, Kuruman).

"Every effort by the Government in South Africa is opposed H M J van Rensburg (NF, Moss).

"If the State President puts honoured as the greatest states — Mr Arthur Booysen, Lead House of Representatives.

March 1986

(112)

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.** — Mr Chris Heunis came under attack once again in the House of Representatives yesterday, this time from Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo).

He was speaking during debate on a private member's motion by Mr Jac Rabie (LP Reiger Park) calling for a commission of inquiry of Members of the House to investigate constitutional alternatives.

Mr Hendrickse said the intransigence of the Nationalist government and its "arrogance personified by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis," might

lead the LP to adopt strategies of exposing, embarrassing and obstructing.

It was typical of "white arrogance" that no white cabinet ministers or Nationalist MPs were present while the motion, which dealt with the constitutional future of the country, was being debated, he added.

On March 17 Mr Heunis was attacked by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the

## LP attack on Heunis

House, Mr Allan Hendrickse, for not attending debate on the Constitution in the House of Representatives.

● Introducing his private member's motion yesterday, Mr Rabie said the commission which he proposed would call for and hear evidence in public in the major centres.

Parties that would be called included the African National Congress, the Afrikaanse Weer-

standsbeweging, the United Democratic Front, representatives from commerce and industry and all the parties represented in Parliament.

"It will not help if anti-system people refuse to give evidence. The Labour Party is busy with a sincere effort to bring about peace and participation for all.

"It must be done because all the models that the whites have proposed have been successful failures."

● The motion was put to the vote and passed after a division in which the Freedom Party and the DWP opposed it. — Sapa

## Councillor aware of corruption talk

# Agitators 'not needed to make blacks aware of grievances'

13/3/86  
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Staff Reporter

DELMAS — Agitators were not necessary to make black people aware of their real grievances, a Lekoa town councillor said at the treason trial here yesterday.

And Mr Piet Mokoena added he was aware town councils were generally regarded as powerless "puppets of the State".

He also said that, of 12 liquor licences and premises awarded in the Lekoa area shortly after his election in 1983 — worth a total of R10 million — nine were awarded to councillors.

Mr Mokoena was appearing as a State witness at the trial of 22 United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic Association, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and Azanian Youth Unity members. The men, who are all in custody, have denied charges of high treason, incitement to murder, subversion and furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Mr Mokoena said talk of corruption by councillors was widespread in black communities.

And he agreed the majority of black people's impressions of the town councils, introduced in 1983, were no different from those of the preceding community councils — namely that they were puppets of the State, which had no power.

He said: "A certain proportion of the community has been complaining about this for a long time — the educated portion who articulated the feelings of the majority."

And he agreed that the main grievance of the black community was that

it believed it was entitled to full political rights and representation in Parliament.

Mr Mokoena admitted that he had become the owner of a beerhall shortly after becoming a councillor, after being awarded a licence, premises and goodwill worth R1,1 million. He said that "anyone could have done so", although he admitted he had not paid anything to date for the beerhall except about R600 to R700 a month rent.

And he conceded that of 25 liquor licences awarded by the Orange-Vaal Development Board shortly after the elections, only six were not awarded to councillors. One of those six, Mr J.B. Mahlatsi, might have been either a brother or cousin of the mayor of Lekoa. Twelve were awarded to the "extended family of Mr Esau Mahlatsi, the mayor of Lekoa".

### Only one outsider

Of the twelve facilities in Lekoa, nine were awarded to councillors, one to an ex-councillor, one to a partnership in which there was a councillor, and only one to a complete outsider to the council system.

Mr Mokoena said it had never seemed to him that this was an unsatisfactory state of affairs, or unusual that so few of the businessmen or tavern-keepers who had tendered for the licences had been successful.

He said the councillors had not agreed with the idea of the beerhalls being sold and that board officials had said the Cabinet had ordered that they be sold to private concerns.

The hearing continues.

# ANC takes Cosatu talks seriously

A SEVEN-person delegation of leaders of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) completed two days of talks on political and union issues with a joint African National Congress and South African Congress of Trade Unions delegation in Lusaka yesterday.

An anticipated joint communique had not been released by late yesterday afternoon, and no information was available on the specifics of the talks.

It is known, however, that the ANC regards the talks as the most important of the series with organisations working legally inside South Africa which started in September last year

By HOWARD BARRELL,  
Harare

when a groups of businessmen and editors under Anglo-American head Gavin Relly flew to Zambia to see the ANC.

Although concerned to build as broad an alliance as possible against apartheid, the ANC holds that the working class is the "leading social force" in the South African struggle.

This, together with Cosatu's organised strength and the political positions it has taken since its launching in November last year, has made the ANC extremely keen to hold formal discussions with the massive

union congress.

ANC President Oliver Tambo led the outlawed movement's delegation at the talk's opening. Other members of the ANC delegation included some of the outlawed movements top tacticians: information and publicity chief Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe political commissar Chris Hani, and senior political department official Mac Maharaj.

The Cosatu delegation included general secretary Jay Naidoo, his deputy Sydney Mafumadi and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

The delegation of the mainly underground and exiled Sactu was led

by its general secretary John Nkadimeng, who also sits on the ANC National Executive committee.

Before the talks, ANC sources said they expected exchanges to be warm. In the traditional new year address from the ANC National executive committee released on January 8, the ANC expressed strong support for Cosatu, and called on unions not within its ranks to join it.

ANC sources have also said they have been highly impressed by some of the political positions taken by the union congress in recent months.

On Wednesday morning, the Cosatu delegaton had breakfast at State House in Lusaka with Kenneth Kamanda.

ANC 'freedom fighter' remark was a set-up

# Crocker 'trapped'

STAR 14/3/86

# White House

11A

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The White House claimed yesterday that Dr Chester Crocker was "trapped" this week into describing members of the African National Congress as "freedom fighters".

White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes accused Congressman Howard Wolpe, a liberal Democrat, of deliberately setting a trap for Dr Crocker at a congressional hearing on recent events in South Africa.

In response to repeated prodding by the Congressman, Dr Crocker agreed that members of the ANC could be called "freedom fighters — in the generic sense".

It was the first time that a senior member of the Reagan Administration had used that term in connection with the ANC.

Dr Crocker's remark, reported prominently the *Washington Post*, is a highly sensitive issue for the Administration which is under fire from America's powerful conservative wing for allegedly being too soft on communists in Southern Africa.

Much of their criticism is aimed

at Dr Crocker and his boss, Secretary of State Mr George Shultz.

Many of the right-wingers consider the ANC to be a terrorist organisation rather than a group of freedom fighters.

Mr Speakes told reporters at the White House yesterday: "It was a question designed not to find out the Administration's views but to elicit a specific answer from him that the Congressman wanted to play up."

It was a loaded question and Dr Crocker's answer was "hyped", Mr Speakes said.

## Adversaries

Dr Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Congressman Wolpe are long-time policy adversaries on the question of US relations with South Africa.

When Dr Crocker gave his answer on the ANC, Congressman Wolpe responded sarcastically: "Thank you — that's a breakthrough."

Asked whether there had been a shift in American policy on the ANC a State Department spokesman said:

"Mr Crocker agreed to an as-

sertion made by Congressman Wolpe that, in a general sense, the ANC is one of many organisations engaged in the struggle for freedom in South Africa. They are using a variety of means.

"Mr Crocker also noted our long-standing opposition to the policy of violence of the ANC and our concern about that organisation's ties to the Soviet Union."

The State Department also sought to clarify where the American Administration stood on the issue of black majority rule in South Africa.

The spokesman said: "We have consistently called for a system of government that recognises the rights of all South Africans, including political rights."

"It is up to South Africans to negotiate a constitution. A truly democratic constitution by definition provides for majority rule with protection of minority rights."

When Mr Wolpe asked whether the United States supported a system based on majority rule and the protection of minority rights, Dr Crocker replied: "I think that is inherent from everything we have said."

Pressed on whether that meant majority rule, Dr Crocker said: "Yes."

ian hands in the province.

The fears are given additional credence by politicians such as Jim Allister (32), a barrister and a Democratic Unionists member of the Northern Ireland Assembly. In a recent interview he warned that if constitutional opposition to the Anglo-Irish treaty failed, there were "no lengths to which Ulster men would not go to stop it." Another, Ivan Foster (42), a Free Presbyterian minister, was quoted: "I won't be joining the 'army' of Ulster as a chaplain, I know how to use a gun."

Words such as these are only likely to encourage the paramilitary groups whose fight against the agreement could easily escalate into sectarian violence against Roman Catholics — who did not support last week's strike. The ghastly spectre of a civil war in Ulster remains ever present. ■

FM. # 14/3/86

## US-SA RELATIONS

11A

### The thaw sets in

It may be too soon to expect US-SA relations to return to normal, although there was a warm response from the State Department last week to President Botha's lifting of the State of Emergency, and his signal that, subject to an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, the Namibian independence plan could start rolling on August 1.

Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for Southern African Affairs summed up his own views for the FM in Washington recently. Speaking before the Botha initiatives had been made public, Crocker said: "I think we see reason to keep doing what we are doing, to try to give credit where it is due. But we also will continue to make it clear what we stand for and will continue to try to broaden our message, to make sure our message is being understood in the very polarised climate there."



US's Crocker with SA's Bishop Nkoane ... touring the townships

One of the ironies of the US-SA confrontation is that while Pretoria feels an uncomfortable American weight on its neck most of the time, Washington's communications channels to the various power groups of South African blacks are episodic, muddled by distrust and garbled at both ends by too many voices on the line.

"It is a street without joy," said one official of the situation. "There is a lot of partisanship, a lot of misunderstanding and polarisation of attitudes. So it is not surprising that the first question any (South African black) leader asks you is, 'whose side are you on?'"

It is a reasonable enough question to ask when the simplistic view of the situation is that the Americans continue to talk to Pretoria while Pretoria does pretty much what it pleases — in police rampages through black townships at home and SA Defence Force incursions into what are supposed to be sovereign neighbouring states.

Ominously, the American official attitude toward SA has become clouded in the past year by a far more threatening question than the will of Pretoria to achieve peaceful resolution of the region's problems. There is doubt whether the negotiating machinery for the entire region is up to achieving lasting compromises.

"I am not pointing a finger exclusively at the South Africans when I say that the real question is whether South Africa and virtually all its neighbours can come up with diplomatic solutions," said another official.

"Nor is there any question in our minds that the African National Congress is seeking to violate the already settled policies of South Africa's neighbours to continue to inject guerrillas across the border. So you have that complication, just as you have the complication of no one really being in charge of the children rioting at home. Indeed, there is a great deal of fragmentation within South African white society and the government's own mandate for social change," he said.

But there is credit where credit is due. The ending of the State of Emergency and the concessions on Namibia are "a solid breakthrough."

As Crocker sums it up: "The South African government has obviously built up a political consensus on pass laws and citizenship and freeholds. And they obviously have not built up a consensus on the school issue, education policy and housing. Nor do I have any reason to predict that they will in the next week. And yet, I sense that in the minds of many inside the top levels of South African government there is a recognition that those bullets also are going to be bitten and will have to be bitten before too much more time passes," Crocker says.

But the touchstone of Washington's ambitions for SA and for the region still lie more in Angola than in Cape Town. Getting South African black children equal access to good schools, getting black labourers equal treatment with whites, getting black voters fully enfranchised, those all are goals to be pur-

sued.

But the prize, the gleaming prize that dazzles the Americans, is the public humiliation of Fidel Castro when his mercenaries are finally sent home from Angola. The importance of such an event in southern Africa is obvious. The US expects the Cuban ouster from Angola to provide dividends in more rarefied arenas such as the Geneva arms talks and in the Middle East.

It is that dream which helps explain the risk the Reagan administration took a month ago when Unita's Jonas Savimbi was publicly feted around official Washington. It also explains Crocker going public with the fact that the US has agreed to provide about \$15m in military aid to Savimbi — including anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, he said — for the 20 000-man rebel force.

"Certain decisions have been made to provide both moral and material support," Crocker told a Senate hearing last month after Savimbi was safely back in the bush. "I want to state categorically here that the basis and goals of our policy remain unchanged. We seek a negotiated solution that will bring independence to Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola."

The Reagan administration's official view is that while an independent Namibia certainly would make Luanda feel more secure, there can be no lasting peace inside Angola until Savimbi is brought in to share real power within the same government of reconciliation.

Said a senior African strategist: "Our view is that you can't separate the issues of Namibia from Angola, or of the Cubans from the issue of ultimate reconciliation inside Angola because they are different sides of the same coin, the same question," he said.

And in that context the American decision to provide open support for Savimbi at the time SA is breaking the Namibian logjam takes on some reason. Clearly, it is an American bid to keep the pressure on the Cuban withdrawal issue moving along apace with South African military withdrawal from Namibia. It would not do to get the latter without the former.

Moreover, the "hail the conquering hero" treatment invested in Savimbi reflected the White House's growing impatience over the Cuban question stalemate. The Americans were no longer prepared to see their relays of negotiating teams being used as protective cover while Luanda attempts to overrun Savimbi.

Now according to these same American officials, the cards are on the table. SA has given a timetable for Namibian independence. The Americans have insured Savimbi's survival. There should be, logic operating, no way for the Dos Santos government to go now but to first get the Cubans on their way home and then to open talks, perhaps brokered by Washington, on some sort of rapprochement with Unita.

Will it happen? Again, Crocker sums it up best: "we have a real high wire act here. But we're still up here." ■

11A  
14/3/86

# Treason trial told of mistakes

MARITZBURG — Defence counsel in the treason trial here of four trade unionists alleged yesterday that "not a single one" of 10 more transcripts to be used as evidence in the trial were "completely good".

On trial are South African Allied Workers Union leaders Mr Thozamile Qweta; Mr Sisa Njikelana; Mr Samuel Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo.

Advocate Mr M Moerane said the transcripts were at times incorrect during the cross-examination of Warrant Officer B Hattingh, who had listened to recordings of meetings and compared them to the transcripts before the court.

## FAITHFUL

Warrant Officer Hattingh had said the transcripts "contained a faithful reflection of what is on the tapes".

Last week Mr Moerane alleged that other transcripts of recorded meetings and telephone conversations were incoherent "gibberish" and "bristled with errors".

Mr Moerane said one of the "better recordings" of a Saawu meeting held in East London in April 1981 contained a telephone conversation which was "totally out of context".

The call, made to the African Workers Union office, could be "clearly heard" in the middle of a speech recorded at the Saawu meeting.

Warrant Officer Hattingh agreed that the telephone call was entirely out of context and said he did not know how it had happened. He also agreed that there had been mistakes in the transcripts. — Sapa.

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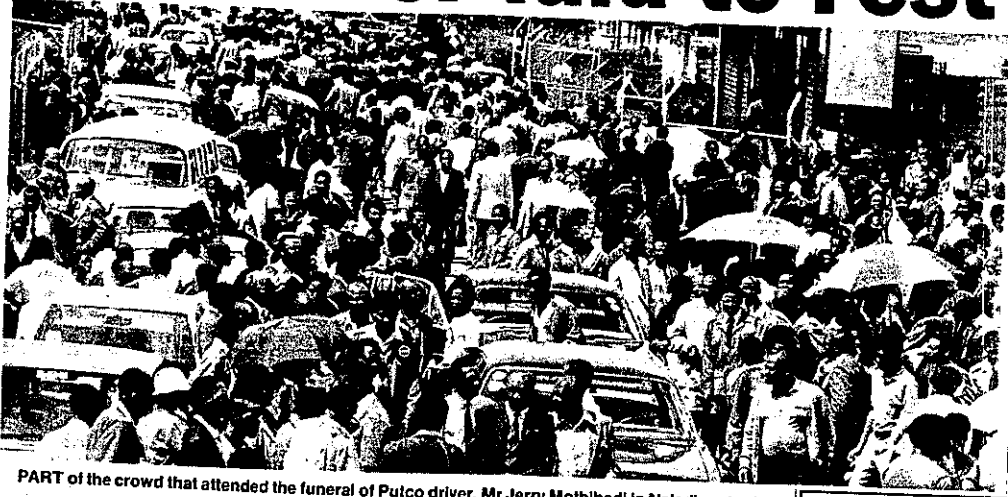
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# Bus driver laid to rest



PART of the crowd that attended the funeral of Putco driver, Mr Jerry Mothibedi in Naledi yesterday. Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

# PEACE PLEA

SOWETAN  
14/3/84  
TIA

THOUSANDS of Soweto commuters were stranded yesterday as hundreds of Putco bus drivers stayed away from work to attend the funeral of their colleague, Mr Jerry Mothibedi, who was stoned to death by a mob of schoolchildren on Wednesday last week.

About 55 Putco buses were used to ferry most of the 5 000 mourners from Mr Mothibedi's Naledi home to the Avalon Cemetery.

The incident-free funeral — the biggest mid-week funeral in Soweto this year — was attended by representatives of about 11 black organisations including the Azanian People's Organisation, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Council of South African Trade Unions and the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.

Bishop Desmond

By SY  
MAKARINGE

Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, who could not attend the funeral because of his tight schedule, sent a message condemning black-on-black violence of which Mr Mothibedi was a victim.

A spokesman for the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, of which Mr Mothibedi was a member, laid the



BISHOP TUTU

blame on the capitalist system and the socio-economic position of black people.

A representative from the Azanian Students Movement said members of his organisation would deal with those who used their name to hinder the struggle.

This was echoed by

Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretaries of the UDF and Azapo.

The coffin was carried shoulder-high by Putco bus drivers for a distance of about 400 metres, before it was put into a hearse.

Traffic almost came to a standstill as several hundred mourners were half-walking and half-running for nearly 20 kilometres to the graveyard.

## Stoned

Police and soldiers kept a close eye on the proceedings.

Mr Mothibedi was stoned to death by about 100 pupils after his bus crashed into a lamp-post along the Soweto Highway last Wednesday. He was dragged out of the bus and stoned.

He is the third Putco driver to be killed by mobs since unrest broke out in Soweto towards the end of 1984.

School crisis  
getting worse

— Page 3

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**School crisis getting worse**  
— Page 3

Bishop Desmond

Ex-SACP  
leader  
buried in  
Maputo

MAPUTO. — Top-ranking African National Congress leaders returned to Mozambique at the weekend for the first time since they were expelled two years ago to attend the burial of former South African Communist Party leader Mr Moses Mabhida who was buried with full military honours on Saturday.

President Samora Machel led mourners at the state funeral, accompanied by Mr Mabhida's widow, Lena, other close relatives, the new SACP chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC.

The ANC and the SACP have maintained close links since both were expelled from South Africa in 1960. Mr Mabhida, 63, an executive member of both organizations and the SA Congress of Trade Unions, died in Maputo this month of a heart attack.

He was to have been buried on Monday in his South African home town of Edendale, outside Maritzburg, but severe restrictions were placed on the funeral — it could be attended only by close friends, who would have to be identified to police by selected members of the family — so organizers decided to shift the funeral to Maputo, where it was held under tight security. It was also reported that the Mabhida family changed the venue because they feared violent confrontation between police and mourners.

Mr Tambo flew to Maputo from the movement's headquarters in Lusaka with Mr Slovo and 110 other senior officials.

An ANC choir sang freedom songs as the coffin was carried from Maputo town hall, where it had been lying in state, to Maputo's Llan-guene cemetery.

Several hundred people witnessed the burial. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

# Group of 7

## sees PW,

## Mandela

ARGUS 14/3/86

Political Staff

THE seven-member Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group has met imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and President P W Botha.

However, the meeting with President Botha was thought to have been fairly successful as it lasted for more than two hours.

The group has met a number of Cabinet Ministers, including the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

# Bans wreck PE hopes of staying off boycott

WEEKLY M. 14/3/86

By MIKE LOEWE

PORT ELIZABETH is poised for another outbreak of consumer warfare.

This follows the banning on Tuesday of the two most influential black United Democratic Front leaders in the Eastern Cape, Mkhuseli Jack and Henry Fazzie.

Jack, 27, is the president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, spokesman for the hugely influential Black Consumer Boycott Committee. He serves on the UDF regional executive committee. Fazzie, 61, the regional vice-president of the UDF in the East Cape, spent 21 years on Robben Island.

Sources told Weekly Mail a renewed black consumer boycott of white businesses on April 1 was "an almost dead certainty".

In recent months the two had spent hours seated around the negotiating table with the city's top white businessmen and civic notables, discussing how to resolve the conflict which has regularly turned the black areas of the city into a war zone.

Now they are restrained to their small homes in New Brighton Zwide at night and may not involve themselves in the pioneering negotiation process they started with whites last year.

Some businessmen were appalled at the move. The Midland Chamber of Industries called the banning orders "quite ridiculous", and the director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Tony Gilson, said he was shocked and dismayed.

Jack's boss, Rory Riordan, called the banning orders a "perfect definition of white South Africans as the last savages in Africa ... If you ever wanted one document to reveal the moral, legal, and intellectual bankruptcy of our country, this one is it. Any white man who could authorise such a document is throwing away his children's future in our country."

However, Koos Alberts, the chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Port Elizabeth, said although there was good reason to ban the leaders, he felt the timing might create doubt about the government's intentions.

Black-white negotiations began in November, following a four-month



Banned: UDF officials Henry Fazzie, left, and Mkhuseli Jack, boycott negotiators in the Eastern Cape.

near-total boycott of white merchants which drove about 40 of them into bankruptcy. It ended after the Chamber of Commerce successfully pressured police to release 19 opposition leaders from Emergency detention.

In a controversial move, the released leaders, in turn, agreed to call off the boycott until April 1, pending the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and Cosas, and the safe return of political exiles.

The banning of Jack and Fazzie, whom businessmen describe as moderate, has effectively forced the two out of the discussions and bolstered the position of those leaders who were unhappy with the decision to call off the boycott.

The Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, imposed the banning orders because, as he wrote on the five-page documents, the two "pose a threat to the maintenance of law and order".

Le Grange banned the men from:

- Entering the premises of any education institution.
- Attending any gathering.
- Preparing, compiling, or disseminating any information in any manner or publication as defined in the Internal Security Act of 1982.
- Leaving the Port Elizabeth magisterial district without his permission.
- Speaking to other banned persons.

The UDF described the bans as "virtual house arrest" and as "grossly vindictive" measures emanating from an "illegitimate government bent on doing away with the democratic voice of the people".

In a statement, the UDF said bannings were the use of laws for repression; as a result, UDF supporters were fast becoming disillusioned with the legal system.

The move was likely to hasten the decision to resume the consumer boycotts "and we will definitely understand people's reasons for doing so", the UDF said.

The UDF suspects more of its East Cape leadership is in line for a banning.

Edgar Ngoyi, 59, the East Cape UDF's president, was feared to be next on a banning list.

The son of the late Lilian Ngoyi, 1950s leader of the ANC Women's League, Ngoyi served 21 years on Robben Island for being an ANC member. He was shot by police in clashes last year.

Jack had hardly set foot on home soil when the ban was served. He returned on Sunday from a major tour of Europe where he addressed bankers, church leaders, and anti-apartheid audiences on the need for economic sanctions and an intensification of the anti-apartheid struggle worldwide. It was his first overseas trip.

# Residents flee after bomb attack

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

A STREAM of people has fled the Brits location, where three petrol bomb attacks and a grenade attack were launched this week against activists opposing the removal of the location to Lethlabile.

But a core of residents, bolstered by unions in the area, such as the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu) and the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu), are holding firm.

A statement by the community this week called on employers in the area not to support the government's plans to remove the township.

A donation from Firestone, one of the biggest employers in Brits, to a creche in Lethlabile was cancelled in the face of pressure from Naawu.

Fieldworkers in the area estimate that about 4 000 out of a total of 15 000 have moved to Lethlabile, a resettlement camp 20km from Brits, on the border of Bophuthatswana.

Residents say those who left did so through fear, because of offers of compensation and because tenants automatically lose their shelter when their landlords decide to move.

The Brits location was untouched by unrest until a few weeks ago, when tensions in the community over the threatened removal burst into violent clashes with the authorities.

Last Friday South African Police used teargas to disperse a meeting of about 2 000 residents at a community hall in the location.

Meanwhile, the head of the Brits Action Committee, Marshall Buys, and its secretary, Sello Ramakobye, were among the activists subjected to attacks this week.

Miraculously, no one was hurt in the bombings. Residents believe a gang of vigilantes is behind the attacks.

ANC leader 'gets status' — report

# 'Eminent' group sees Mandela

STAR

12/3/86

11A

London

The Commonwealth group of Eminent Persons has been allowed to meet imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, according to a report in the *Financial Times* newspaper today.

The seven-member group, who are seeking "dialogue" in South Africa, apparently saw Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town on Wednesday, the newspaper quotes a reliable source as saying.

The group later met President P W Botha.

The newspaper said that sanctioning a meeting between the group and Mandela was the nearest the South African Government

has come to implicitly endorsing his status as one of the country's political leaders. It will also be seen as an acknowledgment that should the "dialogue" between black and white being sought by the Commonwealth get under way, Mandela will have a role to play.

The Eminent Persons group, set up after the Commonwealth Summit in Nassau in October, is expected to leave South Africa today, having achieved one of the main objectives of the visit.

The group is now expected to draft a report on the visit and present it to a special meeting of seven Commonwealth heads of government in June.

The group is former Australian Prime Minister Mr Malcolm Fraser, former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Barber, former Nigerian Head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo, former Tanzanian Foreign Minister Mr John Malecela, Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados, Archbishop Edward Scott, Primate of Canada's Anglican Church, and former Indian Foreign Minister Mr Swaran Singh.

## Pressure

If its report comes to negative conclusions about the prospects of peaceful change and racial dialogue in South Africa, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is certain to come under heavy pressure at the report-back meeting in June to support a Commonwealth package of sanctions against South Africa.

It was largely because of her firm opposition in Nassau that the final communique fell short of the comprehensive economic sanctions demanded by most member countries.

Although selective sanctions were marginally strengthened — such as a ban on the import of Krugerrands — members agreed instead to mount a Commonwealth diplomatic initiative which sought to encourage South Africa to begin constitutional talks with black leaders.

● The South African Prisons Service today refused to comment on the claimed meeting between the Commonwealth group and Mandela.

A spokesman for the Prisons Service in Pretoria replying to questions by *The Star* said: "Visits to prisoners are regarded as a private matter between prisoners and their visitors. The Prisons Service, as a matter of policy, normally does not comment."

# ANC doesn't have to be communist .

14/3/86 B.D.A.H

11A

PRETORIA spends an inordinate amount of time and energy trying to persuade people that the ANC is a communist organisation. ANC leader Oliver Tambo spends almost as much time denying it. The question, like virtually all ideological disputes, is spurious.

If current trends continue, it really won't matter an iota what kind of "ist" the next SA government calls itself, because the substance will be the same anyway. Extremely unpleasant for the vast majority, regardless of colour, class or political affiliation.

Ideology is the servant of the will to power, particularly in Africa, where for a variety of reasons there are precious few popularly accepted structures through which the will to power can be channelled and contained, and where Western concepts of society, polity and nationhood are rather recent, and in many cases artificial, developments.

The existence and survival of unpleasant regimes like those of Mengistu in Ethiopia or Dos Santos in Angola cannot be entirely blamed on the Soviet Union or its Cuban allies.

## Cohesion

The communist bloc may be providing the hardware and the intellectual software with which those leaders have been able to acquire their states and hang on to them, but it is not solely responsible for such states arising in the first place.

With or without Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the majority of African nations were bound to turn to dirigiste models the moment they achieved independence, and not merely, as some have held, because they naturally tended to mimic departing colonial administrations.

Successful democracy requires a certain sense of cohesion, common purpose and shared values — not to mention a broadly-shared economy — which simply did not obtain in most of the countries in question.

The way was open for any individual with a tribe or army at his back to seize control. It just so happened that Lenin and Co offered the best textbook on how to do it successfully and with some hope of permanence and international legitimacy.

No one has ever offered a better prescription. Even the Afrikaner Nationalists borrowed an idea or two on the road to 1948. The fact that nowadays the instructions come with free Kolaschnikovs is icing on the cake.

You, too, can have your own state to play with if you just follow these simple rules and bone up on the mumbo-jumbo. It's extraordinary how many of your future peons will think you're referring to them when you talk about the "people" and their "liberation" — and how many Western liberals will also take you at your word.

## SIMON BARBER in Washington

The ANC wants its state, and is following the rules diligently. As P W Botha noticed in a recent interview with the conservative *Washington Times*, the pattern of unrest in SA's black townships, with the liquidation and intimidation of local authorities and other "stooges," closely mirrors the tactics of the Viet Cong.

The State President errs in claiming this as proof that the ANC is communist, however. It proves nothing of the sort. The only real communists, if there are still such people, are pathetic old romantics still able to convince themselves that despite the evidence of their eyes, Marx's pseudo-scientific verbiage means something.

Far from being added Utopians, the ANC leadership proves by emulation of the Viet Cong that it knows exactly what it is doing. It is seizing power. Nothing more, nothing less.

And once it is in power, like almost everyone else on the continent, it is not going to give it up. There will be terror, on a multi-racial basis, in the name of "class struggle" or some such slogan, but in fact to remove troublesome rivals.

There will be state control of the economy, because free enterprise means people other than the ruling oligarchy making decisions. Uncontrolled decisions are subversive, as are institutions, such as churches, that fall outside state purview. Genuine elections? Heaven forbid.

But again, this does not make the ANC communists. They will simply be doing what anyone with their will to power would do under the circumstances.

## Ideology

And let's face it, the Nationalist government hasn't been doing things very differently in its efforts to perpetuate its hold over the country. Ideology has been just as much its tool as it will be the successor regime's.

In short, it doesn't make much sense quibbling over what the ANC is or is not in ideological terms. You could call it a blue party or a green party, and it would mean just about the same as calling it a communist-controlled party.

It is a group of people aiming to overthrow a government and replace it with themselves, and there is very little possibility that when they succeed will be fundamentally much different in their approach to staying put. They will simply use different slogans, and make different excuses for whatever brutality they find it necessary to commit.

Consider, by way of analogy, the late new jewel movement on Grenada, a theocracy we know a lot about thanks to the enorm-

ous trove of documents captured during the 1983 US invasion.

The Reagan administration insisted that Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was a Marxist backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union. In fact, he was a gangster who replaced another gangster, Sir Eric Geary, and cultivated different friends.

Had the administration concentrated on his thuggery per se, and not the ideology he used to justify it, the problem might have been sorted out a little sooner.

Instead, Reagan's critics were able to say, well, there he goes again, being beastly to poor little socialists. Bishop became the toast of liberal Washington — a hero trying to turn his besieged island into a genuine democratic paradise.

He was nothing of the sort, as the following quote from his now famous "line of march" speech makes rather clear:

"Consider how we detain people in this country. We don't go and call for no votes. You get detained when I sign an order after discussing it with the national security committee of the party or with a higher party body. Once I sign it, like it or don't like it, it's up the hill for them."

## Blinded

So many people went "up the hill" that a brand new prison was built to accommodate them. But because of the ideology red herding, this went totally unnoticed.

The ideology debate similarly blinded the US from any consensus on the nastiness of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua when they ousted the equally nasty President Anastasio Somoza in July 1979.

You don't have to know — or even believe — that the authors were communists to see that they were up to no good. Yet the argument continues: as the administration battles to convince Congress to help oppose the Sandinistas because they are Marxists.

What they call themselves is irrelevant. What they are — a tight-knit group of oligarchs determined to rule in perpetuity, and therefore to surround themselves with other like-minded tight-knit oligarchs — is what counts, and why they are dangerous.

The same thought applies in SA. Two ideologically opposite forces are fighting it out for an identical goal: total power. That, and not the idea that one is "communist" and the other "fascist" or "racist," is what matters — and why it is important to abandon the political myths and slogans, and for the centre to get its act together and hold.

But what am I saying? The centre, axiomatically, has no will to power. Since 1948, it has allowed itself to fall victim to thugs. And so it will until finally extinguished by the -ists.

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14/3/86 B.D.A.

11A

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Far from being addled Utopians, the ANC leadership proves by emulation of the Viet Cong that it knows exactly what it is doing. It is seizing power. Nothing more, nothing less.

And once it is in power, like almost everyone else on the continent, it is not going to give it up. There will be terror, on a multi-racial basis, in the name of "class struggle" or some such slogan, but in fact to remove troublesome rivals.

There will be state control of the economy, because free enterprise means people other than the ruling oligarchy making decisions. Uncontrolled decisions are subversive, as are institutions, such as churches, that fall outside state purview. Genuine elections? Heaven forbid.

But again, this does not make the ANC communists. They will simply be doing what anyone with their will to power would do under the circumstances.

## Ideology

And let's face it, the Nationalist government hasn't been doing things very differently in its efforts to perpetuate its hold over the country. Ideology has been just as much its tool as it will be the successor regime's.

In short, it doesn't make much sense quibbling over what the ANC is or is not in ideological terms. You could call it a blue party or a green party, and it would mean just about the same as calling it a communist-controlled party.

It is a group of people aiming to overthrow a government and replace it with themselves, and there is very little possibility that when they succeed will be fundamentally much different in their approach to staying put. They will simply use different slogans, and make different excuses for whatever brutality they find it necessary to commit.

Consider, by way of analogy, the late new jewel movement on Grenada, a thugocracy we know a lot about thanks to the enorm-

ous trove of documents captured during the 1983 US invasion.

The Reagan administration insisted that Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was a Marxist backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union. In fact, he was a gangster who replaced another gangster, Sir Eric Geary, and cultivated different friends.

Had the administration concentrated on his thuggery per se, and not the ideology he used to justify it, the problem might have been sorted out a little sooner.

Instead, Reagan's critics were able to say, well, there he goes again, being beastly to poor little socialists. Bishop became the toast of liberal Washington — a hero trying to turn his besieged island into a genuine democratic paradise.

He was nothing of the sort, as the following quote from his now famous "line of march" speech makes rather clear:

"Consider how we detain people in this country. We don't go and call for no votes. You get detained when I sign an order after discussing it with the national security committee of the party or with a higher party body. Once I sign it, like it or don't like it, it's up the hill for them."

## Blinded

So many people went "up the hill" that a brand new prison was built to accommodate them. But because of the ideology red herring, this went totally unnoticed.

The ideology debate similarly blinded the US from any consensus on the nastiness of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua when they ousted the equally nasty President Anastasio Somoza in July 1979.

You don't have to know — or even believe — that the authors were communists to see that they were up to no good. Yet the argument continues as the administration battles to convince Congress to help oppose the Sandinistas because they are Marxists.

What they call themselves is irrelevant. What they are — a tight-knit group of oligarchs determined to rule in perpetuity, and therefore to surround themselves with other like-minded tight-knit oligarchs — is what counts, and why they are dangerous.

The same thought applies in SA. Two ideologically opposite forces are fighting it out for an identical goal: total power. That, and not the idea that one is "communist" and the other "fascist" or "racist," is what matters — and why it is important to abandon the political myths and slogans, and for the centre to get its act together and hold.

But what am I saying? The centre, axiomatically, has no will to power. Since 1948, it has allowed itself to fall victim to thugs. And so it will until finally extinguished by the -ists.

# Tribal row hits factory

ZULU and Pondo rivalry is disrupting work at an AECI subsidiary.

AECI Chlor-Alkali and Plastics at Umbogintwini, south of Durban, is in its fifth day of disruption.

Zulu and Pondo factions have refused to work this week.

AECI public relations officer Murray Joubert said another meeting was arranged with them.

"They have not gone back to work

and we are trying to mediate."

He added that the company had managed to keep the plant going and production had not yet been affected.

The problem began on Monday when Zulus, who make up the bulk of about 900 employees at the factory, refused to work in protest at the expected return of Pondo former workers.

Joubert said the situation was sensitive. — Sapa.

# Angry Hendrickse blocks debate reply by Heunis's deputy

18/3/86  
S. T. A. R.  
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The House of Representatives has taken the unprecedented step of preventing a Deputy Minister from replying to a debate.

The move was a protest against the absence of Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis from a constitutional debate which the Labour Party considered important.

Cabinet Minister the Rev Allan Hendrickse refused to allow Mr Heunis's deputy, Mr Piet Badenhorst, to speak in the debate.

Mr Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party and Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, said Mr Heunis's absence called into question his faith in his own tricameral system.

The motion called for a commission of constitutional experts to consider the alternative of a non-racial geographic federation.

Mr Badenhorst listened to the whole debate, preparing notes for his reply, but Mr Hendrickse abruptly closed the debate before he could.

"I don't think we need the Deputy Minister to come to this House to answer questions," he said.

## 'SIGN OF CONTEMPT?'

Mr Hendrickse said the step was a protest against Mr Heunis's action. He asked if the absence of Mr Heunis was a sign of his contempt for the efforts of his partners in the tricameral system to find political solutions.

"Is the Minister of Constitutional Development serious about constitutional development? Is this arrogance?"

"Is he saying: 'I know what I want for the country and what you say is irrelevant?'"

Mr Hendrickse said the motion had first been submitted a week after the new tricameral system of Parliament began.

"Since then we have been very accommodating about when it should come up for debate. It was due last Tuesday, but the Minister could not make it because of a funeral.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Heunis spent all his time in the Assembly.

"So we have to question the relevance of this House in his thinking. We are serious, and that is why we are here. Mr Heunis must now tell us if we should fold our arms and play marbles."

Mr Jac Rabie (LP, Reigerpark), who introduced the motion, said it was an honest attempt, in these troubled and violent times, to contribute to solutions.

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# Slovo tipped for SACP top post

14/3/86 WEEKLY M 119

THE death of South African Communist Party general secretary Moses Mabhida means the removal of a key figure in the tripartite alliance led by the African National Congress.

At the time of his death, Mabhida was also a senior member of the National Executive Committees of both the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), the third element in the alliance.

Mabhida died, aged 62, in Maputo last Saturday. He had been gravely ill since suffering a stroke about a year ago, according to exile sources.

Mabhida's death leaves the highly secretive SACP without a public face at a time when the party is clearly carving for itself a more distinct and slightly more autonomous profile on the South African political scene.

Since its last congress — apparently held in late 1984 in London — the party has begun distributing a new quarterly agitational internal voice called "Umsebenzi" (The Worker) to complement its largely theoretical journal "The African Communist".

SACP pamphlets have also been appearing more regularly since the 1984 congress, and the party's red hammer and sickle flag has been

By HOWARD BARRELL,  
Harare

flying at funerals.

ANC sources who are believed to be close to the SACP refuse to divulge the name of the party's new chairman.

But it is widely believed to be Joe Slovo.

Last year, delegates to the ANC National consultative conference at Kabwe also elected Slovo onto the National Executive committee of the ANC.

Slovo, a former Johannesburg advocate, is currently chief of staff of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Born into a peasant family outside Pietermaritzburg in 1923, he became a trade unionist in Natal alongside people like Billy Nair, Curnick Ndlovu and Harry Gwala, later involving himself as a nationalist in the ANC and becoming a communist in 1942.

He was secretary of Sactu in the late 1950s and chairman in 1960.

He was subsequently sent into exile and for many years served as secretary of the revolutionary council of the ANC.

# Miner's <sup>STAR</sup> death <sup>(11A)</sup> 14/3/86 man gets threats <sup>(205)</sup>

A boilermaker (26), who allegedly killed a mineworker and injured another after his car was stoned by Tswana miners on Wednesday, yesterday moved from his home on Durban Deep Mine in Roodepoort after receiving death threats.

The threats were passed on by black mineworkers, when he returned to work yesterday morning. The man, whose name has been withheld, said yesterday the mine management had found him alternative accommodation.

He said the shooting occurred as he was returning home on Wednesday. His wife and two young sons were in the bakkie with him.

As he neared his home, he noticed a group of miners standing next to the road.

He said: "Everything appeared peaceful. Suddenly one threw a bottle at my bakkie, and they started stoning us.

"As I reversed the car to get away, my wife shouted: 'There are hundreds behind us', and I fired four shots. I feared for my children's lives.

## SHATTERED

"Two of the canopy windows on our bakkie were shattered and there are dents along one side of the vehicle from the back all the way to the front mud-guard. The damage is about R3 000."

Roodepoort police have opened a murder docket after the discovery of a dead man. Another man was wounded.

A Rand Mines spokesman said the incident took place on mine property near the C hostel.

He said the shooting occurred when two vehicles driven by whites were stoned by a group of blacks as they passed the hostel. One of the drivers, whom police identified as a white miner, fired on the group.

The mine's acting managing director, Mr Hugh Stoyell, said tension had been running high among workers at the hostel because of the unauthorised presence of outsiders, notably from nearby Soweto, who had been causing trouble.

# Council plan to counter township intimidation

(11A) STAR 14/3/86

By Hannes de Wet

The town council of Kagiso and Munsieville is confident it has found a winning formula to counter intimidation and more unrest in the two Krugersdorp townships — but the details of the new strategy are a closely guarded secret.

Mr Edward Moeketsi, mayor of the two townships, told *The Star*: "We are gearing up to put an end to intimidation. The agitators are going to get a big surprise."

He declined to elaborate, saying only that the counter measures would be "non-violent".

About a week ago, it was reported that masked whites were conducting regular night raids on Kagiso, shooting residents and beating them up. Kagiso and Munsieville have also been the scene of some serious unrest since November.

## STATE OF EMERGENCY

Mr Moeketsi ascribed the unrest in his communities to Kagiso and Munsieville having been the only two Reef townships not included in the state of emergency.

"Kagiso and Munsieville were, as a result, the only safe harbour for the troublemakers.

"The lifting of the state of emergency changed that situation and relieved the pressure on us. Things have lulled down markedly," he said.

The reports that masked whites were conducting regular raids on Kagiso, was "a big surprise" to him, Mr Moeketsi said.

However some Kagiso residents said it did not surprise them that the police were not aware of the raids.

"It was policemen themselves who did the beating," alleged Bishop William Kunene of the African Orthodox Church in Kagiso.

He made a statement to the police on the raids this week.

11A

# Picking up the politics

**Did seven months of enforced hiding destroy organisations like the UDF and Azapo? Quite the contrary, it appears.**

**ANTON HARBER reports**

RESISTANCE politics will never be the same again.

That is the simple but inescapable conclusion one has to come to when one speaks to leaders of resistance organisations about the effects of the seven-month State of Emergency.

Slowly, but steadily, leaders who were in detention or had gone underground to avoid detention are now re-emerging. The former are recovering slowly from the effects of lengthy incarceration; the latter are shedding their disguises and appearing once again in public places.

Activists of the United Democratic Front, for example, were this week cleaning out their Khotso House headquarters, still in a state of chaos after repeated police raids in the early days of the Emergency.

On the surface they are returning to "normal". Underneath that surface, important changes have taken place.

"Over the seven months of Emergency, we have devised ways and means of operating that enable us to withstand extreme repression," Transvaal general secretary Mohammed Valli, one of the few UDF leaders to escape detention, said in an interview this week.

"We have adapted our organisation and structures — and these methods will stay with us.

"The lifting of the Emergency does open up some new space for us, but only in a few areas. We will take full advantage of this and come out into the open again.

"But we won't go back to the way we were working before the State of Emergency. Next time the state clamps down on us, they'll find it much more difficult to weaken us," he said.

UDF leaders view the lifting of the Emergency as only a temporary lull in repression. Expecting another swoop at any moment, they intend being prepared to deal with it.

"We are not going to be tempted into going back to the way we operated previously," Valli said.

What does this mean in concrete terms? "Not all our work will be as public as it was before," he said.

"We will maintain a public presence — this is very important to us. But people won't necessarily know when our committees meet or even who makes up those committees."

The UDF operation will be further decentralised. Instead of activities being co-ordinated at a national level, local structures will be set up to play this role at a regional level. The central office in Khotso House should — theoretically at least — become much less important than it has been in the past.

Transvaal education officer Raymond Suttner elaborated: "Many people thought that because our



head office was not operating during the Emergency, the UDF was not operating.

"But our whole style of operation had changed. We had to develop a much more disciplined way of operating.

"I wouldn't say we have emerged stronger than we were, but in some ways we are stronger because we have developed an organisation that is better able to cope with repression, which we expect to continue," Suttner said.

Neither he nor Valli would be more explicit about the steps the UDF will take to withstand

repression. But Valli quoted what he called an old wisdom: "It is more difficult to fight an enemy you can't see than one you can. This is the problem the state has now created for itself by repressing open organisation."

During the Emergency, UDF executives — both national and regional — met regularly. Detained members were temporarily replaced from the ranks.

"At certain levels, our structures have been weakened. But they haven't succeeded in their aim of destroying us. We have recovered," he said.

Valli believes the Emergency was intended to cripple opposition organisation and smash the popular uprising that was taking place, regaining the initiative for what he calls "puppet structures".

"On all these counts they have lost out," he said. Support for the UDF has spread enormously, he said — so much so, that the national leadership cannot keep track of affiliates and supporters around the country.

At the same time, he argues, new structures have developed. He cites the emergence of street committees in the Eastern Cape and in some areas

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## GOODBYE, EMERGENCY. HELLO, LATE NIGHTS AT ROWENA'S (343) WEEKLY 11 14/3/86 -SEF

SOWETO came to life again this weekend. A few hours after the announcement of the lifting of the State of Emergency, the sombre atmosphere that has for the past seven months hung over the smog-filled city on the fringes of Johannesburg suddenly made way for an almost care-free, carnival-like mood.

Last Friday afternoon, in taxis transporting commuters home after work, the conversation centered around the promulgation of the legislation in the Government Gazette.

The conversations were about meeting at so-and-so's place.

A group of fancy-dressed youngsters heralded

the return to normality, vigorously thumping old tins, or anything that produced maximum noise.

Not far away at another street corner, a group was doing the "toi-toi" (war dance) to the accompaniment of freedom songs — somewhat hesitatingly, as if they expected to attract the attention of security forces.

For the first time in months there was a queue at the Manhattan nightclub in Moletsane — and at other clubs I am told.

Even the music was not as subdued as it usually was. Waitresses were kept on their toes as patrons streamed into the nightspot to unwind.

On my way to Rowena's in Rockville, there was

an unusually large number of smartly-clad people flagging down passing taxis. They were clearly on their way to a party.

At what was my favourite watering hole before the emergency people were sitting on empty beer crates because of the lack of chairs.

One patron related how he always used to get through roadblocks by calling those young men "klein bassie".

He was one of the activists who knew he was on the wanted list and had had to spend as little time as possible at roadblocks lest they discover that he was disguised by a false beard and a shaved-back hairstyle.

As more wine flowed the more incredulous some of the experiences at roadblocks became. A change of scene was called for.

Amid blaring horns we travelled more than one kilometre without meeting any armoured police vehicle.

It was getting close to midnight, but who cared? How else does one test one's freedom expect by doing those things that were denied one?

Chanting, colourfully-clad members of the Zionist sect were once again in evidence in a number of townships.

All-night stores and garages were gradually gearing themselves for brisk business in future.

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THE EMERGENCY

# Political pieces

Leaders emerge from detention or hiding — and prepare for the next clampdown



believes the Emergency was intended to crush opposition organisation and smash the uprising that was taking place, regaining the initiative for what he calls "puppet structures". "These counts they have lost out," he said. "So much for the UDF has spread enormously, he said. So much so, that the national leadership keep track of affiliates and supporters in the country. At the same time, he argues, new structures have emerged. He cites the emergence of street committees in the Eastern Cape and in some areas

of the Transvaal in recent weeks. "There is no doubt that at the local level, we have structures that are much stronger than before the Emergency," he said.

There are other important changes.

"Previously, the struggle was youth-led. Now the youth are just one constituent in the struggle." Parents are now engaging in the education crisis. More importantly, workers are now taking a more central position.

Certainly, it is clear that the UDF has developed a far closer relationship with Cosatu, the new

union super-federation, than it had with its predecessor, Fosatu.

What are UDF plans in the immediate future? According to Valli, the plan of action includes a continued campaign for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC, a campaign against "bantustan structures, particularly against KwaNdebele independence", a campaign to save the Sharpeville Six (sentenced to death for the murder of a community councillor) and a May Day campaign.

The UDF will also be gearing up for the National Education Crisis Conference at the end of March, which will decide how to deal with the end-of-the-month deadline for changes that would avert a mass school boycott.

So much for the UDF. But what about its affiliates?

A representative of the Transvaal Students Congress (Trasco), formed during the Emergency when its predecessor, Cosas, was banned, was adamant that student organisation was stronger than ever.

This was made possible by the ongoing commitment of students to organisation — even in prison.

This representative, who asked not to be named, told how student leaders had conducted their struggle from prison. Since most of the detainees were in communal cells, the leadership split up

into different cells and ran discussion groups daily.

When a newspaper was acquired by the prisoners, it was read aloud in each cell and discussed in groups.

"Committees were set up to discuss matters with the students and make decisions," he said.

Communication between cells took place during washing times, meal times and when prisoners were working in the kitchen.

Communication with the outside world was maintained, among other ways, through those who were kept for the 14-day routine spell in the cells. Before short-term prisoners were released, they were thoroughly informed about the situation and encouraged to promote local student organisation on their release. They were told whom to approach when they were released and what action to take.

The proof that organisation was strengthened, he said, was that Trasco could be formed in the middle of the Emergency, not long after the banning of Cosas.

Leaders in prison encouraged the development of local student organisations. Bodies such as the Alexandra Students Congress and the Garankuwa Students Congress emerged.

Representatives of 35 areas gathered to form Trasco in January. Now it is planning to hold its first Transvaal executive meeting next weekend to formulate a plan of action for the future.

On the agenda is a campaign for the unbanning of Cosas (T-shirts, stickers and pamphlets have already been printed) and a closer relationship with other organisations, especially trade unions.

Another UDF affiliate, the Transvaal Indian Congress, expressed a similar optimism about its post-Emergency strength.

"We cannot deny that the Emergency restricted us and our organisation," an executive member said. "We were prevented from publically campaigning and organising at a time when the whole tricameral system was falling into disrepute and we could have taken advantage of this.

"We didn't develop new forms of organisation, as others did, but our organisation did carry on functioning. The leadership met continually, activists continued their work and we maintained a high level of discipline.

"We weren't on the offensive, but we were able to defend our base," he said.

Optimistic of an active re-emergence of TIC, he said "intensified resistance" was on the agenda.

Although the Azanian People's Organisation was not as hard hit by detentions as some of the other organisations, there is also an important rethink going on in its ranks.

"We have had to make a very detailed assessment of our previous positions and approaches. Right now there is a lot of intense discussion going on about method," said Saths Cooper, national president.

There were areas where Azapo activists have had to lie low to avoid detention, and others where structures had grown stronger. Some existing branches had become defunct; but other new ones had sprung up, Cooper said.

"In the short term, we are seriously considering the merit of our previous approach to the struggle, and whether we should not adopt a drastic new approach.

"There is a rejection of previous organisation that resulted in public demonstrations and such activity. I don't know what form new action will take, but various options are being considered.

"We are considering the total withdrawal of participation from any sphere of activity that continues the repression and exploitation of ourselves and our people," he said, citing rent, labour and education as areas in which boycotts could be called.

The other positive effect of the Emergency, he said, was that the "true forces of the Left" had realised the need to cooperate and this would in the longer term result in a new alliance of the "real Left".

Whether or not the claims that these organisations have been adapted and strengthened is true will certainly be tested in coming weeks. With deadlines coming up on schools and consumer boycotts, and activists across the board predicting a tumultuous time in the next few months, the claims will be put to the test.

SEFAKO NYAKA reports

... wine flowed the more incredulous the experiences at roadblocks became. A scene was called for...

... blaring horns we travelled more than one without meeting any armoured police

... getting close to midnight, but who cared? ... se does one test one's freedom expect by those things that were denied one?

... ating, colourfully-clad members of the sect were once again in evidence in a of townships.

... ight stores and garages were gradually g themselves for brisk business in future.

The taxi queues at tiling stations grew longer as the grin on the garage-owner's face grew broader.

At Irene's Place the shebeen was a hive of activity as old friends hugged and kissed us like long-lost relatives.

For the first time in months we were able to spend the night as friends, without having to keep one eye on the glass and the other on the clock on the wall.

As I stumbled home at 4.30am on Saturday morning, I realised that the lifting of the State of Emergency provided a more than welcome relief.

But for many housewives with errant husbands it means the end of supper with the whole family.



## Recognition talks

Last week's talks in Lusaka between the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), and the African National Congress (ANC) appear to have led to a closer relationship between the newly-formed labour federation and the banned political movement. Also party to the talks, whose outcome seems to mirror the ANC-Inyandza indaba a week earlier, was the exiled SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

After the meeting, Cosatu came out in recognition of the ANC as the leading force in the "national liberation movement." However, Cosatu reserves its right of independence, both as a labour movement and as part of the broad movement towards democracy in SA. In his opening address to Cosatu's inaugural conference last November, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said it is one of Cosatu's major tasks to ensure that unions become the "leading force". It was important to work in alliance with other organisations, he said, but this must be done "on terms favourable to us as workers".

Whether the budding relationship between Cosatu and organisations like the United Democratic Front and the ANC meet these criteria will, no doubt, become a hotly-debated issue within the organisation. There is vagueness on Cosatu's future relationship with Sactu, the federation which was forced into exile in the mid-Sixties. Cosatu apparently sees no contradiction arising from their separate existences.

Two campaigning issues have now been identified by Cosatu — the elimination of Bantu education and its replacement by non-racial, free and compulsory education for all children; and the destruction of the influx control system. ■



Bishop Kunene (left) talks to friends in the kitchen, while his daughter, Mitha, provides tea. Mrs Anna Kunene, at the far end of the table, holds their grandson, Themba. ● Pictures by Rebecca Hearfield.

## A taste of life in Kagiso

A policeman's home was petrol-bombed in Kagiso on Thursday night.

Last week it was Bishop William Kunene and his family who faced violence. He looked into the barrel of a gun held by a vigilante in police-type uniform and said defiantly: "Shoot".

The man did not shoot, but when he and his companions left, the family dog had been shot in the head. And they threatened to come back.

Yesterday, Constable Z B Mkoni stood nervously at the door of his newly extended house.

His teenage son stood with him, but no one else came near. Three petrol bombs had been thrown through the windows of his home the night before. His wife Sophie had been burnt on the leg.

The sounds of angry shouting and gunfire at the big house were not heard at the Kunene home, where the family and friends watched Bop-TV.

Kagiso people have learnt to live with violence. The recent attacks have not cowed the Kunenes.

The bishop's house is open to anyone and people come and go as though it were their own. "You are at home," he says. "Be free."

If you are the bishop's friend, no matter who you are, you are accepted. There might be a first surprised glance at the sight of a stranger in the home, but then there's a courteous greeting.

Soon people chat with animation in Sotho, the meaning sometimes coming through in smatterings of English and Afrikaans.

The small house, already hard put to accommodate the bishop, his wife Anna, six children and a grandchild, buzzes with laughter and discussion.

As the house gets dark the bishop's youngest daughter, Mitha, lights paraffin lamps, although the house has a generator.

The street outside is dark. Few street lights work but people still come in and out.

"The house is noisy — it's always noisy with people," the bishop says, smiling. He is proud of the township and its people.

"Kagiso is a respectable town," he says.

Houses might be cramped and small, but they are beautified with plants, paint or carved wooden doors. Roads might be dirt, but on every street there are small monuments of painted tyres, pat-

Kagiso, on the outskirts of Krugersdorp, has been the target of random attacks by gangs of vigilantes, believed to be rightwing extremists. LESLEY COWLING spent a night in the home of community leader, Bishop William Kunene, who was recently threatened at gunpoint by vigilantes.



Constable Mkoni's house that was petrol-bombed this week.

terned stones and plants — monuments to "Nelson", Martin Luther King, Sobukwe and others. Scrubby stretches of veld have become "Happiness Park", "Unity Park" and "Garden of Peace".

People in the streets greet you, children smile and wave. But some measure you up before saying hello.

At night it changes. There are fewer people. Many police vehicles cruise the streets.

Inside, it's warm and safe. But a walk to the outside toilet is scary in the dark. And when you lie snug in your bed, a sudden outbreak of barking from dogs nearby makes you wonder who could be visiting.

And you cannot help thinking how it must be to go to bed night after night ... wondering whether vigilantes will arrive.

# Govt, ANC may talk soon, hint

11A Mercury 1/3/86

## London Bureau

**THE Commonwealth peace mission to South Africa may have achieved a potential breakthrough in the quest to bring the Government and the African National Congress to the negotiating table, informed sources here believe.**

It is understood that the group of eminent people, which has completed its visit to South Africa, has put proposals to President Botha, the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the exiled ANC president, Oliver Tambo.

The proposals if accepted, could lead to the release of Mandela later this year, possibly on May 31, the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the declaration of a truce by the ANC and the opening of a process of 'talks about talks'.

It was also learnt from reliable sources yesterday that the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and her Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, are greatly encouraged by the progress of the group.

### ***Delicate***

There were hopes that the group would be able to produce a sufficiently positive report to a Commonwealth committee of heads

Zail Singh said: 'The tour was strenuous but very rewarding. We were able to see all whom we wanted to see.'

They declined to give details of their stay in South Africa or what they had accomplished, responding with 'no comment' to several questions.

Former Tanzanian Foreign Minister John Malecela said the group would meet in London in June to compile its report and plan future action.

From Cape Town Sapa reported that Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, said yesterday he knew nothing about his client meeting the group.

Earlier, a spokesman for the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, refused to confirm or deny a London report of a meeting, saying it was not policy to do so.

or state in June to avoid imposition of sanctions.

Sapa also reported from Nairobi that World Council of Churches president, Dame Anita Barrow, told reporters when asked if the group had met Mandela: 'We are at a very delicate stage of the negotiations. It was agreed among us yesterday that we should do nothing to jeopardise further discussion.'

Former Indian President

# New hope for talks between govt, ANC

Chit Times 15/3/86

11A 11B 11C

From JOHN BATTERSBY

**LONDON.** — The Commonwealth's peace mission has scored a potential breakthrough in the quest to bring Pretoria and the African National Congress (ANC) to the negotiating table, informed sources here believe.

It is understood that the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) — as the Commonwealth mission is known — has put the framework of a dialogue-and-peace package to the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, President P W Botha and the exiled ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

It is understood that the emergent package could lead to the release of Mr Mandela later this year — possibly on May 31 — the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the declaration of a truce by the ANC and the opening of a pre-negotiating process or "talks-about-talks".

It was also learnt that both the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret

Thatcher, and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, are greatly encouraged by the progress of the EPG and now believe it has at least an odds-on chance to break the political log-jam in South Africa.

When the EPG left London they were confident of seeing Mr Mandela if they kept their side of the bargain not to talk to the press.

Nigeria's General Olusegun Obasanjo had made it clear to his six colleagues on the Commonwealth Group that he would withdraw and wreck the initiative unless they were allowed access to Mr Mandela.

A report yesterday in the authoritative Financial Times that the sev-

en-member peace mission had met Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison created a wave of excitement in political and diplomatic circles.

"We are naturally pleased if the EPG members have been able to see Mr Mandela," a British Foreign Office spokesman said.

A spokesperson for the Commonwealth Secretariat would not confirm that the group had met Mr Mandela and denied any knowledge of the meeting.

## Real hopes

There are now real hopes that the group will be able to produce a sufficiently positive report to present to a seven-nation Commonwealth committee of heads of state in June to avoid the immediate imposition of tougher sanctions and explore further the dialogue option.

The EPG will report back to a top-level committee consisting of Mrs Thatcher, Australia's Mr Bob Hawke, Canada's Mr Brian Mulroney, Zambia's Mr Kenneth Kaunda, Zimbabwe's Mr Robert Mugabe, the Bahamas' Mr Lynden Pindling, and India's Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Meanwhile, senior members of the ANC and an NP MP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, are expected to attend the Foreign Office-funded conference on South Africa at Wilton Park next week.

● Mandela meets Eminent Persons, page 2

## 'Cooling-off' for thought



Sarah Ferguson

**LONDON.** — Queen Elizabeth returned from an Australasian tour yesterday to media speculation that she will be asked to announce the engagement of Prince Andrew.

The Daily Express said she would hold a "summit" meeting at Windsor Castle this weekend with Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson to discuss their romance.

The newspaper said the young couple considered themselves engaged but the Queen was recommending a "cooling off" period while they made sure they wished to marry. — Sapa/Reuter



Buthelezi seeks support for reconciliation

# Appeal to US

W/E ARGAS 15/3/86 (11A)

which starts on April 3) the scope of negotiations would be extended to seek consensus about a legislative authority which would operate outside the framework of apartheid.

Dr Dellenback would do South Africa a great service if he could mobilise every pressure on Pretoria which would work towards making Mr Botha see the seriousness of the situation he would face if he rejected the proposals.

"If the State President rejects the progress thus far made and inhibits progress by throwing central government obstacles in our path he will be fanning the flames of violence," Chief Buthelezi said.

Earlier Chief Buthelezi told Dr Dellenback that the West needed to become more aware of the fact that there were two struggles taking place in South Africa: one against apartheid and the other a struggle for democracy.

Western governments and groups too often joined in the struggle against apartheid regardless of whether or not their support tended to move South Africa towards or away from the prospect of finally establishing a real democracy. — Sapa.

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has sought top-level US support for pressure aimed at persuading President P W Botha of the vital national importance of the Kwazulu/Natal proposals put before the Government this week.

In a reference to the coming Kwazulu/Natal indaba he warned that if Mr Botha inhibited further such inter-racial negotiations he would be "fanning the flames of violence".

He was speaking at a meeting here with US congressman Dr John Dellenback, a member of the committee advising the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, on policy on South Africa.

Dr Dellenback, who is also president of the American Coalition of Christian Colleges and a former head of the US Peace Corps, was in Durban to attend the Kwazulu Cabinet's annual prayer breakfast.

## Negotiation

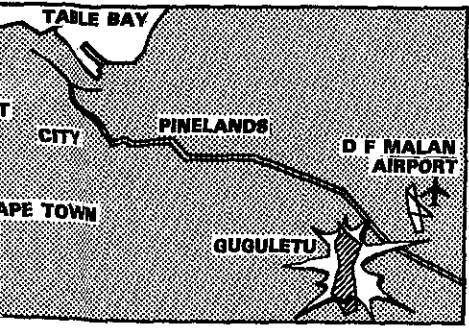
Chief Buthelezi said the proposals which he and the Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, had put before the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, were aimed at reconciliatory politics.

The proposals showed that there were things which could now be negotiated at the first-tier and second-tier levels of government.

In the second phase of the negotiations (at the indaba

11A

# Seven ANC suspects shot dead in skirmish



SEVEN suspected ANC insurgents were shot dead in a gunbattle with police in Guguletu, near Cape Town, early yesterday.

In what appeared to be a carefully-planned police operation, detectives from the Peninsula Murder and Robbery Unit confronted the men as they alighted from a stolen mini-bus at about 7.20am.

Challenged by a detective, one of

Own Correspondent

the men threw a hand-grenade at a police car, injuring one policeman.

Another policeman was injured by flying glass.

The men dispersed and fired at the police with small arms and AK47 assault rifles.

Police special task force back-up vehicles were summoned to the scene

and a pitched gunbattle erupted, during which the seven suspects were shot dead.

Witnesses said the stolen mini-bus had driven back towards the suspects in an apparent attempt to pick them up. Police fire brought it to a standstill.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said yesterday the ANC had planned an attack on a police

vehicle in Cape Town and that "certain precautionary measures" had been taken beforehand.

According to one source, the detectives who initiated the contact were "incredibly lucky" to escape with their lives.

The grenade had a 4.5-second delay. This enabled the police car to drive clear and the detective to dive for cover.

● See Page 3

CAPL Times 15/3/86

# Mandela meets Eminent Persons

Political Correspondent

MEMBERS of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) met jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela this week.

The meeting, which took place on Wednesday, means that the EPG is the first group in recent times to hold talks with Mr Mandela, the ANC's external leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, and President P W Botha.

The influential seven-person group met with President Botha shortly after discussions with Mr Mandela on Wednesday afternoon.

By yesterday all members of the group had left South Africa after their intensive fact-finding tour to decide on whether Commonwealth countries should impose stiffer sanctions on this country.

It is understood that members of the EPG team might visit South Africa again before their mid-June deadline for reporting back to the

Commonwealth.

A spokesman for the Prisons Service yesterday declined to say whether the EPG visit with Mr Mandela had taken place because visits to prisoners were a "private matter".

Mr Mandela's attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, said he knew "nothing" about the visit.

A spokesman for President Botha's office said he was "not in a position to respond to inquiries" about the EPG's meeting with Mr Botha.

When approached from comment in Nairobi, World Council of Churches president Dame Nita Barrow said: "We are at a very delicate stage of the negotiations. It was agreed amongst us on Thursday that we should do nothing to jeopardize further discussion."

But the former Indian president, Mr Zail Singh, said: "(The tour) was strenuous but very rewarding. We were able to see all whom we wanted to see."

15/3/84  
S.M.A.  
**Councillor  
challenged  
on evidence**

By Andrew Beattie  
K.A.

**DELMAS** — A Lekoa town councillor was challenged on his evidence yesterday that youths wearing Vaal Civic Association T-shirts had threatened voters before elections in 1983.

Councillor John Hlophekile Ngcina, of Ward 33, Boipatong, was testifying at the trial of 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic Association, the Azanian People's Organisation and Azanian Youth Unity. The men, who are all in custody, have all denied charges of high treason, incitement to murder and subversion during campaigns against elections under the Black Local Authorities Act and against rent increases.

Mr Ngcina said that youths wearing UDF and VCA T-shirts disrupted his pre-election meetings in 1983.

Mr George Bizos SC, for the defence, said that at no time had VCA T-shirts ever been made.

Mr Ngcina also testified that he had successfully tendered R760 000 for a beerhall in Lekoa within months of being elected councillor.

The hearing continues.



# ANC flags fly as thousands defy Cape funeral curbs

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

THOUSANDS of mourners gathered in Guguletu, near Cape Town, yesterday for the funeral of seven men — allegedly ANC guerrillas — shot dead by police earlier this month.

The men were killed in an early morning shootout in the township on March 3. Police said afterwards that they were involved in terrorist activities.

Although the authorities have not released the names of those killed in the incident, sources at the funeral identified them as Mr John Konile, Mr Jabulani Mjya, Mr Christopher Plet, Mr Alfred Zola Swelani, Mr Simon Manola Mxixwa, Mr Tembisa Mofifi and Mr Mzwandile Sekiso.

Mourners ignored the restrictions placed on the funeral.

Estimates on the crowd size ranged from an official police count of only 3 000 to media tallies of 15 000.

Most people wore stickers reading "Free Mandela Now!!".

Several banners were held high, and the flags of

the ANC and various other organisations led the funeral procession. A UDF official also addressed the crowd.

At least one red hammer-and-sickle Soviet flag was in evidence at the Guguletu Stadium, and each of the seven coffins was draped in the black, green and gold colours of the ANC.

Hundreds of marshals dressed in khaki uniforms with ANC flashes monitored the ceremony.

## Roadblock

Police kept a low profile during the funeral, managing a minor roadblock at the entrance to Guguletu.

But as mourners were returning from the cemetery at about 5pm — the police deadline set for the proceedings was 3pm — several Casspirs moved into the township.

The vehicles blocked off the road along which the singing mourners were moving and as the crowd approached, several canisters of teargas were fired.



Mourners wearing UDF T-shirts give clenched-fist salutes at the funeral yesterday of seven men killed in a police shootout

## Mourners give massive show of support as 'comrades' are buried . . .

Sunday Times Reporters

THOUSANDS of people defied magisterial injunctions yesterday to parade African National Congress colours and deliver fiery oratory at four funerals in different parts of the country.

Minor clashes between police and mourners were reported at several of the funerals, but no fatalities.

The turn-outs were the biggest demonstration yet in support of the banned ANC, and its colours and chants were everywhere in evidence.

The biggest funeral was in Cape Town's Guguletu township, where seven men — at least five of them ANC — were killed by security forces in a firefight recently.

In Saulsville, near Pretoria, the ANC flags draping the coffins of two unrest victims were confiscated by police in Casspirs escorting a procession of mourners to the local cemetery.

Police watched from the Casspirs as the mourners chanted freedom songs and delivered political speeches at the AME church — despite a ruling by a Pretoria magistrate that there should be no such actions.

Other restrictions appar-

ently ignored were that the two deceased — Mrs Esther Masuku and Mr Ben Mabena — should not be buried at a joint funeral.

It was claimed the police seized several youths and assaulted them.

A police spokesman said he was unable to respond to the allegations.

Meanwhile, in Port Elizabeth a crowd of 3 000 attended the funeral of Mr Tanduxolo Mbethe, an ANC cadre killed in a shoot-out with police in New Brighton.

## Slogans

While the service was under way in the church building, hundreds of other mourners gathered outside, chanted ANC slogans and did the emotive Toyi-Toyi dance. Again khaki-clad marshals

sporting ANC colours regulated the ceremony.

A wooden replica of an AK-47 rifle was buried with Mr Mbethe. Police watched from nearby Casspirs.

In Kanana township, near Orkney, 170km south-west of Johannesburg, a funeral for three people, killed in clashes with the police on March 4, was held.

Although no ANC colours were visible, the mourners sang ANC songs and taunted a police video unit with chants: "Blacks will win with their AK-47s".

Police also reported a clash between an SAP patrol and 500 people stoning a truck at Kanana yesterday. Six men were arrested.

In Kwasakhele, near Port Elizabeth, the charred body of an unknown black woman was found by police.

# Mandela release put on front burner

Sunday Times Reporter

THE possible release of Nelson Mandela and the future status of the African National Congress are again on the front burner.

The seven-man Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group left South Africa this week after a final round of intensive and highly secret discussions with members of the Government during which, it is believed, they submitted at least two substantive proposals involving the ANC.

On Wednesday the group met Mr Mandela, imprisoned since 1963, for several hours but though there is no official confirmation of the meeting it was a significant concession by Pretoria to the visitors.

## Secret

Details of the EPG proposals — like their extensive tour of the country, which was conducted with a minimum of publicity — are a closely guarded secret, but observers believe they deal with the possible release from prison of Mr Mandela and the future status of the now-banned ANC.

The EPG was appointed after the conference of Commonwealth countries in Bermuda last year. Its main task was to explore ways of introducing lines of communication between the Government and the various radical movements opposed to it.

At first, observers saw its appointment as little more than a time-buying device — acceptable to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher — to head off a decision to impose economic sanctions.

However, after some initial problems in appointing its members, the EPG set about its task in a highly systematic way and, in two visits to South Africa, the group conducted exhaustive discussions with virtually all shades of opinion. Discussions were also held in Harare and in Lusaka with the ANC leadership.

## Serious

The South African Government is said to have been much impressed by the EPG's almost obsessional determination to maintain a low profile — in marked contrast with, say, comparable visiting groups from the United States Congress.

This, say observers, has encouraged President P W Botha, known to hold Mrs Thatcher in high regard, to consider very seriously the proposals put forward by the EPG at the end of their visit. It is likely the Government's response will be sent to the Commonwealth Office in London within a few weeks.

The members of the EPG are former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Barber, former Nigerian Head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo, former Tanzanian Foreign Minister Mr John Malecela, Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados, Archbishop Edward Scott, Primate of Canada's Anglican Church, and former Indian Foreign Minister Mr Swaran Singh.

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# Three homes petrol-bombed

**THERE** were more incidents of violence last week against Transvaal residents resisting resettlement or incorporation into a homeland.

Four Brits homes were hit in the latest wave of violence.

Petrol bombs were hurled into the homes of the chairman of the Brits Action Committee (BAC) Marshall Buys, its secretary Sello Ramakobye and Jacob Moatshe, president of the Young Christian

## THELMA TUCH

Workers. A hand-grenade was also thrown into the home of Leonard Brown.

BAC is a residents' organisation helping people in the Old Brits Location to resist removal to Lethladile, a resettlement area about 20km away.

A BAC meeting held after the attacks was disrupted when police used teargas. It is believed some of the 2 000 in the hall were cut while fleeing through windows.

A child escaped death when a hand-grenade was thrown into the home of Robert Ndlala, vice-chairman of the Ekangala Action Committee (EAC), near Bronkhorstpruit, Transvaal.

EAC, which represents more than 6 000 homes in Ekangala, is resisting the community's incorporation into KwaNdebele and is demanding that residents should be moved to East Rand townships from where they were originally removed.

# Nusas asks for students' views on ANC meeting

11A STAR 17/3/86

The National Union of South African Students wants to know if students would support a meeting between it and African National Congress representatives.

A statement released in Johannesburg last night said the union executive, which supported such a meeting, felt student opinion should be gauged.

The executive is made up of the presidents of students' representative councils from universities affiliated to the union, as well as union president Mr Brendan Barry.

The move followed requests by all union affiliates.

The executive said the meeting would look for answers to questions on the fears and concerns of white students about the ANC and the future of South Africa.

Details of the proposed visit would be discussed at the Nusas national council in April.

The motivation behind the proposed talks included the fact that there could be no solution to the conflict in South Africa without the ANC, the statement said.

"Political surveys show the ANC as a likely future government; Nelson Mandela has widespread popular support; the ANC flag is flown at funerals and protests across South Africa and speakers identify themselves openly with its aims," the statement said.

"Yet Press censorship and the ban on the ANC means we approach this future blind. We believe we have a right to know what the ANC stands for and how it sees our future."

Lack of faith in the Nationalist Government's ability to find solutions also motivated the decision.

"Their reform initiatives are inadequate and they are still clinging to white minority rule," the statement said. "The political pace is now being set by forces outside Parliament."

"By clamping down on these forces, the Government is heightening the level of conflict we can expect in our society at the same time as denying South Africans the right to hear and discuss alternatives proposed by these extra-parliamentary organisations."

## 'ALTERNATIVES'

The last reason, said the statement, was that white students committed to the country faced much uncertainty and confusion about the future.

"To confront that future with any confidence or to contribute to building it we must have a full understanding of the alternatives presented by all political forces."

"We cannot hope to bridge the gaps created by apartheid until all South Africans can discuss the future together." — Sapa.

# Teargas at funeral of alleged ANC men

CAPE TOWN — A teargas volley sent hundreds of Guguletu mourners running for cover at the end of a mass funeral on Saturday.

At the funeral, for seven alleged African National Congress guerillas, there had been open defiance of a magisterial order banning political content from speeches.

An initial crowd of about 6 000 people swelled to 15 000 and then to over 30 000. It was impossible to estimate accurately the final total.

But a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher stated categorically: "We observed the crowd from our police helicopter and we estimated there

were not more than 3 000 people present at any stage of the funeral.

"To say there were 30 000 mourners is incorrect and false."

Security forces threw a solid cordon of Casspirs, Buffels, sneeze machines and police vans around the township, but non-residents and journalists proceeding to the funeral were allowed through after being warned that entry was at their "own risk".

The coffins of Mr Mandla Simon Mxinwa, Mr Zola Alfred Swelani, Mr Godfrey Jabulani Miya, Mr Christopher Piet, Mr Themba Mlifi, Mr Zambonke John Konile and Mr Themba Madiyane were draped with ANC flags throughout the ceremony. — Sapa.

Call for  
Pretoria  
boycott

PRETORIA. — The Pretoria business community is in for another tough time after the Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee's decision to call for an indefinite boycott of consumer goods in white shops from March 24.

A spokesman for the Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee (PCBC) said last week the boycott would be effected by residents of Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and So-shanguve "because their demands have not been met".

Early this year, the PCBC lifted a month-long consumer boycott of white shops imposed in December last year and threatened to re-impose the boycott if certain demands were not met.

Their demands include:

- A call to the City Council to stop the planned removal of the black taxi rank from Bloed Street to Marabastad.
- The withdrawal of security forces in the townships.
- The unbanning of Cosas (Congress of South African Students).
- The release of all the boycott-related detainees. — Sapa

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# Chanting crowd praises AN



At Saturday's mass funeral in Guguletu, a United Democratic Front guard of honour salutes the seven alleged African National Congress guerillas shot dead by police on March 3.

**Staff Reporter**  
IT MADE little difference to the 30 000 people that attended the funeral in Guguletu on Saturday that parents of some of the seven men killed in a shootout with police on March 3 have said their sons were not involved in politics.

Disregarding South African security laws, speakers eulogized the leaders of the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The funeral procession marched under the banners of the ANC and the SACP, while posters read "viva Tambo, viva Slovo" (Oliver Tambo and Joe Slovo), "Viva MK

(Umkhonto we Sizwe) and "Viva ANC".

The seven were buried in a ceremony which saw possibly the largest outpouring of support for the African National Congress in Cape Town since the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s and 1960s.

More than 100 white people were present, most of them supporters of the United Democratic Front. They were given a warm reception, and cries of "viva magabane" (long live comrade) went up as they mingled in the crowd.

A number of whites wearing UDF shirts were asked to act as a guard of honour to the dead men.

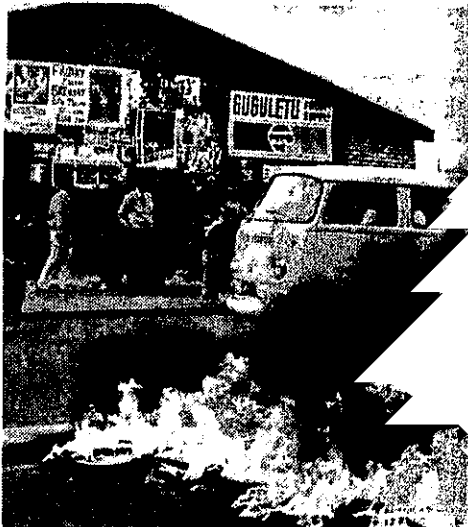
In short, Guguletu was under the control of the ANC for the day.

Marshalls wearing ANC and UDF colours maintained discipline during the 3km funeral procession.

Eventually more than 30 000 people — some estimates put the crowd at over 40 000 — ran two kilometres to the cemetery chanting "Oliver Tambo, Oliver Tambo".

Militant speeches characterized the ceremony.

Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign, said of the dead men: "They were not terrorists, they were democrats and freedom lovers."



A minibus speeds past a burning barricade in NY108, Guguletu, after the funeral.

# Campaign for ANC meeting

CALL TO IS  
17/3/86 (11A)  
SP

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nusas has launched a campaign to gain student support for a meeting with the African National Congress.

A motion to meet the ANC was passed by the Nusas executive on Friday, after requests from Nusas affiliates, but the body is still hoping to gauge student reaction to the proposal.

Details of the proposed meeting — to answer questions and clarify concerns and fears of white students about the ANC and SA's future — will be discussed at a national council next month.

In a statement, the executive said conflict in South Africa could not be solved without the ANC's full participation.

It said Nusas had no faith in the Nationalist government to find solutions to conflict in the country as their reform initiatives were inadequate and they were still clinging to white minority rule.



# Tanzania lifts ban for SA peacemaker

The Star's Africa News Service

ARUSHA (Tanzania) — For the first time in almost 25 years Tanzania waived its strict ban against admitting anybody travelling on a South African passport.

This exception was made in favour of Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town.

A prominent Quaker and active conciliator in conflicts across the colour line, he was one of three South Africans invited to attend an international conference on "Peace and Security in Southern Africa" jointly sponsored by the International Peace Academy, based in New York, and the Centre for Foreign Relations in Dar es Salaam. The other two South Africans were not able to attend.

Professor van der Merwe played a major part in arranging the recent meeting in Zambia between the African National Congress (ANC) and South African business leaders. He has also been active in seeking to promote meetings between the ANC and members of the NGK and Afrikaans students from Stellenbosch.

He was warmly welcomed by the three ANC delegates who attended the Arusha meeting. In addition to the ANC, participants in the conference included delegations from the Pan African Congress and Swapo.

The 99 representatives at the meeting came from African Frontline states, Commonwealth countries, Western Europe and the United States. Apart from

Yugoslavia, none of the East European countries was represented. All the participants spoke in their personal capacities and not as representatives of governments or organisations.

The aim of the conference — which was opened by the Prime Minister of Tanzania, Mr Joseph Sinde Warioba — was to explore the complexities of political, military, economic and social developments in Southern Africa with a view to enhancing the prospects for peaceful social change in the region.

## REGIONAL CONFERENCES

The meeting was one of a series of regional conferences promoted by the International Peace Academy, which was founded in 1970 on the initiative of an Indian, Major-General Indarjit Rikhe.

He first came to prominence as the United Nations military representative in Zaire in the early 1960s, and subsequently acted as the military adviser to the United Nations secretary general before setting up the academy.

The Arusha meeting was not open to the media or the public, but it is nevertheless possible to quote from Professor van der Merwe's contribution since it was based on a paper he had delivered shortly before to South African businessmen. Entitled "South African society under stress: prospects for negotiation", the main points in the paper were:

- Conflict should not necessarily be seen as bad or destructive. It can serve useful social functions, provided it is constructively addressed. The real problem does not lie in the presence of conflict but in the way it is handled, accommodated and/or resolved.

- The end of apartheid will not mean the end of violence — either physical, mental or institutional.

- South Africa's society is complex. Its heterogeneous population is divided not only in terms of race and class. Demagogues tend to reduce the situation to single factors, presenting their own side as white and that of their opponents as black. They do not allow for shades of grey, or for a middle ground.

- The South African Government is committed to negotiate. President Botha has stated his personal commitment to negotiate on several occasions. "If he is sincere — and I firmly believe he is — these statements inevitably mean that he must be willing to talk also to the leaders of ANC, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which represent the vast masses of South Africans of all communities."

- The recent statements by President Botha, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela leave sufficient room for negotiations at the highest level. While neither side can be expected to repudiate the use of violence as a precondition for talks, they can insist on a conditional and temporary suspension of violence.

But some in the media

# The blatant exploitation of white fears

A so-called white backlash is being actively encouraged and unashamedly exploited by the Conservative Party and its political look-alikes in their political battle against the National Party.

Hardly a day goes by in Parliament without the CP claiming that it is the only party representing the real feelings of whites and protecting the interests of whites.

At the same time, the party does everything it can to drum up white fears to embarrass the Government.

The basis of the campaign is to create the perception that the Government's unclear and hesitant moves towards power-sharing are a handover to radical black government.

The most blatant example this year has been the rapid reaction of the CP to the statement by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha predicting the possibility of a black President.

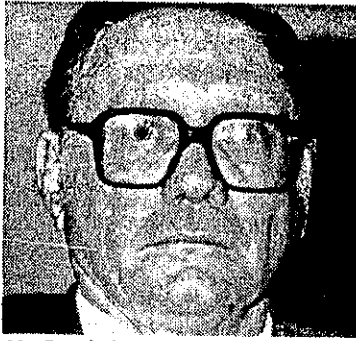
It would then be possible, CP spokesmen said, for ANC leader Nelson Mandela to fill the post.

(It was this argument that apparently got the State President, Mr P W Botha, to slap down his Foreign Minister so harshly.)

This was one of the more serious examples, but there are plenty more in the blatant exploitation of white fears.

Another was the questions asked after the dropping of race as a qualification for immigration.

Did this mean, the CP asked, that the Government now intended opening immigration offices in Pakistan



Mr Frank le Roux... "Any spark could now cause a rumpus."

17/3/86 SPAR  
Ultra-rightwingers are doing their utmost to create the perception that the Government's hesitant and unclear moves towards power-sharing are a handover to radical black government. Bruce Cameron of The Star's political staff reports from Cape Town.



Mr Chris Rencken... "Rabble rousing is potentially dangerous."

and India?

One of its favourite subjects, however, is expenditure and CP members try repeatedly to imply the blacks pay little in the way of taxes but are the main beneficiaries of government coffers.

CP members have used this argument to the full in the ongoing drought and have more recently also implied this in the railway pay increases controversy.

In recent months the CP campaign of exploiting white prejudices and fears has taken a new, and to its political opponents, dangerous slant.

There have been ambiguous calls by CP leaders for whites to stand firm and oppose the Government as well as a closer contact with the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB has made little attempt

to hide its militarism or the fact that it is run on lines similar to the defunct Ossewa Brandwag, which became involved in subversive actions in World War 2.

Quite what Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht hopes to gain from his association with the AWB, with its contempt of democracy, he has yet to explain properly. The AWB stands for a one-party state with an executive President heading an Afrikaner dictatorship.

All he has got around to saying so far is that he has the assurance that the AWB will act within the law.

Senior Conservative Party member Mr Frank le Roux denies the CP is deliberately exploiting the fears of whites to gain political advantage.

All the CP is doing is mustering its forces to be ready in the case of a general election or by-election, he

says. "The CP is not irresponsible like the Government, which is surrendering white rights."

Mr le Roux says the white backlash is caused by Government action and that it has reached a critical stage.

"Any spark could now cause a rumpus. An example of a spark would be the intensification of ANC actions or the April ultimatum of ANC-linked organisations to renew the school boycotts."

The Herstigte Nasionale Party's only representative in Parliament, Mr Louis Stofberg, said the recent by-elections had proved a swing to the right because whites were becoming angry. "They are resentful of integration."

The Government should realise that whites were slow to anger and it should not assume that everyone

was in favour of reform.

If they could not "regain their freedom through democracy" they would have very few options left.

"So far whites have only used violence in self-defence."

Interestingly, the HNP will have nothing to do with the AWB.

Mr Chris Rencken MP, the National Party's chief information officer, says he has no doubt that the CP and the AWB and to some extent the HNP are trying to create a white backlash against power-sharing with blacks in a constitutional structure.

"Dr Treurnicht is particularly active at the moment on a rabble-rousing trail of meetings throughout the country.

"Even if the CP and AWB do not espouse violence, the kind of climate they create by rabble rousing is potentially dangerous and leads to acts of violence from people with a low tolerance."

Mr Rencken gave as examples the recent shootings of black pedestrians.

While he did not attribute these actions to the CP or the AWB or their policies, "I think they are the direct result of people being incited into a frenzy designed to create a white backlash."

The actions of the right wing were not only directly dangerous but were suicidal for whites and the country in the long run as it made the possibility of finding peaceful co-existence even more difficult.

# 'I saw assaults on mourners'

By MONK NKOMO

BLACK political organisations yesterday reacted angrily at the police action that left scores of people injured — some seriously — after the joint funeral of two unrest victims in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, at the weekend.

Police, some armed with sjamboks and others wielding baseball bats, charged at mourners shortly after the burial of Mrs Ester Masuku and Mr Ben Mabena.

Later they gave mourners three minutes to disperse at Mrs Masuku's residence in Mashifane Street.

The Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Organisation (Asro), the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation (Sayo), the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Women's Organisation, the Detainees Support Committee and the local branch of the UDF yesterday condemned the police action.

"We have been condemning these actions with the hope that the Government will heed our calls. But our calls fall on deaf ears. It is now clear that the Government has declared war against the people. The Government is not prepared to listen to non-violent means of solving the country's problems," the organisations said in a statement yesterday.

The police, after giving mourners three minutes to disperse, fired tearsmoke canisters and sprayed purple liquid from a van sending relatives and mourners running for cover. I saw the police alight from vehicles and enter the house.

Many people were assaulted and furniture damaged. The people I saw had head and

leg injuries. A young woman who was inside a nearby house came running down the street with a deep gash in the head. "I was assaulted by the police," she said.

I took a drive along Moroe Street and saw a contingent of black policemen outside the house opposite that of the deceased. A group of mourners were ordered to sit on the lawn outside the house and were assaulted

with sjamboks by the police.

Before we left the cemetery I saw white policemen charging at a group of people, including four children, who locked themselves in a house at 1 Masopha Street nearby. Police sprayed tearsmoke under the doors and the occupants later opened the house after being choked by the deadly fumes.

A number of people were dragged out, assaulted and taken to a nearby Landrover where they were assaulted again.

For children — Kenneth (7), Irene (5), Jeffrey (4) and Lucas (4) Vukela — were taken to a medical practitioner after being overcome by tearsmoke.

Furniture inside the house was damaged by

the police who also kicked the doors and at one stage threatened to break the window and throw a tearsmoke canister inside the house.

I also saw a young man being dragged out of a waiting kombi by black policemen after the burial. He was taken to a yellow truck. Later a white policeman went to the truck, assaulted and kicked him damaging his sunglasses. The

white policeman then alighted, patted the black policeman on the back and, smiling, shook his hand and left.

Brigadier H C Lerm, Divisional Inspector of Police for the Northern Transvaal, who was in command at the funeral, yesterday said police acted after being stoned. A few people were also arrested, he added.

Asked to comment

on the spraying of tearsmoke inside the locked house and the assault on mourners, Brigadier Lerm said: "I do not know about that but we will investigate."

Food that was prepared for the mourners was thrown away after it was contaminated by tearsmoke. No incidents were reported at Mr Mabena's residence where mourners comprised mostly of members of the Zion Christian Church.

# ANGER

**THOUSANDS** of Mamelodi workers and pupils stayed away from work and school yesterday in protest against the disruption of a meeting by police on Sunday. A number of people were injured during the disruption.

According to our information police gave the audience 15 minutes to disperse at the launch of the Mamelodi Civic Association at the YMCA hall in Mamelodi East on Sunday.

A spokesman for the MCA said scores of people, including elderly men and women, were injured when police allegedly started shooting before the 15 minutes had lapsed.

The spokesman said they had also received reports that one of the victims was seriously injured. He was rushed to a local doctor who referred him to the Kala-

**By MONK NKOMO**

fong Hospital.

According to the spokesman, police used tearsmoke, birdshot and buckshot to disperse the well-attended meeting.

18/3/86  
**Stayaway**  
**after** (11A)  
**police** (278)  
**disrupt**  
**meeting**  
SOWETAN

"The meeting was not banned. The police action was uncalled for. We condemn this action which has left scores of our people wounded," he added.

The Divisional Inspector for the Northern Transvaal, Brigadier H C Lerm, yesterday said: "I know there was a

meeting there, but I don't know if the meeting was disrupted. I will get into the matter and investigate."

## Protest

Yesterday thousands of pupils boycotted classes and hundreds of workers stayed away from work in protest against the police action. Residents interviewed said they were informed of the stay-away by a group of youths late on Sunday.

A few people, apparently unaware of the stayaway call, trickled to their places of employment in the morning. Few buses and taxis operating between the township and the city.

**Highlights from '86 budget — Page 2**

**Budget '86**  
**Barend spreads**

**mitted**

# ANC members not freedom fighters — US official

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A senior official of the Reagan Administration has said flatly that members of the African National Congress (ANC) are not freedom fighters.

They could not be freedom fighters because they were supported by the Soviet Union, he said here.

The official, who spoke to newsmen here "on background" — meaning he could not be named in reports — may have been trying to put an end to the political mini-storm that ensued after Dr Chester Crocker agreed last week, under pressure from a liberal congressman, that ANC members were freedom fighters in a generic sense.

### DEEP DIFFERENCES

Dr Crocker's statement caused a stir because of the deep differences between liberal and conservative Americans over Southern Africa and its place in the global struggle against communism.

The senior official was asked how the United States could condone the armed struggle by freedom fighters in Nicaragua and yet condemn it by what the State Department now said were freedom fighters inside South Africa.

He replied: "Chet Crocker did not say the ANC were freedom fighters. In fact, it is our view that any group that is supported by the Soviet Union does not have freedom as one of its objectives — and so we would not agree that the ANC are freedom fighters."

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union appears to be making a special propaganda effort to publicise its sympathy for the ANC through the Zulu-language service of Radio Moscow.

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# Senior Citizen

## Bitter rivalry in by-election

Bitter political rivalry has marked the run-up to tomorrow's municipal by-election to fill a Phalaborwa Town Council vacancy.

Mr Jan Grobbelaar is fighting the election on a Conservative Party ticket. The CP has a declared policy of trying to gain control of town councils and school committees in the region.

Mr Grobbelaar said: "By adopting a particular political stance, you indicate which way you want to go."

And he is against all forms of integration.

His National Party opponent, Mr Faan Venter, says a town councillor can only serve his community "if he stands impartially as a person in his own right". — Northern Transvaal Bureau.

## For Easter eggheads

Spend your Easter holidays away from your family ... with your head buried in our giant Easter crossword puzzle. The crossword grid will fill two pages of *Weekend!* magazine in this week's *Saturday Star*.

## Management behind faction fighting: NUM

By Chris More

Miners at Vaal Reefs Gold Mine yesterday alleged that mine management was behind the tribal faction fighting that left at least eight dead and about 70 injured at the weekend.

And yesterday about 120 miners from Transkei left for home, claiming their lives were no longer safe on the mine.

Another miner apparently died outside mine property and the miners included him in the number of those killed in the fighting, claiming a death toll of nine.

Several shaft stewards alleged that management had used Basotho team leaders to start what would be perceived by outsiders as a tribal conflict when, in fact, the aim was to break the unity of miners belonging to the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

### 'ALLOWED TO ENTER HOSTELS'

The shaft stewards said the so-called Basothos who started the fight were not employed at Vaal Reefs but arrived in three buses at about 11 pm on Saturday and management allowed them to enter the hostels.

A spokesman for Anglo American Corporation, Mr Errol Symons, denied the allegations that management was in any way involved in the faction fighting.

He said Vaal Reefs management promoted constructive engagement with the union as a matter of policy.

Mr Symons said that, throughout the incidents of unrest at the mine in recent weeks, management had been in communication with the NUM and had invited union representatives to have discussions with the managers concerned.

"At each affected hostel, mine management has attempted to get the factions together in an effort to resolve their differences," Mr Symons said.

# March 21 is 'Detainees Day'

By **MANDLA NDLAZI**

**MARCH 21** has been declared **National Detainees Day**.

This year it will be dedicated to commemorating the deaths of people killed in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, and in Langa, Uitenhage, on March 21, 1985.

This is according to a Press statement issued yesterday by the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC).

According to the statement, "National Detainees Day which is now an annual event, was observed in the Western Cape on March 12. However, in other parts of the country it will be observed over the weekend of March 21 to 24, the situation and opportunities for its observance differing from region to region.

"In most areas National Detainees Day will be combined with commemorating services for those who died in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, and those who died in Langa on March 21, 1985, as well as the more recent massacres in Mamelodi and Alexandra townships."

The statement said: "The main theme of National Detainees Day will be the concern we have for the repressive legislation which is expected to take over from the state of emergency and plunge the country into a permanent de facto state of emergency."

"In Johannesburg the Detainees Parents Support Committee and the Detainees Support Committee is arranging a commemorative gathering at 2pm on Saturday at the Central Methodist Church hall, and all ex-detainees and families of current detainees are invited."

*Additional information:* No surveys are done on 31 December 1985. Surveys are only done on the first Tuesday of March each year. The figure for 1985 was 328. From 5 March 1985 till 31 December 1985 an additional 5 secondary schools were registered.

*G.C.R. 587*  
*HANSARD 18/3/86*  
 Lenasia: irregularities  
 \*25. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether the South African Police recently received any complaints and/or representations concerning alleged irregularities in the allocation of plots at Lenasia, near Johannesburg; if so, (a)(i) when and (ii) from whom were these complaints and/or representations received and (b) what was the nature thereof;
- (2) whether the alleged irregularities have been investigated; if not, why not; if so, what were the findings;
- (3) whether any action has been taken against any persons as a result of this investigation; if so, (a) what action and (b) against whom?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) (i) 5 February 1986.
  - (ii) It is neither the custom nor the policy to reveal the names of complainants.
  - (b) Alleged fraud with regard to the allotment of plots at Lenasia.
- (2) Yes, the investigation has not been completed, yet.
- (3) No.
  - (a) and (b) Fall away.

HOA

*G.C.R. 587*  
*HANSARD 18/3/86*  
 Guguletu: persons killed/injured  
 \*26. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) With reference to his reply to a question put in the House of Delegates on 4 March 1986 on an incident which occurred in Guguletu on 3 March 1986, involving the South African Police what was the cause of each death and injury which resulted from police action taken on that occasion;
- (2) whether the investigation into the true identities of those killed and injured has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so, what are their names;
- (3) whether any of these persons had gunshot wounds; if so, in which parts of their bodies;
- (4) whether any of these persons attempted to surrender during this incident; if so, what action was taken by the police in response;
- (5) whether the South African Police had information that any of these persons (a) were members of the African National Congress, (b) had been trained as guerillas and (c) were armed; if so, in respect of which of these persons in each case:
- (6) whether any weapons and ammunition were confiscated by the police in connection with this incident; if so, what specified weapons and ammunition;
- (7) whether these persons were travelling in a taxi; if not, (a) for what type of use had this vehicle been registered and (b) in whose name; if so, who is the owner of this vehicle;
- (8) whether this vehicle had been reported stolen; if so, (a) when, (b) where and (c) by whom;
- (9) what was the (a) name and (b) rank

of the officer in charge of the police who took this action in Guguletu;

- (10) whether any of these persons had previously been (a) detained, (b) arrested and (c) charged in term of any security legislation; if so, (i) which persons, (ii) when and (iii) in terms of what statutory provisions in each case;
- (11) whether, prior to taking this action, the South African Police had received any information on the whereabouts of these persons; if so, (a) how, (b) when and (c) what specified information?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) The cause of each death and injuries sustained by the deceased will be explained in the various post-mortem reports. These reports are not available yet.
- (2) Yes.  
 Mandla Simon Mxinwa.  
 Themba Madiyana.  
 Zola Alfred Swelani.  
 Godfrey Jabulani Miya.  
 Christopher Piet.  
 Temba Mlifi.  
 Zabonke John Konile.
- (3) Yes, all of them sustained gunshot wounds. The locality of the wounds were determined by the post-mortems. These reports are not available yet.
- (4) No.
- (5) (a) Yes.
  - (b) Yes, as terrorists.
  - (c) Yes, in respect of all the persons.
- (6) Yes.  
 3 AK47 rifles.  
 6 AK47 magazines.  
 90 rounds AK47 ammunition.

HOA

1 Tokarev pistol with ammunition.  
 1 .45 revolver with ammunition.  
 1 .38 revolver with ammunition.  
 1 RGD 5 handgrenade.  
 1 F1 handgrenade.

- (7) No.
  - (a) A private vehicle registered as a delivery van.
  - (b) I do not deem it in the public interest to make known the name of the registered owner.
- (8) Yes.
  - (a) 01h45 on 26 February 1986.
  - (b) Guguletu.
  - (c) Since the facts of the matter are the subject of criminal proceedings, I am not prepared to make known the particulars.
- (9) (a) and (b) I am not prepared to make public the particulars, except to say that it was a commissioned officer of the South African Police.
- (10) No.
  - (a) to (c) Fall away.
- (11) Yes, at unknown addresses in the Old Cross Road and K T C squatter camps.
  - (a) By applying of information collecting methods.
  - (b) Initially on 27 February 1986 and thereafter again on 2 March 1986.
  - (c) That a group of terrorists in a stolen vehicle would attack a police station and/or a bus containing members of the Force as passengers in Guguletu. Intensive attempts to trace the stolen vehicle and/or to arrest the potential attackers were not successful.



Q.C.C. 579  
 Commuter traffic: loss

HANSARD 18/3/86  
 \*16. Mr P C CRONJÉ asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether the South African Transport Services made a loss on (a) first and (b) third-class commuter traffic in the Johannesburg commuter area in the 1985-86 financial year; if so, what was the loss in each case?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (for the Minister of Transport Affairs):

(a) and (b) Separate figures for the Johannesburg commuter area are not available. However, the estimated loss for the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area is R130 million and R160 million respectively.

Q.C.C. 579  
 Ambassador: statements regarding Nelson Mandela

HANSARD 18/3/86  
 \*17. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether the South African ambassador in Washington made any statements recently regarding the release of Mr Nelson Mandela; if so, what statements;
- (2) whether these statements reflect the policy of the South African Government; if not,
- (3) whether these statements reflect the opinion of (a) his Department and (b) the ambassador in question;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

- (1) No, the ambassador did not make a statement as such. He did however say in reply to a question following an address to the Washington Press

Club and in the context of certain preceding remarks on the subject that Mr Mandela would be released as and when the Government should so decide.

- (2) Falls away.
- (3) (a) and (b) Fall away.
- (4) No, except to refer the hon member to the State President's statements on this matter in Parliament on 31 January 1985 and 31 January 1986.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, did the ambassador speak in his personal capacity?

†The MINISTER: The ambassador spoke in his official capacity in this case.

East Griqualand: farms

\*18. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Public Works:

- (1) Whether it is the intention to acquire certain farms situated in the Swartberg area of East Griqualand; if so, (a) when will the acquisition of these farms be finalized and (b) for what purpose will they be used;
- (2) whether the owners concerned have been advised of this intention; if not, why not; if so, when?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) The farms in question will be acquired as soon as funds become available;
  - (b) conservation purposes.
- (2) No, but the Natal Agricultural Union as well as the local farmers association were represented on the committee which undertook the delimitation of the area which should be acquired.

Q.C.C. 581  
 Locusts 18/3/86  
 HANSARD  
 \*19. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Agricultural Economics:

What amount has been spent on locust control during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available?

†The MINISTER OF MANPOWER (for the Minister of Agricultural Economics):

R7,4 million until end of March 1986.

Queen Elizabeth II

\*20. Mr R W HARDINGHAM: asked the Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism:

Whether any special steps were taken by his Department recently to promote tourism by encouraging passengers travelling on the passenger liner *Queen Elizabeth II* to avail themselves of tourist facilities in the Republic; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS AND TOURISM:

No, not by the Department of Environment Affairs.

Representatives of the South African Tourism Board, however, boarded the *Queen Elizabeth II* on arrival in Cape Town for the purpose of rendering a general tourist information service to those passengers who were not booked on pre-arranged tours and shore excursions.

The South African Tourism Board also collaborated closely with the local agents and the company responsible for the reception programme on the occasion of the ship's arrival in Cape Town as well as for a fashion show on the ship. The Board furthermore accepted responsibility for decorations of indigenous flora on board.

The South African Tourism Board attempted to provide an information service on board the *Queen Elizabeth II* in Durban but was informed by the contracting agency that all the needs of the passengers had already been taken care of.

As far as participation by the passengers in the various tours and shore excursions is concerned, it must be pointed out that all arrangements in this regard are made well before the ships' arrival at the various ports of call on its cruise around the world. In fact, a full colour brochure is published well in advance of the commencement of the world cruise, describing all the tours and shore excursions from every port of call. All these arrangements are negotiated between the shipping line and the contracting agents which enjoy sole rights to operate on board.

Louis Trichardt: removals  
 HANSARD 18/3/86  
 \*21. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

- (1) Whether residents of the Black townships of Louis Trichardt are to be moved; if so, (a) why, (b) when are they to be moved, (c) where will they be moved to, (d)(i) when and (ii) by whom were these residents informed that they would be moved and (e)(i) how many persons are involved and (ii) to which ethnic groups do they belong;
- (2) whether these residents were consulted by his Department prior to the decision being taken to move them; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) by whom and (c) what was their response;
- (3) whether persons who are employed in Louis Trichardt and wish to remain in the Black township will be permitted to do so; if so, (a) which persons and (b) what accommodation will be available for (i) them and (ii) their families; if not, why not;
- (4) whether transport is to be provided for persons employed in Louis Trichardt following their removal; if not, (a) why not and (b) what alternative arrangements have been made by his Department in this regard; if so, (i) what specified transport, (ii) at what cost and (iii) as from what date;
- (5) whether this transport will be subsidi-

- (b) For a preliminary diagnosis of diarrhoea, dehydration, jaundice and headache.
- (3) Yes.
- (a) On 21 and 22 December 1985.
- (b) By military doctors on both dates.
- (c) On 21 December 1985—headache, muscular pains, nausea and vomiting. On 22 December 1985—headache, muscular pains, nausea, vomiting and slight jaundice.
- (d) For the symptoms as mentioned in part (3)(c).
- (4) Yes.
- (a) 26 December 1985.
- (b) Malaria, cerebral involvement, abdominal pain, anaemia and a blood clotting abnormality.
- (c) The clinical image and a positive bloodsmear pointed to this.
- (5) Yes, on 27 December 1985.
- (6) Yes.
- (a) One.
- (b) Nobody on a full-time basis.
- (7) Yes, on 27 December 1985.
- (8) Yes.
- (a) 27 December 1985.
- (b) To undergo kidney dialysis.
- (c) H F Verwoerd Hospital.
- (9) Yes, a Board of Inquiry is being held at present.
- (a) and (b) Boards of Inquiry are confidential internal departmen-

tal documents and any recommendations contained therein are not made public but implemented after appropriate consideration. If necessary appropriate professional and/or disciplinary steps will be considered.

(10) No.

HANSMARD 18/3/86 9 608  
Salaries of Teachers  
\*34. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

- (1) Whether (a) he, (b) his Department and/or (c) any advisory body under his control received any representations during the past year for the equalisation of the salaries of male and female teachers at Post Level 1; if so, (i) from which bodies, (ii) when were they received and (iii) what was the response in each case;
- (2) whether any other distinctions between the salaries of male and female teachers occur in any posts in his Department; if so, (a) what distinctions and (b) why?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) (a) No.  
(b) Yes.

- (i) The Department received representations from the Department of Education and Culture (Administration: House of Assembly) as well as the Department of Education and Training.
- (ii) On 2 March 1986 and 7 March 1986 respectively.
- (iii) These representations were referred to the Committee on Education Structures and its Research Committee for advice.

(c) No.

- (2) I assume that the hon member is referring to the salaries of male and female teachers in posts within the education sector, in which case the answer is no. Distinctions between salaries of male and female teachers presently only exist on Post Level 1.

Krugersdorp: person killed

HANSMARD 18/3/86 609  
\*35. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was killed in a Black township near Krugersdorp in February 1986; if so, (a) on what date, (b) what was the cause of death, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding his death and (d) what is the name of this person;
- (2) whether an investigation has been held into the death of this person; if not, why not; if so, (a) who was responsible for his death and (b) what action has been taken as a result;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
- (a) 24 February 1986.
- (b) Cerebral haemorrhage due to a blow on the head with a heavy object.
- (c) The circumstances which caused his death are still being investigated.
- (d) Steven Matshogo.
- (2) Yes, the investigation is not finalised yet. (a) and (b) Fall away.
- (3) No.

Nelson Mandela  
HANSMARD 18/3/86 11A  
\*36. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Justice:†

- (a) For what crimes is Mr Nelson Mandela serving a term of imprisonment and (b) what sentences were imposed upon him in respect of each of these crimes?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) and (b) He is serving as sentence of imprisonment for life. He was convicted on two counts contravening section 21(1) of Act 76 of 1962 (sabotage), one count of contravening section 11(a) read with sections 1 and 12 of Act 44 of 1950 and one count of contravening section 3(1)(b) read with section 2 of Act 8 of 1953. All four counts were taken together for purposes of sentence.

Own Affairs:

Drought

\*1. Dr J P GROBLER asked the Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply:†

- (1) Whether drought conditions are prevailing in the Northern and North-Western Transvaal bushveld area at present; if so, to what extent;
- (2) whether these conditions are also prevailing in the designated area of 50 kilometres in the Northern and North-Western Transvaal; if so, what percentage of this area is affected thereby;
- (3) whether he recently made an announcement on special measures for this area; if so, (a) when and (b) what measures have been and/or will be taken;
- (4) whether he intends paying a visit to the area; if so, when;
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

# Residents happy with rent increase, treason trial told

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A town councillor from Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle said at the treason trial in Delmas yesterday that some residents were so happy with a proposed rent increase, due to be implemented on September 1 1984, that they paid it in advance.

Mr Arthur Zulu Jokozela, a State witness in a trial involving 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic Association, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Azanian Youth Unity, said no-one had complained about the increase at a meeting he called in August 1984.

The 22 accused have denied charges of high treason, subversion, incitement to murder and to furthering the aims of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Mr Jokozela, councillor for Ward 37 in Sebokeng since shortly before the riots of September 1984, said in reply to a question during his evidence that the people he addressed at the August meeting were happy to pay a rent increase of between R5,50 and R5,90 a month. He explained that increases for hostel dwellers in his ward would be slightly less.

Mr Jokozela said that "a good

crowd" had attended the meeting.

He said that he was elected a councillor in June 1984 and had not been troubled by intimidation during his campaign.

An earlier witness, Mr John Mgcina, who was also a councillor at the time of the Vaal Triangle unrest, told the court that he had been threatened prior to the unrest on September 3 1984, but that he did not report the matter to the police.

Mr Mgcina said that he had been approached by a group of youths who told him that councillors were not wanted and that they must resign.

He added that the youths, at least one of whom was known to him, had threatened to burn him unless he resigned.

Under cross-examination by counsel for the defence, Mr George Bizos, Mr Mgcina said it had not occurred to him to report the incident to the police as he did not know that intimidation and threats constituted a crime.

Mr Mgcina also said under cross-examination that he had not been aware of any calls for a work stayaway on September 3 1984.

"Prior to the that date I had no idea of a stayaway," he added.

The hearing continues.

SWEETMAKING INDUSTRY, EAST LONDON  
Parties, Employer Organisation: Wilson-Rowntree (Pty) Ltd.  
Trade Union: Sweet Workers' Union  
Magisterial Districts of East London Area

Cape Times 18/3/86

# Hendrickse slams 'arrogant' Heunis

By EBRAHIM MOOSA  
Political Reporter

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Labour Party (LP) leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday launched a scathing attack on the tricameral system and its chief architect, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr Hendrickse accused Mr Heunis of "arrogance" for snubbing a high-priority LP private member's motion on constitutional development and not attending yesterday's debate.

"We see his absence here as a sign of the demise of the tricameral system," Mr Hendrickse said.

As Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, Mr Hendrickse's strong remarks are bound to cause tensions within President P W Botha's coalition cabinet.

The attack is also seen as a move to alert the government not to be too complacent in assuming the LP will toe the line.

The LP leader told the House that the motion proposed by Mr Jac Rabie, (LP Reiger Park), which urged the State President to appoint a committee of experts to investigate the constitutional alternative for a non-racial geographic federation of govern-

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To page 2

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C.T. 18/3/86

ment, had been deferred several times to accommodate Mr Heunis.

"How serious is the minister?" he asked. "The most urgent need is to provide political structures for South Africa. We are not moving."

Mr Heunis' department had up to 15 experts who were "fiddling" and engaged in "meaningless" activities, Mr Hendrickse said.

"It is almost a lack of faith in his (Mr Heunis's) own constitutional development."

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Heunis attended debates in both the House of Assembly and the House of Delegates but failed to turn up at the House of Representatives, which brought into question the "relevance" of the coloured House.

"Is this a visible contempt for the participation of this part of the South African community for seeking solutions? Is it arrogance? Is the minister saying: 'I know what I want and do not want to hear what you want?'"

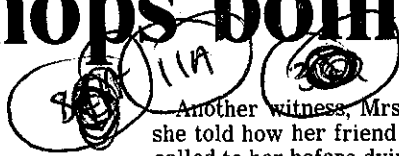
Mr Hendrickse asked for the question to be put "as a protest to the action of the minister" and forced the debate to a close, though 30 minutes of the allocated time for the motion still remained.

Yesterday evening, Mr Heunis explained the reason for not attending the debate. He said that he had arranged another meeting after he had earlier reached an agreement with Mr Rabie to speak immediately after the latter had introduced his motion.

He said that it was only at 2.15pm, after he had arranged his other meeting, that he was told that Mr Hendrickse wanted him to reply at the end of the debate.

# Witnesses recall horror of 'Toti shops bomb blast'

18/3/86 STAFF



Own Correspondent

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DURBAN — Mr Andrew Sibuisiso Zondo (19) pleaded not guilty in the Supreme Court in Scottburgh yesterday to five counts of murder and one of attempting to murder members of the public in December's Amanzimtoti bomb blast.

Mr T.E. Skweyiva, for Mr Zondo, did not wish to outline his client's defence at this stage.

Mr Ross Stewart, for the State, said he would lead evidence that Mr Zondo went to the Amanzimtoti Sanlam centre with an acquaintance and carrying a sports bag containing a limpet mine and detonator which was put in a rubbish bin and exploded at about 11 am.

Survivors of the blast would give evidence and there would be evidence of later acts by Mr Zondo.

The first State witness, Miss Lethea Magena, said she worked for Mr and Mrs van Wyk of Vereeniging and the family, including Marisa (5) and Willem (2), were on holiday. Willem was one of those killed.

Miss Magena said she was sent on an errand to the centre and took the children with her. Marisa went into a shop for an ice cream while she held Willem. As the little girl came out of the shop there was an explosion and something struck her foot.

## 'Incredible blast'

"Then something struck me in the left eye, which was destroyed immediately. I now have an artificial eye. The last I knew of Willem was when we both fell and were looking at one another.

"Willem grabbed me by the left wrist then let go. As far as I know he died right there."

She said Marisa was still suffering from her injuries.

Another witness, Mrs Lynette Lott, broke down as she told how her friend Mrs Anna Shearer sat up and called to her before dying.

The two were leaving the centre but Mrs Lott stopped to talk to a friend. Mrs Shearer walked on and there was "an incredible blast".

"Anna was lying opposite me. She sat up and called my name and then fell back."

Sobbing, Mrs Lott said she had not been able to move to help her. She believed Mrs Shearer must have died immediately because there was blood all over her mouth and nose.

Mrs Lott's right leg and arm were injured. She now has difficulty walking, despite a number of operations.

Mrs Shearer was married and the mother of an 18-month-old baby and two teenaged children.

Another witness described how he was helping his wife choose a bracelet when the bomb exploded.

Transvaaler Mr Dennis Mellors said he was standing against a dustbin with his children, niece and nephew when his wife called him into a gift shop.

After the blast he found himself turned away from the counter, crouching, and said his first instinct had been to run.

He then remembered his family and went to his wife, who was screaming.

He found his son under a pane of glass and handed him to his wife then ran to look for his daughter. She was lying on the shop floor.

They were all injured. His wife was still very shocked and had difficulty going shopping. His son had become incontinent, did not want to go to school and did not like to be among people.

(Proceeding)

# Reform faces catastrophe, warns Rabie

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — A massive constitutional catastrophe was looming for the reform initiative, Mr Jac Rabie (LP, Reigerpark) warned in the House of Representatives.

The little boat of reform was bobbing about in stormy waters, he said, introducing a motion calling for a commission of constitutional experts to examine the alternative of a geographic non-racial federation.

Bannings and detentions were giving greater credibility to radicals, he said. The State had to provide the moderates with incontestable results to allow them to wrest the initiative.

So far, reform proposals had all been born in the National Party. Only if blacks were brought into constitutional negotiations did reform have a chance.

"To think we can save the situation with a Federal Congress of the National Party is wildly misguided."

The Government should rather become officially involved in the Natal indaba.

Mr Rabie said the "experts" he referred to need not be only academics. They could come from the Mandelas, Tambos, Sisulus, Buthelezis, Tutus and Motlanas.

It would be fatal to expect blacks to wait for another generation of whites to take uncertain steps towards real meaningful power-sharing, he said.

**C**hief Minister of KaNgwane, Nganani Enos John Mabuza, a man who travels widely and has met both Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, does not indulge in verbal overkill.

Rather, the chill factor of what he says is generated by quietly enunciated verities. Without making an inventory of apartheid's calamitous potential, he underscores with relentless intensity the level of anger and frustration that runs like a serpent through the black community.

Mabuza and a 21-man delegation recently met the ANC in Lusaka. As chairman of the Inyandza National Movement, he was given a mandate to meet the leadership of the ANC. Pivotal to the discussions were the current unrest situation and the future of this country.

The ANC violently rejects homeland leaders, whom they perceive as SA government puppets. Why, I ask Mabuza, did the ANC talk to him for three days? What was the common ground that made him acceptable?

"You would have to ask them," he says. "But the common ground is a non-racial, democratic society in SA. However, we remain committed to peaceful change. The ANC remains committed to the arms struggle until such time as government releases political prisoners, unban political organisations, dismantles apartheid and negotiates with credible leaders in the country."

**W**hat has he done to change ANC entrenched perceptions and attitudes towards homeland leaders?

Mabuza: "I think they recognise we are striving for a democratic, non-racial society within the legal precincts. They accept our *bona fides* in that regard. We have expressed our belief that homelands are not a political solution for our country."

Then why does Mabuza align himself with the homeland system which he rejects? At this stage he is going along with it, he affirms. "But I am sure conditions will arise which may require that I resign or that I step down."

He does not hesitate to air his view on homelands. "The homelands were not created on the basis of a decision by the majority of blacks in this country. Government designed the plan and all we had to do was fit into the plan, be it in pendular or triangular or sectional form. Blacks didn't decide on it."

"If the Indian Council or the Coloured Representative Council could be dismantled, the homelands can also be dismantled. We should look for a new dispensation which would be acceptable to the majority of blacks. Homelands are not."

Currently he sees himself as working towards an objective in the homelands. What is it?

"Look, we have a train here. It's careering to an abyss, probably driven by some lunatic who doesn't care what happens when the train falls into such an abyss. If one is capable of applying brakes and stopping or reversing it... I think that is my duty in the homelands junction called KaNgwane."

"At least I can bring to a halt to KaNgwane becoming an independent state, which is the logical conclusion of the policy and thereby de-nationalising 1-million SA-born Swazis. I have a role to play in seeing that the policy doesn't achieve its objectives."

# Mabuza on black unity, white fears

BJA/19/3/86  
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Hellouise Truswell talking to KaNgwane Chief Minister ENOS MABUZA

Is he a member of the ANC? He laughs: "The ANC is not a legal organisation in SA. Categorically, I am not a member of the ANC. I am a member and leader of my Inyandza National Movement."

"But what I would like to say is that it appears as if government and many of the whites are oblivious of the obvious support of the ANC in the country. Nobody can quantify support because no-one can say I am a paid-up member of the ANC. From my assessment of the situation and in my own territory, and especially among the young people, there is overwhelming support for the ANC."

I ask him whether Nelson Mandela has become a token figurehead who is irrelevant in current black politics? "He was relevant when he was imprisoned and I believe he is still relevant today. If he would be irrelevant that is a question that would be decided by his supporters in an open political marketplace."

"I have reason to assume he is still very relevant until the contrary is proved. The contrary will be proved by his leadership if he were to be released and the relationship of that leadership with the masses."

What is the view of Mabuza — an honours psychology graduate who is the author of several text books — on the subject of violence? "Violence can only be an option by the people if they are forced into it."

**W**hat are regarded as legitimate forces to allow violence to be an option? "If the people were driven to a state where all options for peaceful opposition to the policies of the country were unavailable, especially the denial of political rights and the relegation of blacks to socio-economic subservience. If the state brought all its might to ensure and perpetuate that..."

How does he see the present situation? "There are legitimate grievances in the townships to be addressed. Beyond that there are the aspirations of blacks to elect their own leaders to represent them in the highest political institutions of the country."

How does he feel about the latest round of reform proposals. "I think here it is a question of whether apartheid is being dismantled or reformed."

Blacks want to see dismantling of apartheid. For example, says Mabuza: "If passes are going to be removed and you are going to have a common identity book, it won't work as long as the Population Registration Act is on the statute book."

"Whites will have serial numbers



□ MABUZA... common destiny

which immediately declare them white. I will have a different serial number and the computer will say black. Go and look for him where he stays. As the state president has said, apartheid is outmoded. It should be dismantled, not reformed. Let's remove these outmoded structures. That will be real reform."

Is he optimistic about concrete changes? "I have heard about it. My people have heard about it. But they haven't experienced it. They haven't felt it. There is a vast difference between hearing and feeling and experiencing..."

The rejection of educational disciplines for what they are worth at the moment must have an enormously deleterious effect on the future of youth. What is his view of this?

"Most of these youngsters openly support the ANC. And the ANC is a banned organisation. Their leaders are in exile. Their leaders are in prison."

"Now how do you expect thousands if not millions of young people who believe in leaders who are in prison or in exile, to have appropriate direction in the absence of those leaders?"

I think this should drive sense into the minds of government to release political prisoners unconditionally and to unban the ANC. I have no doubt that if these leaders come to the country and are invited to the conference table, there will be co-ordinated action and reaction by the young people."

The goal, he stresses, is a non-racial, democratic society. Is it also a one-man-one-vote situation?

"Definitely. About that there is no hesitation in my mind. I must say here

that I'm not in favour of a federal system, and I believe that most of our people aren't, either."

What about participating in the new statutory body suggested in Parliament? "The blacks have said they are prepared to negotiate. But before they do so they would like to see political prisoners released. And they would like to see political organisations unbanned."

"Personally, I believe that in spite of whatever strategies they might have used, these political prisoners were imprisoned because of what I believe in: a democratic country where every South African regardless of race, colour and creed will have the right to vote for his or her leaders. They believed in that. My view personally is that it would be sacrilege, political sacrilege on my part, to negotiate behind their backs..."

He refuses to divulge any matters which were discussed with the ANC because it is a banned organisation and may not be quoted. What he is prepared to say is that one important factor emerged: the necessity of unity amongst blacks especially, but also of all the people of this country in opposing apartheid.

"I think we should join forces. The message is loud and clear that in doing so there are no touchables and untouchables. If we all join forces we can bring about the correct pressure to bear upon government to drive the message home. Then we have a chance of averting disaster in the country."

When it comes to pressure, how does he see the role of trade unions?

"I think they will use their worker power quite efficiently in the future. But they can't elect a leader to go to Parliament to speak about their rights. That is why trade unions have no option but to practice politics on the factory floor and to use their muscle there to bargain for political rights."

**T**here are no easy solutions, he admits. But time is short and government needs to be bold, especially in overcoming white attitudes.

Mabuza: "Frankly, I think the problem in our country is that whilst many whites want to see peaceful change, they are very suspicious. I understand that suspicion and mistrust and I sympathise with them because I think they know that blacks have been under the boot of oppression for many generations."

"There is that fear that if blacks are treated as equals, the boot will be on the other foot and they will find themselves under it. I'm presently aware of whites who are highly suspicious of my visits to Lusaka in the interests of my country and my people. My heart bleeds when I note this suspicion and mistrust."

"I become very worried about the future of the country. Since I became chief minister I have tried to build bridges. We can only have hope in this country if whites will meet us as brothers and sisters on an equal basis and trust us. Remove suspicion and fears."

# UCT students decide on ANC

UNIVERSITY of Cape Town students meet today to decide whether Nusas should talk with the African National Congress.

UCT's SRC president Mr Glen Goosen said that if a "positive decision" was reached at the Jameson Hall meeting, the SRC would start compiling questions on issues students wanted raised with the ANC.

The campus meeting is part of a Nusas campaign to get a mandate from students on affiliated campuses on contact with the ANC.

Mr Goosen said the campaign was a "significant political initiative" within the white community because it was the first time an

organisation was trying to get a mandate on the issue from its membership.

"A lot of people are aware of the ANC but there is also possibly a lack of understanding of it — mainly the result of it being banned for so many years," Mr Goosen said.

A motion to meet the ANC was passed by the Nusas executive on Friday after the SRCs of each affiliated campus voted unanimously in favour of similar motions last week.

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# Vaal rent rise was cause of unrest, treason trial told

Staff Reporter

**DELMAS** — The rent increase which was to be implemented in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 was a material cause of the unrest which swept the area that month, a Sebokeng councillor told the treason trial in Delmas yesterday.

Mr Arthur Zulu Jokozela, a State witness in the trial of 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front, Vaal Civic Association, Azanian People's Organisation and Azanian Youth Unity, said in cross-examination that it was the only "main reason advanced".

The accused — in custody pending a new bail application set down for this week — have denied charges of high treason, subversion and incitement to murder. They have also pleaded not guilty to charges of furthering the aims of the ANC and South African Communist Party.

Mr Jokozela, who has been a Sebokeng councillor since shortly before the unrest in September 1984, said in answer to a question that he agreed with the statement that the rent increases were a material cause of the unrest.

Under re-examination by Mr W J J Hanekom for the State, Mr Jokozela reiterated what he had said under cross-examination. "I said that, and I still say that. That was the major rea-

son advanced."

In earlier cross-examination by Mr George Bizos, for the defence, Mr Jokozela said that with hindsight, armed with the knowledge of what happened in the Vaal Triangle after the rent increase, it would have been better to have suspended them when the Lekoa Council met to discuss the issue on August 28.

"During that meeting it did not occur to us," he said.

In his evidence-in-chief on Monday, Mr Jokozela said that when he held a meeting in early August to explain the rent increases to his constituency, everyone had seemed happy.

"No one complained ... some of them were so happy that they paid the rent increase there and then and we had to refund them."

The second witness to testify yesterday was also a councillor from the Vaal Triangle.

Mr Simon Mofokeng said he had come to know of the existence of the Vaal Civic Association only after the events of September 3 1984.

He had also received threatening phone calls in the week leading up to the outbreak of unrest on September 3 but did not know the identity of the caller.

The hearing continues.

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19/3/86

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# EL blasts: no bail for two men

Dispatch Reporter

**EAST LONDON** — Bail was refused in the magistrate's court here yesterday for two men appearing in connection with charges following a series of bomb blasts in East London last year.

Mr Khaya Carmichael Libaza and Mr Andile Hewukile, both 25 and from Zone 1 in Mdantsane, are facing charges of murder, attempted murder, terrorism and possession of arms and ammunition.

Yesterday Mr W. Kingsley, from the attorney-general's office in Grahamstown, submitted an order opposing bail in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act.

The trial date was set for August 18, and the magistrate, Mr W. Opperman, said the summary trial would be held in the regional court.

The men are appearing in connection with bomb incidents at:

- The East London City Hall which caused R24 000 damage;
- The King's Hotel in East London (where the bomb did not detonate);
- Swan's Motors in Amalinda where R16 000 damage was caused and Mrs L. Biogio and her 12-year-old son, Clinton, were injured.

The state alleges that the men murdered Constable Lungisile Bhekiso near Mount Ruth Station last year and attempted to murder Ntsikelelo Shadrack Sizani, Robert Graham Keith, Johannes Rennie Venter, Josias Alexander Crous and Nolan Warren Schlemmer.

Mr Abraham Magqabi appeared for Mr Libaza and Mr Hintsisa Siwisa appeared for Mr Hewukile.

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19/3/86  
DISPATCH

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# Outcry over bottle stores

**BLACK organisations have slammed Lekoa town councillors for taking over the bottle stores in the Vaal Triangle.**

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Vaal Parents Crisis Committee (VPCC), the UDF-affiliate Vaal Civic Association (VCA), the Vaal Trade Union Coordinating Committee (VTCOC) together with students organisations, have expressed anger at the action of the councillors.

**SOWETAN Reporter**

Several councillors, including the chairman of the Lekoa Town Council, Mr Esau Mahlatsi, and his relatives, have been granted liquor outlets by the council.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said when such a takeover was mooted tragedy followed. The designs of community councillors knew no

bounds, he added.

A spokesman for the VCA said it was regrettable that councillors have not abandoned the taking over of the liquor outlets — an issue which angered residents in 1984.

The VTCOC said the council should resolve the controversial rent issue, rather than to allocate themselves businesses.

The Vaal Tavern Association said that priority should have been

given to shebeens before councillors who did not have any knowledge of dealing in liquor.

**Letters**

In terms of the letters received by the board's employees their services will be terminated as from April 30 due to the privatisation of the outlets, which were destroyed during the recent unrests.

• In our story on Monday we described Mr

George Thabe as an ex-councillor. He is one of the people who have been sold bottle stores. Mr Thabe has pointed out that he resigned from the Community Councils six years ago and made it clear that he was opposed to the councils as they would not provide any solutions for the black community.

He applied for the bottle store in his individual capacity.

"I was even hounded



**GEORGE THABE . . . opposed to councils.** by people who remained in community councils and they criticised my resignation. I do not think it is fair to put me into the same category with the present council members. I resigned six years ago and have never gone back," he said.

11A 19/3/86 SOWETAN

## Minister tells how 7 were killed

Political Staff (1/1)

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday gave details of the shoot-out in Guguletu on March 4 in which seven men were killed by the police.

Answering questions put by Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point), Mr le Grange said those killed were Mandla Simon Mxirwa, Themba Madiyana, Zola Alfred Swelani, Godfrey Jabulani Miya, Christopher Piet, Temba Mlifi and Zabonke John Konile.

All received gunshot wounds and the cause of death would be explained in post-mortem reports not yet available.

The police had information that all were members of the African National Congress and had been trained as terrorists.

Weapons and ammunition confiscated by the police in connection with the incident included three AK-47 rifles and six AK-47 magazines, 90 rounds of AK-47 ammunition and one Tokarev pistol with ammunition.

Those killed were travelling in a stolen delivery van.

The police had received information about the men on February 27 and again on March 2.

This was that a group of terrorists in a stolen vehicle would attack a police station or a bus containing members of the force in Guguletu. Intensive attempts to trace the stolen vehicle or to arrest the potential attackers were unsuccessful.

## Treason trial judge slams transcript error

MARITZBURG — The Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice John Milne, said yesterday that a transcript being used as evidence in the treason trial in Maritzburg was an "extremely slovenly piece of work" and "not trustworthy."

The men on trial are Mr Thozamile Gqweta, Mr Sisa Njikelana, Mr Sam Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo.

The State allegedly relied on a passage from the transcript to prove that the South African Allied Workers' Union, of which the four accused are leaders, tried to cripple the South African economy.

Mr Marino Moerane, for the defence, said the word "imveliso", as used on the transcript by the State as meaning "economy", meant "production" and was used with reference to the Wilson Rowntree factory.

He said it was a "material mistranslation" of a phrase that meant only the dislocation or harming of production at the sweet factory and had no reference to the economies of South Africa or East London.

Warrant Officer B Hattingh, of the Security Police, agreed that there were many errors in the transcripts.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

CAPE TOWN  
19/3/86  
**Rival for  
Cosatu**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Rivalry for the support of Natal workers is expected to escalate from May 1 when a union backed by the one million-strong Inkatha movement is launched in opposition to the new Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The impending launch of the United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa) in Durban was announced by Inkatha spokesman Mr Simon Conco in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel yesterday.

Mr Conco said the "theme" of Uwusa's drive was to question the motives of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) in calling for disinvestment.

Uwusa supported the free enterprise system and believed that without a healthy economy there would be no jobs, no unions, and therefore no pressure for peaceful change in SA, he said.

Mr Conco said Uwusa's attitude to Cosatu was not intended to be confrontational, but Uwusa would adopt different tactics because it believed Cosatu's standpoints on various socio-political and economic issues were counterproductive.

CAPE TOWN 19/3/86  
**Third Mamelodi  
policeman killed**

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A third Mamelodi policeman has been killed by an unidentified assassin using an AK-47 rifle as the township's residents entered the second day of their stayaway from work.

The almost total stayaway was called in protest at the police disruption of a meeting to launch the Mamelodi Civic Association in which 10 people were injured. No organization has been associated with the stayaway call.

The SAP constable, Joseph Vuma, 27, of the Mamelodi police station, was assassinated with an AK-47 rifle in his Mamelodi home at the weekend. His body was found late on Monday.

He was attached to the uniform branch but was recently involved in special investigations.

His death follows those of two other policemen in the township.

Sergeant Zenzile Makhudu was killed when two hand-grenades were hurled at his home on January 23 and Constable Morris Ndlalane's mutilated and charred body was found in open veld in Mamelodi on De-

ember 3.

A police spokesman in Pretoria declined to comment on the stayaway and the shooting.

Mamelodi workers and pupils are expected to go back to work and school tomorrow.

It was also reported yesterday that a Mamelodi town councillor, Mr J B Kekana, who took over as councillor early this year, resigned as a consumer boycott of his shop began to bite.

In other unrest:

● A man was killed in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, when police opened fire on a crowd stoning police vehicles. A youth was killed in Seisoville, in the Free State, when a councillor fired at a crowd stoning his car.

● Two alleged gangsters were killed and then set alight as pupils went on the rampage in Diepkloof's Zone Four, Soweto, yesterday.

The men, believed to have been members of a gang known as the "Makabasa", were hacked with pangas and stabbed with knives before petrol was poured over their bodies and set alight.

The house in which the two men allegedly lived and three luxury cars were also set on fire after the owner, known as "Mkharas", was removed to safety by police. A haul of dagga claimed to have been found in the house was also set alight by the crowd.

● A child was burned and two homes were damaged in two petrol-bombing incidents in Mpumalanga township near Hammarsdale on Monday night, police reported yesterday.

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**GERMAN  
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BDAY  
11/3/86  
Nationalists might meet ANC men

# London to host trial national convention



● CHALKER

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — A trial national convention of leading white and black South Africans is to be held behind closed doors in London next week.

High-level observers from Frontline states and the West will attend the three-day South Africa in Crisis conference.

It will be held at the British government-funded Wilton Park centre at Steyning, Sussex, from Monday to Wednesday.

UK Foreign Office Minister of State Lynda Chalker is expected to be at the meeting. She has been keen to meet African National Congress (ANC) president Oliver Tambo.

The conference could bring together for the first time executive members of the ANC, at least one

National Party MP and possibly other government representatives.

Whitehall sources said they hoped the talks would boost chances of dialogue in SA along the lines indicated by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

Representatives of five Frontline states and six major Western nations, academics, business representatives, black community leaders and members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Inkatha are expected to attend.

Members of the National Party and the ANC have been invited, but it is not yet clear whether they will attend.

Sources close to the ANC indicated the organisation would be prepared to share a conference table with National Party MPs but not with government members.

Nationalist MP for Helderkruijn Stoffel van der Merwe is in London this week. He was invited to the conference.

The Wilton Park conference will be preceded by a closed conference at the SA Embassy in London tomorrow.

President's Council chairman Piet Koornhof, Urban Foundation director Jan Steyn, Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo, Assocom chief Raymond Parsons and Africa Bank MD Moses Maubane will attend the closed conference.

## SA problems to be under the spotlight

LONDON — Brutally frank discussion on South Africa's prospects and problems is promised at a major two-day conference in London.

The guest participants at the Department of Foreign Affairs conference include more than 300 British political, business, academic and media leaders who recently toured

IAN HOBBS

South Africa.

Key host speakers include President's Council chairman Piet Koornhof, London ambassador Dennis Worrall, the Urban Foundation's Jan Steyn, Inkatha's Oscar Dhlomo and Nationalist MP Stoffel van der Merwe.

British MPs, including those who returned from SA fiercely critical of stagnating reform, will play a prominent part.

The theme of the conference, to be held as an open debate on tomorrow and a confidential panel discussion on Thursday, is: Where is South Africa Heading?

# Pupils kill and burn two 'gangsters'

TWO suspected gangsters were killed and set alight yesterday by rampaging school-children.

The men, said to be members of the Makabasa gang were stabbed and hacked before being set alight in Soweto's Diepkloof Zone Four.

Three luxury cars and the house in which the two men are believed to have lived were also set on fire after the owner, known as Mkharras, was taken to safety by police.

A haul of dagga claimed to have been found in the house was also set alight by the crowd.

Before the house was burnt a woman,

**Business Day Reporter**

believed to be the owner, and other members of the family were driven by police to safety.

As the woman left the crowd demanded that she should be handed over to it.

Shortly after her departure, the house was turned into an inferno.

Flames and heavy clouds of smoke were visible from about 15km.

Crowds of curious onlookers were dispersed with teargas by West Rand Development Board police.



A burnt body lies in a Diepkloof street

19/3/86



11A

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

A NATAL shop-floor war might result from the proposed launch of an Inkatha-backed union opposed to the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

This comes after Inkatha announced it would provide loans to finance the establishment of an anti-socialist United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), to be launched on May Day in Durban.

KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement has little experience in trade union organisation but commands great support in Natal.

It is difficult to assess the implications of Inkatha's planned foray into unionism because Inkatha has refused to disclose the number of workers recruited.

Inkatha also has not identified the Cosatu unions where it claims worker dissatisfaction is fermenting.

But fierce political battles might erupt when Inkatha begins campaigning in the well-organised Durban factories.

Academics believe the crucial area of confrontation between Inkatha and Cosatu will be in Durban.

A Natal sociologist says Inkatha's campaign to mobilise workers has thus far been centred on northern Natal, particularly in Empangeni, Richards Bay and Isithebe.

Inkatha organisers are also reaching out towards Newcastle and Ladysmith and there has already



● BUTHELEZI

## Shop-floor war threatens to erupt in Natal factories

been an example of a collision between Uwusa-Cosatu.

According to reports, an alleged attempt by a Ladysmith metal firm to encourage Uwusa to organise in its factory recently resulted in a strike by members of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu), a Cosatu-affiliate.

*'The possibility exists that Inkatha may create divisions in some factories, but it will probably make gains only in areas where Cosatu is not entrenched.'*

The sociologist said several thousand Inkatha members would be affected by a sense of split loyalties once Uwusa's campaign took off. Many would feel loyal towards Inkatha and the Cosatu unions, which had made material gains on their behalf.

While Uwusa's launch is expected to have important implications for

trade unionism in Natal, the final test will lie in whether it can deliver the goods.

Some predict that Uwusa's lack of organisational experience will prove a floundering point. Also that it will have difficulty proving it can rapidly provide more for its members than entrenched and experienced unions.

Natal University industrial sociologist Rob Lambert points out that the unions Inkatha is likely to challenge in Natal came into existence as a result of the 1973 Durban strikes.

These unions have faced a tough 12-year period in which they succeeded in firmly establishing themselves on the principle of democratic shop-floor organisation.

"The possibility exists that Inkatha may create divisions in some factories, but I believe Inkatha will probably only make gains in areas where Cosatu has not entrenched itself."

Despite Inkatha statements that all are welcome to join Uwusa, Lambert believes the pull of Zulu nationalism cannot match the more widespread influence of unions with a broader-based nationalism.

Lambert said Buthelezi, in claiming that Cosatu's more overt political position represented a highjacking of the labour movement, had failed to take certain factors into account.

He said this opinion represented a failure to understand that shop stewards had been exposed to township crises and had accepted that they had to express demands from workers and community members.

*'Natal employers have established relationships with Cosatu unions and fear the resistance and conflict which could be generated by possible Inkatha inroads.'*

Some see the launch of Uwusa as an attempt to weaken the base of the black union movement, which largely supports sanctions against SA and disinvestment as weapons to end apartheid.

However, certain employers welcome the establishment of pro-In-

katha unions, which they expect to be less militant.

Lambert believes other Natal employers are in a dilemma. Although these employers might see Buthelezi's free-enterprise philosophy as a solution to SA's political woes, they have established relationships with Cosatu unions and fear the resistance and conflict which could be generated by possible Inkatha inroads.

However, Buthelezi says workers initially approached him to express their distrust of Cosatu's socialist stand.

Although Inkatha says Uwusa will not be affiliated to the movement, Uwusa rivals have predicted it will be an acquiescent "sweetheart" union.

These claims arise in part from allegations that Inkatha's only affiliate, the National Sugar Refineries Unions of Employees (NSRUE), was established with the aid of sugar employers.

Inkatha, denies claims that Uwusa will be a "sweetheart" union.

An important question which needs to be answered is whether Inkatha unions will be able to develop a base beyond Natal. Inkatha has already announced that its target will be the Transvaal.

This could prove a mammoth task because workers in Transvaal industry are already well-organised. Clearly, the battle for the allegiance of workers will be a long one.

# Call for Tutu to restore peace (11A)

S.D.A.  
2013/1/25  
Business Day Reporter

SOWETO residents have called on Bishop Desmond Tutu to restore peace to the township as escalating violence between gangsters and youths threatens to erupt into a full-scale war.

Six people have already been burnt to death in Diepkloof and Orlando.

The gangsters have said they will kill 50 youths to avenge the burning of two alleged members of the "Makabasa"

gang on Tuesday. Four youths have since been killed.

Police have confirmed reports of the threat to kill the youngsters.

In an attempt to prevent further killings, an emergency meeting of residents and black organisations was called in Orlando East last night.

# New bid for bail in Delmas treason trial

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A second application for bail on behalf of 22 men charged with high treason, subversion, incitement to murder and furthering the aims of banned organisations, will be argued here today.

The men, leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic Association, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Azanian Youth Unity, were earlier refused bail.

Among the 22 are UDF leaders Mr "Terror" Lekota, Mr Popo Molefe and Mr Moss Chikane.

The State furnished replying affidavits yesterday afternoon to the new bail application, and the defence team told the court they would be ready for argument today.

In evidence yesterday, a town councillor from Sharpeville, Mr Simon Mofokeng, told the court that the Lekoa Council had discussed holding a type of referendum in the area before deciding on a rent increase.

Testifying before the tea adjournment yesterday, Mr Mofokeng said the

council had circulated a document which had to be signed and returned to the council if residents were opposed to the proposed increase.

Asked by council for the defence, Mr George Bizos, if such a plan would have constituted a type of referendum, the witness agreed.

Mr Mofokeng said he himself had received such a circular and that his information was that his constituency was satisfied with the circulars.

After the tea adjournment, Mr Mofokeng was asked if he had approved or disapproved of the rent increase as proposed on the "referendum" form.

Mr Mofokeng then said he had not filled in the form because no such form had actually been sent out to residents.

"What happened was that such document should have been prepared and sent out to the public, but the one which was eventually sent out was not what it should have been.

"It merely informed the people of the decision that had been taken," Mr Mofokeng said.

He admitted that no "referendum" document in fact existed.

The hearing continues.

**Will fight calls for disinvestment**

# NEW UNION IS FORMED

**THE newly-formed United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa), which has links with the Inkatha movement, is to fight calls for disinvestment and economic sanctions against South Africa.**

The new union believed such campaigns were "non-productive, self-destructive and negative," according to Mr Simon Conco, chairman of the Uwusa steering committee.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg on Tuesday, Mr Conco said the time had not yet come to resolve differences by violent means. All peaceful options should be exploited to find solutions to the country's problems.

Uwusa was formed in response to a demand from workers to fight political interference in their affairs, said Mr Conco. Inkatha, in response to this demand, assigned a special committee to launch Uwusa.

The union will be officially launched in Durban on May 1.

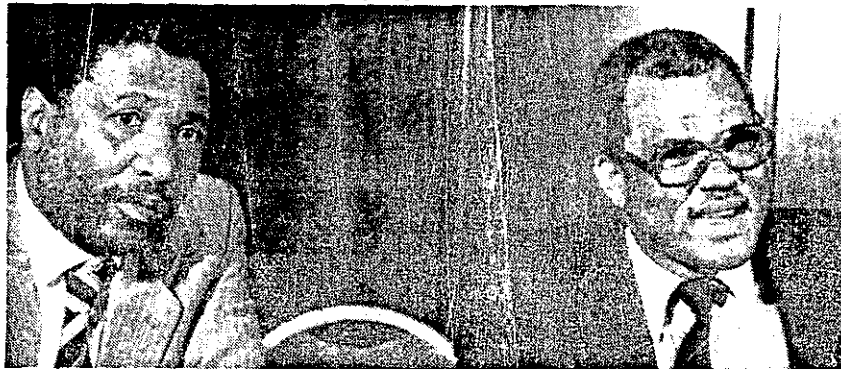
The disinvestment

campaign spearheaded by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) was "negative in the extreme and a violent means" to-

wards solving the country's problems, the Uwusa official said.

Mr Conco said several Cosatu unions had already expressed a wish

to join the new federation. He would not divulge the names of these unions, but said most would make their stand known publicly soon.



INKATHA officials Mr Peter Davidson (left) and Mr Simon Conco address a Press conference this week.

# Sada man gets 7 years jail for terrorism

**ZWELITSHA** — Mr Mso-  
koli Mgubasi, 28, of Sada,  
near Whittlesea, was  
sentenced here yester-  
day in the regional court  
to seven years' imprison-  
ment after being found  
guilty of terrorism.

He had been charged  
with undergoing train-  
ing that could be of use  
to any person intending  
to endanger the mainte-  
nance of law and order,  
alternatively unlawfully  
undergoing training  
which could be used in  
furthering the achieve-  
ment of objects of the  
banned Pan African  
Congress.

The state alleged that  
from 1976 to 1982 he had  
undergone training in  
Botswana, Tanzania,  
China, Egypt, Libya and

**DISPATCH**  
Liberia  
20/3/82

The second count was  
that he had undergone  
training with the intent  
to overthrow or endan-  
ger the security of the  
state.

It was alleged that he  
had undergone training  
from 1982 to 1985 in  
Liberia, Nigeria, Came-  
roon, Central Africa, Iv-  
ory Coast, Tanzania,  
Angola, Zambia, Bots-  
wana and Kenya.

Mr Mgubasi initially  
pleaded not guilty to  
all the charges but later  
changed his plea to guil-  
ty to the first charge.

Mr H. H. van der Walt was on  
the bench. Mr Barry Nel  
appeared for the state. Mr Pius  
Langa, instructed by Mr Hintsu  
Siwisa, appeared for the de-  
fence.

# UCT backs Nusas links with ANC

## Education Reporter

MORE than 2 500 University of Cape Town students have voted in favour of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) meeting the African National Congress.

Jameson Hall, packed to capacity for yesterday's student assembly while scores more listened outside, exploded with cheers and applause when the motion proposing the contact was passed with 16 abstentions and no votes against.

The students resolved to assert the right of concerned South Africans to communicate their concerns and questions to the ANC, to express support for the initiatives of those who have met or tried to meet the ANC and to send UCT representatives in a national delegation to visit the organisation.

### "Essential step"

The initiative has the blessing of UCT's administration.

In a message of support read to students the acting vice-chancellor, Professor Donald Carr, said: "The structure of apartheid must go. In this we understand that we have common cause with the ANC towards the peaceful attainment of these objectives.

"I believe the meeting with the ANC will take us an essential step

closer to peace and freedom in this country."

UCT is the first of the Nusas-affiliated campuses to endorse the initiative. Student assemblies are to take place at the universities of the Witwatersrand, Natal and Rhodes from today.

Students' Representative Council president Mr Glenn Goosen said that students' concerns and questions would be collected in questionnaires, distributed on Monday and Tuesday. These would be collated at local and then national level for the Nusas delegation to take to the ANC.

The date for the meeting will be decided at a national Nusas council meeting on April 9, when delegates will be chosen from a list of SRC nominations from around the country.

Mr Goosen said that as it was likely that delegates' passports would be withdrawn — as in the case of eight University of Stellenbosch students last year — it had been decided to refrain from announcing delegates' names until the last possible moment.

He said the large number of students at yesterday's assembly and the overwhelming support for the motion indicated that students were "taking very seriously where they stand in this country and where they are going in the future".

ARGUS 20/3/86

117

# New Crossroads leaders slain

Staff Reporter

THE chairman of the New Crossroads Committee, Mr Venfolo Sitwanyi, 38, and his deputy, Mr James Mehlala, 56, have been murdered.

Their bodies were found by police in New Crossroads last night. Their heads had been slashed and their lower bodies burnt. It is understood that they had also been stoned.

Post-mortem examinations will be held.

The men were neighbours in Ndabawinzi Street, New Crossroads.

Police said the motive had not been established.

## IN STREET

It could not be established today whether other members of the committee would be protected in the wake of the killings, which are understood to have occurred after a meeting in the area.

Police were called to New Crossroads just before midnight after being telephoned and told there were two bodies in the street.

The killings happened after two houses and a car were set alight earlier in the day by a group of about 50 people. The home-owners were not present at the time.

Police said investigators were



Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

Mrs Angelina Madlavo, wife of Mr Alfred Madlavo, a member of the New Crossroads Committee who recently resigned, next to the bullet-holed front window of their home which was attacked on Tuesday night by about 10 men.

told that Mr Sitwanyi was at home with his wife when a mob of between 20 and 30 people attacked him and told him they would kill him.

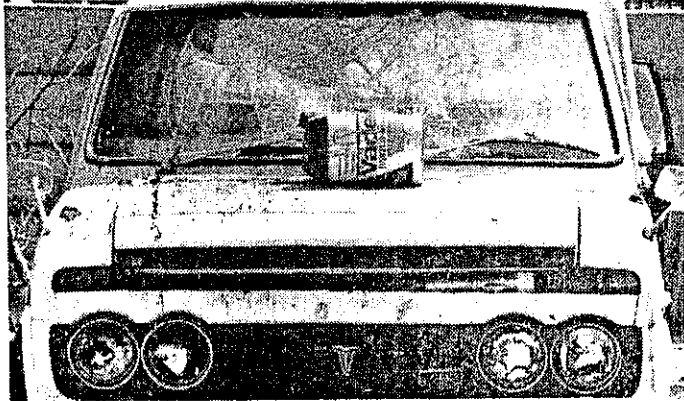
The spokesman said it appeared as if Mr Sitwanyi tried to defend himself and then fled.

He took refuge nearby but the crowd told the occupants of the property that if they did not hand him over they would also be attacked. Mr Sitwanyi is understood to

have given himself up and was then killed.

The body of Mr Mehlala was found about 30 metres away. He had apparently been at home at the time of the attack. The men's houses were damaged and looted.

On Tuesday night the home of a former member of the committee, Mr Alfred Madlavo, was attacked by about 10 men who fired shots and stoned the front windows.



A battered bakkie outside the home of Mr Sitwanyi, murdered chairman of the New Crossroads Committee.

# Blacks attack Budget

BLACK political organisations and trade unions have slammed the budget announced by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, in Parliament, this week.

The organisations include the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa).

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, slammed the proposed rise in the price of bread and the maintenance of the GST. He described them as a continuation of assaults on the already severely eroded standard of living of blacks.



## Inflation

The Budget would lead to inflation, higher interest rates and increased unemployment.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said the budget would hit the poorest people hard.

"A bankrupt regime cannot make any real attempt to alleviate the dire economic plight of the black majority. Only when freedom dawns will we see a just distribution of welfare and resources," he said.

Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, in a statement said that the Budget was drawn without any consultation with the democratic majority and will be unable to solve "the economic, social and political chaos into which this government has plunged our country."

## Bread

He said the provision of R235 million to alleviate unemployment was "a drop in the ocean".

The decrease in the bread subsidy would "hit hard at the millions of under-paid workers and erode their already declining standard of living," while the increase of 13.7 percent in the defence budget meant a "diversion of vital resources of our country to bolstering the repressive organs of the apartheid regime."

The allocation of a sixth of the total education budget to blacks, "makes no step to meeting the basic demands made by millions of black students," he said.

In a joint statement, Azactu and Cusa said until such time that blacks were able to make decisions in Parliament, "this type of meaningless charade will continue to govern the people".



# ANC, NP invited to UK seminar

CAPE TOWN — A seminar on South Africa's problems and future prospects will be attended in Britain next week by a wide spectrum of South African industrialists, academics and politicians, a British embassy spokesman said today.

He said the seminar had been financed largely by British companies with an interest in South Africa.

It was hoped the seminar would attract a wide range of people, including National Party members. But as the African National Congress was likely to attend, it was not known whether the NP would be represented as it was against its representatives attending talks where the ANC would be represented.

However, NP representatives had been invited and included MP Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the party's Transvaal information officer.

Among those who will attend are the Progressive Federal Party's former leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and former PFP MP Dr Alex Boraine.

Among the academics are Dr Andre du Toit of Stellenbosch University and Professor Herman Giliomee of Cape Town University.

The United Democratic Front will be represented by its for-

mer national treasurer, Mr Cassim Salojee, Inkatha by its secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhomo, and the Azanian People's Organisation by its Transvaal vice-president Mr Dan Hbedi.

Dr Ntatho Motlana, former leader of the Soweto Civic Association, Soweto educationist Mr Fanyana Mazibuko and Mr Vusi Khanyile of the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee will also attend.

Trade union representatives have been invited and there is a possibility that Swapo and the Pan Africanist Congress will be present.

## INVITED

Also invited are representatives from the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, France, West Germany, Angola, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique.

● In London it was reported that more than 100 British opinion-makers would take part in a closed-doors discussion on South Africa's future at South Africa House today.

The symposium, which is not linked to next week's meeting, will cover two main topics: "Toward a more equal society — economic change in the '80s"; "Democratic political options".

— Sapa, The Star Bureau.

Two stabbed

to death in

Guguletu

20/3/76  
Two black men were yesterday stabbed to death in Guguletu and their bodies set on fire with petrol, according to the SAP Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria.

Two youths were wounded and nine arrested in Soweto when police were stoned and petrol-bombed yesterday.

At Duncan Village near East London, a delivery vehicle was damaged and a man injured by stone throwers, police said.

At Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, three black men were seriously injured when petrol was poured over them and set alight.

At Borchards, a coloured residential area near George, a delivery vehicle was petrol-bombed.

Three Atteridgeville homes were damaged when they were petrol-bombed, police said. — Sapa.

# ANC has 3 battalions in Angola, claims Unita

SPAR  
20/3/86  
11A  
②

By Hannes de Wet

Three African National Congress battalions are fighting alongside the MPLA in Angola, Unita's intelligence chief of staff, Brigadier Wambu Chindondo, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The three battalions — consisting of between 200 and 300 men each — are concentrated in the northern parts of Angola.

"The tactics they use are the same which the Soviets taught the MPLA," Brigadier Chindondo said.

He was speaking at a Press conference after he and the permanent secretary of Unita's executive committee, Brigadier Tito Chingunji, were prevented from addressing Wits students.

The meeting was disrupted before it started by about 200 black students, all believed to be members in the Black Students' Society at Wits.

Waving placards inscribed "Viva MPLA, Down with Unita", the black students shouted and chanted for about 45 minutes. The two Unita leaders left after being told by Wits security men they were in physical danger.

## EAST GERMANS

They are visiting South Africa at the invitation of the moderate National Students' Federation, and are also due to address student meetings at the universities of Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town.

Brigadier Chindondo told the Press conference Swapo had about 7 000 men fighting with the Cubans and the MPLA. Swapo's headquarters were in the centre of Angola where the movement had a big logistical base and two large hospitals.

Apart from the 45 000 Cubans, there were also 2 000 North Koreans, 2 500 East Germans and about 2 000 troops from the Portuguese Communist Party on the side of the MPLA.

On American military aid to Unita, Brigadier Chingunji said Dr Jonas Savimbi had received "firm assurances" from President Ronald Reagan that "effective support" would be given to Unita.

"And we are confident that this is forthcoming."

According to Brigadier Chingunji, Unita was at present in control of Angola's borders with Namibia, Zaire and Zambia. "We can move and manoeuvre anywhere we want to in Angola," he said.

# Mabangalala: Face of right-wing terror

20/3/86 STAR  
 IIA [scribble] [scribble]  
 Report probes vigilante violence against popular organisations

By Jo-Anne Collinge

They have emerged in the recent times of political turmoil in small townships, in metropolitan shanty towns and in the remote homelands.

They go by many names — the A-Team, the Phakathis, the Amabutho, the Fathers, the Mbokocho — and they sow bloodshed and chaos even as they preach "law and order".

Their victims end up bruised, bloodied, burnt, bereaved — and some of them dead. In one of the most gruesome cases recorded, the body of National Federation of Workers organiser Mr Toto Dweba was found in Umlazi, near Durban, with hands cut off and head almost severed from the body.

He had been abducted in August by a gang of armed men — a group of an increasingly

recognisable breed, known most simply as the "vigilante" or "Mabangalala".

In South Africa the term "vigilante" has taken on a distinct meaning, points out lawyer-researcher Mr Nicholas Haysom of the Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

"It does not mean a concerned citizen intent on preserving the safety of his family and 'decent values'. It is associated with potentially murderous gangs intent on intimidating, injuring or killing anti-apartheid activists," he tells readers at the start of the first published report on the topic.

The book, entitled "Mabangalala: The rise of rightwing vigilantes in South Africa", was

released today in Johannesburg. It is being distributed simultaneously in Britain.

After a study of 13 communities, he observes firstly that vigilantes began to emerge in the second half of 1985, when political resistance and the economic crisis had reached unprecedented proportions.

"Secondly, the vigilantes shared a common target group — members or leaders of groups associated with resistance to apartheid or homeland rule.

"Thirdly the vigilantes operated brazenly, apparently believing they enjoyed police support. Indeed in some cases they allegedly did enjoy such support," he says, drawing on court evidence presented in re-

lation to Fort Beaufort and Leandra.

Mr Haysom argues the purpose of vigilantes is to alter the balance of power in areas where the State has a "crisis of control" — as in Leandra and Huhudi, in the Northern Cape, where popular civic organisations had won benefits for residents and pushed community councils to the sidelines.

Restoring this kind of political control is beyond the security forces, Mr Haysom argues, as they are "limited by potential publicity and hindered by legal restrictions in their ability to perpetrate the deliberate terror and violence needed to combat popular organisations".

Where vigilantes emerge in the townships of "white" South

Africa, Mr Haysom says, they tend to target the leaders of popular organisations rather than embark on indiscriminate violence against the people.

"When leaders are systematically assaulted or killed and the police appear unwilling or unable to curb the activities of the vigilantes, it is obvious that no popular organisation can continue to function openly. In such cases it is not only vigilante interests that are served but also those of official agencies that the popular organisation has challenged."

In several cases there were demonstrable and acknowledged links between the community councillors and the vigilantes, the report claims.

In certain homelands, too, it

is clear that vigilantes derive their authority directly from the formal political structures, Mr Haysom says, citing kwaNdebele as an example.

Natal, Mr Haysom contends, represents a curious mix of urban and rural vigilante activity. Vigilante conflict — described as "some of the most savage mob action in South Africa" — has claimed more lives in Natal than in any other area and animosity to the United Democratic Front is marked.

"Most of the incidents have been laid at the door of the Amabutho ('the warriors' — bands of traditionally armed mobs who appear to draw their style and political inspiration from a Zulu chauvinism)."

Referring to sworn statements of victims and to Press reports, Mr Haysom adds: "In many incidents the Amabutho have been linked to persons connected with Inkatha. Inkatha itself has either claimed that the Amabutho have performed a useful social function or that they have been provoked into violence.

"In other cases Inkatha has denied emphatically the mobs have formal links with Inkatha."

Mr Haysom cautions against oversimplification.

"Not all vigilante activity can be simply laid at the door of small groups of community councillors acting with the alleged patronage of the authorities. In some areas vigilante

groups have fed off the tensions and divisions within the community."

Highlighting intergenerational conflict, as between the "Fathers" and the "Comrades" in Crossroads and in Ashton in the Western Cape, the report claims vigilantes emerged from the older generation's resentment of the role of the youth, who sometimes neglected to consult their elders in taking political initiatives and who then imposed boycotts and the like.

Ideological differences between UDF and Black Consciousness supporters had also proved exploitable.

Mr Haysom concludes that vigilantes do much more than disorganise or cow anti-apartheid organisations into submission. He argues that they raise the level of brutality in black areas dramatically.

## 5 killed as pupils fight Soweto gang

At least five people were killed and five houses and five cars set alight in Diepkloof, near Soweto, during running battles between pupils and alleged members of the Kabasa gang.

The battle started on Tuesday morning and continued until the early hours yesterday.

The fight between the Kabasa, a feared gang of non-scholars, and the pupils is alleged to have started when a youth driving a car knocked down another in Diepkloof on Saturday.

It is alleged his mother, anticipating a raid on her house by pupils, recruited the Kabasa gang to protect her. The Kabasa gang stayed at her home.

Neighbours said about 3 000 pupils raided the house in Zone four on Tuesday. The house was attacked with petrol bombs. As they exploded inside the house the gang fled but two were caught by the pupils who doused them with petrol and set them alight.

Residents watched as the men burnt to death.

A spokesman for Soweto Police, Major F Zwane, confirmed today that five men had been stoned or burnt to death in a clash.

The other three people who died were allegedly abducted after members of Kabasa returned to the neighbourhood at about 6 pm on the same day.

Witnesses said the young men were taken away by members of the gang who fired several shots. Their bodies were later identified by their families.

# Sharpeville recalled

RESIDENTS of townships in the Vaal Triangle will commemorate the anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings by "cleaning up the cemetery" in which those who died at the time are buried, according to a statement released by the Vaal Stayaway Committee yesterday.

After the clean-up operation residents will go to a commemoration service for the victims of the shootings.

Residents have also been asked not to buy goods from white shops on Friday and Saturday as "a symbolic act to commemorate Sharpeville."

Sixty-nine people were shot dead in Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, when police opened fire on a crowd of anti-pass protesters.

Meanwhile a lunch-hour meeting to commemorate the shooting of 69 Sharpeville residents by the police on March 21, 1960, will be held at Khotso House tomorrow at 12.30pm.

This was announced by Mr Saths Cooper, president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) who said the speakers include Mr Mahlomola Skhosana, a leading trade unionist, Mr Lebamang Sebidi, a member of the Soweto Civic Association, and several speakers from Azapo, Azasm and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions.

'Resigns' lecturing post

# ROW OVER PRIEST

20/3/86 (ITA) KOWETAN

SEVERAL organisations yesterday reacted with anger at an announcement that the Reverend Arnold Makhenkesi Stofile has "resigned" his lecturing post at the University of Fort Hare despite the fact that he is in detention under Ciskei's National Security Act.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

know, why don't you ask him?"

It was only after it was pointed out to him that this would be impossible since he is detained that he said: "When you resign you do not have to give reasons. All I can say is that a letter of resignation has been received from him and that it has been

accepted."

A spokesman for the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), Dr Max Coleman, said: "Unless the letter came from him, we would refuse that it is true that he has resigned. This is just a means of depriving him of his livelihood and we demand his immediate release so that he can take his rightful place at the university."

Mr Stofile was taken from his home to the campus by three Ciskei Security Police last week. His wife, Nambita, said the security police spent some time in her husband's study before taking him away.

Mr Stofile last year campaigned in New Zealand and Australia against the proposed New Zealand All Blacks tour of South Africa.

His resignation from his post as theology lecturer, is said to have been submitted to the rector, Professor John Lamprecht, by a major in the Ciskei Security Police.

## Detained

The university has accepted it. Mr Stofile, who is also secretary of the Border region of the United Democratic Front (UDF), is being held under Section 26 which provides indefi-

nite detention without trial. He is not allowed to have access to his lawyers, private doctor, family and any other people except his interrogators.

The university's public relations officer, Mr Norman Holliday, when asked why Mr Stofile resigned — said: "I don't

FOR ALMOST 30 years, a vigorous debate has been taking place on whether a black revolution is possible in SA. The verdict of most academics is that it is not possible — at least, not in the classic sense of an armed seizure of power.

Pretoria may not be able to suppress black violence, but blacks in turn are not able to seize Pretoria. So how should the events in SA be categorised? Is it civil war, rebellion, insurrection, uprising or plain unrest? I put this question to several South Africans who I feel are qualified to suggest answers.

**Dr DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern African Studies, UCT:** "It is extremely difficult to overthrow a modern industrialised state with its massive powers of coercion.

"Also, many black areas have been created specifically to facilitate the movement of security forces: the black townships can be sealed off relatively easily and violence can be turned inwards to become a self-inflicted wound.

"On the other hand, white hegemony is unlikely to survive intact. Violence has a sapping, haemorrhaging effect on the white power structure. So we have a state of deadlock, and this will lead to a degenerative process.

**T**he assumption is commonly made that whites and blacks have polarised and are into end-game politics. But it's more complex than that. Cleavages are emerging in all the ethnic communities.

"For example, the whole temperature of white politics has risen quite dramatically: note the bitterness between the National Party and the Afrikaner right-wing groups.

"There is a flip side to this among blacks. They scent victory now — they think the end of white supremacy is in sight. They believe, therefore, that the decisions they take now, organisational and tactical, will be critical for the future.

"As the stakes rise, so the animosities will rise; and it is not only black policemen, councillors and other apartheid collaborators who will become the victims of black violence, but also rival black organisations. One third of unrest deaths are blacks on blacks.

"Chief Buthelezi is right when he

# 'SA is in a state of violent equilibrium'

STANLEY UYS reports from London on his impressions after a recent visit to SA

says black violence will lead to SA becoming a wasteland, that a future black government will inherit a moonscape; but there is also considerable truth in the opposite contention that blacks will get nowhere without violence.

"Continued violence, I suppose, is inevitable, but it will tear at the whole fabric of society. Possibly the best one can hope for is that after a period of endemic violence, exhaustion, deadlock and paralysis will set in and the two sides will try negotiation. This, of course, presupposes a rationality which may not materialise, but it's our only slim hope."

**Dr MICHAEL SPICER, public affairs adviser to Anglo American chairman Gavin Reilly:** "The situation in SA does not fit any model with which social scientists are familiar. Perhaps the best description is to say SA is in a state of violent equilibrium.

"Some areas, possibly, are in a state of rebellion, but it is a rebellion whose features are constantly shifting. This is not a people's war, because there is no such thing as 'the people'.

"I dislike the term 'civil war', because it has a ring of finality about it, and as I see it the black struggle is going to be a long, drawn-out process in which polarisation of points of view will intensify, moderates will lose confidence, emigration will increase and the economy will unwind in a degenerative process."

**SAMPIE TERBLANCHE, Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University:** "Apartheid will have to be dismantled systematically over a decade or two, and at the same time new structures will have to be put in its place. Simply to abolish apartheid would create chaos. Nowhere in the world will a privileged class accept a

20%-40% overnight drop in its living standards.

"The economy will have to be restructured so that civilised standards are not destroyed. SA simply cannot emulate overnight the welfare states which exist in the First World. In the last resort, we are a Third World country with a Third World economy and tax capacity. The process of change will be a protracted one."

**Dr ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a founder-patron of the United Democratic Front:** "Last year, I attended a meeting addressed by an 18-year-old black. He said the government must know that from now on 'violence is the word and attack is the call'. When he said this, the whole audience of 2 000 rose to their feet. That's the kind of chilling experience I have had these days.

"Young blacks have no intention of confining the violence to their own townships. They are determined to find a way to break out into the white areas. When that happens, we will not enter a traditional revolutionary situation, like the one in Russia or Zimbabwe. The parallel rather will be with the Lebanon, and once we are into that situation, the violence on both sides will become quite uncontrollable.

"Is there any hope for SA? Probably through the churches working for reconciliation, but more likely through organisations like the UDF, where whites and blacks work together with the same commitment and taking the same risks.

"There is also hope in the growing realisation among young blacks not only that they are helping to bring about great changes, but that they must also hold themselves responsible for the consequences of those

changes — they are beginning to think more deeply about these things."

None of the South Africans whom I have quoted here practise violent change; so what are the aims of the practitioners of violence, like the ANC? Precise formulations are not easy, but from what I have been able to discover here in London, the scenario will be like this:

The ANC will not enter into negotiations with President Botha's government until certain conditions are met; and these conditions amount, in effect, to power-sharing. In other words, the ANC wants a share of power before it begins to talk.

The conditions are the release of Mandela and other political prisoners, the legalising of the ANC (and other black organisations), the creation of conditions in which a legalised ANC would be able to campaign freely in SA without inviting arrest, detention or banning, and a declaration of intent by President Botha that all South Africans, whites and blacks, are entitled as equals to decide the country's future. And the talks must be held in public, not private.

**M**eanwhile, the ANC's armed struggle will continue, but with this important difference: the emphasis will be shifted from sabotage attacks on economic and other installations around the country to the townships themselves. The weapons used in the armed struggle so far will be transferred to the townships to promote what is known now as the "people's war".

If the ANC's aims are realised — and this includes stealing weapons from the security forces — the struggle in (and outside) the townships increasingly will become an armed struggle.

The ANC still has no intention of striking at random "soft targets," but there can be no doubt that it intends to escalate the armed dimension of the black struggle.

The strategy is to create no-go zones in townships, to establish street committees wherever possible to take over the running of the townships, to widen the zones of ungovernability and gradually to grind the white rulers and their economy down until the power structure collapses.

But can this struggle be spread over 10 or 20 years, as Professor Terblanche suggests? I doubt very much whether SA's economy, its constitutional and political systems — and its nerves — could withstand this kind of punishment for so long. Somebody must start talking to somebody else long before then.

## Privatisation 'no panacea'

TWO IMPORTANT ways of reducing the public sector's drain on resources are privatisation and extended use of user-charging. The main thrust of privatisation involves what may be termed the return or transfer of productive resources to the private sector, where they can often be more efficiently utilised than when falling under the public sector as broadly defined.

We should be fearless in looking for

Extracted from a speech given by Auditor-General JOOP de LOOR at the University of Durban-Westville



those spheres where they have come increasingly to diverge.

Such things as the proposed regional services councils levies, the changing approach to school fees, toll roads and the new system of third-party insurance provide evidence that we



21/3/86

STAR

RECEIVED 4/11/86

By Jo-Anne Collinge

# Twenty-five years separate two fateful days

The names Sharpeville and Langa will feature in the prayers of millions of people today as they pause to reflect on 89 South Africans killed on two separate occasions, separated by a quarter of a century, when police fired into crowds of thousands.

In Sharpeville, on March 21 1960, thousands heeded the call of the Pan Africanist Congress to stay away from work and present themselves, without passes, at the local police station to court arrest.

They had been urged in pamphlets distributed the previous day to "be as one". The call said: "We are not going to fight

the Europeans. We just want to alter this pass law because it is hard on us."

By lunchtime, the crowd outside the perimeter fence of Sharpeville police station had swelled to 5 000, the low-flying Sabre jets having the effect of drawing, rather than dispersing, people.

According to evidence given to the Wessels Commission (which did not publish its full findings), a policeman was pushed over during a scuffle near the gate in the fence.

Police witnesses said that

stoning followed as the crowd surged forward and police opened fire with rifles, Sten guns and Browning machine-guns.

Sixty-nine people — including eight women and 10 children — were killed. The official tally of the injured was 186. Evidence to the commission revealed that 52 of the fatally wounded had been shot in the back as they tried to flee.

The Wessels Commission's acceptance of police evidence of aggressive crowd behaviour met with sharp criticism —

from Anglican Bishop Ambrose Reeves, among others.

The weight of evidence, critics argued, lay with the claim that the crowd was peaceful. Journalist Benjamin Pogrund recalled that the temper of the crowd changed after the shots were fired and blood was spilled. He was welcomed by the crowd just minutes before the shooting; immediately afterwards, his car was pelted with stones.

Trade unionist Mr Petrus Tom recently published his recollection of the fateful day in

the Ravan Press booklet "My Life Struggle".

"The aeroplanes were flying high and low. The people were throwing their hats to the aeroplanes. They thought that the aeroplanes were playing with them. They didn't realise that death was near."

The crowd at the police station was singing and waiting for an announcement from "the big boss" on passes, Mr Tom recalls. "The people were excited but not angry — women and children were there too."

He says: "I don't know what caused the police to shoot. We only heard one sound and couldn't see anyone standing next to the yard. People fell on their backs, sides and stomachs. People were lying all over."

This image had not yet faded from popular memory 25 years later when, from Uitenhage's Langa township, emerged reports that the scene had been virtually re-enacted on March 21 1985.

In this instance it was a crowd of about 3 000, marching

from Langa to a twice-banned funeral in Uitenhage's other township, kwaNobuhle, who were confronted by armed police in Casspirs.

Using R-1 rifles and shotguns loaded with SSG buckshot, police opened fire on the crowd, killing 20.

As at Sharpeville 25 years earlier, the majority of victims — 17 out of the 20 killed — were shot in the back.

The version of events accepted by the Kannemeyer Commission of Inquiry into the Langa shootings, was that the

funeral crowd had displayed no intention to attack white residents of Uitenhage as it set out for kwaNobuhle, but had shown hostility when confronted by the police.

Although some people were armed, "this was certainly not a mob armed to attack the white community", Mr Justice Donald Kannemeyer said.

Nevertheless, the judge found that the decision of the commanding officer, Lieutenant W J Fouche, to open fire was understandable and could not be criticised.

The commission revealed that, in a "deliberate" departure from standard crowd control procedure, police in Uitenhage had not been issued with teargas or rubber bullets.

21/3/86  
11A  
SOWETAN

# Op for PAC man

THE jailed Pan Africanist Congress leader, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, has allegedly undergone an operation at the Lady Dudley Hospital, in Johannesburg. He was admitted this week.

This was disclosed to the *Sowetan* yesterday by his wife, Urbiniah, who was due to see him

at the hospital last night. She had permission from the Prisons Department.

A spokesman for the prisons service yesterday could not confirm whether Mothopeng was at the hospital or not.

He said it was not their policy to comment on the movement of

prisoners from one place to another.

Mr Mothopeng was second in command to Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, late president of the PAC. The two led the 1960 anti-pass campaign.

Mrs Mothopeng yesterday claimed that her husband was admitted to the hospital and underwent an operation on Wednesday. "I was not informed by the prison authorities until a nursing sister at the hospital telephoned me."

She said: "On Wednesday I went to the hospital with some members of the family, but we were refused permission to see him by a policeman who was apparently guarding the ward to which he was admitted.

"I insisted that I had to see him, but without success. Some nursing sisters at the hospital also tried to intervene on my behalf by talking to the prison's officials."

Yesterday Mrs Mothopeng applied to the Diepkloof Prison to see him and was granted permission.

# What the Govt must do to solve our problems

21/3/86. SOWETAN

11A

LAUNDRY

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ON this day last year, it was Uitenhage. In 1960, it was Sharpeville. In between, we had June '76. And many, many more. Like Mamelodi and Alexandra.

The average white person does not seem able to comprehend the horrors of those days. The snuffing out of life that has become so much part of our society.

No, the Government tells them that the situation is well under control. And, regrettably, many believe it.

One would have thought that history is recorded so that future generations can learn from the mistakes made by their predecessors. Not in this country. We are, it seems, determined to re-write history all the way.

IF people in the democratic world had thought that Sharpeville was horrifying, they had not reckoned with our ability for self-destruction. We gave them all the others and it seems, there is more to come before we come to our senses.

It is actually quite strange that very little has changed since that first traumatic episode at Sharpeville. Okay, so white South Africa has opened up hotels to all races. (In some places, at least) Some central district business areas were recently opened to all races. There is talk of the scrapping of the passes, an issue which raised its head during the 60's before that.

Some permanent, long-term, white, Cornelia, Steynburg, Vrede, Harrismith, Vrededorp, Warden, Villiersdorp, they are the Twickenham Service Councils. They are the newly created Regis-

used to serve in townships have been created in the Twickenham Service Councils. They are the newly created Regis-

## Joe's Burg



trauma in recent months. From the north, to the east, to the west and south. The problems abound.

Yet, not enough is done to find solutions. And each time we speak of the release of Mandela, for example, some whites throw up their hands in horror. Gee, do you know what you are saying? If that man is freed tomorrow and he decides to call a rally in Soweto and a million people turn up, what is the Government supposed to do? Ban the meeting? Arrest all these people? Shoot them if they decided to fight against the police?

No, the release of Mandela is not a solution. I despair when I hear

Soviets will not release Sakharov, so that rules out Mandela being released on those terms. I suppose they will return to the famous "renounce violence" position again.

But what would happen if Mandela is released tomorrow? Firstly, it would be seen as a commitment on the part of the Government to negotiate a settlement in this country. I quite frankly don't know whether it is not even too late for that now, but at least, if the Government is sincere and committed to change, then that should be a first step.

THE problem is that Mandela is not the only reason why people are up and fighting and dying. There are other issues that need to be addressed simultaneously. The education crisis. The withdrawal of the SADF from our townships.

Basic socio-economic needs must be addressed. Housing the scrapping of influx control, the scrapping, indeed, of the Population Registration Act. All indications of apartheid must go. And only then can one start talking power-sharing. We must admit that sharing cannot be done equitably in an unequal situation.

That, unfortunately, is the bottom-line today. And if we hope to see a peaceful 1986, that is what must be done, not because the Government wishes it to be done, but because it must be done.

I know the anger in the townships. I live it. I can feel it in the air. Anybody else in the township knows it, too. And they feel it. And those in authority had better believe it exists.

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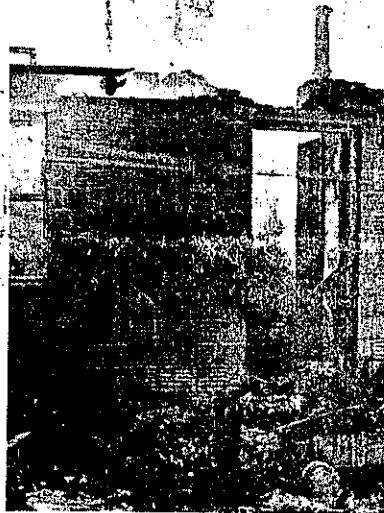
# Seven killed in Guguletu violence

Argus  
11A  
21/8/86



Pictures: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

Aftermath of a night of violence: Guguletu residents survey a burnt-out minibus, destroyed early today.



The gutted remains of a house destroyed by fire during the night.

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY, Crime Reporter

SEVEN men have been murdered in Guguletu and New Crossroads, bringing the death toll in the area to nine within 36 hours.

Police are trying today to establish if there were political motives for the latest deaths.

They are also investigating whether they were killed by the group responsible for Wednesday night's two deaths or whether they died in revenge killings.

The seven bodies were found early today after a night in which "comrades" and "fathers" apparently set out to settle differences following the death of Mr James Mehlala, 56, and Mr Venfolo Sitwayi, 38.

The two were stoned, hacked and burnt near their New Crossroads homes.

## "Battles"

It has been claimed that Mr Mehlala was killed by "comrades".

Mr Sitwayi and Mr Mehlala were chairman and deputy-chairman of the New Crossroads Committee.

Police said they had no knowledge of running battles between the two groups but said that just before midnight a house in Damara Street, New Crossroads, was set alight and a mobile shop nearby was looted.

The seven bodies were found by police patrols between 4am and 4.30am today. The men were aged from 35 to 45.

## Pangas

Three were found in NY78, Guguletu, two in Koornhof Street, New Crossroads, and two in Nontulo Street, New Crossroads, police said.

All had been killed with "sharp objects", which police believe may have been pangas.

The bodies had not been defiled, as had been the case with the bodies of Mr Mehlala and Mr Sitwayi.

They were lying in the streets and on pavements. It seems that they were attacked by a roaming crowd.

## Petrol bomb

Unrest broke out in parts of the Guguletu and Crossroads complex yesterday afternoon.

Police said that at 2.15pm a petrol bomb was thrown at a police vehicle on patrol in NY2, Guguletu.

Between 2pm yesterday and 3am today there were six reported instances of stone-throwing in NY108, Guguletu, and areas of Crossroads and New Crossroads.

When a Casspir was attacked at 9.15pm yesterday tearsmoke was used by police to disperse a crowd of about 200. There were no injuries, police said.

● More unrest reports, Page 2.

# Mandela films to show across US

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Two American-made films about Winnie and Nelson Mandela are to be broadcast nationwide by separate networks.

Harry Belafonte, the singer and actor who has championed black liberation in South Africa, is planning to make a dramatic series about the life of Nelson Mandela.

Mr Belafonte's Press representative, Ms Pat Storey, said the networks were vying for rights to broadcast the film.

His involvement in the Mandela project was one of the reasons he had decided not to run for political office this year.

However, the project had not been formally announced and there were no details available, Ms Storey said.

Filmmaker Mr Peter Davis, who is respected in the anti-apartheid community for other films he has made about the liberation movement, has completed a film about Mrs Winnie Mandela.

It is due to be shown at the United Nations this week and will be broadcast nationally by the Public Television Service on June 21.

Mr David said the film showed how the behaviour of the South African Security Police had shaped Mrs Mandela's political beliefs.

The film is the first documentary which recognises Mrs Mandela as a powerful political figure in her own right.

A half-hour version of the one-hour documentary is being made by the United Nations for worldwide distribution.

21/3/86

11A

# Book likens vigilantes to Blackshirts

By ANTON HARBER

RIGHTWING vigilantes are sometimes actively supported by police in their brazen attacks on townships and anti-apartheid campaigners, according to a book published yesterday.

In the book, Nicholas Haysom of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand

documents and analyses the widespread emergence of these groups, which he compares to the fascist Blackshirts.

The book, called "Mabangalala: The rise of rightwing vigilantes in South Africa", warns that if vigilantes

continue to operate as they have in the past, the level of brutality in black areas will escalate dramatically.

In some areas, Haysom reports, the accusations against the police and development board authorities are that they have been indifferent to the vigilantes — giving them licence to act against anti-apartheid activists.

In other areas, however, "the police's role seems to have been to actively support vigilantes."

"This was clearly so at Queenstown, Ashton, Fort Beaufort and Thabong among others.

"In addition, the vigilantes' use of township council's facilities (notably

● To PAGE 2 ●

# Vigilantes like the fascist Blackshirts <sup>21/3/86</sup>

● From PAGE <sup>20A</sup> <sup>11A</sup>

Thabong and Ashton) and homeland government's facilities (in Kwandebile and Ciskei), reveals a clear pattern of support for vigilante activities by the authorities in one form or another," Haysom says.

The SAP public relations division yesterday rejected these allegations as false.

Community leaders from as far afield as the Cape Peninsula and the Northern Transvaal were reporting the existence of rightwing vigilantes by the end of 1985, he says.

They shared three common features: they all emerged in the latter half of 1985, they shared a common target (members of leaders of groups resisting apartheid) and they all operated brazenly, apparently believing — and in some cases actually enjoying — police support.

Speaking at the book launch yesterday, Aninka Claassens of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee said her organisation found it sinister that the vigilantes were so widespread

and they appeared wherever there was a strong community resisting forced removal.

Haysom adds: "Vigilante activity has arisen after the civic associations had managed to secure concrete victories and to establish their bodies as effectively representative of the community. It seems apparent that the object of the vigilantes was to neutralise these organisations, or to alter the balance of power between pro- and anti-apartheid groupings."

Haysom describes two types of vigilantes: those in the homelands, who he says have a more direct relationship with the authorities and who are most comparable to the fascist Blackshirts, and those in urban townships.

The latter are rightwing, often community council-backed vigilantes whose primary targets are groups that threaten the community councils.

Haysom devotes a section of the book to Natal and its local vigilantes, the "Amabutho" (warriors).

"In many of the incidents the Amabutho have been linked to persons

connected with (Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's) Inkatha," he says.

Inkatha emphatically denies any formal links with these groups but, Haysom adds, have said either that the Amabutho performed a useful social function or that they were provoked into violence.

Some communities have found protection against vigilantes through legal action; others have resorted to extra-legal self defence, he says.

Asked to comment yesterday, the SAP public relations division said: "We reiterate that the SAP are in principal against the formation of vigilante groups. On the other hand, the police cannot act where there is no violation of the law.

"We reject as false the implication that the police do not or are reluctant to act against members of vigilante groups when they do make themselves guilty of offences.

"The SAP will investigate offences officially reported to them, irrespective of whom the accused is or what the organisation such a person is a member of."

Sharpeville shootings 26 years ago were watershed in South Africa's history of resistance.

The shootings of March 21, 1960, left 69 people dead and 200 wounded. This led to spontaneous labour strikes, stayaways and large-scale violence and street demonstrations which lasted for several weeks throughout the country.

A British political analyst, Mr Colin Legum, said then that the unrest in South Africa was not in itself a revolution, but a forerunner of greater conflict to come, "perhaps like the abortive Russian revolution of 1905".

The Government responded by using strong-arm tactics and tightening the country's security laws as a safeguard against similar future dissent.

The late former Pan Africanist Congress leader, Mr Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, who organised and led the anti-pass campaign in which thousands of blacks left their passbooks at home and marched to police stations to surrender themselves for arrest, was jailed for three years.

### Amended

Still fearing Mr Sobukwe's influence and the prospect of further demonstrations he could organise on his release, the Government amended the law under which he was jailed to allow for an indefinite extension of his jail term.

After being jailed under what was popularly known as "The Sobukwe Clause", Mr Sobukwe was released after spending a total of nine years in prison.

# Sharpeville: A forerunner of greater conflict

21/3/88  
11A  
SOWETAN



CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI ... call.

On March 26, the Government announced the suspension of the pass laws. Many people could walk freely without fear of being stopped in the streets to produce their passbooks.

This was, however, a temporary measure

meant to get blacks to stop the rioting that was getting worse by the day.

Chief Albert Luthuli, the then president of the African National Congress, called for a national stayaway on March 28 when the Sharpeville shooting victims were to be buried.

Workers in many parts of the country heeded the call. The wheels of the country's economy ground to a virtual standstill when the stayaway carried on for about a week.

The unrest was in its ninth day when the Government, under the premiership of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, declared the country's first state of emergency on March 30.

Several thousands of people throughout the country were then detained.

The militancy of the young activists within the ANC and the PAC was not blunted by the Government action.



Mr ROBERT SOBUKWE ... feared.

## FOCUS

By SAM MABE

They continued organising street demonstrations in defiance of the state of emergency.

Meanwhile, the Government was drafting a new law, the Unlawful Organisations Act, in terms of which the PAC and the ANC were banned on April 8, 1960.

As happened when riots broke out in Soweto in 1976 and in the Vaal in 1984, many whites started leaving the country. Those who remained bought guns to protect themselves.

A day after the ANC and PAC were banned, Dr Verwoerd suffered an attempt on his life. He was shot by Mr David Pratt, who was later described as insane.

It was suggested then that Mr Pratt was declared insane to disguise the fact that whites had also lost faith in the Government and that his attempt to kill Dr Verwoerd was politically motivated.

Surprisingly, Mr Dim-

itrio Tsafendas, who killed Dr Verwoerd six years later on September 6, 1966, was also declared insane, and is a patient of the State President.

While he was recovering in hospital from the first attempt on his life, Dr Verwoerd said the violence in the country was not going to lead to any changes in the Government's policy of apartheid.

Instead, political activity among blacks was restricted.

When the state of emergency was lifted on August 30, 1960, most of its provisions such as the right to search people or their homes without a warrant, bannings of persons and detention without trial were incorporated into the country's security legislation.

This has meant that South Africa has been under a virtual state of emergency for the past 26 years.

But that state of emergency has done very little, if anything, to dampen the militancy of blacks.

Whereas in 1960 at Sharpeville and in Soweto on June 16, 1976, the first people to die were shot by the police, in September 1984 the first victims were killed by angry mobs.

There has been a marked shift in the pattern of violence.

Could this mean that Mr Legum's predictions are true?

Political comment in this issue by J Latakomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Cape Times 21/3/86

# Magistrate clears 'shootings' service

**Own Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The chief magistrate of Uitenhage yesterday afternoon gave permission for a "Freedom Day" service to be held in the Jabavu Stadium, KwaNobuhle, today to commemorate last year's Langa shootings.

Mr M Steyn also approved a gathering in the KwaNobuhle cemetery to unveil a 21-grave monument to those who lost their lives.

But police have warned that a two-hour prayer service believed to be planned at the scene of the shooting in Maduna Road, Langa, would be illegal.

The KwaNobuhle gatherings have been restricted to between 10am and 4pm and Mr Steyn also ordered that the

shortest route be followed from the stadium to the cemetery.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, Dr Allan Boesak and Dr Beyers Naude will be among the guest speakers.

About 70 000 people are expected to attend.

● The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) a National Forum affiliate, has announced that it will hold country-wide services in commemoration of the March 21, 1960, Sharpeville massacre, our correspondent in Johannesburg reports.

Hundreds of Azanyu members are also expected to clean up the 69 graves of the victims of the shootings at the old Sharpeville cemetery today where a brief service will be held.

# FCI to fight government over bannings

Cape Times 21/3/86  
K.A. 20/3/86

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Business and government are heading for a showdown over the "crass and stupid" bannings this month of leading Eastern Cape community leaders Mr Henry Fazzie and Mr Mkhusele Jack.

After an unsuccessful meeting with the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) now plans to take him to court to try to force the government to lift the banning orders.

The FCI and the Midlands Chamber of Industries met Mr Le Grange on Wednesday. The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) met the minister on Monday — without result.

## 'Jeopardized'

Mr Johan van Zyl, executive director of the FCI, said the bannings "raised a question mark against government's sincerity in negotiating with accepted

community leaders" and that they "only jeopardized the sincere efforts of those seeking solutions to the country's problems".

Mr Van Zyl said it was stressed to Mr Le Grange that Mr Fazzie and Mr Jack "have been involved for some time in negotiations with the local chamber of industries to find ways of reducing tensions in the Port Elizabeth area and to return the situation to relative normality".

Government officials said there was little likelihood of Mr Le Grange lifting the bannings, which were described yesterday by one leading Eastern Cape industrialist as "crass and stupid".

The bannings of the two have drawn sharp criticism both locally and internationally, prompting the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, to say the South African Government was "perpetrating a sham by saying it wanted to negotiate with black leaders while banning anti-apartheid campaigners".

However, the legal options open to the FCI are not extensive. Legal experts say Mr Le Grange's discretion could be challenged in the Supreme Court, in which case the minister might well be forced to disclose his reasons for banning Mr Jack and Mr Fazzie. So far, Mr Le Grange has maintained that it is not in the public interest to disclose his reasons.

Businessmen fear that Mr Le Grange's failure to lift the bannings could lead to another damaging consumer boycott in the Eastern Cape.

# Tape copies dropped as evidence

211318 B. DAY  
STATE counsel in the Maritzburg treason trial announced yesterday that the State would no longer rely on transcriptions of tapes of meetings held at East London as evidence against the four accused.

114  
Andre Oberholzer made this announcement after W/O B Hattingh, who transcribed some tapes, had been cross-examined by the defence for six days.

On Wednesday, defence counsel MTK Moerane said he had searched in vain for the words "the Government is our enemy", as alleged by the State in the indictment on one of the transcripts.

He said that a faulty translation in a transcript led to the State incorrectly alleging in the indictment that one of the accused said: "we must kill our enemies".

Hattingh agreed with Moerane that the transcripts contained spelling mistakes, incorrect translations, misquotes and words that could not be found on the tape recordings.

The case was adjourned until Monday. The accused, are: Richard Gqweta (34), Sisa Njikelana (30), Sam Kikine (37) and Isaac Ngcobo. — Sapa.

# Why Mandela won't be free's Iron

(118) DISPATCH 26/3/82

Once again speculative reports are beginning to circulate that the release of the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela may be imminent. This time it is in connection with the mission of the Eminent Persons Group, the high-powered delegation of Commonwealth leaders.

The EPG delegation, which includes the former Nigerian head of state, General Obasanjo, and the former Australian prime minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, has made a point of keeping a low media profile during their current South African tour.

Yet it is known that they had talks with the ANC leadership in Lusaka as well as with President Botha and senior ministers of his cabinet, and now it has transpired that they have also met Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor prison.

Since the main objective of the Commonwealth mission is to explore alternatives to the further escalation of the armed struggle by facilitating a climate for political negotiation between the ANC and the South African government some reporters and commentators have jumped to the conclusion that the long overdue release of Mr Mandela must now be on the cards.

The "Mandela fever" among local and foreign pressmen has not yet reached the same delir-

ious heights as on the previous occasion earlier this year. Then Mr Mandela's prolonged stay in hospital, following a minor operation, became a major news item.

Media representatives mounted all-night vigils and there was talk of the "press scoop of the century" when someone resembling the ANC leader was photographed on an unscheduled visit to a medical centre in the city. It needs only another rumour and a "leak" or two, and we may well see a repeat performance.

The fact of the matter is that it is now widely believed, especially in press and diplomatic circles but also by many others, that the release of Mr Mandela is a genuine prospect. Yet it takes only a little reflection on the most likely sequels to such a move to realise that the South African Government is most unlikely to actually go through with it in anything like the present political circumstances.

There are, of course, very good reasons why it would be in the government's interests to release Mr Mandela.

Quite apart from any "humanitarian" considerations the continued jailing of Mr Mandela has evidently become a major political albatross to the government.

The pressures have been building up for

quite some time. During the early 1980s the Release Mandela campaign was used quite effectively as a mechanism for reintroducing the banned ANC into the internal political debate in South Africa. It also made him into a major political symbol for the black cause generally. And since September 1984, with civil strife and protest spreading to black townships throughout the country, the name of Mandela has become a rallying cry to an entire generation of young political militants, many of whom had not yet been born when he disappeared into prison in 1963.

Mr Mandela may continue to languish in prison, but the Mandela myth is going from strength to strength.

Indeed, in the present political climate it can hardly do otherwise. As a political figure he is in the unassailable position that he cannot put a foot wrong.

As an active participant in the confusing flux of the current political scene Mr Mandela would have had to take a stand on such difficult and complex issues as the possible resumption of the school boycotts, the political role of the black trade unions, and many more.

No matter what qualities of leadership or political skills he might still prove to have, such decisions are bound to be controversial and un-



**DR ANDRÉ DU TOIT, Associate Professor of Political Philosophy, Stellenbosch, gives a personal view.**

popular in one quarter or another.

But in prison he cannot, and may not, take any stands — and his reputation keeps growing. The government may well wish for a repeat performance of the release of Herman Toivo Ja Toivo. The Swapo leader, a major political headache to the government while he remained on Robben Island, has pretty well disappeared from view, presumably caught up in the infighting of Namibian politics.

What must make the growth of the Mandela myth even more alarming to the government is the matter of Mr Mandela's age. Though we are continually assured that he is still in robust health, he has just turned 70. The mere thought that he might

die in prison should certainly give anyone in government pause: the ANC could only benefit from being presented with a political martyr of major historical stature.

Moreover the release of Mr Mandela would also have a more general political significance.

There are influential members of the National Party and of the government who have serious misgivings about an exclusive and excessive reliance on coercive force in coping with the unrest in the black townships. They are urging the need for political initiatives as an alternative to just keeping the troops in the townships — but in the present circumstances there are preciously few options available which are both dramatic enough and realistic as well.

No wonder that a Mandela "lobby" has been urging for some time that here at least is a possible card that the government could play to signal its interest in the politics of negotiation. It would also be just the kind of signal which really would count with the governments in Washington and London and with the international business community.

It was thus no idle gesture when President Botha himself last year offered to release Mr Mandela, provided he

first renounced political violence. The government quite deliberately put Mr Mandela's release on the political agenda. And it serves the government's purpose to keep it there. In that case, why can't it then also go through with the offer?

The real problem does not lie in this or that set of preconditions. The issues are in effect drawn quite clearly.

The government cannot hope to offer Mr Mandela anything less than a full release. The Sobukwe option, that is, releasing him from prison and then banning him to Kimberley or Brandfort or some other remote area, is not on at all. Not only would it be quite self-defeating, but as Mrs Winnie Mandela has already effectively demonstrated, it no longer is a realistic proposition in the present political climate.

Mr Mandela years ago, and repeatedly, declined the offer to be released to Transkei. No doubt his position would be the same with regard to any other foreign country. Putting him on the plane to Lusaka or Paris will merely restore his freedom of action, but is unlikely to remove him for long from the internal political scene.

And that is the heart of the matter. Releasing Mr Mandela means that the government must be prepared to allow him to

13 hrs. 30 min., and finished eight in the ironman section of the M... Swim in 32 min. 30 s

This was his seventh appearance in the D... canoe race.

Stanton, who is 35, v... placed 2414th in... Comrades Marathon o... hr. 52 min., comple... the canoe race in 17... 30 min. and was plac... 20th in the Iron Man s... tion of mile swim in... min. 20 sec.

Other East London... to tackle the Midr...

**ce for  
rs to h**

Roma left-back Sel... tiano Nela will proba... switch flanks to repl... Internazionale. M... right-back Giuse... Bergomi, while 21-y... old Sampdoria wit... Gianluca Vialli looks... to fill in for Rom... Bruno Conti, who is... sidelined.

Bearzot's third... most intriguing cha... concerns the midfi... ers, Carlo Ancelotti... Roma and Antonia... Gennaro of Verona.

Di Gennaro is... regular playmaker... he missed the 2-1 de... against West Germ... last month when A... lotti made the mos... his chance with a s... display.

Ancelotti, a m... inspiration in Rom... excellent season, p... ably did enough ag... myth

ANC

# Police keep their distance

# Pupils burn books, march

CAPL TIMES  
21/3/86

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By TONY WEAVER

**POLICE** and troops moved into Guguletu, Nyanga and New Crossroads yesterday when thousands of high school pupils took to the streets after a rally in the morning.

A few rounds of tear-gas were fired but police generally kept their distance from the marching, chanting pupils.

Hours before the rally, minor damage was done to two classrooms at Sizamile High when these were petrol-bombed and a store-room containing hundreds of new books and paper from the Department of Education and Training was gutted.

A pile of the new, free books lay on the grass outside the school.

## Reasons

The incident followed book-burning at at least one other township high school.

Different reasons were given for the burning of the books, but the consensus among pupils spoken to was that they "promoted reactionary education" and that they "are poor quality and



Major Dolf Odendaal, second in command of the Reaction Unit, escorts CBS cameraman Chris Everson (right) and soundman Ken Geraghty (left) to their vehicle after ordering them out of Guguletu yesterday afternoon.

only cover half the year".

Pupils began gathering early yesterday morning and at 10am between 2 500 and 3 000 pupils from Sizamile, Fezeka, ID Mkize, Langa and X3 high schools and a number of higher primary schools gathered at the X3 High School in

Koornhof Street, New Crossroads, for an end-of-term mass rally.

At the rally, speakers from schools urged support for the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Around noon the rally broke up and thousands of pupils took to the

streets, marching and chanting slogans. They marched into NY78 and then down NY3.

A police van pulled up and an officer announced: "Please break up this gathering, please go home, stop throwing stones, just go on holiday."

Police used their

vehicles to break the initial crowd into smaller groups and then stationed Casspirs and vans at strategic intervals.

By 3pm groups of up to 300 chanting and singing pupils were running through virtually all the sections of the three townships, but the large crowds of the morning had broken up.

## TV crews

Two television crews, one from Worldwide Television News and one from CBS, were ordered out of the area by Major Dolf Odendaal, second-in-command of the Reaction Unit.

Minutes before the CBS men were ordered out, the crew had been expressing their approval of the police restraint.

Even when stones were hurled at police Land Rovers and Casspirs, police units withdrew and did not retaliate.

● A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, yesterday said only teargas and no birdshot had been used in the township.

"We are there to maintain law and order and we use minimum force in all situations, as was the case today."

## THE ARTS/BOOKS

## A publishing house fuelled on goodwill

WHEN the African Writers' Association decided to launch an all-black publishing company in 1982, the time seemed ripe for that kind of venture.

"It is generally considered to be desirable for black writers to be seen to be published by a black publishing house," read a document setting out the motivation; and "black writers have so established themselves both as to number and quality of writing that justification now exists for their works being published by a black publisher."

The AWA's executive included such leading members of the literary community as Professor Es'kia Mphahlele, author Miriam Tlali, playwright Matsemela Manaka, author Spho Sepamla.

Skotaville, set up with a great amount of goodwill, not least from prominent writers who offered the company their work, looks set to achieve the success its predecessors did not.

Its most prominent predecessor — and its namesake, and inspiration — was TD Mveli Skota, a founder of Abantu-Batho, the ANC newspaper, which he edited in the late 1920s. He also published a black Who's Who in the thirties.

"He was a printer, a designer, a publisher, a researcher, a writer," says Skotaville managing director Mthobisi Mutloatse. Skota, the man who shortened the name of the SA Native National Congress to the African National Congress during his 1923 term as secretary-general, was a one-man publishing firm.

He died in 1976, the year, says Mutloatse, black journalists came of age.

"The students elevated us," says Mutloatse, a Weekend World reporter in '76. "The people

There'd been plenty of black writing talent before 1982. But there hadn't been a black publishing house to sell to. Then along came Skotaville, a black publishing house fuelled on the spirit of independence and funded mainly on goodwill. BARBARA LUDMAN continues our series on small publishers

had confidence in us. This had a very positive effect on the kind of role black journalists had to play in society.

"We couldn't accept subservient roles after that. We had to be forthright and assertive. It had an impact even on creative writing."

When the World and Weekend World were banned in 1977, Mutloatse went to The Voice. "We didn't have money, but I enjoyed journalism then," he says. "The Voice created such an independent spirit, it was uncontrollable."

While on The Voice, Mutloatse became involved with Ravan Press. He says he was never officially on the staff, but took on editing jobs, compiling such books as "Forced Landing", a collection of contemporary black writing. He was, however, a Ravan director, and in on the founding of Staffrider.

When the AWA decided to found Skotaville as a company not-for-profit in November 1982, Ravan staffer and poet Jaki Seroke, then AWA senior secretary, manned the office. Mutloatse, AWA chairman, joined him there.

AWA financed the operation for six months,



荒れ野に叫ぶ声  
南アフリカに自由を



Tutu goes Japanese:  
A Skotaville collection of his  
sermons has been translated  
into five foreign languages

but both the association and Skotaville considered the firm a separate entity.

Rent for the first few months was waived by Turret College, whose offices Skotaville occupied. Mutloatse describes John Samuels, director of the SA Council on Higher Education, which operates Turret, as "one of our godfathers. If it were not for him, we would be nowhere."

Poet Don Mattera gave the new firm his "Azanian Love Song" to publish. The book was printed on credit.

"We will keep the same printers forever," he says, "a white company called Blackshaws in Cape Town. They even helped us prepare copy. We were relatively inexperienced. They took us along the way gently, told us what to do and how to do it. We have a unique relationship unlikely to be found in this country between a publisher and a printer, let alone the colour issue."

The "colour issue" is vital to Skotaville's existence.

"We're not measuring ourselves financially but in terms of the image, the product and the potential," he says. "We as black people could grow financially and deteriorate spiritually, which is why, for us, one must emphasise that spiritual fulfilment is of utmost importance."

"If we had to measure Skotaville in terms of being an integral part of the struggle, the main issue is to be the masters of our fate. And that is no different from the political ambitions of black people. Skotaville is a manifestation of that kind of ambition."

A brochure about to be printed acknowledges that "black writing has been published, even emphasised, by some of South Africa's established white-run publishing houses. But ... the AWA decided it was time we do 'our own thing'."

"The aim ... is to produce black literature that is relevant and contemporary — and do it under black control from start to finish. Skotaville Publishing is only interested in writing that has a purpose — writing that is promoting the liberation struggle." The legend on its catalogue carries on the theme: "indigenous publishing for relevant books".

What is "relevant" ranges from "Hope and Suffering", sermons and speeches by Bishop Desmond Tutu — published in English, since translated into German, Swedish, Finnish, Dutch and Japanese — to "Nilose Lenyora" (Quench My Thirst), a book of poetry for

continue →

children, written in Sesotho by Russell Saoli; from Don Ncube's study of black trade unions to "It's a Goal! 50 years of sweat, tears and drama in black soccer".

This year looks good for Skotaville. On the way is a new novel by Siphiso Sepamla, a book of June 16, 1976 photographs by Peter Magubane, with text by journalist Harry Mashabela, a collection of poetry, songs and stories throwing light, in a witty, humorous way, on the world of the unsighted; and a first novel which deals with the events of March 1960, the eve of a mass strike as the "last and final action" against the passbook.

This is also the year when Skotaville has decided to launch its educational division. The Sesotho poetry book is a part of that, as well as an historical work on the role of blacks in the Anglo-Boer war, an introduction to African theology — Skotaville publishes quite a lot of theology — and a village health care handbook translated from the original Spanish into Setswana, Sesotho, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sepedi, Tshivenda, and Xhitsonga.

It's a full programme for the six-person Skotaville staff; the writers on it no longer write.

"To write is not an issue," says Muthoaisae. "It's to discover others, to give others a chance. As an editor I've always concentrated on collections. For me a book should be comprehensive, should have other voices. "I can rediscover myself as a writer in 20 years' time."

**May Day launch**

FM  
11/1/86

A new Inkatha-linked trade union, the United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa), is to be launched on May 1. Uwusa's first rally will be held at Durban's Kings Park rugby stadium — the same venue as the public launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) last December.

Speaking at a press conference this week, Inkatha labour spokesman Simon Conco repeatedly emphasised that Uwusa's attitude towards Cosatu "is not intended to be confrontational." Uwusa, he says, merely differs with Cosatu's "negative tactics." But bitter conflict between the two seems inevitable, particularly in Inkatha's Natal stronghold, as they begin to compete for the loyalty of workers. Conco says that Uwusa has also opened an office in Germiston.

Uwusa's origins, in fact, go back to the Cosatu launch where homeland leaders, including Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, came under attack. Furthermore, according to Conco, Uwusa's chief organising tool is to question Cosatu's pro-disinvestment policy, which he sees as being Cosatu's soft underbelly.

Another major difference with Cosatu is Uwusa's commitment to free enterprise. A policy statement says Uwusa "is committed to liberating the free enterprise system from racist apartheid control and to make it a vehicle for the progress of the country's working class."

Asked about the financing of Uwusa, Conco strenuously denies reports that the organisation has asked for American and Israeli aid. Its present expenses are being met by a loan from Inkatha, but this source will end after the launch.

Conco also tried to distance Uwusa from Inkatha. He was adamant that Uwusa should not be seen as an "Inkatha union." Inkatha's role, he says, is to act as a catalyst. Inkatha is providing it with facilities in the hope that it will become self-sufficient. Adds Conco: "All Inkatha involvement in Uwusa will end on May 1." But it remains highly likely that Uwusa will itself ultimately decide to affiliate to Inkatha.

The launch date is a deliberate irony on Inkatha's part. "We want to challenge Co-

satu on their own day," says Conco. Cosatu affiliates and other unions have been campaigning nationally among employers to treat May 1 — international Labour Day — as a holiday. Now Inkatha and Uwusa have invited "all workers" to take the day off to attend the rally — which will be addressed by Buthelezi.

And it is unlikely to end there. Asked to respond to talk that school pupils in Kwa-Zulu will be given leave to attend the rally, Conco said it was important that all people, whether directly or indirectly affected by the launch of Uwusa, should be there. The implication is that Inkatha hopes that people from all walks of life will attend.

Conco is sensitive to Cosatu allegations that Uwusa is a "sweetheart" union. "We have not asked employers for any special favours," he says. He adds, though, that organised commerce and industry is being kept "well-informed" of developments. Uwusa believes that "economic development in SA will become ever increasingly dependent on partnerships between employers and employees from which there are mutually derived benefits."

Uwusa's present membership figures are not yet available. Conco claims there are indications that "several major unions" will affiliate to Uwusa after the launch, but declines to name them "at their own request."

The formation of Uwusa means that the industrial relations future in Natal is likely to be restive. The choice for Inkatha supporters is between Uwusa — a politically attractive option with as yet untested negotiating capabilities — and the Cosatu affiliates, most of which have proven themselves to be extremely capable in the collective bargaining arena.



<sup>B.D.A.</sup>  
Tutu puts  
21/3/84  
in plea to  
111A  
recognise  
the PAC

RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — The Rt Rev Desmond Tutu has issued an open letter urging the anti-apartheid movement in the US to drop its bias against the Pan-Africanist Congress and supporters of black consciousness.

"These black South Africans represent a legitimate and popular trend in our just struggle against apartheid," the letter declared.

"Denying them equal access to public forums on South Africa or humanitarian assistance does not serve the best interests of our struggle. We are, therefore, calling upon the Anti-apartheid Solidarity Movement to give our struggle moral, humanitarian and political assistance in a non-sectarian and principled manner," Tutu added.

The letter was issued under the letterhead of the Connecticut-based Bishop Tutu Refugee Fund and was signed by the bishop and his daughter, Naomi Tutu-Seavers.

"We are writing to express our grave concern about the growing trend in the Anti-apartheid Solidarity Movement to deny public forums to exiled black South Africans sympathetic to the philosophy of black consciousness or the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania," the letter began.

"We are also expressing a similar concern about attempts to deny humanitarian assistance to South African refugees and political prisoners for the same reason."

From organisations such as the American Committee of Africa and the Free SA Movement, to the many bodies which make up the US's fragmented anti-Pretoria front, the African National Congress has tended to command a special allegiance.

CARL TINKS  
Friday, March 21, 1986

# 'Comrades' kill New Crossroads men

By CHRIS STEYN and  
ANDREW DONALDSON

TWO New Crossroads Committee members were killed and a young woman — the third this week — was attacked and wounded by an axe-wielding man in violence arising out of the disappearance of money from a bail fund.

The men were Mr James Mehlala, 56, of Mndayi Close, and Mr Fenfolo Sitwaye, 38, of Ndabawinzi Street.

Both were apparently stoned by militant "comrades" and attacked with sharp objects. Their faces were slashed and the lower

parts of their bodies burnt. Mr Sitwaye's clothes were partly burnt off his body.

The woman, 20-year-old Miss Nomwisna Vusani, also of New Crossroads, was attacked by an axe-wielding "father" after a meeting at XI school in New Crossroads early on Wednesday evening.

She was released from Conradie Hospital yesterday with her arm — which had been broken — in plaster, and stitches to her mouth and on her back.

On Tuesday evening two other girls were attacked by an axe-wielding "fa-

ther" because their families had refused to contribute to a "bail fund" said to involve several thousands of rands.

A police spokesman said yesterday that the men's bodies were discovered at 11pm on Wednesday after police had received a tip-off about the incident.

He said Mr Sitwaye was the chairman of the committee and Mr Mehlala the vice-chairman.

Their bodies were found about 30m apart in the street. Mr Sitwaye was at home with his wife when the group arrived, he said.

After unsuccessfully trying to fight them off, Mr Sitwaye ran away and hid at a nearby house. The mob followed him there and threatened to damage the home if the occupants did not hand over Mr Sitwaye.

He emerged to face the mob and was murdered — about 30m from his home.

The mob then advanced on Mr Mehlala's home and he was dragged from the house and murdered in the street.

Mr Mehlala's son Patrick told the Cape Times yesterday that his father was killed by "comrades".

He said the "comrades" decided at a meeting earlier in the evening to kill his father and Mr Sitwaye.

Mr Mehlala said the "comrades" were commissioned by the United Woman's Organization, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front, to investigate money missing from the New Crossroads Committee. The money was intended for lawyer's fees and rent issues.

A UWO member, Mrs Sophia Mbenge, said the money was first collected in November last year to post

bail of R50 each and pay for the legal expenses of 169 women who were arrested on charges of public violence.

Organizations have demanded a "report-back meeting" from the committee to explain how the money was spent, Mrs Mbenge said.

"They have refused us and instead are now demanding more money from residents. Because residents have now had enough and are refusing to pay, these men are attacking the youth," she said.

# What does it mean for SA?

FOR almost 30 years, a vigorous debate has been taking place on whether a black revolution is possible in South Africa. The verdict of most academics is that it is not possible — at least not in the classic sense of an armed seizure of power. Pretoria may not be able to suppress black violence, but blacks in turn are not able to seize Pretoria.

So how should the events in SA be categorized? Is it civil war, rebellion, insurrection, uprising, or plain unrest? I put this question to several South Africans who I feel are qualified to suggested answers.

Dr David Welsh, Professor of Southern African Studies, UCT: It is extremely difficult to overthrow a modern industrialized state with its massive powers of coercion. Also, many black areas have been created specifically to facilitate the movement of security forces; the black townships can be sealed off relatively easily and violence can be turned inwards to become a self-inflicted wound.

On the other hand, white hegemony is unlikely to survive intact: violence has a sapping, haemorrhaging effect on the white power structure. So we have a state of deadlock, and this will lead to a degenerative process.

The assumption is commonly made that whites and blacks have polarized and are into end-game politics. But it's more complex than that. Cleavages are emerging in all the ethnic communities. For example, the whole temperature of white politics has risen quite dramatically: note the bitterness between the National Party and the Afrikaner right-wing groups.

There is a flip side to this among blacks. They scent victory now — they think the end of white supremacy is in sight. They believe, therefore, that the decisions they take now, organizational and tactical, will be critical for the future.

As the stakes rise, so the animosities will rise; and it is not only black policemen, councillors and other apartheid collaborators who will become the victims of black violence, but also rival black organizations. One third of unrest deaths are blacks on blacks.

Chief Buthelesi is right when he says black violence will lead to SA becoming a wasteland, that a future black government will inherit a moonscape; but there is also considerable truth in the opposite contention that blacks will get nowhere without violence.

STANLEY UYS, former London Editor of the Cape Times, gives his impressions of a recent visit to South Africa



Continued violence, I suppose, is inevitable, but it will tear at the whole fabric of society. Possibly, the best one can hope for is that after a period of endemic violence, exhaustion, deadlock and paralysis will set in and the two sides will try negotiation. This of course presupposes a rationality which may not materialize, but it's our only slim hope.

Dr Michael Spicer, public affairs adviser to Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American: The situation in SA does not fit any model with which social scientists are familiar. Perhaps the best description is to say SA is in a state of violent equilibrium.

Some areas, possibly, are in a state of rebellion, but it is a rebellion whose features are constantly shifting.

The comparison with the Iranian revolution is not, I believe, valid. The Iranians united to overthrow the Shah, but blacks in SA are divided, and as pressures build up in their communities, so the cleavages will increase. This is not a people's war, because there is no such thing as "the people".

I dislike the term "civil war" because it has a ring of finality about it, and as I see it the black struggle is going to be a long, drawn-out process in which polarization of points of view will intensify, moderates will lose confidence, emigration will increase and the economy will wind down; in other words, a degenerative process.

Prof Sampie Terblanche, Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University: Ancien regimes, like the one in France or in SA, cannot be abolished overnight. More than 100 years later, it was still part of French life.

Apartheid will have to be dismantled systematically over a decade or two, and at the same time new structures will have to be put in its place.



Simply to abolish apartheid would create chaos. Nowhere in the world will a privileged class accept a 20-40 percent overnight drop in their living standards.

The economy will have to be restructured so that civilized standards are not destroyed. SA simply cannot emulate overnight the welfare states which exist in the First World. In the last resort, we are a Third World country with a Third World economy and tax capacity. The process of change will be a protracted one.

Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a founder-patron of the United Democratic Front: Last year, I attended a meeting addressed by an 18-year-old black. He said the government must know that from now on "violence is the word and attack is the call". When he said this, the whole audience of 2 000 rose to their feet. That's the kind of chilling experience I have had these days.

Young blacks have no intention of confining the violence to their own townships. They are determined to find a way to break out into the white areas. When that happens, we will not enter a traditional revolutionary situation, like the one in Russia or Zimbabwe. The parallel rather will be with the Lebanon, and once we are into that situation, the violence on both sides will become quite uncontrollable.

Is there any hope for SA? Probably through the churches working for reconciliation, but more likely through organizations like the UDF where whites and blacks work together with the same commitment and taking the same risks.

There is also hope in the growing realization among young blacks not only that they are helping to bring about great changes, but that they must also hold themselves responsible for the consequences of those changes — they are beginning to think more deeply about these things.

None of the South Africans whom I have quoted here practises violent change; so what are the aims of the practitioners of violence, like the ANC? Precise formulations are not easy, but from what I have been able to discover here in London, the scenario will be like this:

The ANC will not enter into negotiations with President Botha's government until certain conditions are met; and these conditions amount, in effect, to power sharing. In other words, the ANC wants a share of power before it begins to talk.

The conditions are the release of Mandela and other political prisoners, the legalizing of the ANC (and other black organizations), the creation of conditions in which a legalized ANC would be able to campaign freely in SA without inviting arrest, detention or banning, and a declaration of intent by President Botha that all South Africans, whites and blacks, are entitled as equals to decide the country's future. And the talks must be held in public, not private.

## Conditions for talks

If President Botha agrees to these conditions, the process of power sharing will have started before talks are held — the ANC will not be going paked into the conference chamber, as it sees it, and the talks will be able to accelerate the process of power sharing. Meanwhile, the ANC's armed struggle will continue, but with this important difference: the emphasis will be shifted from sabotage attacks on economic and other installations around the country to the townships themselves. The weaponry that has been used in the armed struggle so far will be transferred to the townships to promote what is known now as the "people's war".

If the ANC's aims are realized — and this includes stealing weapons from the security forces — the struggle in (and outside) the townships increasingly will become an armed struggle. The ANC still has no intention of striking at random "soft targets", but there can be no doubt that it intends to escalate the armed dimension of the black struggle.

The strategy is to create no-go zones in townships, to establish street committees wherever possible to take over the running of the townships, to widen the zones of ungovernability, and gradually to grind the white rulers and their economy down until the power structure collapses.

This is not a revolution in the classic sense, but South Africa's own unique version of how to raze white rule to the ground.

But can this struggle be spread over 10 or 20 years, as Professor Terblanche suggests? I doubt very much whether SA's economy, its constitutional and political systems — and its nerves — could withstand this kind of punishment for so long. Somebody must start talking to somebody else long before then.



# A Wits yes to ANC talks

WEEKLY H.

By RUTH BECKER

SIX thousand students want to talk to the African National Congress (ANC) — and if the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) has its way, the number will increase.

Students of the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand this week strongly supported a call that Nusas representatives visit the ANC in Lusaka.

The Wits student assembly, called with the support of the University Council, gave majority support to a Student's Representative Council (SRC) motion proposing that Wits representatives take part in a Nusas delegation to visit the ANC.

Of 2 500 students, 38 voted against the motion and 52 abstained.

The "yes" from Wits means that two of Nusas' four affiliates have been given the plan to go ahead. Voting at the other two affiliate campuses, the Universities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg will take place on Monday.

Following unanimous SRC resolutions supporting a Nusas visit to the ANC, the national executive met at the weekend and resolved to test campus support for the proposal.

SRC president and acting Nusas president Claire Wright said Nusas felt an issue of such importance required wider consultation with

students.

Addressing the student assembly she said amongst the groups that had seen the ANC, there had not yet been a visit by mandated representatives of the student community.

"As South Africans of the future, committed to staying in this country, it is important to speak now to the ANC and hear what they are saying ... Even if we don't like what is said, this doesn't mean we mustn't hear it."

Thousands flock to U'hage memorial services

# Stayaway is almost total

21/3/86

(11A) (2/13)

E. Post

Post Reporters

**THOUSANDS** of people congregating in Uitenhage for memorial services — and others staying at home in sympathy — left the streets of Port Elizabeth virtually deserted and shops standing empty today.

The call for a work stayaway on the first anniversary of the Langa shootings and the 28th anniversary of Sharpeville was observed almost in total.

The street scenes in the city were in stark contrast to those at Uitenhage where chanting crowds jostled their way to the Kwanobuhle Stadium for the main gathering of the day.

Overhead a helicopter whirled and along the streets security forces mounted patrols. Black marshals identified by coloured insignia kept a check on the swelling crowd.

In both centres, only essential services like hospitals were being staffed by blacks. In all other spheres, whites were doing the manual jobs. For most shopkeepers this was light work. In the northern areas of PE staff outnumbered customers and some shops had closed their doors.

In central PE garage owners were filling up cars themselves.

"There are no blacks at

work today," one garage owner in town, Mr Fred Barendse, said.

There were no refuse removals today, a spokesman at the municipality said. Services would be resumed on Monday.

Milk deliveries were delayed by the stayaway, and casual coloured workers sat smoking outside the gates at the United Dairies plant in Struandale, waiting for an occasional delivery.

Many bakeries and other daily services did double business yesterday in anticipation of the stayaway. In some cases people came to fetch their own bread and milk.

In Uitenhage, thousands of chanting people converged on Kwanobuhle Stadium to commemorate the 21 people killed at Langa last year by security forces.

People arrived in busloads by the dozen from about 9am and streamed, singing and chanting, into the grounds of the stadium, where a public address system was being installed for speeches expected to be delivered by

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Mr Alan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front.

The day's events at Uitenhage were due to begin with a small service — attended mainly by clergymen — on Madonna Square, scene of the Langa shootings. This was due to be held while crowds filed to the Kwanobuhle Stadium on the opposite side of the town.

The security forces had few vehicles near the stadium, but many were seen on the roads leading to Uitenhage. On the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage road, a roadblock held up four buses and five smaller vehicles, all crammed to bursting with people heading for the stadium.

In the stadium grounds one group was led by a man carrying a model of a 303 rifle made of wood.

A British Broadcasting Corporation camera team moved among the groups.



A group leader carries a wooden model of a .303 rifle as his companions mill around inside the Jabavu Stadium in Kwanobuhle. Picture by Mike Holmes

● See Page 3

**INSIDE:**

Weather 2; Women's World 9; It's All Happening 10; Finance 15; TV/Show 16, 17; Fun Page 18; Classified 19-22; Raci

21/3/86 B DAY

# Snags hit talks on SA

A THREE-DAY conference in London next week on SA, to be attended by leading black and white South Africans, has received two setbacks.

SA's Department of Home Affairs has turned down a request by Azanian Peoples Organisation president Saths Cooper for a passport.

And in a second development National Party spokesman Chris Rencken said it was not NP policy to take part in any kind of discussion where the African National Congress (ANC) was present.

Nat MP for Helderkruijn Stoffel van der Merwe is in London and has been invited to the conference.

Rencken said until the ANC renounced violence as a means of

PETER WALLINGTON  
Political Reporter

achieving political objectives the NP would have nothing to do with it. He said the NP would "strongly disapprove" of an MP attending such a conference in a private capacity.

Cooper said he had been invited to attend the SA in Crisis conference, but had been refused a passport.

A spokesman for Home Affairs confirmed Cooper's request for a passport had been turned down, but said he could not say why.

On the positive side, a spokesman for the United Democratic Front (UDF) said former treason trialist Cassim Salojee would give a paper outlining the UDF perspective on SA.

# Vigilantes given 'licence'

SOUTH AFRICAN and homeland police grant vigilante groups "a certain licence" and the relationship between the two is inescapable, Nicholas Haysom of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies said yesterday.

He is the author of a book called "*Mabangalala — The rise of right-wing vigilantes in South Africa*", launched at a Press conference yesterday.

Widespread rural and urban vigilante groups emerged in 1985 as tensions increased in black townships due to large-scale unrest, Haysom said.

In urban areas victims of such attacks were generally people who

threatened the community council system, such as United Democratic Front-affiliated organisations, youth groups and popular civic associations, while in rural areas victims were usually those who resisted the removal of communities or their incorporation into homelands.

□ A spokesman for the Police Directorate said yesterday the police were not involved in vigilante groups, and did not openly favour such activity.

However, he added: "We have no problem with any group prepared to help the police within the confines of the law."

THELMA TUCH

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# PE bans: FCI to go to court

Dispatch Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — Business and government appear to be headed for a court confrontation over the bannings this month of leading Eastern Cape community leaders Mr Henry Fazzie and Mr Mkhusele Jack.

Snubbed by Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange, the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) now plans to take him to court to try to force the government to lift the orders.

The FCI and the Midlands Chamber of Industries met Mr Le Grange on Wednesday and failed to persuade him to change his mind. The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) had an equally unpro-

ductive meeting on Monday.

FCI executive director, Mr Johan van Zyl, said the bannings "raised a question mark against government's sincerity in negotiating with accepted community leaders" and they "only jeopardised the sincere efforts of those seeking solutions to the country's problems".

Government officials said there was little likelihood of Mr Le

Grange lifting the bannings, which were described yesterday by an Eastern Cape industrialist as "crass and stupid".

Mr Van Zyl said it was stressed to Mr Le Grange that Mr Fazzi and Mr Jack "had been involved for some time in negotiations with the local chamber of industries to find ways of reducing tensions in the Port Elizabeth area and to return the strife-torn situa-

tion to relative normality".

The bannings have drawn sharp criticism locally and internationally, prompting US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker to say the SA Government was "perpetrating a sham by saying it wanted to negotiate with black leaders while banning anti-apartheid campaigners".

The FCI said it hoped the legal action would "have the effect of reversing the banning orders".

Businessmen fear that Mr Le Grange's failure to respond to the plea to lift the bannings could lead to another damaging consumer boycott in the Eastern Cape.

Pick 'n Pay chairman, Mr Raymond Ackerman, said a lack of response would lead to another boycott "and it is the small trader who is going to get hurt, while at the same time government is trying to promote small businesses. If government does not tell commerce and industry why these people have been banned — even confidentially — it will be a major snub".



# National Forum for blacks only'

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Forum is an organization of blacks only and its policy is against association with whites, according to a statement released yesterday by the Johannesburg office of the organization.

The statement denies claims made in other quarters that representatives of white organizations have been invited to the third National Forum to be held in Durban on March 28 and 29.

The white ruling class is responsible for keeping the black people in bondage, the statement says.

"It is the task of the black working class and its organizations to mobilize the oppressed and exploited people in order to end white rule," the statement went on.

CNA- 71925 21/3/86 (11A)  
"The NF addresses itself only to the solution of the problem created by the present unjust iniquitous system of oppression and exploitation.

"Accordingly, representatives of the ruling class or any liberal apologists of the existing system cannot be accommodated in the struggle against them."

The forum will focus on the national convention.

All members of the community are invited to attend the third National Forum — which, the statement says, may be one of the last of the gatherings to be held until liberation, bearing in mind the government's declared intention of increasing repression against resistance groups. — Sapa

# Cape Times

from Austin. • Match report, back

## Shot policeman knew he was going to die

*Cape Times 28/3/86*

*JN 251*

By CHRIS STEYN

CONSTABLE Patrick Legong knew he was going to die.

"It won't matter if you leave without me today," he told his fellow policemen before they boarded the Casspir that took them into Guguletu.

"I know something is going to happen to me," he said as he buttoned up his shirt at 7.30 on Tuesday morning.

At noon, he was dead. A sniper's bullet hit him in the eye as he embarked from the Casspir to investigate an arson incident. He died instantly.

Yesterday, his colleagues spoke of his death for the first time.

### Soccer player

The 24-year-old Constable Patrick Legong was a popular man.

He was a keen runner and a good soccer player. And, he started a soccer team to keep the policemen in his unit busy when they were not patrolling the townships.

Detective-Constable Adam Leteane, who shared a tent with him, described him as "friendly and popular".

When he was shot, Constable Leteane was standing next to him in the Casspir.

"He was standing on the ladder below me. When I looked again, he had just fallen to the ground," he said

yesterday.

Warrant-Officer John Sethibe, who is second in command of the Unrest Unit, remembered Constable Legong as a "disciplined man with strong leadership qualities".

He told the Cape Times of the last conversation he had with Constable Legong on the morning before his murder.

"He was still sitting in his tent at about 7 o'clock. This was unusual, as he was always very prompt.

"He told me not to worry, and that he would be ready by 7.30. But, he was still running around, buttoning up his shirt when everybody else was ready to go.

"That was when he said: 'It won't matter if you go without me today. I won't mind. I know something is going to happen'."

Yesterday, his friends gathered at Air Force Base Ysterplaat to pay a last tribute to a man they came to like and admire.

Constable Legong's colleagues formed a guard of honour as six policemen slow-marched towards an Impala with his coffin. His blue police cap lay on top of the South African flag which draped the coffin.

His body was flown back to Pretoria, where he will be buried with full military honours.

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was done by the artist, but Kaiser is a reference to the location of the sources in the art world have never When he learned the identity of his possibility of legal action."

# Treason trial: State drops 9 transcripts

MEMOIRS 11A WEEKLY M. 21/3/86

By TONY OOSTHUIZEN  
Pietermaritzburg

IN a dramatic development yesterday in the Pietermaritzburg treason trial, the state withdrew nine transcripts of tape-recorded meetings of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu).

The state has now withdrawn 13 transcripts from a total of 25. Of those withdrawn, 11 relate to Saawu meetings in East London and two in Newcastle.

The latest withdrawal of state evidence follows repeated complaints to the bench that a number of statements attributed to the accused in the indictment did not appear in the transcripts as alleged, or were incorrectly translated.

Advocate Marino Moerane, defending the four trialists, made these allegations during cross-examination of security policeman Warrant Officer B Hattingh, who

checked 10 of the transcripts which formed part of state evidence. The transcripts referred to Saawu meetings in East London and Durban.

The accused, Thozamile Gqweta, Sisa Njikelana, Samuel Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo are leaders of the union.

Moerane said he had "searched in vain" through one of the transcripts for the words "the government is our enemy" as alleged by the state in the indictment.

He also said an incorrect translation in another transcript led to the state incorrectly alleging in the indictment that one of the accused said: "We must kill our enemies."

Hattingh agreed there were errors and said it was a "most frustrating" experience to check the transcripts

against the recordings because parts were inaudible and parts were left out.

However, he said, it was not the state's intention to mislead the court.

Earlier in the week Justice Milne, on the bench, described one transcript as an "extremely slovenly piece of work" and not trustworthy.

The state allegedly relied on a passage from the transcript to prove that the union tried to cripple the South African economy.

Moerane said the word "imveliso", interpreted by the state as meaning "economy", in fact meant "production" and was used in reference to the Wilson Rowntree sweet factory.

He said it was a "material mistranslation" of a phrase which referred only to the dislocation or damaging of factory production and had no reference to the economy in

East London or Durban.

Justice Milne said it was "extraordinary" that a transcript of a speech contained a crucial word that did not exist on the original tape recording.

Moerane said the state had relied on this word, "ngowethu" to link Saawu to the self-exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions. This word did not appear in the original police recording marked "Saawu admits belonging to Sactu". Someone, he said, had "just added it in".

Andre Oberholzer, for the state, said it was a "sloppy job". He would call on the interpreter who translated the speech from Xhosa into English to explain it, he said.

Last week the defence claimed that other transcripts of recorded meetings were incoherent and were "gibberish and bristled with errors".

# Thesis slams 'faction fight' claims

THE migrant labour system is at the root of faction fighting on South Africa's gold mines, a leading research official from the Chamber of Mines, Dr Kent McNamara, told the Weekly Mail in an interview this week.

He said other factors included congestion in the mine hostels, competition for women and liquor supplies, and struggles over wages and jobs in the context of widespread unemployment and drought in the rural areas.

McNamara, who has recently finished an exhaustive doctoral thesis on conflict on the mines, rubbished the conventional white view that faction fights showed blacks were inherently savage, inferior and incapable of settling their differences.

Faction fighting has claimed the lives of more than 200 miners since 1973. Fourteen workers have died in fighting at Anglo American's Vaal Reefs in the past week.

In an historic move, Anglo American and the National Union of

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

Mineworkers (NUM) have set up a commission of enquiry to examine the causes of faction fighting on Anglo's mines.

McNamara, whose thesis took eight years to complete and is already being viewed as the authoritative work on the subject, said migrant labour was the social context for faction fighting.

"There are certain social divisions on the mines which can be traced back to migrant labour," he said. "Men are

recruited from different regions and maintain these relationships when they come to the mines. All that a migrant labourer has are his friendship relations — the people from his home region who live in his compound — which he is unlikely to repudiate."

McNamara said the result of the constant turnover of men resulting from the migrant labour system was that the compounds were "whirlpools of shifting communities" as opposed to settled working class communities.

"The point is that interests remain

regionally based — as opposed to ethnically based. Communal and political tensions become expressed in terms of this social structure and hence one has faction fights."

McNamara said a lot of the conflict on the mines was a reflection of the problems of hostel life: the tensions generated in 16-man rooms, fighting over food rations and noise in the rooms.

He quoted a miner who had explained the conflicts in the hostels by saying: "If you put a whole lot of cattle in a kraal and overcrowd them, then they will stamp and horn each other."

Hostel conditions became a particular sticking point during the massive shift to recruitment of workers from South Africa, to replace workers from the neighbouring states, in the mid-seventies.

"The huge intake of novices arriving at the hostels for the first time found it very hard to adjust to hostel life."

He said that 17 percent of the conflicts between 1973 and 1982 related to the shebeens in the farms and townships surrounding the mines.

There were conflicts over the control of liquor supplies to the shebeens, and over access to the relatively few women available for the hundreds of thousands of single men on the mines.

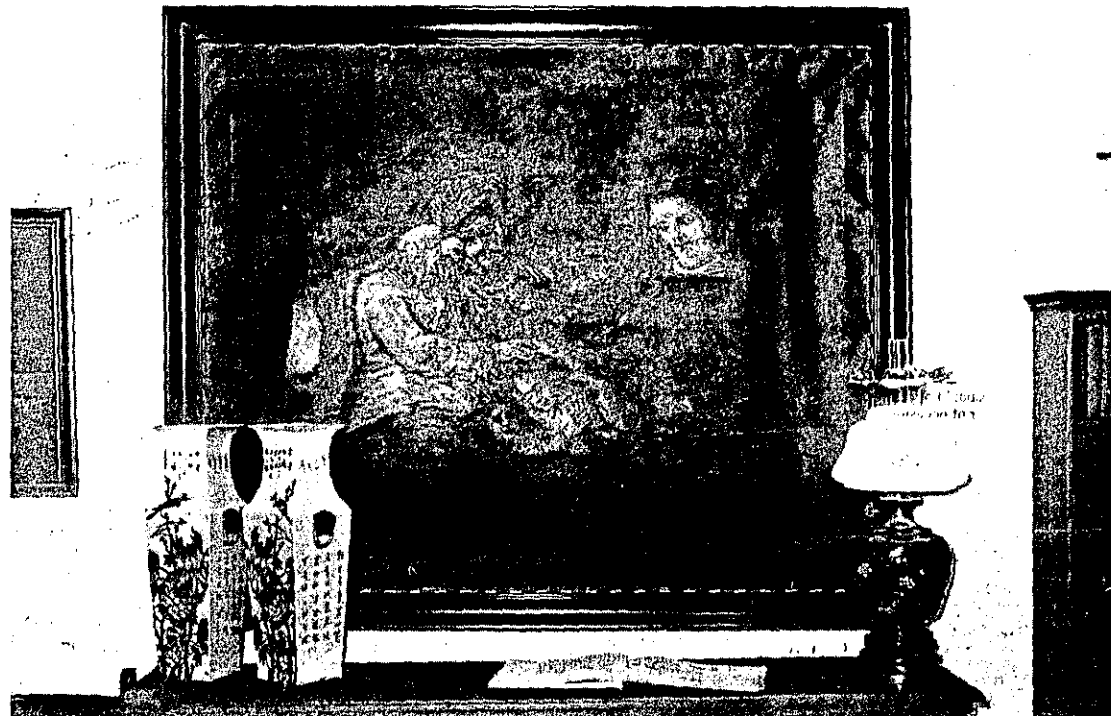
In addition, a large number of faction fights have been over what McNamara termed "political" issues.

"There has been a struggle in this industry for scarce resources such as jobs and wages. This has taken three phases — struggles over the domination of Lesotho nationals in the Free State goldfields, resentment by South African workers towards foreign nationals, and the stranglehold on jobs after the industry attempted to stabilise jobs after the mid-seventies.

"In all of these there was a political struggle in the compounds which, because of the migrant labour system, took the form of groups from different regions vying for power."

McNamara said the final phase in the political struggles on the mines was the onset of unionisation, with fights between strikers and non-strikers, the refusal of some workers to join compound boycotts, and cleavages between supervisors and labourers.

● McNamara will be awarded his PhD degree at the University of the Witwatersrand next month.



A genuine Rembrandt for a mere R25 000. Well, that's what dealer Philip du Plooy says

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, AFRAPIX

WANT to buy a Rembrandt, going for R25 000? Or a Van Dyck for R4 250? Just pop along to "Oak Interiors", Westgate's version of Sandton City's "Village Gallery".

The seller is Philip du Plooy, whose shop boasts, besides the chainstore-type furniture, an array of "original masterpiece" — which he staunchly denies are fakes.

Weekly Mail visited "Oak Interiors"

## Randburg Rembrandt: yours for just R25 000

By HAZEL FRIEDMAN

collection in which it presently belongs.

heard of Bernardi Auctioneer in Italy. Du Plooy claimed Sotheby's had confirmed that the painting was an original. But Stephen Walsby, head of

questioners he changed his mind about the source of the painting and claimed it had been bought by a "Mrs Sercu in Belgium". He could not supply her first name, nor her address. He also said that he was no longer sure of the existence "at the factory" of a certificate of authenticity and admitted that Sotheby's had not evaluated the work. When asked why

# Three more freed after judge rules detentions invalid

By Jenni ...

A Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday ordered the release of three men held in terms of section 28 of the Internal Security Act, after an Appeal Court ruling that certain detention notices were invalid.

Three urgent applications were brought by Mr Ramoshwane Peter Mokaba, Mr France Mofapa Mohlala and Mr Luthi Louis Aaron Mnguni against the Minister of Law and Order.

Late yesterday, Mr Justice R J Goldstone granted an order declaring the detention of the men was wrongful and unlawful. The notices purporting to authorise their detention in terms of section 28 of the Internal Security Act were also declared invalid.

Mr Justice Goldstone ordered the Minister of Law and Order and the officer commanding the new Johannesburg Prison to release the men.

The urgent applications were brought hours after the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein found detention orders on 16 people in August 1984 were invalid.

Mr Justice Goldstone said: "I have little doubt the orders in these applications are in substantially similar terms to those considered by the Appellate Division, which were declared invalid."

In papers before the Rand Supreme Court, it was submitted the detention notices were invalid because they did not comply with the requirements in section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

The applications were not opposed.

Mr R J Goldstone was on the Bench. Mr I Mahomed SC, assisted by Mr B S Spilg, appeared for Mr Mokaba, Mr Mohlala and Mr Mnguni. Mr B W Burman appeared for the Minister of Law and Order.

# Judgment reserved in Delmas terror trial bail application

Political Reporter

DELMAS — In the treason trial in Delmas, Mr Justice Kees van Dijkhorst yesterday reserved judgment after argument in a new bail application by 22 men who are facing charges of high treason, subversion, incitement to murder and furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Judgment in this second application for bail — the first failed last year — is expected on Monday.

The men on trial are members of the United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic Association, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Azanian Youth Unity and among them are UDF leaders Mr Terror Lekota, Mr Moss Chikane and Mr Popo Molefe.

STAL  
21/3/85  
The hearing started two months ago and is expected to last at least a year. Some of the accused have been in custody for 17 months.

Mr Arthur Chaskalson — who argued the bail application for the defence — said that the condition listed for a new application when the first was turned down, had been met.

The condition was an improvement in the security situation and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Mr P B Jacobs, for the State, told the court that the lifting of the state of emergency was not enough and the defence had failed to show that the security situation in the country had improved to the extent where the 22 accused could be freed on bail.

Mr Jacobs also submitted that the seriousness of the charges against the 22 was sufficient to induce them to flee the country.

According to affidavits handed in on behalf of the State, there was reason to believe that, if the 22 men were freed, they would contribute to instability in the country, threaten the security of the State, fan the unrest in the Vaal Triangle and intimidate witnesses.

In addition, Mr Jacobs argued, few of the accused had the means of providing bail and bail provided by friends and associates would not be sufficient reason for them to remain in the country to stand trial.

The State asked that bail be refused.

The hearing proper will resume today.

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**BLOEMFONTEIN —**  
The Appeal Court yesterday found that detention orders served on 16 people in August 1984, including six people who subsequently sought refuge in the British Consulate in Durban, were invalid.

The Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabie, with Mr Justice Trengove, Mr Justice Hoexter, Mr Justice Botha and Mr Justice van Heerden concurring, upheld appeals by

## Appeal Court finds orders for detention of 16 invalid

Mr Curtis Ephraim Nkondo and seven others against a judgment of Mr Justice H H Nestadt, and by Mr Archibald Jacob Gumede and seven others against a judgment of a Full Bench of the Natal Supreme Court.

The Appeal Court dismissed an appeal by the

Minister of Law and Order and Lieutenant Strydom, Officer Commanding Maritzburg Prison, against a decision of Mr Justice B Law in the Natal Supreme Court on September 7 1984 to release Mr Gumede and six others from detention. The appeal was dis-

missed with costs, including those of two counsel.

After Mr Justice Law had ordered the release of Mr Gumede, of Clermont, Mr Chandereo Sewpersadh (Verulam), Mr Moorohgiah Jayarajapathy Naidoo (Durban), Mr Mawalal Ramgobin

(Verulam), Mr Billy Nair (Durban), Mr Bhekuse Samil Kikine (general secretary of the SA Allied Workers' Union) and Mr Kader Hassim, an application was brought by Mr Nkondo to the Witwatersrand Supreme Court for the release of himself and seven others.

● On September 10 1984 Mr Justice Nestadt held that the detention under section 28 (1) of the Internal Security Act was valid.

# Sharpeville remembered

COMMEMORATION services have been organised throughout the country to mark the 26th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Other events related to the liberation struggle will also be remembered.

Among the organisations which plan to hold services between today and Sunday are the Council of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo), the Azanian Youth Unity (Azanu), Thokoza Action Committee, the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), the Vaal Stayaway Committee, the Uitenhage Youth Committee and many others.

The commemoration services are to mark the shooting of anti-pass protesters — 69 of them

were killed and over 200 wounded after police opened fire.

The campaign had been initiated by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) under the leadership of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe.

## Banning

In a statement released yesterday, Azapo said the significance of Sharpeville cannot be overstated:

"It was only since the cataclysmic events from March 21, 1960 resulting in the banning of the PAC and the ANC that the struggle in this country assumed the revolutionary direction it did away from the plaintive, petition politics. We would not be having the activism that calls forth detention without trial and other hardships from the minority re-

gime had it not been for that day in particular. It is especially for these reasons that people are called on to observe the day with the necessary significance," Azapo said.

The PAC's publicity department yesterday said there has been a big demand for PAC speakers at various university, church and community groups for the commemoration of what has come to be known as Heroes' Day.

A number of other anti-apartheid groups are also having special programmes to commemorate this event. The United Nations' Committee Against Apartheid will also be holding a meeting today at 10am and at 3pm to observe this day. More than 30 UN delegates, special guests and members of the PAC and the

ANC will speak at the services.

The regional vice-chairman of Cosatu in the eastern Cape, Mr Thembinkosi Mkhali, said a spontaneous decision by blacks to stayaway from work was taken. This is to mark the shooting of 21 people by police at Langa last year. Cosatu said the day would be called "Freedom Day" in honour of those killed.

The DPSC said the day will be known as the National Detainees Day, will be combined with commemoration services for those who died in Sharpeville and Langa as well as the more recent killings in Mamelodi and Alexandra.

Services are to be held:  
• Today — Azapo service at Khotso House, Johan-

To Page 2

# Sharpeville remembered

## From Page 1.

nesburg at 1pm — speakers will include Saths Cooper and Mahlomola Skhosana. Azanyu service at the Lutheran Church, Mopedi Section, Katlehong at 6pm. Cosatu service at KwaNobuhle Stadium and at the site of the Langa shooting in Maduna Road. Bekkersdal Anglican Church at 1pm. Ikageng Lower Primary School, night vigil starting at 10pm. Ga-Rankuwa Motale Hall at 6pm.

• Tomorrow — DPSC National Detainees Day service at Central Methodist Church Hall, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg, at 1.30pm. Azanyu services at the following places: DOCC, Soweto at 2pm, Kagiso, Lutheran Church, Themba Road Kagiso 2 at 2pm; East London, Catholic Church at 2pm; other services will be held in Nyanga, Crossroads, Tembisa, Seshogo, Port Elizabeth and Bushbuckridge —

venues are still to be confirmed. Azapo services at the following places: Vosloorus Methodist Church at 2pm and will be addressed by Phambili Ntloko; Phalaborwa Kresten Hall at 8pm (speaker George Wauchope); Medunsa, Ga-Rankuwa at 2pm (speaker Muntu Myeza); Kagiso Roman Catholic Church at 2pm. • Sunday — Azapo services at Namahali Lutheran Church at 12 noon (speaker George Wauchope); Thokoza Roman Catholic Church at 2pm (speaker Phambili Ntloko); Atteridgeville Assembly of God Church at 2pm (speaker Muntu Myeza); Dobsonville Roman Catholic Church at 2pm; Soweto Dube Y at 2pm. Thokoza Action Committee at the Dutch Reformed Church, corner Konyela and Khumalo streets at 1.30pm. Dennilton Action League at Mathale Hall at 2pm.



By Sheryl Raine

The majority of the 2 000 Haggie Rand workers at the Jupiter and Germiston plants, who staged a sit-in strike for 17 days, have been reinstated after lengthy talks between attorneys for the workers' union and management.

A joint statement issued by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) and management of Haggie Rand said it had been agreed that the workers, who were fired at midday on Monday but refused to leave the factories, be reinstated. Most of the workers returned to work yesterday.

The workers were not paid for days on strike.

Mawu has been involved in a number of labour disputes in an effort to force members of the Steel Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) to bargain at company level concerning substantive issues such as wages. Seifsa has recommended that its members stick to the centralised bargain-

## Sit-in strikers reinstated

ing machinery of the industrial council.

Haggie Rand has agreed not to penalise any workers in terms of the company's disciplinary procedures "solely for striking, refusing to work or for trespass". The firm reserved the right to discipline workers for other offences committed during the strike.

It was also agreed to begin negotiations on worker demands for long-service bonuses and allowances at a time and place to be agreed upon before April 15.

Mawu and Haggie Rand failed to reach agreement "on the level at which negotiations will take place", on other workers' demands for an increase in wages, May 1 as a paid holiday, compassionate leave, payment for overtime and other terms and condi-

tions of employment.

"The union will make formal proposals to the company and the parties undertake to negotiate on them and other counter proposals by the company, at company level, at a time and place to be mutually agreed not later than April 30," the statement said.

Negotiations about long service bonuses and allowances will be conducted "as expeditiously as possible". Should a deadlock be reached nothing in this agreement would limit or preclude the parties from exercising rights they may have under the Labour Relations Act.

This applied to both the procedures for negotiation and the "substantive" demands for changes to conditions of employment, the statement said.

# ANC 'no' to UK conference

CAH Times 22/3/86 (11A)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — In a surprise move yesterday the African National Congress (ANC) announced that it will not attend the top-level conference on South Africa to be held here from tomorrow.

This is a further setback to the conference which was seen as a trial national convention of leading black and white South Africans.

Earlier this week the South African Embassy said it would not attend.

## 'Main agents'

The news that the ANC will not be there disappoints those who had hoped that the two main agents in the South African "crisis" would face each other for the first time across the conference table.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said in Lusaka yesterday the organization did not see how this conference would serve any purpose.

In a veiled snub to the British Government, Mr Sebina said South Africans did not need a mediator to intercede on their behalf.

South Africans were quite capable of organizing their own conference, he said.

He also said the ANC was not interested in sharing a platform with any member of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's movement.

Earlier the South African Government had said none of its representatives would be willing to share a platform with the ANC until it renounced violence.

The ANC has said that until there are certain definite changes in South Africa, they will not participate in any forum with South Africa.

Asked if a representative of the embassy would attend the Wilton Park conference, now that the ANC had opted out, a spokesman said that this did not apply as they had not been invited.

Contrary to speculation, Dr Piet Koornhof, chairman of the President's Council, had never intended to be present and had not been invited.

However, it is felt that a National Party MP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, may reconsider his decision not to attend.

The new national newspaper Today carried a splash report on its front page yesterday under the headline "Bloodbath must stop — Britain calls secret meeting with South African leaders".

## 'Bridge gap'

It claimed that Britain was acting as "honest broker" in an attempt to bridge the gap between the South African Government and the country's militant blacks.

Last night the organizer of the conference, Mr Geoffrey Denton, expressed his regret that the South African Government and the ANC would not be participating.

He said it was regrettable if any of the participants in the crisis facing South Africa felt unable to be present.

until Tuesday morning, April 1. Birth, death and lost-and-found notices can be phoned to 24-2233 between 10am and 5pm on March 30 and March 31.



Geoff Meek

Johannesburg of the SA Yacht Racing Association (SAYRA).

BACK PAGE

resigns as coach

BACK PAGE

## 60 000 flock to KwaNobuhle

# Police chase crowds in city streets

CH 11A 22/3/78

11A 22/3/78

**POLICE** broke up mass demonstrations across the country yesterday as people commemorated the anniversaries of the Sharpeville killings of 1960 and the clash last year between funeral marchers and police at Langa, near Uitenhage.

People were chased through the streets and arrested in central Johannesburg and Durban, where there was a heavy police presence, and workers in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage staged a mass work stayaway.

Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage saw a work boycott of up to 100 per cent, and some large factories reported a production stand-still as thousands of people gathered at a commemoration meeting in Uitenhage's KwaNobuhle stadium.

In Durban, police used sjamboks and teargas in the city's main street to disperse hundreds of children and students gathered to mark the anniversaries.

### Azapo meeting

In Johannesburg, more than 200 people marched through the business district, chanting and singing freedom songs after attending a memorial meeting held by the Azanian Peoples' Organization.

Busloads of fist-waving people started arriving at KwaNobuhle stadium near Uitenhage about 9am. An estimated 60 000 people streamed into the arena.

Security forces kept a



Volunteers who cleaned the graves of the Sharpeville victims during a short prayer.

low profile nearby, but many were seen on the roads leading to Uitenhage. Police manned a roadblock on the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage road.

At one stage a helicopter hovered above the stadium.

In Durban, violence flared after 300 schoolchildren had been bussed in from the townships to attend a protest meeting.

### Children held

Police cordoned off two streets and chased the children into shops, hauling out and arresting many of them.

In the chaos, teargas canisters were fired into the crowds. Scores of shoppers fled from the fumes, leaving parcels, schoolbooks and shoes

scattered in the street. Police were hard-pressed to keep the thousands of packed on-lookers from blocking streets and pavements.

Speakers at the meeting in Johannesburg — held in Khotso House, headquarters of a number of anti-apartheid organizations, including the United Democratic Front — vowed "to take the struggle for liberation into white areas".

Police chased people through the streets, arresting at least three, and an officer in charge of the heavy police contingent repeatedly ordered the crowd to disperse.

A diminished group then gathered outside Lekton House in Wanderers Street near Khotso House and continued singing freedom songs in the street.

Traffic police closed off two blocks while police and soldiers monitored the situation.

Earlier in the day, tensions had run high at the University of the Witwatersrand as students stoned police outside the campus and attacked an alleged police informer.

Student organizers and university security intervened and the person was led to safety.

About 2 000 students boycotted classes and attended a mass meeting,

called by the Black Students Society.

After the meeting, chanting and singing students marched through the streets of Braamfontein, the business district adjoining the university campus.

Police monitored the events but maintained a low profile. No arrests were reported.

Yazeed Fakler reports that police broke up a march of about 500 pupils from Cape Flats high schools yesterday morning as they moved along Modderdam Road to a Sharpeville commemoration meeting at the University of the Western Cape.

Witnesses said the pupils had been carrying "release Mandela" placards, and police confirmed that personnel in police vehicles, including Casspirs, had sjamboked pupils on their way to the university.

### Scattered

The witnesses said the pupils had scattered in all directions and many had run on to the UWC campus.

Earlier in the day hundreds of students had gathered on the lawns of the campus and held an hour-long placard demonstration calling for the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Members of the Sharpeville Youth Congress cleaned the graves of the Sharpeville victims without incident yesterday morning, according to a police report.

The anniversaries of the killings will be commemorated in more than 80 towns and cities across Britain this weekend. — Sapa, UPI, Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter.

Bloody milestones of March, page 2

## Top boxer killed on bike

PHILADELPHIA — Middleweight boxer James Shuler was killed yesterday when the motorcycle he was riding was involved in an accident with a tractor-trailer, authorities said.

Mr Shuler, 26, lost his North American Boxing Federation middleweight title earlier this month when he was knocked out by Thomas "Hitman" Hearns in the first round. He went into the fight unbeaten in 22 professional fights, with 16 knock-outs.

Shuler, 26, was pronounced dead at the scene of the accident in north Philadelphia. He died of multiple injuries, an official at the Medical Examiner's Office said.

Police said the accident occurred at an intersection at 5pm. They said Mr Shuler had just bought the Kawasaki motorcycle and had the temporary registration in his pocket. — Sapa-AP

# More violence expected after 9 die

Staff Reporters

RESIDENTS of New Crossroads, KTC and Nyanga were bracing themselves for another night of violence after fighting in the early hours of yesterday left seven men dead, two houses burnt down and at least two vehicles gutted — bringing to nine the death toll in New Crossroads over the past 48 hours.

And reliable township sources said yesterday that at least one and possibly more "witdoek" (white cloth) conservative vigilantes had been taken prisoner by militant "comrades" and were being held at a secret location.

The term "witdoek" refers to white strips of cloth worn around their heads for identification.

Although none of the seven dead men has been identified, it appears from numerous accounts by residents that all were vigilantes bussed in from Khayelitsha and possibly Crossroads to "clean up" young "comrades".

Throughout yesterday a tense calm prevailed in the area. Streets were littered with the debris of the night's fighting — burnt-out vehicles, piles of burning furniture and stones littered the road and pavement and knots

of people stood in uneasy groups as police Casspirs and vans crisscrossed the area.

Early yesterday morning, Cape Times reporters received calls at home from residents appealing for help and warning of a bloodbath.

The bodies of the seven men, aged between 30 and 45, were found by police in NY76, NY3, NY38, Koornhof Street and Jane Nontulo Street between about 3.50am and 5.30am.

All had been hacked to death with pangas.

According to residents, the people of Nyanga and New Crossroads turned out in force to fight off a virtual army of invading "witdoeke" — estimated by a Cape Times employee on the scene as being about 300-strong.

The home of Mr Yawa Tshatsha in Damane Avenue was torched (see picture page 3) and completely destroyed by "comrades" about 1.15am, while just before 7am, the home of Mr

\*\*\*\*  
To page 2

## BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close) .....	\$354,00
Rand .....	\$0,4800/10
FT index (close) .....	1412,20
BD 100 .....	1308,00

C. 7 22/3/86  
A From page 307

Kingstone Mbabe, in Abanwabis Street, was torched. Both men escaped.

Several residents spoke of shots being exchanged between the warring groups, and it seems a heavy fog descended on the townships early in the morning, hampering visibility and adding confusion to the scene.

## Power base

New Crossroads residents have blamed the upsurge of violence on deposed Old Crossroads leader Mr Johnson Nxobongwana.

Residents have accused him of trying to re-establish a power base in New Crossroads and KTC.

At least three women have been attacked by axemen after their families refused to contribute towards a "bail fund", reportedly to post bail for "witdoek" fighters who were arrested in January.

On Thursday night, the chairman of the New Crossroads Committee, Mr Fenolo Sitwaye, and his vice-chairman, Mr James Mehlala, were murdered.

## Revenge

A police spokesman said yesterday the murders could have been acts of revenge on the "fathers", who collected the money, but used most of it for private purposes.

It is estimated that the "fathers" collected about R35 000 from the approximately 1 700 homes in the area.

Only R8 450 was used for bail money for the 169 women charged with public violence. The women were arrested in the township in November last year.

# Wasteland or what?



**Personal view:  
Stanley Uys  
from London**

early 30 years, a  
ous debate has  
taking place on  
er a black revol-  
is possible in  
Africa. The ver-  
of most academics  
at it is not poss-  
- at least, not in  
classic sense of an  
d seizure of  
r. Pretoria may  
be able to sup-  
black violence,  
blacks in turn are  
ble to seize Pre-

ow should the  
ts in South Africa  
ategorised? Is it  
war, rebellion,  
rection, uprising,  
ain unrest? I put  
question to sev-  
South Africans  
I feel are quali-  
to suggested  
ers.

David Welsh,  
essor of Southern  
an Studies, UCT:  
extremely diffi-  
to overthrow a  
ern industrialised  
with its massive  
ers of coercion.  
many black  
s have been cre-  
specifically to fa-  
ate the movement  
ecurity forces: the  
k townships can  
sealed off rela-  
y easily and viol-  
can be turned in-  
ls to become a  
inflicted wound.

the other hand,  
hegemony is un-  
y to survive in  
violence has a  
ing, haemorrhag-  
effect on the white

power structure. So  
we have a state of  
deadlock, and this will  
lead to a degenerative  
process.

The assumption is  
commonly made that  
whites and blacks  
have polarised and  
are into endgame poli-  
tics. But it's more com-  
plex than that. Clea-  
vages are emerging in  
all the ethnic com-  
munities. For ex-  
ample, the whole tem-  
perature of white  
politics has risen  
quite dramatically:  
note the bitterness be-  
tween the National  
Party and the Afrika-  
ner right-wing groups.

There is a flip side  
to this among blacks.  
They scent victory now  
- they think the end  
of white supremacy is  
in sight. They believe,  
therefore, that the de-  
cisions they take now,  
organisational and  
tactical, will be criti-  
cal for the future.

As the stakes rise, so  
the animosities will  
rise; and it is not only  
black policemen,  
councillors and other  
apartheid collabora-  
tors who will become  
the victims of black vi-  
olence, but also rival  
black organisations.  
One third of unrest  
deaths are blacks on  
blacks.

Chief Buthelezi is  
right when he says  
black violence will  
lead to South Africa  
becoming a wasteland,  
that a future black  
government will in-  
herit a moonscape;  
but there is also con-  
siderable truth in the  
opposite contention  
that blacks will get no-  
where without viol-  
ence.

Continued violence,  
I suppose, is inevi-  
table, but it will tear  
at the whole fabric of  
society. Possibly, the  
best one can hope for  
is that after a period of  
endemic violence, ex-  
haustion, deadlock  
and paralysis will set  
in and the two sides  
will try negotiation.  
This, of course, pre-  
supposes a rationality  
which may not materi-  
alise, but it's our only  
slim hope.

Dr Michael Spicer,  
public affairs adviser  
to Mr Gavin Relly,  
chairman of Anglo  
American: The situa-  
tion in South Africa  
does not fit any model  
with which social sci-  
entists are familiar.  
Perhaps the best de-  
scription is to say  
South Africa is in a  
state of violent equi-  
librium.

Some areas, possi-  
bly, are in a state of

rebellion, but it is a  
rebellion whose fea-  
tures are constantly  
shifting.

The comparison  
with the Iranian revolu-  
tion is not, I believe,  
valid. The Iranians  
united to overthrow  
the Shah, but blacks in  
South Africa are divi-  
ded, and as pressures  
build up in their com-  
munities, so the clea-  
vages will increase.  
This is not a people's  
war, because there is  
no such thing as 'the  
people.'

I dislike the term  
'civil war,' because it  
has a ring of finality  
about it, and as I see it  
the black struggle is  
going to be a long  
drawn-out process in  
which polarisation of  
points of view will in-  
tensify, moderates  
will lose out, emigra-  
tion will increase, and  
the economy will run  
down.

Sampie Terblanche,  
professor of econom-  
ics at Stellenbosch  
University: Regimes,  
like the one in France  
or in South Africa,  
cannot be abolished  
overnight. More than  
100 years later, it was  
still part and parcel of  
French life.

Apartheid will have  
to be dismantled sys-  
tematically over a dec-

ade or two, and at the  
same time new struc-  
tures will have to be  
put in its place. Sim-  
ply to abolish apart-  
heid would create  
chaos. Nowhere in the  
world will a privileged  
class accept a 20-40  
per cent overnight  
drop in their living  
standards.

The economy will  
have to be restruc-  
tured so that civilised  
standards are not de-  
stroyed. South Africa  
simply cannot emulate  
overnight the welfare  
states which exists in  
the first world. In the  
last resort, we are a  
third world country  
with a third world  
economy and tax ca-  
pacity. The process of  
change will be a pro-  
tracted one.

Dr Allan Boesak,  
president of the World  
Alliance of Reformed  
Churches and a  
founder-patron of the  
United Democratic  
Front: Last year, I at-  
tended a meeting ad-  
dressed by an 18-year-  
old black. He said the  
government must  
know that from now on  
"violence is the word  
and attack is the call".  
When he said this, the  
whole audience of  
2 000 rose to their feet.  
That's the kind of  
chilling experience I

have had these days.

Young blacks have  
no intention of confin-  
ing the violence to  
their own townships.  
They are determined  
to find a way to break  
out into the white  
areas. When that hap-  
pens, we will not enter  
a traditional revolu-  
tionary situation,  
like the one in Russia  
or Zimbabwe. The par-  
allel rather will be  
with the Lebanon, and  
once we are into that  
situation, the violence  
on both sides will be-  
come quite uncontroll-  
able.

Is there any hope for  
South Africa? Prob-  
ably through the  
churches working for  
reconciliation, but  
more likely through  
organisations like the  
UDF where whites  
and blacks work to-  
gether with the same  
commitment and tak-  
ing the same risks.

There is also hope  
in the growing realis-  
ation among young  
blacks not only that  
they are helping to  
bring about great  
changes, but that they  
must also hold them-  
selves responsible for  
the consequences of  
those changes - they  
are beginning to think  
more deeply about

these things.

None of the South  
Africans whom I have  
quoted here practise  
violent change; so  
what are the aims of  
the practitioners of vi-  
olence, like the ANC?  
Precise formulations  
are not easy, but from  
what I have been able  
to discover here in  
London, the scenario  
will be like this:

The ANC will not  
enter into negotia-  
tions with President  
Botha's government  
until certain condi-  
tions are met; and  
these conditions  
amount, in effect, to  
power sharing. In  
other words, the ANC  
wants a share of power  
before it begins to  
talk.

The conditions are  
the release of Man-  
dela and other politi-  
cal prisoners, the  
legalising of the ANC  
(and other black orga-

nisations), the cre-  
ation of conditions in  
which a legalised ANC  
would be able to cam-  
paign freely in South  
Africa without invit-  
ing arrest, detention  
or banning, and a de-  
claration of intent by  
President Botha that  
all South Africans,  
whites and blacks, are  
entitled as equals to  
decide the country's  
future. And the talks  
must be held in pub-  
lic, not private.

If President Botha  
agrees to these condi-  
tions, the process of  
power sharing will  
have started before  
talks are held - the  
ANC will not be going  
naked into the confer-  
ence chamber, as it  
sees it, and the talks  
will be able to accel-  
erate the process of  
power sharing.

This is not a revolu-  
tion in the classic  
sense, but South Afri-  
ca's own version of  
how to raze white rule  
to the ground.

But can this struggle  
be spread over 10 or 20  
years, as Professor  
Terblanche suggests?  
I doubt very much,  
whether SA's econ-  
omy, its constitutiona-  
and political systems  
- and its nerves -  
could withstand this  
kind of punishment  
for so long. Somebody  
must start talking to  
somebody else long  
before then.

# Detainee (17) has left his mark in humble home town

By Duncan Guy

A house in Mokomatsili Street, Kutwanong (the black township near Odendaalsrus in the Orange Free State) is decorated with murals depicting a lion, a hilly landscape and a picture of a signboard bearing the figures "338".

Not far away at the Marebe Community School, a mural carries the school's crest and motto.

The artist responsible was Philip Siphon Mutsi (17), a Congress of South African Students branch organiser, who died in police custody on May 5 last year.

In Odendaalsrus, a witness this week has undergone lengthy cross-examination at a formal inquest at the Magistrate's Court.

Siphon's parents said his artistic talents were inherited from his mother's side of the family.

"He was in great demand as a signwriter, as far afield as Thabong near Welkom," said his proud mother,

Mr Irene Mutsi.

"He did a painting for the Bagabung Driving School at Thabong as well as many poster paintings at his own school."

The four-roomed dwelling, bearing Siphon's graphic lion on the front wall as if in a protective role, was his lifelong home.

Many Kutwanong residents are unemployed.

Those unemployed in "OD" as Odendaalsrus is known, work 10 km away in Welkom.

Siphon's father, Mr Jacob Mutsi, has been among the unemployed since the month of his son's death.

His wife earns a humble income for the family — now consisting of seven children — in the "informal sector" as a fortune teller.

At Siphon's old school the girls were doing a "drum majorette" practice.

Excited by visitors, they gave a special show of singing to the beat of a drum.

# Violence marks anniversary day

DISPATCH 22/3/86

**JOHANNESBURG** — Violence flared yesterday at several commemoration services around the country to mark the anniversaries of the Uitenhage and Sharpeville shootings.

Two people were assaulted at the University of the Witwatersrand.

A campus commemoration began with a "people's trial" when a young black woman was accused of being a police informer.

The woman, who claimed to be studying German, was found to have a forged student card.

A member of the audience claimed he had seen her in Alexandra during the arrest of a photographer, and the trial began.

There was no cross-examination of the "prosecution's" witness, although the woman was allowed to defend herself amid much heckling.

Organisers of the "trial" lost control of the situation and the crowd of 300 to 400 surged forward.

The woman was saved by the university's security staff who pushed through the crowd and carried the her to the safety of the SRC building. She was reported to have suffered a few blows.

Not so lucky was Mr Derrick Hadley, who was also attacked.

Mr Hadley, watching the crowd running on

the campus, shouted at them.

Immediately the front runners cornered Mr Hadley. About 20 people attacked him with boots, fists and palm branches. When the crowd backed off, Mr Hadley was carried away.

In central Johannesburg about 200 people attending a meeting marched and sang freedom songs.

Police chased them through the streets and arrested at least three people.

Thousands of workers from Tembisa stayed away from work and major companies confirmed an effective stayaway, with few employees, and in some cases none, turning up for work.

In Durban, police using sjamboks and dogs arrested more than 120 students, schoolchildren and bystanders, including a journalist, and tear-gassed lunchtime shoppers when they broke up a march by several hundred in West Street yesterday.

Another journalist was arrested in a later incident also involving schoolchildren and riot police.

Students who had ar-



Mr Derrick Hadley shortly after he was assaulted on the campus of Wits University yesterday. He was beaten with the palm branch in the picture.

rived in buses from township schools and the universities of Natal and Durban-Westville sang and displayed placards.

Police cordoned off a large section of West Street, and students broke up and scattered, many into shops, soon after police began taking action.

Police, some with shotguns, ordered by standers several times to disperse before squirting teargas into the crowds who could not find refuge because shopkeepers had locked their doors.

The commemoration of the shootings passed without incident in the Border area yesterday.

No incidents of unrest

were reported, a spokesman for the police public relations division, in Pretoria said last night.

There were no reported stayaways from work, following a statement by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) branch here that workers in the region had decided to go to work "under protest".

At Uitenhage, thousands of people attended a service in Kwa-Nobhle, leaving white areas in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage virtually devoid of blacks.

The service was led by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

No incidents of viol-

ence were reported but in Maduna Road, Langa, where the shooting which claimed 21 lives occurred last year, police fired tearsmoke on two occasions.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said tearsmoke and birdshot were used 21 times by security forces in the Port Elizabeth townships yesterday to disperse crowds of up to 1 000.

Police said they shot and hit a petrol bomb which a man was poised to throw at a police vehicle in Motherwell near Port Elizabeth early yesterday.

Whites help out P 7.

## Matotie dies: arrests made

Dispatch Reporter EAST LONDON — Police confirmed yesterday that Transkei's Western Tumbuland urban representative in East London, Mr J. J. Matotie, had died and that arrests had been made.

The Border police liaison officer, Lieutenant Dot van der Vyver, confirmed yesterday that "a few arrests" had been made in connection with Mr Matotie's death but was not able to say how many or how Mr Matotie had died.

Lieut Van der Vyver said Mr Matotie's body was being kept at the Cambridge mortuary.

In August last year, Mr Matotie's home in Duncan Village was burned down during unrest, and he was advised to return to Transkei to wait until peace was restored to the township.

It is not known when or why he returned to Duncan Village. None of the members of his family in Transkei could be contacted for comment yesterday.

Mr Matotie was a former member of the Transkei Legislative Assembly for St Marks, where he farmed. He was also a member of the National Assembly.



MR. MATOTIE

He was active in Duncan Village affairs during the mid-seventies as a member of the East London Joint Locations Advisory Board.

He had previously been a member of the banned African National Congress but broke away after disagreeing with some of its policies. He then entered homeland politics.

He was known throughout the region and often wrote letters to the Editor of the Daily Dispatch.

of the IMC to be of service to the people whenever they need us, he said.

R200 bail each was allowed by the presiding magistrate, Mr I. Kitching. — DDR

PRETORIA — The establishment of a Ciskei consulate in Newcastle under control of the Con-

2 burnt to death

TV & VIDEO

# NCHABELENG: BODY IS FOUND



Mrs GERTRUDE Nchabeleng, the UDF leader's wife.

22/4/86.

**THE** body of the Northern Transvaal president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Peter Nchabeleng, has been traced to Groblersdal, according to lawyers acting for the family.

Late yesterday family members were on their way to the north-eastern Transvaal town to claim the body.

It was also disclosed that a

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

post-mortem has already been performed without the family being notified. It was not clear yesterday whether a family pathologist will perform another post-mortem.

Colonel P Moloto of the Lebowa Police yesterday said he could not confirm that the family had not been notified.

He said the investigating officer "probably arranged that".

Meanwhile Mr Nchabeleng's funeral is tentatively set for May 3, according to the lawyers.

Mr Nchabeleng (58) died at the Schoonod Police Station on April 11 — less than 24 hours after being detained by police at his home in Ga-Nchabeleng, Sekhukhune-land.

His wife told the *Sowetan* last week that the police had threatened to "kill" her husband when they took him away.

"Six policemen were searching the room. They told my husband: 'Today we are going to kill you.

You will eat the child you killed and all the others'. They wanted T-shirts and said he should produce the guns he had," she said.

Since Mr Nchabeleng's death his family had been trying to trace his body and arrange a post-mortem and burial. The trip to Groblersdal yesterday followed a futile trip to Pietersburg after the family was told the body was there.

Police have said Mr Nchabeleng died of "suspected heart attack", but the family disputes this.

Mrs Nchabeleng said it was the first time after 30 years of marriage she had heard about her husband's heart problem.

Further investigations with the help of Pietersburg attorney Mr Don Nkadameng led to an undertaker's firm in Groblersdal confirming that they had the body.

Mr Nchabeleng's death has caused an international outcry. Foreign governments, including the United States, have called for a thorough investigation.

## 3 injured in landmine blasts

THREE men were injured, two seriously, in two landmine blasts in the Eastern Transvaal yesterday.

And in Maputo, 50 people were injured, three seriously, when a car-bomb exploded in a residential area.

The SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria reported both blasts in the Breyten area, directly east of Johannesburg and about 100 km from the Swazi border.

The statement blamed the ANC for the "cowardly attack" on civilian "soft targets".

The first mine was detonated by a taxi on the Breyten/Chrissiesmeer dirt road at about 8am. The passenger in the taxi, Mr Jan Mo-

shulwane, of Dennenilton, had both legs crushed in the blast, the statement said, while the taxi driver, Mr Ben Ndululi, of Breyten, suffered lacerations to his body.

In the second explosion, about 10.30am, a tractor was blown up on the Vlakfontein farm, but the driver escaped serious injury.

According to the police, the labourer who was driving the tractor, Mr Simon Mkwana, sustained injuries to his face and right leg.

The owner of the farm, Mr J J de Villiers (68), drove over the road where the landmine blast occurred four times yesterday before Mr Mkwana

detonated the mine on the tractor.

Mr Mkwana was taken to the Ermelo Hospital with eye, head and leg injuries, Mr de Villiers' son, Jan (33), said at Vlakfontein.

"The tractor is a write-off," Mr de Villiers said. "PB only keep the rear tyres."

Police and the SADF, assisted by a helicopter, immediately launched a search, and swept the dirt roads for mines.

Roadblocks were erected in the area.

It is suspected that the mine was planted on Sunday night, when a woman noticed a yellow car on the 500 m dirt road leading from the Vlakfontein farmhouse to the tarred road. — Sapa.

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Duration: 3 months.

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# Why the government will not release Mandela soon

ONCE again speculative reports are beginning to circulate that the release of the jailed ANC-leader Nelson Mandela may be imminent. This time it is in connection with the mission of the Eminent Persons Group, the high-powered delegation of Commonwealth leaders.

The EPG delegation, which includes the former Nigerian head of state, General Obasanjo, and the former Australian prime minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, made a point of keeping a low media profile during their South African tour.

Yet it is known that they had talks with the ANC leadership in Lusaka as well as with President Botha and senior ministers of his cabinet, and now it has transpired that they have also met Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor prison.

## Major news

Since the main objective of the Commonwealth mission is to explore alternatives to the further escalation of the armed struggle by facilitating a climate for political negotiation between the ANC and the South African government some reporters and commentators have jumped to the conclusion that the long overdue release of Mr Mandela must now be on the cards.

The "Mandela fever" among local and foreign pressmen has not yet reached the same delirious heights as on the previous occasion earlier this year. Then Mr Mandela's prolonged stay in hospital, following a minor operation, became a major news item.

Media representatives mounted all-night vigils and there was talk of the "press scoop of the century" when someone resembling the ANC-leader was photographed on an unscheduled visit to a medical centre in the city. It needs only another rumour and a "leak" or two, and we may well see a repeat performance.

## Albatross

The fact of the matter is that it is now widely believed, especially in press and diplomatic circles but also by many others, that the release of Mr Mandela is a genuine prospect. Yet it takes only a little reflection on the most likely sequels to such a move to realize that the South African government is most unlikely to actually go through with it in anything like the present political circumstances.

There are, of course, very good reasons why it would be in the government's interests to release Mr Mandela.

Quite apart from any "humanitarian" considerations the continued jailing of Mr Mandela has evidently become a major political albatross to the government.

The pressures have been building up for quite some time. During the early 1980s the Release Mandela cam-

## POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



campaign was used quite effectively as a mechanism for re-introducing the banned ANC into the internal political debate in South Africa. It also made him into a major political symbol for the black cause generally. And since September 1984, with civil strife and protest spreading to black townships throughout the country, the name of Mandela has become a rallying cry to an entire generation of young political militants, many of whom had not yet been born when he disappeared into prison in 1963.

Mr Mandela may continue to languish in prison, but the Mandela myth is going from strength to strength.

Indeed, in the present political climate it can hardly do otherwise. As a political figure he is in the unassailable position that he cannot put a foot wrong.

As an active participant in the confusing flux of the current political scene Mr Mandela would have had to take a stand on such difficult and complex issues as the possible resumption of the school boycotts, the political role of the black trade unions, and many more.

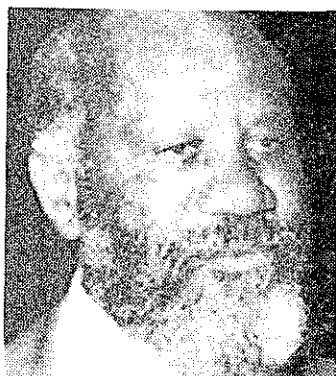
No matter what qualities of leadership or political skills he might still prove to have, such decisions are bound to be controversial and unpopular in one quarter or another.

But in prison he cannot, and may not, take any stands — and his reputation keeps growing. The government may well wish for a repeat performance of the release of Herman Toivo Ja Toivo. The Swapo leader, a major political headache to the government while he remained on Robben Island, has pretty well disappeared from view, presumably caught up in the infighting of Namibian politics.

What must make the growth of the Mandela myth even more alarming to the government is the matter of Mr Mandela's age. Though we are continually assured that he is still in robust health, he has just turned 70. The mere thought that he might die in prison should certainly give anyone in government pause: the ANC could only benefit from being presented with a political martyr of major historical stature.

Moreover the release of Mr Mandela would also have a more general political significance.

There are influential members of the National Party and of the government who have serious misgivings about an exclusive and excessive reliance on coercive force in coping with the unrest in the black townships. They are urging the



Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo ... disappeared after release

need for political initiatives as an alternative to just keeping the troops in the townships — but in the present circumstances there are precious few options available which are both dramatic enough and realistic as well.

No wonder that a Mandela "lobby" has been urging for some time that here at least is a possible card that the government could play to signal its interest in the politics of negotiation. It would also be just the kind of signal which really would count with the governments in Washington and London and with the international business community.

It was thus no idle gesture when President Botha himself last year offered to release Mr Mandela, provided he first renounced political violence. The government quite deliberately put Mr Mandela's release on the political agenda. And it serves the government's purpose to keep it there. In that case, why can't it then also go through with the offer?

The real problem does not lie in this or that set of pre-conditions. The issues are in effect drawn quite clearly.

The government cannot hope to offer Mr Mandela anything less than a full release. The Sobukwe-option, that is, releasing him from prison and then banning him to Kimberley or Brandfort or some other remote area, is not on at all. Not only would it be quite self-defeating, but as Mrs Winnie Mandela has already effectively demonstrated, it no longer is a realistic proposition in the present political climate.

Mr Mandela years ago, and repeatedly, declined the offer to be released to the Transkei. No doubt his position would be the same with regard to any other foreign country. Putting him on the plane to Lusaka or Paris will merely restore his freedom of action, but is unlikely to remove him for long from the internal political scene.

And that is the heart of the matter. Releasing Mr Mandela

means that the government must be prepared to allow him to take an active and leading role in local black politics.

The real obstacle to his release is not whether Mr Mandela can or will give the government assurances that he will not advocate political violence. It is quite simply whether the government can even begin to cope with the prospect of the Mandela myth making an actual appearance at the Jabulani Stadium in Soweto — and then proceeding on a tour to Alexandra, Sebokeng, Mamelodi, New Brighton, Guguletu ...

Even if Mr Mandela himself would only mouth the mildest and most moderate of political clichés, his mere appearance will surely attract hundreds of thousands of people to these rallies — and arouse the ire of right-wing vigilante groups.

## Unrest victims

The dilemma is clear. On the one hand everything in the current policy and record of Mr Le Grange and General Coetzee's security forces indicate that they will on no account be prepared to allow such a Mandela campaign.

If they are at present doing everything possible to constrain even the funerals of unrest victims from turning into mass political meetings, it is not conceivable that they will be prepared to allow open political meetings by an ANC leader with almost mythical appeal. And on the other hand Mr Mandela cannot be released without being given his freedom as a potent political agent.

It follows that there can be no realistic prospects of releasing Mr Mandela *except as part of a comprehensive new political deal.*

## Security policy

Only in the context of an entirely new orientation of security policy generally and of a lifting of the many constraints on open political processes for blacks in South Africa, including the prior unbanning of organizations such as the ANC, PAC, BPC etc, does it begin to make sense to release a political leader of Mr Mandela's stature.

Short of that, his release can be only a desperate and short-sighted gamble of a kind the government is quite unlikely to make. The danger is rather that Mr Mandela's release, like a settlement in Namibia, may become an endlessly delayed bargaining ploy. In his case, though, there is a more definite time limit.

The government's hand may still be forced by circumstances beyond their control, but either way everyone concerned had better be realistic about the implications. In this case, too, there are no easy solutions.

(André du Toit teaches politics at the University of Stellenbosch.)

# Court reinstates white students

*Mc Turk 22/3/68*

PRETORIA — Tension is mounting on the campus of the Medical University of Southern Africa after a Pretoria Supreme Court decision that two white students who had to leave because of alleged black student opposition should be reinstated immediately.

Passing judgment on Thursday in an urgent application brought by the students, Mr Pieter Ernst Kruger and Mr Darryl Charles Wilke, both 21, Mr Justice A J Heyns said "mass thuggery" could not be allowed to interfere with the careers of law-abiding students.

"I am of the opinion that such a situation would not be tolerated in any civilized society," the judge said.

Earlier, the court heard that the two had been "properly registered" as third-year medical students.

They attended classes from January 28 until February 11, when black students started a mass stayaway.

On February 17, Mr Kruger and Mr Wilke were summoned by the rector of the university, Professor L T Taljaard, and told their registrations had been cancelled because of opposition to their presence.

The black students held that the presence of Mr Kruger and Mr Wilke and five other white students meant that deserving black students — some of whom had failed their first-year examinations — were being "forced out".

Neither Mr Kruger nor Mr Wilke had managed to gain admission to three so-called "white" universities, Mr Justice Heyns was told.

Mr Pierre van Wyk, for Medunsa, told the court the decision to suspend the two had been largely motivated by threats of possible violence.

Mr Bill Prinsloo, for the two, said the principle of "fairness for all before the law" was the overriding factor to be considered. — Sapa



Morné du Plessis

## ...and the 'bok who has listened too ...

WHO are the people taking up the UDF's invitation to learn more about the organisation; to have UDF representatives come to their homes and answer their questions?

Morné du Plessis for one.

This former Springbok rugby captain is hesitant to talk about the meeting he, his wife and a few friends had with UDF representatives. He laughs shyly, grins, pushes aside an array of fancy sports shoes that litter a table in the offices of his sports equipment business.

"Yes I am shy about the whole thing. Politics for me is private. Perhaps that's wrong but I've always had an aversion to public party politics. Some time ago I would have refused absolutely to speak to you in connection with a meeting like the one we had at home, but I've realised now there are certain concessions one has to make to one's comfort ... certain fears to overcome or at least to live with."

### Clarification

His voice takes on a formal tone as he reads a statement penned in preparation for our meeting: "My wife requested the local UDF branch, through their pamphlets, to send representatives to our home for discussion with us and a few interested friends. We were seeking first-hand, unbiased clarification on UDF policy and attitudes towards matters affecting us all. It was by no means a recruitment meeting ... I believe it was a learning process, hopefully both ways."

He looks up and the formality disappears: "And afterwards we found a lot more of our friends were interested and wished they'd been at the meeting; had the opportunity to clear some of their confusion."

Was his confusion cleared?

### Private politics

"My personal conclusions were not all favourable ... but not all unfavourable either. And the confusion? Again, yes and no, but I don't want to give details about what and why. For me that part of politics remains private; one takes on what one feels one can handle and I feel that in telling you I have had the meeting says what I believe in without me having to spell it out."

But he was not inclined to write the UDF off either?

"Nobody in their right minds would write off the UDF."

"I believe very sincerely that the private politics of people are a priceless commodity ... open communication, fairness, flexibility. I believe if we can get it right inside people, in the quietness of their homes, it is so much better than in the emotional arena of public politics where inflexible attitudes cause harm on both sides."

THERE could hardly have been a more shattering vote of no confidence in parliamentary politics than for the leader of the official Opposition to resign from Parliament because he felt his function there was futile. But what, in fact, is "extra-parliamentary" politics? More and more whites are looking to the United Democratic Front for an answer. What does the UDF stand for?

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**W**HITE people, traditionally familiar with the parliamentary process, have to learn the new disciplines and skills of what it means to live in a majority South Africa," says Graeme Bloch, a member of the Western Cape United Democratic Front executive.

And AMANDLA! he cries to the crowd at a recent UDF public meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre, Cape Town.

Students had bused in from the townships and were joined by their white colleagues in the packed and steamy hall. In an array of T-shirts that would cause Brigadier Swart a sleepless night, they jogged their way in rousing, foot-stomping unison to the foot of the stage where they chanted and stamped some more, and sang.

AMANDLA! is a familiar cry to some ears, a sinister threat to others. People's Power too has the ring of a slogan — or the optimistic sound of a growing reality.

### Breaking traditions

But the serious consideration of extra-parliamentary politics now is proving that there are people breaking with traditions — however tentatively — and not discounting those slogans as empty chants.

The show of force from a body like the UDF and the show of unifying discipline within its ranks has given a concrete meaning to "People's Power" and those who would usually uphold traditional constitutional process are seeking to understand that power.

"The bottom line of the UDF is and always has been a non-racial democracy," says Goolam Aboobaker, a member of the Western Cape executive. "And we make no distinction between black and white. The enemy upon which we have focused is the apartheid system — white domination and not whites per se. You could call us a body of oppressed South Africans and democratic whites against the oppressive regime."

That non-racial bottom line was borne out by the spirit of the recent Claremont rally. As Mr Christmas Tinto, Western Cape UDF vice president, cried out to the huge crowd: "Everybody can see the unity in this hall. Climb on to this wagon, the wagon of peace."

To white skins exploring this new political avenue the welcome which was extended there must have been astounding. Where was the anger? The bitterness? All this singing

was about freedom, to be sure, about armed struggle even. But it was a militance that appeared hopeful rather than threatening.

Even at the vast Guguletu funeral last weekend, an emotionally taught occasion at which the UDF and its affiliates buried seven dead, white faces moved in the crowds, were welcomed.

"I think an increasing body of whites are beginning to see that because of the government's brutality and political bankruptcy, it cannot resolve conflicts on a democratic basis, but only through unleashing more and more violence," says Aboobaker.

"The UDF shows a non-racial front and by this and the methods it's using to arrive at the country we all cherish, it is winning increasing credibility. The state tries to portray blacks in the UDF as people who necklace each other and exhort violence. Meetings like the Claremont rally must be a revelation to whites who have seen only that face on TV."

When Aboobaker speaks of UDF methods he means its democratic structure which is more than the stuff of sloganising and image building from public platforms. UDF people emphasise that it is the organisation and the discipline meted out by elected members of the community which forms the movement's foundation.

"What you are seeing, for example the marshalling and organisation of a huge crowd like the one gathered at Saturday's funeral, is not the old authoritarian discipline," says Bloch. "It's a form of democratic discipline and control people are accepting as necessary. They're understanding that the defeat of apartheid is not going to come about in a wild and uncontrolled way."

And the bitterness and anger one expects?

### Goodwill

"Yes, it is there," says Aboobaker. "But there is also still much goodwill towards whites. Through the activities of the UDF, black people have seen whites working ... for example, campaigning door-to-door and without incident in a area reputedly as rough as Elsies River during our anti-election campaign. The UDF has helped to build the image that there are white people who have not only their hearts in the right place, but are prepared to take action too."

Bloch takes up the question of why those young black students who are wise to street struggle can come into an area

# People politics



Picture: DAVE HARTMAN

## The non-racial bottom line of the United Democratic front borne out at a recent Claremont rally.

like Claremont and bring enthusiasm and joy:

"Most of them are working-class children who would otherwise be in gangs, whose lives don't provide discipline. The struggle is giving them confidence, showing them they can do things in a united way. They are celebrating the discovery of that comradeship."

A meeting like the Claremont one brought a "black political issue" (free Mandela) right into the heart of "white suburbia". Who attended and why were they there?

The discourse wheels back to that extra-parliamentary option of which Dr Boraine speaks.

Bloch: "There's a broad feeling now that people need to hear the voice of what's hap-

pening and there's a growing support and respect for black leaders. But it works both ways. There's respect among black people for those whites who come to meetings in the interests of knowing."

### Constantia

A member of the Claremont area committee says circulars inviting people to contact the UDF with their questions and confusions have had an overwhelming response. In January there was a waiting list of 15 people wanting UDF representatives to come to their homes and tell them more — and the addresses were Hout Bay, Constantia, Observatory.

Cheryl Carolus, former UDF executive member: "The reason why people come into the Front is because they don't be-

lieve change is going to come through Parliament."

The UDF operates in different regions through area committees and in the white areas, where activities have been on the go since the inception of the body in 1983, the primary role of those committees is certainly not one of organising happy gatherings where whites can be showed off to blacks as well-meaning people.

Bloch: "Our aim is not to blunt black anger by introductions to some whites. When we talk about becoming involved in the struggle, it's not a romantic notion of dying for it but, in a very real way working, giving part of your life to it. There are architects tying posters to poles in the evenings, doctors handing out pamphlets on Saturday mornings."

"I think a lot of people who've been involved with the PFP are looking for something else."

Amy Thornton, UDF patron: "I feel for white-thinking people who've had faith in the parliamentary process. For them to step outside that now is a traumatic decision."

"But awaiting them, and in spite of the real anger and bitterness for the killing of children and the shattering of lives, there is that spirit of welcome. At the service for National Detainees' Day a bunch of kids greeted me with 'Welcome comrade'. However angry, the desire to live in a peaceful and non-racial South Africa is so powerful."



Members of the Western Cape UDF executive. From left: Wilfred Rhodes, Zolile Malindi, the reverend Sidney Luckett, Christmas Tinto and Graeme Bloch.

## Active and outspoken

THAT the executive committee of the Western Cape UDF is a non-racial group gives high-profile credibility to the organisation's credo.

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The other vice president, Mr Wilfred Rhodes, comes from a tradition of civic politics and ideals through his work as chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee; Goolam Aboobaker has his roots in the Natal Indian Congress and the Reverend Sidney Luckett has his in the church.

There are others too, but with the UDF as a new melting pot for black and white politics, Graeme Bloch is a figure who does not have such an obvious background and his respected presence on the executive makes him a good subject for the question why are you here? white, highly qualified?

He has a Master's in Economic History from the University of Cape Town and lectures history at the University of the Western Cape.

He was an active and outspoken opponent of apartheid during his UCT days and since then many equally outspoken colleagues have slid into the white establishment and left the "campus rad" tag behind as something one was expected to grow out of. Parents and wise elders waited patiently for the angry "commie stage" to pass.

Graeme could have opted for privilege, so what has made him suffer a five-year banning order and detention for his political involvement?

"I love my country. I love it physically; climb its mountains — and my country includes the thousands of people I've met in extra-parliamentary politics. The strength and potential of these people has given me the confidence that this country would be extraordinarily great if all their energies were set free.

"Mine is not a blind radicalism. And this is not a process of rejecting whites or rejecting where I come from. I've never felt guilt and I'm proud to say I'm a white South African — who participates, says I have a place here and I need to be part of this country. It's simply the result of realising that I can never be what I want to be in a country torn apart by turmoil.

"Now is the time to shape the future and all I can say is come in and shape it."

**WEEKEND FOCUS**

**Much to learn from the UDF: Boraine**



"THERE is hardly a part of the human condition which the United Democratic Front does not touch.

"It represents a cry from the streets, the schools, the factories... It articulates the grievances of people who are being hit on all sides, not only by apartheid, but by the terrifying consequences of inflation, by unequal education.

"It represents a form of democracy we know little about. We have much to learn from the UDF."

And that, says Dr Alex Boraine, is precisely his intention. His resignation from

parliament and party politics followed close on the same dramatic move by his party leader and he has since publicly announced his intention to form closer links with the UDF and other extra-parliamentary bodies.

"More and more people are unwilling to buy the line that extra-parliamentary activity can be equated with subversion and revolution. There are a lot of people — establishment people — saying it's not going to work through Parliament and our (his and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's) decision, however small, has caused people to sit up and

say wait a minute, are the hopes we have in official opposition politics false hopes?

"If there's a message for the white community in our action, it's that it seems ill-advised to pin hopes for change and reform on parliamentary opposition. And the message for the black community is that there are people willing to leave status and the system and join forces with people right across the board."

Dr Boraine said it was with extreme sadness that he realised it had not been the voice of parliamentary opposition which had achieved the small

changes which have occurred so far.

"There are other forces at work — the belated awakening of business borne out of self interest, the international community sick and tired of lame excuses. And, most importantly, the voices from the townships which have brought pressure to bear on government."

And if one wanted to be a part of the new South Africa, this latter extra-parliamentary activity was not one to be ignored any longer, said Dr Boraine.

(It is a misconception that Dr Boraine intends joining the UDF. As a confederation of organisations, it is a body

which cannot directly be joined as such and while he accords the UDF a key and central role in the country's future, Dr Boraine does not see it as an all-encompassing movement and there are other groups he intends talking to as well.)

The significance in what the UDF was demonstrating was not in making the country ungovernable, he said.

"What the UDF is demonstrating — and not at leadership level but through the very people at grassroots level — is that they will not accept this government and its police anymore. And the thing I like about the UDF is that it's non-racial."



**SPECIAL REPORT**  
**DALE LAUTENBACH**  
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OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT, NEW SOUNDS OF ...

People politics



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the UDF's invitation to learn more about the organisation: to have UDF representatives come to their homes and answer their questions?

Morné du Plessis for one.

This former Springbok rugby captain is hesitant to talk about the meeting he, his wife and a few friends had with UDF representatives. He laughs shyly, grins, pushes aside an array of fancy sports shoes that litter a table in the offices of his sports equipment business.

"Yes I am shy about the whole thing. Politics for me is private. Perhaps that's wrong but I've always had an aversion to public party politics. Some time ago I would have refused absolutely to speak to you in connection with a meeting like the one we had at home, but I've realised now there are certain concessions one has to make to one's comfort... certain fears to overcome or at least to live with."

### Clarification

His voice takes on a formal tone as he reads a statement penned in preparation for our meeting: "My wife requested the local UDF branch, through their pamphlets, to send representatives to our home for discussion with us and a few interested friends. We were seeking first-hand, unbiased clarification on UDF policy and attitudes towards matters affecting us all. It was by no means a recruitment meeting... I believe it was a learning process, hopefully both ways."

He looks up and the formality disappears: "And afterwards we found a lot more of our friends were interested and wished they'd been at the meeting, had the opportunity to clear some of their confusion."

Was his confusion cleared?

### Private politics

"My personal conclusions were not all favourable... but not all unfavourable either. And the confusion? Again, yes and no, but I don't want to give details about what and why. For me that part of politics remains private; one takes on what one feels one can handle and I feel that in telling you I have had the meeting says what I believe in without me having to spell it out."

But he was not inclined to write the UDF off either?

"Nobody in their right minds would write off the UDF."

"I believe very sincerely that the private politics of people are a priceless commodity... open communication, fairness, flexibility, I believe if we can get it right inside people, in the quietness of their homes, it is so much better than in the emotional arena of public politics where inflexible attitudes cause harm on both sides."

an answer to...  
for?

**W**HITE people, traditionally familiar with the parliamentary process, have to learn the new disciplines and skills of what it means to live in a majority South Africa," says Graeme Bloch, a member of the Western Cape United Democratic Front executive.

And AMANDLA! he cries to the crowd at a recent UDF public meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre, Cape Town.

Students had bused in from the townships and were joined by their white colleagues in the packed and steamy hall. In an array of T-shirts that would cause Brigadier Swart a sleepless night, they jogged their way in rousing, foot-stomping unison to the foot of the stage where they chanted and stamped some more, and sang.

AMANDLA! is a familiar cry to some ears, a sinister threat to others. People's Power too has the ring of a slogan — or the optimistic sound of a breaking reality.

### Breaking traditions

But the serious consideration of extra-parliamentary politics now is proving that there are people breaking with traditions — however tentatively — and not discounting those slogans as empty chants.

The show of force from a body like the UDF and the show of unifying discipline within its ranks has given a concrete meaning to "People's Power" and those who would usually uphold traditional constitutional process are seeking to understand that power.

"The bottom line of the UDF is and always has been a non-racial democracy," says Goolam Aboobaker, a member of the Western Cape executive. "And we make no distinction between black and white. The enemy upon which we have focused is the apartheid system — white domination and not whites per se. You could call us a body of oppressed South Africans and democratic whites against the oppressive regime."

That non-racial bottom line was borne out by the spirit of the recent Claremont rally. As Mr Christmas Tinto, Western Cape UDF vice president, cried out to the huge crowd: "Everybody can see the unity in this hall. Climb on to this wagon, the wagon of peace."

To white skins exploring this new political avenue the welcome which was extended there must have been astounding. Where was the anger? The bitterness? All this singing

was about freedom, to be sure, about armed struggle even. But it was a militance that appeared hopeful rather than threatening.

Even at the vast Guguletu funeral last weekend, an emotionally taught occasion at which the UDF and its affiliates buried seven dead, white faces moved in the crowds, were welcomed.

"I think an increasing body of whites are beginning to see that because of the government's brutality and political bankruptcy, it cannot resolve conflicts on a democratic basis, but only through unleashing more and more violence," says Aboobaker.

"The UDF shows a non-racial front and by this and the methods it's using to arrive at the country we all cherish, it is winning increasing credibility. The state tries to portray blacks in the UDF as people who necklace each other and exhort violence. Meetings like the Claremont rally must be a revelation to whites who have seen only that face on TV."

When Aboobaker speaks of UDF methods he means its democratic structure which is more than the stuff of sloganising and image building from public platforms. UDF people emphasise that it is the organisation and the discipline meted out by elected members of the community which forms the movement's foundation.

"What you are seeing, for example the marshalling and organisation of a huge crowd like the one gathered at Saturday's funeral, is not the old authoritarian discipline," says Bloch. "It's a form of democratic discipline and control people are accepting as necessary. They're understanding that the defeat of apartheid is not going to come about in a wild and uncontrolled way."

And the bitterness and anger one expects?

### Goodwill

"Yes, it is there," says Aboobaker. "But there is also still much goodwill towards whites. Through the activities of the UDF, black people have seen whites working... for example, campaigning door-to-door and without incident in an area reputedly as rough as Elsies River during our anti-election campaign. The UDF has helped to build the image that there are white people who have not only their hearts in the right place, but are prepared to take action too."

Bloch takes up the question of why those young black students who are wise to street struggle can come into an area



Picture: DAVE HARTMAN

### The non-racial bottom line of the United Democratic front borne out at a recent Claremont rally.

like Claremont and bring enthusiasm and joy.

"Most of them are working-class children who would otherwise be in gangs, whose lives don't provide discipline. The struggle is giving them confidence, showing them they can do things in a united way. They are celebrating the discovery of that comradeship."

A meeting like the Claremont one brought a "black political issue" (free Mandela) right into the heart of "white suburbia". Who attended and why were they there?

The discourse wheels back to that extra-parliamentary option of which Dr Boraine speaks.

Bloch: "There's a broad feeling now that people need to hear the voice of what's hap-

pening and there's a growing support and respect for black leaders. But it works both ways. There's respect among black people for those whites who come to meetings in the interests of knowing."

### Constantia

A member of the Claremont area committee says circulars inviting people to contact the UDF with their questions and confusions have had an overwhelming response. In January there was a waiting list of 15 people wanting UDF representatives to come to their homes and tell them more — and the addresses were Hout Bay, Constantia, Observatory.

Cheryl Carolus, former UDF executive member: "The reason why people come into the Front is because they don't be-

lieve change is going to come through Parliament."

The UDF operates in different regions through area committees and in the white areas, where activities have been on the go since the inception of the body in 1983, the primary role of those committees is certainly not one of organising happy gatherings where whites can be showed off to blacks as well-meaning people.

Bloch: "Our aim is not to blunt black anger by introductions to some whites. When we talk about becoming involved in the struggle, it's not a romantic notion of dying for it but, in a very real way working, giving part of your life to it. There are architects tying posters to poles in the evenings, doctors handing out pamphlets on Saturday mornings."

"I think a lot of people who've been involved with the PFP are looking for something else."

Amy Thornton, UDF patron: "I feel for white-thinking people who've had faith in the parliamentary process. For them to step outside that now is a traumatic decision."

"But awaiting them, and in spite of the real anger and bitterness for the killing of children and the shattering of lives, there is that spirit of welcome. At the service for National Detainees' Day a bunch of kids greeted me with 'Welcome comrade'. However angry, the desire to live in a peaceful and non-racial South Africa is so powerful."

## Active and outspoken

THAT the executive committee of the Western Cape UDF is a non-racial group gives high-profile credibility to the organisation's credo.

President Mr Zolile Malindi (who is listed and may not be quoted) and one of two vice-presidents Mr Christmas Tinto (Comit to his comrades, an ellipse of comrade and Tinto) represent the old guard who have their roots in the Congress Alliance and in its spirit of progressive nationalism which does not discount whites as a group in this country.

Comit has a deep voice and a rousing laugh and wears a carved fist on a lace around his neck. Mr Malindi speaks in gentler tones and his greying beard was his grandfatherly presence.

The other vice president, Mr Wilfred Rhodes, comes from a tradition of civic politics and ideals through his work as chairman of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee; Goolam Aboobaker has his roots in the Natal Indian Congress and the Reverend Sidney Luckett has his in the church.

There are others too, but with the UDF as a new melting pot for black and white politics, Graeme Bloch is a figure who does not have such an obvious background and his respected presence on the executive makes him a good subject for the question why are you here? white, highly qualified?

He has a Master's in Economic History from the University of Cape Town and lectures history at the University of the Western Cape.

He was an active and outspoken opponent of apartheid during his UCT days and since then many equally outspoken colleagues have slid into the white establishment and left the "campus rad" tag behind as something one was expected to grow out of. Parents and wise elders waited patiently for the angry "commie stage" to pass.

Graeme could have opted for privilege, so what has made him suffer a five-year banning order and detention for his political involvement?

"I love my country. I love it physically; climb its mountains — and my country includes the thousands of people I've met in extra-parliamentary politics. The strength and potential of these people has given me the confidence that this country would be extraordinarily great if all their energies were set free."

"Mine is not a blind radicalism. And this is not a process of rejecting whites or rejecting where I come from. I've never felt guilt and I'm proud to say I'm a white South African — who participates, says I have a place here and I need to be part of this country. It's simply the result of realising that I can never be what I want to be in a country torn apart by turmoil."

"Now is the time to shape the future and all I can say is come in and shape it."

## 4 arrested over pamphlets

Cape Times 22/3/80 Staff Reporter 11A

FOUR students were detained for most of yesterday by Railways Police after handing out pamphlets advertising the Western Cape public launch of the new trade union giant, the 600 000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

A spokesman for the Railways Police confirmed last night that four young people, three minors who may not be named and Mr Theo Mettler, 20, had been released and warned to appear in court on Monday on charges of "illegally distributing pamphlets on Railways property".

Thousands of workers and students are expected to attend tomorrow's launch.

The main speaker at the rally, which starts at 1.30pm tomorrow at the UWC sports stadium, will be Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi.



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# Bloody milestones of March

JOHANNESBURG. — It used to be called Sharpeville Day, now it is Freedom Day or just "March 21" — the anniversary of two bloody milestones in the history of opposition to apartheid.

By coincidence, the massacres at Sharpeville and Langa came exactly 25 years apart, each in a period of opposition to political domination by a white minority.

The Sharpeville shooting is the worst clash in the history of opposition and it remains the main

focus of plans to commemorate the dual tragedies of March 21.

In the early afternoon of March 21, 1960, a nervous policeman fired a shot into a crowd outside the Sharpeville police station, about 65km south of Johannesburg.

He triggered a fusillade by his colleagues that left 69 people dead amongst a litter of discarded shoes. At least 183 people were wounded, most of them with bullets in the back. The crowd had gathered to

burn their pass books in a protest against apartheid that was organized by the Pan Africanist Congress.

An unnamed witness told reporters at the time that "the crowd seemed to be loosely gathered. The kids were playing... then the shooting started.

"There were hundreds of women, hundreds of kids were running too. Some children, hardly as tall as grass... some were shot too".

Twenty-five years lat-

er, on the morning of March 21, 1985, a nervous policeman gave the order to fire on an advancing crowd of about 20 000 in Maduna Street, Langa, outside Uitenhage.

The crowd was marching to a funeral for victims of unrest.

A judicial inquiry later established that 16 of the 21 dead were shot in the back and 22 of the 27 people seriously wounded were hit from behind.

— UPI

# Black theology is alive - and well

23/3/76 City P.

11A

★ **SHEMBE: The Revitalization of African Society** by Absalom Vilakazi with Bongani Mthethwa and Mthembeni Mpanza (SKOTAVILLE) R12,95.

★ **THE UNQUESTIONABLE RIGHT TO BE FREE: Essays in Black theology**, edited by Itumeleng Mosala and Buti Tlhalagale R14,95.

THE publication of these two books has shown that a black theological whirlwind has been let loose in the land.

The authors tell us: "The apartheid policy has been a clear sign to Zulu people, as indeed to Africans in general, that they are being re-

## BOOKS with ZB Molefe

jected as human beings by the whites they admired and tried to copy.

"So, in desperation, he has been forced to create his own world and to inhabit it - hence separatism in the churches."

Maybe this explains the missionary zeal that drove Isaiah Shembe to found his movement.

In *The Unquestionable Right To Be Free*, readers are on explosive terrain. But at the same time they are challenged by some of the finest black theological brains in South Africa.

In fact, co-editor and University of Cape Town lecturer Itumeleng Mosala told a Johannesburg launch of the book that the collection was a challenge to the authorities.

The book is dedicated to Pretoria toddler Mita Ngunbeni, who was gunned down by police in township upheavals late last year.

Witness  
Stew (11A)  
28/3/86

28/3/86  
challenged  
on second  
statement

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A State witness at the treason trial in Delmas said yesterday that, three months after making her first statement about events in the Vaal Triangle on September 3 1984, she was approached by the police to make a second statement.

The second statement which the witness — Mrs Patricia Phosisi, a Sharpeville councillor at the time of the 1984 riots — described as an "addition", contained new evidence which she had not mentioned in the first statement.

The second statement was undated but Mrs Phosisi said during cross-examination that she had sworn the "addition" at some time in January 1985. The first statement was taken from her on October 1 1984.

CROSS-EXAMINED

Mrs Phosisi was being cross-examined by defence counsel, Mr George Bizos, during the trial of 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic Association, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Azanian Youth Unity.

The accused have denied charges of high treason, subversion, incitement to murder and furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Mrs Phosisi told the court that the same three policemen took both statements and that two of them were present in the court.

Asked to point them out, she indicated two plainclothes policemen who were sitting with the State attorneys.

Mr Bizos suggested to the witness that the evidence in the second statement was contrived.

In her second statement, Mrs Phosisi said she had seen a large group of people marching towards the house of a councillor. The councillor was later killed and his house set on fire.

DAMAGING

Mr Bizos suggested that such evidence was highly damaging to the accused and was an attempt to link the Vaal protest march of September 3 1984 to the death of the councillor.

Mrs Phosisi said that the "addition" to her statement described events she had seen on September 3.

She told the court she was visiting the home of relatives on September 3 and had witnessed the protest march. Shortly after the crowd had turned down a lane towards the councillor's house, she saw smoke coming from the area.

Asked by the defence to point out on a map the location of the councillor's house from the home she had been visiting on that day, Mrs Phosisi indicated an area in the opposite direction.

The hearing continues.

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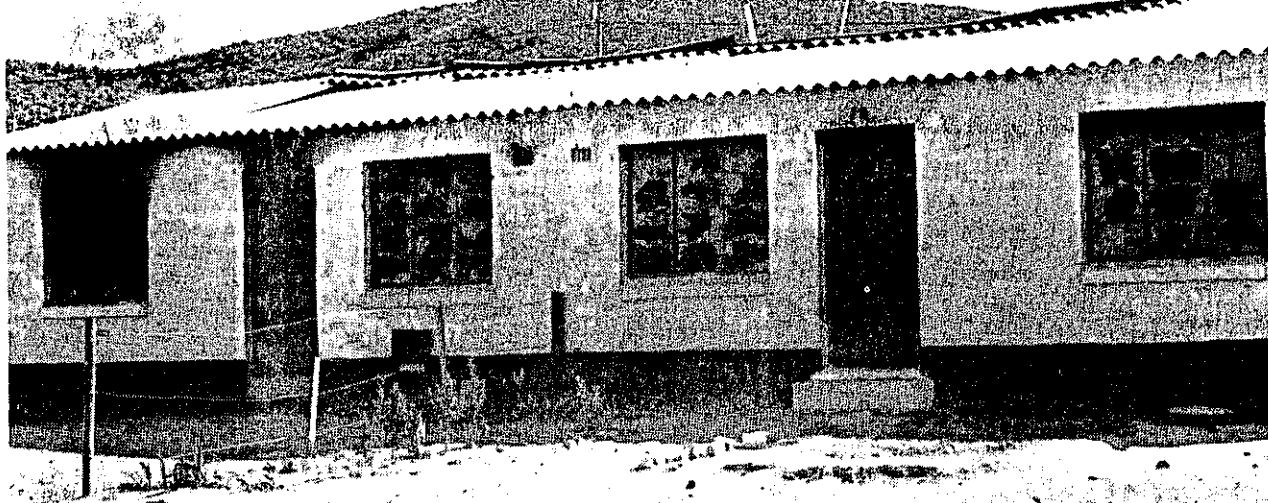
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Sign of discontent . . . the charred remains of the Development Board offices in the township.

**TUCKED** away behind the Dutoitskloof mountains and seldom mentioned in daily unrest bulletins, most of the townships in the Boland are out of the public spotlight. But even in these backwaters, violence has become a way of life. This report on the situation in Nkqubela, outside Robertson, by Staff Reporter ROBERT HOUWING.

# Violence stalks streets of little Boland township

ARBUS  
24/3/86  
11A

**RIGHT-WING** vigilantes have imposed a virtual reign of terror in the little township of Nkqubela outside Robertson, according to some residents.

Established in 1965 on a barren hillside overlooking the picturesque town famous for its wine and deciduous fruit, dusty Nkqubela is having a bleak 21st anniversary.

The timetable of violence in the settlement of 2 800 who live in conditions of extreme deprivation in about 200 houses has been:

- January 30: Lawrence Koti, 44, died of apparent gunshot wounds, the second time in three months that he had been shot.

## Charged

In November last year a community councillor was arrested and charged with attempted murder after Koti had been shot and wounded.

- March 1: One of several men assaulted by vigilantes, Mr Norman Muko, 27, died after being "necklaced".

- March 2: Mr Eric Matyali, who had been instrumental in plans to establish an advice office there, was fatally stabbed. Residents said he had been asleep when four vigilantes "inkathas" —

traditional black leaders) burst into his house and repeatedly stabbed him.

A former community councillor, Mr Peter Mhobo, said Nkqubela residents "felt cut-off from the outside world, who don't know what goes on here".

Mr Mhobo left the community council in June 1984 after a year's service, and claims the entire council has now resigned. "Most of them left when the trouble started here in November," he said.

"My decision was entirely of my own making. I felt the Development Board was using the community council as a weapon against our people; our function was to nod our heads to their policy decisions. Some of us got the impression we were just pawns of the Government."

In spite of his resignation from the council, Mr Mhobo has been a key mediator in repeated discussions between police, Development Board officials and the community.

## Neutral

"The aim of our meetings with the police has been to try to persuade them to stay neutral in clashes between the inkathas and maqabane (young militants who call themselves "comrades") — the feeling for a long time has been that they collaborate with the inkathas."



Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

Mr Mhobo points to the broken window of a house in Nkqubela, allegedly smashed by police forcing their way in to arrest five "maqabane".

Mr Mhobo said the relative unity of the township fell apart mysteriously in December.

"I remember that some of the inkathas actually helped the maqabane burn down the Development Board offices one night — then suddenly things changed.

"Some of them became alienated from the community when rumours that they were police informers strengthened.

## Teamed up

"A group of them teamed up. They represent a very small percentage of the township's inhabitants, but they have a revolver and people are very wary of them."

Referring to the "necklace" killing of Mr Muko, Mr Mhobo said a group of inkathas had dragged Mr Muko out of his house and burnt him to death. "The strange thing was that he was sympathetic to their cause," he said.

A resident, Mrs Miriam Gebuza, recalled a "terrifying" attack on her house by vigilantes a few weeks ago.

"I was sitting in the lounge with my husband and brother.

It was a Saturday night. We saw a burning torch flickering outside, and recognised a few members of the inkatha group.

"They fired a shot with a revolver before bombarding the house with rocks. We had to hide in the passage for protection before they ran away. Later I learned they had attacked the house because they thought it was a party venue for the maqabane.

"Nobody hinders each other in the streets during the day. It is at night that everyone gets uptight. And it will stay this way for some time. There is no easy solution to the problems here," she said.

● Replying to allegations of "collaboration" between themselves and vigilantes, the police directorate of public relations said they were "not in favour of vigilante groups. If such groups transgress the law, the police will act against such persons.

"If any person is of the opinion, however, that he or she has just cause for complaint, such person can file an affidavit, so that the allegations can be properly investigated."

THE Azanian People's Organisation will host commemoration services in various parts of the country this weekend.

Venues for services in the Eastern, Western and Northern Cape will be announced today. A meeting will be held at Khotso House, Johannesburg, at 1pm today.

● **Today: Ga-Rankuwa** (6pm); **Bekkersdal** (2pm); **Alexandra** (10pm).

● **Saturday: Vosloorus** (2pm); **Pietersburg** (8pm); **Medunsa** (2pm); **Kagiso** (2pm); and in **Phalaborwa**.

● **Sunday: Thokoza, Atteridgeville, Dobsonville, Denilton and Soweto.**

Azapo publicity secretary Muntu Myeza said people attending these meetings should remember that the Government has not changed its method since Sharpeville.

"Since June 16, 1976, we have seen Uitenhage, Queenstown, Alex and White River."

## Removal means war - Langa

LANGA this week warned the Government: Forced removal is tantamount to a declaration of war.

The people of Langa - who face removal to Kwanobuhle - issued their warning at a Press conference on Wednesday arranged by the Langa Co-ordinating Committee.

At the Press conference, Planact tabled its proposal for the upgrading of the area.

According to speakers at the conference, the Langa people are not alone in the opposition to removal:

● Black Sash spokesman Judy Chalmers urged the Government to consider the blueprint for the upgrading of Langa rather than just bulldoze existing homes.

● The United Democratic Front also called for the upgrading of the area, and pointed out the "stern resistance" among the people in the area.

● Port Alfred Community leader Gugile Nkwinti said his community "fully endorsed" the upgrading of Langa.

He said his community also faced the threat of removal.

● The Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Council of Unions of SA also expressed their opposition to the planned removal.

came, officially, International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Twenty-five years later - on March 21, 1985 - the name of Langa rocked the world, as police opened fire on a funeral procession, killing 21 people.

And today, March 21, 1986: ● Embattled Langa residents face the threat of removal to nearby Kwanobuhle - the local community council goes to court next week to force 500 families to move.

● Sharpeville and its neighbouring Vaal townships may enter the weekend with thousands of its breadwinners behind bars - as community councils hit back over the year-long rent boycott.

Both townships have vowed to resist, with Langa warning that forced removal will be "a declaration of war against us".

At a Press conference to launch the Planact plan to upgrade Langa - and overcome official arguments that the township cannot be improved - local leader Weza Made called on local industrialists to fund the R25-million plan.

And Eastern Cape UDF leader Stone Sizane warned: "The Government says it has done away with forced removals.

"They are now using the courts instead.

"If they want to move these people, we are going to resist.

"They want to push us to the backyards of our own country, and hide us from the eyes of the world.

"We will not be hidden - we will shout our protest at the tops of our voices - and be heard."

Opposition to the removals was backed by the Congress of SA Trade Union, the Council of Unions of SA, Black Sash, the Port Alfred Residents' Civic Association and several church bodies.

Port Alfred Community leader Gugile Nkwinti said his community - facing a similar threat of removal - backed the Langa residents.

● Apart from services in Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth, political organisations countrywide will commemorate Langa.

Work stoppages have also been planned for the Vaal and Uitenhage townships.

● Cosatu has announced a stayaway today in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage - including all workers except doctors, nurses and hospital kitchen staff. Yesterday the two towns geared themselves to cope with a mass worker stay away.



Commerce and industry urged motorists to fill up last night to avoid delays caused by a shortage of petrol attendants. White staff at supermarkets were today expected to roll up their sleeves to pack shelves and serve on counters. White customers have been warned they'll have to pack their own groceries.

PE Chamber of Commerce director Tony Gilson said the stayaway was an emotional issue and "should be treated with the greatest circumspection by employers".

"Freedom Day" committee spokesman Buyile Nkmanda said the two-hour prayer service by clergymen from the Interdenominational Ministers' Association would be conducted at the site of last year's killing, Maduna Road in Langa.

A service - which has been given the go-ahead by local magistrates - will be held later at Jabavu Stadium in Kwanobuhle.



# Mabhida

## comes home

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

SA COMMUNIST Party chairman Moses Mncane Mabhida is to be buried in South Africa next weekend – the Government has surprisingly agreed to allow his body be sent back from Maputo, say family lawyers.

Mabhida, who died in Maputo after a heart attack two weeks ago, will be buried at the tiny village of Slangspruit – just a few kilometres from his birthplace, Stone Ngadi.

Family lawyer M Cajee said Health and Welfare Minister W De Klerk approved an application by the family last week.

The family had arranged to bury him tomorrow but after consulting with organisations and friends, postponed it to the Easter weekend.

Mabhida – SACP general secretary and also a member of the National Executive Committees of the ANC and SA Congress of Trade Unions – died while on political business in Maputo.

He was stationed in Tanzania before his death.

● Mabhida will be the first ANC executive member to be buried in SA since Chief Albert Luthuli.

All his colleagues in the Congress Alliance and SACP – such as Yusuf Dadoo, JB Marks, Duma Nokwe and many others – were buried abroad.

Wide-ranging organisations led by the United Democratic Front and Congress of SA Trade Unions are due to meet and form a co-ordinating committee for the funeral. Among them are the UDF's Archie Gumede, Curnick Ndlovu and Billy Nair – Mabhida's old friend and stalwart in the Congress movement.

Details have not yet been finalised, but organisers said Maritzburg's Wadeville Stadium or Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre are likely venues – they can accommodate the thousands of mourners expected from throughout the country.

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# People won't be living there

By SIBUSISO MNCADI

UMBULU's Malukazi - scene of the recent Zulu-Pondo violence which left more than 100 people dead and 20 000 homeless - is being bulldozed to make way for the expansion of nearby Umlazi.

And residents in the shanty town will be asked to move out from next week - or be forcibly removed by the KwaZulu authorities. Bulldozers have already moved in to start demolitions soon.

Local "induna" Nkuambi Mhize said eviction notices had been served on the people in different sections of the shack settlement. Some were given notices to find themselves alternative accommodation within two weeks, while others were given two months to move out.

Mkhize said the KwaZulu authorities had told him that most Malukazi residents were there illegally. He said residents were opposed to the plans to move them and would make urgent representation to the KwaZulu Government.

Residents told *City Press* 5 000 families were moved in trucks and dumped at Malukazi with no housing provided when Bhekithemba - their ancestral land - was expropriated to make way for the expansion of Umlazi in 1976.

The number of people who will be moved out of the area is estimated at 10 000.

• More than 20 000 people fled the area last month after violence between Pondo and Zulu people in the area. The violence flared after several dwellings were burned down by Zulu people.

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# Police name ANC suspect March 1986 killed in Katlehong clash

## Crime Reporter

Police shot dead a man believed to be an African National Congress terrorist linked with recent limpet mine blasts on the East Rand in Katlehong township, near Germiston, this week after he threw a hand-grenade at them.

Another man who fled from the scene is being hunted by police.

The dead man has been identified as Mr Samuel Segola, who used the Umkhonto We Sizwe alias of Elias Banda. The fugitive has been named as Mr Roland Mlapy, alias "Clement", police said.

Mr Mlapy is also suspected to be involved in the East Rand bombings.

The grenade thrown at police failed to explode, a police spokesman in Pretoria said today.

Three Russian AKMS rifles with six loaded magazines, a revolver, grenade fuses and limpet and mini-limpet mines were seized from a house in the

township, police said. They said material found in a rucksack at the house was similar to that used in the explosions.

In a statement, police said the shooting was a sequel to a tipoff received from people in Katlehong. The dead terrorist had received training outside South Africa, police added.

A large number of nuts and bolts for attachment to limpet mines to increase the shrapnel effect of a blast were also seized, they said.

The dead man's involvement with recent blasts in Springs was still being investigated, the spokesman said.

On Saturday March 15, a man was slightly injured when a limpet mine exploded at Springs Station. Two days later a mini-limpet mine was rendered harmless by police at an Elsburg cafe.

Another two days after that a limpet mine exploded near a church in Springs. No one was injured.



of rand misappropriated from Barclays

were now living in London.

contemplate any of the cartel and price... was consistently refused even to... combined in... ed to date.

SIPHO NGCOBO

TALKS between KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza and the African National Congress moved into top gear at the weekend as leaders of the outlawed organisation made it clear they regarded Mabuza as a potential ally.

Mabuza's 21-man delegation has been warmly greeted by the ANC group, led by its president Oliver Tambo and including publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki.

KwaZulu-Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday welcomed what he called "external ANC leader Oliver Tambo's change of attitude in meeting

**KaNgwane chief pays visit to ANC**

the Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, in Lusaka at the weekend in the full light of publicity. I see nothing wrong in his going up to see the leadership of the external mission of the ANC.

"There is nothing new about his going to see Mr Tambo and members of the external mission of ANC in Lusaka, since there was a more covert meeting between them last year."

The ANC has ruled out the possibility of any meeting with Buthelezi.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg shortly before his departure to Zambia, Mabuza told newsmen he did not consult the SA government before the meeting.

Mabuza's 21-man delegation - expected back in SA tomorrow - consists of members of his Inyandza movement which views the ANC and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela as unifying factors for those fighting for freedom in SA.

NEW YORK  
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# 7 schools empty after raid

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

THOUSANDS of Maritzburg students vowed to continue their class boycott this week in protest against raids by "the impis".

The students accused the impis of raiding their seven schools in a bid to rout out United Democratic Front supporters.

At least two students have died, and teachers have also stayed away from school in protest against impi assaults on their colleagues.

● In Sobantu, the impis took seven youths for "interrogation" after Magnificent Mbili, 13, and Thulisiwe Mthembu, 15, were assaulted. The two were allegedly involved in an Inkatha march throughout Sobantu last Saturday.

● In Imbali, Zibukezulu High School has stood empty for the past two weeks. Students at two other schools, Mehlokazulu and Esicongweni, stayed away last week in protest against attacks on Zibukezulu teachers Reggie Radebe and Micky Mseleku.

They had been accused of "spreading the UDF's influence".

● Several other schools are closed because of protests over school fees.

A DET spokesman could not comment as his seniors were "in a conference".

● PE church leaders say there's a "smear campaign" against End Conscription Campaign Eastern Cape boss Janet Cherry and churchworker Dominic Souchon, after mandrax tablets were allegedly found in Cherry's house.

## Married woman held after fatal shooting

Police are holding a married woman after the fatal shooting on Saturday night of a Johannesburg man.

Mr Jeremiah Ludick (48), of Melville, died of early on Sunday morning in the Johannesburg Hospital of gunshot wounds to the head.

Police said the shooting followed an argument at a Melville restaurant.

## Alan Robb's father dies of heart attack

The father of Alan Robb, four times winner of the Comrades' Marathon, died yesterday.

It is believed Mr Hector Robb, of Bagleyston, Johannesburg, died of a heart attack at his home.

Friends said the news was broken to Alan Robb shortly after he completed the Korkie 56 km road race. It is believed Mr Robb's father died while the race was being run.

# Police say ANC is organising car thefts

Crime Reporter

The spate of hijackings and vehicle robberies in and around Soweto and Alexandra over the last two weeks were part of the African National Congress campaign to make the country ungovernable, says Major-General Jan Coetzee, Soweto's Divisional Commissioner of Police.

"This is my personal conviction, but we are half-way to proving it through our investigations," he said.

In the last two weeks gangs of youths have robbed Soweto motorists of 60 vehicles and drivers in Alexandra and surrounding suburbs of 91.

So far 43 suspects have been arrested and 39 cars recovered

from Alexandra after police formed two special investigation teams

On Thursday two youths were shot dead by police during a high-speed chase through Alexandra after they and a gang forced a motorist from his car in the township.

The vehicles were stolen — often at knifepoint by youths brandishing petrol-bombs — in the suburbs of Bramley, Kew, Marlboro and Wynberg.

General Coetzee said the robberies were being carried out by the banned movement's youth brigade, and its junior military arm, and were part of a well-organised plan to make the country ungovernable.

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These basic assum

## Indaba: NIC will hold on

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Natal Indian Congress has resolved not to participate in the Natal/KwaZulu indaba until the communities and democratic organizations likely to be affected by the decision have been consulted.

In a statement after a meeting yesterday, the NIC said representatives of 37 organizations had attended the "Kwa-Natal Consultative Conference" to consider an invitation to participate in the indaba on April 3.

The conference considered the many facets of the Natal-KwaZulu option, including the economic inter-dependence of Natal-KwaZulu and the possibility that the region could act as a model for the rest of the country.

The meeting called for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, lifting of banings on organizations and the creation of a climate for democratic political activity.

# Bomb attacks 'unlikely' to affect talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The firebomb attacks on the University of Natal and the home of a Durban academic are unlikely to influence the decisions of any of the parties already committed to attend the Natal/KwaZulu indaba.

The police have opened an arson docket after four separate fires broke out on Friday night in two different wings of the university's buildings — destroying years of academic research and causing at least R1-million damage to the campus.

Police are also investigating the possibility that some of the university's fire-fighting equipment had been sabotaged.

The firebomb attacks appear to be in protest at the proposed "KwaNatal" meeting on a new

dispensation for the province, as the attackers painted the words "No Indaba".

An academic specially hard hit by the fire was sociologist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, who has been closely associated with the Buthelezi Commission which was studying constitutional options for Natal.

Professor Schlemmer lost more than 30 years' work when his office at the university was burnt, and when a fire swept through his study at his Durban home on Thursday night.

"My entire professional collection has been destroyed. All the work done by my department and I might as well not have existed," he said.

Professor Schlemmer said the work he was doing on a combined KwaZulu-Natal legislature might have been the reason for the attacks.

Yesterday, staff and students helped with clearing-up operations in an attempt to get the affected departments back in gear for the continuation of classes today.

Police last night said they were still investigating the fires at the university and Professor Schlemmer's home. No arrests had been made.

Meanwhile, spokesmen for the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party, both of whom have decided to take part in the talks, said that if the action was intended to deter people from taking part, it was unlikely to have any effect.

The president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Archie Gumede, said: "The attacks were unfortunate because the slogan-painting creates unease and suspicion."

CAP Timpf  
24/3/86

(20) (21)  
(11) (12)

## UDF explains

POLICE informers known to members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates would have been killed by now had the organisation been a violent one, according to executive UDF member Paul Maseko.

Speaking at a meeting of the Johannesburg branch of the Detainees Parents' Support Committee at the Central Methodist Church yesterday, Maseko, a former detainee, said his organisation was aware of some former detainees who had opted to become police informers.

Maseko rejected claims the UDF was a violent organisation which burnt people to death. "We are a non-violent organisation," he said.

Former detainees spoke on their experiences in jail. — Sapa.

ANC, Govt  
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The Star Bureau 11A

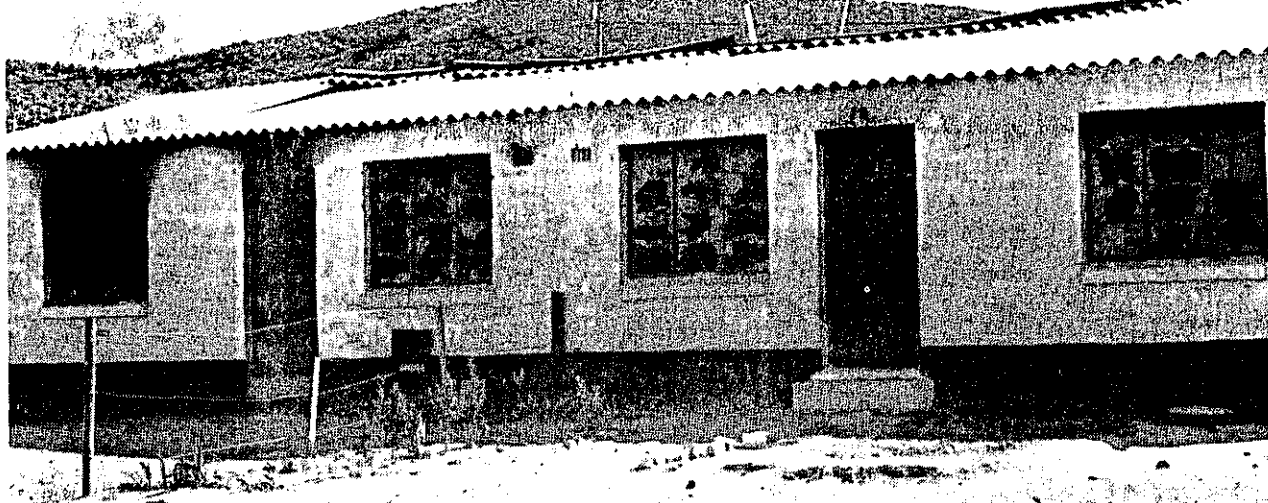
LONDON — At the 11th hour the African National Congress has turned down an invitation to a top-level conference on South Africa's future.

Black and white leaders from Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa have begun four days of talks at a venue funded by the Foreign Office.

They are debating the state of South Africa today and a future where violence is replaced with a negotiated solution.

The ANC withdrew on orders from its headquarters in Lusaka.

The South African Government is also boycotting the conference. It was invited to send representatives but vetoed the idea as it believed the ANC would be there.



Sign of discontent . . . the charred remains of the Development Board offices in the township.

**TUCKED** away behind the Dutoitskloof mountains and seldom mentioned in daily unrest bulletins, most of the townships in the Boland are out of the public spotlight. But even in these backwaters, violence has become a way of life. This report on the situation in Nkqubela, outside Robertson, by Staff Reporter ROBERT HOUWING.

# Violence stalks streets of little Boland township

*ARBUS  
24/3/86  
11A*

**RIGHT-WING** vigilantes have imposed a virtual reign of terror in the little township of Nkqubela outside Robertson, according to some residents.

Established in 1965 on a barren hillside overlooking the picturesque town famous for its wine and deciduous fruit, dusty Nkqubela is having a bleak 21st anniversary.

The timetable of violence in the settlement of 2 800 who live in conditions of extreme deprivation in about 200 houses has been:

- January 30: Lawrence Koti, 44, died of apparent gunshot wounds, the second time in three months that he had been shot.

## Charged

In November last year a community councillor was arrested and charged with attempted murder after Koti had been shot and wounded.

- March 1: One of several men assaulted by vigilantes, Mr Norman Muko, 27, died after being "necklaced".

- March 2: Mr Eric Matyali, who had been instrumental in plans to establish an advice office there, was fatally stabbed. Residents said he had been asleep when four vigilantes "inkathas" —

traditional black leaders) burst into his house and repeatedly stabbed him.

A former community councillor, Mr Peter Mhobo, said Nkqubela residents "felt cut-off from the outside world, who don't know what goes on here".

Mr Mhobo left the community council in June 1984 after a year's service, and claims the entire council has now resigned. "Most of them left when the trouble started here in November," he said.

"My decision was entirely of my own making. I felt the Development Board was using the community council as a weapon against our people; our function was to nod our heads to their policy decisions. Some of us got the impression we were just pawns of the Government."

In spite of his resignation from the council, Mr Mhobo has been a key mediator in repeated discussions between police, Development Board officials and the community.

## Neutral

"The aim of our meetings with the police has been to try to persuade them to stay neutral in clashes between the inkathas and maqabane (young militants who call themselves "comrades") — the feeling for a long time has been that they collaborate with the inkathas."



Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

Mr Mhobo points to the broken window of a house in Nkqubela, allegedly smashed by police forcing their way in to arrest five "maqabane".

Mr Mhobo said the relative unity of the township fell apart mysteriously in December.

"I remember that some of the inkathas actually helped the maqabane burn down the Development Board offices one night — then suddenly things changed.

"Some of them became alienated from the community when rumours that they were police informers strengthened.

## Teamed up

"A group of them teamed up. They represent a very small percentage of the township's inhabitants, but they have a revolver and people are very wary of them."

Referring to the "necklace" killing of Mr Muko, Mr Mhobo said a group of inkathas had dragged Mr Muko out of his house and burnt him to death. "The strange thing was that he was sympathetic to their cause," he said.

A resident, Mrs Miriam Gebuza, recalled a "terrifying" attack on her house by vigilantes a few weeks ago.

"I was sitting in the lounge with my husband and brother.

It was a Saturday night. We saw a burning torch flickering outside, and recognised a few members of the inkatha group.

"They fired a shot with a revolver before bombarding the house with rocks. We had to hide in the passage for protection before they ran away. Later I learned they had attacked the house because they thought it was a party venue for the maqabane.

"Nobody hinders each other in the streets during the day. It is at night that everyone gets uptight. And it will stay this way for some time. There is no easy solution to the problems here," she said.

● Replying to allegations of "collaboration" between themselves and vigilantes, the police directorate of public relations said they were "not in favour of vigilante groups. If such groups transgress the law, the police will act against such persons.

"If any person is of the opinion, however, that he or she has just cause for complaint, such person can file an affidavit, so that the allegations can be properly investigated."

# ANC exile's body for burial in SA

24/3/86 (11A) E-POST

By JIMMY MATYU

THE Government has given permission for the body of a top ANC exile, South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Moses Mabhidha, who died recently in Harare, to be flown to Maritzburg for burial.

This was announced by Mr Billy Nair, president of the Natal Indian Congress and an executive member of the United Democratic Front, at the first anniversary commemoration service for the victims of the Langa shooting in Kwanobuhle yesterday, which was attended by thousands of people.

Mr Mabhidha was to be buried at Maputo on March 29. It is now expected that he will be buried in Maritzburg on Easter Monday.

Mr Mabhidha was a member of the national executive of the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). He was a key figure in the ANC-SACP-Sactu alliance sent into exile in 1960 and served as secretary of the ANC's Revolutionary Council.

Other speakers at yesterday's service included Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Aubrey Mokoena, publicity secretary of the Release Mandela Campaign, the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, an executive member of the United Democratic Front, and Mr Curnick Ndlovu, Natal president of the UDF.

A message from Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was read to the crowd.

People converged on the stadium from all parts of the region. Many people were held up at police roadblocks.

The service went off calmly, except that at one stage a man from New Brighton who was allegedly found with a walkie-talkie concealed in his clothing was half-carried away amid shouts of "burn him" from a group in the stadium. His fate could not be established.

Earlier in the day police used tearsmoke in Maduna Road, Langa, where people were boarding buses.

The managing director of PE Tramways, Mr Carl Coetzer, who was present at the time, spoke to police on the scene and said later he would complain to the Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier E Schnetler, on Monday.

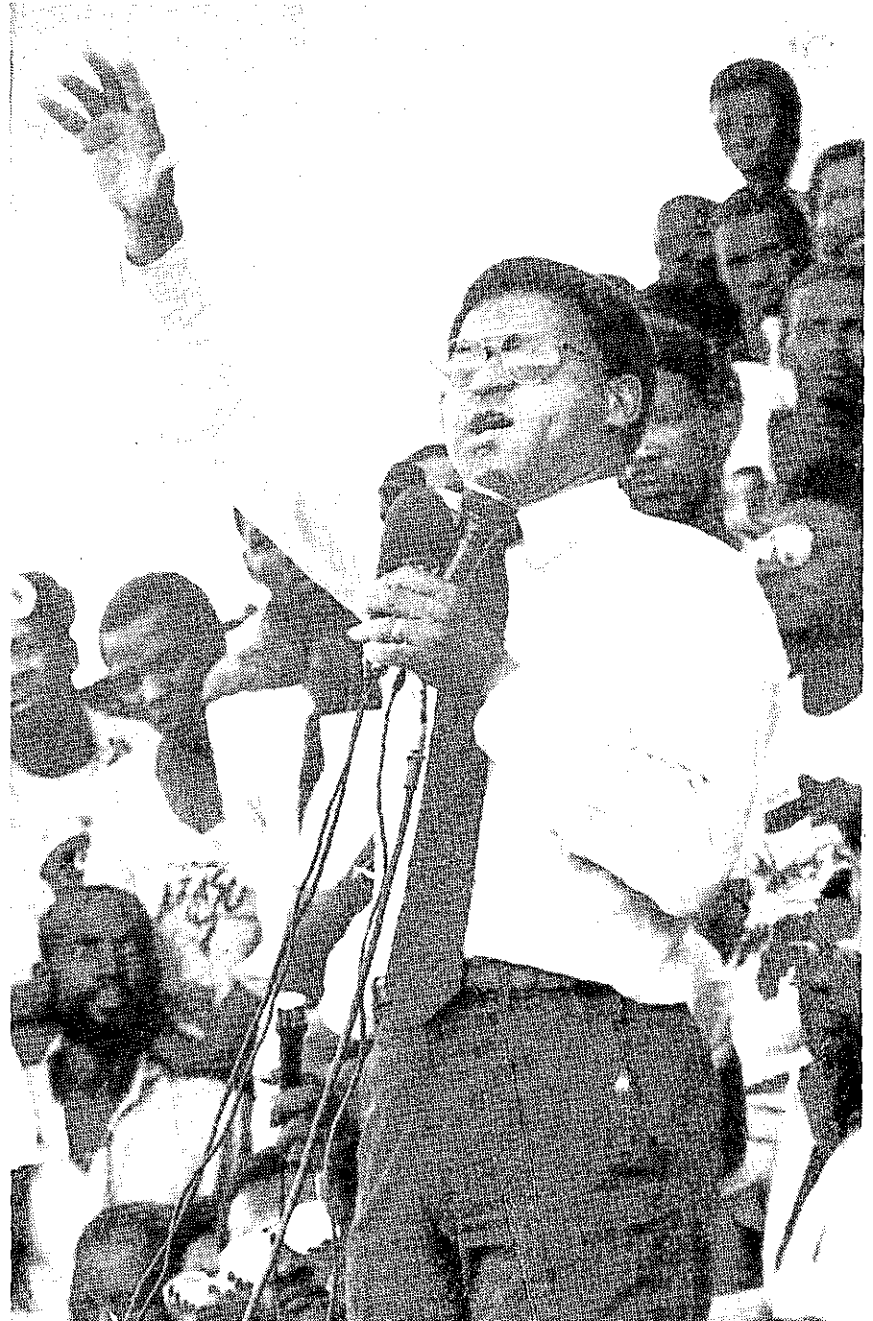
Among large banners displayed at the stadium were some criticising Mr Justice Kannemeyer, who conducted the commission which investigated the Langa shootings.

Dr Boesak, who was carried shoulder-high to the pavilion, said that as people paid homage to the Langa dead, they would never forget the many funerals they attended as a result of the Government, and the besieging of their townships by the security forces.

He stated that Government's plan for a statutory council including blacks. It was a waste of time, because it took no account of the wishes of the people.

Dr Boesak said blacks would like to talk to President Botha, because they were peace-loving people, but they would do so only when the ANC was unbanned and political prisoners like Nelson Mandela were freed.

There would be "no easy walk to freedom". He predicted 1986 would be a more difficult year than 1985.



Dr ALLAN BOESAK addresses the crowd at Langa near Uitenhage yesterday. Thousands gathered to commemorate the deaths of 21 people killed by police a year ago yesterday.



# Police watch as kids clean graves

**SOWETAN**  
Reporter

**POLICE** kept a close watch on youths returning from the traditional cleaning of graves of the 69 people who were shot dead in Sharpeville in 1960.

The youths chanting freedom songs and shouting slogans, peacefully marched the 2 km from the cemetery to the NG Kerk, where a commemoration service was held for the "heroes of the black liberation struggle."

From about 7 am young people from various organisations, including the Sharpeville Youth Congress, the Vaal Youth Congress, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, cleaned the graves of the 69 victims of the Sharpeville shooting.

During the ceremony



**A YOUTH** prays at the grave of his grandfather who died in the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

youths observed a moment of silence.

Police and the South African Defence Force watched from a distance.

A member of the

Sharpeville Youth Congress called on youths to stop killing their fellow-blacks.

The Reverend A S Molefe said the shooting of black people in 1960

**SOWETAN** at Sharpeville and Langa must be remembered.

He said they were fighting against apartheid when police shot them.

# SOWETAN

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MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1986

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Mr ENOS MABUZA, the Chief Minister of KaNgwane raises a clenched fist at the funeral of three unrest victims in KaNyamazane at the weekend.



PART of the mourners at the joint funeral of the three unrest victims who were buried in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, at the weekend.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

~~852-1913~~ (11A) SOWETAN 04/24/86

4 others shot after night vigil

# YOUTHS KILLED

24/3/82  
SOWETAN  
IIR

A YOUTH was shot dead, and another was run over by a police patrol car, while four others were seriously injured hours before the burial of three unrest victims in KaNyamazane, Nelspruit, at the weekend.

The shootings took place between 5 and 6am on Saturday when mourners were returning from a night vigil for the three victims.

One of the dead youths was identified as "Mr Mahlalela". The other youth's identity could not be established. Two of those injured are Mr Sam Mkhwanazi (26) and Samson Nkosi (18).

A police spokesman yesterday confirmed the shootings.

He said police "had to act after some youths were intimidating residents after the night vigil".

The three who were buried in KaNyamazane on Saturday were Mandla Shabangu, Saul Mkhabela and Ambrose Mhlongo. Another victim was buried in the

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

black township of Kaapmuiden on the same day.

The four were killed on March 11 at the Kabokweni Magistrate's Court, near White River.

They were among thousands of schoolchildren who had marched to the court to attend the appearance of 26 classmates in two public violence trials.

At least 80 children were injured when police opened fire and 13 were treated and discharged at the Rob Ferreira Hospital in Nelspruit.

## Restrictions

The funeral service went ahead despite restrictions imposed by Mr G Engelbrecht, the Chief Magistrate of Ntsikazi. He ruled that there should be no political speeches or banners and that the service should be over by 10am.

The service started at 10am. Flags of the banned African National Congress and the Soviet Union were hoisted at the Lekazi Stadium where the service was held and in the township.

Political speeches were made and freedom songs sung.

At one stage during the service, the Chief Minister of KaNgwane and president of the Inyandza Movement, Mr Enos Mabuza, was requested by the more than 15 000 mourners to tell the police to leave the township.

Mr Mabuza talked to the police who had set up a temporary camp outside the township. Although the police refused to move, they promised to stay out of the township and enter only if there was trouble.

Among the speakers were Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Campaign and representatives of the Mamelodi Civic Association and Mamelodi Youth Organisation.

Almost all residents in the township missed work to attend the funeral.

Jack's  
ban  
invalid

— Page 6

# ANC PULLS OUT OF CONFERENCE

LUSAKA — The African National Congress will not attend the international conference on South Africa to be held in Britain next week.

An ANC spokesman said his organisation believed the conference would serve no useful purpose.

The conference is being organised by a British Government-funded organisation, Wilton Park Conferences, and a wide range of South African and British industrialists, academics and politicians have been invited together with representatives from Australia and a number of African and European countries.

On Thursday the South African Embassy in London confirmed that it would not be represented at the conference — and that neither would the South African Government or the ruling National Party.

The Embassy said in a statement that it had been concerned to learn that the ANC would be represented at a conference at which British Government Ministers might be present. However, it had later learned that no British Ministers would attend.

The ANC said that while the conference would be attended by representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and others, it did not believe it would help resolve the situation in South Africa.

The ANC, which had been invited to the discussions, did not share the British view that there should be dialogue

with a regime which was intransigent and arrogant and which opposed peaceful change.

ANC president Oliver Tambo will meet Socialist International president Willy Brandt in Bonn on April 7-9, shortly before Mr Brandt goes to South Africa.

Mr Brandt is chairman of West Germany's Social Democratic Party and headed the Bonn government from 1969 to 1974. He has been president of the Socialist International since 1976.

A spokesman for the Social Democratic Party said on Friday that Mr Tambo would visit West Germany at Brandt's invitation. He will arrive in Bonn on Saturday, April 5.

He has asked for his formal programme to begin only the following Monday, the spokesman

said.

While in Bonn, Mr Tambo will also confer with Mr Johannes Rau, Minister President of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the Social Democratic candidate for the chancellorship, as well as other political, labour union and church leaders.

Mr Brandt intends to visit South Africa from April 15-17. He will be accompanied there by Mr Guenter Verheugen, the party's spokesman on African affairs, and Mr Hans Koschnik, a member of the Social Democratic executive committee and former mayor of Bremen.

"Brandt will be meeting the opposition in South Africa," the spokesman said, but a detailed programme was not yet available. He would also ask to meet Mr Nelson Mandela.

11A) 24/3/86 SOWETAN

# CALL FOR BLACK UNITY

By MZIKAYISE EDM

A CALL for black unity was made in Dobsonville, Roodepoort, yesterday, at a commemoration service for the 69 people killed in Sharpeville, 1960.

About 300 people attended the service at the local Roman Catholic Church.

Mr Tom Phalama of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) said: "I am appealing to all political organisations to come together

and work hand in hand towards the liberation of the black man.

"We should join hands and fight for our freedom. The shootings will never stop us from reaching our goal. I am also appealing to youths to stop stoning the buses that carry our parents to work. Blacks should stop killing blacks. When we do this we will not attain our goal, which is freedom."

Another speaker, Mr Billy Mooki of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu), said workers should rise up and fight for their rights.

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SOWETAN  
24/3/86

# 'Flush out members of Cosas or get out'

THOUSANDS of "squatters" in Boekenhout, near Mabopane, in Bophuthatswana claim they were given 14 days to leave the area.

Squatters interviewed said they were given this ultimatum by two senior Bophuthatswana police officers at a meeting last Monday. The police allegedly gave the landlord until the end of this month to evict them.

Angry families yesterday said the eviction order followed their rejection of police orders that they form vigilante groups in the area to flush out political activists.

About 3 000 people are affected.

A spokesman for the squatter families said they were first called to a meeting last Sunday where they were ordered to form vigilante groups to "hunt mem-

By MONK  
NKOMO

bers of the Congress of South African Students".

A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana government said the squatters were requested "and not forced" to help the police in bringing the township under control following sporadic incidents of unrest. He denied that the families had been threatened with eviction.

3 DAY (114)  
**Release welcomed**

24/3/86 THELMA TUGH 328

SATURDAY's court decision to lift the banning order on Eastern Cape community leader Mkhusele Jack was welcomed yesterday.

The question of whether Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange will issue a new order remains unanswered.

Attorneys for UDF Eastern Cape vice-president Henry Fazzie are expected to apply for his banning order also to be declared invalid.

Although Le Grange did not contest the application, he could rewrite the banning orders on the two activists, in line with the court's demand that he must furnish reason for the banning orders.

## 'SA crisis' conference in Britain cancelled

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Wilton Park conference on the crisis in South Africa was cancelled last night because of the refusal to participate by some of those who were expected.

However, informal discussions will continue among those present, conference director Mr Geoffrey Denton said last night.

He said the planned conference, which was due to open last night, was not intended to be a negotiating forum or "trial national convention", as some sections of the media had referred to it.

He said: "All participants are attending in a personal capacity. It is an off-the-record meeting intended like all Wilton Park conferences, to allow calm discussions in a neutral forum in the hope of contributing to mutual understanding."

Mr Denton also said reports that British ministers would be present were incorrect. They had not been invited, and therefore did not withdraw following protests by the South African Government.



Will appear in court today. ... people in connection with ...

# No record of committees' 'bail fund'

By ANDREW DONALDSON

THE New Crossroads Committee admitted yesterday that they had no record of the money donated to them by New Crossroads residents for a "bail fund" for 169 women arrested last year for public violence.

The alleged abuse of the fund has been given as the cause of the violence which last week left nine "fathers" dead and three women wounded after being attacked with axes.

Three committee members who visited the Cape Times yesterday to answer allegations made against them by various New Crossroads residents and members of the United Women's Congress (UWCO), said

they wished to remain anonymous.

They had been driven from their homes by youths or "comrades" to Old Crossroads as organizations had been trying to force them to leave the township "for years", they said.

They denied that deposed Old Crossroads leader Mr Johnson Nxobongwana was trying to re-establish a power-base in New Crossroads and KTC.

They admitted that street area association members had collected money from residents for a "bail fund", but said the figure raised was not as high as the speculated R35 000 and that only about half of the 1 700 families in New Crossroads had donated.

The exact amount raised and how it was spent was not known, they said.

## 'Witch' admits guilt

JOHANNESBURG. — The Magistrate's Court here yesterday withdrew charges under the Suppression of Witchcraft Act, in absentia, against Mrs Nina Montes, 31.

The withdrawal came after the accused paid R50 admission of guilt.

Mrs Montes, of Bruma, was charged under Section 1(e) of the Act.

It was alleged that on January 10 she wrongfully and unlawfully, on the grounds of any pretended knowledge of witchcraft, used or caused to be put into operation any plans or process which, in accordance with her own belief, were calculated to injure or damage any person, namely woman constable Kruger. — Sapa

## Meeting

Pressed for detail, they said a Pretoria attorney, a Mr Swartberg, had a record of some of the money used for legal fees. Attempts by the Cape Times yesterday to trace Mr Swartberg failed.

Commenting on the requests by New Crossroads residents, including Western Cape Civic Association and UWCO members, for a report-back meeting on the money, they said that a meeting did take place earlier this year.

"We have even given back the money to some of the women."

Commenting on the axe attacks, they said these were done in self-defence against "stone throwers".

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# National Forum to be held this weekend

THE third — and most decisive — National Forum will be held in Durban at the weekend.

SOWETAN  
Reporter

11A

Its convenor, Mr Saths Cooper, said the theme of the discussion will be: "The National Convention ... Problem or Solution." The indaba will seriously look into the forms of action that could be taken to end apartheid in South Africa.

Mr Cooper said various organisations, including affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF) as well as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). The NF is a black consciousness organisation.

Mr Cooper said this summit could be the last in view of the government's sustained attack on organisations opposed to apartheid.

The National Forum will be held on March 28 and 29.

• The National Forum is an organisation of blacks only and its policy is against association with whites, according

to a statement release to Sapa by the Johannesburg office of the organisation. SOWETAN

25/3/86

The statement refutes claims made in other quarters that representatives of white organisations have been invited to the third National Forum.

In view of the various devices and interpretations placed on the forthcoming national forum, the statement said, it becomes necessary to clarify the position of the organisation.

The forum bases its approach to the struggle on the reality of racial oppression and economic exploitation in this country.

The white ruling class is responsible for keeping the black people in bondage, the statement says.

"Accordingly, representatives of the ruling class or any liberal apologists of the existing system cannot be accommodated in the struggle against them.

"The NF identified racism and capitalism as the twin evils that prevent national self-determination in a united Azania/South Africa. An alliance of the left can only be based on principled unity in a struggle geared at the creation of a democratic anti-racist socialist Azania/South Africa where the interests of the workers shall be paramount with no alliance on ideological grounds which ignores a fact of racism," the statement said.

1986

## **Students vote for ANC talks**

**Pietermaritzburg  
Bureau**

STUDENTS on the Pietermaritzburg campus of Natal University yesterday gave their overwhelming support for talks to be held with the banned African National Congress.

In an incident-free meeting on the campus, 900 students voted by a show of hands in favour of the talks while 89 voted against and 38 abstained, according to official SRC figures.

A representative from the Pietermaritzburg SRC will now join other English-speaking student leaders in a proposed Nusas visit to the ANC.

Among those who have expressed their support for the talks are Prof Peter de V Booyen, principal of the university, Prof Colin de B Webb and Prof G D L Schreiner, vice-principals, and 40 other university staff members.

Students at the universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town have already voted in favour of taking part.

# Adjourned Toti trial awaits SC

8 Day 25/3/86

THE trial of Andrew Zondo, who is alleged to have planted the Amanzimtoti bomb, was adjourned until April 1 by the Scottburgh Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Leon ordered the adjournment to enable Zondo's attorneys to engage senior counsel.

The application for the adjournment was opposed by prosecutor Ross Stuart.

He said it was grossly unfair that state witness X, who had already given evidence in chief, should have to wait to be cross-examined.

The judge agreed it was a highly unsatisfactory situation.

He felt it might be erring in generosity in granting the application, but said it was a serious case.

He said Roy Allaway, the senior counsel who would be available on April 1 to take the case, was an eminent advocate with great experience in criminal matters.

He added it was the last time an adjournment would be granted.

Zondo has pleaded not guilty to murdering five people who died in the bomb blast in the Sanlam Centre, Amanzimtoti, last December 23.

He has also pleaded not guilty to attempted murder. — Sapa.

# Cosatu threatens action to back student demands

By Mike Siluma

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) is likely to take industrial action if the Government fails to resolve the education crisis and heed the demands of black students.

This was said yesterday by the chairman of Cosatu's Witwatersrand region, Mr Paul Nkuna, when he addressed a Press conference in Johannesburg.

The region, which has 200 000 members from 18 affiliate unions, was launched formally at a weekend congress in Katlehong, Germiston.

Mr Nkuna said opinion among workers in the region was that industrial action would be taken if the Government did not "respond favourably to the education crisis". He accused the Government of turning a deaf ear to the students' grievances.

These include the call for the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students, the establishment of democratically-elected students' representative councils, and the release of detained students and teachers.

The opinion among affiliate unions was that workers should take a day off to celebrate May 1 and that the Johannesburg centenary celebrations should be spurned.

He said many companies were prepared to spend millions of rands on the celebrations "while their employees were starving".

The region's acting general secretary, Mr Bangi Solo, said workers viewed the intervention of police in labour issues — such as happened last week when police broke up a sit-in by Cosatu members at an East Rand firm — in a serious light. Cosatu demanded the withdrawal of charges against workers arrested in the incident.

THE TIMES 25/3/86

## Medunsa stayaway resumes

PRETORIA — Black students at the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) have embarked on a mass stayaway after last week's Supreme Court decision ordering the university to reinstate two white undergraduates whose registrations were cancelled last month.

This was confirmed by a Medunsa spokesman, who added that the two students, Mr Pieter Kruger and Mr Darryl Wilke, had arrived on the campus yesterday to resume their studies.

"But the situation is very fluid right now. With virtually all our black students boycotting classes, it is a question of whether the staff will agree to teach only two students," the spokesman said.

Mr Kruger and Mr Wilke, who both hold B Sc "pre-med" degrees, were accepted as third-year medical students at Medunsa in January but were asked to leave after a boycott by students who said they were keeping out "deserving blacks". — Sapa

# Black walkout ends conference on SA

From MARGARET SMITH

LONDON. — The Wilton Park conference on South Africa in crisis has been scrapped, following the walkout of most of the black participants invited to attend.

In a statement they pointed out that, in view of the status that had been given to the talks, they did not wish to negotiate on behalf of their fellow South Africans.

As they were high-level representatives of various organizations within South Africa, their withdrawal made it impossible to continue with the conference as it had been envisaged.

In an extraordinary gesture, the organizer of the conference, Mr Geoffrey Denton, issued a statement in which he said that, in view of the non-participation of some of those who were expected to attend, "the closure of the conference has been agreed".

The statement added: "But informed discussions are continuing among those present."

In their statement yesterday the blacks also objected to sitting on the same platform as a representative of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

They also objected to the absence of "the liberation movement" by which it is understood they meant the African National Congress. The ANC had in fact been invited to participate but had not been willing to do so.

The black delegates also said that they had been under the misapprehension that the conference was sponsored by an independent academic institution but had learnt of the British Government's involvement in the sponsorship.

While Wilton Park is funded by the British Foreign Office, it stoutly maintains its independence. It has hosted conferences concerning other "crisis" areas in the past.

Mr Denton said last night that the "informed discussions" with the remaining participants were continuing "very well".

## Informers not harmed, says UDF

JOHANNESBURG. — Police informers known to members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates would have been killed by now had the organization been a violent one, according to Mr Paul Maseko, an executive UDF member.

Speaking at a meeting of the Johannesburg branch of the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) at the Central Methodist Church, Mr Maseko, a former detainee, said his organization was aware of some former detainees who had opted to become police informers.

"They are roaming the streets without fear of being harmed by us, though they have confessed to have agreed to work with the system to secure their release from detention," he said.

He was refuting claims by some quarters that the UDF was a violent organization which burnt people to death. "We are a non-violent organization," he emphasized.

Former detainees were asked to tell about their experiences while in detention. — Sapa



CAPE TIMES

uesday, March 25, 1986

## Maritzburg for ANC talks

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Students on the Maritzburg campus of the University of Natal yesterday gave their overwhelming support for talks to be held with the banned African National Congress.

In a meeting on the campus 900 students voted by a show of hands in favour of the talks

A member of the Maritzburg SRC will now join other English-speaking student leaders in a Nusas-proposed visit to the ANC.

Among those who have expressed support for the talks are Professor Peter de V Booysen, principal of the university, Professor Colin de B Webb and Professor G D L Schreiner, vice-principals at the university, and 40 other university staff members.

11A  
 A display of weapons, a debate on the aims of the African National Congress and the appearance of a mystery witness distinguished the trial of Helen Passtoors this week in the Rand Supreme Court.

Passtoors, on trial for treason and terrorism, has denied the charges but has admitted to working for the ANC. She has also admitted knowledge of some of the arms caches uncovered by police and displayed in court, from Russian-made arms to rocket launchers.

Police evidence has shown some apparently thorough detective work. Traces of saliva on cigarette butts has been tested, hair brushes examined, cars turned inside out, telephones tapped, hotel rooms bugged and arms

## Fancy detective work at treason trial

By PAT SIDLEY

caches uncovered virtually all around the country, according to the evidence. Little of the evidence has been contested.

Police have testified they uncovered arms caches, covered them up again and were later taken to them by Passtoors' former husband, Klaas de Jonge, or by Passtoors, or by both. In other cases, they testified, Passtoors and De Jonge took them to caches they knew nothing about. Some were already emptied; some police emptied; and others police covered over. Some of the sites visited were caches; others were allegedly proposed targets for sabotage attacks.

Charges were originally formulated jointly against both Passtoors and De Jonge, but Judge TT Spoelstra ordered a separation of trials at the beginning of the case. He found that De Jonge, who is still in sanctuary in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, had not been properly served with his charges.

However, this week the state continued to display some of its evidence against De Jonge when presenting its case against Passtoors.

Part of its case revolved around the aims and problems of the ANC. In a

lengthy session of cross-examination, defence counsel Dennis Kuny drew on last year's Cape Times interview of Oliver Tambo while cross-examining Brigadier Hermanus Stadler, who quoted extensively from banned publications like "Sechaba", an ANC magazine.

At one point, Stadler agreed with Kuny that sabotage had been used by the Ossewabrandwag in the war years; and that like the ANC, it had sought to hit only strategic targets, not people.

"I think they had the same problem as the ANC," Stadler said.

Stadler laid emphasis on the military/violent role of the ANC,

tending to blur distinctions between the organisation's military and political functions; it appeared that Kuny sought to sharpen them.

The state also produced a "secret" witness, known only as "Mr Z". Although neither the press nor the defence team was told the witness' name, Kuny told the court the same witness had given evidence in the Delmas treason trial.

"Mr Z" told the court he was a former ANC member and had been present in Zimbabwe when arms were loaded into cars, one of which he said belonged to De Jonge and Passtoors, who he said were travelling with a child. He added he did not see the arms being loaded.

The case is continuing.

THE

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# WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 2, Number 16. FRIDAY, APRIL 25 TO THURSDAY, MAY 1 1986

THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

**WEEK OF THE REFORMS**  
**WEEK OF THE BIG STICK**

In the same week the government moved to scrap the pass laws, tough new measures were introduced to crack down on unrest  
See PAGES 2 and 12

## Simmering Alex under siege again

W. Mail 25/4/86

11A

By SHAUN JOHNSON and Weekly Mail Reporter

ALEXANDRA was in a virtual state of siege yesterday, as community leaders blamed this week's violence on policemen — and rejected any suggestion of interecine rivalry in the township.

A representative of the police directorate in Pretoria has said that they are investigating these allegations.

Yesterday, Hippos and Casspirs patrolled the streets of the beleaguered township. Buffels guarded the stadium, and youths still moved around amongst barricades littering all the main roads. Journalists saw at least one youth armed with a petrol bomb.

The shells of burnt out cars lay all along Seventh Avenue outside the "People's Court", the focus of Tuesday night's attack.

The Alexandra Civic Association (ACA) made an impassioned call to the government to "denounce violence, disarm its men, and start a new state of reform".

In a statement issued at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the ACA strongly denied that individuals and organisations are involved in interecine conflict in Alex.

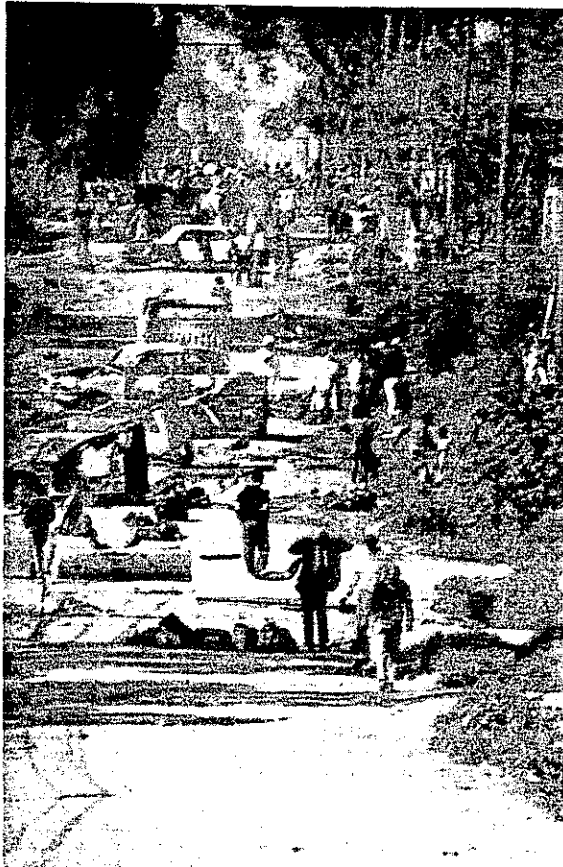
Some 45 000 Alex residents, who packed the township's stadium on Tuesday afternoon, heard how "supporters of the system parading as 'comrades' attacked activists' homes and killed at least eight people".

Linda Twala, chairman of the Alexandra Crisis Committee, told the Weekly Mail "the people of Alex are not fighting each other, they are fighting the system".

Twala recounted the events of Tuesday afternoon: "I was on my way home when I saw houses being attacked. I stopped and identified the attackers as policemen pretending to be members of local organisations."

He strongly refuted suggestions that the attacks were another manifestation of "black on black" violence, and that the mob were members of the Kabasa vigilante gang of Soweto.

According to Dorothy Beea, the elderly mother of Mike Beea, the ACA chairman, the men were



Turmoil and tension in Alexandra: Burnt out cars block the road to keep out the Casspirs, left, and a Security Force member runs through the streets during ongoing confrontation in the township. Pictures: TREVOR SANSON AFP, and REUTERS

## Sam Buti's back in favour

W. Mail 25/4/86

SAM BUTI may soon be welcomed as an ally by the Alexandra community groups which vigorously opposed his role on the local community council.

The colourful former mayor and erstwhile local hero announced his resignation to a press conference at his offices in the township this week. Asked if he intended to join forces with organisations such as the Alexandra Civic Association, Buti said he had never opposed such groups.

"But the question must be asked: are they going to accept us?"

The chairman of the Alexandra Crisis Committee, Linda Twala, said yesterday

Buti had done what the people wanted him to do.

"We shall accept him back now that he is no longer working within the system," he said.

"We are not interested in personal grudges. He has done much for Alex and has expert knowledge. We would like him to be a servant of the people of Alex along with us."

UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe hailed the council's collapse as "a victory for the people of Alexandra", and said: "The doors are wide open for councillors who choose to join the ranks of the

• To PAGE 3



wearing balaclavas, and some were known to be policemen.

"They asked me where the 'comrades' and my son were. When I said I didn't know, one of them hit me with a panga on the head. They went inside the house, overturned the bed, and spread clothes all over before setting them alight."

Mike Beea said he was alerted by his

wife, who came running to fetch him. "She was a mess of blood, and said our house had been destroyed, and everything inside it."

In response to the mounting crisis, the Alexandra Civic Association told members of the media yesterday afternoon that "in order to curb the animosity and rage which prevails", the violence had to stop and apartheid

be dismantled.

They presented several affidavits alleging police complicity in the recent attacks.

Jabu Kunene, a member of the Alexandra Youth Congress, said: "On Wednesday two Hippos arrived at my house. When we saw them we ran away."

"I ran to the corner and saw many

policemen climb out of the Hippo, and they had long guns. I saw flames coming from the yard. When I went back I found that my shack, clothes, blankets and furniture had been destroyed."

Late yesterday afternoon the troubled township was in a state of acute tension, with residents forming themselves into defence units.

25/3/86..

# Vaal tense after 'necklace' threats

By Rich Mkhondo and Jo-Anne Collinge

Vaal Triangle townships were tense today and many people are reported to have stayed away from work after "necklace" threats by youths last night.

Residents said because of "threats of necklaces or burning through tyres" which spread through the townships of Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Zamdela, Bophelong, Evaton and Refengotso, many people believed it was better to stay at home.

Today there were few taxis and buses in all the townships.

One resident said: "The townships are tense at the moment,

buses have been withdrawn, taxis are not operating, everything seems to be at a standstill.

"I think following yesterday's aborted work stayaway, some people believe it is better to enforce it and because of threats of burning through tyres, people are afraid to go to work.

"There were ugly scenes yesterday when buses dropped people outside the townships."

### PETROL BOMBING

"As people were walking home, some were shown tyres by youths who said they would be burned and hung about their necks if they went to work today."

Sources in Sebokeng said the

situation was volatile and they reckoned fewer people had ventured to work today.

The Vaal Civic Association estimated yesterday's stayaway had been supported by 50 per cent of workers in Sebokeng.

A spokesman for the Vaal Transport Corporation said buses had been withdrawn from Sebokeng at 11 am yesterday and had operated only as far as the perimeter during the afternoon rush hour.

Today, according to the corporation spokesman, buses carried very heavy loads between 4.30 and 5.30 am, but the company had withdrawn its vehicles by 6.30 am after some stoning and petrol-bombing.

Handwritten marks: "11A" in a circle, "STAR" in a circle, and other scribbles.

Cap 6 June 25/3/86

## Planned management committee rejected

Staff Reporter

THE proposed management committee for Belhar showed that the government still prescribes to and imposes its will on the community, the chairman of the Belhar Civic Association, Mr G F MacMaster, said yesterday.

He said the government had been briefed at Cabinet level about the community's total rejection and opposition to its policy of racially-based local authorities.

"It will also not wash if the government counters that it is only complying with a request from the

MP for Belhar, Mr Archie Poole, and the Labour Party.

"Mr Poole only represents about five percent, if not less, of the Belhar residents as only 9,84 percent of 16 085 registered voters in the Belhar constituency voted for him in August 1984. He does not therefore represent the views and wishes of Belhar residents," Mr MacMaster said.

Last year the Divisional Council rejected an application by Mr Poole for a management committee to be established because of a lack of support.

# Jaffer calls for 'fair, dynamic' education

Staff Reporter

MR. Naseegh Jaffer, interim organizer for the United Democratic Front, last night called for a new education system that would be "dynamic, fair and just".

At a well-attended meeting in the Rondebosch Congregational Church Hall on the schools crisis, he said students who were involved in the struggle against "gutter education" last year were determined to build a new educational system.

They wanted a system that was democratic, in which parents, teachers and students would contribute towards the content and administration of education.

Mr Cameron Dougmore of Nusas spoke on the Education Charter campaign which is to be launched at the end of this month to draw up a document reflecting the people's demands around education.

A speaker from the Pupils Action Awareness Group, Mr Paul Stober, said the organization had been formed to provide a forum for concerned white pupils.

Ms Pam van Dyke of Education for an Aware South Africa said the organization had launched a campaign for "open schools". This would be utterly meaningless if laws such as the Group Areas Act remained on the statute books, she said.

# A black leader's call for white support

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN speaks to a young leader of growing importance

MR Mkhusele Jack, a farm labourer's son, has risen from humble beginnings to become one of the most important community leaders in the country who believes blacks need whites on their side.

Born on a farm in the Humansdorp district 28 years ago, Mr Jack last year helped to co-ordinate a four-month consumer boycott which brought many businesses in the Eastern Cape to a standstill.

It was an act which brought him prominence outside his community — and some unwelcome attention from the police and Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order.

Two weeks ago he and Mr Henry Fazi, vice-president of the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape, were banned for five years.

However, the Supreme Court set aside Mr Jack's banning order on Saturday.

Such is the esteem in which both men are held that two delegations of top businessmen last week met Mr le Grange to try to persuade him to revoke the orders.

Mr Jack was detained for five months last year under state of emergency regulations.

"No reasons were given, but I believe it was because of my involvement with the consumer boycott," he said.

That brush with the police was not his first.

He was detained under security legislation for a month in 1979 and three years ago was imprisoned under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act and spent six months in Modderbee Prison.

Hailing the lifting of the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships as a political victory, he warned that the consumer boycott in the Eastern Cape would be invoked again on April 1 if the Government did not unban the African National Congress, release Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, allow political exiles to return and abolish apartheid.

Are the demands not unreasonable and unfair on businessmen?

"No, not at all. The demands are not difficult to meet. The Government banned the ANC, imprisoned Mandela and other political detainees. It has the power to change all this. Businessmen can make the Government agree to these demands."

The success of the boycott, he said, proved that the consumer boycott committee, of which he is chairman, had succeeded in convincing whites that they should join the struggle.

"All of us won't be free while this Government is in power and unwilling to change. We must force it to change so that we have a non-racial and democratic country. For that we need whites on our side. The consumer boycott has convinced some whites that they must join the struggle for freedom."

Like many extra-parliamentary politicians, Mr Jack, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, says he runs the risk of being "eliminated by faceless cowards".

To escape would-be vigilantes he does not sleep in one place more than once.

Despite all his brushes with the law, he has never rubbed shoulders with Mr le Grange.

"I have seen him only on television.

"I can't believe that a politician can behave as stubbornly and stupidly as he does. All his laws and banning orders will not succeed in silencing the voice of the people. We will have our freedom."

25/3/86 SNAR

NP says: 'We will send observers'

# Serious blow for kwaZulu indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — In a serious blow to the Natal/kwaZulu indaba, the National Party, Natal Indian Congress and United Democratic Front today turned down invitations to participate.

But, significantly, the NP has agreed to send observers.

Indications are that the non-participation of the two extra-parliamentary groups will not stop the conference going ahead.

Other groups which have refused to participate are the African National Congress, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

But most of the 31 other organisations invited have agreed to attend the indaba, which opens in the Durban City hall next Thursday.

The Natal leader of the NP, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in a letter that the party "is directly involved in the Central

Government and consequently it would not be appropriate to participate in the indaba on the suggested basis".

But the NP would "in a spirit of goodwill, and as further evidence to our commitment to negotiation" send a delegation to attend as observers.

The delegation would be led by Natal NP chairman Mr Tino Volker and would include vice-chairman Mr Jurie Mentz and provincial secretary Mr Renier Schoeman.

Mr Botha said the party had serious reservations about the invitations being sent to some organisations whose "declared intentions and activities are at variance with the norms of a civilised order and democratic process".

He also referred to President Botha's opening of Parliament speech, in which he referred to a negotiated future and the establishment of a National Statutory Council.

The Chief Minister of

kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned in a recent speech that if the NP did not take part in the indaba it would be a "betrayal of their supporters; the people of Natal and kwaZulu; and of their own Cabinet Ministers, who invited the people of Natal and kwaZulu to come forward with a plan".

He warned that he could not be expected to participate in any forum the Government may devise at a national level if they refused to participate in the indaba.

Dr Farook Meer, spokesman for the NIC and UDF, said the NIC had decided that it would not attend the indaba but would still consult community organisations to get a full mandate for its opposition to the talks.

The UDF position was unqualified rejection. The main reasons included the view that the organisations could have nothing to do with apartheid structures.



# P W tells of brutal maiming to frighten moderate blacks

Political Staff 2/1/86  
PARLIAMENT - President P W Botha has told Parliament that "necklace" executions and brutal maiming are being used to intimidate moderate blacks.

He said the victims were people who did not support the violent aims of the African National Congress and the instigators of unrest.

Mr Botha said in the House of Delegates that the "necklace" was no longer regarded as sufficiently effective.

"The latest trend is first to chop off the arms

of the victim at the elbows so that he becomes a pathetic example of what happens to those who oppose the will of the so-called liberators," Mr Botha said.

"In this manner, a dreadful fear is instilled into those who prefer to be moderates."

## TO GAIN CONTROL

The ANC and its "cohorts" used these methods of terror and extreme violence to intimidate people and, thus, to gain control of the various black population groups.

This corresponded to the "blue-print methods

of other communist-inspired revolutionary groups.

Other forms of intimidation included indiscriminate killing by landmines, limpet mines, car bombs and other explosive devices placed in public places and buried on public and farm roads.

Mr Botha said that, since the lifting of the state of emergency, black-on-black violence had increased alarmingly.

In these circumstances the Government had no choice but to ask Parliament to extend the powers of the police.

11A



THE newly-launched Witwatersrand region of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has warned it will consider industrial and other concerted action if government does not act to resolve the black education crisis.

Cosatu spokesmen said at a Press conference yesterday that key resolutions adopted at a regional congress on Saturday were:

- To confront educational problems;
  - To organise worker rallies on May Day on the Witwatersrand.
- This year is the 100th anniversary of International Labour

# Cosatu threatens to act over crisis in education

**CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE**

Day. Union spokesmen said the feeling at a Cosatu rally, attended by 4 000 workers in Katlehong on Sunday, was that workers had the right to take the day off.

Spokesmen said Cosatu would not sit back when its members were detained by police and said it would hold management responsible for police actions in

the event of management resorting to police assistance.

Workers would not take part in Johannesburg's centenary celebrations because they had not benefited from the city's development.

"To crown it all, most companies are prepared to pour millions of rands into the celebrations while their employees are starving," a Cosatu spokesman

said. Instead, events commemorating workers in the region who had died as a result of political and economic conditions would be held, spokesmen said.

The Cosatu executive council for the Witwatersrand region was elected on Saturday.

Paul Nkuna of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is chairman.

Mahmood Fadal of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA (Ccawusa) is vice-chairman and Ronald Mafokeng of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) is treasurer.

Confusion over Pretoria boycott and ...

# UDF-called stayaway gets no mass response

11A  
BDAY 25/3/76

THERE was no mass response to a United Democratic Front call for a work stayaway yesterday in the Vereeniging/Vanderbijlpark area.

And in Pretoria an indefinite consumer boycott started amid confusion.

A youth was arrested when he and three others crashed into the glass door of a Soweto filling station in their bid to avoid paying for petrol.

One youth was held and handed over to police, but his companions managed to get away. Damage estimated at R10 000 was caused.

Indications yesterday were

Business Day  
Reporter and Sapa

that there was no mass response to the UDF call for a stayaway in the Vereeniging/Vanderbijlpark area.

Commerce and industry spokesmen said it appeared the labour situation was normal.

In Pretoria, conflicting pamphlets regarding the starting date of a consumer boycott and organisers' demands were circulated in the townships.

The boycott — called by the Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee (PCBC) — is the second in recent months to hit retailers. The PCBC denounced "bogus" pamphlets which called

for a six-month boycott of work, school and white shops.

The pamphlets said nobody could leave townships without the permission of "comrades".

A PCBC spokesman said the pamphlets were issued by "oppressive forces posing as comrades" to create confusion.

Meanwhile, Atteridgeville mayor S M Mahlangu yesterday condemned the alleged stopping by security forces of local traders' vehicles from transporting foodstuffs and other supplies into the township.

A Police Directorate of Public Relations spokesman denied Mahlangu's allegation and said no vehicles had been prevented from making deliveries.

# Councillors ignored march — witness

26/5/86

IIA STAR

Staff Reporter

**DELMAS** — Vaal Triangle councillors were aware that residents were to march on the administration offices on September 3 1984 but did nothing about it, a State witness told the Delmas Circuit Court yesterday.

Mrs Patricia Phosisi, a Sharpeville councillor at the time of the outbreak of the 1984 disturbances, said this under cross-examination by Mr George Bizos SC, during the trial of 22 leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic association, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Azanian Youth Unity.

They have denied charges of treason, subversion, incitement to murder and furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Mrs Phosisi said she was told by a fellow councillor who had attended a meeting at the Sharpeville Anglican Church, that there was strong opposition by residents to the proposed rent increases in the area.

Asked by Mr Bizos if members of the Lekoa Council had been aware of a planned work stayaway and that residents were planning to march on the administration offices on September 3, she replied: "We knew, but did not discuss it, formally or informally".

She denied there had been confusion and rowdiness at a residents' meeting convened by councillors on August 5.

## NO JUSTIFICATION

But she conceded that during the meeting councillors had spoken "in more than one voice", some blaming authorities above the council for proposing the rent increases, while others took blame on their own shoulders.

Mr Bizos put it to Mrs Phosisi that "to add insult to injury", a councillor had said there was no justification for people's complaints about the new rents as some men in the community could afford to spend money

buying liquor.

Mrs Phosisi said residents did not regard the remark as an insult because they did not respond. However there had been a shouting match when a Mrs Motloun accused Mr Mokate, a councillor, of corruption and of having deprived an old woman of her home by evicting her.

After the meeting, there had been a scuffle when Mrs Motloun and some residents pulled Mr Mokate around.

At a meeting of the executive council on August 16, Mrs Phosisi had announced a decision to increase rents in the Vaal Triangle. It was decided a petition would be sent to the town clerk if there was dissatisfaction from members of the community, she said.

Mrs Phosisi said councillor Mr Chakane had objected to the increase because of the high rate of unemployment and the economic climate.

The hearing continues.

**DIANNA GAMES**  
and Sapa

A SUSPECTED African National Congress (ANC) insurgent was shot dead by police yesterday after he attempted to throw a hand grenade at them.

The incident occurred at a house in Katlehong, near Germiston.

The SAP Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said they suspected the man planted the limpet mine in a Springs church last Wednesday and the mine found outside a cafe in the town last week.

A cache of weapons was found in the house. It included two AK-47 rifles, six rounds of ammunition and two bags containing nuts and bolts,

# Arms cache found after police kill ANC suspect

apparently fitted to limpet mines as additional shrapnel.

Permission to take pictures of the equipment has been refused by the Security Police as the matter is still under investigation.

In other incidents of unrest, police reported that a man was shot dead in Walmer, Port Elizabeth, on Monday night after he and another man were seen inside a bottle store.

Police said yesterday petrol bombs

and a hammer were found on the dead man. The other man escaped.

In other incidents of unrest in Port Elizabeth, police vehicles were slightly damaged when they were petrol-bombed in Walmer and Kwazakhele.

A post office in Zwide, near Port Elizabeth, was badly damaged by petrol bombs when a mob was dispersed by police using shotgun fire on Monday night.

SJA  
JEF  
JUSOAM 26/3/86  
84A

11A

Parliament and Politics

# NP observers at Natal indaba

By ORMANDE POLLOK  
Political Staff

THE National Party is keeping the door open on the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in Durban next week and is to send a senior delegation of three MPs as observers.

This was revealed yesterday in a letter to the organizers, released by NP provincial leader and Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha.

He said that as the indaba's proposals were to be submitted to the government and as the Natal NP was part of the

central government, it would not be "appropriate" for it to participate on the suggested basis.

"However, in a spirit of goodwill and as further evidence of our commitment to negotiation as a method to further constitutional development, we propose to send a delegation to attend as observers."

Leading the team would be Mr Val Volker, provincial chairman and MP for Klip River. He would be accompanied by Mr Jurie Mentz, MP for Vryheid and deputy provincial chairman, and Mr Renier Schoeman, a nominated MP who is provincial secretary.

Mr Ray Swart, provincial leader of the PFP, described the NP decision as a "lukewarm approach but better than the boycott attitude it has adopted to similar discussions in the past".

## 'Non-violence'

The organizers, Dr Oscar Dhlomo of the KwaZulu Government and Mr Frank Martin, Natal MEC, have said the main aim of the indaba is to reach consensus on the "creation of a single legislative body to govern the combined area of Natal and KwaZulu".

In his letter to the organizers Mr Botha said: "We appreciate Chief Minister Mangosuthu

Buthelezi's frequently expressed support for the principles of self-determination and non-violence.

"Therefore, we have serious reservations about the inclusion in your list of invited participants of some organizations whose declared intentions and activities are at variance with the norms of a civilized order and democratic process."

## Buthelezi

● The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last night welcomed the presence of a National Party delegation as observers at the indaba.

He said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that if whites took any political steps, however faltering, he would "lead them by the hand and encourage them to take the next one".

He described as predictable the rejection of the invitation by Dr Farook Meer of the Natal Indian Congress.

The moment that the external mission of the African National Congress sneezed, the NIC and the United Democratic Front normally caught a cold, he said.

The African National Congress and the Azanian Peoples' Organization have also rejected participation.

DIANNA GAMES  
and Sapa

A SUSPECTED African National Congress (ANC) insurgent was shot dead by police yesterday after he attempted to throw a hand grenade at them.

The incident occurred at a house in Katlehong, near Germiston.

The SAP Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said they suspected the man planted the limpet mine in a Springs church last Wednesday and the mine found outside a cafe in the town last week.

A cache of weapons was found in the house. It included two AK-47 rifles, six rounds of ammunition and two bags containing nuts and bolts,

# Arms cache found after police kill ANC suspect

apparently fitted to limpet mines as additional shrapnel.

Permission to take pictures of the equipment has been refused by the Security Police as the matter is still under investigation.

In other incidents of unrest, police reported that a man was shot dead in Walmer, Port Elizabeth, on Monday night after he and another man were seen inside a bottle store.

Police said yesterday petrol bombs

and a hammer were found on the dead man. The other man escaped.

In other incidents of unrest in Port Elizabeth, police vehicles were slightly damaged when they were petrol-bombed in Walmer and Kwazakhele.

A post office in Zwide, near Port Elizabeth, was badly damaged by petrol bombs when a mob was dispersed by police using shotgun fire on Monday night.

SA  
11A  
ZUIDAM 26/3/85  
11A

CAPE TIMES 26/3/86

# Nine Azapo leaders 'held'

JOHANNESBURG. —  
Nine officials of the  
Azanian People's Organi-  
zation have been de-  
tained in the past week,  
Azapo said last night.

Among them are secre-  
tary-general Mr George  
Wauchope and the head  
of the community devel-  
opment secretariat of  
Azapo, Mr Pandelani Ne-  
folovhodwe, the state-  
ment said.

Mr Wauchope and Mr  
Nefolovhodwe were  
leaving a hall in Namak-  
gale near Tzaneen where  
they had addressed a  
meeting on Sunday when  
they were allegedly de-  
tained by Lebowa police.

They are still being  
held at the Namagkale  
police cells and have  
been refused visits, ac-  
cording to the statement.

Detained with them  
were Mr Mmutle Phafha,  
Mr Jake Maphabathe and  
Mr Oupa Maleka.

Earlier in Bekkersdal  
in the Western Trans-  
vaal, soldiers are alleged  
to have detained Mr John  
Mnguni and Mr Jacob  
Makoane, both officials  
of the local branch of  
Azapo.

Mr Makoane was re-  
ported to be in hospital  
where he is being  
treated for dog bites sus-  
tained as he was being  
detained.

At Ginsburg near King  
William's Town, local  
branch chairman Mr  
Lungas Lifume and trea-  
surer Mr Mcedisi Ngo-  
loyi were detained at the  
home of the late Mr  
Steve Biko on Monday  
morning.

● These allegations  
have been telexed to the  
police public relations  
directoriate for comment  
and confirmation. No re-  
ply had been received by  
late last night. — Sapa



Manuel  
Argus  
calls on  
Govt to  
unban ANC

11A  
26/3/86  
226

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

MR Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the United Democratic Front, has called on the Government to unban the African National Congress.

In his first interview since Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, lifted the banning orders on him and Mr Jacob Issel yesterday, Mr Manuel vowed to become more deeply involved in the fight to end apartheid, called for the release of all political prisoners and for all political exiles to be allowed to return unconditionally.

Mr Manuel was banned for five years last year.

"Of course I am happy that the order has been lifted. Now I will become deeper involved in the fight to end apartheid. We challenged the State and won."

The two orders were revoked for "technical reasons", according to Mr E Mohammed, of Essa Moosa and Associates.

On the strength of Saturday's decision by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court to declare the banning order on Eastern Cape community leader Mr Mkhuzeli Jack invalid, attorneys for Mr Manuel and Mr Issel had asked the Minister to cancel their banning orders on the same grounds.

#### BACK AT WORK

The Argus Port Elizabeth Bureau reports that minutes after his five-year banning order was declared invalid by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday afternoon Eastern Cape United Democratic Front vice-president Mr Henry Fazzie was back at work.

However his delight was tempered by a feeling that the respite might be temporary.

"I am sure that Mr le Grange will be working on ways to reimpose my banning order in a manner which will be acceptable to the courts," he said.

● See Page 7

# Why Mandela won't be free's Iron

(11A) DISPATCH 26/3/82

Once again speculative reports are beginning to circulate that the release of the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela may be imminent. This time it is in connection with the mission of the Eminent Persons Group, the high-powered delegation of Commonwealth leaders.

The EPG delegation, which includes the former Nigerian head of state, General Obasanjo, and the former Australian prime minister, Mr Malcolm Fraser, has made a point of keeping a low media profile during their current South African tour.

Yet it is known that they had talks with the ANC leadership in Lusaka as well as with President Botha and senior ministers of his cabinet, and now it has transpired that they have also met Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor prison.

Since the main objective of the Commonwealth mission is to explore alternatives to the further escalation of the armed struggle by facilitating a climate for political negotiation between the ANC and the South African government some reporters and commentators have jumped to the conclusion that the long overdue release of Mr Mandela must now be on the cards.

The "Mandela fever" among local and foreign pressmen has not yet reached the same delir-

ious heights as on the previous occasion earlier this year. Then Mr Mandela's prolonged stay in hospital, following a minor operation, became a major news item.

Media representatives mounted all-night vigils and there was talk of the "press scoop of the century" when someone resembling the ANC leader was photographed on an unscheduled visit to a medical centre in the city. It needs only another rumour and a "leak" or two, and we may well see a repeat performance.

The fact of the matter is that it is now widely believed, especially in press and diplomatic circles but also by many others, that the release of Mr Mandela is a genuine prospect. Yet it takes only a little reflection on the most likely sequels to such a move to realise that the South African Government is most unlikely to actually go through with it in anything like the present political circumstances.

There are, of course, very good reasons why it would be in the government's interests to release Mr Mandela.

Quite apart from any "humanitarian" considerations the continued jailing of Mr Mandela has evidently become a major political albatross to the government.

The pressures have been building up for

quite some time. During the early 1980s the Release Mandela campaign was used quite effectively as a mechanism for reintroducing the banned ANC into the internal political debate in South Africa. It also made him into a major political symbol for the black cause generally. And since September 1984, with civil strife and protest spreading to black townships throughout the country, the name of Mandela has become a rallying cry to an entire generation of young political militants, many of whom had not yet been born when he disappeared into prison in 1963.

Mr Mandela may continue to languish in prison, but the Mandela myth is going from strength to strength.

Indeed, in the present political climate it can hardly do otherwise. As a political figure he is in the unassailable position that he cannot put a foot wrong.

As an active participant in the confusing flux of the current political scene Mr Mandela would have had to take a stand on such difficult and complex issues as the possible resumption of the school boycotts, the political role of the black trade unions, and many more.

No matter what qualities of leadership or political skills he might still prove to have, such decisions are bound to be controversial and un-



**DR ANDRÉ DU TOIT, Associate Professor of Political Philosophy, Stellenbosch, gives a personal view.**

popular in one quarter or another.

But in prison he cannot, and may not, take any stands — and his reputation keeps growing. The government may well wish for a repeat performance of the release of Herman Toivo Ja Toivo. The Swapo leader, a major political headache to the government while he remained on Robben Island, has pretty well disappeared from view, presumably caught up in the infighting of Namibian politics.

What must make the growth of the Mandela myth even more alarming to the government is the matter of Mr Mandela's age. Though we are continually assured that he is still in robust health, he has just turned 70. The mere thought that he might

die in prison should certainly give anyone in government pause: the ANC could only benefit from being presented with a political martyr of major historical stature.

Moreover the release of Mr Mandela would also have a more general political significance.

There are influential members of the National Party and of the government who have serious misgivings about an exclusive and excessive reliance on coercive force in coping with the unrest in the black townships. They are urging the need for political initiatives as an alternative to just keeping the troops in the townships — but in the present circumstances there are preciously few options available which are both dramatic enough and realistic as well.

No wonder that a Mandela "lobby" has been urging for some time that here at least is a possible card that the government could play to signal its interest in the politics of negotiation. It would also be just the kind of signal which really would count with the governments in Washington and London and with the international business community.

It was thus no idle gesture when President Botha himself last year offered to release Mr Mandela, provided he

first renounced political violence. The government quite deliberately put Mr Mandela's release on the political agenda. And it serves the government's purpose to keep it there. In that case, why can't it then also go through with the offer?

The real problem does not lie in this or that set of preconditions. The issues are in effect drawn quite clearly.

The government cannot hope to offer Mr Mandela anything less than a full release. The Sobukwe option, that is, releasing him from prison and then banning him to Kimberley or Brandfort or some other remote area, is not on at all. Not only would it be quite self-defeating, but as Mrs Winnie Mandela has already effectively demonstrated, it no longer is a realistic proposition in the present political climate.

Mr Mandela years ago, and repeatedly, declined the offer to be released to Transkei. No doubt his position would be the same with regard to any other foreign country. Putting him on the plane to Lusaka or Paris will merely restore his freedom of action, but is unlikely to remove him for long from the internal political scene.

And that is the heart of the matter. Releasing Mr Mandela means that the government must be prepared to allow him to

13 hrs. 30 min., and finished eight in the ironman section of the M... Swim in 32 min. 30 s

This was his seventh appearance in the D... canoe race.

Stanton, who is 35, v... placed 2414th in Comrades Marathon of hr. 52 min., completed the canoe race in 17... 30 min. and was placed 20th in the Iron Man s... tion of mile swim in min. 20 sec.

Other East London... to tackle the Midr...

**ce for rs to h**

Roma left-back Sel... tiano Nela will proba... switch flanks to repl... Internazionale. M... right-back Giuse... Bergomi, while 21-y... old Sampdoria wit... Gianluca Vialli looks

to fill in for Rom... Bruno Conti, who is... sidelined.

Bearzot's third... most intriguing cha... concerns the midfi... ers, Carlo Ancelotti... Roma and Antonia... Gennaro of Verona.

Di Gennaro is... regular playmaker... he missed the 2-1 de... against West Germ... last month when A... lotti made the mos... his chance with a s... display.

Ancelotti, a m... inspiration in Rom... excellent season, p... ably did enough ag... myth

26/3/85  
WA  
SIRK  
Conference on SA 'not endangered'

LONDON — Organisers of the Wilton Park conference on the crisis in South Africa are firmly denying that the withdrawal of some black delegates has jeopardised the event.

Five delegates, including the chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, are boycotting the meeting over the In-katha presence and fears that they would be seen to be negotiating a political settlement without a mandate.

As informal discussions among remaining delegates entered their second day yesterday, a senior official said: "Debate has been very fruitful — and we have the great majority of delegates still with us." — The Star Bureau.

# Dead ANC man linked to Springs limpet mine blasts

Crime Reporter

Police shot dead an African National Congress terrorist — thought to be linked with recent limpet mine blasts on the East Rand — in Katlehong township, near Germiston, on Monday.

The man flung a handgrenade at police but it failed to explode because the pin had not been properly pulled, a police spokesman said today. A number of Russian AKMS rifles and ammunition were seized.

Police said the shooting fol-

lowed a tipoff.

The dead man's involvement with recent blasts in Springs was still being investigated.

On March 15 a man was slightly injured when a limpet mine exploded at Springs station. Two days later a mini-limpet mine was found outside an Elsburg cafe. Two days after that churchgoers at the Apostolic Faith Mission church in 2nd Avenue, Geduld, Springs, escaped death after a limpet mine exploded near the church.

STAR (11A) 26/3/86

Start 26/3/86

Ministers believe toughness counter-productive

# Govt takes softer line on ANC talks

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government appears to be taking a softer line towards South Africans who insist on holding talks with the African National Congress.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha, the man ultimately responsible for the issuing and withdrawal of passports, has declined to comment on resolutions taken on two English-medium university campuses during the past week to hold talks with the ANC.

A spokesman for his office yesterday said such talks were hypothetical and the Minister would not comment on them.

Last year the Government moved swiftly to prevent a group of Stellenbosch University students from visiting Lusaka to talk to the ANC.

Passports of the students involved were withdrawn, while those who had not yet applied for travel documents were told they would not be granted.

## ORDERS

It was widely believed at the time that that was done under the personal orders of President PW Botha, chancellor of the university, who had publicly appealed to the students not to go.

Mr Botha was also said to be angered by the group of businessmen and others who had made the journey to Lusaka as he had appealed to the public, as

head of state, not to do so.

From Mr Stoffel Botha's reaction to the English university students it would seem that the Minister is taking a more moderate line.

It is understood that many Ministers feel that it is counter-productive to stop people going to Lusaka.

They believe the publicity is not worth the effort and, that in any case, those people who have defied the Government's wishes have had their eyes opened by what they have seen and heard.

Under those circumstances it is felt the Government will not try to stop the students from talking to the ANC, unless the students make their visit a major issue of political defiance of State authority.

ANC Talks 20/3/86  
1112

# Informal crisis talks 'successful'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Although the Wilton Park conference on "South Africa in Crisis" has been called off, informal talks are continuing among those participants still attending.

What is more, they were successful and had achieved a great deal, Mr Geoffrey Denton, organizer of the talks, said yesterday.

While he regretted that not all those who had been invited to attend felt able to do so, those who were still present were pleased with the way the talks were proceeding.

Mr Denton was speaking after nearly all the

black guests invited from South Africa had pulled out.

It is thought they did this after the ANC made it known they would not be attending.

One of the few black participants believed to be participating is Mr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in KwaZulu.

Whitehall sources yesterday said white South African delegates would almost certainly make individual efforts to see members of the ANC during their visit to the UK, although the organization's non-participation at the conference had made round-table talks out of the question.

# Labour Party getting bitter'

CMG-Tink 26/3/86  
11A

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, held meetings throughout the country with black leaders but was not prepared to talk to his own parliamentary colleagues in the House of Representatives, Mr Peter Jacobs (LP Alra Park) said yesterday.

Speaking in the second-reading debate on the "own affairs" budget, he said the Labour Party had come into the new dispensation to participate in preparing a budget for all South Africans and to enter into a process that would bring peace.

Instead they were becoming bitter. In the present session neither President P W Botha nor the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, had come into the House.

## Handful of radicals

The government was allowing the country "to go up in flames" for the sake of a handful of right- and left-wing radicals, Mr Cecil Herandien (LP Macasser) said during the debate.

He said the government appeared to respect only those people who advocated violence.

"Last year we accepted that the budget for the House of Representatives was inherited and not much could be done to change it. But this year's budget again shows that whites will use figures to dominate coloureds.

"We are working towards a just South Africa but we can't accept this budget."

## Discriminatory legislation

Members of the House had entered into the new dispensation at great cost to themselves but got discriminatory legislation in return, said Mr Barend Andrews (LP Rawsonville) during the debate.

He said it was apparent the Afrikaners found it difficult to attain parity because they were incapable of sharing what they had.

One of the aspects of discrimination was that there was no backlog in housing for whites but thousands of coloureds were on waiting lists.

In his area there were 1 600 people on the emergency waiting lists alone, Mr Andrews said. — Sapa

27/3/86

WEEKLY MAIL

# Open the jail door, we want to enter

11A

The second in our series featuring extracts from notable newly-published books. This week we continue MARY BENSON'S biography of Nelson Mandela, launched in London to considerable acclaim but unlikely to be released in South Africa

NELSON MANDELA was appointed national volunteer-in-chief of the Defiance Campaign in 1952. He toured the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal, visiting houses in the townships, explaining the plan, sometimes talking through the night. His task was to inspire people with confidence in their ability to overcome oppression through a direct non-violent challenge to the government. Oliver Tambo sometimes accompanied him.

On June 26, the anniversary of the African National Congress call for a national strike, the campaign began. That night in Johannesburg, Mandela addressed a meeting, which went on until 11pm: curfew time for Africans after which "special" passes were necessary. He had intended to avoid arrest in order to continue organising, but found himself hauled in by the police, who had already arrested volunteers. This was Mandela's first experience of police cells. He later described it:

"As we were being jostled into the drill yard, one of us was pushed so violently by a young European constable that he fell down some steps and broke his ankle. I protested, whereupon the young warrior kicked me on the leg in true cowboy style. We were all indignant and we started a demonstration. We drew their attention to the injured man and demanded medical attention. We were curtly told that we could repeat the request the next day. And so it was that this man, Samuel Makae, spent a frightful night in the cell, reeling and groaning with pain. Only next day was he taken to hospital."

After Mandela had been released, he observed the spread — "like wildfire" — of the campaign, as factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and clergymen defied apartheid regulations. Older defiers who recalled the early days of the ANC, when their aim was to prove themselves responsible citizens, were exhilarated as they now confronted white authority in the hope of bringing about radical change.

On July 30 police raided homes and offices throughout the country and arrested Dr James Moroka, Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Yusuf Dadoo and Maulvi Cachalia with 30 others, charging them with furthering the aims of communism. The case was adjourned but the arrests spurred recruitment. By early October several thousand more volunteers had gone to jail.

The October total of arrests was 2 354. The discipline and humour of the volunteers had won admiration abroad and the United Nations set up a commission to inquire into apartheid, the first formal expression of international disapproval and, as such, a fresh encouragement to the ANC and its allies.

The government's banning for life of 52 leaders and organisers brought the Campaign grinding to a halt. Of the 10 000 volunteers called for, 8 577 had responded. But none of the laws was repealed, indeed the government relentlessly extended apartheid. As the ANC admitted, there had been grave weaknesses in the organising: defective administration and fund-raising, and the lack of a Congress newspaper. But many thousands of Africans had been politicised and the ANC reckoned that membership soared from 7 000 to 100 000.

At the end of November, Moroka, Mandela, Sisulu and the other leaders were brought to trial. The judgment which followed was a dramatic repudiation of government propaganda: Judge Rumpff declared the leaders guilty only of "statutory communism" which had "nothing to do with communism as it is commonly known". They were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, suspended for two years.

Mandela was elected president of the Transvaal ANC, to replace the recently banned J B Marks. He was not ambitious for office, as one of his friends observed, and loyally served others, content to be one of a team. But he was a born mass leader who could not help magnetising people. He praised those who had made sacrifices in the campaign: workers who'd lost their jobs, teachers expelled, professional men whose practices had been neglected. The campaign had shown how the



They were just toddlers when he was jailed. But for these Port Elizabeth youths saluting a poster of Mandela during a funeral this month, the legend remains a potent one.

● In compliance with the Prisons Act, the Mandela poster has been blacked out

masses could function politically and provide a powerful method of voicing indignation against government policies.

In December 1952 Chief Albert Lutuli was elected president-general of the ANC, with Mandela as his deputy. Both were immediately placed under bans, as were more than 100 ANC, Indian Congress and trade union leaders and organisers.

Mandela was prohibited from attending gatherings and was confined to Johannesburg for the period of six months.

Nelson and Evelyn Mandela had three children: two boys, Thembekile (Thembi) and Makgatho, and a daughter Pumla. Mandela was devoted to his family. By the early fifties the boys were in primary school in Orlando and he enjoyed their companionship.

Qualified as an attorney, in 1952 Mandela had established a partnership with Tambo, who had switched from teaching to law. "Mandelo and Tambo" read the brass plate on the door of their office on the second floor of Chancellor House, near the Magistrate's Court in Johannesburg. An unprepossessing building owned by Indians, it was one of the few in which Africans could hire offices.

Although African lawyers were not unknown — after all, there had been several among the founders of the ANC — their partnership stirred people not only locally but in the Transkei: "Lawyers from our soil," exclaimed one of the Thembus, "we were very excited."

At law as in politics, Mandela and Tambo were complementary personalities: Mandela a passionate man with a great zest for life, Tambo more reflective and deliberate. Both men were angered by injustice but Mandela was more assertive in expressing that anger.

It was through Tambo and Adelaide Tsukudu, the young nurse he was about to marry, that Mandela met Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela. During an adjournment in the preparatory examination, he happened to be buying food in a delicatessen in Johannesburg when the Tambos drove up. With them was an exceptionally pretty and lively young woman. Surely, Nelson knew of her, said Oliver, her picture had featured in magazines when she had been appointed the first black medical social worker at Baragwanath African Hospital; and, he added, she came from his home village:

"Winnie from Bizana" he called her.

A few days later Mandela telephoned Winnie, inviting her to lunch. In her early twenties, she felt overawed by this commanding man and his friends but accepted. It was a Sunday and he broke off from his legal work to take her to a popular Indian restaurant, where he watched with affectionate amusement her discomfort at tasting hot curry for the first time. Even there he could not escape people wanting his advice or simply a friendly word or two. Although some of his comrades might find him aloof he was wholly accessible, giving generously of his time and knowledge.

He drove Winnie to open country where they walked. He asked her to raise money for the Treason Trials Defence Fund. Perhaps the space of veld and sky reminded them of the landscape of their childhood. Like Nelson, Winnie had herded cattle and goats and loved the countryside of the Transkei. There, her father, Columbus Madikizela, had been principal of a school. Her mother had died when Winnie was nine, and she had helped care for her young brothers and sisters before going to boarding-school. "Going through trials, one who strives" is the meaning of her name, Nomzamo; it was appropriate then and has been since.

What followed could not be called a courtship. Some days Nelson's friends collected her from the hospital and took her to the gym to watch him "sweat it out", or she accompanied him on visits to his friends in the townships and suburbs. She got on well with his son, Thembi. And she attended ANC meetings although she was not yet a member: at school the Unity Movement had attracted her and now Mandela teased her, telling friends how he had saved her from this rival organisation, how thankful she should be. Deeply in love, she yet remained in awe of him. She had no idea his divorce had taken place until one day he suddenly asked her to visit a friend, Ray Harmel, who would make her wedding-dress. "How many bridesmaids would you like?" he inquired.

Her father was intensely proud of his daughter's engagement to so important and highly regarded a man, but there were grave anxieties: divorce was frowned on in African society — not only in the Transkei but in the townships — especially the divorce of someone in the royal family who must set an example. Could Winnie cope with the criticism which would inevitably be directed partly at her? And there was the question of Nelson's three children. Although they were living with their mother, they would naturally visit their father and stepmother and she was so young. Furthermore, Mandela was on trial for treason.

Winnie found reassurance in Mandela's nature: he inspired confidence, faith and courage. She knew that he loved her but she had already realised that if you became involved in the cause you could no longer think in personal terms, that he could not be separated from the people, from the struggle. She never experienced a young bride's life.

In June 1958 they were married at Winnie's home in Pondoland. Mandela had been granted four days' leave from his order restricting him to Johannesburg. Lilian Ngoyi was among ANC leaders who accompanied them. Columbus Madikizela, in speaking the father's "words of wisdom" to his daughter, told her that she must remember that she was marrying the struggle and not the man, that by bringing such a man to him as a son-in-law, she was introducing the African National Congress to that part of the country.

Custom required that the wedding ceremony take place in both family homes but there was no time to include Nelson's home in Qunu. Traditionally, their marriage was not completed and, for that occasion, Winnie kept part of the wedding-cake. She still has it, waiting for the day when her husband emerges from prison.

● NELSON MANDELA by Mary Benson. First published by Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1986. © Mary Benson, 1986. Not for sale in South Africa.



# Azapo attacks detentions at Ginsberg

11A  
27/12/88  
DETENTION

**Dispatch Reporter**  
EAST LONDON — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday condemned the detention of the entire executive of its Ginsberg branch.

The public relations division of the South African Police in Pretoria confirmed the men were being held under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

They are the chairman, Mr Lunga Lefume; vice-chairman, Mr Nazimbo Hlanganiso; secretary, Mr Vusumsi

Ntteni; and the treasurer, Mr Mncedi Ngogoloi.

Also detained with them is a member of the Border regional executive, Mr Tembile Duna.

The Border branch chairman, Mr Sicelo Magopeni, said the detentions were a deliberate attempt to disorganise Azapo's third national forum in Durban at the weekend.

He said a firm of attorneys had been approached to try to seek bail for the detainees.

has only one place to stay: a few inside the vestibule methodist church. Picture. ONE DE FLECO, ANSNA

# Crucial meeting for National Forum

WEEKLY MAIL  
By SEFAKO NYAKA

27/3/82

THE two-day conference of the National Forum Committee, which gets under way at the Himalaya Hotel in Durban on Saturday morning, may be the most crucial in the NFC's three-year history.

According to publicity secretary Lusiba Ntloko, in the past the NFC has not been able to intervene in any major issue involving the people, such as rents and workers' rights.

But "we hope to change all that by reviewing our whole attitude towards non-violence and adopting a more aggressive stance that would move us forward towards a socialist Azania."

He said the NFC hopes to engage the whole community in positive action. The Forum is presently engaged in forming a broad base of all left-wing organisations in the country.

The theme of this weekend's conference — "The National Convention — problem or solution" — grows out of an issue debated at a previous conference, which identified

the convention as a problem, said Ntloko.

"Recent developments have called for a re-evaluation of our earlier stand. If the conference decides that the national convention is a problem, then we will have to find what the solutions are."

Ntloko denied reports that a new organisation will be formed at the NFC conference.

And he declined to name the three guest speakers expected at the conference because, he said, they are still trying to sort out their visa problems.

He confirmed, however, that the speakers, who have been involved in high profile activity in their respective countries, come from Zimbabwe, Namibia and the United States.

The NFC has also sent out invitations to other organisations

outside the Black Consciousness fold.

Although the NFC claims to have invited the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, both organisations have denied receiving the invitations.

And the NFC convenor, Saths Cooper, said he was going to hand-deliver new invitations to the UDF and Cosatu. But Cosatu has indicated that it will not accept.

"We won't attend the National Forum because of the education crisis conference taking place in Durban on the same weekend," said a Cosatu representative.

"This would still be the position, even if we had received an invitation to attend.

"Education is the topmost issue on the agenda of the democratic masses in the country."

The UDF acting publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, said the Front won't be sending delegates to the conference "since we were not invited".

home in Montgomery double-storied, six-caraged mansion They say that reputation

# COMMENT

A crucial conference which could be a watershed in the history of South Africa will be held in Durban over the Easter weekend.

Even the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has said some interesting things about this indaba and its possible import.

Dr Viljoen, in a report, has tried to indicate that there has been a fairly good attempt by the Education Department to meet the demands made by the Crisis Committee after the first conference at Wits University early this year.

It may be true that some of the demands that were made by that conference appear to have been met. But the Government needs to show that it accepts the credentials of blacks who sit at such conferences. The truth is that those who will be in Durban will represent a very wide range of opinion, both black and white. That being the case, they will have to be met after the conference by Government spokesmen, whatever the outcome of the talks.

It is of course common cause that the conference will deal with matters not only confined to education. That is a natural thing in these times. The education of black children is indeed part of the struggle for liberation. We do not think parents are prepared to have their children fight this problem alone. We thus believe some tough things are going to be said.

We realise that the decisions reached will not be easy. We also are aware of the tremendous problems that will face those who are behind the Crisis Committee.

This will be an important weekend in Durban because at the same time the National Forum will hold its annual conference. It is believed that members of this conference will make time to attend the Education Crisis Indaba.

We fear it is rather late in the day, but the Government has to make it its business to recognise the credibility of those attending such conferences. They will come from a very wide range of black and perhaps white opinion.

Their conclusions will probably be a reflection of the needs and desires of the majority of South Africans. If these meetings are not given credibility and support by South Africa, then we fear our future is even bleaker than it presently seems.

TWO crucial conferences to put the crisis in the country in perspective take place in Durban this weekend.

They are the second national conference on black education and the third National Forum.

The decision that will make or break black education will be taken at the conference on education.

At the first consultative meeting on education held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in December, 160 organisations resolved to take "appropriate action" if demands set out were not met by the end of March.

The Government, particularly concerned about the outcome of this conference, has said most of the educational demands made have been met and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has appealed that decisions on education should be based on sound educational principles and not on political emotions.

The National Forum, which meets over two days, will look at what it terms "the national crisis" in the country and it has put the education crisis on its agenda.

Forum convener, Mr Saths Cooper, says deliberation will cover labour, the rent crisis, the police and South African Defence Force's presence in the townships and the controversial call for a national convention.

The consultation on education is expected to make decisions which will determine if normal schooling will resume at the beginning of the second term on April 2.

The 160 organisations which first discussed education in Johannesburg in December have pledged to take control of education for blacks. They resolved to work out a programme and mobilise from grassroots level for "the people's education".

## Note

The Government, on the other hand, has made it clear that it does not intend loosening its grip on the control of education. Dr Viljoen said this week that it was disconcerting that many of the demands were still being misrepresented to foment unrest and disruption at schools.

"It is time for parents to take note that their children are being misused and sacrificed for political purposes and that the disruption of education is destroying

# FOCUS

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**  
and **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

the future of many individual pupils and their families," Dr Viljoen said.

But the organisations which meet at the weekend represent the pupils, teachers and parents and have argued that the crisis in the townships was caused by the Government's reaction to last year's grievances.

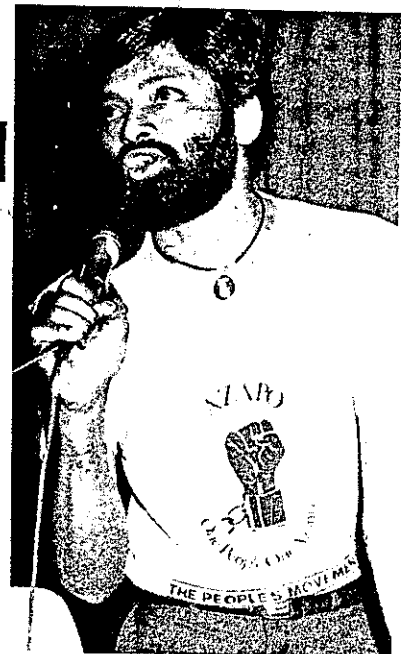
They blamed the presence of the SADF and the police for the disruption at schools and called for an end to the state of emergency. They made other demands related to education.

The state of emergency has been lifted, says the Government and all people detained under emergency regulations have been released.

The Deputy Minister

# All eyes on crucial Durban talks

Make or break for black education



Mr SATHS COOPER... National Forum convener.



Dr GERRIT VILJOEN... appeal.

## Deadline

He has also said the Government has attempted to meet the demands for the improvement of education before the deadline (of March 31).

The decisions that will be taken will also spell out what the Government should or should not do to save the country.

The significance of the National Forum meeting is that it aims to narrow the gap between black consciousness organisations and those which adhere to the Freedom Charter.

The United Democratic Front and the Congress of Unions of South Africa have been invited to this forum.

The conference, therefore, could herald a new era in black national politics.

Said Mr Cooper:

"The Forum does not tolerate liberal apologists, in particular, white

representatives of the ruling class. But the NF constituencies have worked with some UDF affiliates in fighting the community council system and the tricameral Parliament as well as on the labour front when unions came together to celebrate May Day.

"We are now looking at more concerted national programmes to bring the Government to its knees. The people reject all forms of exploitation," Mr Cooper said.

11A  
SOWETAN  
07/13/86

# Recorded evidence is original — expert

STAR

27/3/86

(11A) ~~SECRET~~

**MARITZBURG** — The treason trial at the Maritzburg Supreme Court was yesterday adjourned to Monday April 7 after the court heard expert evidence on police bugging devices and the analysis of tape-recordings.

The witness, Col Leendert Jansen, a doctor of science, said he had checked all the video and sound recordings of meetings and conversations being used as evidence in the trial and

found them to be the original copies.

On trial are Mr Thozamile Gqweta, Mr Sisa Njikelana, Mr Samuel Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo.

A large portion of the evidence before the court is in the form of video and tape-recordings.

Col Jansen told the court that, with the help of sophisticated electronic equipment, he was also able to establish that none of the tapes had

been tampered with or "intentionally changed".

He said there were a number of interruptions in the recordings but they were easily identifiable as radio microphone interruptions, test recordings and sections where the recording device had been switched off.

Col Jansen will be cross-examined by the defence advocates, Mr Clifford Mailer and Mr Marino Moerane, when the hearing resumes. — Sapa.

# The pupils demand; the State responds

Weekly Mail

27/3/86

By SEFAKO NYAKA

AT the national education conference at the University of the Witwatersrand on December 29 and 30 last year, representatives from over 160 organisations unanimously resolved to give the government until the end of March to meet a series of educational and political demands.

One of the major demands was the lifting of the State of Emergency.

The government finally responded on Friday, March 7, by declaring the State of Emergency had been lifted.

But this move brought little relief to pupils, as extraordinary measures are used even in areas where no Emergency had been declared.

Following is a list of the demands made by the conference and the government's response to each:

**The withdrawal of the SA Defence Force and the SA Police from the townships and soldiers from schools.**

The army and the police have not completely withdrawn from the townships. In the Western Transvaal townships of Orkney, Ikageng, Stilfontein and Jouberton, local youths have distributed pamphlets bearing photographs showing Security Force members on school premises.

**The immediate and unconditional release of all students, parents and teachers detained in their struggle for people's education.**

Scores of pupils in Nelspruit, Bushbuckridge, Groblersdal and the Western Transvaal are still in detention, and the detentions seem to be continuing on a daily basis.

National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa) representative Emielia Potenza recently remarked that as fast as some teachers are being released from detention, others are being held.

**The reinstatement of all dismissed, forcibly transferred, or suspended teachers.**

In East London and other areas in the Eastern Cape the transfer, suspension and dismissal of teachers — especially those affiliated to progressive teacher organisations that have been trying to resolve the education crisis — is still going on, according to a National Education Crisis Committee representative.

**The erection of school buildings where such buildings have been partly or completely damaged.**

When the budget was presented in Parliament recently, no additional money was allocated for repairs of damaged schools.

The Department of Education and Training's PRO, Job Schoeman, said money for repairs would have to come from DET's ordinary budget.

Several schools in the East Cape remain unrepared.

**The return of all students to school on January 28.**

Although the DET announced that schools would reopen on January 18, flexibility was applied and the DET said it would allow late registration.

**The postponement of all examinations until March 1986.**

The examinations were rescheduled, but in the East Cape and other areas where pupils had not been attending classes for over a year, no exams were written.

**The unbanning of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).**

Cosas remains banned and some of its leaders are still in detention. At least one person has been charged for furthering the aims of Cosas as a banned organisation.

**The recognition of democratically elected SRCs.**

These have been established in some schools, especially in the Reef.

But in other areas, notably the homelands and other rural areas, headmasters have made it impossible for pupils to hold meetings where SRCs would be elected.

Police have also been allegedly attending pupils' meetings, and in Welkom the entire SRC has been questioned by the police.

"There are also reports of intimidation and harassment of SRC leaders, especially in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Witbank," a Transvaal Student Congress (Trasco) representative said.

**Parents should not serve on statutory parents' committees at schools.**

Although Parent-Teacher Associations have been set up in many parts of the country, there are still areas where the authorities refuse to negotiate with these bodies.

Last week, in a circular to parents in the far-Western Transvaal, the DET said it could only negotiate with school committees for the reopening of schools.

However the communities rejected these committees as "puppet" bodies and demanded the DET negotiate with "progressive structures".

**The non-payment of school fees.**

The DET officially announced that school fees are not compulsory, but some headmasters have demanded that pupils pay school fees before being admitted.

In Tembisa recently the local education crisis committee was allegedly told by the police to disband because members were telling parents not to pay school fees which some headmasters in the area were demanding.

**The provision of free textbooks and other educational materials for students in all schools.**

Although the DET has supplied some free textbooks to a few schools, most schools will have to wait until next year for their supply.

In Cape Town pupils and teachers have criticised the free stationery provided by the DET, saying the books were of an inferior quality and would last no longer than a week.

**The abolition of corporal punishment in all schools.**

Two weeks ago, in the Eastern Transvaal town of Lydenburg, pupils went on the rampage, destroying school property in protest against excessive forms of corporal punishment.

**Prevention of sexual harassment of female students.**

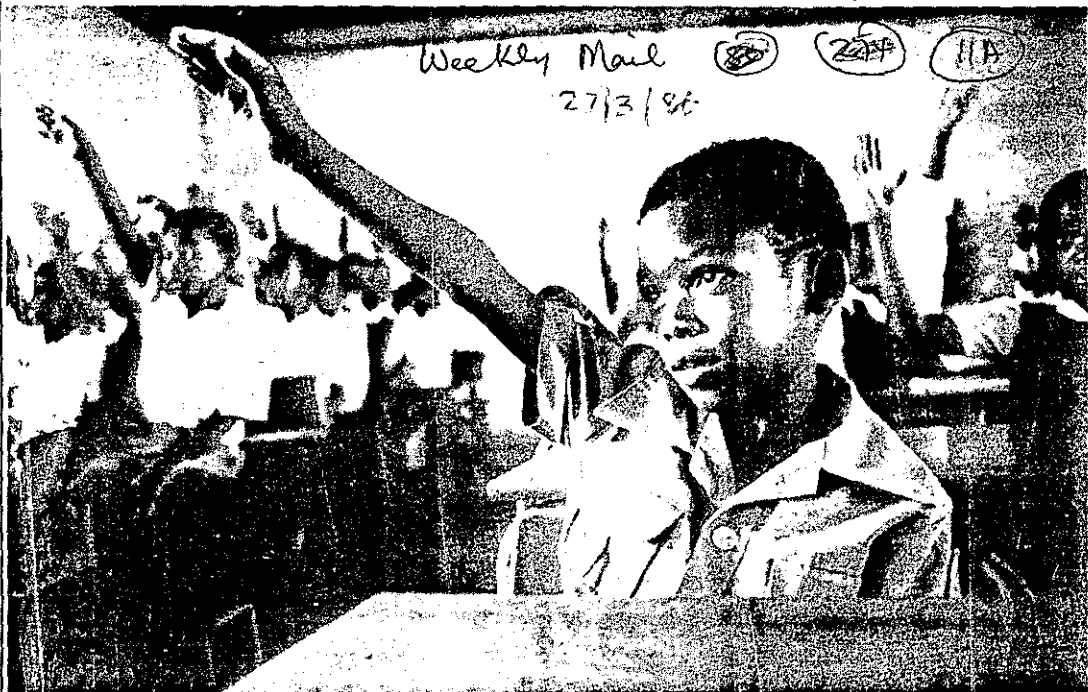
It still remains to be seen how this will be curbed. Progress has not been made on this issue.

Last week the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Sam de Beer, told a regional education conference in Durban that all the demands of black pupils, "as voiced by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee" (the forerunner of the NECC) have been met.

He told the conference that he had no say on the presence of troops in the townships.

"This is passing the buck. The presence of troops in the townships altogether changes the tone of life in the township and this has an effect on the pupils," Potenza said.

A member of the SPCC, Eric Molobi, recently told a gathering of teachers at the University of the Witwatersrand that the government's response to the demand of the people was not only "inadequate but almost callous".



The vanished past? Attentive children listen to the gospels of Bantu Education  
 Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix



The stalemate present: thousands

## Arousing the parents from passivity

By MIKE LOEWE,  
 Port Elizabeth

BLACK parents in the East Cape are being roused from passivity to take a more active role in their children's education.

Moves are being made to close the gap between the stereotyped young rebel streetfighter and the confused, conservative parent.

Parents who have been unable to relate to children who came home each night from street battles with the police and army, are now beginning to have greater say over their education. Before the implementation of people's education they had left this entirely to the authority of the Department of Education and Training.

Bearing testimony to the need for narrowing the parent-child gap is Zwideme cemetery, with its row upon row of young people's graves. Two weeks ago, it was Thanduxolo Mbete's turn to be buried in Heroes' Acre. The ex-New Brighton schoolboy returned from exile, armed with an AK-47. Township residents say he was killed in a five-hour battle with police. They also speak of "at least" four unpublicised police deaths.

The activation of the parents has been attributed to pressure brought to bear on them and their children by hundreds of street and area committees (the basic unit of people's power), to unite around the People's Education Programme.

The committees have also been pushing for the formation of Parent/Teacher/Student Associations (PTSAs), which are to be led by the Crisis in Education Committee (CIEC). This committee consists of members of civic, trade union, teacher, and student groups.

Evidence of the strides made towards closing the generation gap was shown on January 7 this year, when, after nearly 16 months of school boycotts and street battles, parents decided to call the young people off the streets and send them back to school.

This meeting was attended by 30 000 parents and children in the stands had to give up their seats to

adults.  
 In January, 1985 a mere handful of parents had attended an education meeting at which about 5 000 schoolchildren resolved not to return to class because of the "gutter education" and the detention of 11 Cosas leaders.

Since then eight of the Cosas leaders have fled into exile. Three are in jail. Parents say they have not heard from those in exile and do not know if they are still alive.

However, parents of leaders such as Vuyani Vena, and Brenda Badela are not alone in their concern for their children. Last year a source from Lesotho told me that more than 300 children from the East Cape were passing through each

month on their way into exile.  
 The Department of Education and Training's reaction to the growth of people's education has been to shut down schools. On March 12, the Cape DET director, Bill Staude, closed three schools. In a statement he said there had been "interference by certain outside organisations and ... attempts on the part of unofficial 'school committees' of pupils to subsume the authority of principals".

Next day, March 13, 57 000 pupils boycotted 66 Port Elizabeth schools. But after a mass meeting of parents they went back.

CIEC secretary general, Ihron Rensburg said he believed Staude's statement was intended to refer to the CIEC. He rejected the allegations as "utter nonsense" and said that during a recent meeting, Staude had "complimented us on the responsible nature of our approach".

### THE COOL HEAD AT THE CENTRE OF THE CRISIS

Sefako Nyaka inte

IF any one man can take credit for trying to solve the education crisis in the country, it is the Reverend Molefe Tsele.

As PRO of the National Education Crisis Committee, Tsele has played a pivotal role in co-ordinating the efforts of education crisis committees throughout the country.

In plush offices overlooking the busy traffic of Plein Street, Johannesburg, Tsele carefully plans every minute of his working day.

The phone never stopped ringing as we talked this week.

"There is a very serious crisis that arises from a variety of factors which extend beyond the education arena.

"The causes of the education crisis are complex. The government has addressed itself to specific grievances like the supply of free text books and stationery, the abolition of corporal punishment, the age limit and others.

"But the problem lies with the whole apartheid

system and if one considers that despite the fact that the government had shown a willingness to resolve the crisis it has, in all fairness, not even begun resolving those grievances that are inherent in the education structure."

The appointment of some Africans to positions within the DET and the homeland education departments does not change anything.

"All they are doing is to change the administration but retain the same segregated departments."

Does he agree with Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Training, who recently told an education conference in Durban that all the grievances of the Wits conference have been met?

"There is a partial satisfaction of our demands. The supply of books and other stationery has been insufficient.

"By admitting that the DET will only be in a position to supply free prescribed books next year, it is admitting failure," Tsele said.

The enforcement of school fees might mean some headmasters are acting out of line with the official DET position.

But he does not agree that the DET has no say in getting the troops out of the townships.

He also believes that the DET can do something about the detention of SRC members.

"What makes the education crisis more complex is the new phenomenon of conflict against the education departments of self-governing states.

"Whereas we are negotiating with the Department of Education and Training to solve the problem, people in Lebowa and other homelands are harassed by an 'Education Minister' whom we cannot even attempt to put on the same pedestal as the people in DET."

Tsele said whereas De Beer acknowledges the necessity of talking to the NECC, the men in Gazankulu and Lebowa have adopted a "don't care" attitude.

While the DET has agreed to meet the demands

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Weekly Mail

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Five children listen to the gospels of Bantu Education

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

## Parents from passivity

By MIKE LOEWE,  
Port Elizabeth

In January, 1985 a mere handful of parents had an education meeting at which about 100 schoolchildren resolved not to return to school because of the "gutter education" and the actions of 11 Cosas leaders. Then eight of the Cosas leaders have fled. Three are in jail. Parents say they have fled from those in exile and do not know if they are still alive. However, parents of leaders such as Vuyani and Brenda Badela are not alone in their search for their children. Last year a source in Port Elizabeth told me that more than 300 children in the East Cape were passing through each

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The stalemate present: thousands of children roam the streets

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

## COOL HEAD AT THE CENTRE OF THE CRISIS

## Sefako Nyaka interviews MOLEFE TSELE

No one man can take credit for trying to solve the education crisis in the country, it is the work of Molefe Tsele.

PRO of the National Education Crisis Committee, Tsele has played a pivotal role in co-ordinating the efforts of education crisis committees throughout the country.

His offices overlooking the busy traffic of the Johannesburg street, Tsele carefully plans every minute of his working day.

His phone never stopped ringing as we talked for an hour.

The crisis is a very serious crisis that arises from a number of factors which extend beyond the school arena.

The causes of the education crisis are complex. The government has addressed itself to specific areas like the supply of free text books and the abolition of corporal punishment, but the problem lies with the whole apartheid

system and if one considers that despite the fact that the government had shown a willingness to resolve the crisis it has, in all fairness, not even begun resolving those grievances that are inherent in the education structure."

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"Whereas we are negotiating with the Department of Education and Training to solve the problem, people in Lebowa and other homelands are harassed by an 'Education Minister' whom we cannot even attempt to put on the same pedestal as the people in DET."

Tsele said whereas De Beer acknowledges the necessity of talking to the NECC, the men in Gazankulu and Lebowa have adopted a "don't care" attitude.

While the DET has agreed to meet the demands

of the people, the "homeland" governments have gone on a brutal campaign to crush SRCs and to demand school funds, he said.

The only way to solve the education problem will be to do away with compartmentalised education — to have one education system for all.

What about the likelihood of a possible national stayaway if the government does not meet the demands of the people?

"It is possible that when we reach the conference on Saturday people may say 'We are no longer interested in a stayaway, but are now looking at more drastic measures.'"

"But we still consider a stayaway as the most effective method in terms of loss of human lives and length of time," he said.

The NECC will however not shy away from more drastic measures, he added.

Tsele also does not rule out the possibility of students going back to classes and taking up the struggle from there.

X

# Black education's E

WHETHER black pupils throughout the country return to class after the Easter recess depends on the outcome of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference this weekend at the University of Natal in Durban.

So vital is this conference that Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has warned that should the government decide to ban the meeting, there is a real possibility all black education in South Africa will close down.

"And if the trade unions are sympathetic we can predict what will happen," he says.

The conference comes at a crucial time, when the strife which has been tearing the townships

apart is spreading to rural areas.

It follows a similar, smaller conference held late last year at the University of the Witwatersrand.

When the Wits conference was called, thousands of pupils were roaming the streets, boycotting classes and examinations. Scores of schools had been razed to the ground.

The Wits conference formulated a set of demands in a bid to solve the country's education crisis. (See accompanying story.)

"The Durban conference is aimed at bringing together all the people of South Africa to assess the degree to which the demands of the Wits conference have been implemented," NECC executive member Vusi Khanyile told a press

conference last week.

He said after obtaining a "clear picture of the situation" the conference will determine a national response.

If it comes up with an effective solution, the pupils will return to school.

If it doesn't, the boycott — and its devastating ramifications — will continue.

More than 1 000 delegates are expected to attend, drawn from student, parent and educational organisations as well as some of the larger unions and political groups, including the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Council of Unions of South Africa.

**The weekend of reckoning for conference in Durban, to be delegates, will decide whether school ... or carry on boycotting.**

Over 500 observers from a wide range of the community, youth, women's and resource Trans. organisations will also attend.

NECC executive member, Reverend Molefe Edu Tsele, says the educational crisis has gripped the virtual Northern Transvaal and the homeland of Lebowa, officia

the teachers



EDUCATION CRISIS

# Easter of reckoning

ing for schools is at hand. A  
to be attended by over 1 000  
whether pupils should go back to  
otting. SEFAKO NYAKA reports

of the far-Western Transvaal and the Eastern  
nce" Transvaal, including KaNgwane.

Not that student strife has eased in the townships.  
lefe Education in the Western and Eastern Cape has  
the: virtually ground to a halt, with "intransigent"  
wa, officials dragging their feet over the rebuilding of

schools, the supply of textbooks and the  
recognition of democratic Student Representative  
Councils.

"Nationwide there is evidence that the education  
crisis is far worse than it was before the Wits  
conference," Molefe concedes.

He says although the government, by lifting the  
State of Emergency, was trying to give the  
impression the situation was under control, events  
indicate otherwise.

The keynote address at the conference, says  
Tsele, will be "the type of address that most South  
Africans are waiting for, hoping that it will offer  
them hope in light of the crisis that they are in".

Although Tsele would neither confirm nor deny

that a written speech from jailed ANC leader  
Nelson Mandela will be read at the conference, he  
admitted that early this week some members of the  
NECC were engaged in efforts to talk to Mandela.

This does not suggest Mandela's speech will be  
the main one at the conference, but it also does not  
rule out that possibility.

"I cannot now say whether efforts to talk to  
Mandela have anything to do with who the speaker  
will be," he said.

He told Weekly Mail the speaker will be  
announced only on the eve of the conference and  
admitted one of the reasons is that "the state might  
interfere with the speaker or the conference.

Tsele said the address will be one that will

reflect the crisis as seen by those who are most  
affected by it.

"It will be an address that will forecast what is to  
happen and will invariably shape the conference."

The conference opens on Saturday evening and  
the press and observers will only be allowed in  
when the keynote address is delivered.

"Thereafter the sessions will be closed and  
observers will again be called in when we close the  
conference on Sunday," Tsele said.

The Committee of Concerned Women has sent  
telegrams to the Ministers of Law and Order and  
Education and Training and to the Commissioner  
of Police, asking that the NECC be offered every  
facility.

THE

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# WEEKLY MAIL

Volume 2, Number 12. THURSDAY MARCH 27 to THURSDAY APRIL 3, 1986

THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

**THE BILL THAT LETS PW DO AS HE PLEASURES**  
A little-noticed Bill gives the State President the right to override minimum wage and health rules  
See PAGE 6

# Mandela key to school peace

WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/86 (11A)

## WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

THE outcome of this weekend's crucial conference on education — which will determine the future of black schooling in South Africa — may depend on a man who cannot even be present: Nelson Mandela.

Members of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), organisers of the conference, were this week engaged in attempts to speak to Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison. It is believed that the jailed ANC leader may send a message that will become the keynote address at the conference.

But late yesterday the conference was at risk, following an 11th-hour decision by Natal University (Durban) not to allow the use of its facilities.

Organisers were still searching for other venues. They had tried — unsuccessfully — Springfield College, Natal University

(Pietermaritzburg), and the University of Durban-Westville.

They were still telling delegates to travel to Durban, but feared the meeting may have to be postponed.

The Natal University withdrawal of its facilities — a severe blow to the NECC — follows two devastating fires on campus last Friday.

University authorities said they regretted their decision.

They have publicly expressed their concern at the racial tension on campus sparked by the fires, and this was one reason they cited for barring the conference from campus.

It was felt that so blatantly "political" a meeting could fuel further hostility or even incidents at the university.

Vice-Principal Colin Webb also told the organisers that campus security would not be

## THE EASTER OF RECKONING

See PAGE 12

able to cope with the conference.

The conference is the most important gathering in South Africa in many months. It will assess whether the demands made at a conference at the University of the Witwatersrand last November have been met.

If they have not, it will decide whether to proceed with the threat of a national black schools boycott.

For the first time ever, the future of black education will be decided by black parents and pupils, rather than by the state.

About 1 200 delegates and over 500 observers from a wide range of youth, community, women's, political, trade union, educational and resource organisations are expected to take part.

NECC organisers this week would not confirm or deny that a written speech from Mandela would be read at the conference. "I cannot say whether efforts to talk to Mandela have anything to do with who the speaker will be," the Reverend Molefe Tsele, the NECC PRO, said this week.

The speakers will be announced in Durban tonight.

The Minister of Education and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, yesterday made an evc-of-conference statement saying that it was time for parents to note their children were being misused and sacrificed for political purposes.

Viljoen said all educational demands had been addressed, but it was disconcerting that many of the facts about demands were being misrepresented to "ferment unrest and disruption at the schools".

● Turn to PAGE 3

WEEKLY MAIL 27/3/85  
**Full-house yes to Nusas**

By RUTH BECKER

TEN thousand students have voted in favour of the National Union of SA Students' proposed visit to the African National Congress in Lusaka.

Three more campuses voted approval this week, following majority backing from Cape Town and Wits students last week.

Yesterday students at the University of Natal (Durban) and Rhodes University gave majority support to the suggested talks.

The decision by 1 200 Rhodes students is particularly significant as the campus is not affiliated to Nusas. The meeting was organised by the Nusas local committee to canvass campus opinion on the Rhodes Student Representative Council joining the Nusas delegation.

On Monday at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg there were 34 abstentions and 82 votes against the motion, out of an assembly of 1 200 students.

Together with Cape Town and Wits this totals 10 000 students from the English-speaking universities who support the campaign launched just over two weeks ago.

The Stellenbosch Nusas local committee has lent its support to the visit.

The second phase of the campaign is to collect questions students would ask of the ANC.

A Nusas representative said questions gathered at the universities of Cape Town and Wits so far centred on the future of the country if the ANC came to power.

107  
Education in balance  
WEEKLY FROM PAGE 11

Effective and responsible sharing of political power required educated and skilled people with high moral and Christian values, Viljoen said.

No country could be governed by illiterates and his department was doing everything possible to improve education in the interests of every child, he said.

Meanwhile, Natal University was sharply criticised for its change of mind. Billy Ramokgopa, the president of the Azanian Students Organisation, said the "so-called liberal university has let down students after its fine words about supporting nonracial and democratic education".

# Winnie gives Brandfort a belated Christmas

By Rich Mkhondo

Christmas came late for residents of Brandfort's black township. Chanting, marching and stomping, they cried for more when Mrs Winnie Mandela dished out food parcels yesterday.

It was Mrs Mandela's first visit to the small, remote Free State township — to which she was banished in 1977 — since she left there last August after her house and the adjacent clinic were firebombed.

The parcels she distributed were donated by Operation Hunger and the German Embassy.

Amid jubilation, ululations and cries for "one more bag, Mummy", she handed out parcels containing six cups of maize meal, tea, coffee, rolled oats, soaps and mixed vegetables. Clothing, curtains, napkins and toys for the creche were also distributed.

Leading up to the clinic, which has been rebuilt, was a queue of frail residents waiting to see a doctor who came to the township with Mrs Mandela.

Elderly people spoke of poverty and hunger in the area and said Mrs Mandela had "rescued them for some days".

## DEHUMANISED, HUMILIATED COMMUNITY

Mr James Matomela (87) said: "Six cups of maize meal is too little for any family. But for the poverty-stricken, dehumanised and humiliated community of Brandfort, it is enough.

"In other communities, one could select the families which really need help. In Brandfort, we all need help.

"I and my wife depend on a joint bi-monthly pension benefit of R102. We pay R41 for rent and service charges and live on R61 for two months."

A resident who asked not to be named, said: "In the middle of a wealthy State, here we are receiving food from Operation Hunger. Unless there is housing, work and food for everybody in a wealthy country like ours, the reforms the Government is talking about are a gigantic fraud".

Representatives from the German Embassy added 22 bags of maize meal and bananas.

Mr Fritz Fiefer of the embassy said: "One of our ambassadors was the first to donate supplies when Mrs Mandela was banished here nine years ago.

"When he returned to Germany, he collected toys for Winnie's creche. We are here today to give them away."

As Mrs Mandela left Brandfort, the people formed a guard of honour.



Mrs Winnie Mandela hands out food to youths in Brandfort yesterday.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

## 'Public not to blame for lack of road funds'

Transport Reporter

It was absurd for the Government to complain that road users did not pay their share towards road infrastructure costs when it spent only a small proportion of road users' payments on roads.

This statement was made by Mr Phil Erasmus, the past chairman of the Public Carriers Association, in the latest issue of the Southern African Bitumen and Tar Association (SABTA) newsletter.

Mr Erasmus said the problem of funding road construction and maintenance lay with the allocation of funds — not their availability.

He said only 16 percent of the payments made by road users were dedicated to expenditure on roads.

Mr Erasmus also said the need for road maintenance was growing.

"The more kilometres of new roads that are built, and the older the roads get, the greater becomes the amount of maintenance needed."

## Japan funds black students

Japan has established a R1 million scholarship fund for black students studying in South Africa.

The Japanese Consulate said the fund, which was formed on February 3, had already allocated R9 000 each to two students who would be studying at local universities this year.

Japan, which donated R400 000 to the United Nations Education and Training Planning for Southern Africa last year, said it would this year contribute R600 000 to the fund.

# check Checkers

# De Jonge diary read published in Holland

The Star's Foreign News Service

AMSTERDAM — Newspapers here have published parts of a diary said to have been written by 48-year-old Dutch anthropologist Mr Klaas de Jonge, who has been sheltering in the old Dutch Embassy offices in Pretoria for many months.

The extracts, part of which were also read out yesterday on the Socialist Broadcasting Corporation VARA, were sent to Mr de Jonge's relatives in Holland.

Mr de Jonge wrote that his morale was still undented "because I have the feeling I am supporting the good side".

He said although the South African Police used many tricks to put him under heavy mental pressure, he was never tortured during his 26-day detention in John Vorster Square security police headquarters in Johannesburg last year.

In extracts read out on a VARA programme, Mr de Jonge said the security policemen had put him under pressure by telling lies about the fate of his daughter Brigitte and his ex-wife Helene Passtoors.

Of his situation in the Embassy, he said: "To my great joy I keep an estimated 30 policemen busy on a round-the-clock scheme."

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Major Steve van Rooyen, today said: "The SAP deny anybody in detention is tortured in any way whatsoever — whether mental or physical."

# Gas research to cost R21-m

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Viability studies in the sea and seismic surveys — the next phase of the Mossel Bay gas extraction and conversion project — will cost R21,3 million this year, says Mr D R Vorster, chairman of the Central Energy Fund.

Mr Vorster said several contractors had been invited to make offers for the concept design and the project management of the development at sea.

He said EMSO (Pty) Ltd, a member of the Murray and Roberts Group, had now been invited to open final negotiations with Soekor with a view to signing a contract.

It would take a year to collect data on design and the most economic development possibilities, he added.

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# Concern over black boycott of UK talks

LONDON — The reasons for the black boycott of the Wilton Park conference on "South Africa in Crisis" are being urgently studied to see whether this means that future high-level discussions between whites and blacks on SA's future must now be ruled out.

The conference was cancelled on Sunday when the participants assembled at Wiston House in Sussex.

But organiser Geoffrey Denton invited participants to remain for informal talks on the agenda and they accepted.

The discussions were very successful, according to several participants. One described them as "first rate", while another said they were on "a very high level".

Among subjects discussed were the future of SA ethnic minorities, the regional situation, violence and cleavages within black and white groups.

Former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert gave an overview of white politics in South Africa.

Among other speakers whose contributions were described as "excellent" were Wijs academic and ANC expert Tom Lodge, Professor Hermann Giliomee and Professor Herbert Adam.

During the discussion on the Reagan administration's policy of constructive engagement, it emerged that the policy was in suspension, if not actually dead, and that the administration was considering whether to regard SA as a "regional write-off". Some participants found this discussion "chilling".



● LODGE



● SLABBERT

STANLEY UYS

The reasons for the black boycott of the conference are still confused.

The ANC and the UDF boycotted the conference, as did other black leaders, like Soweto Civic Association chairman Nthato Motlana.

The only prominent black to attend the conference was KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister and Inkatha secretary-general Oscar Dhlomo.

The SA government was not invited and rumours that at least one Nationalist MP, Stoffel van der Merwe (Helderkruin), would attend, turned out to be inaccurate.

The two principal actors on the South African stage, therefore — the government and the black radical movement — were absent from the conference.

Many participants saw this as ominous. It raised the question, they said, whether high-level talks would ever be possible in SA if they were not possible in the neutral setting of an English manor house.

NEW FEATURE: BOOK SERIALISATIONS

# A child named 'trouble'

Maybe Nelson Mandela's parents had a premonition when they chose to name their son 'Rolihlahla'. The meaning of the name, appropriate to the man who haunts our politics from behind bars, is 'stirring up trouble'. A new book on Mandela has been published in Britain, to considerable acclaim. Despite its interest to South Africans, it will not be released here. In the first of what we hope to be a regular series featuring important works on South Africa, we publish extracts from the book, by MARY BENSON

NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA spent his childhood in a fertile valley among the rolling hills of the Transkei. In that setting Mandela's love for his country and for his people took root.

He was born on 18 July 1918 at Qunu near Umtata, the capital village of the Transkei "reserve". As one of the royal family of the Thembu, his upbringing was traditional and a sense of responsibility was bred in him.

His father, Henry Mgadla Mandela, was chief councillor to their relative, the Paramount Chief of the Thembu, and with him had joined the South African Army to fight the Germans in South-West Africa during the First World War. Henry Mandela also sat on the Transkeian Territories General Council, known as the Bunga — a body of Africans and Europeans which advised the Pretoria government on local matters.

A polygamist, Mandela had four wives. Nelson's mother, Nonqaphi (commonly known as Nosekeni), was a woman of strong character and dignity. Neither parent had been educated in the western sense but the naming of their son reflected a certain colonial influence — the name of a close relative, Kaiser Matanzima, was another example of this passing fashion.

Nelson's Xhosa name, Rolihlahla, means "stirring up trouble".

Life in their kraal at Qunu was sheltered, and Nelson and his older sisters fulfilled certain duties

such as herding cattle, tending the sheep or — in his case — helping with the ploughing.

But he longed for an adventurous life; at night he listened fascinated to the tribal elders, bearded old men gathered around a huge open fire, telling of the "good old days, before the arrival of the white man". He liked to recall those occasions, which he saw as the background to his political development:

"Then our people lived peacefully, under the democratic rule of their kings and councillors, and moved freely and confidently up and down the country without let or hindrance. Then the country was ours ...

"We occupied the land, the forests, the rivers; we extracted the mineral wealth beneath the soil and all the riches of this beautiful country. We set up and operated our own government, we controlled our own armies and we organized our own trade and commerce.

"The elders would tell tales about the wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland, as well as the acts of valour performed by generals and soldiers during those epic days. The names of Dingane and Bambata among the Zulus, of Hintsa, Makana, Ndlambe of the AmaXhosa, and Sekukhuni and others in the north, were mentioned as the pride and glory of the entire African nation."

Attending a mission school, Nelson was



Eddie Daniels, for 15 years a prisoner alongside Nelson Mandela, describes "Mandela, the man I knew".

Picture by DAVE HARTMAN

introduced to another world and it was a shock to find the history books recognised only white heroes, describing blacks as savages and cattle thieves, and referring to the wars between the AmaXhosa and the British as the "Kaffir" Wars.

His sister Mabel, many years later, remembered his having to wear his father's cast-off clothes, with sleeves and trouser legs shortened; he did not care that he was a laughing-stock, he was so keen to learn.

In 1930 Henry Mandela became very ill. Realising he was dying, he sent for the Paramount Chief and presented his son, saying, "I am giving you this servant, Rolihlahla. This is my only son. I can say from the way he speaks to his sisters and

friends that his inclination is to help the nation. I want you to make him what you would like him to be; give him education, he will follow you example." Mabel, who was present, heard the Chief give his assurance.

Aged 12, Nelson became the ward of David Dalindyebo and after his father's death went to live at the Chief's Great Place, Mqokezweni.

"The Chief bought him clothes and my brother became a human being," Mabel recalled.

At sixteen Nelson was ready for circumcision spending several weeks in the mountains with young men of his age group, their faces white-painted, their bodies grass-skirted, as tribal elders led them through the ritual initiation and

## MY 15 YEARS ON THE ISLAND WITH MANDELA

EDDIE DANIELS, a former member of the Liberal Party and the African Resistance Movement, spent 15 years on Robben Island after his conviction for sabotage in the mid-1960s. He spoke to a local UDF branch in Cape Town about Nelson Mandela, the man he knew:

I spent my full 15 years with Nelson from the very first day until the last when I was taken to Pollsmoor and discharged. Nelson is a tremendous figure, an inspiration. He is everything that is noble and good. How do you describe a person who, when you are at rock bottom, is a shining example of how to behave in adversity, who by his walk would inspire you, by his touch would inspire you, by his little talks would inspire you.

I joined Nelson in a special section of the prison. It was a bit rough. The food wasn't up to much. We slept on a cement floor, with three blankets that were very thin. If I held my blanket up I could see through it. The setting was quite grim. The aim of the authorities was to destroy our morale by giving us very poor food, very thin blankets and poor clothing. When one is very, very cold one does feel a bit demoralised.

All the political prisoners at that time were allowed one visit and one letter every six months. Strange as it may seem, even though we were allowed only one letter every six months, sometimes those letters were accidentally "lost" and our families might get a

permit too late, so you might not get a visit or a letter for a full year. Times have changed, because the political prisoners fought very hard and we succeeded in bringing about changes in the prison.

In this rather grim setting a man like Nelson stood out like a shining star. There were other leaders of other political organisations, I was a member of the Liberal Party, (and) the only member of the African Resistance Movement in prison, and there were other organisations, (including) the PAC and the Unity movement. With due respect to all of them, the leadership of the ANC, namely Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, was really in a class of its own.

There were occasions when we went on hunger strike, when we used to challenge the authorities for some reason or other, and the warders would always come to Nelson and challenge him (asking) why this was taking place. Nelson would always have to face the thrust of the authorities, and he always carried himself with dignity, no matter what the situation was like.

It is said by the government that Nelson is a terrorist. He is no terrorist. He is a kind, honest, humble and peace-loving man. Nelson is a family man. He has been pushed into this position and, being a man of calibre, he has accepted it. He is prepared to carry out what he considers to be his duty. Nelson will never give undertakings that will demean him. If Nelson gives an undertaking he will honour it. He is

Eddie Daniels spent 15 years on Robben Island for sabotage. He spoke at a recent UDF meeting in Cape Town about Mandela, the man he knew

that type of a person. Nobody in the government can compare to him.

Nelson, like me, was pushed over the edge by the cruel laws of the land.

We have two people in this country, Chief Albert Luthuli and Bishop Tutu, who have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Chief Luthuli, in his book "Let My People Go", said after 35 years of knocking on closed doors, pleading for the people: "The doors have still not opened."

Bishop Tutu last week went to see the government after the trouble in Alexandra Township, pleading with the cruel people who make these cruel laws, asking them for mercy. Nelson felt he could not take that road. Nelson founded Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The government talks about negotiations with the ANC. Negotiations have been going on a long time. Jimmy Kruger came to see Nelson on the island. Le Grange came to see Nelson on the island. Brigadier Aucamp was actually a political appointment by the government as a go-between the ANC and Pretoria.

When we used to face the Prison Board they would often ask us political questions and the ANC made the point that we are not prepared to discuss political matters with them. Under the leadership of Mandela, we said: "Send your

political representatives to us and we will talk to them. We will only discuss prison matters with you."

Here is another example which shows you the kind of man that Mandela is. I had a diary in which I had noted the names of warders involved in assaults and their victims. The warders captured it in a raid. We had a very bad officer in command at that time. The police were putting people in straitjackets, beating people and jumping on them. I was next in line and I was quite frightened. I found it very difficult to sleep that night and the next morning I was still full of fear. I went into the yard to fetch my plate of porridge and when I came back Nelson was sitting in my cell. I got such a thrill seeing him sitting there and then he said to me: "Eddie, you just go ahead and face them the way you want to face them." Nelson was an inspiration.

And another small point will give more insight into Nelson: there is a shrine on Robben Island for a political prisoner who died there many years ago. Nelson got the permission of the commanding officer for us to go and pay our respects. When we went to the shrine, under guard, someone walked in wearing his shoes. Nelson said, "Please let us respect this shrine", and so we all removed our shoes and paid our respects and went back with a bit of inner peace.

Nelson was very good at negotiations and everybody, including the warders and the



## COMMENT FROM THE PRISONS SERVICES

ASKED yesterday to comment on the report, Lt-Col A van Vuuren of the SA Prisons Services' liaison office said:

"The South African Prisons Services is satisfied that all categories of prisoners who are entrusted to its care are cared for in a responsible and professional manner. There is sufficient proof that the standard of physical care of prisoners is high.

"Because the prisons service is a dynamic institution, its policy is continually re-evaluated in terms of the total environment in which it functions in order that the standards remain high and can be adapted to changing circumstances. Apart from internal measures to combat irregularities and maltreatment of prisoners, judges from the Supreme Court of South Africa also make a valuable contribution in this regard by visiting prisons.

"It is accepted that all people, whether or not they are prisoners, have good qualities. When evaluating the article it should be borne in mind that the said prisoner was found guilty of serious crimes which could have led to the loss of many lives.

"Ex-prisoners often subjectively relate their experiences as if they are facts but which they cannot substantiate.

"Moreover, ex-prisoners are increasingly becoming part of propaganda campaigns, sometimes subtly, sometimes glaringly, sometimes exaggerated, sometimes diminishing their guilt and severity of crimes. This article by one Daniels must be evaluated against this background."



Archbishop Trevor Huddleston of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and author Mary Benson at the recent London launch of her book on Nelson Mandela.

Picture by ANDRE DE WEY

schooling to prepare them for manhood and for participation in tribal councils.

By this time, Nelson was studying at Clarkebury, a nearby training college.

During the holidays he listened to the Paramount Chief conduct the court to which minor chiefs submitted cases. For Nelson it was a gripping experience: the prosecution followed by the defence, cross-examination of witnesses and, finally, the judgement given by the chief in consultation with his councillors. The youth dreamed of becoming a lawyer, not realizing that he was being groomed for chieftainship.

During the mid-thirties, as Nelson prepared for matriculation at Healdtown, a Methodist high school, politics rather than examinations were uppermost in students' minds: a crisis affecting their people throughout South Africa struck Cape Africans particularly hard.

In 1936, despite an upsurge of united opposition from African political, social, religious and other groups under an All-African Convention, the last door to common citizenship was slammed in their faces. The all-white parliament in Cape Town voted by 169 votes to 11 to remove black voters from the common roll.

Thus the Africans living in the Cape — the only enfranchised blacks in the whole of South Africa — were now disenfranchised and confined to a separate roll to vote for three "native representatives" (all white) and four members of the Senate (all white). They were also to have a Natives' Representative Council and urban boards,

all purely advisory bodies.

And the pass laws were to be applied in the Cape as in the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State. Thirty-six colour bar laws had already been enacted since 1910 — none accepted by the so-called non-European population without protest.

The 1936 "segregation" bills which were passed by Prime Minister Hertzog — an Afrikaner Nationalist — with the support of his old enemy, General Smuts, were described by a former Chief Justice, Sir James Rose-Innes, as having a "full-blooded Fascist flavour".

The country-wide agitation aroused students, and Nelson Mandela's burgeoning nationalism was further stimulated at Fort Hare College, where he began to study for a Bachelor of Arts degree.

A fellow-student who became a close friend of Nelson's was Oliver Tambo, one year older, also from the Transkei but from Bizana in Pondoland, to the north-east of Thembuland.

Son of a peasant farmer, after attending a local Anglican mission school Oliver had proved a brilliant student at St Peter's in Johannesburg — the secondary school set up by the Community of the Resurrection, known as the African Eton. After matriculating with a first-class pass in 1938, he had been awarded a scholarship to Fort Hare by the Transkeian Bunga and was now studying for a degree in science.

Oliver observed that Nelson, although sensitive and quick to react to insult or patronage, was good-natured and popular.

Their friendship was cut short by Nelson's

abrupt departure from the college: as a member of the Students' Representative Council, he had joined a protest boycott after the authorities reduced its powers and was among those suspended.

Returning home to Mqekwezweni, Nelson was ordered by the Paramount Chief to accept the college ultimatum to abandon the boycott so that he could resume his studies.

He would probably have obeyed but an unexpected development saved him from a compromise which could have altered the course of his life. As he later described it: "My guardian felt it was time for me to get married. He loved me very much and looked after me as diligently as my father had.

"But he was no democrat and did not think it worth while to consult me about a wife. He selected a girl, fat and dignified; *lobola* was paid, and arrangements were made for the wedding."

Nelson decided to run away. His rejection of the designated marriage symbolized a deeper rejection, for by this time he was being prepared for chieftainship and he had made up his mind never to rule over an oppressed people. At the age of 22, he set off for Johannesburg.

Travelling by country bus and then by train — in a carriage labelled "non-European" — Mandela headed north through Natal and into the highveld of the Transvaal until yellow-sanded mine dumps marked the outskirts of Egoli, city of gold. He was abruptly thrust into a new world of tall buildings, of fast and confusing traffic, and bustling crowds of all races.

Throughout the city and the spacious white suburbs there was evidence of immense prosperity, but Africans — "natives" — were confined to teeming "locations" and shantytowns. Overcrowded, insanitary, without electricity, tarred roads or telephones, these urban slums were continually raided by police in search of pass and liquor law offenders. Riots were sparked off, family life disintegrated and crime multiplied. For dispossessed Africans these were the facts of life under the colour bar. Mandela's political education had begun.

The first thing was to get a job and the best hope was in the mines. Many years later he recalled those events with amusement: he was taken on at Crown Mines as a policeman with the promise that he would soon be promoted to clerk. Armed with *knobkerrie* and whistle, he guarded the gate to the compound in which black miners were housed. However, within a few days, a representative of the Paramount Chief had tracked him down and again he was on the run.

He found a room in Alexandra. There an acquaintance suggested he should meet "a certain Walter Sisulu", who could be relied on to give useful advice.

Sisulu, several years his senior and also from the Transkei, had had a strict and religious upbringing. He knew exceptionally well what it meant to be classified as a "native": in a mine he had laboured with pick and shovel a mile underground; he had been "kitchen-boy" in a white household; and he had worked in a succession of factories, clashing with his unjust bosses.

Meanwhile he had studied for his Junior

Certificate by correspondence and stayed with his mother, who took in washing for white families.

When Mandela met him, he was running a small estate agency in the city, dealing in such freehold land as still remained accessible to blacks, and he promptly offered the young newcomer a job at £2 a month plus commission.

When Mandela confided his early ambition to study law, Sisulu provided the financial help to enable him to take his BA degree by correspondence course. He also gave Nelson a loan to buy a smart new suit for the graduation ceremony and then introduced him to a firm of white lawyers to whom he could be articled while studying law part-time at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Here Mandela had his first direct encounter with "Europeans", as whites were then called. In the Transkei they had been magistrates, traders and teachers; now he worked for and with them.

On his arrival at the office the senior typist explained, "Look, Nelson, we have no colour bar here. When the teaboy brings the tea, come and get yours from the tray. We have bought two new cups for you and Gaur. You must use them. Tell Gaur. And be careful, he is a bad influence."

Gaur Radebe, a clerk with the firm, a rather lordly little man, was politically radical and when Mandela told him about the new cups, his response was, "You watch and do exactly as I do."

As soon as the tea arrived, Radebe avoided the new cups and deliberately chose one of the old ones. Mandela, who had no wish to quarrel with him or the typist, pretended that he did not drink tea.

Another typist often asked him for work when she had nothing to do. One day while he was dictating to her, a white client came into the office and the girl, obviously embarrassed and wanting to demonstrate that Mandela was not her superior, took taxpayer from her purse and commanded, "Nelson, please go and get me some shampoo from the chemist."

While still a student, he married Evelyn Ntoko Mase, a pretty, soft-spoken nurse at the City Deep Mine Hospital. She generously contributed to his fees.

They set up home in Orlando. Nearby lived Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, also a nurse. And Oliver Tambo had arrived in Johannesburg to teach science and mathematics at St Peter's School. Mandela's part-time course at the University of the Witwatersrand was arduous; besides, he lacked proper study facilities and there were the long train journeys and the 11pm curfew.

He was coming to think of himself as an African nationalist rather than a Thembu, and was attracted to the African National Congress. Walter Sisulu was already a member and encouraged Tambo and Mandela to make a similar commitment to this organization. They were to prove a historic team as they worked with other young people to activate Congress.

● NELSON MANDELA by Mary Benson. First published by Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1986. © Mary Benson, 1986.

NEXT WEEK: Part two — The turbulent 1950's; Mandela rises to the leadership of the ANC; he meets and marries Winnie; Sets up legal practice with Tambo in Johannesburg.

commanding officers, all held him in high esteem. They always greeted him and he is a very courteous person, and always replied.

Nelson is, of course, a nonracialist. After the death of John Harris (a member of the Arm hangar for the 1964 bomb at the Johannesburg station) I had a memorial service in my cell. There was an occasion at around that time when Nelson made a speech in which he mentioned John Harris. He said, "Here is a white man who died fighting apartheid." Nelson would always give credit where credit was due, and he especially made this point because there were a number of organisations present that were largely anti-white. He wanted to press the point home that a person is not judged on the colour of his skin but on what kind of person he is.

(Among the post 1976 political prisoners) there was a strong anti-white element. One day in 1979 this led to fighting in the cells and a number of the ANC people were stabbed and hurt. The authorities arrested some of the other crowd and when the court case came up the ANC had to give evidence against the others. Nelson said he wouldn't give evidence and the whole case was dropped. This shows the bigness and the greatness of Nelson, and the ANC won the respect and even the applause of everyone else in the prison — in this way a lot of what may have been hostility between the young and the old guard or between one organisation and another was actually done away with.

When I was ill one day, lying in my bed pretty helpless, Nelson came into my cell. I remember he had his bowly (chamber pot) under his arm and he bent down and picked up my bowly and said: "Eddie, I will see you later." And he took my bowly to clean it.

Again you see he is a giant of a man, a giant that can walk with beggars and with kings and be at home in any company. And here was I, an insignificant individual and this great man, an international figure, came down to clean my bowly.

There is a joke Nelson tells about himself quite often. When he was a lawyer in Johannesburg he saw a lady, a white lady, trying to park her car. Nelson, being the kind and honest gentleman that he is, came to help her. Eventually she parked the car, and offered him a sixpence. Nelson said, "No, thank you", and she replied, "Well, if you want a shilling, I will give you nothing now." Nelson loved telling jokes about himself.

He is tremendous. The way he walks, the way he talks. When he touches you, he is an inspiration. When one is rock bottom one looks for something to lift you, to warm you, and I often think to myself that Nelson and Walter have this power to lift others.

Mandela's commitment is to his country. He will die for what he believes in. This is the man Mandela who I know, a man who I am proud to have met, a man who inspired me and a man who has won my lasting respect.

# Getting behind all those ANC talk sessions

Is there much more to all the  
peace talks with the ANC  
than wishful thinking?  
HOWARD BARRELL reports

Now a Lusaka  
no to UK talks

By HOWARD BARRELL

TALKING to the African National Congress (ANC) has become such old hat of late that it is possible to miss the considerable significance of the important realignments taking place in South African politics.

The basis of this realignment was stated in the joint communique issued on Friday last week after two days of talks between the 500 000- strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the ANC, and its ally, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The three, said the communique, shared a "common understanding that the Pretoria regime and the ruling class of South Africa are powerless to provide any real and meaningful solutions to (South Africa's) general crisis".

Mere wishful rhetoric?

Hardly. An ability temporarily to crush resistance and manoeuvre around the peripheral features of apartheid — which hitherto is all the government and its more liberal supporters have shown themselves (even potentially) capable of — ~~is not a capacity to solve the crisis.~~

A less direct, reluctant, though implicit understanding of this very incapacity has lain behind all the open (as well as unpublicised) talks which businessmen, politicians and others from the white ruling group have held with the ANC over the past year.

Hence the groping realignment taking place.

The Cosatu-ANC-Sactu communique asserted forthrightly that "lasting solutions can only emerge from the national liberation movement, headed by the ANC, and the entire democratic forces of our country of which Cosatu is an important and integral part".

Many of the ANC's white talking partners have not yet reached so startling a conclusion. Rather, a good deal of their motivation in talking with the ANC has, understandably, been to secure for themselves some determining role in an uncertain future.

The ANC appears aware that it is now walking a very tricky patch of ground indeed as it moves, on the one hand, to build and consolidate under its aegis an alliance and, on the other, to isolate thoroughly the diehard supporters of apartheid

THE African National Congress has turned down an invitation to attend three days of talks in Britain next week which have been labelled a "National Convention" for South Africa.

Only yesterday, South African officials refused to attend the talks if the ANC was involved.

The ANC was invited to the talks along with, among others, the UDF, Inkatha, Azapo, the Progressive Federal Party, the National Party, and government representatives.

The talks, which are due to be held at the Wilton Park Centre in Sussex, are thought to have the backing of the Thatcher government.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said yesterday the outlawed movement was too busy to attend the talks.

"We are not attending these talks due to the fact that we are attending to various serious matters concerning our liberation struggle", he said.

The ANC has laid down strict conditions for a National Convention. The central one is that apartheid must have been completely dismantled before it can be held — if the South African majority conclude at that stage they still want or need a National Convention.

The ANC holds that conditions now differ substantially from those in the 1950s when, in its view, there was still sufficient legality to hold the perspective of a National Convention at which the country's disparate groups and interests could hope to map out a model for a democratic future.

apartheid society.

On the other hand, the "forces for change" comprise those people and organisations (mainly white) beginning to overcome the classical South African liberal dilemma: They denounce apartheid but attempt to steer a middle course between that denunciation and direct identification with, or involvement in, mass mobilisation against apartheid.

These "forces for change" must, in the ANC's view, be weaned away from any residual confidence in the current government and state system, and be drawn into as close an alliance as possible with the primary grouping, the "revolutionary forces".

The dangers for the ANC are substantial.

Can its intention to restructure the economy survive the highly diffuse alliance which now emerges as a possibility for the future? Will its top leadership in exile become so bogged down in endless talks that they hardly have the time to do their "operational" work directed to what they call the "home front"? And there are other similar questions being asked both inside and outside the outlawed movement.

From recent discussions with ANC sources, it seems the ANC envisages a two-tier alignment around itself, based on a distinction between "revolutionary forces" and "forces for change".

The "revolutionary forces" it talks of comprise not only itself, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Sactu, but also, it is clear, a large number of other organisations inside the country.

These forces, in its view, constitute the engine of the current revolt against apartheid. And, importantly, it is these "revolutionary forces" who are the custodians of the political and economic objectives of the new, post-

apartheid atmosphere that the ANC found. Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert's withdrawal from parliamentary politics so hopeful and praiseworthy. Slabbert, in the ANC's view, showed he was probably overcoming the liberal dilemma.

Slabbert's apparent dumping of this dilemma may well also explain why he attracted such vituperation from some liberal commentators.

But Slabbert has yet to show his full hand and to state clearly his political objectives. Is he merely biding his time, to emerge as perhaps the least sullied of white "interlocuteurs valables" with the ANC at some stage in the future who might be able to extract serious compromises to political and economic objectives because of his value? Or might he really cross the liberal's Rubicon?

There is a feeling in the ANC that government intelligence officials may now see some advantage in, ironically, keeping up an endless stream of visitors to the ANC parlour in Lusaka. The motivation may be: Keep key ANC officials tied down in endless talks. For this reason, it may well happen that the ANC designates a special secretariat for the purpose of talks.

DEPOSIT

FORM 20  
FEBRUARY 1974



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# Viljoen: we met bulk of black demands

(11A) (S)

DISPATCH 21/3/86

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN — In a bid to defuse the crisis facing black schools on the eve of the National Education Conference (NEC) this weekend, the government yesterday claimed to have met the bulk of educational and political demands of black pressure groups.

The NEC is to meet from tomorrow to Sunday in Durban under the auspices of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) to decide on whether the boycott of black schools should be resumed.

In a lengthy statement the Minister of National Education and Develop-

ment Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the government had "thoroughly" addressed the demands for educational reform laid down by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC) and the newly formed NECC.

Dr Viljoen said the government was "working purposefully towards equal education opportunities in the shortest possible time," but warned against groupings "abusing education" for political purposes.

However, the PFP has reacted to Dr Viljoen's statement by saying it would "do little to defuse the crisis," the

statement contained "fundamental inaccuracies" and dealt with the symptoms rather than the cause of the problem.

The PFP spokesman on black education, Mr Ken Andrew, said it was "most desirable" that children obtained the best possible education and that this process was not continually disrupted.

"However, it is totally unrealistic to expect schools to function normally when the society in which they operate is in a state of upheaval."

He said it was "hard to believe" that anyone, including Dr Viljoen,

could expect schools would be able to function in a conventional way when black people of all ages were being shot, detained, teargassed, murdered and harassed; hundreds of thousands of school-leavers were unemployed and the authority of the government had broken down in many areas.

Mr Andrew said Dr Viljoen's claim that "the education system in the RSA is based on educational principles accepted throughout the world" was clearly inaccurate. "Nowhere else is skin colour the basic determinant of where to go to school," he said.

FINAL  
**Day of protests** IWA

Meetings to commemorate the Sharpeville killings in 1960, as well as the Langa shootings in 1985, were held at various centres around the country last weekend. Both tragic events occurred on March 21 and, like June 16 1976, are prominently marked on the calendar of black resistance.

Far from simply marking these events, however, some meetings were used to call for further protest action.

There were two calls for work stayaways. At Ratanda, Heidelberg, one was issued to protest against the shooting of a woman and the detention of two community leaders. Alleged vigilante killings of at least three people in the area on Sunday and Monday morning appear to have forced residents heed the call.

In the Vaal Triangle, where the "unrest" ignited in September 1984, the protest call is against the prosecution of rent defaulters. On Monday, however, most workers appeared not to be heeding the call.

In Pretoria, meanwhile, a black consumer boycott of white-owned shops was scheduled to begin on Monday. It was not clear, as the *FM* went to press, just how effective the call was. A Pretoria Chamber of Commerce spokesman said he was aware of the boycott call, but no sign of it was evident on the first day.

**Stayaway**

To commemorate Sharpeville-Langa, blacks in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage last Friday stayed away from work in large numbers. The stayaway and boycott of white-owned businesses were reported to be almost 100% effective. At Uitenhage's Kwa-Nobuhle township an estimated 60 000 people gathered to commemorate the killing by police of 20 people in nearby Langa on March 21 last year.

In Durban and Johannesburg there were demonstrations in the city centres. In Durban, police used quirts to disperse hundreds of people who gathered for a service. And in central Johannesburg about 200 chanting people marched through the streets after attending a service organised by the Azanian People's Organisation. They were chased by police who arrested five people and later

released them.

At the University of the Witwatersrand, about 2 000 students were reported to have boycotted classes and attended a memorial meeting. Some students were alleged to have stoned a police vehicle outside the campus and to have attacked an alleged police informer and a man who commented unfavourably on their actions. After the meetings at Wits, a crowd of students marched into nearby business areas of Braamfontein.

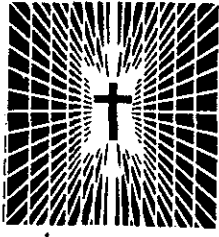
In Cape Town, police broke up a crowd of about 500 pupils who were moving to a commemorative gathering at the University of the Western Cape.

Members of the Sharpeville Youth Congress observed the anniversary by cleaning the graves of the 69 victims of the police shooting in 1960. ■

29/3/76  
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# On wings of song



The northward trek of Zion Christian Church (ZCC) Easter pilgrims has already begun. By Friday it will have become a flood, as the cars and buses, packed with the faithful, cause a

strange traffic jam on the normally quiet road to the ZCC's Rome, Zion City, near Pietersburg in the northern Transvaal.

As the crowd swells at what is otherwise known as Moria City, to hear the words of their leader, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, throughout the country smaller congregations of other Zionist churches will also be meeting on what they consider the most important dates of the Christian calendar.

The ZCC, with more than 2m members, is by far the largest and best known of these churches. But it is only one of an estimated 4 000 African Independent Churches in SA. And while mainstream churches lose members, the independent churches are gaining in popularity. A third of the black population — about 40% of churchgoing blacks — belong to one of these churches: about 8m people, "Zionists" and "Ethiopians."

So far, the churches have kept out of the political limelight.

"Politics is not a church matter," says Archbishop Ndumiso Harry Ngada, spiritual leader of the 9 000-strong United Independent Believers in Christ Church, a Zionist church based on the East Rand with branches scattered throughout the country.

"But our members know the pinch of oppression," adds Ngada. "Our churches may not be powerful institutions that make state-

With 8m members, the "Zionist" and "Ethiopian" churches form a third of SA's black population. Though traditionally conservative, there have been political stirrings — particularly since P W Botha addressed the masses at Zion City last year.

ments to influence the government. But our members are often involved in trade unions and community organisations outside the church."

The churches are popular with new migrants to the cities, who might well be baffled by township politics. But for the churches in the townships the pressure for individual members to get involved is probably strong: individuals, like the Reverend Lord Righteous McCamel, leader of the McCamel Temple in Evaton and a founder of the United Democratic Front (UDF)-affiliated Vaal Civic Association, do. His evidence for the State in the Delmas treason trial actually supported the accused.

In contrast, the ZCC's Bishop Lekganyane has taken an apolitical stance and shuns publicity. But since President P W Botha's controversial visit to Moria City last year, the ZCC's apolitical stand has come under fire within the black community.

The visit by Botha, the first white member of the establishment to be given a platform to speak at Moria, upset many — although not all — members. Some were surprised, and even pleased the "Mkhulu Boss" had taken the time to acknowledge them and their church. But others were angry that he had

made political capital out of the welcome he received, complaining Botha used his visit to demonstrate to the world that he has a black constituency.

Debate over the visit raged in the black press at the time, with one writer suggesting ZCC members should have used their hands for stones instead of clapping. It was pointed out that it was only common courtesy to let him have his say and make him welcome.

Says a member: "Because we listened, it doesn't mean we accept it." Certainly, Botha should have been more cautious before referring to his visit in Rubicon 1, further angering elements of the black community. ZCC members, easily identifiable by their badge — a star — became targets for criticism in the townships.

Ngada says other Independent Churches felt tainted by what Lekganyane had done. Clearly, if the conservative Lekganyane steps into the political arena he can expect to be attacked by other political groups. The idea that his flock will stick with him if he takes over their political as well as their spiritual destiny has yet to be tested.

No official announcement has been made on whether there will be another government guest this year and attempts by the FM to find out evoked the response: "Mind your own business."

(Politics, ironically, was indirectly responsible for the birth of the other broad grouping of independent churches, the Ethiopian movement. These are breakaway churches from the original mission establishments. The first breakaway church was formed 100 years ago by frustrated black pastors who felt thwarted by the colour bar.)

The beginnings of the Zionist churches, a

The masses at Moria, including President Botha and Bishop Lekganyane ... great stirrings



CMH Tuit 28/3/86



# Rivonia trialist to marry in Pollsmoor

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

RIVONIA trialist Raymond Mhlaba, who was sentenced in 1964 to life imprisonment, is getting married in Pollsmoor Prison — and two of his jailed comrades, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, will be witnesses.

The bride is Ms Dideka Heliso, mother of three of his children.

Mhlaba's attorney, Mr Ramesh Vassen, said the ceremony would be at 10am on Saturday, April 5, in the office of the officer commanding the prison.

Mhlaba was moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor in April 1982 with fellow Rivonia trialists, Mr Mandela, Si-

sulu, Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Kathrada. The others — Govan Mbeki and Elias Motsoaledi — are still on Robben Island, while Mr Dennis Goldberg accepted a conditional release last year.

Permission for the marriage, granted subject to "administrative measures", was given by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, in a letter dated February 27, 1986, and sent to Bishop Siggibo Dwane of the Order of Ethiopia Church in Grahamstown.

Mr Coetsee's letter said: "I am pleased to inform you that after thorough consideration

of all the relevant facts I have approved the application for the marriage between Raymond Mhlaba and Miss Dideka Heliso subject to administrative measures."

The Department of Prisons, on whom the "administrative measures" depended, agreed to allow Bishop Dwane to officiate at the ceremony. The parents or guardians of the bride and groom, both of whom are in their 60s, would also be allowed to attend.

Prison authorities told Mr Vassen that a warder would be present but would not wear uniform because they wanted an atmosphere "not of pris-

on". Rings could be exchanged but Mhlaba would have to hand his back. Wedding gifts could be given to him but he could not keep them.

Ms Heliso, who lives in Port Elizabeth, told a Sunday newspaper in 1984 on the occasion of an unsuccessful attempt at marriage by proxy to Mhlaba: "I fell in love with him the first time I saw him.

"I've grown used to our way of love and living alone. If necessary, I can go on like this until the day I die."

Ms Heliso has been visiting Mhlaba regularly but has not been allowed contact visits.

Now that officialdom has approved a marriage, she and the father of her children will be able to touch for the first time in 22 years.

A spokesman for the SA Prisons Service said yesterday: "Prisoners are allowed to get married only in exceptional cases and after prior approval by the Commissioner of Prisons.

"Matters such as applications by individual prisoners to get married are considered as of personal interest to the prisoner and the families involved. It is, therefore, the policy of the Prisons Service not to make information of this nature public."

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Cape Times 28/7/66  
Maputo

# Maputo burial for CP official

Own Correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH.

The family of the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr. Moses Mabhida, 62, who was due to be buried in Maritzburg on Monday, have decided to bury him in Maputo in protest against restrictions imposed on the burial by a magistrate.

Speaking from Maritzburg late yesterday afternoon, Mr Henry Fazzie, vice-president of the Eastern Cape region of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said Mr Mabhida's family had decided to bury him in Maputo, where he died of a heart attack.

Mr Fazzie said that after the Chief Magistrate of Maritzburg, Mr Cecil Dicks, had restricted the funeral to family and close friends and imposed other restrictions, family members decided that he would be buried in Maputo in protest.

## 100 buses

Mr Fazzie said Mr Mabhida's body was still in Maputo where he had lived in exile, and he would be buried there tomorrow.

He said he had contacted community leaders in Port Elizabeth — they were handling arrangements for about 100 buses to ferry mourners from the Eastern Cape to the funeral service — to inform them about the change of venue.

Mr Edgar Ngoyi, president of the Eastern Cape region of the UDF, said he had not heard about the decision by Mr Mabhida's family, but was not surprised. He said many UDF followers, who had planned to travel to Maritzburg for the funeral, would be disappointed to hear about the shift.



CAT Tents 28/3/86



# Rivonia trialist to marry in Pollsmoor

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

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# Impis, 'Parents' clash, two dead

ARGUS 29/3/86 (11A) 276

**Weekend Argus Correspondent**  
DURBAN. — At least two men were killed during clashes between impis allegedly backed by Inkatha and delegates attending the National Consultative Conference on Education.

Members of a Zulu impi, the Amabhutho, wielding guns, assegais, petrol-bombs, rocks and other homemade weapons, were involved in sporadic clashes at several of the conference venues today.

One of the dead was shot while the

other was attacked and set alight. He died in hospital later, according to police and witnesses.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said the Amabhutho impi were Inkatha-backed, according to information in their possession.

A car belonging to a senior member of the National Parents' Crisis Committee (NPCC), Mr Vusi Khanyile, was petrol-bombed and burnt out. Several suffered severe injuries and were hospitalised.

## Attacks began

The NPCC organised the conference and, according to NPCC official Mr Mpho Scott, the attacks began almost as soon as the delegates arrived in Durban.

The NPCC believes the attackers are linked to a political organisation with homeland links "because we recognised some of them".

Two minibuses carrying passengers heavily-armed with "assegais and spears" drove by the conference hall. The hall was then stoned. Two cars, which belonged to delegates, parked outside were also stoned.

● See also Page 6

# Mandela to address education congress?

By Maud Motanyane and Susan Fleming

Imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela could be the keynote "speaker" when one of the most important conferences in the history of black education opens at the University of Natal in Durban tonight.

An application has been made by the National Education Crisis Committee to Mandela's lawyer to have a statement written by Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison read at the opening function. The conference opens at 6 pm and the keynote speaker is still to be named. Whether children would be called on to stay at school should be known by tomorrow night.

## BOYCOTTS

When Department of Education and Training (DET) schools closed for the Easter break last week, class boycotts had affected more than 100 000 pupils from about 1 500 schools. About 600 areas are to attend the conference. Trade unions and political groups will be strongly represented.

The main aim of the conference is to review progress on demands made to the Government at the Wits National Education Conference last year. Pupils resumed classes at the beginning of this year on condition these demands were met by the end of March.

## DEMANDS

- The demands included:
- Release of detained students and teachers.
- Lifting of the state of emergency.
- Withdrawal of the South African Defence Force and police from the townships.
- The unbanning of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

Most of the educational demands — such as the supply of free books — have been partially or fully met. But some of the political demands, such as the unbanning of Cosas, have not. Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Gerrit Viljoen said this week the education demands had been addressed thoroughly. He also pointed out the state of emergency had been lifted, and all people detained under emergency regulations had been released.



Bishop Tutu... one of the many clerics visiting the trialists.

## Judge is told about Lekoa councillors 'takeover'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

It was impossible for the executive committee of the Lekoa Town Council to discuss the virtual takeover of development board liquor outlets by individual council members because there was no quorum left after councillors with a personal stake in the matter had recused themselves.

This admission by Lekoa Council treasurer Mr Hendrik Matthyssen elicited a ripple of laughter on Thursday in the Delmas court, where 22 people face charges of treason, subversion and murder arising from the Vaal rent protests of September 1984.

The distinctive chuckle of Johannesburg's Bishop Tutu was heard above others in this last pre-Easter sitting of the court. He and the Anglican Bishop Suffragan for Johannesburg East, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, were

among the dozen or more clerics who visited the Delmas trialists on Thursday.

The accused have twice been refused bail and have been in custody for periods ranging from 11 to 18 months.

During the morning session Mr Matthyssen was closely cross examined by defence counsel Mr George Bizos, SC, on the budget of the Lekoa Council. According to earlier evidence, it was in an attempt to balance the 1984/5 budget that rents were to be increased by amounts of R5,90 and R5,50 a month, triggering the protests of September 3 1984.

In answer to a question as to why rental on business sites had not been increased despite the fact that there was a shortfall of more than R50 000 on such premises, Mr Matthyssen said businessmen had been through difficult times. He acknowledged

that there were some who had grown rich.

"Can you regard it as just that a man who is jobless, and who has children to support, must have his rent raised to benefit businessmen," Mr Bizos asked.

"It isn't good economic policy," Mr Matthyssen answered. "But the moral position is that there would be more jobless people if those businesses went under."

Noting that R4.1 million was paid by the Lekoa Council to the Orange Vaal Development Board for administration, Mr Bizos asked who had determined the figure.

Mr Matthyssen said this amounted to 15 percent of the income of the council, a rate determined by the development board and accepted by the council. He disagreed with Mr Bizos's suggestion that it was excessive.

But he answered, "That is so," to the comment: "The manner in which the (bud-

get) documents were drawn up would have made it difficult for most councillors to discern that 15 percent was going to the development board."

Mr Bizos said at later stage that two councillors had testified they had been unaware that a R50 electricity deposit had been proposed in the budget. Because their attention had not been drawn to this feature, they "did not even know what they were voting for".

Mr Matthyssen responded that it was impossible for him to comment in his report on every item in the budget. The relevant documents had been circulated to councillors and it was assumed they had read it.

Shortly before Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst adjourned the court, Lekoa town clerk Mr N P Louw took the witness stand. His evidence will be resumed on April 7.

# Vigilantes force young UDF supporters to flee

III  
S 29/3/86

Staff Reporters

About 50 young United Democratic Front supporters and carloads of conservative vigilantes had a fierce struggle in the Eastern Transvaal township of Leandra yesterday.

The UDF supporters were forced to flee after an abortive attempt to return to their homes on Thursday night. They have spent more than two months in

"exile" at Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre on the West Rand.

Journalists who saw the vigilante attack on the Leandra-Springs road were assaulted by two white men — acting in support of the vigilantes — who sprayed teargas into their faces and tore the windscreen wipers from their vehicle.

The "refugees" tried to ward off the vigilantes' onslaught but had to flee into the veld. Some

of them managed to hitch lifts into Springs but most returned to their truck transport which took them to the East Rand.

Star reporter Maud Motanyane said: "The two men approached us reasonably but were incensed when they discovered we were journalists. One of them hurled stones at the car. He clearly wanted us off the scene."

She said foreign newsmen,

who arrived shortly afterwards, were ordered to leave by the men.

The "refugees" had been attacked the previous day as soon as the bus on which they were travelling from Wilgespruit arrived in Leandra.

It was their first visit to Leandra after being driven out by vigilantes who had assassinated Leandra Action Committee leader Chief Ample Mayisa and

mounted a campaign of terror against his supporters.

Mr Thomas Ditshego, a son-in-law of the late Chief Mayisa, was attacked through the window of his car as he drove out to meet the "refugees" on Thursday. His eye was gouged out and he was taken to hospital.

Several bus passengers said they called at police stations at Langverwacht and Leandra to obtain a police escort because they had spotted the vigilantes lying in wait for them.

But the escort left them at the edge of the township. Leandra police said they were unaware of Thursday night's clash and there was no record of a request for protection.

At least 15 "refugees" were unaccounted for after Thursday's clash. The rest of the group went into hiding overnight at the home of an LAC member. Five of them were injured.

And late yesterday afternoon they narrowly missed a confrontation as they raced against time to fill their truck with petrol.

The truck had run out of fuel about 500 m from the edge of Leandra and an emergency supply was brought just seconds before the first shield-bearing, panga-wielding vigilantes appeared in the dusty township streets.

As the young people kept to their hideout during the afternoon, tension was heightened by the presence of 13 armoured vehicles parked on the rise next to the township. The vehicles left without entering Leandra.

By MONO BADELA

ONLY minutes before its bid to evict 426 families from their Langa homes reached the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court this week, the KwaNobuhle town council offered a compromise - if the families move voluntarily they can live in KwaNobuhle rent-free for the rest of their lives. **CMP**

And the "council" - run entirely by Government official Barry Erasmus since the resignation of all councillors last year - has offered to back the upgrading of Langa for its remaining residents.

Langa Co-ordinating Committee spokesman Weza Made - to whom the offer was made - told City Press he had agreed to take the offer back to the community for discussion.

The offer, say residents' lawyers, will fall away if Erasmus wins the eviction application - which went ahead on Tuesday, with dozens of Langa residents crowding the court.

Judge Kroon reserved judgement, saying he would reach give decision as soon as possible - lawyers believe this could be within two weeks.

Members of Planact - the group of town planners, engineers and academics who announced the Langa upgrading plan last week - believe the community will reject Erasmus' offer.

"The main issue in the whole Langa saga is that residents don't want to move at all," says Planact official Mark Swilling.

The plan to evict the people of Langa was announced just a month after last year's police shooting of 21 Langa mourners marching to a funeral in KwaNobuhle.

More than 50 000 people attended last Friday's first anniversary service in KwaNobuhle for the dead. A joint United Democratic Front-Congress of SA Trade Unions stayaway call to mark the day effectively closed Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth for 24 hours.

At the service community leaders defiantly rejected the eviction orders.

Two days earlier, at a Press conference to unveil Planact's upgrading proposals, local UDF leader Stone Sizane warned: "They want to push us into the backyard of our own country and hide us from the world."

"We will not be hidden. We will shout our protests at the top of our voice - and be heard."

Both the Urban Foundation and the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce have expressed their approval of the upgrade proposals and have urged the Government to look into them.

An eviction application brought by the Uitenhage Municipality against 70 other Langa families was also postponed - to April 15 - by Judge Kroon.

He was asked to declare illegal the erection and occupation of any structures in Langa, between 4th and 9th Avenues, an area formerly known as Kabaah, and to order that the families be ejected from the area and to remove their shacks within 10 days.

Judge Kroon had urged the parties to explore all possibilities of compromise.

It was clear, he said, that more than legal issues were at stake.

# LANGA OFFER: RENT-FREE HOMES ... IF YOU MOVE



Part of the 50 000 crowd which flocked to last week's Langa anniversary service.

## 'Looting' costs 8 lives

EIGHT people died this week when cops fired shots to "disperse" a large crowd that stormed a bottle store in Salamntu Street in KwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth.

Eastern Cape police liaison officer Lieut-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen said two men aged 20 and 45 were killed when police tried for two hours to keep the crowd, - some armed with petrol-bombs and stones - from storming the bottle store.

Six other people died in the incident, he said, but did not give details.

Van Rooyen said teargas was fired, a sneeze machine was used and shots were fired.

In Koyana Street, Zwide, a shop belonging to former Ibahyi mayor Tamsanga

Linda was damaged, and a vehicle said to belong to Ibahyi councillor Z H Putu was overturned and set alight by a crowd, said Van Rooyen.

Residents claimed they had been hit by birdshot, but Van Rooyen said cops had only fired teargas at the crowd.

Local newspaper reporters were told by people at the scene that they had been hit by birdshot. Van Rooyen said police had only fired teargas in Koyana Street.

He said the street had been barricaded with burning objects.

Van Rooyen could not confirm whether Linda's shop had been looted, but reporters found groceries lying in the street.

A burning van had also been used to blockade Koyana Street, residents said.

## Sanctions

### The bishop won't joke on April Fool's Day



WILL Bishop Desmond Tutu call for sanctions or won't he?

The Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg - who last year gave the Government a six-month ultimatum to dismantle apartheid - breaks his silence next week over whether he will call for sanctions, writes Tebello Radebe.

"The deadline is due but you will have to wait for what I will say... possibly on 'fools day' (April 1)."

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# Mabhida family fear impi attack

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CITY P.  
30/3/86

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

THE bereaved family of former SA Communist Party leader Moses Mabhida is living in fear of attacks by impis who have "camped" outside their Slangspruit home in Maritzburg.

And the shaken family - who left for Maputo this week to attend Mabhida's memorial service - has asked Progressive Federal Party's Radley Keys to intervene.

Inkatha Urban Representative VV Mvelase -

whose organisation is accused of being behind the impis - this week responded: "As a communist, Mabhida was very unpopular in South Africa and even Government agents can attack his family and hide behind Inkatha's banner."

He admitted that Inkatha had a meeting at Slangspruit earlier this week, but said he was not aware that members went past Mabhida's house afterwards.

Mabhida's daughter, Nokuthula Ndlovu, said three youths were admitted to Edendale Hospital after being abducted by impis on their return from a night vigil at their home.

● Mabhida will be buried on Monday. A service will be held in Maputo on Saturday - where African National Congress, SA Communist Party and SA Congress of Trade Unions leaders will pay their last respects.

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# Ex-PAC guerrilla jailed

A TRAINED Pan-Africanist Congress guerrilla from Sada near Whittlesa was jailed for seven years this week.

Msokoli Mgubasi initially pleaded not guilty - but changed his plea after the prosecution presented a letter he wrote to his mother, Grace Funda, while he was in Kenya.

In the letter he told her he had been sent to Tanzania for military training.

"I was told to go for training so I could come back and fight at home, because we are oppressed," he wrote.

"I decided to escape to Kenya."

He added: "Mother, if the South African Government can excuse me I can come back home."

Zwelithsa Magistrate HH van der Walt found Mgubasi guilty of promoting the PAC's aims. - Veritas News Agency.



# Mandela witness missing

By BENITO PHILLIPS

THE mysterious disappearance of Joseph Matotie - chief state witness during the trial of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and a former ANC member - is baffling the cops.

Matotie disappeared on March 18 on his way to East London to collect his pension.

Border Police liaison officer Lt Dot van der Vyfer said they had received reports that Matotie was abducted.

She also confirmed that a few people have been questioned, but that no arrests were made.

According to unconfirmed reports in Duncan Village, Matotie is dead - his throat was slit and his body burnt.

Matotie was the Transkei government's Western Tembuland representative in East London.

CITY P  
30/3/86  
11A

# Who's to blame for this flop?

By DAN DHLAMIMI

THE Community Support Committee and the Johannesburg Centenary Festival Association crossed swords publicly this week - and it seems their differences are irreconcilable.

A debate between Cosco publicity secretary Kehla Mthembu and JCFA chairman David Lewis at a Johannesburg hotel revealed serious differences between the two organisations regarding the centenary celebrations.

Mthembu said any activity with the centenary label attached to it would be rejected by black people.

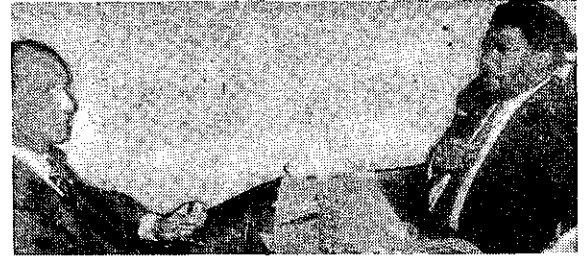
And even if the centenary tag was removed, he said, the projects would be care-

fully scrutinised before being accepted.

Mthembu said the needs of the community should come first, because most of the time white people started projects which they thought would be good for black people without consulting them.

"We cannot wish away the fact that Johannesburg is 100 years old, and we cannot bar those who want to celebrate. But we have spoken to our people and the business concerns that depend on our labour or buying power not to support the centenary. Our call was heeded by many, hence the collapse of the centenary," said Mthembu.

In reply to a question from the floor, Mthembu stated that there was no way Cosco



Face to face ... David Lewis and Kehla Mthembu

and the JCFA could meet to clear the present tense situation. He said even JCFA projects such as creches in Soweto would be carefully scrutinised by the community.

"We are no longer prepared to accept that a white man who enjoys the fruits of black oppression should decide what is good for us."

JCFA chairman David Lewis accused Cosco of "making the centenary debate a platform for political aspirations".

He said the centenary festival would benefit all population groups in Johannesburg, and the R142-million raised by the JCFA would go to charity organisations.

Lewis blamed the Press for making an issue out of

the "non-political" centenary. He said people who wanted to take part in the celebrations were threatened with death. He said Cosco should not force people to support its cause.

Mthembu said Cosco had spoken to various people and business concerns about the Johannesburg centenary, and there had been no "arm-twisting" because the black community understood it had nothing to celebrate.

He said the Johannesburg City Council had powers to scrap petty apartheid laws such as separate toilet facilities in town, but had not done this.

He said the JCFA had ignored the 1976 upheavals, in which many black lives were lost.



## Cosatu expands

A NEW region encompassing 18 trade unions in the Witwatersrand area was established by the Congress of SA Trade Unions at the weekend.

The new region - the Witwatersrand region - becomes the grouping of Cosatu's second largest operation in the country.

The launching was held in Katlehong on Saturday and the mass rally on Sunday was attended by about 4 000 people.

About 640 delegates attended the launching.

Paul Nkuna - a member of the National Union of Mineworkers - was elected region-

al chairman.

Mamood Fadel was elected vice-chairman and Ronald Mofokeng treasurer.

Bangi Solo was elected acting-secretary.

Nkuna said at a Press conference this week that apart from the establishment of the Witwatersrand region and the election of office-bearers, little progress was made at the congress because there was not enough time to pass any resolutions.

Informal discussions were held on a number of issues such as the National Education Crisis and the establishment of May 1 as a paid holiday, Nkuna said. - Sapa.

31/3/85  
ANC men  
visit China

PEKING — A delegation from the African National Congress (ANC) arrived in Peking today, African diplomatic sources said.

The delegation, led by ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo, is to hold an anti-apartheid rally and exchange views with their Chinese hosts.

A Chinese spokesman said China was also expecting a visit by a Swapo delegation.

ANC and Swapo representatives on past visits to Peking have praised China for supplying military aid as well as diplomatic support. — Reuter.

# Education forum to be launched

Education Reporter

THE Federation of Parent, Teacher and Student Associations (Western Cape) — an organization aimed at providing a forum for discussion on education matters — will be launched officially on May 7 this year.

The decision to form a federation was taken at a meeting held in the Spraa Hall, Athlone, last Tuesday.

Those who attended were the established PTAs from the Belhar No 2, Fairmount, Harold Cressy, Heathfield, Livingstone and South Peninsula high schools, the PTA of Walmer Junior Secondary and the Silvertree Creche Working Committee.

Interim committee member Mr Dennis Hendricks said that a draft

constitution had been circulated to all contactable PTAs, PTAs and SRCs.

In a statement on behalf of the federation, Mr Hendricks said that although several SRCs, PTAs and interim or ad hoc PTAs had indicated support, many were not yet properly constituted or mandated because of the restrictions which prevailed during the state of emergency.

"We hope that the launch date of May 7 will allow students, teachers and parents sufficient time to form democratic organizations.

"The federation will be organizing a workshop on education issues affecting students, teachers and parents on Saturday, April 19. Notices will be circulated to all schools when they reopen."

# 'At the crossroads in the struggle'

Since 1976, the people have recognised that apartheid education cannot be separated from apartheid in general. This conference again asserts that the entire oppressed and democratic community is concerned with education, that we all see the necessity of ending gutter education.

The December Consultative Conference on Education gave the Government until this weekend to meet the demands of parents, students and teachers. Has the Government met the demands?

We want to answer this loudly and clearly so there can be no mistaking what we are saying. The answer is NO — they have not met our demands.

As we meet, the Congress of South African Students remains banned. Students are still in detention. Teachers continue to be dismissed and forcibly transferred. Attempts are still being made to stop democratic Students Representative Councils from functioning. School buildings are unrepaired. Troops are still in the township.

Any steps the Government has taken have been sideways steps.

## Action coming

They lifted the state of emergency because they were forced to do so, because they were afraid of the united mass action of the people which they know is coming after March 31.

At the same time, they said they would impose a permanent emergency by giving the police and the Defence Force extended powers throughout the country. Previously they have had these only in parts of the country.

In the meantime, the emergency, in fact, continues throughout the country. There is little difference now from when the official state of emergency was in force. It was after the emergency was lifted that our children were shot in Kabokweni in the Eastern Transvaal and that other atrocities were perpetrated.

We stand today at the crossroads in our struggle for national liberation. The decisions we take at this conference will determine whether we go forward to progress and peace or whether the racists push us backwards towards barbarism and chaos and reverse some of the gains we have made.

In any struggle it is extremely important to recognise the critical

Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *New Nation*, delivered the keynote address at the National Education Crisis Committee conference in Durban at the weekend. This edited version of his introductory remarks sketches his view of the political context in which the conference took place.

3/13/80 STAR

moment, the time when decisive action can propel that struggle into a new phase. It is also important to understand that this moment does not last for ever — that, if we fail to take action, that moment will be lost.

This particular moment has several important features:

- The State has lost the initiative to the people. It is no longer in control of events.

- The masses recognise that the moment is decisive and are calling for action.

- People are united around a set of fundamental demands and are prepared to take action on these demands.

Having said this, I want to strike a note of caution.

It is important that we don't mistake the moment or understand it to be something it is not.

We are not poised for the immediate transfer of power to the people. The belief that this is so could lead to serious errors and defeats.

We are, however, poised to enter a phase which could lead to the transfer of power. What we are seeking to do is to shift the balance of forces in our favour decisively. To do this we have to adopt appropriate strategies and tactics, we have to understand our strengths and weaknesses as well as those of the enemy — that is, the forces of apartheid.

## Failed

The Government introduced the state of emergency because it was losing political control. It hoped to stop the advances of the democratic movement and destroy the people's organisations which were taking control in various parts of the country. And it aimed to reinstitute in the townships the puppet bodies which had been destroyed since the Vaal uprising 10 months earlier.

Through this two-pronged attack it hoped to regain control, regain the initiative and impose its apartheid reforms on the people.

In fact, the Government failed hopelessly in these objectives. Brutal

action by the police and Defence Force only angered people more and mobilised them in ever-growing numbers. Puppet structures, instead of being restored, came under more widespread attack. In several areas, people's organisations strengthened their structures and became more rooted in the masses.

The struggle spread to all corners of the country and new organisations sprang up daily. Where the youth had previously waged the struggle alone, whole communities now became involved.

Despite heavy blows against our leaders and organisations, there was a real strengthening of the democratic forces and a weakening

of the forces of apartheid.

When the regime declared the emergency, all sections of the white ruling bloc supported it in the belief that the resistance of the people would be crushed — paving the way for a Buthelesi-Muzorewa option.

Barely a month later, this semblance of unity had crumbled. Mass resistance had spread to take on new forms. The regime stood more isolated than ever before at the international level and the economic crisis reached new proportions with the loss of investor confidence in the stability of the South African regime.

The African National Congress came to be seen as the primary

# 'Old methods of repression are no longer effective'

When the state of emergency was declared, a situation of ungovernability existed in two main areas — the Eastern Cape and the East Rand. By the beginning of the year the situation was very different.

Not only had ungovernability extended to far more areas, but people had actually begun to govern themselves several townships.

Confronted with the terror of the Defence Force and police, the people, under the leadership of their organisations, closed ranks. Structures were built which would outlast the period of emergency.

A number of townships were split up into zones, blocks and areas, each with its own committee.

In many cases, our organisations matured and grew under the guns of the SADF. Action taken against the leadership did not result in the collapse of our organisations. They continued to grow in strength, often taking over the running of the townships. So we saw the emergence of people's power in several townships.

There was a tendency for the

struggles to develop in a national direction. The masses linked local issues with the question of political power. A set of national demands emerged which transcended specific issues or regional differences. The transformation of the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee from a locally based education initiative into a national body combining educational and political issues is an important instance of this.

From being youth-led, the struggle began to involve all sections of the population, including parents and workers. There was a general recognition in the democratic movement that it was a major challenge to consolidate and accelerate this process.

There was also a recognition of serious obstacles. Youth organisations began to play an important role in trying to channel the militancy of unorganised youth into disciplined action, accountable to the whole community.

Complementing this was the development of a close relationship between the trade unions and the rest of the democratic movement. The formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions was particularly important since it took a strong stand supporting trade union involvement in community and political issues.

## Sell-outs replaced

The most significant gains were made in the last months of the emergency. For the first time in decades our people took the struggle to the rural areas. People in a number of Bantustan areas challenged the so-called tribal authorities and, in some instances, even replaced these Bantustan sell-outs with people's village councils. Areas which the Government could previously rely on as zones of subservience and passivity were now being turned into zones of our struggle.

The advances which the people have made mean that the old methods of State repression are no longer effective. Detaining our leaders no longer frightens off our people or breaks our organisations.

When our people kicked out the puppets from the townships they made it impossible for the regime to govern. They had to bring in the SADF as an army of occupation. All they could do was harass us and use force against our people. But they couldn't stop the people in some townships from taking power from under their very noses, by starting to run those townships in different ways.

In other words, the struggle which the people fought, and the resulting ungovernability, created the possibility of people's power.

People exercised power by starting to take control in areas such as crime, the cleaning of the townships and the creation of people's parties

actor on the South African stage. Not only the people, but sections of the white ruling bloc, began to look to the ANC to provide an indication of future direction.

White doubts about the ability of Parliament to provide a solution to the country's problems reached a peak with the resignation of Opposition leader Van Zyl Slabbert.

It was in this context that they lifted the state of emergency. They did not do this from a position of strength. A number of pressures forced the regime to lift the emergency. But the deadline set by the December conference was the decisive factor.

The Government knew the eyes of the whole country would be on the decisions of this conference and they hoped that the lifting of the emergency would defuse a programme of united action. We know that they intend reimposing the emergency in another form but we must not let this happen — we must frustrate the scheme.

the provision of first aid — and even in the schools.

These advances were possible only because of the development of democratic committees. Bodies had been set up which were controlled by, and accountable to, the masses of the people in each area.

The development of people's power has caught the imagination of our people even where struggles are breaking out for the first time. There is a growing tendency for ungovernability to be transformed into elementary forms of people's power as people take the lead from semi-liberated zones.

## People's power

We must stress that there is an important distinction between ungovernability and people's power. In a situation of ungovernability the Government does not have control — but nor do the people.

While they have broken the shackles of direct Government rule the people have not yet managed to control and direct the situation. There is a power vacuum.

No matter how ungovernable a township is, unless the people are organised, the gains made can be rolled back by State repression. Because there is no organised centre of people's power, residents are relatively defenceless and vulnerable.

Removal of leadership in such situations can enable the State to reimpose control. We saw, for example, the setbacks experienced by our people in the Vaal and on the East Rand.

However, where people's power has become advanced, not even the most vicious repression has been able to reverse advances decisively. In the Eastern Cape, people's power forced the SADF out of the townships — if only temporarily.

## Collective strength

Struggles over the past few months demonstrate that it is of absolute importance that we don't confuse coercion — the use of force against the community — with people's power, which is the collective strength of the community.

For example, where bands of youths set up so-called "kangaroo courts" and give out punishments under control of nobody, with no democratic mandate from the community, this is NOT people's power.

This situation often arises in times of ungovernability and we know this type of undisciplined, individual action can have very negative consequences.

People's power, unlike the exercise of power by individuals, tend to be disciplined, democratic and an expression of the will of the people. It develops the confidence of our people to exercise control over their own lives and has the capacity to achieve practical improvements in

# Wentzel 'won't end commitment to change'

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT

ONE does not have to be "a hot-headed radical" to be loyal to the struggle, says Mr Trevor Wentzel, who was released from Robben Island on Thursday evening after he won an appeal against a terrorism conviction.

"I see the struggle first as a non-violent struggle, really, although I must admit the State has created conditions that push people into violence," he said in an interview yesterday at his mother's house in Crawford.

He said his feelings about being a free man after more

than a year in prison were mixed.

"One is sad for having left behind certain very good, very great people. Govan Mbeki for instance is an intellectual giant and a real fatherly figure. On the other hand I'm glad because I'll be able to resume what I've always been doing. I will not end my commitment to working for change in South Africa.

"Robben Island has a special status. The level of understanding, of intellectual development, is extremely high. The prisoners' morale is high. They have been very much taken up by the heroic deeds of the people against apart-

heid. They have been given more hope."

A pupil of Alexander Sinton High School, Mr Wentzel, 25, has since been a community worker and activist except for a short spell in a plastics factory and at OK Bazaars. He has been detained twice.

Asked how he saw the future, Mr Wentzel said: "Definitely we are going to have a non-racial South Africa built on the will of the people and with the release of Mandela, Sisulu and all the other colleagues. But we can't put a date to it."

As for his immediate personal future, he is waiting for his wife Candice to return

from the national education conference in Durban and wants to rest and spend a bit of time with her. Then it's back to work "in the labour advice area" and ultimately, he hopes, in the trade union movement.

Asked how being on Robben Island has changed him, Mr Wentzel said "I think I've matured a bit," and laughed. "I now know how to handle people diplomatically.

"You tend to realize there is no need to get hot under the collar. If one cannot reason with someone, one leaves it. As one of the inmates said, 'We must agree to disagree'."

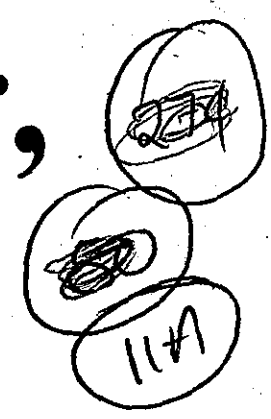


Mr Trevor Wentzel

# It's not time yet for transfer of power, says black editor

STAR

3/3/86



DURBAN — The moment had not come yet for the transfer of power to the people, the editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, said at the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference in Durban at the weekend.

Speaking to about 2 000 people at the Rajput Hall in Chatsworth, Mr Sisulu said the belief that power could be transferred immediately could lead to "serious errors and defeats".

But he added: "We are, however, poised to enter a phase which can lead to the transfer

of power. What we are seeking to do is to decisively shift the balance of forces in our favour."

Appropriate strategies and tactics would have to be used before power could be transferred. "We have to understand our strengths and weaknesses, as well as that of the enemy."

He added that the NECC had opened the way for people's power to be developed in the struggle for a free, democratic, compulsory and nonracial education.

Since the December confer-

ence, Mr Sisulu said, he had already seen what people's power could achieve in the education struggle.

Quoting several examples, he said the possibility of people's power had been demonstrated through people's committees in the schools and in the community.

The December conference had resolved to replace statutory parents' committees with progressive parent, teacher and student structures.

"Although these Government school committees continue in

name, they have been rendered unworkable in many areas. Our democratic people's committees have been established and are preparing to take more control over the running of schools."

Teachers were also joining the struggle, and the African Teachers' Association of South Africa had withdrawn from the structures of the Department of Education and Training.

Mr Sisulu called on teachers "following the path of collaboration" to abandon that path.

"We now have to ensure that this process is accelerated, that teachers fully identify with the aspirations and struggles of the people.

"People's education means education at the service of the people as a whole".

Mr Sisulu rejected the "alternative school", which enabled students from more wealthy backgrounds to "opt out of the struggle".

Discussing the demands placed on the Government at the December conference, Mr Sisulu said most of these had not been met.

The Government had been forced to lift the state of emergency, he said. "They knew that the eyes of the whole country would be on the decisions of this conference, and they hoped that the lifting of the emergency would defuse a programme of united action.

"We know they intend re-imposing the emergency in another form, but we must not let this happen. We must frustrate this."

There had been little difference since the state of emergency had been lifted. "It was after the emergency was lifted that our children were shot in Kabokweni in the Eastern Transvaal, and that other atrocities were perpetrated."

He said the struggle now involved all sectors of the community instead of being led by the youth. — Staff Reporter

## Return to school call gives 'breathing space'

DURBAN — The call by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) for pupils to remain at school, provided a "valuable breathing space", the Progressive Federal Party's black education spokesman said last night.

Mr Ken Andrew said the decision should provide all concerned with an opportunity to make progress in reconciling the many conflicts bedevilling black education.

He said: "School boycotts are a serious matter and it is pleasing that the NECC is not adopting a knee-jerk reaction strategy.

"At the same time, it places a great responsibility on the shoulders of Government to make more rapid progress in tackling the educational, social and political issues that have precipitated the crisis in schools."

The NECC at its weekend meeting here called for black pupils to remain at school and help parents and teachers develop a new system to replace official black education.

A similar conference held in Johannesburg in December decided that pupils should return to school after a lengthy boycott, but subject to government fulfilling certain demands within three months.

This weekend's conference was called to assess the Government's progress in meeting the demands, and what action should be taken.

### RELEASE

The demands included: the lifting of the state of emergency; a supply of free text books and stationery to black schools; withdrawal of troops from the townships; and the release of political leaders.

One of the resolutions tabled at the conference here said demands had not been adequately met and the situation had been exacerbated by the Government's intransigence.

The police said last night that no arrests had been made in connection with the violence at the conference, which left two people dead and several injured.

NECC delegates suffered sporadic attacks by armed impi.

After several conference workers were assaulted and an organiser's car burnt on Friday, delegates allegedly took up arms and repelled an attack by an impi of more than 100 men yesterday in a street battle in the white suburb of Congella.

Two impi members were killed and several people on both sides were injured in the fighting.

The conference's organiser, Mr Vusi Khanyile, said two van-loads of men attacked young conference workers at the registration centre in Pioneer Hall on Friday afternoon.

Mr Khanyile said an organiser's car, parked at the hotel where several delegates were staying, was destroyed by fire on Friday night. An attempt was made to set fire to a van in which two people were sleeping.

He said eight delegates were injured in the fighting. — Sapa.

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# yet for power, editor

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31/3/86

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# I call space'

NECC delegates suffered sporadic attacks by armed troops. After several conference workers were assaulted and an organiser's car burnt on Friday

### Staff Reporters

DURBAN — The entire South African education system was in crisis, the South African Council of Churches general secretary, Dr Beyers Naude, said at the weekend.

In the opening address to the National Education Crisis Committee conference in Durban, Dr Naude said that, apart from the crisis in black education, white children were being indoctrinated at school.

He said: "My message is that we do not want the present education system — neither for whites nor blacks. We want a people's education in which each person can develop his or her talents to their greatest potential."

A link was needed between true democracy and education. "As long as there is no democracy in our country we can

name, they have been rendered unworkable in many areas. Our democratic people's committees have been established and are preparing to take more control over the running of schools."

Teachers were also joining the struggle, and the African Teachers' Association of South Africa had withdrawn from the structures of the Department of Education and Training.

Mr Sisulu called on teachers "following the path of collaboration" to abandon that path.

"We now have to ensure that this process is accelerated, that teachers fully identify with the aspirations and struggles of the people.

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Mr Sisulu rejected the "alternative school", which enabled students from more wealthy backgrounds to "opt out of the struggle".

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# Beyers Naude calls for change to 'a people's education'

never have a liberated education," he said.

Dr Naude appealed to English and Afrikaans students to break away from their present tradition and to join those fighting for a nonracial future.

"Stand up and be counted," he urged.

He also urged members of the clergy to join the struggle for a democratic future.

Dr Naude said: "It is not enough just to make statements. You must cross the Ru-

bicon and only when that is done will you find that the black community will stand with open arms and welcome you.

"What I have received has enriched my life and I would not change it for anything in the world."

And, from London, The Star Bureau reports that *The Guardian* says today that the decision to abandon the school boycott is sensible.

It says in an editorial: "The

decision is sound because the boycott brought obvious further disadvantage to hundreds of thousands of children already suffering from the results of having a black skin in a white-ruled society."

But any relief felt by the Government over the ending of the boycott was likely to prove premature because of the planned consumer boycotts of white businesses and rent strikes.

*The Guardian* says that the three-day national strike in June could become one of the most ominous challenges to the Government for years.

It said: "What really happened in Durban this weekend amounts to a decision by responsible black adults to take the places of their own children in the front line of the battle against apartheid."



Ex-SACP  
leader  
buried in  
Maputo

MAPUTO. — Top-ranking African National Congress leaders returned to Mozambique at the weekend for the first time since they were expelled two years ago to attend the burial of former South African Communist Party leader Mr Moses Mabhida who was buried with full military honours on Saturday.

President Samora Machel led mourners at the state funeral, accompanied by Mr Mabhida's widow, Lena, other close relatives, the new SACP chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC.

The ANC and the SACP have maintained close links since both were expelled from South Africa in 1960. Mr Mabhida, 63, an executive member of both organizations and the SA Congress of Trade Unions, died in Maputo this month of a heart attack.

He was to have been buried on Monday in his South African home town of Edendale, outside Maritzburg, but severe restrictions were placed on the funeral — it could be attended only by close friends, who would have to be identified to police by selected members of the family — so organizers decided to shift the funeral to Maputo, where it was held under tight security. It was also reported that the Mabhida family changed the venue because they feared violent confrontation between police and mourners.

Mr Tambo flew to Maputo from the movement's headquarters in Lusaka with Mr Slovo and 110 other senior officials.

An ANC choir sang freedom songs as the coffin was carried from Maputo town hall, where it had been lying in state, to Maputo's Llan-guene cemetery.

Several hundred people witnessed the burial. — Sapa-Reuter and UPI

CAPE TOWN 21/5/66

## Black political group calls for country-wide boycott

Own Correspondent <sup>220 11A</sup> The intention of the resolutions was to "give the government the opportunity to resign and relinquish power while they still have the chance", the forum's co-vener and the Azanian People's Organization president, Mr Sibus Cooper, said.

DURBAN. — The National Forum, a political group comprising black consciousness organizations, has decided at its third convention on a 10-day country-wide consumer and workers' boycott starting on June 1.

The forum said at the convention here at the weekend that preparations for the boycott would begin in May.

He said that besides opting for violent opposition, that was the last method left of struggle inside the country.

# ANC will meet Nusas

Cape Times 31/3/66

11A

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress has said it will meet a group of white South African students in Harare today.

An ANC spokesman said the meeting with the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) was being arranged at the students' request.

"The agenda is open as we will discuss various issues confronting our country today," he added.

The meeting is being planned in defiance of the South African Government, as the authorities regard the ANC as communist-inspired and dedicated to the violent overthrow of the present political system.

The ANC, while it refuses to abandon its commitment to violence as a means of ending white domination, says it is willing to talk to all

shades of political opinion interested in abolishing apartheid.

It has since last September held a series of talks with leading South African businessmen as well as with reformist politicians and church leaders on ways of ending racial segregation.

The Pretoria authorities are highly opposed to such contacts, saying they lend the banned ANC a degree of respectability which it does not deserve.

Students from the University of Stellenbosch had their passports withdrawn by Pretoria last year when they tried to go to Zambia for talks with the ANC, but some of them met ANC members later at a church meeting in Zimbabwe.

Earlier this month, the ANC held talks in Lusaka with Mr Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of Kwana. — Sapa-Reuters

# R41 000 of 'bail fund' paid attorney's fees

Staff Reporter  
MOST of the "bail fund" collected from New and Old Crossroads residents for 169 women arrested for public violence last year was used to pay a Pretoria attorney's legal fees — including expenses of more than R750 a day.  
The lawyer represented Old Crossroads leader Mr Johnson Nxobongwana and 72 women involved in the case.  
According to documents handed to the Cape Times last week by members of the New Crossroads Committee (NCC), the Pretoria attorney, Mr Isaac Swartzberg, was given R29 500 to represent Mr Nxobongwana and 72 of the women. The women pleaded guilty.  
The remainder of the women chose local legal representation.  
According to his firm's account to a Mr Albert Yawa, of the NCC, the attorney incurred R11 336,51 in hotel, petrol and car expenses and air fares when covering the 15-day trial.  
After air fares, flying from Pretoria to Cape Town and back each day, Mr Swartzberg would have incurred expenses of some R400 a day — including accommodation, the figures indicate. This did not include consultation fees.  
His total bill amounted to

R41 388, and R11 805 was still outstanding.

Asked why out-of-town legal representation was sought and not local attorneys, the NCC members declined to comment.

"That's Mr Nxobongwana's business," one said.  
However, it would appear that local legal representation was sought twice, but in each case dropped as the lawyers concerned had not known "the Prime Minister" or "the right people", the Cape Times has learnt.

The NCC members said that about R15 000 was collected from Old Crossroads residents — the rest from elsewhere, including

New Crossroads.  
The money collected by the NCC before the trial in July was to cover legal fees and to post bail for the accused.

The alleged abuse of the "fund" and claims by New Crossroads residents that Mr Nxobongwana was attempting to establish a power base in the area have been cited as the cause of the violence between "fathers" and "comrades" which left nine "fathers" dead and three women wounded last week.

Apart from the money handed over to Mr Swartzberg, about R2 450 was given back to 29 women who were acquitted. This was con-

firmed by a United Women's Congress (UWCO) member, Mrs Sophia Mbenge.  
Mr Swartzberg could not be contacted. A member of his firm in Pretoria said last week that he was "away out of town" until April 4.  
Meanwhile, it has been disclosed from different sources that R15 collections taken from New and Old Crossroads residents recently made them "eligible" to vote in an election last month for a new chairman of the New and Old Crossroads committees.  
Voters who paid R15 were told it was for a "photograph" of the candidates, residents said.

Mr Nxobongwana was re-elected chairman of both committees, the NCC said, and they deny he was trying to establish a power base in the area.  
Of the 150 000-odd residents in New and Old Crossroads, fewer than 6 000 voted in the election, residents claimed.  
The NCC has also accused the police of siding with the UWCO, a United Democratic Front affiliate, and other organizations.  
They claimed that if police at Guguletu police station had arrived soon after being informed that the homes of Mr James Mehrla and Mr Fenfole Sitwaye — both

NCC members who were murdered last Wednesday evening — they would both "be alive today".  
A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, denied that police were taking sides in the issue.  
The branch chairman of the General Workers Union and publicity secretary for the Western Cape Hostels Association, Mr Johnson Mpukampa, appealed to leaders on both sides to meet and settle their differences "as soon as possible".  
"The violence will destroy the unity of the black people if it continues. The people must consider this very seriously," he said.

# 2 killed in attacks by Zulu impi

CAP T 7475 31/2/86  
117 21 25

DURBAN. — Three violent attacks, which left two alleged Inkatha members dead, more than 20 people injured and a number of cars destroyed by fire bombs, failed to halt the National Education Crisis Committee Conference here at the weekend.

Police said last night no arrests had yet been made in connection with the violence in which conference delegates suffered sporadic attacks by "impis" armed with sticks, rocks and assegais.

Police said the men were members of a "Zulu impi", the Amabutho.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said that according to their information, the Amabutho was backed by Inkatha. All attempts to get comment from Inkatha officials last night were unsuccessful.

The trouble started on Friday when several conference workers were assaulted and an organizer's car set alight.

Conference organizer Mr Vusi Khanyile said two van-loads of men attacked young conference workers at the registration centre in Pioneer Hall in the white suburb of Congella on Friday afternoon, and later that night an organizer's car, parked at the hotel where several conference participants were staying, was destroyed by fire. He said an attempt was also made to set fire to a van in which two East London delegates were sleeping.

## Delegates took up arms

It was after these attacks that the delegates took up arms and repelled an attack by more than 100 men on Saturday in a street battle. Some participants had piles of rocks, bricks and a supply of petrol bombs to defend themselves.

Two of the impi members were killed. One of them was knocked to the ground after being hacked with pangas. Rubbish was dumped on the man and set alight.

A hospital spokesman said six people had been admitted to the hospital. Two of these were "very ill" and the other four were "satisfactory".

At the conference in Chatsworth on Saturday night, several participants carried pangas and sticks with them in case of further attack. The conference was to have been held at the University of Natal, Durban, but university authorities withdrew it as a venue following last weekend's arson.

According to the police spokesman in Pretoria, the incident could not have lasted long.

"Police responding to the call were at the scene within two minutes and when they got there it was all over," he said. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

## 'A breathing space' — PFP

Political Correspondent  
THE decision by the National Education Crisis Committee that pupils not resume the school boycott provided a "valuable breathing space", the PFP said last night.

The PFP spokesman on black education, Mr Ken Andrew, said the decision should provide all concerned with an opportunity to make progress in reconciling the many conflicts bedeviling black education.

"School boycotts are a serious matter and it is

pleasing that the NECC is adopting a knee-jerk reaction strategy.

"At the same time it places a great responsibility on the shoulders of the government to make more rapid progress in tackling the educational, social and political issues that have precipitated the crisis in schools."

He said it was unrealistic to expect schools to function normally in a society which was in turmoil — "so the government must move fast on all these related issues".

31/3/86

STAR

# Nusas in ANC talks

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — South African student leaders have begun secret talks with the African National Congress (ANC) in Harare.

The meeting between Nusas leaders and an ANC delegation led by executive council member Mr Mac Maharaj began yesterday afternoon at an undisclosed venue, and is continuing today.

About a dozen ANC members are taking part but it is not known here who is in the South African delegation.

Last year ANC leaders met a student delegation from the University of Stellenbosch, in defiance of the South African Government's wishes.

The current talks are expected to end today after which a Press statement is likely to be issued.

DURBAN — The National Forum, a political group comprising black consciousness organisations, has decided on a 10-day consumer and worker's boycott starting on June 16.

The forum said in Durban at the weekend that preparations for the boycott would begin in May.

A spokesman for the forum said they had called on people in State housing to stop paying rent. "Withdrawal of support" would come from labour, rent, education and disinvestment.

The intention of the resolutions passed at the forum's third convention was to "give the

# National Forum calls for 10-day boycott

Government the chance to resign and relinquish power while it still had the opportunity," the forum's convenor and the Azanian People's Organisation President, Mr Saths Cooper, said.

He said besides opting for violent opposition this was the last method of struggle left inside the country.

"The depth of anger and outright rejection of the present system has not been felt nationally. A very high degree of suc-

cess is expected," he said.

This call had the blessing of all National Forum affiliates, Mr Cooper said.

"The boycott will be highlighted over four days at the beginning of May and it will escalate from June 16 to June 26," Mr Cooper said.

He said 1 300 representatives of the affiliates had passed a resolution to "consider withdrawal of their support" in several fields. — Sapa



STAR 31/3/86

114

BLACK POWTICS

1986

APRIL MONTH



11/4/86 BUS DAY. (11/4) (2/2)

## ANC team arrives in Peking

PEKING — An African National Congress (ANC) delegation arrived in Peking yesterday, African diplomatic sources said.

The delegation, led by ANC general-secretary Alfred Nzo, was to hold an anti-apartheid rally and exchange views with their Chinese hosts, a spokesman for the Chinese Communist Party's international liaison de-

partment said.

The spokesman also announced, without giving dates, a visit by a delegation from the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo).

ANC and Swapo representatives have praised China on past visits to Peking for supplying military aid as well as diplomatic support. — Sapa-Reuter.

1/4/86 BUS DAY

(S)

(11A)

# Nusas members in talks with ANC officials

**HARARE** — Eight members of the National Union of South African Students held their second day of talks with African National Congress officials in Harare yesterday.

The talks, at a house owned by the diplomatic mission of an African country, come after a series of contacts between the ANC and SA groups of businessmen, politicians, trade unionists

and churchmen. Sources close to the talks said the ANC delegation, led by national executive committee members Mac Maharaj and James Stuart, included mem-

bers of the ANC youth league. They said the Nusas delegation had presented a list of 40 topics to discuss with the ANC. It was not known how long the talks would last. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Nusas delegation due back today

114/86 SMR  
11A

By Susan Fleming,  
Education Reporter

The eight-member National Union of South African Students' delegation, which held talks with the African National Congress in Harare during the Easter weekend, are due back in Johannesburg today.

Led by Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry, the delegation discussed topics ranging from ANC violence to the role of whites in a future South Africa during the two-day visit.

The Nusas talks with the ANC are the latest in a series of meetings held between the banned organisation and South African groups, including white business leaders, opposition politicians and churchmen.

The ANC delegation that met with Nusas was led by two national executive commit-

tee members, Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr James Stuart, and included five ANC youth league members.

About 8 000 students from Nusas-affiliated campuses and the Nusas local committee at Stellenbosch University recently voted in favour of meeting with the ANC.

After the "yes-vote", students spent last week compiling questions and about 40 topics were subsequently discussed.

The meeting was held earlier than planned because the Nusas delegation wanted to ensure it would not be prevented from visiting the ANC by the South African Government.

Report-back meetings on the visit will be held on campuses.

The other seven Nusas delegation members were Witwatersrand University Stu-

dent Representative Council president, Ms Claire Wright, the Cape Town University's SRC president, Mr Glen Goosen, Natal University's SRC president, Ms Meryll Plaskett, and Rhodes University's SRC president, Mr Barry du Toit.

A Stellenbosch University student, Mr David Wadillo, a Natal University SRC member, Mr Bruce Robertson, and the South African Student Press Union president, Mr Steve Krombery, also took part in the talks.

Last October a group of Stellenbosch students had their passports withdrawn by the Government after they said they planned to talk to the ANC. Then in November, the students and a dominee met the ANC at a World Council of Churches conference in Harare.

11418 1 BUS DAY

## 10-day boycott in offing

THE third National Forum convention, a political group comprising black consciousness organisations, has decided on a 10-day consumer and worker boycott starting on June 16.

Organisers said in Durban at the weekend that preparations for the boycott would begin next month.

A forum spokesman said they had called for people in State housing to stop paying rent. — Sapa.

Winnie's ban:  
order stands

LAW and Order Minister Louis le Grange said on Sunday that an order silencing black activist Winnie Mandela was still in force

Orders gagging five anti-apartheid activists have been overturned in court or set aside by government since a landmark court ruling 10 days ago.

Le Grange said he was not prepared to speculate on her banning order as it was subject to an appeal.

Political comment in this issue by Nigel Bruce. Newsbills by Terry Lofthouse. Headlines and sub-editing by Gordon Amos. All of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

# Straight talk at Durban indabas

11A  
11/4/86  
SOUTHERN

**T**WO significant black conferences, which could affect the future of this country were held in Durban at the weekend.

The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) held its second conference in a nerve-wrecking series of events. A man was attacked and set alight and another shot dead on the eve of the conference. From the outset it was clear that this education conference would have a rough passage.

The venue was its first problem. After Professor Lawrence Schlemmer's offices at the University of Natal were burned, the conference which was to be held there, was shifted.

The National Forum (NF) had a less eventful conference.

Although the media, both foreign and local, had their attention focused largely on the NECC, this did not deter the overtly socialist NF who based their conference on the proposed National Convention.

### Similar

Resolutions adopted at both conferences were basically the same. Another similarity was that both believed that mass action was important on days like May 1 (Labour Day) and June 16 whose 10th anniversary is to be commemorated this year.

The NECC conference got off to a nasty start with the attack on delegates by a group of blacks. The uncalculated attack was mind-blowing because the attackers were people who were supposed to be as concerned about their children's future as any parent should be.

The most important decision was that pupils should remain at school

## FOCUS

By SELLO RABOTHATA

for the rest of the year.

The fact that the Government had not met most of the demands made at the education conference at Wits University last year, was highlighted at a Press conference afterwards.

Both the NECC and the NF conference resolved that while pupils are at school, steps should be taken to look into "a people's education system" or alternative education programme.

### Convention

Whether pupils will observe the NECC decision is another matter in the light of the closure of schools in areas such as Dennington, Cradock, the Northern Transvaal and some parts of Bophuthatswana.

The third National Forum, on the other hand, gave the proposed National Convention idea a big thumbs down. Two papers were delivered on this subject. The reasons for the rejectin

of a national convention were that "the struggle for liberation in this country has advanced with such great strides that no radical activist, no genuine freedom fighter could support such a demand today".

### Volatile

The mood of the NF was highly volatile and all delegates felt the time had come to the forum to make its presence felt. Other delegates noted that the forum had been playing second fiddle to other organisations for too long and the latter "claim sole rights to the liberation struggle".

The consensus was that the Government be given the opportunity to resign and relinquish power while it still had the opportunity to do so. The convener, Mr Saths Cooper, said besides opting for violent opposition this was the last method of struggle left inside the country.

The resolutions reached at the NECC conference were:

- To call upon students nationally to support the May Day celebrations in the most appropriate form. This follows a call by Congress of South African Trade Unions and Council of Unions of South Africa upon workers to declare the day a public holiday;
- To condemn all repressive actions taken against teachers and to urge all obstructive organisations and teachers to stop their negative and repressive roles and stop collaborating with the authorities against democratic teachers;
- To form a National Action Committee made up of representatives from all national organisations that subscribe to the decisions of conference;
- To urge all communi-



Dr NEVILLE ALEXANDER makes a point at the National Forum in Durban at the weekend.

ties and democratic organisations to launch appropriate regional and/or national mass action campaigns, by considering all forms of rent and other boycotts;

- To demand that the State should provide creches, nursery schools and after-school centres for all children and to demand that legislation be implemented giving women the right to job security and adequate maternity leave;
- To engage in mass action in support of education and other demands and call on people to launch a national stay-away on June 16, 17 and 18 and to declare June 16 a national youth day to be celebrated as a holiday;

The unbanning of all political organisations, release of detainees and complete dismantling of apartheid; and

- To make it known to the world that the Reagan Administration be considered as accomplices in the crimes of apartheid and to call on all freedom-loving people all over the world to further isolate the apartheid regime internationally.

Resolutions adopted at the NF conference were:

Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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- To facilitate the co-ordination of a national boycott to take effect from May 1 and to spend the time between now and that day in an intensive campaign for and popularisation of the resolution;
- May 1 to May 4 — appropriate action at schools, universities and technikons, to be accompanied by literature, meetings and stickers;
- A 10-day consumer and workers' boycott from June 16 until June 26;

The opening of schools on the same days as from the third term of school and the abolition of ethnic school calendars;

- To launch an Education Action Committee of the NF to co-ordinate and initiate an alternative education programme and workshops;
- To abolish all Government-appointed school committees and to replace them with properly organised ones by the community;
- To start programmes to politicise teachers through a teachers' organisation;

Undertaking a communications or language programme to be taken up by students and teachers' organisations countrywide;

- To embark on a consumer boycott campaign only after proper consultation and full and free discussions with the community have taken place, thereby eliminating the emergence of faceless committees which have no mandate from the community; and
- To call on all people to consider the withdrawal of taxes and other payments to the South African regime.



(1A) SOWETAN 11/4/86

# 'No' to convention

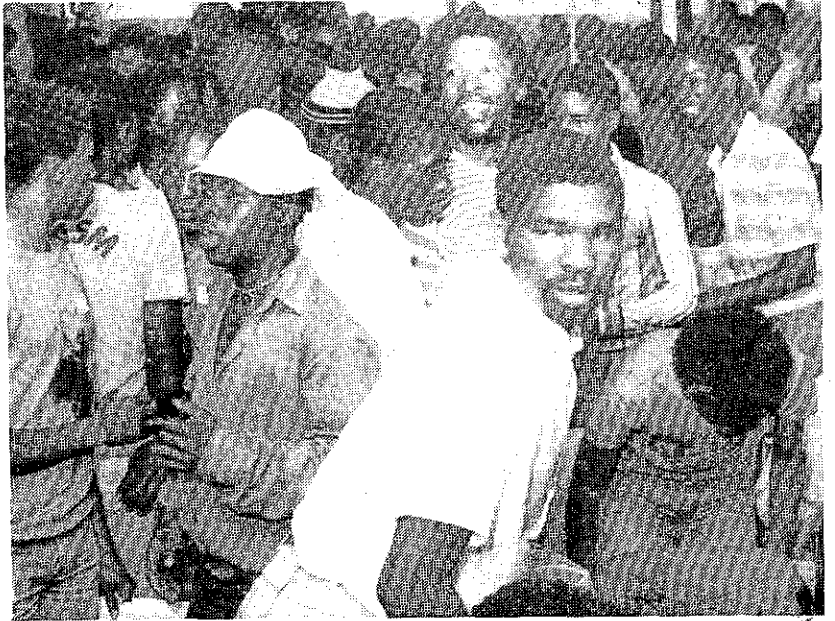
THE idea of a national convention was turned down by the third National Forum conference in Durban at the weekend.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

In a paper delivered on the internal position of the NF, read by Mr Losiba Ntloko, it was stated that the answer to a national convention is a straight-forward no. It said: "We are involved in a war of liberation, not in the politics of negotiation. At the very most in a war, one will parley with the enemy, call a truce in order to consolidate or to strengthen one's position. But the war comes to an end when the victory is won. We do not want to share power. Power belongs to the working class and will have to be transferred to them at the end of the road. Otherwise they will simply seize power."

vigorous approach.

Mr Saths Cooper, convenor of the NF, pledged to get the NF on the move and said plans have been made for a programme of action this year, with the involvement of the community, showed more concern. He also said other organisations had to acknowledge the fact that the NF had the right to exist and that although it is not an anti-apartheid movement, it took apartheid as a point of departure.



DELEGATES at the National Forum singing freedom songs. Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

Mr Ntloko added: "The struggle for liberation in the country has advanced with such great strides that no radical activist, no genuine freedom fighter could support such a demand today."

## Pledge

"The best counter-proof is precisely the fact that today it is only the reactionery black middle class leadership such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Rev Allan Hendrickse, Mr Amichand Rajbansi and people of their ilk who can be relied upon by international liberalism to support such an anachronistic demand."

Delegates at the third forum did not spare the leadership who came in for some hammering. They expressed disappointment at the fact that the NF was willing to play second fiddle to other organisations and called for a more

# ANC TALKS: NUSAS HOPEFUL OF PEACE

11A  
SOWETAN  
2/4/88

By ALI MPHAKI

**THE African National Congress regards its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as the key towards achieving their goals, National Union of South African Students president, Mr Brendan Barry, said yesterday.**

Mr Barry and seven others met with the ANC in Harare on Sunday and yesterday.

The meeting, the latest in a series between the outlawed guerilla body and South African groups which have angered the Pretoria Government, was held at the request of Nusas, based on a poll of white, mainly English-speaking students in the past two weeks.

The eight students were led by Nusas President Brendan Barry (25) and represented the universities of Witwatersrand, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Rhodes, Cape Town and Stellenbosch.

The seven-strong ANC delegation was led by national executive committee members Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr James Stuart.

Mr Barry told reporters that the talks, held privately at the residence of the High Commissioner of Ghana, had been held as quickly as possible after the student canvass to avoid possible State action.

Mr Barry said the ANC was well-informed about the situation in the country and it was also aware of the growing support it was getting. He said they extensively discussed the cri-

sis in black education. The ANC recognised the role Nusas could play in opposing apartheid.

"The process of working towards a non-racial democratic South Africa is going to be a painful one. But there was growing optimism among Nusas members that the process of change will be a peaceful one. Nusas acted sincerely and in an honest manner by holding talks with the ANC and what we have done we stand by," he said.

Asked about the possibility of talks between the ANC and South African Government, Mr Barry said until there is an acceptance of the need for abolition of apartheid such a meeting could not take place.

Nusas told the ANC about white students' fears and concern in the country. The talks were formal yet infor-

mal, he said. "We spoke about the ANC's plan for the future and the process in which they hoped to achieve their goals," Mr Barry said.

He said many issues discussed would come out in report-backs at various campuses throughout the country.

He stressed that the Nusas delegation and ANC representatives had learnt a lot from one another.

The Pretoria Government blocked an earlier proposed trip by some Stellenbosch students to meet the ANC in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, by withdrawing their passports.

Mr Barry said the students had undertaken the trip in the full awareness of possible repercussions after their return.





**ELEVEN-YEAR-OLD Thokozani Gumbi (left) and John Mzawemadoda (13), points to the spot where Modiri Israel Mmesi fell when shot on March 25.**

## I saw youth shot, says resident

A KAGISO resident who said he saw last week's shooting incident in which a 14-year-old youth was killed, yesterday refuted a police report that the boy was shot while stoning a beerhall.

Mr Thabo Peter Gallant, who lives near the spot where the incident occurred, said he saw Modiri Israel Mmesi fall. Mr Gallant was from work then. He said when he went to help he found three boys aged between 11 and 14 years writhing in pain. This was in Siphso Drive, about three kilometres from the two beerhalls in the township.

"If the police claim that Modiri Mmesi stoned a beerhall, then why did the council policeman

allegedly shoot three other boys playing at Mr Isaac Genu's house (3156 Siphso Drive). None of the victims had been near the beerhalls. Why do the police incriminate the dead boy?" said Mr Gallant.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria yesterday said: "Anyone who saw the incident should make a statement at the local police station where investigations into the shooting are continuing. We will present them to the magistrate."

Two of the youths admitted to the hospital with gunshot wounds were discharged at the weekend. The third is still in hospital.

# Activists welcome anti-apartheid Tories

The Star Bureau

2/4/86  
11A STAR

LONDON — The African National Congress and anti-apartheid activists in Britain have welcomed the emergence of a Tory pressure group seeking quicker fundamental reform in South Africa.

They believe the group could herald a departure from conventional Conservative sentiment on South Africa.

The group, Conservatives for Fundamental Change in South Africa, promises to invite ANC officials and representatives of other groups to the House of Commons to address Conservative MPs.

MPs Mr Robert Adley, Mr Hugh Dykes and Mr Tim Rathbone say they want to make it clear that there are "many people in the Conservative Party in Britain who share a strong belief in the need for fundamental change" in South Africa.

They accused the party of giving "succour to the South African Government and its apartheid policies".

Their attempt to canvass support from fellow Tories brought a swift reaction from the party's right, who branded the new group a "disgrace to the party".

But an ANC spokesman said: "I'm not

certain I would call it a departure at this stage, but it's certainly a welcome development and we hope their support within the party grows.

"It is very interesting to see Mr John Carlisle attacking the group, but saying he also wants to see apartheid dismantled.

"He certainly does not give the impression that he wants apartheid dismantled."

Anti-Apartheid Movement spokesman Miss Cate Clarke said: "We would certainly welcome any moves within the Conservative Party to take the South African issue more seriously and to review Conservative policy".

# Nusas feels optimistic over future after talks with ANC

By Susan Fleming,  
Education Reporter

The eight-member National Union of South African Students (Nusas) delegation which met the African National Congress (ANC) over the Easter weekend, said last night the talks had been productive and informative.

The members of the Nusas delegation were cheered by about 50 students when they returned to Johannesburg last night after spending three days in Harare talking to the ANC.

## FRIENDLY

Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry said the talks were held in an informal and friendly atmosphere and that questions about the ANC which had worried students had been answered.

"We were able to gain a better perspective of the ANC and the talks were very productive. We were also able to clear up a lot of misconceptions about the group," Mr Barry told international and local journalists.

Mr Barry said that, in view of the discussions with the ANC, he regarded the future of South Africa with great optimism.

Both groups agreed that there could be no common ground between the ANC and the South African Government until apartheid was abolished.

The delegation now had an understanding of the tactics and strategies used by the ANC although South African students would not be expected to agree with those strategies, said Mr Barry.

He added that the ANC regarded its armed component as a key part of its struggle.

Education was a key subject at the discussions and the ANC expressed particular interest in the National Education Crisis Committee conference held in Durban last weekend.

This meeting with the ANC was the latest in a series between the outlawed body and South African groups, including white business leaders, opposition politicians, churchmen and University of Stellenbosch students.

Last year, the Government withdrew the passports of eight Stellenbosch students who tried to meet the ANC in Lusaka. But, a month later, the students met the ANC in Harare.

## NOT BAITING

Mr Barry said it was not his intention to bait the South African Government by talking to the ANC.

"We acted sincerely and in an honest fashion in our visit to the ANC. I do not believe that we have transgressed any South African law. We went as representatives of Nusas to discuss



At the recent talks between the National Union of South African Students and the African National Congress held in Harare, the ANC delegation was led by national executive committee members Mr Mac Maharaj (left) and Mr James Stuart. On the right is Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry.

the concerns of white students," he said.

The ANC delegation was led by national executive committee members Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr James Stuart. Five members from the ANC youth wing were also present. The talks were held at the home of the High Commissioner for Ghana.

The other seven Nusas members at the meeting were the president of the Student Representative Council at the University of the Witwatersrand, Ms Claire Wright; University of Cape Town SRC president Mr Glen Goosen; Durban University SRC president Ms Meryll Plas-kett; Rhodes University SRC president Mr Barry du Toit; a

Stellenbosch University student, Mr David Waddilove; Mr Bruce Robertson, of the University of Natal (Maritzburg); and the president of the South African Student Press Union, Mr Steve Kromberg.

The talks were held after about 8000 students from Nusas-affiliated campuses voted in favour of such a meeting.

Mr Barry said extensive report-back meetings on the talks would soon be conducted on the campuses.

On future talks with the ANC, Mr Barry said no specific dates had been set.

"We decided that, if it were deemed necessary, we would meet again."

BUSDIA 2/4/86  
WA

# Mandela's M-plan alive in townships

BLACK activists, reviving a plan proposed in 1953 by black leader Nelson Mandela before he was jailed, are beginning to set up a system of township "street committees" to oppose government.

The grassroots committees, which are most developed in townships around Port Elizabeth, are being formed amid growing black support for radical opposition to government.

"This is a very important structure," says Edgar Ngoyi, Eastern Cape leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF). "We must reach the down-trodden people ... We must understand what is taking place in each particular street."

Based on the "M-plan" proposed more than 30 years ago by Mandela (M is for Mandela), the street committee cells are designed to be a two-way system to teach residents and to learn of their problems and ideas.

In a situation where most outdoor meetings are illegal, the small committees are less vulnerable to State repression, UDF officials say.

They also present an alternative to black local authorities, many of which have been rejected by black communities and destroyed.

In the Transvaal, black youths have already started clearing rubbish and building their own miniature parks, setting up monuments to black heroes such as Steve Biko, who died in police custody in 1977, and Mandela.

Members of the Eastern Cape street committees, which are set up under the auspices of the UDF-affiliated Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association in townships such as New Brighton, include residents representing youth, women and other interest groups, Ngoyi says.

Secretaries from each street committee report to area committees comprising perhaps 10 streets. The area committees report to the association.

"We are working very hard to make people grasp this method," says Ngoyi, who adds that the idea is being spread to other areas. "We can import the people from other places to teach them."

Government appears to be concerned by the growth of the committees, which were set up only in a few places, mainly in the Eastern Cape, when first proposed by Mandela and the now-outlawed African National Congress in the 1950s.

Johannesburg trade unionist Moses Mayekiso, who was recently detained and interrogated after violence erupted in Alexandra township, said he was repeatedly questioned about street committees.

"I was interrogated for five days and they beat me with their fists and thrust me on the floor repeatedly until my neck got stiff," he said. Police declined to comment on the allegations.

Ngoyi said he hoped the street committees would make black residents understand the policies of the UDF, which pursues the same ideals as the ANC.

"Even in future, when we achieve freedom, we doubt whether we can throw away the structure of area committees and street committees," he said.

Support for the ANC and for communism has become increasingly overt in the townships in recent years.

Speakers at mass funerals of riot victims frequently sing and shout the praises of the Soviet Union, as red flags and ANC banners are waved by supporters. — Sapa-Reuter.

April 2 1986

'Full picture we couldn't get in SA'

# Students tell of Harare meetings with ANC

HARARE — Representatives of white SA students and the African National Congress ended three days of talks in Harare yesterday on the turmoil in SA and ways to bring about change.

The National Union of SA Students group returned to SA later yesterday.

On arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Nusas president Brendan Barry said the talks had been "enlightening and informative" and had answered a number of questions which had been "bothering" students at the universities which sent representatives.

In a joint communique, the two sides described the meeting as positive and productive: "The delegations agreed that apartheid is the central cause of conflict in our country and that the Pretoria government is incapable of resolving South Africa's problems.

"Apartheid cannot be reformed." The meeting, the latest in a series

between the outlawed guerrilla organisation and SA groups — previous meetings have angered Pretoria — was held at Nusas' request. It was based on a poll of white, mainly English-speaking students in the past two weeks.

The eight students were led by Barry and represented the universities of Witwatersrand, Durban, Maritzburg, Cape Town, Rhodes and Stellenbosch.

The seven-strong ANC delegation was led by national executive committee members Mac Maharaj and James Stuart.

Barry told reporters that the talks, held privately at the Harare residence of Ghana's high commissioner, had been held as quickly as possible after the student canvass, to avoid possible State action.

Pretoria blocked an earlier proposed trip by some Stellenbosch students, who wanted to meet the ANC in Lusaka, by withdrawing their passports.

Barry said the students had undertaken the trip in full awareness of possible repercussions after their return. He said the main topics of debate had been the current crisis in SA and ways of achieving a democratic future.

He added: "For the first time in our lives, we got a full picture of what the ANC is, what its positions are and what its hopes are. We gained a broad understanding which we are not able to get inside SA."

Maharaj said the meetings between the ANC and such groups as the students, business leaders and churchmen had led to a greater unity among South Africans and a growing isolation of government.

He said it was particularly significant that white students, "who have benefited from the racial system of oppression and exploitation", now saw that apartheid was wrong and needed to be changed. — Sapa-Reuter.

WEDNESDAY  
2/4/86

(scribble)

(scribble)

11A

CME Times 2/16/80  
114 102 23

# Nafcoc head's wife charged over protest

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Joslyn Motsuenyane, the wife of Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motsuenyane, and three other people were charged in the GaRankuwa Magistrate's Court yesterday as the ring-leaders of the protest gathering that led to the Winterveld shootings.

About 120 others also appeared in court yesterday. They are believed to be the last of 2 500 people to appear. They were arrested in Winterveld last week during a clash with the Bophuthatswana police.

## 11 killed

According to the police 11 people were killed and scores injured during the clash at a soccer stadium on March 26.

Those who appeared with Mrs Motsuenyane are Mrs Lebopo, Mr Moshwana and Mr Ngema.

All were warned to appear in the GaRankuwa Regional Court.

They had been in custody until yesterday.

Witnesses at the protest said Mrs Motsuenyane was injured when protesters were confronted by police.



Dr Motsuenyane

At a special sitting on Easter Monday a group of about 250 people appeared in court and were fined R100 or six months, suspended for five years.

Yesterday a spokesman for the Mabopane-Winterveld Youth Organization (Mawiyo) claimed the number of people killed was more than the reported 11.

A hospital spokesman said 32 people were admitted to the GaRankuwa Hospital with gunshot wounds and one of them died immediately on admission.

Five others were treated for minor gunshot wounds and discharged while the rest were still in hospital.

A police spokesman yesterday said five of the dead had already been identified.

A mass funeral is being arranged for a date to be decided on.

Minister of State Affairs for Bophuthatswana, Mr Rowan Cronje, said President Lucas Mangope, had ordered an inquiry into the Winterveld massacre.

● About 51 people were arrested at Maboloka village, near Brits in the Western Transvaal, in connection with an incident in which several Bophuthatswana buses were stoned, police said.

## Suspended

Fifty Bophuthatswana Transport Holding (BTH) buses were extensively damaged this week at a bus depot near the village in the Odi region.

Services to the area were suspended indefinitely.

BTH managing director Mr Hendrik Prinsloo said the services had been suspended until there were assurances that the incident would not be repeated.

Colonel M A Molope said the 51 arrested are between 18 and 30 years old. They will appear in court soon.

# ANC, Nusas meeting ends

JOHANNESBURG. — The Nusas delegation arrived at Jan Smuts airport last night after three days of talks with the ANC in Harare.

The students said the talks were conducted in a "friendly atmosphere".

Mr Brendan Barry, Nusas president, said he now regarded the future with "great optimism".

The concerns expressed by white students had been taken very seriously by the ANC officials who had come from Lusaka for the talks.

Mr Barry said most of the concerns centred around how students



Mr Brendan Barry

could help to bring about a non-racial South Africa.

"Our delegation was able to clear up a number of misconceptions about the ANC and we will report back to students on the various campuses later this week or next week," Mr Barry said.

He would not comment on specific answers or questions which came up at the talks, saying they would be dealt with at the report-back meetings.

Apart from Mr Barry, the delegation included Rhodes University SRC president Mr Barry du Toit, Wits University SRC president Ms Claire Wright, Natal University (Durban) SRC president Ms Meryl Plaskett, UCT SRC president Mr Glen Goosen, Natal University (Maritzburg) SRC member Mr Bruce Robertson, SA Student Press Union president Mr Steve Kromberg and Nusas local committee chairman at Stellenbosch, Mr David Wadillowe.

The seven-member ANC delegation was led by national executive committee members Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr James Stuart.

He said the delegation had been given an understanding of the strategies and tactics of the ANC but the group was not asking students to agree with these.

"Our impression was that the ANC is very informed of the situation here and confident of the prospects of victory," Mr Barry said.

The ANC regarded its armed component as a key part of its struggle.

"Until there is acceptance of the need for apartheid to fall away there does not seem to be any common ground for the government and the ANC," he said in reply to a question.

## 'Full picture'

Mr Barry said: "For the first time in our lives, we got a full picture of what the ANC is, what its positions are and what its hopes are. We gained a broad understanding which we are not able to get inside SA."

In a joint communique issued in Harare, the two sides described the meeting as positive and productive: "The delegations agreed that apartheid is the central cause of conflict in our country and that the Pretoria government is incapable of resolving SA's problems."

The meeting was held at the request of Nusas. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

# Why I did it, by the teenage Toti bomber

SAA IIA

SALDRU  
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
U.C.T.

24/86 Sow Mercury

**THE Amanzimtoti bomber, convicted on five counts of murder and one of attempted murder, said yesterday that after planting the limpet mine he had tried to alert the shopping centre about the impending blast but could not find an unoccupied telephone booth at a nearby post office.**

Andrew Sibiso Zondo, 19, was giving evidence in mitigation in the Supreme Court in Scottburgh yesterday.

Five people were killed when the limpet mine exploded in the crowded arcade on the morning of December 23 last year.

Zondo outlined his role with the African National Congress since leaving school in 1983, at the age of 16, the training he had had in Swaziland, Maputo and Angola, and how he planted the bomb in a refuse bin at the Sanlam Shopping Centre.

He said that after placing the bomb he went to the local post office to make a telephone call to warn the centre.

Zondo said all five telephone booths were occupied and after he had waited for 15 minutes he decided against making the call.

He said that if he had called at that late stage many people would have been killed because they would have panicked and rushed through the arcade where the mine had been placed.

Zondo denied that he had told Mr X that only four people had been killed at Amanzimtoti as against nine in Lesotho.

Before Zondo was found guilty on all six charges, his counsel, Mr Denis Kuyi SC of Johannesburg, cross-examined Mr X. Zondo's ac-

## Mercury Reporter

complice, who cannot be named.

Mr X told the Court that he once played a role in Inkatha when people from Wema had threatened to invade Lamontville.

When he joined the ANC he was concerned with the way of life of the black people, he said.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Leon said the Court accepted the evidence of Mr X although it was aware of the dangers of an accomplice as a witness.

The Judge said Zondo had made a statement to a magistrate saying that he had been the person who had planted the bomb at Amanzimtoti.

## SAA office

Before another magistrate he admitted planting the bomb in a refuse bin in front of the South African Airways office in the centre, and that it was intended to blast the office and not kill people.

Zondo told the Court he grew up in Kwa Mashu and in 1980 he was in conflict with the police during a school boycott. From that day he looked on the police as the enemy.

He said he became involved in politics because he felt it would better the life of his people.

In 1981 he attended a meeting in Durban and on his way home he met a man who recruited him for the ANC.

Freedom Charter which appealed to him because it said South Africa belonged to all the people and not to whites only.

Zondo said he went to Swaziland in 1982 and spent two weeks with the ANC before returning to Durban.

He said he was arrested by the police in January 1983, but escaped after he was released on the pretence that he would help the police in arresting two of his friends.

Zondo said he learned later that the police had arrested him because they had found documents about him when an ANC base in Swaziland was raided by the SADF.

While he was in Maputo in May 1983 the SADF had bombed several buildings, including an ANC store, a clinic and a clinic. Seven people, including children were killed.

Zondo said he believed that the raid was in retaliation for the bombing in Church Street, Pretoria.

He said after the attack in Mozambique he believed that there was no other way

The man explained the



# Zondo guilty of murdering 5 in blast

ONE TIME  
2/4/86  
11A

Own Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — Andrew Sibiso Zondo was found guilty by Mr Justice Leon yesterday of murdering the five people who died in the bomb blast at the Sanlam shopping centre in Amanzimtoti on December 23 last year.

Giving evidence in mitigation in the Supreme Court here, the 19-year-old man said after planting the limpet mine in a bin in front of the SAA office, he tried to alert the shopping centre but failed to find an unoccupied telephone booth at a nearby post office.

After waiting 15 minutes he decided against making the call, fearing, he said, that if he called at that late stage more people would have been killed because they would have panicked and rushed through the arcade where the mine had been placed.

Zondo said he grew up in KwaMashu and in 1980 was in conflict with the police during a

school boycott. From that day, he looked on the police as the enemy.

In 1981 he was recruited by the ANC.

The Freedom Charter appealed to him because it said South Africa belonged to all and not only to whites.

Zondo said he went to Swaziland in 1982 and spent two weeks with the ANC before returning to Durban.

He was arrested by the police in January 1983, but escaped after he was released on the pretence that he would help the police in arresting two of his friends.

Zondo said he believed police had found his autobiography during an SADF raid on an ANC base in Swaziland. This led to his arrest.

He was in Maputo in May 1983 when the SADF bombed several buildings, killing seven people, including children. He believed the raid was in retaliation for the bombing in Church Street, Pretoria.

After the attack he concluded violence was the only way to improve the lives of blacks.

He was sent to Durban in 1985, where he trained eight men and received instructions from a Lulumu Tallman.

On December 20 Tallman told him that because of the SADF attack on Lesotho he should retaliate.

He said he would have placed the bomb on the Saturday afternoon or Sunday while the centre was free of people, but he was unable to find his accomplice, "Mr X", to obtain the mine.

Asked by the judge why he had not gone to the centre at night, Zondo said Amanzimtoti was a white area and he would have been vulnerable to arrest.

Zondo said after the bombing he felt sorry for the people killed and injured and decided to stay in the country to face the consequences.

He told the court it was not ANC policy to hit civilian targets and his action had destroyed its reputation.

### 'I'm guilty'

He said the attack on him by prison warders and a victim's father had given him some relief.

"I am guilty and I have told my father that many people lost their lives in the Amanzimtoti blast and if he lost me he should not cry because I was the cause of the blast."

Mr Ross Stuart appeared for the State. Mr Denis Kuny SC appeared for Zondo. The trial continues today.



PICK-  
OF-THE-CROP  
SPECIALS

LARGE SWEET  
MELONS

TAX FREE

49c

EACH

WHITES & BLACKS

# ZONDO

# FOUND

SOWETANO 4/86

# GUILTY

<sup>SIBISO</sup>  
**ANDREW ZONDO (19) was yesterday found guilty by Mr Justice R N Leon of murdering the five people who died from their injuries in the bomb blast at the Sanlam shopping centre in Amanzimtoti on December 23 last year.**

He was also found guilty of attempting to murder members of the public who were there at the time.

Zondo had pleaded not guilty in the Supreme Court sitting in Scottburgh.

The trial resumed yesterday after being adjourned to allow the defence to obtain senior counsel.

Mr D Kuny, SC, now appeared for Mr Zondo, assisted by Mr T L Skweyiya.

## Five died in 'Toti blast

At the end of the State's case yesterday, Mr Kuny closed his client's case without leading any evidence.

The State closed its case at the conclusion of Mr Kuny's cross-examination of Mr X, an accomplice of Zondo.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Leon said what

began for so many as a happy day ended in a dire, appalling tragedy in which five people lost their lives and many others were injured, some seriously, physically and psychologically.

He said at about 11am an explosion occurred in the crowded shopping centre that

shattered glass in the near vicinity and shattered peoples' lives.

It was two days before Christmas, he said, and no doubt many members of the public were doing their last-minute shopping.

The judge said Mr Ross Stuart, who appeared for the State, called a large number of witnesses whose evidence was not called into question by the defence.

From that evidence and from the admission before the court it was established beyond any question that a limpet mine placed in a refuse bin caused the explosion. — Sapa.

**T**HE four-day Wilton Park Conference in London on the crisis in South Africa, was to have been attended by about 50 delegates, including the Commonwealth Eminent Persons, who visited South Africa recently.

Nine blacks and 10 whites from here were invited and about 25 other delegates were from Canada. The United States of America, Britain, France, West Germany, Australia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Botswana and Mozambique.

Our last-minute withdrawal from the meeting was caused by a combination of non-disclosure by the organisers and maybe an element of misinformation about the nature of the conference.

The conference was to have been opened on Sunday, March 23. Educationist Mr Fanyana Mazibuko and I arrived at Gatwick Airport by train from London and met other delegates waiting for a bus to take us to the conference centre in Sussex.

After we were told that some of the black delegates who were still in London were unhappy about the conference, the two of us and the Rev Stanley Mogoba decided not to go to Sussex.

The others who pulled out with us were Dr Nthato Motlana and Mr Vusi Khanyile. More, like Mr Dan Habedi, Dr Essop Jossat and Mr Moses Maubane are believed to have pulled out on their own.

We were disturbed by Press reports which gave the impression that the conference would be a trial "national convention".

Our immediate reaction was that if we participated we would be seen to be negotiating a settlement of South Africa's problems.

We felt that while anybody was free to inform anybody else in the world about the situation in South Africa, negotiating a settlement was a different matter.

### **Perturbed**

Negotiating a settlement for South Africa has always been perceived by many blacks to be the prerogative of the jailed and exiled political leaders.

It also emerged that some delegates were not aware that an official of Inkatha was going to participate in the seminar. Some of us knew and were not perturbed by Inkatha's presence only if the seminar was a forum at which we were

# Why blacks pulled out of seminar on SA

11A  
SOWETAN  
2/4/88

## FOCUS

**FIVE black South Africans last week withdrew from a five-day seminar on South Africa's problems and future prospects. SAM MABE, one of the five, explains why they withdrew.**

to put the black man's case to the international community.

But we felt that to work out a settlement sitting on the same side of the conference table with Inkatha was totally unacceptable because of the organisation's political stance, which many black organisations reject.

Another reason was that the African Na-

tional Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress would not attend. The PAC's chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, was going to Zimbabwe and the ANC's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was going to Cuba. The PAC had not been invited, while the ANC declined the invitation.

We felt that the input of the two liberation movements was imperative to any conference at which South Africa is to be discussed. This was particularly important because Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Government has been refusing to talk to the leaders of the two movements, regarding them as "terrorists".

There also seems to be a tendency by Western governments to seek a settlement that excludes recognised black leaders in exile and in prison, but includesbantustan leaders.

### **Sanctions**

The background to the conference should have flashed warning signals to black delegates.

Last July a Commonwealth conference in the Bahamas discussed the situation in South Africa and most of the participating countries felt that sanctions against South Africa were necessary.

The British Government, which has earned itself a reputation as one of the chief defenders of the Pretoria Government, was against them.

As a compromise, the conference decided to send a delegation of Eminent Persons to South Africa to facilitate



Mr FANYANA MAZIBUKO



Rev STANLEY MOGOBA

a negotiated settlement that could be reached without violence or the need to impose sanctions.

The group is expected to report to the Commonwealth countries in

another two months. We got the impression, after talking to people in London, that their report was going to be inconclusive.

The Wilton Park Conference was supposed to give the group additional information.

This was very vital information which had not been disclosed to us by the organisers of the conference.

If we had participated, we would have been accused of assisting Western countries to seek the alternatives.

We would have been labelled sell-outs.

• In spite of the withdrawals, the conference went ahead.



Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# 'Toti blast: Zondo found guilty of murder

2/4/85 SPAR  
SAA  
11A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Andrew Sibiso Zondo (19), was found guilty by Mr Justice Leon yesterday of murdering the five people who died from their injuries in the bomb blast at the Sanlam shopping centre in Amanzimtoti on December 23 last year.

He was also convicted of attempting to murder members of the public who were there at the time.

Zondo had pleaded not guilty in the Supreme Court sitting in Scottburgh.

At the end of the State case yesterday, Mr D Kuny SC, appearing for Zondo, closed his client's case without leading any evidence. The State closed its case at the conclusion of Mr Kuny's cross-examination of Mr X, an accomplice of Zondo whose identity may not be revealed.

## SHATTERED LIVES

In his judgment, Mr Justice Leon said what began for so many as a happy day ended in an appalling tragedy in which five people lost their lives and many others were injured, some seriously, physically and psychologically.

He said at about 11 am an explosion occurred in the crowded shopping centre which shattered glass in the near vicinity and shattered peoples' lives. It was two days before Christmas, he said, and no doubt many members of the public were doing their last-minute shopping.

From evidence before the court and from the admission it was established beyond any question that a limpet mine placed in a refuse bin caused the explosion.

## EXPECTED TO KILL

Mr Justice Leon read from a statement which Zondo made to a magistrate. In the statement Zondo said he wanted to say that the person who planted the bomb at Amanzimtoti was himself.

The judge said that when Zondo appeared before a magistrate a second time, he elected to make a statement in which he said he planted the bomb in a bin in front of the SAA office in the centre and it was intended to blast the office and not kill people.

The judge said the court unanimously accepted the evidence given by Zondo's accomplice, Mr X, while at the same time being aware of the dangers of an accomplice as a witness.

He said the court thought that he had replied well to questions and his evidence had the ring of truth to it.

He had been cross-examined by someone of great competence and had emerged unscathed.

The judge said it was clear that Zondo had got the accomplice to obtain the limpet mine. It was taken to Sanlam Centre and placed in a refuse bin by Zondo and detonated by him expecting it to go off in a half-hour, which it duly did. It was expected to kill people.

# Black unions are poised to test their muscle

The signs are that 1986 will be the year in which South Africa's black trade unions will move to the forefront of the struggle for black political and social emancipation, according to Tony Robinson of the *Financial Times*, London.

Robinson, surveying the labour scene in the newspaper's supplement on South Africa, says the most significant development on the trade union front has been the formation of Cosatu (Congress of South African Trade Unions).

"It remains to be seen whether Cosatu will use the combined

muscle of its members in key sectors — mining, metals and engineering, motor industry, food and catering, textiles, transport, and others — to call a general strike, or whether, in the beginning at least, it will concentrate on the difficult task of creating industry-based unions out of the old patchwork of general and industrial ones.

"Experience has shown that the unions have preferred to use the legal channels open to them through conciliation boards and the Industrial Courts to gain significant legal and other gains without damaging industrial

confrontation.

"But in this year of emotive anniversaries, like that in June of the Soweto rising 10 years ago, and of increasing militancy, the signs point to growing labour conflict, both over workplace and pay issues and in support of symbolic gains — like securing May 1 as a public holiday, to be traded if necessary against existing 'white' holidays such as Republic Day and Kruger Day."

Robinson also refers to significant changes taking place in the white trade unions. For example, "the Mineworkers' Union

headed by Mr Arrie Paulus is still fighting a last-ditch battle against the last racial job restrictions on the mines".

He says the recession, which has led to major lay-offs in industry, has also badly affected white artisans and led to a re-emergence of "poor whites", unemployed and embittered.

"Hitherto, thousands have found sheltered employment in the great Afrikaner-dominated bureaucracies and para-statal like the railways and post office. But these, too, have been shedding labour, while the State has sought to keep pay rises below

the rate of inflation."

A consequence has been the growth of right-wing elements in the white unions, resentful at what they see as erosion of pay differentials and growing competition for skilled and semi-skilled jobs from increasingly self-assertive and well organised black workers.

Robinson concludes: "As South Africa moves away from the politics of colour and seeks to re-organise the economy on market principles, the class divisions look like becoming more prominent. The growth of trade unions is part of this process."

## Major obstacle to growth is raising of overseas capital

South Africa urgently needs a steady inflow of capital to achieve the level of growth required if the called-for political reforms in the country are to produce higher living standards and employment levels, the *Financial Times* said yesterday in its SA survey.

Anthony Robinson says the Leutweiler February agreement on repayment of loans to South Africa is onerous and falls far short of the hoped-for debt-rescheduling agreement.

"The provision for half-yearly reviews essentially puts South Africa on parole and under notice that normalisation of relations with the international banks, and a resumption of normal financial flows, is dependent upon tangible progress along the path of political and social reform.

The irony is that financing reform is made doubly difficult by the cut-off in new funds and the obligation to re-pay existing debt on such a heavy scale."

Robinson says it is only the severe recession in South Africa that has generated such large payment surpluses, and these have been used to pay back debt or

finance high-money capital outflows.

"The latter increased dramatically after introduction of the debt standstill, partly through manipulating trade leads and lags which kept the rand under strong pressure."

But Robinson says there has been a perceptible improvement in the economic and financial climate since early December, the turning point being December 9 when the authorities obliged the gold mines to sell all their gold to the Reserve Bank for rands, and forced traders to reduce their payment leads and lags.

Robinson predicts that the latest SA budget will provide additional stimulation. But there is little risk of overheating, due to high unemployment and high levels of plant under-utilisation.

But, "if consumer demand and employment prospects remain problematical, external factors look much more positive. Lower oil prices could reduce the import bill by up to R2 billion, while ensuring a steady but unspectacular growth in mineral exports, the star

performer in 1985 thanks to rand depreciation."

Gold remains unpredictable but looks like reaching higher overall levels than 1985, barring massive distress sales by the Soviet Union, the Middle East and others hit by lower oil prices. The prospect of tough labour negotiations and rising labour militancy does cast a shadow over the sector, however.

Prospects for the farming sector also look reasonably good, says Robinson. The main problems there are a disappointing maize crop and the consumer boycott movements.

"The main external obstacle to future growth and stability remains, however, the difficulty of raising fresh overseas capital. Even so, the monetary authorities expect that South Africa will receive more in the form of export credits than it will disburse over the next two years or so, when foreign manufacturers and export credit bodies will be competing for large orders from traditional buyers like Escom, Iscor and Soekor, which is currently drawing up plans for the R4,8-billion natural gas project off Mossel Bay."

# Thousands gather for ANC man's funeral

The Argus Correspondent

*17/6/82 3/4/82 (11A)*

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Vosloorus township near Boksburg looked like a town in a state of siege today as thousands of mourners gathered for the funeral of Mr Samuel Segole, an alleged African National Congress insurgent.

All businesses in the townships closed. Pupils stayed away from school and many residents are at home after a stayaway call yesterday.

No public transport was operating in the township and in neighbouring Katlehong buses went only as far as the outskirts of the township.

A large contingent of police in Hippo armoured carriers and other vehicles and Defence Force troops in army lorries were present and parked at strategic places in the township.

Members of the foreign media, including TV crewmen, were escorted from the township this morning.

## LINED STREET

Thousands of mourners, mainly youths singing freedom songs, lined the street outside Mr Segole's home.

When the service began about 10am police used a sneeze machine, causing mourners to choke.

The officiating priest, the Rev Andrew Makhene, and Mr Segole's father, Mr Ezekial Segole, approached the police and asked them to leave. The police complied and moved to the road leading towards the cemetery.

According to restrictions imposed on the funeral by Boksburg magistrate Mr Johannes Roets the proceedings were limited to the house and the cemetery, no political speeches could be made and banners, posters or flags could not be displayed.

**AVAILABLE BUT TRUE! BREASTED AND**

Softmark Ballville KVV 2882

(Work) (Afr) Language Preference (Eng)

Code

Details of the KVV Wine Courses/I wish to register (delete)

KVV Wine Courses, P O Box 528, Suider-Paart 7624.

1986 TIME: 19h00 - 22h30

The last word in Wine Courses

Principal: KVV (1) 63-1001



Act. They would be prosecuted under the Comp

An earlier hearing, when bail was refused, it appeared

"It is in the interests of justice that they be

sheet having been formulated, he said.

his son were gravely prejudiced in their but

Mr M Hodes, SC, submitted that Mr Levin

draw the inference that the charges would be

The magistrate, Mr J C du Preez, said it w

istrate's Court.

"grave prejudice suffered by them in

the South African Gold Coin Exchange, Mr F

criminal charges against the former chair

JOHANNESBURG — An application to

The Argus Correspondent

Court turns down Levines' application

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Shop 99 Tygerdalley

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Cape Town Closed S

# Jubilation as Winnie goes home to Soweto

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela made a triumphant return to her Soweto home and was welcomed by shouts of "viva Mandela", embraced by neighbours and surrounded by schoolchildren.

She immediately addressed a barrage of foreign and local newsmen but may not be quoted.

Mrs Mandela was first banned in 1963. Her banning order was lifted in 1975. In 1977 she was banned again and restricted to Brandfort, near Bloemfontein.

In August last year her Brandfort house was fire-bombed and she returned to her home in Soweto.

In December her banning order was eased and she was allowed to live anywhere in South Africa except in the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

On December 23, Mrs Mandela was removed from her Soweto home and arrested by police.

She was released and again defied an order barring her from entering Soweto. Mrs Mandela was re-arrested and fined R500.

She lodged an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court challenging her banning order but lost the case and appealed.

Asked for comment, a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria referred to a statement issued by the Minister of Law and Order,

Mr Louis le Grange, saying: "His (Mr le Grange's) statement laid before the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on March 22, when the banning order on community leader Mr Mkhoseli Jack was declared invalid for lack of reasons, also applied to Mrs Mandela."

The police spokesman said Mr le Grange had said in his statement that he would review banning and detention orders in the light of "current events."

Argus 3/4/86 (1A) 30004

# Talk to ANC, says Toti victim's father



Flashback: Police sift through the wreckage after the Amamzimtoti bomb blast.

Argus 3/4/86 (1A) 30004

# Zondo given five death sentences

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Amamzimtoti bomber Andrew Subisiso Zondo raised a clenched fist, shouted "amandla" and rushed from the dock to the cells after receiving five death sentences for the murder of the people who died in the blast.

Zondo, 19, yesterday left the dock before hearing the judge pass a 10-year prison sentence on him for the attempted murder of other shoppers in the Sanlam Centre.

Before passing sentence Mr Justice Leon asked Zondo if he wished to say anything.

### "FRIENDLY"

Zondo said he was sorry for those who had lost their friends, "kids" and families in the limpet mine explosion.

"I also wish my country to be friendly to neighbouring countries," he said.

The court found there were no extenuating circumstances.

Mr Justice Leon said South Africa was a deeply divided and troubled country.

Zondo had been one of the thousands of black youths who left the country to take up arms and had been vulnerable in adolescence to pressures put on him.

He said Zondo's experiences had no doubt played a significant part in his joining the African National Congress.

The placing of the bomb had not been an act done for any personal gain.

Mr Justice Leon said Zondo had seen it as a way of serving his own people.

Dealing with the conflicting evidence of Zondo and his accomplice, Mr X, the judge

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A Pretoria man whose son was killed in the Amamzimtoti bomb blast still believes the South African Government and the African National Congress should start talking.

Mr Johan Smit, a Villeria businessman, has one condition: that the ANC should renounce violence.

If the organisation had the support of the majority it did not need violence as a power base during any negotiations, he said.

Mr Smit's eight-year-old son Cornio was killed after he persuaded his grandfather to stop at the Sanlam Shopping Centre in Amamzimtoti on December 23 so that he could buy Christmas presents for his family.

His grandmother, Mrs Anna Smit, was also caught in the blast and doctors are waiting for her muscles to strengthen before operating to correct her badly injured foot.

### "Not vengeful"

Mr Smit said he did not feel vengeful towards the 19-year-old Andrew Zondo, who was sentenced to death yesterday for the murder of the five who died.

For him the matter ended with the tragic death of his son, and it was now in God's hands.

"The young man who has received the death sentence must have known that people would be killed and I don't think he should have wanted violence," Mr Smit said.

During the trial Zondo admitted he was an ANC member and that he had planted the bomb at the shopping centre.

Mr Smit believes that negotiations between the Government and the ANC are a priority. South Africa did not need a foreign referee in any negotiations, he said. Both sides had to recognise each other and "act as adults".

But it appeared that both were too stubborn, he added.



# Azapo: We'll defend ourselves

THE Azanian People's Organisation will in future defend itself and its members from attack, a Johannesburg Press conference chaired by Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza heard yesterday.

An Azapo planning congress resolved in Durban during the Easter

weekend to condemn Inkatha for its repeated attacks and to "use all means at our disposal" to protect Azapo members and Natal's blacks against the "amabutho", Mr Myeza said.

The Azanian Student Movement said in a statement also released at yesterday's confer-

ence it did not attend the National Education Crisis Committee conference, held in Durban over Easter, as the NECC had been constituted through a sectarian, undemocratic and manipulative process.

Azasm called for a national school stayaway from May 1 to May 4 to complement a national work stayaway over the same period in protest against the Government's refusal to heed black workers' demands and to declare May 1 a public holiday.

Azasm, moreover,

pledged solidarity with black students at Medunsa who opposed the admission of white students. 3/4/88

Azapo's planning congress in Durban had also:

• Noted that Inkatha and the Progressive Federal Party had arranged a "ruling class ploy" of foisting the Kwa-Natal option on Natal's blacks;

• Condemned the "aggressive, imperialist" policies of the Reagan Administration;

• Pledged solidarity

SOWETAN (IA)  
with the people of Libya and everyone affected by imperialist aggression; and

• Condemned the "reimposition of the state of emergency on the black majority in another form by banning all meetings;

• Although Azapo and Azasm did not attend the NECC conference in Durban, they endorsed all the decisions taken and said they would abide by them if these were not in conflict with Azapo strategies. — Sapa.

# FOCUS

on SA's future

# ANC must form creative strategy

TIA

LONDON — A combination of political success and military failure could persuade South Africa's leaders to find a solution leading to a flourishing, multi-party and non-racial South Africa.

But this remains a distant and elusive goal, said the London *Financial Times* in a special supplement on South Africa yesterday.

Given the present degree of polarisation and bitterness in the country, the message as to how the goal can be achieved is:

- Release all political prisoners including Nelson Mandela.
- Lift the ban on the ANC and other banned organisations.
- Allow the return of exiles, and
- Start real negotiations with real black leaders.

## Support

The *Financial Times* concedes that it won't be easy. Most whites have only a hazy idea of who the real black leaders are, and how strong is their real support.

And the same applies to most blacks. People like Nelson Mandela who have not been allowed to speak in public for over two decades, are martyrs and symbols, not flesh and blood politicians with faults and weaknesses.

The risk is that when it comes to counting heads, what looks now like black unity against apartheid and white domination will degenerate into bit-

ter internecine fighting, possibly on tribal as well as ideological and political lines. There are already signs of this in the townships.

Ultimately, however, this kind of process will have to take place in South Africa — with the risk that when it does the die-hard whites will take to the streets with their guns trained as much on a government it accuses of selling them out as on blacks. If it reaches this point, then the military might have to step in as final arbiter.

## Avoid

This is precisely the kind of scenario which responsible black leaders, including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the African National Congress and the overwhelming black major-

ity want to avoid as passionately as most middle-of-the-road whites.

Which is why the ball is actually now in the court of black leaders, especially, but certainly not exclusively, the ANC, to come forward with something more creative than the stereotype formula of "one man, one vote in a unitary South Africa".



CHIEF GATSHA Buthelezi . . . Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister.

# Inkatha to probe bus claim

CAC 70-6 3/1/80  
11A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha is to investigate allegations that its members hired Putco buses to ferry armed impis to the National Education Crisis Committee meeting in Durban last weekend.

Two Inkatha members died in an attack on conference delegates registering at the Congella hall.

Putco yesterday said it stood by its statement that two buses used to ferry armed impis to the meeting were hired by Inkatha, but Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied that he had ordered the disruption of the meeting.

"The events which took place were not orchestrated by Inkatha. I most certainly did not order the action," he said.

In another development, a police spokesman denied that a weekend police report had said the impi had been backed by Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi has called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, publicly to repudiate the statement.

Mr Le Grange could not be reached for comment yesterday, but Colonel Vic Haynes said weekend police reports did not say Inkatha had been involved, and that the newspaper which printed the story had been asked to print an apology.

Putco said earlier in a statement that buses had been hired by a prominent community leader for use by Inkatha on Saturday, the day of the clashes, but that Putco had not been aware of the intention of the passengers.

Putco was fully aware of the importance of the NECC conference, the statement added.

# Black politicians applaud Tutu's sanctions call

By Maud Motanyane  
and Duncan Guy

Black political organisations have come out in strong support of Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for punitive sanctions against South Africa.

But the whole spectrum of white political organisations — from the Progressive Federal Party to the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) — as well as commerce and industry, have rejected the bishop's stand.

Bishop Tutu yesterday carried out his long-standing threat, calling on the international community to apply punitive sanctions to help bring about change in South Africa.

## DETRIMENTAL

One of the important questions relating to the issue of sanctions is how they would affect blacks. It was most of the white organisations that used this argument as a basis for rejecting the call, saying sanctions would be detrimental to blacks.

But black political organisations welcomed the bishop's stand as the last remaining non-violent way to achieve change in South Africa.

UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said: "Given the way the State has behaved towards its own citizens over the past 18 months, calling for punitive sanc-

tions has become one of last options open to people committed to peaceful change," he said.

"We hope that Bishop Tutu's call and that of the National Education Crisis Conference in Durban will be seen by the international community as a desperate call from the oppressed section of the South African society to exert more decisive pressure on this racist Government."

An Azapo spokesman said the call for economic sanctions was long overdue.

"The continued maintenance and support of this unrepresentative minority regime has left us with the conclusion that the so-called Western democracies have been silent about the iniquities of this Government simply because it is white," he said.

"It is simply a despicable shame that more than 1 000 black lives were lost over a period of a year because of protests against education and the general state of affairs in the country, while the Western countries maintained a deafening silence".

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais called on the Government to take action against Bishop Tutu, who was "declaring war in the name of God".

The PFP spokesman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said: "I'm against sanctions because of the horrendous effect it



Mr Jaap Marais

will have on widespread unemployment in South Africa, which has no social security safety net, but at the same time it should be clearly understood that if sanctions are imposed it will not be due to Bishop Tutu — the blame rests entirely on P W Botha and his Government for failing to honour their undertaking to dismantle apartheid."

A PFP representative on the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said: "We have seen black leadership emerging in big business. If sanctions are applied, these opportunities will close and there will be a leadership vacuum."

## UNEMPLOYED

Assocom said it regretted Bishop Tutu's call. Chief executive Mr Raymond Parsons said: "Like Bishop Tutu, business has been involved in the process of change for many decades and believes that a growing economy remains an essential condition for evolutionary reform in South Africa.

He said businessmen found it hard to reconcile a call for economic sanctions with their daily experience of blacks seeking work at shops, offices and factories. Governments did not suffer pain, people did.

He said successful economic sanctions would also weaken the blacks in the very sphere in which their power had been growing — on the labour market.

# No leave to appeal against 5 death sentences

# ZONDO TO HANG FOR 'TOTI DEATHS

SOKETAN (11A) B229 (22A) 2480

ANDREW Zondo (19) has received the death sentence five times over after being convicted of murder following the Amanzimtoti bomb blast which claimed the lives of five people in December last year.

Zondo received an additional 10-year sentence for attempted murder.

When sentence was passed, Zondo gave the African National Congress salute and then dashed from the courtroom. He was re-arrested shortly afterwards.

The judge has refused Zondo leave to appeal.

The planting of the Amanzimtoti bomb was unfortunately an act that

### Sapa and Own Correspondent

encapsulated the tragedy of South African society.

This was said by Zondo's counsel, Mr D Kuny, SC, arguing for the finding of extenuating circumstances.

Mr Kuny said Zondo was a young man still in his teens and had all the promise that his intelligence, sensitivity and enthusiasm for life gave him.

He said it was a peculiar contradiction of this country that every young white man was obliged to undergo military training while black youths who went and did military training ended up in court, charged and being sent to jail.

Mr Kuny said the bomb had not been planted out of greed or seeking personal gain at the expense of others. Zondo had rather been driven out of frustration, anger, bitterness and the conflicts he had been exposed to and grown up in.

Mr Ross Stuart, for the State, said it was a crime against society as a whole.

Mr Stuart said only an inherently evil mind could have taken the steps up the passage to place the bomb in the bin.

Earlier a Maritzburg psychiatrist, Dr Alan Trengrove-Jones, who was called by the State and asked by the judge to observe Zondo throughout the trial, gave evidence.

Dr Trengrove-Jones said that looking at Zondo's circumstances, one had to take into consideration certain experiences he had had, such as his arrest and being placed in a conflict situation between the authorities and his commitment to his own peer group.

Sanctions  
only way  
to peace

— ANC

The Star 3/4/86 -

LONDON - The ANC has welcomed Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for immediate punitive sanctions against South Africa.

It believes sanctions are the only means to bring about "relatively peaceful change" in the country.

The British Foreign Office has declined to comment.

An ANC spokesman said: "The only way this government can be compelled to change its position without undue loss of life is if the flow of support from the outside is stopped.

"We hope Western governments, particularly the United States and Britain, will respond."

Neither the ANC nor the British Foreign Office have reacted officially to the withdrawal of Mrs Winnie Mandela's banning order.

● The South African Government had taken note of Bishop Tutu's call, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel said last night.

Mr Nel said sanctions would lead to unemployment and would escalate violence in South Africa. He said Bishop Tutu was aware of this and it was a strange objective for a Christian, a Nobel Peace Laureate and a holder of the Martin Luther King peace prize. — Sapa.



Mrs Winnie Mandela stands outside a neighbour's house after her return to her home in Orlando West yesterday.

## Well-wishers greet Winnie Mandela 111A on return to Soweto

STAPL 3/4/86  
By Rich Mkhondo 228

Hundreds of well-wishers thronged to the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela this morning.

Chants of "Viva Mandela!" and "she is our mother" were sung by a group of youths outside her house last night and this morning.

Mrs Mandela — who returned to Soweto yesterday after her lawyer said she was being unbanned — is to return to Brandfort, whence she had been exiled, to attend a funeral of an unrest victim.

Mrs Mandela and members of her family were kept busy throughout last night by a steady stream of people who had come to wish her well and congratulate her for having "withstood an onslaught on her by the government."

### MAY NOT BE QUOTED

Today is the first day in which Mrs Mandela will be able to move about — possibly without being followed by members of the police who have watched her every move since she was banned in 1977 and banished to Brandfort.

Mrs Mandela made a triumphant return to her home yesterday. She was welcomed by shouts and embraced by excited neighbours as schoolchildren surrounded her.

Mrs Mandela immediately addressed a barrage of foreign and local newsmen — but she may not be quoted.

# De Jonge publicity upsets Dutch MP

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

THE HAGUE — A Dutch Liberal MP has asked Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek to prevent a repetition of "harmful publicity" about Mr Klaas de Jonge who is sheltering in the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria.

This follows extensive publicity given in the Dutch media to extracts from a diary which Mr de Jonge is keeping.

In the extracts, Mr de Jonge lashes out at the South African security police who arrested and detained him.

The MP, Mr Weisglas, claims that Mr de Jonge "arranged" interviews and pictures at a time when both South Africa and Holland were conducting "silent diplomacy" in serious efforts to solve the problem of his future.

But observers in The Hague say it will be difficult, if not impossible, for Mr van den Broek to do prevent publicity as this would mean denying Mr de Jonge the right to send letters or make telephone calls.



BUS DAY  
3/1/86

107

11A

214

# Indaba could be bridge to span political void

**THE indaba** — convened by Natal senior MEC Frank Martin and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — aims to formulate a constitutional framework for a single legislative assembly for a united KwaZulu/Natal.

At least 29 of the 40 organisations invited have indicated they would attend although non-participation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Natal Indian Congress (NIC) is undoubtedly a blow to the status of the meeting.

Attendance of National Party representatives, however, if only as observers, has been welcomed.

## Second tier

According to Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal and former organising secretary of the Buthelezi Commission, the plans would involve a second tier of government, presumably with additional powers, with a defined relationship to Parliament and Cabinet.

Schlemmer, who has maintained interest in the Natal option with help and advice to planners of the indaba, believes it could have two significant features.

Firstly, it could provide a constitutional model for bridging political thinking — on the one hand a commitment to protecting minority

*THE Kwazulu/Natal indaba begins in Durban today. There is considerable hope in some quarters that it will point the way to bridging the gulf between those committed to majority rule on the one hand and group self-determination on the other, writes PETER WALLINGTON.*

rights through racially-defined structures by some white organisations, and, on the other, black rejection of proposals based on group representation.

The indaba will have to resolve this conflict through consensus.

The second significant factor lies in the fact that it is a regional initiative. "Some parts of the country, whether they are provinces, parts of provinces or cities, are more ready for meaningful structural change in politics than others.

"The principle of local or regional options can provide a society with flexibility to cope with political strains that can tear a fully-centralised government apart," Schlemmer said recently.

Cape Town University political science head Professor David Welsh says the regional option, such as the indaba, was "possibly a promising way of approaching a national accommodation".

He points out that if a national solution is impossible at present, then the possibilities of a "non-racial regionalism ought to be pursued".

Welsh stresses, however, that spon-

While it is believed there was opposition within the party to participation, the decision to attend was probably influenced by the effect non-participation would have had on international opinion and on future negotiations with KwaZulu.

Indeed, Buthelezi has fought publicly against disinvestment and violence as a means of solving the political crisis — which has made him unpopular with other black groups.

For all his efforts he has had little in the way of concrete change to bring home to his constituents, and the indaba proposals would present government with an opportunity to reward him for his political stand.

The indaba has received wide support within Natal from organised commerce.

sors of regional options should not delude themselves "that it is in any way a long-term substitute for national accommodation".

A drawback for the indaba is the absence of some important black organisations.

The UDF said it wants nothing to do with apartheid structures. The outlawed African National Congress rejected the indaba because "it aimed to split up SA".

As Schlemmer pointed out, there is a reluctance to negotiate with government because of a fear that it would limit talks to how and to what extent groups would share power.

Welsh agrees that the credibility of the indaba would have been enhanced had organisations such as the UDF attended. "One hopes, however, that the successful operation of a KwaNatal authority might induce them at a later stage to change their minds".

On the positive side, the NP observers have been welcomed.

NP Natal leader Stoffel Botha has said the NP would do nothing to distract from the status of the indaba and that its findings would be referred to government.

# Inkatha probes impi allegation

3/4/83  
PETER WALLINGTON

INKATHA is to investigate allegations that its members hired Putco buses to ferry armed impis to the National Education Crisis Committee meeting in Durban at the weekend.

Two Inkatha members died in an attack on conference delegates who were registering at the hall in Congella.

Putco yesterday said it stood by its statement that two buses used to ferry armed impis to the meeting were hired by Inkatha.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied he ordered the meeting to be disrupted.

"The events which took place were not orchestrated by Inkatha. I most certainly did not order the action," he said.

□ A police spokesman denied that a weekend police report said the impi was backed by Inkatha.

# A way out of South Africa's impasse?

## LONDON BUREAU

STANLEY UYS continues his impressions of a recent visit to South Africa

**SOUTH AFRICA, then, is at an impasse: Pretoria cannot suppress the black unrest, and the blacks cannot seize Pretoria.**

'A worst-case scenario is projected of a short, sharp, brutal and destructive revolution,' Dr van Zyl Slabbert said when I interviewed him (on the day before his resignation). 'I do not see this happening. Rather, I foresee South Africa drifting into a period of prolonged siege and inconclusive violence.'

'There are certain thresholds we could cross which would make South Africa a very desperate society to live in. One is if the country became totally isolated — this could nurture an evil government. The other is if black violence spills over into white residential areas and provokes counter-violence from whites. Then we could drift into a Lebanon-type situation with no-go zones.'

Adrian Guelke, a former Capetonian now lecturing at The Queen's University, Belfast, has been comparing the Northern Ireland and South African situations. He said in a recent lecture here in London:

'Once systems like Northern Ireland and South Africa, characterised by coercive dominant-subordinate relationships, reach a point where the political system's capacity for coercing the subordinate community is put in doubt it becomes simply impossible to criminalise political violence, whether the violence is of a revolutionary or vigilante kind.'

'In these circumstances political violence rapidly becomes inter-community violence. It becomes representative violence. That is to say, political violence is no longer seen as simply the actions of individuals but as representative of the community from which it emanates and for which that community is accountable.'

Blacks in South Africa are already moving into this conflict situation and now, with the formation of vigilante groups, a counter-movement is stirring in the white community.

It is clear where the Government's priority lies: it is to avert this impending confrontation, because once it happens the country's last precious political asset — the cross-cutting good will between the white and black communities — will disappear and the race war will begin.

### Prospects

But the prospects of the Government averting the confrontation are not encouraging. In 38 years of dealing with the anti-apartheid struggle the authorities have learnt nothing. Unleashing the police is still the only remedy they know, although all that this has achieved over the years has been partly to take the leadership of the black community out of the hands of elected leaders and disperse it in the back streets of the townships.

The UDF is an example. It has been structured in such a way that even if its national and regional leaders are taken into detention, decision-making and organisation can continue at a township level where it is almost inaccessible to the police. The tougher the police become, therefore, the more fragmented the situation in the townships will become, as UDF cadres are forced to share power with the hard core of

the apartheid generation, the brutalised wolf-pack who ride in on the wake of the political mainstream.

### Invisible

The Government's black enemy in fact is becoming invisible, and all the recent talk by ministers of employing the hitherto vast, untapped coercive resources of the State is so much pie-in-the-sky. Short of bombing the black townships there is little the Government can do except kill more people, detain more people — and generate more black fury.

Sooner or later the Government will have to talk to the black community — but who will talk to the Government? When the time comes to negotiate power-sharing, as remorselessly it will come, the Government's real problem will be to find representative black leaders capable of controlling their own people.

Professor Hermann Gilmore made this point some time ago when he said the Government would discover that even more dangerous than the existence of a large and influential black organisation would be the absence of one. Professor Heribert Adam made much the same point to me when he passed through London last week. Whites, he said, might well find that their long-term interests were best served by an autocratic black government.

There is, then, no police solution to South Africa's problem, only a political one: for the rising level of violence in the white community to subside the level of violence in the black community must first subside, and this is possible only if certain minimum black demands are met. But the lesson of the times, surely, is that these demands will not be met by President Botha's reform programme.

This is not to say that all Botha's reforms are 'cosmetic', or whatever the current dismissive word is. It just means that the reforms are contributing nothing to reducing the level of violence in the townships.

Botha, in fact, is getting the worst of both worlds. First, his reforms merely tell blacks that the apartheid system is ceasing to function efficiently, that whites are on the defensive and that raised black expectations and morale are justified. In a sense, therefore, the reforms are adding to, not detracting from, the level of violence in the townships: they fall short of meeting demands yet they inspire blacks to believe that the hated system is cracking up.

### What options?

Second, whereas the reforms were meant to have the maximum effect on blacks and the minimum effect on whites the opposite is happening: the reforms are having the maximum, counter-productive effect on conservative whites and the minimum pacifying effect on blacks.

Caught in this no-win situation, where can President Botha go from here? What are his options?

One suggested option is that he should relieve the strains on Afrikaner unity by stalling the reform programme.

The historical back-

ground is interesting. In the late 1960s pressures for apartheid reform built up to a point where they could no longer be contained within the National Party — within the Afrikaner nationalist consensus. The problem with this consensus is that, while it ensures an Afrikaner monopoly of political power it has little flexibility in adjusting to change.

The conflict within the NP was resolved by the HNP breakaway in 1969. This widened the consensus and allowed the introduction of reforms, until the pressures for further reform built up again and once more were stifled by the consensus. So a second break had to occur — the Conservative Party in 1982 — to give reform space in which to breathe.

Now the pressures have built up again, but this time so rapidly and massively that they are not likely to be released through just another minor breakaway. Now the application of a radical reform programme — the only kind of programme that will have meaning for blacks — could tear the NP asunder. And this is where President Botha has faltered and stopped.

President Botha has come to the frontiers of this reform potential because he is not prepared to preside over the dissolution of Afrikaner nationalism.

No doubt he will still come up with reform ideas — he has not called a federal congress of the NP in August for nothing — but it can be predicted already that the ideas, especially if they relate to a new constitutional dispensation for blacks, will be so convoluted as to make absolutely no impact on the currents of violence that are running in the black townships.

Putting the brakes on the reform programme, therefore, or diverting it into esoteric highways and byways is one suggested option. A more realistic option is to replace the Afrikaner consensus with a more broadly based consensus of white voters within which radical reform will become possible. The majority vote is certainly there: the catchment area includes not only English-speakers (PFP members among them) but the growing number of Afrikaner nationalists who accept (as Gavin Relly once put it) that the party is over.

In my discussions with PFP leaders it was put to me that the divide in parliamentary politics was between the NP and PFP on one side and the CP and HNP on the other: the former supporting reform (al-

beit at different tempos) and the latter resisting it. Here, in broad outline, then, is a way out of South Africa's impasse, although obviously neither the NP nor the PFP would survive such a realignment intact. There seems to be no other way in which the mould of white politics can be constructively broken.

Stalling the reform programme may be an option for Right-wing whites who dream of an ethnic remobilisation of Afrikaners and the restoration of apartheid in its Verwoerdian purity; it is not really an option for South Africa.

Dr Piet Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers and former editor of the Burger, believes Afrikaner nationalism has burnt its bridges. 'We had to try apartheid,' he explained to me, 'in order to prove that it does not work. Socialists in Britain were not very different. After the war they, too, had to change under the pressure of new insights. They also know now that the best-laid plans sometimes don't work.'

'Afrikaners are busy learning that this is not just their country — that they are not going to be the only bosses for ever. They will not accept one man, one vote but at least they know now what is impossible.'

Harald Pakendorf, editor of the Vaderland, perceives a new fluidity in white politics. He believes there are about 50 Nationalist MPs who are at least a 'little concerned' over the pace of reform.

### Must stand up

'This does not mean they are going to form a new party,' Pakendorf told me, 'but it does mean they will have to stand up and be counted. The whole question of the pace of reform will have to be discussed now in the NP's parliamentary caucus and there are enough critically minded MPs to make it a meaningful discussion.'

'Whatever comes out of this discussion it is not impossible that we will see a third force establishing itself in the country. I am not saying this is about to happen — just that the possibility exists. The conflict between whites has run its course and Afrikaners are losing their cohesiveness. Either a third force will be established now, or the NP will have to become a less nationalistic party.'

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# Campaign against indaba launched

CAPL Times 3/4/86

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — A campaign to oppose the Kwa-Zulu/Natal indaba was launched in a hotel here last night by an alliance of rightwing groups under the umbrella of the recently-formed Action White Natal.

The campaign will begin today when three protest documents are presented to the chairman of the indaba, Professor Desmond Clarence, at its public opening session at 10am in the City Hall.

The documents will be presented by the chairman of Action White Natal, Mr Barry Wolmarans; the chairman of South Africa First, Mr Arthur Morris, and two prominent Natal Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) members, Mr Oscar Hattingh and Mr Kossie Erasmus.

The Durban representative on the HNP national executive, Mr Martin Louw, said the campaign would include a Natal petition. An anti-indaba meeting would be held on May 19.

He said that after today's indaba meeting, 40 delegates from the groups at last night's meeting would form an ad-hoc committee to coordinate the campaign.

The HNP and Conservative Party refused to take part in the indaba.

The HNP's reasons were, among other things, that the organizers had not been given a mandate by whites to hold the indaba; that the Anglo American Corporation and "a small group of rich people" were behind it; that the indaba would lead to the disintegration of borders between races.

# Defiant 'Toti bomber sentenced to death for five murders

STAK 3/4/86  
11A  
SAP

DURBAN — Amanzimtoto shopping-centre bomber Andrew Zondo gave the black power salute and shouted "Amandla" immediately after he was sentenced to death five times for five murders yesterday.

Zondo (19), was also sentenced in the Scottburgh Supreme Court to 10 years' imprisonment for attempted murder.

Before Mr Justice R N Leon passed sentence on the attempted murder charge, Zondo stormed out of the dock to the cells. The sentence was passed in his absence.

Asked by the judge if he had anything to say before sentence was passed, Zondo said: "To the people who lost their friends, chil-

dren and family members in the blast, I am sorry."

He added he also wished that South Africa remained friendly with its neighbouring countries.

An application by the defence for leave to appeal against the death sentence was refused.

The court found there were no extenuating circumstances.

Mr Justice Léon said the story Zondo had given that he had gone to the post office to telephone the shopping centre so it could be evacuated was preposterous.

He said the court accepted the evidence of Zondo's accomplice as true and rejected that portion of Zondo's evidence where there was a conflict.

Mr Justice Leon said he had

found Zondo had deliberately selected a spot in a crowded shopping centre to place the bomb two days before Christmas.

He could have chosen another target or he could have gone to the shopping centre in the early morning or at night when it was free of people, he said.

Mr Justice Leon said the court had to look at the broad background of society and of Zondo.

"We live (in) a divided and deeply-troubled society and most of the power and privileges are in the hands of the whites while the black community was less powerful and less affluent," he said.

He said Zondo had told the court he had not intended to kill civilians while his accomplice's version was that the murders had been premeditated because he (Zondo) had expressed a sense of satisfaction after the bombing.

Under cross-examination earlier by Mr Ross Stuart, for the State, of how he felt about violence now, Zondo replied he held a different view.

He said he no longer believed violence was the only way to help black people in South Africa and also to bring about change in the country.

He said he joined the ANC of his own free will and even though his father had tried to talk him out of joining the organisation he left the country.

Zondo said he would not have hesitated in placing the bomb at the Sanlam Centre if it meant killing policemen.

## SENT TO CAMPS

He said ANC members were properly disciplined and those who defied instructions were punished. They were sent to camps and were not allowed to return to South Africa.

Professor Fatima Meer, a sociologist at Natal University, who gave evidence on behalf of Zondo, told the court Zondo had grown up within the ambit of "bantus" authorities and education which was spelled out by a former South African Prime Minister, the late Dr Verwoerd, as being designed to retain a state of subordination between black and white.

She said in the last 10 years bantu education and black people were exposed to modern goals.

## TRAINING

Professor Meer said the ANC organised scholarships all over the world and it had two well-rated academic schools.

Mr Denis Kuy, SC, for Zondo, argued that a peculiar contradiction of this country was that every white youth was obliged to do military training while black youths who went and did such training ended up being sent to jail.

Mr Justice Leon granted Zondo's accomplice, Mr X, indemnity from prosecution — Sapa.

Challenge to whites on economy

# Tutu calls for all-out sanctions



● TUTU

3/4/88  
TUESDAY  
11A

**BISHOP Desmond Tutu wants punitive sanctions against government.**

He is calling on the international community to apply immediate clamps.

"We can't sit around and let three deaths a day become part of the scenery," he says.

The Nobel Peace Prize-winning Bishop of Johannesburg says that the country is facing a catastrophe and he sees no hope of real change unless government is forced.

Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel replies that Tutu is advocating mass unemployment and misery.

Tutu's call for punitive sanctions was greeted with regret by Assocom head Raymond Parsons.

"Businessmen find it hard to reconcile a call for economic sanctions with their

PETER WALLINGTON  
and ALAN RUDDOCK

daily experience of blacks seeking work at shops, offices and factories. Governments do not suffer pain, people do."

Parsons adds that business believes "a growing economy remains an essential condition for evolutionary reform. Effective sanctions will undermine the best strategies available for further black advancement".

● Comment Page 6

Federated Chamber of Industries president John Wilson says Tutu "has undoubtedly expressed the frustrations of many blacks in calling now for punitive international sanctions".

He said: "The FCI cannot, however,

support a unilateral telescoping of the timetable for change asked for by the Bishop and to which he himself is committed.

"Constraint and responsibility are needed by all leaders within SA if serious conflict and human tragedy are to be minimised."

A police spokesman could not comment on whether the police were investigating the possible legal implications of Tutu's action.

Tutu, asked whether he feared arrest because of his call, says his actions will not be determined by their possible consequences.

Tutu adds he could not prescribe what kind of sanctions he thought should be

● To Page 2

# Tutu calls for sanctions

imposed by the international community.

He says he is not making the call for sanctions on behalf of anyone but himself.

"Massive unemployment engineered by apartheid already exists."

He says independent surveys indicate that 70% of blacks support sanctions.

Government and the white community must decide whether they want the economy to be ruined.

"If they want the economy destroyed, let them remain intransigent. We don't want it destroyed. But what else do you want us to do? We have begged and protested and petitioned since 1912."

Tutu adds that there are three ways to change a system. Firstly, through voting, blacks do not have the vote. Secondly,

through violence, and he rejects that option. Thirdly, through peaceful means, and economic sanctions fall into that category.

Tutu says the ball is still in government's court and if real change were implemented sanctions would not be necessary.

"In SA you are everyone's blue-eyed boy if your peaceful methods don't stand a chance of succeeding. If something can succeed, you are an ogre."

He says in 1984 government, far from heeding the calls for change, introduced the tricameral constitution which was "the climax of the policies of exclusion to which blacks had been subjected since 1910".

● From Page 1

3/4/88  
TUESDAY  
11A

# Peaceful change in SA an elusive goal, says UK newspaper

SMAR  
3/4/86  
11/4

LONDON — A combination of political success and military failure could persuade South Africa's leaders to find a solution leading to a flourishing, multiparty and nonracial South Africa.

However, this remains a distant and elusive goal, says the London *Financial Times* in a special supplement on South Africa published yesterday.

The newspaper says that given the degree of polarisation and bitterness in the country, the goal could be achieved by:

- Releasing all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

## RETURN OF EXILES

- Lifting the ban on the ANC and other banned organisations.
- Allowing the return of exiles.
- Starting negotiations with real black leaders.

The *Financial Times* concedes that this will not be easy. Most whites have only a vague idea of who the real black leaders are, and how strong their support is.

The same applies to most blacks. People like Nelson Mandela, who have not been allowed to speak in public for over two

decades, are martyrs and symbols, not flesh-and-blood politicians with weaknesses.

There is also the risk that when it comes to counting heads, what looks now like black unity against apartheid and white domination will degenerate into bitter internecine fighting, possibly on tribal as well as ideological and political lines.

Ultimately, however, this kind of process will have to take place in South Africa — with the risk that when it does, the die-hard whites will take to the streets with their guns — trained as much on a government it accuses of selling them out — as on blacks. If it reaches this point, then the military might have to step in.

This is precisely the kind of scenario which responsible black leaders and the overwhelming black majority want to avoid as passionately as most middle-of-the-road whites.

This is why the ball is now in the court of black leaders, especially, but certainly not exclusively, the ANC, to come forward with something more creative than the stereotype formula of "one man, one vote in a unitary South Africa".

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11/4

# Winnie goes home after lifting of her ban

STAR  
3/4/86 (11A)

Within hours of hearing that her banning order was lifted yesterday, Mrs Winnie Mandela packed her bags in the Sandton hotel where she has stayed since December and set off for her Soweto home — which has been out of bounds to her for almost a decade.

The announcement that Mrs Mandela's restrictions had been lifted was made by her lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, at the hotel at lunch time.

It is understood her legal representatives have been negotiating the matter with the authorities since the historic Supreme Court ruling which lifted the recently imposed banning order on Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee leader Mr Mkhoseli Jack.

## PHYSICALLY BANISHED

First indications of the imminent lifting of the ban on Mrs Mandela came at the weekend when Ministry of Law and Order liaison officer Brigadier Leon Mellet told the *Sunday Star* the authorities would probably treat Mrs Mandela's application as they had treated those of several other banned persons who had been derestricted in the wake of the Jack judgment.

This was seen to indicate that

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange would agree to the lifting of the order before a court application was made.

Mrs Mandela has been banned and restricted in various ways since 1962.

In 1977 she was physically banished from Soweto and confined to the tiny Free State town of Brandfort.

After an arson attack on her Brandfort home in the second half of last year, Mrs Mandela returned temporarily to her Orlando West, Soweto home.

She was arrested there days before Christmas and charged with breaking her banning order.

At about the same time the terms of her ban were altered, so that she was no longer confined to Brandfort but was still forbidden to enter the Johannesburg and Roodepoort areas.

In early January, with the earlier case still pending, Mrs Mandela was again arrested in a high-speed chase on the M2 highway, shortly after entering the Johannesburg area.

An urgent application to the Rand Supreme Court to have her banning order declared invalid failed in January and the appeal on this case was pending when the ban was lifted.



Mrs Winnie Mandela is escorted home by her lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, after almost a decade in the cold. A neighbour's child gives her a welcoming hug.

## Condemnation from Right: black leaders reserved

By Rich Mkhondo and Duncan Guy

Black and white spokesmen, organisations and parties yesterday gave varied reactions to the partial lifting of the banning orders on Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) condemned the lifting of the banning order.

Most black spokesmen and organisations praised Mrs Mandela and welcomed the lifting of her banning order, but said it should not have been imposed in the first place.

The Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Rt Rev Simeon Nkoane, said: "It is wonderful. It is also frustrating because it was not justified. The kind of suffering that she went through is one of the things for which future generations will not forgive us."

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, said: "Why all these games — her harassment and being taken to court? It's so ridiculous. Now she is allowed home where she should have been in the first place."

The CP said in a statement: "With the security situation the way it is, it was not the right thing to happen."

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said he accepted that Mrs Mandela would be banned again one day and said the sooner this happened, the better. "It is obvious, especially from her publicity in the Soviet Union that she has communist affiliations," he said.

Opposition Spokesman for Law and Order Mrs Helen Suzman said: "I regret that all restrictions on Mrs Mandela have not been removed, while I do welcome the lifting of restrictions on her mobility."



## Industry wants part of R3bn project

# East Cape bid for Mossel Bay oil

INDUSTRY in the Eastern Cape is gearing up to head off a challenge from Reef-based companies for a major share of the R3bn Mossel Bay oil development.

The decline of the motor industry in the region, and the steady exodus inland of

Industrial Staff

many other companies, has created huge unemployment and social problems in the Eastern Cape.

The Mossel Bay development and possible construction of SA's second nuclear power station in the region have led to muted optimism that some kind of recovery may be in sight.

But for this to be achieved, local companies must win a large slice of the cake when contracts go out to tender.

As a first step, Eastern Cape companies are to take part in a major industrial exhibition in Port Elizabeth next month to show what they can offer the Mossel Bay oil industry.

Peter Sorrell, a main organiser of the exhibition, said: "The oil-gas strike is the boost local industrialists have been waiting for."

"The local industrial sector is sitting on a potential gold mine in terms of oil industry contracts and sub-contracts. But firms must sell themselves into the picture, otherwise Reef companies will walk in under their noses."

## Pretoria shop boycott having limited effect

GERALD REILLY

THE black-consumer boycott in Pretoria continues to have a limited impact on trade volumes, according to businessmen.

OK Bazaars director Allan Fabig said trade had been affected adversely.

"It is certainly disturbing, especially as far as the OK is concerned, as we have sited our stores geographically to be accessible to all population groups. It is unlikely that suburban stores were affected to the same extent," Fabig added.

Pick 'n Pay regional director Nic Els said: "Since the boycott started last week, there have been noticeably fewer black shoppers."

## Zimbabwe hails SA students

HARARE — Zimbabwe's leading daily newspaper, *The Herald*, yesterday paid tribute to white South African students who held talks with the ANC.

*The Herald*, controlled by the State-owned Mass Media Trust, said in an editorial: "Growing concern for the suffering of blacks is encouraging, but it is particularly significant that at the forefront of enlightened thinking is a growing body of young whites..."

"Such is the hatred generated by the Botha regime's brutal fight to resist the irresistible — the surging tide of revulsion against apartheid — that sight is often lost of the many whites only too eager to embrace meaningful change," the paper said.

Leaders of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) ended three days of talks with ANC officials in Harare on Tuesday. Both sides expressed opposition to apartheid. — Sapa-AP.

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# Mrs Mandela returns home

Cape Times 3/4/86

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Freedom songs by a ululating crowd of youths greeted Mrs Winnie Mandela on her return to her Soweto home yesterday after the lifting of her banning order.

Mr Ismail Ayob, lawyer for the Mandela family, said he had been told by telephone by a member of the State Attorney's office yesterday morning that Mrs Mandela had been "unbanned".

He said he had not been given any details.

In a brief statement, quoted by a police spokesman, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said his statement to the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on March 22 when the banning order on a UDF official, Mr Mkhusele Jack, was declared invalid, applied to Mrs Mandela.

Mr Ayob said Mrs Mandela remained a "listed" person and could not be quoted.

The lifting of Mrs Mandela's ban followed "the State Attorney's promise" during negotiations with lawyers that her banning order would be lifted.

Negotiations ended on Thursday last week when the State Attorney informed the lawyers that her banning would be lifted, Mr Ayob said.

Mrs Mandela has had various restriction orders placed on her by the government over the past 23 years.

Relatives, residents, friends and prominent political leaders, mostly from the United Democratic Front, packed the tiny yard of her home. Some of them hugged and kissed her amid shouts of "the nation is back".

Youths, clad in Release Mandela T-shirts and black, green and gold ribbons, sang freedom songs in praise of her husband, the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.



In January, the urgent application brought before the Rand Supreme Court by Mrs Mandela to have her banning order declared invalid and having no force in law was dismissed with costs.

The order imposed on Mrs Mandela last year and described by the government as a relaxation of a previous set of restrictions prohibited her from entering the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

A member of the Mandela family said the lifting of the order on Mrs Mandela would not bring any major change at home "as the nucleus of the family, Nelson Mandela, and other black political leaders were still imprisoned".

"Had the State not decided to lift her banning order, Winnie would have subjected herself to further arrests by defying the order," the person said.

# 'Oom Ben' Schoeman dies

Cape Times 3/4/86

PRETORIA. — Former Minister of Transport Mr Ben Schoeman died here last night at the age of 81.

Mr Schoeman was admitted to the Little Company of Mary Hospital last week after developing pneumonia.

Born in Johannesburg on January 19, 1905, Bar-end Jacobus Schoeman — "Oom Ben" — spent 31 years in Parliament. He was also in the cabinet for 26 consecutive years.

In 1948, at the age of 43, Mr Schoeman became the youngest-ever member of the cabinet when he was appointed Minister of Labour.

He held the transport portfolio from 1954 until his retirement, a record 20 years. — Sapa

● From clerk to minister, page 4

# in SA, says Wiley

— it had to run before it could crawl. Few people in the corporation understood the voracity of the medium, or the ways it could happily co-exist with radio. The present financial difficulties (and, to some extent, the confusion in programming philosophy) can be ascribed at least in part to this naivete.

In the immediate future at least, money will be tight. Eksteen says privatisation of some kind may be considered, but he is quick to argue that this will not be an instant solution. Experts who have inside knowledge

of the SABC predict that, even if the legal monopoly is relaxed to some extent, control of news and political programming will be retained.

The SABC is not a State department, and it must pay its way. Yet for its two major sources of income — advertising and licence fees — it remains at the mercy of the economy and Parliament. Men in senior positions seem well-intentioned; many are talented and some are imaginative. All those interviewed by the *FM* seem almost desperate to get things right.

But, despite the good intentions, bloodletting and political infighting, the SABC remains a bureaucracy — there lies the key to its present image. However you streamline it, bureaucracy tends to kill initiative and corporate adventure, inspiring only caution and conservatism.

What the SABC really needs, apart from more money, is the sharp, prodding stick of unfettered competition. This applies nowhere more than in its political coverage. Right now, the consumer is captive; he cannot switch across, only off. ■

LABOUR MATTERS

4/4/86 FIN. YMK

11A

(11A)

## Inkatha goes shopping

There is a pamphlet doing the rounds in Natal at present which says: "Vote for jobs. Not hunger. Do you want the factories to close? ... If you want to keep your job join the new giant labour union at King's Park on May 1."

The campaign is part of the build-up to the launch in Durban of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa). On the same day, at nearby Currie's Fountain, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) will be staging a May Day rally — one of many it will be holding around the country.

The congruence of the two Durban events is fitting. For the *raison d'être* of Uwusa — brainchild of the Inkatha central committee and some disaffected members and officials of Cosatu's Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union (PWAU) — is opposition to Cosatu.

There has long been an uneasy relationship between the emergent union movement and Inkatha. But in the past, because of an overlap in membership, the unions — and especially the now-defunct Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) — tended to downplay the differences. However, at the launch of Cosatu last December, its new president — Elijah Barayi — made a stinging attack on homeland leaders. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came in for particularly heavy criticism.

The response to this, earlier this year, was Inkatha's decision to step seriously into the labour arena by backing Uwusa. The decision comes at a time when Inkatha, through this week's KwaNatal Indaba, is making bold moves to expand its sphere of influence and enhance Buthelezi's political standing.

Opposition to Cosatu's socialist orientation and its support for disinvestment are the central planks of Uwusa's ideology. And it has an ambitious programme.

According to Simon Conco, chairman of Inkatha's labour relations committee, the target areas for Uwusa are Natal and the Transvaal. A kingpin in this process is former PWAU official Philemon Gumede who has been entrusted with the task of establishing a regional structure in KwaZulu

**A free-enterprise, anti-disinvestment general union in direct competition with Cosatu — this is the outcome of Inkatha's long-heralded foray into the labour arena. While there is some scepticism, some employers are taking Uwusa seriously.**

to serve as an example to other regions. An Uwusa office has been opened in Germiston to facilitate organising on the East Rand, and another office on the West Rand will come into operation soon. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly will shortly be considering a Bill which will iron out differences between labour legislation in the homeland and SA.

Uwusa will start off as a general union, with the ultimate intention of creating separate industrial unions. Membership will be open to all, regardless of race or political affiliation. Says Conco: "We are going for organised and unorganised workers and for farm and domestic workers. We will put pressure on government to release the National Manpower Commission's investigation into union rights for farm labourers and domestics. If its recommendations are against extending such rights to these workers, we will pressurise government to change its mind."

Uwusa is also seeking to create alliances with other like-minded unions. According to Conco, several major unions have indicated willingness to ally themselves with Uwusa. He says they do not want to go public on this just now, but that Uwusa will name them on May 1. One potential ally is the Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa). Conco says a date for a meeting with Tucsa is being arranged. Another likely ally is the Black and Allied Workers' Union. So too is the National Union of Sugar Refining and Manufacturing Employees (NUSRME), the only union formally affiliated to Inkatha at present. But an alliance between Uwusa and the sugar union is only likely to occur when the split in NUSRME — the subject of two Supreme

Court cases — is settled.

Uwusa, which has already held a number of rallies and which is planning to stage more, claims that responses to its membership drive have been "very good indeed." It says it has gained members at Hlobane coalmine near Newcastle, a stronghold of Cosatu's National Union of Mineworkers; and that Cosatu members at a number of Natal factories have swapped allegiances. However, Conco refuses to state how many members Uwusa has signed up, or how many workers have signed stop-orders in its favour.

Cosatu's response will be critical to Uwusa's success. Spokesmen for Cosatu deny any knowledge of Uwusa making major inroads into its membership, although they do say some individuals may have been won over. Despite vigorous denials by Uwusa that it is a "sweetheart" union, Cosatu has repeatedly alleged that certain employers are aiding it by granting it access to factories and giving it financial support. This claim was repeated by some employers interviewed by the *FM*.

Cosatu spokesmen say this support — and the fact of Inkatha's backing — means the threat posed by Uwusa has to be taken seriously. According to Cosatu education secretary Alec Erwin, active steps have been taken to explain to members exactly what Cosatu stands for. Decisions about whether to remain in Cosatu, or to join Uwusa, will be left up to members.

Another spokesman says Cosatu's support for disinvestment does not mean that it wants factories to close and jobs to be lost. In its view, disinvestment is not the cause of unemployment but, rather, is one of the few forms of pressure that has forced the South African government to change. It therefore feels these pressures should continue — and be intensified if government remains "intransigent." Says the spokesman: "We are opposed to the constructive engagement argument. That has shown no sign of bringing anything positive. Rather, it has assisted government to delay change."

Cosatu says it also is being forced to look into methods of protecting its members against violence which it claims is being perpetrated by Inkatha supporters. Cosatu

also claims it is being blocked from using facilities in townships where Inkatha has control.

The spokesman says Cosatu members in some factories have already approached management to say they will not allow outsiders to recruit. Indeed, in late February, a company in Ladysmith — Furnsteel — experienced a strike because workers felt that the personnel manager was recruiting for Uwusa.

Says the spokesman: "Uwusa will succeed only if employers back it. But where Cosatu is organised, there is no chance for it to succeed. If Uwusa had the support it claims, it should be wiping us out. I don't think Uwusa has enough organisational skills to persuade workers to join it. Our fear is that people will be coerced into joining."

Conco has reacted strongly to this statement. "Why should we use force? Inkatha has over 1m members."

Employers have compelling reasons to support Uwusa. Aside from its pro-investment and free enterprise stance, there is a strong feeling in Natal that Cosatu has alienated many in commerce and industry. Says one employer: "Some statements Cosatu has made have put the fear of God into employers. They see it as being very closely allied with the African National Congress. Cosatu started off on the wrong foot — now there is bad reaction from employers and Inkatha."

How do employers rate Uwusa's chances? Responses canvassed by the *FM* varied from expectations that it has the potential to do serious harm to Cosatu, to outright scepticism about its ability to pull off the feat.

Says one employer who did not wish to be named: "I don't think Uwusa has much chance of pulling people in the short term. It has to get its infrastructure together. Organ-

ising is leg work. In addition, there are a number of workers who are perturbed. Inkatha has been seen by workers as their political home and the old Fosatu unions as their labour home. I think they would like to stick to that distinction."

Another employer, who also did not wish



**Uwusa's Gumedle ... kingpin in organisation**

to be named, told the *FM*: "I believe Uwusa will die and there will be a loss of credibility for Inkatha. The Cosatu unions have been going strongly since 1979-1980 and have achieved considerable success for their members."

In the midst of all this controversy, the Natal Chamber of Industries (NCI) is counselling its members to be strictly impartial about inter-union rivalry. But a recent NCI decision to turn down an approach from Cosatu to discuss, among other issues, its pro-disinvestment policy, has been sharply criticised. Mike Smith, the NCI's industrial relations adviser, would not comment on the matter. But other sources say indications are that the NCI may reconsider.

Conco acknowledges Uwusa's organisa-



**Inkatha's Conco ... 'buying expertise'**

tional weakness. "We are very much aware that the administrative ability is lacking. That is why we are buying expertise at the moment. We are retaining the services of the best available consultants to guide this organisation. They are drawing up a training programme which union leaders will be exposed to."

The advent of Uwusa has aroused the enthusiasm of many — and in some cases it appears that some individuals are acting as unofficial organisers for the new union. Conco says employers should be warned against anyone who makes approaches appealing for funds for Uwusa. "They do not have the authority to collect money," he says. He also says some workers have been trying to establish their own branch and works committees in factories, taking advantage of the large number of Inkatha members in them. "That is not what we want. We have asked these people to get their house in order," he says.

Attendances at Uwusa's launch and at Cosatu's rally on May Day will no doubt serve as a crude measure of the support each organisation enjoys. After that, given its inexperience, the challenge for Uwusa will be to hold on to the members it gets. ■

## BLACK EDUCATION

**Back — for the moment**FIN MAIL  
4/4/86

Officially, the black schools boycott may be over. However, indications strongly suggest that South Africa may not have seen the last of these stayaways as a strategy to gain leverage in education and other socio-political fields.

At its Easter weekend meeting in Durban, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) decided to call on pupils to return to their desks on Wednesday (as the *FM* went to press), thus apparently ending class boycotts which have erupted nationwide since 1984.

Yet many of the delegates attending the conference felt the decision to return to school had not been sufficiently deliberated. Indeed, some observers feel that the committee may have taken a gamble because, should radical students decide to come out again soon, the NECC's authority (particularly that of the adults on it) may have been weakened.

The NECC passed a resolution reserving the right to continue with school boycotts if it was found that there was insufficient progress in addressing their principal grievances. In the main, these relate to the removal of troops from the townships, the provision of free textbooks and stationery, the release of political detainees, and the unbanning of the Congress of SA Students (Cosas).

The organisers also called for a national stayaway on June 16, 17 and 18 to mark the 10th anniversary of the Soweto 1976 uprisings. They declared June 16 "National Youth Day". A statement by imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, which was to have been read at the conference, was not after all. However, it is generally known that the ANC has for some time been in favour of pupils returning to school.

Even more forthright on the boycott issue was the National Forum (NF) which also met in Durban at the weekend. The Forum, an alliance of black consciousness groups, called for a new campaign of boycotts between May 1 and May 4, intensifying during a 10-day boycott campaign planned to commence on June 16. The NF urged a withdrawal of support for the "status quo" in eight fields: labour, rent, education, sport, consumerism, disinvestment, the Johannesburg Centenary celebrations, and any proposed national convention.

The NECC conference was a report-back on a major earlier conference held by the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee at Wits University in December. It had set a three-month deadline to review progress on a list of demands which, says Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen, have all



Soweto pupils in 1976 ... 10th anniversary to be marked

been met — except, of course, for those relating to non-educational issues such as the security force presence in the townships.

The NECC indaba was marred by violence from the start. Originally, the venue was to have been at Natal University. But because of high tension following the earlier firebombing of Lawrence Schlemmer's office on campus, the venue was switched.

Last Thursday night a car was petrol-bombed outside a hotel in Clairwood where some of the delegates were staying. Then, while the delegates were registering at the Pioneer Hall in Congella the next day, several bus loads of armed blacks arrived and clashed with delegates. Two blacks were killed and several others injured. The attackers were allegedly Inkatha supporters, political opponents of the NECC organisers who are affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

The conference eventually met at the Rajput Hall in the predominantly Indian area of Chatsworth.

## PRIVATE SCHOOLS

**Racial blackmail**

Government's new race "quota system" for private schools has been roundly condemned by educationists. For what started out as an uncontroversial plan to aid these establishments — to which more and more blacks are turning, because of the turmoil in black schools — now contains a stratagem to retain

at least some separatism.

In Parliament last week, the Progressive Federal Party's education spokesman and MP for Pinetown, Roger Burrows, described the quota plan as "nothing but racial blackmail". Government was forcing private schools to limit their admission of black pupils — or lose State subsidies and, even, be disqualified from registration, he pointed out.

Burrows said the State's new private school subsidy plan was initially welcomed, but the conditions which have now become apparent have made it unacceptable. In order to receive a 45% subsidy, the school must be 90% white; to receive a 15% subsidy, it must be 80% white. To register, but receive no subsidy, the school must be 70% white.

Burrows described the move as "idiocy" and said education authorities in at least one province were already telephoning private schools "politely to request that they agree not to have a black, coloured or Indian pupil content exceeding 9%." In return, the schools have been assured of a 45% subsidy.

"Are the government completely mad? Can they not read? Can they not understand this? This is nothing but racial blackmail," Burrows said.

Already the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference had rejected the "quota system."

Although the authorities had agreed to be "flexible" on the percentages, the fact that they had to be agreed to between the education departments concerned and the schools meant the schools would have to "capitulate," Burrows said.

— it had to run before it could crawl. Few people in the corporation understood the voracity of the medium, or the ways it could happily co-exist with radio. The present financial difficulties (and, to some extent, the confusion in programming philosophy) can be ascribed at least in part to this naivete.

In the immediate future at least, money will be tight. Eksteen says privatisation of some kind may be considered, but he is quick to argue that this will not be an instant solution. Experts who have inside knowledge

of the SABC predict that, even if the legal monopoly is relaxed to some extent, control of news and political programming will be retained.

The SABC is not a State department, and it must pay its way. Yet for its two major sources of income — advertising and licence fees — it remains at the mercy of the economy and Parliament. Men in senior positions seem well-intentioned; many are talented and some are imaginative. All those interviewed by the *FM* seem almost desperate to get things right.

But, despite the good intentions, bloodletting and political infighting, the SABC remains a bureaucracy — there lies the key to its present image. However you streamline it, bureaucracy tends to kill initiative and corporate adventure, inspiring only caution and conservatism.

What the SABC really needs, apart from more money, is the sharp, prodding stick of unfettered competition. This applies nowhere more than in its political coverage. Right now, the consumer is captive; he cannot switch across, only off. ■

LABOUR MATTERS

## Inkatha goes shopping

There is a pamphlet doing the rounds in Natal at present which says: "Vote for jobs. Not hunger. Do you want the factories to close? . . . If you want to keep your job join the new giant labour union at King's Park on May 1."

The campaign is part of the build-up to the launch in Durban of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa). On the same day, at nearby Currie's Fountain, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) will be staging a May Day rally — one of many it will be holding around the country.

The congruence of the two Durban events is fitting. For the *raison d'être* of Uwusa — brainchild of the Inkatha central committee and some disaffected members and officials of Cosatu's Paper Wood and Allied Workers' Union (PWAU) — is opposition to Cosatu.

There has long been an uneasy relationship between the emergent union movement and Inkatha. But in the past, because of an overlap in membership, the unions — and especially the now-defunct Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) — tended to downplay the differences. However, at the launch of Cosatu last December, its new president — Elijah Barayi — made a stinging attack on homeland leaders. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came in for particularly heavy criticism.

The response to this, earlier this year, was Inkatha's decision to step seriously into the labour arena by backing Uwusa. The decision comes at a time when Inkatha, through this week's KwaNatal Indaba, is making bold moves to expand its sphere of influence and enhance Buthelezi's political standing.

Opposition to Cosatu's socialist orientation and its support for disinvestment are the central planks of Uwusa's ideology. And it has an ambitious programme.

According to Simon Conco, chairman of Inkatha's labour relations committee, the target areas for Uwusa are Natal and the Transvaal. A kingpin in this process is former PWAU official Philemon Gumede who has been entrusted with the task of establishing a regional structure in KwaZulu

**A free-enterprise, anti-disinvestment general union in direct competition with Cosatu — this is the outcome of Inkatha's long-heralded foray into the labour arena. While there is some scepticism, some employers are taking Uwusa seriously.**

to serve as an example to other regions. An Uwusa office has been opened in Germiston to facilitate organising on the East Rand, and another office on the West Rand will come into operation soon. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly will shortly be considering a Bill which will iron out differences between labour legislation in the homeland and SA.

Uwusa will start off as a general union, with the ultimate intention of creating separate industrial unions. Membership will be open to all, regardless of race or political affiliation. Says Conco: "We are going for organised and unorganised workers and for farm and domestic workers. We will put pressure on government to release the National Manpower Commission's investigation into union rights for farm labourers and domestics. If its recommendations are against extending such rights to these workers, we will pressurise government to change its mind."

Uwusa is also seeking to create alliances with other like-minded unions. According to Conco, several major unions have indicated willingness to ally themselves with Uwusa. He says they do not want to go public on this just now, but that Uwusa will name them on May 1. One potential ally is the Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa). Conco says a date for a meeting with Tucsa is being arranged. Another likely ally is the Black and Allied Workers' Union. So too is the National Union of Sugar Refining and Manufacturing Employees (NUSRME), the only union formally affiliated to Inkatha at present. But an alliance between Uwusa and the sugar union is only likely to occur when the split in NUSRME — the subject of two Supreme

Court cases — is settled.

Uwusa, which has already held a number of rallies and which is planning to stage more, claims that responses to its membership drive have been "very good indeed." It says it has gained members at Hlobane coalmine near Newcastle, a stronghold of Cosatu's National Union of Mineworkers; and that Cosatu members at a number of Natal factories have swapped allegiances. However, Conco refuses to state how many members Uwusa has signed up, or how many workers have signed stop-orders in its favour.

Cosatu's response will be critical to Uwusa's success. Spokesmen for Cosatu deny any knowledge of Uwusa making major inroads into its membership, although they do say some individuals may have been won over. Despite vigorous denials by Uwusa that it is a "sweetheart" union, Cosatu has repeatedly alleged that certain employers are aiding it by granting it access to factories and giving it financial support. This claim was repeated by some employers interviewed by the *FM*.

Cosatu spokesmen say this support — and the fact of Inkatha's backing — means the threat posed by Uwusa has to be taken seriously. According to Cosatu education secretary Alec Erwin, active steps have been taken to explain to members exactly what Cosatu stands for. Decisions about whether to remain in Cosatu, or to join Uwusa, will be left up to members.

Another spokesman says Cosatu's support for disinvestment does not mean that it wants factories to close and jobs to be lost. In its view, disinvestment is not the cause of unemployment but, rather, is one of the few forms of pressure that has forced the South African government to change. It therefore feels these pressures should continue — and be intensified if government remains "intransigent." Says the spokesman: "We are opposed to the constructive engagement argument. That has shown no sign of bringing anything positive. Rather, it has assisted government to delay change."

Cosatu says it also is being forced to look into methods of protecting its members against violence which it claims is being perpetrated by Inkatha supporters. Cosatu



cause "I thought I would never work again." Instead, he ended up buying The Tavern in Mbabane before moving back into clothing. Again he was bought out — by the same partners — but this time with a longer re-

straint. Only then came his partnership in The Edward, a struggling affair which many in the trade, from Amalgamated Hotels to Sol Kerzner, Federale Volks to Trust House Forte, had already had a go at.

Indeed, it seemed to have become a business for selling, not for running. But Davies has changed all that. He says he is home at last, and home is where he intends to remain. ■

## KHEHLA MTHEMBU

### DEFLATING THE BIRTHDAY BALLOONS

*FIN KHEHLA 4/4/86*

With its slogan, "We have nothing to celebrate," the Community Support Committee (Cosco) has shoved a huge spoke in the wheel of Johannesburg's centenary celebrations.

Cosco spokesman Khehla Mthembu says of the Johannesburg Centenary Festival Association's (JCFA) offer to hand over more than R5m-worth of projects to any responsible black organisation which can implement them, that Cosco is willing to take over, but wants to be ap-

called together all the community organisations we could — student, women's, youth, burial, soccer and church groups — to start Cosco. Now it's a community-based organisation that cuts across ideological lines," Mthembu explains.

Its aim was, he says, to "conscientise people about our role in the history of this city, which is the heart of industry and capitalism in SA. We need to ask whether free enterprise is really free, or only for the few."

Soccer League, National Professional Soccer League and Federation Professional League, influenced them to boycott the SA Games, as will black boxers and netballers, according to Mthembu.

"Gold Reef City is another project that we will look at and take action about at the appropriate time. After all, it was planned as a centenary centrepiece, though they deny that now," he adds.

Critics who feel Cosco's boycott call is not constructive are naïve, Mthembu says: "To concentrate on the positive means forgetting reality. The JCFA is responsible to a city council which is not doing much to make people feel things are getting better. There is still blatant petty apartheid in Johannesburg. This city council, unlike others, has never even called for free residential zones. What is the point of singing and dancing for the centenary when you have to go home to a black ghetto, and on the way be searched at roadblocks?"

Mthembu served two terms as Azapo president, in 1981 and 1982. He grew up in Soweto, and was drawn into the BC movement while at school, when he joined the SA Students' Movement. He cites activists like Steve Biko and Abraham Tiro as formative influences.

When he left school in 1972, he trained as a computer programmer, but was sacked when he was detained during the 1976 student revolt. He then joined Old Mutual as a life assurance consultant: "They stomached my spells in detention — until about two years ago I was picked up every year for a month or so."

In 1980 he went to Bowring Barclays as a broker manager, then in 1983 moved to African Life.

How does he reconcile his job in management with his critical attitude to capitalism? "There is a conflict. I espouse socialism, and know the present system isn't the best in the world, but one must meet one's short-term needs. And I believe one must understand how capitalism works."

He's concerned to stress that Cosco is not just an anti-centenary committee: "We hold monthly seminars for the youth, to teach leadership skills and qualities. There are seminars for women, which look not just at practical issues like taxation, but consider women's place in society. Next year the centenary will be over, but Cosco will still be here."

proached directly.

"Blacks must undertake our own community development, and we challenge companies to repay what they have taken from the community over the decades — not just to sponsor isolated projects," Mthembu says.

He's a longtime black consciousness (BC) activist who is also divisional manager marketing at African Life. But Cosco, he says, is not a BC organisation.

"The initiative certainly started in the BC camp. The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) congress in 1984 decided that the community should get together to work out what Johannesburg's centenary meant to them. So last year we

So Cosco focused discussion in Soweto on a range of aspects of blacks' lives: sport, culture, housing, transport — "all the basic amenities that are still both separate and inadequate. We called for a day of people's theatre in January where events and developments of the past century could be depicted and discussed. But the police banned the gathering," Mthembu adds bitterly.

Cosco's leverage, he says, was instrumental in getting artists and musicians to decide to boycott the centenary celebrations, and form SA Artists Against Apartheid.

Similarly, contact with sporting bodies, especially soccer ones like the National



# 5 homes petrol-bombed

AS THE black stayaway in the Eastern Transvaal town of Nelspruit entered its third day yesterday, police reported that the homes of at least five policemen were petrol-bombed in a nearby township on Wednesday night.

Despite alleged threats to workers in townships, ranging from Nelspruit and White River to the border town of Komatipoort, however, a small percentage of workers were back at work yesterday to relieve whites who had stepped in to run many of the town's services.

Nelspruit town clerk Hans Muller said only about 10% of the total work force

11A  
DIANNA GAMES  
BUS DAY 4/4/86

returned yesterday, and these people were from Lekasi township.

It appeared no reason had been given for the stayaway. Many blacks reported that the order was given by youths in the townships who had not returned to school, with many threats but no explanations.

A source in White River said a child was killed in a petrol-bombing incident,

● To Page 2

# Homes petrol-bombed

but was not confirmed by police.

Since Tuesday the area has been in the grip of a total black stayaway which threatens to last until Monday.

The Lowveld Youth Movement issued a pamphlet listing several organisations that condemned the stayaway.

They requested a return to school and work with immediate effect.

A large trade union in Nelspruit also made it clear it did not support the stayaway.

The Nelspruit Chamber of Commerce yesterday formally agreed that the policy applied to black workers would be "no work, no pay". Several workers yesterday claimed many others were willing to return to work, but were afraid.

Whites maintained they were coping well.

The white school holidays have been very timely, with schoolchildren filling almost every labour gap. A large Nels-

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BUS DAY 4/4/86

pruit manufacturing company with its headquarters in the UK has recruited about 60 students to help man its factory, and its own staff have been doing shifts around the clock.

A garage owner said some of his staff returned to work yesterday but requested to work in the back yard for fear of being seen.

Although commerce and industry have apparently agreed not to fire workers for the stayaway, there are fears among blacks that the final result may be lay offs.

Intimidation is reported to be rife, with youths barricading roads in the townships, ordering people off buses — some of which were driven by whites — and threatening to burn homes.

Some white employers drove into the townships yesterday to collect staff.

● From Page 1



# Inkatha enemy of the people, says NECC

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JOHANNESBURG — The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) yesterday accused Inkatha of being an "enemy of the people" and said its leaders would be made to account for an attack police said was carried out by Inkatha members.

A NECC statement in response to comments made by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week, said yesterday: "We call on the international community and all South Africans to know that Inkatha is an enemy of the people and a danger to the liberation struggle."

The statement, read by the Rev Molefe Tsele of the NECC in Johannesburg, extended condolences to the families of the two Inkatha members who died in the violence at the conference.

To the NECC's surprise, said Rev Tsele, the

police corroborated that Inkatha was behind the attack.

The armed, adult impi had been under the impression they were to protect the nearby Inanda Polyclinic from vandals, the NECC said.

"We carried no weapons and had no intention of fighting anyone."

Chief Buthelezi, the leader of Inkatha, and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, maintained the violence that erupted around the NECC meeting was the expression of anger of people in the street.

"The events that took place there were not orchestrated by Inkatha. I most certainly did not order the action which took place," he said.

Chief Buthelezi also alleged this week that the those who met at Chatsworth were "in cahoots"

with the external mission of the African National Congress (ANC).

Mr Vusi Khanyile, of the NECC, answered: "We would plead with him to leave us alone and not involve us in his private war with the ANC."

The NECC was disturbed by Chief Buthelezi's statement that the NECC conference, described by him as a "motley gathering" did not concern itself with education.

The NECC noted that two papers were read on education, all resolutions addressed efforts to resolving the education crisis, and the Press commented on the significance of the talks.

And the Department of Education and Training regarded the conference as one of the "commendable initiatives to resolve the education crisis". — Sapa

British ...

# Black consciousness Forum aims for the centre stage

WEEKLY MAIL  
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4/4/86

By SHAUN JOHNSON

BEFORE last weekend's third National Forum gathering got under way at the Himalaya Hotel in Durban, there was sustained speculation that the meeting would give decisive impetus to a process of rapprochement between black consciousness adherents and non-racial groups like the UDF and Cosatu.

Now observers are left to ponder how their predictions could have gone so fundamentally awry.

For if anything, the NF restated its exclusivist policies with renewed vehemence. Non-racial organisation was roundly condemned as a ploy to "smuggle whites into the black national liberation struggle", and far from making conciliatory noises in the direction of the UDF, the Forum set itself the task of "claiming sole rights to the liberation struggle".

This will be achieved, it was argued, through an aggressive programme of action coupled with a campaign to "internationalise its socialist position in Southern Africa, Africa and the rest of the world". Discussions are to be opened with the president of the OAU, an office will be set up in London, and "non-aligned Azanian exiles committed to a socialist revolution" will be approached to join the NF.

If was crystal clear to any observer that the Forum believes it is on the verge of vacating the political wings for the centre stage.

Why then had so many sensed

and said — that "unity on the left" was imminent? Azapo and NF leader Saths Cooper's much publicised invitation to the UDF and Cosatu to attend the third Forum had much to do with it.

As early as December last year Cooper called for the UDF to "join hands and stop internecine violence", and on the eve of the Forum he told the press that several UDF affiliates were already working with the National Forum on specific programmes.

But the NF felt it necessary only days before the Durban gathering to publicly reiterate its opposition to political association with whites. This statement, and the indications from the UDF and Cosatu that they would not attend the Forum, constituted the writing on the wall. Cooper's invitation had made no practical political overtures to the non-racialists, no defined area of possible compromise on the NF's side. It would have been a considerable (and, judging by the mood of the Forum's gathering, ill-considered) leap of faith for the UDF and Cosatu to attend.

However, despite the apparently widening chasm between the two, there were significant similarities between the NF and the National Education Crisis Conference, where, not far away, the non-racial groupings were pondering the future of black education.

This is most strikingly illustrated by comparing the resolutions which emerged from each. Both called for stayaway action to mark International Workers' Day on the 10th anniversary of Soweto '76, albeit for differing durations. Both supported sanctions and castigated the United States. Both called for the implementation of people's education and an intensification of community action on grassroots issues. Willy-nilly, campaigns will overlap.

The differences, leaving the issue of white participation aside, were as often as not matters of pragmatism, tactics and style.

Lengthy theses attempting a theoretical rubbishing of the concept of a national convention bespoke the Forum's rejection of tactical negotiation under just about any circumstances. Here was a substantive difference from the carefully argued NECC case for a return to school.

On a more mundane level, style — from rhetoric to the way in which the conference was organised — separated the NF from the NECC. Delegates and observers crushed into the NF meeting in no obvious order, an appalling sound system rendered many delegates' "inputs" unintelligible and the press was all but unrepresented.

The beleaguered NECC conference, unavoidable delays notwithstanding, was an exercise in precision and poise. Observers were politely requested to leave for the closed session and thereby not be privy to inevitable internal clashes, whereas at the Forum we could hear young turks' calls for the immediate arming of the working class — naturally absent from the formal, final resolutions.

There was another difference: hostility to the UDF and its fellow-travellers permeated the Forum floor. An Azam delegate contemptuously referred to the SPCC as "the SPCA".

For the NECC the Forum appeared not to exist. At the conference's final session with the press, convener Vusi Khanyile declined to comment on the NF's lengthy critique of the NECC, saying he had not seen it. He clearly did not wish to dilute the import of the conference's decisions by then entering into a slanging match with the Forum.

Immediate *toenadering* with the UDF has proved a chimera. There is tangible grassroots pressure for the NF to adopt a higher profile.

Does this mean outright conflict with the nonracialists? I think not. One slogan, received by NF delegates in lukewarm fashion but repeated often enough to stick, was the exhortation to "all revolutionaries to march separately, but strike together".

44 by  
S.P.P.  
**Winnie in  
self exile**

Mrs Winnie Mandela has left her Orlando West home in Soweto and is in "self exile" until the status of her banning order is resolved.

However, Mrs Mandela could soon return to her home after the Minister of Law and Order's office last night said it would not contest her appeal to have her ban lifted.

Confusion over Mrs Mandela's status reigned on Wednesday when her lawyer, Mr Ishmael Ayob, said restrictions had been lifted but she was still listed.

He said: "The implication of the whole matter is that the Government is abandoning its attempts to uphold Mrs Mandela's banning order."

A spokesman then said Mr Louis le Grange was reviewing banning and detention orders.

MORE than half a million working days were lost through industrial action in South Africa in the first three months of this year, setting the scene for the biggest challenge for organised labour, employers and the state since the renaissance of black unionism in the Durban strikes of 1973.

In the next three months the labour scene will be kept boiling by super-charged wage talks in the metal and mining industries, the launch of an Inkatha union body as a direct rival to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the prospect of four days of national stayaway action.

Dates which unionists are already marking in their diaries include:

April 15: Start of the annual metal negotiations.

April 17: National day of action called by the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu).

May 1: May Day stayaway and the launch of the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

June 16, 17, 18: Proposed three-day stayaway over the education crisis.

July 1: Target day for implementation of annual increases on the mines.

All these dates take on an added significance because of the events of the past three months, which have seen the most sustained expression of worker militancy since 1973.

Metalworkers and others have occupied their factories for weeks, the mines have been hit by more than 30 strikes — with evidence suggesting the isolated worlds of the mining compounds have been penetrated by the political mood of the townships — and stayaways in outlying areas have become common. Employers have grown increasingly alarmed at what they see as an attempt by workers to make the factories ungovernable — beyond the control of management and union officials.

A number of different factors have been propped out to explain these trends, but perhaps the crucial one is the effect of the overall political climate and the impetus given to politics in the labour movement by the formation of Cosatu four months ago.

At the same time conflicts over wages have sharpened.

Both Cosatu and employers face a big challenge on May 1, workers' day, when Cosatu has called for workers to take the day off and hold rallies throughout the country. Some employers, accepting the inevitability of the stayaway, which this year will commemorate "100 years of exploitation" to coincide with the Johannesburg centenary, are adopting a "no work, no pay" approach. The Chamber of Mines has taken the May Day issue to the industrial court.

May 1 will be an interesting prelude to a potential three-day stayaway starting on June 16 over the education issue, which has displaced pass laws as Cosatu's first major campaign.

Endorsement of the National Education Crisis Committee's recommendation of a stayaway still depends on a Cosatu executive committee meeting next week, but at this stage there is nothing to suggest it won't be approved.

If employers are unable to live with May Day, an effective three-day general strike in June on the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising is likely to contain even more potential for massive conflict.

Further exacerbating the conflict on May 1 will be the rally launching Uwusa at Durban's Kings Park



With annual metal negotiations due to begin on April 15, workers stage a walkout from a plant in Isando in protest against the detention of Mawu president Moses Myekiso.

Picture: Steve Hilton-Barber, Atrapix

## The rage on the streets penetrates the factories

There are five dates on the labour calendar which could drive temperatures on the shop-floor right up to boiling point. PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports on the burgeoning worker militancy

stadium and the potential violent clashes that might flow from it.

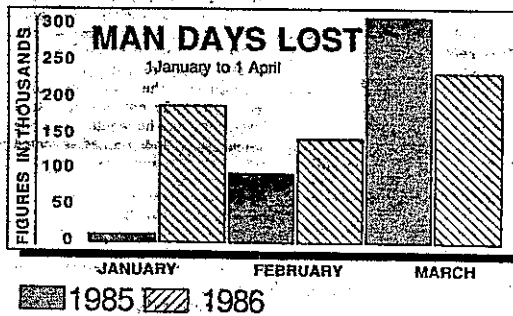
An earlier sign of worker mobilisation will be Mawu's national day of action on April 17, two days after the start of annual industrial council wage talks with the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa). The union plans to kick off with rallies in the townships next week to discuss this year's wage demands.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) will also be meeting shortly to discuss its wage demands and speculation has again started over whether this year will see a conflagration on the mines if there is no agreement on wages.

Already more workers have been on strike this year than took part in the 1946 miners' strike or the NUM's legal strikes of 1984 and 1985. The Chamber of Mines' industrial relations advisor Johann Liebenberg says that less than two percent of the working days that could have been worked have been lost since January through industrial action.

But two percent still amounts to an average of 11 000 workers on strike each day and is reflected in a huge decline in gold production for the first two months of this year.

According to Liebenberg there have been strikes on 23 collieries as well as the widely-publicised action at Vaal Reef and Blyvooruitzicht gold mines. In addition there has been industrial action at Impala Platinum Mines, Phalaborwa Mining Corporation, Foskor, the Employment Bureau of



For the first two months of 1986, more man-hours were lost than in 1985. The figure dropped during March, but is likely to rise again within a few weeks. Statistics: ANDREW LEVY

Africa (Teba), six strikes at the Nuclear Fuel Corporation (Nufcor) and go-slows at three De Beers diamond mines in Namaqualand. Issues have varied. At Impala Platinum they centred around wages and recognition of the NUM which was banned in Bophuthatswana.

But issues such as the migrant labour system (the right to live with families) and demands for non-racialism — no preferential treatment for white workers — also surfaced, opening up whole new areas of demands.

There have been disputes over other issues. At Rand Mines' Wolwekrans colliery, workers struck on three occasions over a white supervisor who threatened a black worker with a gun.

Nowhere has there been more of a direct link between the 20-month long unrest in the country's townships and unrest in the mine hostels than in the coal mines around Witbank where industrial action has coincided with the intense political climate which

swept the Eastern Transvaal this year.

For a century mine hostels have been isolated communities, removed from the main currents of political development in the townships. In the first three months of 1986 that has changed dramatically.

One management source said he believed that when the NUM came out with an unequivocal political line for the first time in August last year — calling for consumer boycotts in support of the broader struggle — it "lit the fuse of a bomb".

Some management officials have attributed political militancy to the spill-over effect, the result of the broader political battle encroaching on the mines and on employer-employee relations.

Liebenberg, for instance, says employers have been warning for a long time that if labour reforms giving employees some rights don't take place alongside political reforms, political aspirations will be expressed through the only channels available to blacks — trade unions.

NUM officials have countered that the mine compounds, with cramped quarters for single migrant workers, are as much a visible sign of apartheid as the townships and the lack of a vote.

Marcel Golding, the NUM's press officer, says that what has been happening in the mining industry is the emergence of a new confidence among workers.

"He denies claims that the union has no control of the situation. 'The union is not head office. It is the shaft stewards and the workers who are taking the action. They are the union.'"

Much of the industrial action on the mines is still of short duration, but there has been a growing sophistication in tactics and some strikes are lasting much longer.

At Duvha open-cast colliery workers struck for two weeks before returning, at De Beers in Namaqualand they launched tightly-disciplined go-slows, while at Blyvooruitzicht and Vaal Reef's workers staged underground sit-ins.

These are signs, not of a loss of control, but growing organisation, closely coinciding with developments in the metal industry where, at factory after factory, workers have been sitting in. There have been sit-ins at 10 plants since the beginning of the year, the longest being three weeks at Haggie Rand.

Employers say privately that factory occupation is nothing to fear and, if affected, they are prepared to wait for it to blow over. But it has been a rough few months for many employers. As workers have adopted new tactics, so employers have had to look for new ways of facing the challenge. Supreme court orders evicting workers from factory and mine premises and lock-outs are among the measures adopted.

One company, Townsend Engineering, has been involved in a legal lockout — the converse of a legal strike — of Mawu members for four weeks now. Two more companies, Dorbyl and Metal Box, have declared disputes with Mawu.

Earlier this year, Rand Mines closed its Blyvooruitzicht mine and Anglo American shut a number of shafts at its Vaal Reef's mine after go-slows by workers disrupted production.

Supreme Court orders have come fast and furious, chiefly to evict Mawu members, to put a stop to factory occupations. But legal pieces of paper have proved insufficient to stop factory sit-ins and one company, GB Engineering, called in the police and more than 60 workers were arrested.

More threatening are moves by some employers to claim damages from unions for illegal strikes, a measure which could prove costly to financially strapped unions.

Labour consultant Andrew Levy says measures such as court orders and lock-outs are only being resorted to "out of desperation".

He says the unions are in many cases incapable of controlling their members and employers are being forced to consider lock-outs and court orders as they cannot get anywhere through the prescribed channels.

"For employers, the situation is simply that now they accept the legitimacy of trade unions and collective bargaining, they are dealing with a player who's not playing according to the agreed rules. Unions are not acting in a legitimate way, so, by applying to the Supreme Court, employers are merely asking for a referee."

# Tutu's plea may spur Congress to new sanctions calls aides



WASHINGTON — The plea for anti-SA punitive sanctions by Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu could touch off new US congressional pressure for a tougher line against SA.

"Many in Congress view Bishop Tutu as a credible leader and will therefore see his calling for more punitive sanctions as very important," said an aide of the House sub-committee on Africa.

"I think that helps the case (for tougher US sanctions) in Congress very much," she added.

The Reagan administration has rejected Bishop Tutu's plea for additional Western sanctions.

President Ronald Reagan, under heavy congressional pressure, changed tack last year and in a September 9 executive order imposed limited punitive measures

which barred bank loans to Pretoria and prohibited the export of nuclear and computer equipment to government agencies.

History could repeat itself this year if sufficient pressure could be generated, congressional aides said.

Congress, with its attention focused on Reagan's aid request for Nicaraguan rebels and budgetary issues, has appeared willing in recent months to give Reagan's SA package some time to work.

But House and Senate aides said Bishop Tutu's plea would help revive congressional concern and prompt new efforts to pass tough anti-apartheid legislation.

Any bill would have to be signed by Reagan. If he vetoed it, a two-thirds vote in both the House of Representatives and Senate would

be needed to pass it into law.

Rejecting new sanctions on Wednesday, the State Department repeated a long-standing US argument that such measures "would hurt SA's economy, which is central to the region's stability and a major force for change domestically".

Several bills are pending in Congress, including legislation for a trade embargo and withdrawal of all US investments from SA. The House has scheduled two hearings this month to review the SA situation.

"There will be an assessment at the end of the hearings and a decision made on whether they want to push the disinvestment Bill or decide to come up with something else," the House aide said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# What the ANC told NUSAS leaders

By RUTH BECKER

THE atmosphere of the meeting between Nusas and the ANC this week was of South Africans speaking to each other — South Africans with a common concern for a democratic future, but with different experiences," according to Brendan Barry, the Nusas president.

Barry spoke to the Weekly Mail in an exclusive interview after returning from Harare, where seven Nusas representatives met six ANC representatives at the Ghanaian High Commission.

While the meeting did not diminish Nusas' optimistic view of South Africa's future, "nothing discussed indicated (that change) will be less painful. There is a recognition that it will be painful," Barry said.

Nusas will relay to students what the ANC said — even if students don't like what they hear.

Over 95 percent of the 10 000 students who participated in the decision to go to Harare supported the meeting — and are waiting for the answers to their questions.

"We will attempt to report back fully," said Barry. "The basis on which we went was to get information. We did that and we're bringing it back — within the law — so that students will get a better understanding of the ANC and political conflict in the country.

"Whether students agree with them or not doesn't affect the fact that the ANC constitutes a major force in the country," he said.

For Nusas, the meeting was the second step towards informing students about the ANC, which the Nusas leadership "has no doubt will constitute a future government," according to Barry.

A joint communique issued at the end of the talks on Tuesday noted the delegations' agreement that "the real interests of the majority of white South Africans do not lie in the system of racial domination and national oppression.

"White South Africans have an important role to play now in the endeavour to achieve a non-racial and democratic society. In this respect Nusas has an important contribution to make within its constituency and as part of the national democratic



Brendan Barry of Nusas with ANC delegate Mavis Nhlopu

Picture: STEVE KROMBERG

movement," it added.

Barry could not give details of the discussions before the campuses received full report backs, but he gave an overview of the talks.

Broadly the talks covered the ANC's strategy and tactics, what contribution whites could make to end apartheid, the future for whites, the ANC's approach to future political and economic systems and to negotiation with the government, its relationship to the South African Communist Party and a range of issues including conservation, nuclear power and women's oppression.

The Nusas delegation received copies of ANC policy documents and ANC president Oliver Tambo's speeches.

"If people had access to that information inside the country they would have a complete picture. The answers to students' questions were there," Barry said.

"The ANC explained in detail its strategy against PW Bocha's

government — (a combination of mass political action, the underground, armed struggle and international isolation of the South African government. For them, victory depends on how these come together," Barry said.

Barry's impression was that they saw these aspects escalating, and "as having escalated rapidly over the last two years".

Nusas also mapped out its aims and what it hoped to achieve. "They expressed interest in that and asked questions about what we were doing on the ground to organise students and ensure their skills correspond with the needs of South Africa's population as a whole," Barry said.

On the question of armed struggle, Barry said the ANC regards the armed component of its struggle as a key factor. "They indicated, however, that the term 'soft targets' in no way indicated a policy of indiscriminate attacks on white civilians," he added.

APR 11 1960  
**Five houses  
fire-bombed**

11A

Five more houses were petrol-bombed in Atteridgeville township near Pretoria yesterday morning, bringing the total number of attacks on activists' homes in the area to 45.

One person has died and many have been hurt in the attacks, which have occurred mainly in the early hours. No arrests have been made.



Police fired volleys of teargas to disperse groups of youths at a funeral in Vosloorus yesterday. This youth was blinded by the teargas and is wiping his eyes to minimize the stinging effect.

## Four feared dead 'as police fire on crowd'

At least four people are believed dead after police allegedly shot five youths in Vosloorus, near Boksburg, yesterday morning.

The youths are believed to have been shot when a large crowd attempted to march on the administration offices, after attending a night vigil for Mr Samuel Moseotho Segole, an alleged African National Congress insurgent.

Police in Pretoria confirmed the deaths of two people. A spokesman, the Police Directorate of Public Relations said: "A body of a man with bullet wounds was found in the township.

"The circumstances leading to the death of the second man are still not known. Our men down there said they did not use any live ammunition, but there was police action.

Unconfirmed reports said two of those shot were from Daveyton, Benoni, two from Duduza, Nigel, and another from Vosloorus. The name of the Vosloorus youth was given as Sizwe Zulu, allegedly shot in the head and back.

Restrictions were imposed on the funeral by Boksburg magistrate Mr Johannes Roets.

According to the restrictions, the proceedings were "limited" to the house and the cemetery and no speeches of any political nature were to be made. The number of mourners was limited to 50 people who had to be family members. Banners, posters or flags were not to be displayed at any stage during the procession which was to be led by mechanically-drawn vehicles.

Police said later that about 10 000 people had gathered illegally and had been dispersed. An undisclosed number of youths were arrest-

ed yesterday after the funeral of Mr Segole, who was buried at the local cemetery amid a heavy presence of police and members of the security forces.

Many more were injured by birdshot, pellets and rubber bullets fired after police dispersed thousands of mourners, mainly young people, who were marching to the local cemetery.

Most of those injured were shot in the back, head and legs. Their ages ranged between 16 and 35.

A number of youths were said to have been punched, kicked and beaten with sjamboks by police who were on foot after the funeral. They were searching for youths in yards of homes.

Scores of other people were injured when the police, who had sealed off the area between the township and the cemetery fired a volley of teargas canisters as the large crowd of chanting youths surged towards the cemetery.

The youths, some carrying banners and a small flag of the Soviet Union, made the peace sign as they neared the police. The police replied by firing teargas.

There was a near stampede as women and children fell, blinded by the clouds of teargas. Others were cut by wire as they desperately scaled fences.

Rampaging Vosloorus youths also stoned and petrol-bombed houses belonging to councillors and policemen.

A house belonging to a policeman was seriously damaged when it was firebombed.

Major S van Rooyen, of the Police Public Relations Directorate, said a policeman's home was extensively damaged by arsonists.



A Vosloorus youth receives attention from his friends after he was shot with birdshot during yesterday's funeral.



# Winnie not free yet



*BUSINESS*  
*1/11/86*  
PETER WALLINGTON  
and Sapa



MINISTER of Law and Order Louis le Grange is not likely to oppose an appeal by Winnie Mandela against her banning order when the case is heard.

This emerged yesterday after confusion over whether she had been unbanned.

The state attorney dealing with Mandela's case, P Kleynhans, said yesterday he had spoken to Mandela's attorney, Ismail Ayob, and that the possibility of the state not opposing Mandela's appeal had been discussed. He denied, however, that a decision not to oppose the appeal had finally been made.

Ayob said earlier he had been informed the state would not contest the appeal. Yesterday a spokesman for the Department of Law and Order said Mandela's banning had not been lifted and Le Grange and his advisers were reviewing the case.

The PFP's Helen Suzman said yesterday she was disappointed to hear the ban had not been lifted.

# SA to lodge protest over documentary

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LONDON — The South African Embassy here is to protest to a TV station which intends screening a documentary about township violence filmed secretly during the state of emergency.

Channel Four, an independent station, confirmed today that it would broadcast *Witness to Apartheid* at prime time on April 19.

It was filmed by freelance producer Miss Sharon Sopher, and Channel Four says it contains "harrowing footage" of police action.

Miss Sopher is said to

have had the co-operation of the ANC during her undercover operation. She did not have permission to be in the townships and was briefly held for questioning by the police.

The film includes an interview with an undertaker who claims that, between May and September last year, he buried 34 black children, all with multiple bullet wounds.

An Embassy spokesman said a protest would be lodged "but concrete steps have not yet been decided."

The Embassy is likely to launch an all-out at-

tempt to stop the broadcast.

It is not likely to succeed. British TV stations fiercely defend their right to broadcast what they like.

The main independent network, ITV, once defied extreme pressure from the British Government and showed a documentary about a Saudi Arabian princess who was beheaded for having sex with a commoner.

Saudi Arabia broke off diplomatic relations, and it took the Foreign Office years to repair the damage.

# PERSIAN AND ORIENTAL CARPETS AND RUGS

EX-SEIZURE NOTE NO. 1/12/3/2/3/497

Dhurrie Khellims	R 290
Alghan, Persian, Belouch	R 99
Chinese silk squares	R 250
Islamabad	R1 650
Silk Qum	R4 500
Belouch	R 795
Karachi	R 399
Alghan, Russian, Persian Khellims	R 150
Mori Bokhara	R1 195
Silk Kashmir	R2 400
Jaipur	R 395
Russian silk Bokhara	R11 950

**LESS 50% LESS FURTHER 20%**

## PAINTINGS

SOUTH AFRICAN and INTERNATIONAL

Picasso Etching	R 4 200
Matisse	R 2 100
Chagall	R 1 975
Sir William Russel Flint Drawing	R 1 395
Cognard	R 3 250
Manet	R 4 200
Degas	R 4 200
Bonnard	R 2 100
Tobias	R 2 400
Henry Moore	R18 000
Hunderwasser	R 8 950
Hugo Naude	R5 950
Sydney Carter	R1 495
Gregoire	R 795
Timus de Jongh	R9 950
Henry John Dykman	R6 500
Barbara Plover	R 195
Wessel Marais	R1 190
Prof Edward Roworth	R2 400
Denzil Herring	R1 795
W. H. Coetzer	R7 500
Adnaan Boshoff	R 760
Strickland	R1 200

**LESS 50% LESS FURTHER 20%**

**Plea to release veteran unionist**

Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The International Labour Organisation has added its voice to calls for the release of jailed veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha.

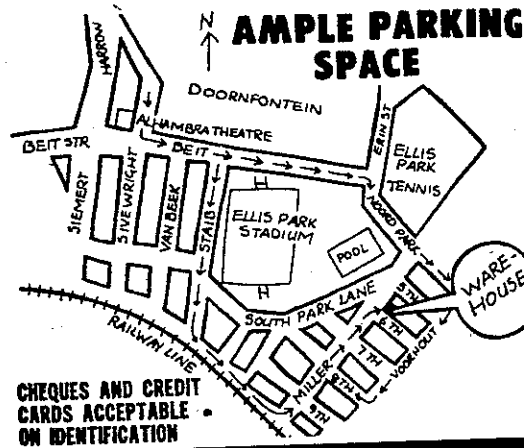
Director-general of the ILO Mr Francis Blanchard has urged President Botha to release Mpetha and four other trade unionists from the South African Allied Workers' Union on trial for treason in Maritzburg.

### NOT LIFTED

He said he was deeply concerned charges against Mr Thozamile Gqweta, Mr Samuel Kikine, Mr Isaac Ngcobo and Mr Sisa Njikelane had not been lifted as those against 12 others were.

Mr Blanchard called on the Government to release all trade unionists detained or charged under security legislation as well as Oscar Mpetha "in view of the serious state of his health".

Mpetha (77), a founder member of the Food and Canning Workers' Union and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, had a leg amputated while in jail.



## AN INVESTMENT RUGS

Perms, Chinese Silks, Nains, Antique and Persians and Khellims

Conference calls on youth and parents to take up grassroots struggle for a 'people's education'

Cosas not banned in the eyes of the people — student spokesman

By Susan Fleming

People in the townships did not consider Cosas (the Congress of South African Students) to be a banned organisation, Witwatersrand University Black Students Society (BSA) secretary, Ms Thandi Gqabule, said yesterday.

Ms Gqabule was addressing a report-back meeting on campus on the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference held in Durban over the Easter weekend.

Resolutions taken at the conference, including the return to school call and the unbanning of Cosas, were binding, she said.

She urged students to organise at grassroots level, adding that Wits was not immune from taking the struggle seriously.

She said: "Our organisations are a shield and a spear — they protect, but they also allow us to advance on the enemy."

The struggle for a "people's education" no longer belonged to the children only. It was the responsibility of the whole community.

She said: "Older people are now taking the initiative and becoming organised. The link between youth and the community needs to be strengthened. We must go forward with the protection of our parents."

The NECC conference in Durban was held to review progress made on the demands placed on the Government at a similar conference held in Johannesburg last year. The Government was given three months to meet these demands.

Ms Gqabule said most of the demands had not been met. Many people were still in detention. Cosas was still unbanned and the dismissal and harassment of progressive teachers had not stopped.



Black Students' Society secretary Ms Thandi Gqabule (right) and a Wits Student Representative Council member, Mr Etienne Marais, singing the African "national anthem" at Wits yesterday. Picture by Rebecca Hearfield.

Buthelezi under fire from NECC for attack on delegates

By Susan Fleming

kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi, has been attacked by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) for denying he ordered its Durban meeting at the weekend to be disrupted.

NECC delegates, registering at the Pioneer Hall in Congella, were attacked by armed impi who arrived in two buses at the hall. Two Inkatha members died after the attack and scores of delegates were injured.

Chief Buthelezi this week denied his involvement in the attack on delegates.

In Johannesburg yesterday, NECC spokesman the Rev Molefe Tsele said it was "self-evident" the chief had been involved in the attack. The Putco Bus company had confirmed the Inkatha

movement had hired the buses to take the impi to the hall.

"We carried no weapons and had no intention of fighting anyone. The aggressors were Inkatha who attacked us from the first day of registration," he said.

The NECC said it was considering laying charges to claim compensation for injuries and properties damaged.

Mr Tsele expressed the NECC's "sincere condolences" to the families of Inkatha members who had died following the attack.

The chief was strongly criticised for saying the NECC conference had not been concerned with education.

"We wish to reiterate the purpose of the conference was to resolve the education crisis," Mr Tsele said.

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# KNOW GOVERNMENT'S black enemy is becoming invisible



□ BOTHA ... no-win

**S**OUTH AFRICA, then, is at an impasse: Pretoria cannot suppress the black unrest, and the blacks cannot seize Pretoria. "A worst case scenario is projected of a short, sharp, brutal and destructive revolution," Dr van Zyl Slabbert said when I interviewed him on the day before his resignation.

"I do not see this happening. Rather, I foresee SA drifting into a period of prolonged siege and inconclusive violence.

"There are certain thresholds we could cross which would make SA a very desperate society to live in. One is if the country became totally isolated — this could nurture an evil government.

"The other is if black violence spills over into white residential areas and provokes counter-violence from whites. Then we could drift into a Lebanon-type situation with no-go zones."

Adrian Guelke, a former Capetonian now lecturing at The Queen's University, Belfast, has been comparing the Northern Ireland and SA situations. He said in a recent lecture here in London:

"Once systems like Northern Ireland and SA, characterised by coercive dominant-subordinate relationships, reach a point where the political system's capacity for coercing the subordinate community is put in doubt, it becomes simply impossible to criminalise political violence, whether the violence is of a revolutionary or vigilante kind.

"In these circumstances, political violence rapidly becomes inter-community violence. It becomes representative violence. That is to say, political violence is no longer seen as simply the actions of individuals, but as representative of the community from which it emanates and for which that community is accountable."

**B**lacks in SA are already moving into this conflict situation, and now with the formation of vigilante groups, a counter-movement is stirring in the white community.

It is clear where government's priority lies: it is to avert this impending confrontation, because once it happens, the country's last precious political asset — the cross-cutting goodwill between the white and black communities — will disappear, and the race war will begin.

But the prospects of government averting the confrontation are not encouraging. In 38 years of dealing with the anti-apartheid struggle, the authorities have learnt nothing.

Unleashing the police is still the only remedy they know, although all that this has achieved over the years has been partly to take the leadership of the black community out of the hands of elected leaders and disperse it in the back streets of the townships.

The UDF is an example. It has been structured in such a way that, even if its national and regional leaders are taken into detention, decision-making and organisation can continue at a township level where it is almost inaccessible to the police.

The tougher the police become, therefore, the more fragmented the situation in the townships will become, as UDF cadres are forced to share power with the hard core of the apartheid generation, the brutalised wolf pack who ride in on the wake of the political mainstream.

Government's black enemy, in fact, is becoming invisible, and all the recent talk by Ministers of employing the hitherto vast, untapped coercive resources of the state is so much pie-in-the-sky.

**S**hort of bombing the black townships, there is little government can do except kill more people, detain more people — and generate more black fury.

Sooner or later, government will have to talk to the black community — but who will talk to government? When the time comes to negotiate power-sharing, as remorselessly it will come, government's real problem will be to find representa-

## STANLEY UYS in London continues his impressions of a recent visit to SA



□ SLABBERT ... "prolonged siege"

tive black leaders capable of controlling their own people.

Professor Hermann Gillomee made this point some time ago, when he said government would discover that even more dangerous than the existence of a large and influential black organisation would be the absence of one.

Professor Heribert Adam made much the same point to me when he passed through London last week. Whites, he said, might well find that their long-term interests were best served by an autocratic black government.

There is then no police solution to SA's problem, only a political one: for the rising level of violence in the white community to subside, the level of violence in the black community must first subside — and this is possible only if certain minimum black demands are met.

But the lesson of the times, surely, is that these demands will not be met by President Botha's reform programme.

This is not to say that all Botha's reforms are "cosmetic," or whatever the current dismissive word is. It just means that the reforms are contributing nothing to reduce the level of violence in the townships.

**B**otha, in fact, is getting the worst of both worlds. First, his reforms merely tell blacks that the apartheid system is ceasing to function efficiently, that whites are on the defensive and that raised black expectations and morale are justified. In a sense, therefore, the reforms are adding to, not detracting from, the level of violence in the townships: they fall short of meeting demands, yet they inspire blacks to believe that the hated system is cracking up.

Second, whereas the reforms were meant to have the maximum effect on blacks and the minimum effect on whites, the opposite is happening: the reforms are having the maximum, counter-productive effect on conservative whites and the minimum pacifying effect on blacks.

Caught in this no-win situation, where can Botha go from here? What are his options?

One suggested option is that he should relieve the strains on Afrikaner unity by stalling the reform programme.

The historical background is interesting. In the late Sixties, pressures for apartheid reform built up to a point where they could no longer be contained within the National Party — within the Afrikaner nationalist consensus.

The problem with this consensus is that, while it ensures an Afrikaner monopoly of political power, it has little flexibility in adjusting to change.

The conflict within the NP was resolved by the HNP breakaway in 1969. This widened the consensus and allowed the introduction of reforms, until the pressures for further reform built up again and once more were stifled by the consensus.

So a second break had to occur — the Conservative Party in 1982 — to give reform space in which to breathe.

Now the pressures have built up again, but this time so rapidly and massively that they are not likely to be released through just another minor breakaway.

Now the application of a radical reform programme — the only kind of programme that will have meaning for blacks — could tear the NP asunder. And this is where President Botha has faltered and stopped.

Botha has come to the frontiers of this reform potential because he is not prepared to preside over the dissolution of Afrikaner nationalism.

No doubt he will still come up with reform ideas — he has not called a federal congress of the NP in August for nothing — but it can be predicted already that the ideas, especially if they relate to a new constitutional dispensation for blacks, will be so convoluted as to make absolutely no impact on the currents of violence that are running in the black townships.

Putting the brakes on the reform programme, therefore, or diverting it into esoteric highways and byways, is one suggested option.

**A** more realistic option is to replace the Afrikaner consensus with a more broadly-based consensus of white voters within which radical reform will become possible.

The majority vote is certainly there: the catchment area includes not only English-speakers (FFP members among them), but also the growing number of Afrikaner nationalists who accept (as Gavin Rely once put it) that the party is over.

In my discussions with FFP leaders it was put to me that the divide in parliamentary politics was between the NP and FFP on one side and the CP and HNP on the other: the former supporting reform (albeit at different tempos) and the latter resisting it.

Here, in broad outline, then, is a way out of SA's impasse, although obviously neither the NP nor the FFP would survive such a realignment intact. There seems to be no other way in which the mould of white politics can be constructively broken.

Stalling the reform programme may be an option for Right-wing whites who dream of an ethnic remobilisation of Afrikaners and the restoration of apartheid in its Verwoerdian purity: it is not really an option for SA.

Dr Piet Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers and former Editor of *Die Burger*, believes Afrikaner nationalism has burnt its bridges.

"We had to try apartheid," he explained to me, "in order to prove that it does not work. Socialists in Britain were not very different. After the war, they too had to change under the pressure of new insights. They also know now that the best-laid plans sometimes don't work."

"Afrikaners are busy learning that this is not just their country — that they are not going to be the only bosses forever. They will not accept one-man-one-vote, but at least they know now what is impossible."

**H**arald Pakendorf, Editor of *Die Vaderland*, perceives a new fluidity in white politics. He believes there are about 50 Nationalist MPs who are at least a "little concerned" over the pace of reform.

"This does not mean they are going to form a new party," Pakendorf told me, "but it does mean they will have to stand up and be counted."

"The whole question of the pace of reform will have to be discussed now in the NP's parliamentary caucus, and there are enough critically-minded MPs to make it a meaningful discussion."

"Whatever comes out of this discussion, it is not impossible that we will see a third force establishing itself in the country. I am not saying this is about to happen — just that the possibility exists."

"The conflict between whites has run its course and Afrikaners are losing their cohesiveness. Either a third force will be established now, or the NP will have to become a less nationalistic party."

# Warm welcome for freed Winnie

FREEDOM SONGS, ululating and dancing by a crowd of youths greeted the return to her home in Soweto of Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, after the lifting of her banning order yesterday.

Ismail Ayob, legal representative for the Mandela family, said he had been told by telephone by a member of the State Attorney's office yesterday morning that Winnie Mandela had been "unbanned".

He had been given no details.

In a brief statement quoted by a police



● MANDELA

SIPHO NGCOBO

spokesman, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange said his statement laid before the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on March 22 — when the banning order on UDF official Mkhoseli Jack was declared invalid — applied to Mandela.

Ayob said Mandela remained a "listed" person and could not be quoted.

Her return to Soweto followed "the State Attorney's promise that her banning order would be lifted" after negotiations with her lawyers, Ismail Ayob and Associates.

In January, an urgent application

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brought before the Rand Supreme Court by Mandela to have her banning order declared invalid and as having no force in law, was dismissed with costs.

□ The British Foreign Office said it had "noted the move" and was taking steps to establish exactly what it would mean to Winnie Mandela.

While this reaction was guarded, Whitehall sources last night welcomed the development with enthusiasm.

The stand of the British government was that Nelson Mandela should be unconditionally released from jail. To have any restriction on his wife lifted could, therefore, only be welcomed as a "positive step in the right direction".

# SANCTIONS: BLACKS BACK TUTU

## White politicians say no to call

BLACK political organisations have given strong support to Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for punitive sanctions against South Africa.

However, the whole spectrum of white political organisations, from the Progressive Federal Party to the Herstigte Nasionale Party, as well as commerce and industry, have rejected Bishop Tutu's stand.

The Bishop of Johannesburg on Wednesday carried out his long-standing threat, calling on the international community to apply punitive sanctions to help bring about change in South Africa.

One of the important questions relating to the issue of sanctions is how they would affect blacks. Notably, it was most of the white organisations that used this argument as a basis for rejecting Bishop Tutu's call, saying sanctions would be detrimental to the black people.

Black political organisations, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, however,



BISHOP TUTU

welcomed Bishop Tutu's stand as the last remaining non-violent way to achieve change in South Africa.

A UDF spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, said it was not surprising that a call for punitive sanctions should come from a person such as Bishop Desmond Tutu.

"Given the way the State has behaved towards its own citizens over the past 18 months, calling for punitive sanctions has become one of the last options open to people committed to peaceful change," Mr Morobe said.

### Desperate

"We hope that Bishop Tutu's call and that of the National Education Crisis Committee conference in Durban will be seen by the international community as a desperate call from the oppressed section of the South African society to exert more decisive pressure on this racist Government."

An Azapo spokesman said the call for economic sanctions was long overdue.

"The continued maintenance and support of this unrepresentative minority regime has left us with the conclusion that the so-called Western democracies have been silent about the iniquities of this Government simply because it is white," the spokesman said.

11A  
7/19/83  
SOWETO

# Confrontation at Vosloorus

FIVE youths were killed and several other people were injured yesterday hours before the burial of an alleged African National Congress member.

Mr Samuel Sekgole died in a shootout with the police last week.

The four were shot dead during a confrontation with police early yesterday morning. They were among more than 1 000 youths who were marching towards the Vosloorus administration offices.

Another youth involved in the march was seriously injured. He was admitted to the Boksburg-Benoni Hospital where he died late yesterday.

One of the dead has been identified as Sydney Moake.

Three of those injured are Miss Zandile Zulu, Mr Andile Ngwenya and Mr Michael Masango.

There was drama near the Vosloorus Cemetery when police fired tearsmoke and shots. They turned back more than 15 000 mourners.

## Family

Earlier in the week police told the Sekgole family that only 50 people, all family members, should attend the funeral and that no political speeches should be made and no freedom songs sung at the service.

The family was also told that the funeral should be over by 11am. Mourners ignored these restrictions. Political speeches were made and freedom songs chanted.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria



YOUTHS run for cover behind the hearse and family car as security forces fire tearsmoke at the funeral of an alleged ANC member in Vosloorus.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

# SHOTS KILL 5

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

yesterday confirmed the death of two youths in the township.

He could not confirm the shooting incidents and the turning back of the mourners. Only the family and

a few relatives were allowed into the cemetery.

For about three hours, police continued firing tearsmoke and shots in the township. Mourners fled.

Thousands of people stayed away from work and pupils stayed away from school.

On Wednesday

night the Vosloorus Stayaway Supporters Committee distributed pamphlets calling on residents to stay away from work and attend the funeral.

Yesterday no transport left the township.

Late yesterday afternoon security forces were still patrolling the streets.



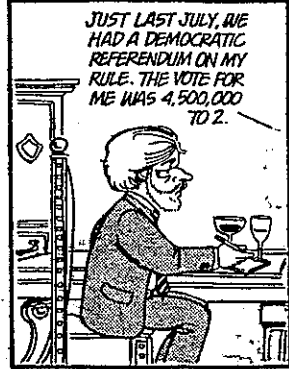
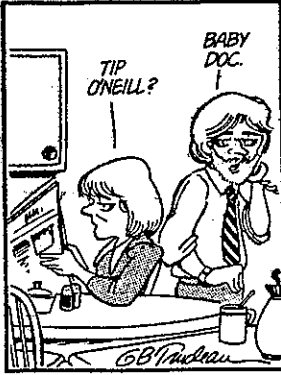
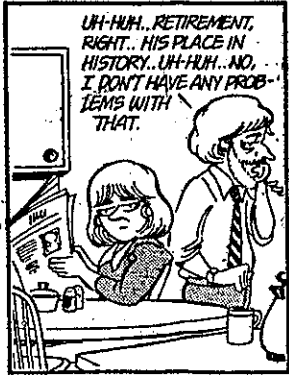
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4/11/86



BY GARRY TRUDEAU

# Slabbert speaks on UDF platform

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER



DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Opposition, will be speaking on a United Democratic Front platform in Johannesburg next week.

The meeting is part of a new UDF "Call to whites campaign", intended to present UDF affiliates as a political alternative to whites opposed to the government.

Titled "Where to white politics?", it is the first in a series of five such meetings.

The meeting is organised by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), a UDF affiliate.

Slabbert will speak alongside Zac Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Nthato Motlana, leader of the Soweto Civic Association, and Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC.

It will take place at the City Hall on Wednesday evening.

2/21/85  
**CBS IRKS BUTHELEZI**

**ON MAIL (11A)**  
American television viewers may soon have first-hand experience of the legendary wrath of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha. A serious altercation between Buthelezi and Ed Bradley, correspondent for CBS Television's prime-time programme *60 Minutes* has been captured live on film.

The incident occurred last week in the chief minister's office during a face-to-face interview. Bradley apparently suggested that Buthelezi had revealed his closeness to the South African government by helping the TV team obtain visas to visit the country.

The CBS team had originally been refused visas. Buthelezi, a personal friend of CBS President Tom Wyman, was asked to use his influence to get the ruling changed. An approach to government via the offices of the Commissioner General for the Zulu People, Nico Hansmeyer, was, apparently, successful.

But Bradley alleged the visa incident was evidence that Buthelezi was being "promoted" by the South African government.

A clearly irritated Buthelezi said: "I was very annoyed that he should throw a kindness like this back in my face." The rest of the interview was described by the chief minister as a "disaster."

CBS spokesmen in the US declined to comment.

# Le Grange in a corner over Winnie banning

SALDRU  
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
U.C.T.

WEEKLY MAIL 4/1/86



Louis Le Grange



Winnie Mandela speaks to newsmen as she returns home in defiance of her banning order

Picture: REUTER

WINNIE MANDELA has Louis Le Grange in a corner over her banning order as dispute grows over whether she is still banned.

Mandela's case has highlighted the collapse of the government's power to restrict persons and ban the publication of their words — a crucial pillar of South African security legislation.

This collapse is the result of a recent Appellate Division judgment which had the effect of making most existing banning orders invalid.

To all intents and purposes, Mandela is no longer a "restricted" person. She has moved back to her Soweto home — in contravention of her "order" — without being arrested.

However, a spokesman for Le

**WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER**

Grange, Minister of Law and Order, yesterday said Mandela's restriction order had not been lifted.

Her attorney, Ismail Ayob, remains adamant that a deal was struck with the State Attorney last week lifting her banning order.

Ayob issued a statement saying the

"State Attorney, acting on behalf of the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police, came to an agreement that he would abandon judgment. He was to serve the final written notice of withdrawal on April 1. This has not yet been received, but is expected".

The State Attorney, P Kleynhans, yesterday denied that such a deal had

been made.

He said he had talks yesterday with Ayob in which the possibility of the state not opposing Mandela's appeal had been discussed. He denied, however, that a final decision had been made.

Yesterday Ayob stood by his statement: "If the State Attorney is denying that the banning order has been lifted, then I have nothing to add."

## Day one of the KwaNatal indaba

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE first step toward establishment of a single legislature for KwaZulu and Natal was taken yesterday when delegates representing all races and more than 30 organisations met at the Durban City Hall for the first session of an indaba on the region's future.

Co-hosted by the KwaZulu government and the largely moribund Natal Provincial Council, the indaba's primary task is to seek consensus as far as possible on the structure and composition of the envisaged legislature. Yesterday's session was the first of many to come.

Whether delegates representing political parties and institutions, ranging from Inkatha through the politically antediluvian New Republic Party to the Afrikaanse Handels-instituut, will be able to devise a common formula, either by consensus or majority vote, remains to be seen.

But even if they do — and they have

already invoked predictions of failure from several sceptical, head-shaking observers — that will only be the beginning of the problem. The National Party sent observers only. It will thus not be bound by any decision hammered out at the indaba.

The idea of a single nonracial or multiracial legislature for Natal is, of course, contrary to government policy. It will negate the racially-structured regional councils on which Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis has spent so much time and so much taxpayers' money. But even if the NP does approve a united nonracial or multiracial KwaNatal, as the proposed integrated region has been dubbed, it will still suffer from a major if not fatal defect.

The indaba has been shunned by major political forces: the United Democratic Front and the Azanian

People's Organisation, as well as the outlawed African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress (to whom invitations were sent out of naïveté or as part of a publicity ploy).

If, as some observers contend, there can be no regional solution in KwaNatal without Buthelezi and Inkatha, the time is rapidly approaching when there can be no solution without the UDF and the ANC and, to a lesser extent, Azapo and the PAC.

If, however, there were Jeremiahs yesterday forecasting doom for the indaba — one saw the participation of the NRP as a desperate but futile attempt by it to ward off political death — there were also people who feared that it might succeed: whites from ultra-rightist organisations, including the Herstigte Nasionale

Party and the Action White Natal.

They handed out pamphlets lambasting the organisers as the tools of profit-making capitalists; Anglo-American was a central factor in the plot to sacrifice whites for profit, the HNP averred.

But Buthelezi was concerned about a different danger. He warned delegates in his opening address to be careful of saboteurs, citing the burning down of the university offices of one of the key men behind the indaba, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, as a reason for his counsel to delegates to be careful.

But his speech contained hopeful and apocalyptic notes. The indaba was a "tryst with destiny", an opportunity to "cut the Gordian knot of racism and injustice", a "forum where the people's voice will be heard" and a chance to "banish violence from our political scene".

The Minister is adamant that Mandela is still banned and issued a statement to that effect yesterday.

However, in a later statement, a spokesman for his office said the Minister was not likely to oppose an appeal by Mandela against her banning order. Such a decision would be an admission that her banning order was invalid.

At the same time, the Minister's office also said Mandela's banning order was under review. Last night he was locked in discussion with his law advisers over "the entire matter of banning restrictions".

It is clear from these confusing signals that Le Grange is in a corner.

He has to comply with an Appellate Division ruling that banning orders such as Mandela's are not valid.

On the other hand, he wishes to keep her silent and is desperately seeking a way of preserving the restriction on her being quoted.

Thus, yesterday's moves appeared to be a bid to buy time while he and his law advisers try to find a way around

INSIDE: KwaNatal: The footsie-footsie option Page 12

# The Winnie quandary

● From PAGE 1  
the court's ruling.  
Legal experts have pointed out that in terms of existing legislation it will be very difficult to restrict the publication of Mandela's words once the banning order falls away.

Le Grange faces a legal nightmare in trying to preserve restrictions on Mandela. His choice is:

● To reban Mandela. In terms of the court ruling, he would have to give full reasons for this action and

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would certainly be challenged in court by Mandela, who would have a good chance of success.

● To "list" her. To do this would require her conviction on charges of terrorism, subversion, communism or furthering the aims of an unlawful organisation. Mandela has previously been acquitted of such charges.

● To amend the Internal Security Act to deal with her. This would take months and the Minister is likely to face difficulty having such a move accepted by the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament.

Lawyers said yesterday the banning system, a cornerstone of the Internal Security Act, appeared to be crashing.

Bannings, a sophisticated form of restriction developed over generations, have allowed the state to take activists out of the public eye, without imprisoning them.

# Campaign to release Mpetha

South African anti-apartheid groups yesterday launched a campaign for the release of jailed 76-year-old trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, who is reported to be seriously ill.

Mpetha, formerly a leading official of the United Democratic Front (UDF), was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1983 for inciting youths to riot.

"This Government has no justification for keeping Oscar Mpetha in jail," Mr Aubrey Mokoena, a spokesman for the Release Mandela Committee, told a news conference.

Speakers at the conference said Mpetha was very ill. He is suffering from diabetes and has had his left leg amputated.

The campaign to release him is supported by the UDF and several trade unions. — Reuter.

Mercury 5/4/86

# Cosatu denies charge by new union

## Mercury Reporter

MR JAY Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), has denied an accusation by an Inkatha-initiated union that he wants factories to close.

The accusation is contained in a pamphlet advertising a meeting on May 1 at Kings Park Stadium in Durban at which the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) is to be formed.

The meeting will be addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

Hundreds of the pamphlets were given to people as they left the Durban City Hall after attending the opening session of the KwaZulu/Natal indaba earlier this week.

## 'Damp squib'

Mr Naidoo said the history of Cosatu showed that the union has fought to maintain job security through its struggles around retrenchments and factory closures.

He said Cosatu was preparing a response to the formation of Uwusa which would look at the new union's relations with 'homeland authorities'.

Mr Naidoo said it was the obvious intention of Uwusa to confront Cosatu.

'They will eventually turn out to be a damp squib.'

'The fact that the union has not revealed its factory organisation or membership shows that it is a union on paper only,' Mr Naidoo said.

Security policeman questioned on arrest of treason trialist

S/4/86 STAC

11A

# Police brutality alleged

By Jenni Tennant

Police fired shots at and manhandled one of five men facing charges of treason in the Rand Supreme Court, it was alleged yesterday.

Evidence of force used by police on the five alleged members of the African National Congress would have an influence on the outcome of their trial, defence counsel Mr H Viljoen SC said.

Mr Viljoen told the court one of the five, Mr Lumkile Happy Mkefa, would testify that police had fired shots at him after he was arrested.

He would say the police had manhandled him and he had put up a struggle but was overpowered. He was placed in a car and sat on by policemen, Mr Viljoen said.

Mr Viljoen said this during a lengthy cross-examination of a security policeman who testified about the arrest of Mr Mkefa in Zola on August 17 1984.

Constable MS Ramashala said he disagreed with Mr Mkefa's version of the arrest.

The constable said Mr Mkefa was arrested at 8 am and was taken to the Protea Police Station, where he was handed to a warrant officer.

Mr Mkefa had given the police who arrested him a "tough time". He would not give himself up to the police.

Constable Ramashala said Mr Mkefa was held down by three policemen on the way to the police station and had continued to struggle until a warrant officer at the police station pointed a firearm at him.

The constable was cross-examined about the number of policemen involved in the arrest.

Mr Mkefa (21), Mr Hamilton Mncedisi Dubasi (28), Mr Jongumuzi Sisulu (26), Mr David Matsose (24) and Mr Joseph Themba Maja (25) have pleaded not guilty to a charge of treason and charges under the Internal Security and Terrorism Acts.

The hearing continues.

Appearances: Mr Justice A M van Niekerk, sitting with two assessors, is on the Bench. Mr J A Swanepoel, assisted by Mr A G Berry, appeared for the State. Mr Viljoen, assisted by Mr S L Joseph, appeared for Mr Dubasi, Mr Sisulu, Mr Mkefa, Mr Matsose and Mr Maja.

# Police act at funeral

11A

2/25

5/4/86 W. Post

S. ALDRU  
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
U. G. T. E.



Mr MKHUSELI JACK, president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress speaks to a police officer in a Casspir in New Brighton today, while priest and funeral organisers look on.

## Post Reporters

**POLICE used birdshot and tear-smoke while dispersing crowds of people who attended the funeral in New Brighton today of eight people shot at a bottlestore in Kwazakele recently.**

It is believed that four people suffered birdshot wounds this afternoon and that one person had died, but this could not be confirmed.

Inquiries to the police were referred to headquarters in Pretoria, where a spokesman said all was quiet.

Earlier, tear-smoke was fired by police and crowds were ordered to disperse.

The atmosphere was tense as police with quirts charged a section of the crowd outside the Centenary Great Hall.

The funeral was switched to the hall after permission was refused for it to be held at the Dan Qeque Stadium.

More than 8 000 people eventually crowded into the hall; while hundreds gathered outside.

One woman, 18-year-old Nomna Vumbani, a UDF member, was carried into the hall during the service. It was alleged she was hit in the right leg, apparently by a piece of birdshot, when police opened fire at a crowd.

"I was merely helping to control the people and asking them to get inside the hall when I was hit," she said.

Originally 12 people were supposed to be buried but only eight coffins arrived. These were those of Mr Wandile Mlumbi, 20, Mr Mxolise Lebeko, 21, Mr FIndie Mostita, 21, Dennis Mstzi, 14, Miss Sulu Lunga, Mr V Ntshona, 24, Mr David Mguquwa, 21, Mr Daniel Sigula, 47.

Three times a delegation of ministers led by Rev De Villiers Soga and Mr Mkhuseli Jack, spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee, approached the police and the army asking them to refrain from firing tear-smoke in the vicinity of the hall.

The police said they had been instructed to maintain law and order and that no large groups of people should gather outside. But they assured the delegation they would try not fire tear-smoke in the direction of the hall.

By 11.15am the hall was almost full. While ministers waited outside for the arrival of the bodies, two Casspirs, a Buffel and a police van drew up, and police armed with quirts and members of the Defence Force armed with shotguns charged the crowd, which scattered.

Tear-smoke was fired and mourners in a convoy of cars arriving with two bodies were caught in the clouds of tear-smoke.

Another procession arrived shortly before noon, escorted by security force members. People were again chased with quirts.

The funeral started late and was conducted by Mr Soga. He told the mourners that the people of South Africa, especially those who were oppressed, were living in a war situation.

He said people were fortunate as they were not fighting alone. "God is on our side and we shall win."

At one stage members of the SAP and the army came as far as the door of the hall, causing a stir inside.

After this Mr Soga, Mr Jack and other ministers spoke to a Brigadier Rust, who said he had no option but to carry out his instructions if people assembled outside.

At 1.45pm tear-smoke was fired outside the hall and there was alarm inside, but calm returned when ministers and other community leaders appealed to the people not to be provoked into any form of action.



Tear-smoke was used to disperse crowds in New Brighton today at the funeral for people shot dead during raids on township bottle stores last week. Tear-smoke was used after bystanders were told to move.



# Winnie Mandela's ban: State waiting for police report

57/114  
54/114  
114

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

The State Attorney's office in Johannesburg is apparently waiting for a report from the Security Police before making a decision on whether or not to oppose Mrs Winnie Mandela's appeal against her banning order.

Legal sources said today that the State Attorney's office was waiting for a memo from the security branch and approval from the Ministry of Law and Order before formally withdrawing opposition to Mrs Mandela's appeal.

The Security Police, the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, and the Ministry of Law and Order refused to confirm or deny that such a report was being compiled.

And — according to spokesmen for the Department of Justice and Department of Law and Order — no plans exist to amend the Internal Security Act to close the legal loophole exposed by a recent Appellate Division judgment that effectively declared most banning orders invalid.

In the meantime, however, Mrs Mandela's status is officially exactly the same as it has been for almost 10 years — she is still banned.

"The restriction order still exists — Mrs Mandela is still a banned person," Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said today.

But while Mrs Mandela's official status may not have changed, the recent Appeal Court ruling had the effect of making most existing banning orders invalid.

According to Mrs Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, Mr Piet Kleynhans agreed last week not to oppose her appeal and underook to issue a formal notice in this regard by April 1. A spokesman for Mr Ayob's office said today that the notice had not yet been received.

But even if the State Attorney does lodge such a notice, and Mrs Mandela's appeal proceeds unopposed, it would still require an Appeal Court ruling before the banning is legally set aside.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange can short-circuit this procedure by lifting Mrs Mandela's banning order before her appeal is heard.

According to the legal sources, Mr le Grange is considering such a step and a decision is expected soon. Brigadier Mellet confirmed that Mr le Grange and his advisers were meeting to review all existing banning orders.

Asked to comment on the existence of the Security Police report on Mrs Mandela, Brigadier Mellet said that he could not. "I have no knowledge of it at all. You will have to ask the State Attorney's office."

The police directorate in Pretoria had referred a request for comment to Brigadier Mellet.

Approached for comment on whether or not it was compiling such a report, the Witwatersrand Division of the Security Branch refused to do so. "We cannot comment one way or the other," a spokesman said.

In a related development, a spokesman for the Department of Justice in Pretoria said he knew nothing of plans to alter the Internal Security Act to plug the legal loophole.

(Handwritten initials)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

It is a long and winding legal path that has led to the point where Mrs Winnie Mandela can return to her Soweto home without fear of immediate arrest for breaking her banning order.

It is a path that links names that have gone around the world - starting with trade unionist Solly Sachs in the 1950s; leading more recently to the Durban Six who occupied British consular offices to evade re-detention in 1984; and involving Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee leader Mr Mkhoseli Jack.

The principle argued by law-

# Lawyer at forefront of ban challenges

yers who succeeded in getting the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court to declare Mr Jack's banning order invalid was the same as the argument which the Appellate Division upheld in declaring "preventive" detention orders issued on the eve of the 1984 tricameral elections to be defective.

This was that the Minister of Law and Order was compelled to give reasons for the detention or banning at the time of issuing the order. To reproduce as a

reason his conclusion that those named in the order were endangering public order was insufficient, the court accepted.

Lawyers point out that it is the Minister's application of the Internal Security Act that has been open to legal attack and not the provisions of the Act itself. The banning and preventive detention system is still quite intact, they caution.

And the experience of the Durban Six may be instructive. Within days of the Natal Su-

preme Court judge declaring that the detention orders served on seven men - including five of the Durban Six - were invalid, fresh detention orders had been prepared.

This move provoked the Durban Six to take refuge in the British consulate, claiming they were not fugitives from the law but from political persecution.

In the case of banning orders, the position taken by the Department of Law and Order in the wake of the Jack case is that

all banning orders are being reviewed. Observers have taken this statement to be not without threat to those recently derestricted.

In addition to bannings and detentions, the execution of other sections of the Internal Security Act has been successfully attacked on several occasions in the past year.

The effectiveness of attorney-generals' certificates prohibiting a court from considering bail in political trials was un-

dercut in the Maritzburg and Delmas treason trials which featured leading United Democratic Front figures. In the Maritzburg trial the court subsequently granted bail, while in Delmas two judges refused bail.

The grounds of attack were again the vagueness of the certificates issued - the fact that they did not specify particular acts which would constitute grounds for keeping the accused behind bars.

Bans on particular gatherings

were also declared invalid.

The legal name that links all these challenges to the application of the Internal Security Act is advocate Ismail Mahomed SC, the man who forced the State to abandon the Maritzburg trial in respect of 12 of the 16 accused.

Mr Mahomed is a judge of the appeal courts of Swaziland and Lesotho, a member of the Bar in Johannesburg, the BLS countries and England, and an authority on the Group Areas Act.

Mr Mahomed's name is now firmly linked with the legal initiatives that have taken dozens of prominent anti-apartheid leaders out of cold storage and put them back in operation.

# More violence in Winterveld as four houses fire-bombed

Staff Reporters and Sapa

The strife-torn Winterveld area in Bophuthatswana, just outside Pretoria, was rocked by further violence yesterday amid new claims that last week's shootings which left at least 11 dead were deliberate and unprovoked.

As four houses in Winterveld, all belonging to popular leaders, smouldered following early morning petrol-bomb attacks yesterday, the Mabopane-Winterveld Crisis Committee (MWCC) called a Press conference to condemn last week's sports stadium killings and add claims that when Bophuthatswana police opened fire it was entirely unprovoked.

One MWCC member said she had seen a red flag raised by the police as a signal to open fire.

And, in defiance of a direct order by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope that no "political" funerals were to take place, the MWCC announced at the Press conference that all 11 known victims of the shootings last week are to be buried after a mass funeral next Wednesday.

Among the homes fire-bombed was that of Dr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce. The house was gutted by two petrol-bombs early yesterday.

Mr Tshini Mulondo of the MWCC said three of the firebombed homes belonged to members of a delegation which had held discussions with the

Divisional Commissioner of Police in Ga-Rankuwa last month.

They are Mrs Joycelyn Motsuenyane, wife of Dr Motsuenyane; Mrs Martha Lebopo; Mr J Motshwane, who is in hospital with serious burns, and an unnamed Winterveld resident.

Turning to the incidents of March 26, a statement released at the conference by the MWCC condemned the killings and said the tragedy was a "manifestation of the ongoing repression by the bantustan on the people of Bophuthatswana in general, and the Winterveld community in particular."

Mrs Sheila Monyebodi said she was a member of the delegation which sought a meeting with divisional police commander, Colonel Molohe. The delegation wished to discuss alleged police harassment of children and the arrest of youths.

Colonel Molohe undertook to meet them on March 26 at the stadium.

## Fight

There, Colonel Molohe allegedly told the crowd the children were guilty of stoning buses, burning administration buildings and killing people.

"If your children are going to fight then I am also prepared to fight," Mrs Monyebodi alleged Colonel Molohe said.

Police then hoisted a red flag and began firing on the crowd.

## Campaign to release Mpetha

South African anti-apartheid groups yesterday launched a campaign for the release of jailed 76-year-old trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, who is reported to be seriously ill.

Mpetha, formerly a leading official of the United Democratic Front (UDF), was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1983 for inciting youths to riot.

"This Government has no justification for keeping Oscar Mpetha in jail," Mr Aubrey Mokoena, a spokesman for the Release Mandela Committee, told a news conference.

Speakers at the conference said Mpetha was very ill. He is suffering from diabetes and has had his left leg amputated.

The campaign to release him is supported by the UDF and several trade unions. — Reuter.

# Capitalist <sup>5/1/86</sup> now unionist <sup>STAR</sup>

By Mike Siluma

The man behind moves to form a new trade union allied to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha is an avowed capitalist — an attitude rare among most leaders of the emergent union movement.

He is Mr Simon Conco (59), a businessman who has taken part in kwaZulu politics for a decade.

The United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa) is to be launched formally on May 1 to cater for workers dissatisfied with the emergent union movement's opposition to Chief Buthelezi and the homeland system.

The decision to launch Uwusa was announced after Inkatha had repeatedly warned it would enter the labour field to counter the influence of, in particular, the 500 000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mr Conco, who has several business interests in Natal, is chairman of Inkatha's finance and labour committees. A former president and vice-president of

the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, he admits to lacking union experience.

But he quickly adds: "We have obtained the services of people who have the know-how to train both our members and leadership."

Mr Conco says it is "irresponsible" of emergent unionists to use strikes to achieve their goals. Strikes for political ends are "ill-conceived", he adds.

"If you destroy the economy — as you do through strikes — it will be difficult to rebuild it when you are liberated," he warns.

Rejecting socialism, Mr Conco says the reason blacks have not benefitted from free enterprise is that the system is "in the wrong hands at the moment".

Asked if it was not odd that a businessman should be at the forefront of moves to form a workers' organisation, Mr Conco replied: "No. Here we are concerned with the economy of the country on which everybody, including workers and businessmen, is dependent."



Mr Simon Conco: an avowed advocate of capitalism.

It never  
standing stands have

...the snow, Mr. Cupboard is giving

ON 7/11 8/1/06

## Prisoner's wedding today

PORT ELIZABETH. — Miss Daeka Heliso, the Port Elizabeth woman who is to marry ANC prisoner Raymond Mhlaba in Pollsmoor Prison this morning, left here last night.

Her entourage included Bishop Siggibo Dwane of the Anglican Order of Ethiopia who will officiate at the ceremony.

The bishop said today's wedding would be the culmination of two years of correspondence with the government.

The couple tried to marry by proxy in 1984 but after it was learnt that this would be illegal the idea was abandoned.

Mhlaba, who is serving a life sentence, has not lived with Miss Heliso in 23 years. They have two children.

CM 7/11/86 5/4/86  
**Nafcoc man's home  
one of 10 bombed**

PRETORIA. — Four homes — including that of Dr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) — were petrol-bombed in Winterveld, Bophuthatwana, early yesterday.

The attacks were part of a spate of at least 10 petrol-bombings of homes in the Pretoria area yesterday.

In Garankuwa the councillor for Zone 3, Mr Hosia Tladi, yesterday resigned after "five petrol bombs" were thrown at his shop at 2am.

He said damage was estimated at R3 000.

And in Atteridgeville five houses were petrol-bombed, bringing the total number of attacks on the homes of activists in the area in the past few days to 45.

On Thursday four anti-apartheid organizations condemned the spate of petrol-bomb attacks on political figures in Pretoria and accused police of turning a blind eye.

A police spokesman in

Pretoria said: "There is no point in commenting on vague allegations made against the police."

In Saulsville, near Pretoria, United Democratic Front members Mr David Mkhumbuzi and his wife Elsie were asleep when their home was petrol-bombed. Mrs Mkhumbuzi was admitted to hospital and her husband discharged after treatment.

The four Winterveld petrol-bombings were announced at a Pretoria news conference called by the Mabopane-Winterveld Crisis Committee (MWCC) in protest against the deaths of 11 people shot by police in Winterveld on March 26.

Mr Tshini Mulondo of the MWCC said three of the homes belonged to members of a delegation that had held discussions with the Divisional Commissioner of Police in Garankuwa about the arrests of students in Winterveld.

Those in the delega-

tion were Mrs Joycelyn Motsuenyane, Mrs Martha Lebopo, and Mr J Motshwane, who was in hospital with serious burns. They were released on bail this week after being arrested at the mass meeting which ended in the 11 deaths.

Dr Motsuenyane is in Brussels on business.

Mrs Motsuenyane said the attack on their home occurred about 3am.

The Rev S D Makhudu, who had been visiting at the time, was overcome by smoke and his clothes were covered in blood. He was rushed to Kalamafong Hospital in a serious condition.

She said the R127 000 house was destroyed.

The director of Nafcoc, Mr Stan Kubheka, said it was strange that the attack had occurred three days after Mrs Motsuenyane and the others were released on bail.

"This is a job of professional people who knew what they were doing. Their intention was obviously to kill." — Own Correspondent and Sapa

CM 7/11/86 5/4/86  
**Five more  
unrest  
deaths**

PRETORIA. — Police last night reported five more unrest deaths in black townships — three of them near Nelspruit where petrol was poured over seven people and they were set alight.

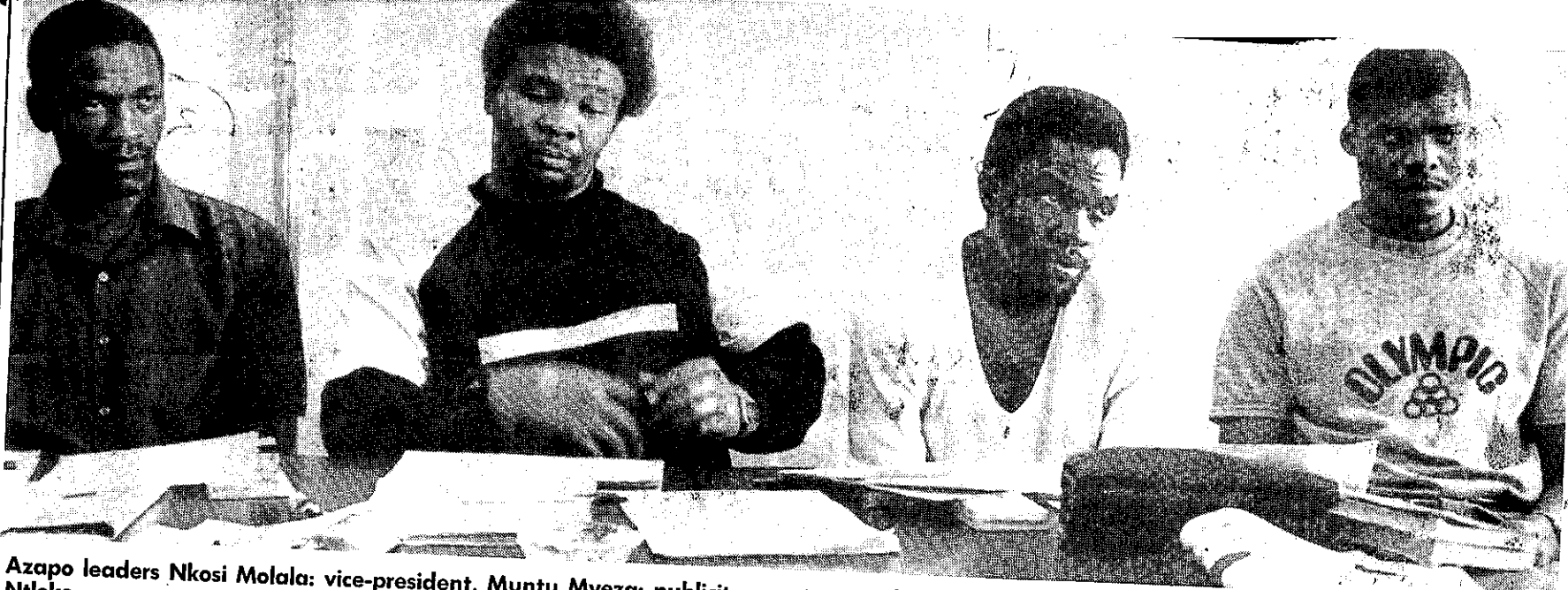
Police said the incident happened at Kanyamanzane near Nelspruit on Thursday when a large group of blacks gathered and "arrested" seven black males.

The seven were then tied up and set alight after having petrol poured over them.

All seven escaped, but one was caught and beaten to death.

Three of the others were admitted to hospital where two of them died. One is still in hospital with serious injuries, the report said. Four people were arrested.

At Langa, near Port Elizabeth, police yesterday discovered the charred remains of a woman's body and on Thursday night, the charred remains of a man. — Sapa



Azapo leaders Nkosi Molala: vice-president, Muntu Myeza: publicity secretary, Lybon Mabasa: vice-president (political affairs) and Phambile Ntloko.

By MUDINI MAIVHA

THE era of legitimate public opposition by overt organisations is nearing an end, the Azanian People's Organisation's Planning Congress concluded in Durban at the weekend.

The PC warned that the dawn of "wholesale repression reminiscent of the 1960s" is imminent.

The conclusion was reinforced by the Government's blanket ban on open-air meetings.

"It's becoming increasingly clear that the oppressive SA regime is bent on repressing all overt opposition by extra-parliamentary forces," said publicity secretary Muntu Myeza.

In the light of such repression Azapo condemned "imperialist" US support of SA through "constructive engagement", he said.

The US is supporting "destabilising and reactionary forces" in Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Lebanon said Myeza.

Azapo pledged solidarity with Libya and commended

CITY PRESS  
6/4/86  
11A

# The boot is coming down, warns Azapo

the solidarity of the Arab states against "imperialist aggression".

The congress also took resolutions on attacks on members, the National Education Crisis Conference, imperialism, and the one-year ban on meetings.

● Myeza told a Johannesburg Press conference that some "reactionary, irredentist and opportunistic" organisations have resolved to harass, maim or kill Azapo members.

"To date Azapo has not been responsible for initiating any violence on members of organisations with which we disagree ideologically," said Myeza.

The PC gave the Central Committee a mandate to defend and protect the organisation and its members in keeping with Azapo's declared policies. This was based on the "Four Cs" - "Conscientize the apathetic, Collaborate with the co-operative, Consolidate the conscientized, and Confront the hostile".

New action against the attacks on Azapo's "cad-

res" would be based on the Four C's and would include confrontation through the media, open meetings or person to person.

● If Inkatha had attacked the National Forum conference last weekend, Azapo would have defended itself, said Myeza.

He said Azapo was faced with a "Stalinist and sectarian tendency" both internally and externally. The media, and *City Press* in particular, was guilty of "deliberately creating a sectarian viewpoint". The paper was accused of "journalistic buccaneering" and distorting information about Black Consciousness.

"If one reads CP exclusively, one would believe there was only one organisation in this country," said Myeza.

● The PC resolved to use all means at its disposal to protect black people in Natal against Inkatha's "Amabutho".

It resolved to continue the struggle for a democratic, anti-racist, socialist Azania.

## Azapo men sue cops for R0,5-m

By MUDINI MAIVHA

FOUR TOP-ranking Azanian People's Organisation officials and 23 other people are claiming R500 000 from Lebowa cops following alleged assaults on them in Namakgale a fortnight ago.

Azapo national secretary George Wauchope, officials Pandelani Nefolohodwe, Phosakuwa Mashela and Mmutle Phasha, and Jake Mathabathe are each claiming R50 000 for assault.

The other 23 assault victims are claiming R5 000 each for assault, and another R5 000 each for wrongful arrest.

● American clergywoman Beth Ann Burris is claiming R250 000 following an alleged assault by the homeland cops.

Burris was sjamboked when cops stormed the Phodisadichaba Lutheran Church Centre and disrupted an Azapo regional congress and a meeting by the Northern Transvaal Council of Churches last month.

● Azapo activist Windsor Maraba, whose house was razed by fire, is compiling a list of property damaged by the fire. Maraba intends laying a charge against a man he saw running away after his car was doused with petrol.

# 'If only I could give my flesh to them...'

THE SA army raid into Maputo in 1981 was a turning point in the life of a Durban schoolboy in that city at the time.

It made him change his mind about completing his schooling. He decided then that the only answer to SA's problems was to counter "apartheid violence".

Andries Sibusiso Zondo then vowed to join Umkhonto we Sizwe - the military wing of the ANC.

And that began the long road leading to the devastating Amanzimtoti bomb blast of last Christmas - and ultimately to the death sentence for each of the five deaths caused by the blast.

But Zondo was filled with remorse at what he had done and repeated these feelings several times in court.

He told the court: "I said to my father that if the death sentence is passed, he must not weep. Other fathers lost their sons in the blast". He also refused to charge the prison warden and the father of a blast victim who assaulted him. "It would be another sin on me to do so," he told the court.

He said he had refused to leave the country after what he had done, because he felt he had to take whatever consequences there were, and he had actually welcomed being arrested by police.

He said: "If it was possible for me to take part of my flesh and give it to the people who were lost in the

## CP Correspondent

blast, I would do it".

During his evidence Zondo explained to the court that a turning point in his life was an unprovoked police attack on a prayer service at school during the boycotts of KwaMashu in 1981.

"We were doing nothing but we found ourselves the victims of the police," he said.

"It made me ask myself why it had happened. From that day on, whenever I looked at police I would see them as the enemy".

He was later recruited into the ANC and finally decided to leave the country to continue his education.

Soon after he returned he was arrested. He later learned this was because police had found a biography he wrote in Swaziland, when they raided ANC premises there, and he was told he would be released only if he "laid a trap" for two of his comrades.

He refused to do this, but his parents were brought in to persuade him and he eventually agreed.

When he was released he decided to leave the country rather than stay on and betray his friends. He went to Maputo - and shortly afterwards the SADF bombed the town.



# Nusas to report on ANC

By MUDINI MAIVHA

A REPORT-BACK of the meeting between the National Union of SA Students national council and the outlawed African National Congress at the Easter weekend will be made available to students throughout the country.

The report-back should take about two and a half weeks to prepare, Nusas president Brendan Barry - head of the eight-man delegation - told a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport this week.

The delegation met the ANC delegation led by national executive committee members Mac Maharaj and James Stewart at the residence of Ghana's High Commissioner.

The meeting followed after 10 000 students from SA universities gave Nusas the go-ahead to have talks with the ANC.

Of the discussions, Barry said: "We have learnt a lot about each other. "The process of working towards a non-racial democratic South Africa is going to be a painful one."

He said there was growing optimism among Nusas members, however, that the process of change will be a peaceful one.

# What NECC says about Inkatha

# What Inkatha says about NECC

city press  
6/14/86

THE invasion of the second National Education Committee Conference in Durban by alleged armed Inkatha impis - leaving two dead - has left thousands of South Africans asking:

"Why did Inkatha attack innocent delegates?" many asked.

And angry delegates to the conference have responded by describing Inkatha as an enemy of the people which supports the Nationalist Government.

Delegates, angered by the unprovoked attacks on their persons and property by the impis, resolved to "expose, isolate and fight against the fascist organisation". They also condemned Putco "for aiding the criminal activities of Inkatha".

Even foreign diplomats attending the conference were reported to have said the incident served as an "eye-opener" to their governments, who have been giving Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi red-carpet treatment.

After widespread publicity given to the attacks on delegates, Buthelezi said the violence at the conference was "the expression of angry men and women in the street".

He said: "It is an expression from the black youth".

Putco PRO Pat Rogers said a prominent Inkatha leader - who he refused to identify - hired the buses. But he said, Putco was not aware of the intention of the passengers.

He said Putco drivers refused to pick up Inkatha reinforcements and to return to the scene of the fighting when requested. Putco management in Durban has begun an inquiry into the matter.

Only hours before the violence began, the offices of the African Food and Canning Workers Union - a Cosatu affiliate - were burnt by what the union said was "a gang of thugs".

A Cosatu spokesman said the union would not be silenced by cowardly acts against the people".

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Chief MG Buthelezi has criticised the motives of the National Education Crisis Committee and denied he ordered the disruption of its Durban meeting.

"The NECC did not assemble in Durban to concern itself with matters of education," he said.

"It suits political organisations aiming to make South Africa ungovernable to have pupils back at school where they can be better mobilised than if they were in small groups scattered throughout our black townships."

He said the meeting in Durban was meant to divide black people.

"The NECC arranged to meet in Durban to strengthen their claim that they are an authentic black South African organisation.

"They chose Durban because they wanted to mobilise black pupils to do their political work for them."

"The conference was aimed at giving evidence that it was possible to attack me from bases very near to my home," he said.

He also denied that the disruption at the meeting was caused by Inkatha.

"The events which took place were not orchestrated by Inkatha.

"I did not order the action which took place. No central committee member organised it either," he said.

"If Inkatha youths with Inkatha uniforms were involved in the eruption of anger, why must I be blamed for their behaviour?"

"The NECC itself came here to court that anger."

He also said he was "appalled" by reports that the cops attributed the disruption of the meeting to Inkatha.

"I call on the Minister of Police to publicly repudiate this statement.

"I am the president and I know what Inkatha is instructed to do," he said.

Buthelezi said he would welcome an inquiry into the truth of the statement that his organisation was behind the violence. - Sapa.

11 6, 1986

By MUDINI MAIWA

THIS week's intensified attacks on Northern Transvaal Azanian People's Organisation members have raised suspicions among residents that the Lebowa government is carrying out its threat to crush the movement.

Five Azapo officials were allegedly severely assaulted by homeland cops after they were detained in Namakgale at the weekend.

National secretary George Wauchope, Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions secretary-general Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Mmutle Phasha, Phosakuwa Ma-

shole, Jake Mathabathe and 24 others - including minors - were allegedly assaulted in a police station.

Scores of other Lebowa residents were sjambokked by cops and jailed.

Azapo members' houses were burnt and several activists hospitalised.

● The five Azapo officials and 24 residents are claiming R500 000

from the Lebowa police for assault and wrongful arrest.

The attacks on them came barely two days after attacks on Mokerong Parents' Crisis Committee vice-chairman Richard Ramodipa and chairman John Mkhonoana.

Four-month-old baby Givi Mmola was also struck by a cop's sjambok. The mother, Christina Mmola, is suing the cops for as-

sault on her and the baby.

● Last year, a full Lebowa Cabinet sitting to discuss escalating unrest in the homeland resolved to sack all civil servants who were Azapo or UDF members.

A month later, pamphlets in Mahabalereng Township, Potgietersrus, urged residents to revolt against Azapo members.

A hit list compiled by an organi-

sation calling itself "MAMC" included Ramodipa, L. Mankalala, Marks Kokana, Joseph Makhala, Tsheliso Hlabla and Azanian Student Movement officials and Azapo members, brothers Perry and Prince Kokana.

On March 22, Ramodipa and Mkhonoana's houses were petrol-

bombed. Ramodipa said cops refused to

help and only arrived at his house after he'd extinguished the fire. They came in a minibus similar to one a neighbour saw at his house just before the attack.

Windsor Maraba's house was petrol-bombed this week. Maraba said he saw his cop neighbour running away.

Cops arrived and allegedly stopped neighbours from putting

out the fire.

Azapo activists Patrick Kobela and Thabo Montjane's homes were also petrol-bombed. Montjane was at Kobela's home. He injured his arm while fleeing from cops who allegedly pointed guns at him as he left the burning house.

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of SA organiser Yasser Rasithaba was reported to be in a critical condition at Nobel Hospital. He was allegedly assaulted by cops last Wednesday.

● Lebowa police said they were not available for comment.

# Fierce attacks on Azapo men

6/4/86 CITY PRESS



# MUSCLING IN ON MAY DAY

**THE emergent South African trade union movement is gearing up for its biggest show of strength on May 1 — the 100th anniversary of Labour Day.**

The powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has unilaterally declared the day a public holiday, an act which will further strain union-Government relations.

And on the same day Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha organisation will be launching their own union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), in direct competition to the UDF and ANC.

It will be the year of worker power — in the workplace and in the townships.

Trade unions aligned to the UDF and the ANC are slowly moving into the vanguard of opposition politics as the most sophisticated and organised bodies in black politics.

And, on another front, the unions are set to push for drastic wage increases — and to pressurise employer bodies to get tougher in their opposition to apartheid.

At the same time South Africa is witnessing a stepped-up war for the hearts and minds of black workers by the different ideological groups — a struggle that

could lead to more black-on-black violence.

At present the Congress of South African Trade Unions represents the ideas and interests of the Charterist movement (ANC and UDF). Two groupings soon to be unified, the Council of Unions of SA (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu), represent the black consciousness movement (PAC, Azapo, National Forum).

But on May 1 the other big black political force, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, is launching its own trade union movement, Uwusa, as a direct challenge to the UDF and ANC.

Early indications are that Uwusa could attract a substantial number of recruits. This could hurt Cosatu and allow it to

dominate the labour field in Natal. It is also opening offices on the East and West Rand.

The Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa), who were observers at this week's Natal Indaba, the Black and Allied Workers' Union and the National Union of Sugar Refining and Manufacturing Employees are likely allies of Uwusa. Uwusa is also likely to succeed in mobilising the thousands of domestic and farm workers in Natal.



But with Cosatu's superior organisational skills, the increasing political polarisation and militancy in the townships — and the hostility between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC/UDF on the increase — Uwusa's

gains could be a short-lived phenomenon.

Chief Buthelezi has called Cosatu a "surrogate" of the ANC and "a parish organisation swooping down on society to take the pickings of black frustration and anger".

Cosatu leaders in return claim Uwusa is a "sweetheart" union not committed to the anti-apartheid struggle.

Cosatu's denials that they are an ANC surrogate are certainly true in the sense that they do exercise a form of democracy in the movement.

But after their cordial meeting last month with the ANC leadership in Lusaka and earlier statements by the ANC national executive describing Cosatu as an "integral part of the mass army of revolution", there can be no doubt where their allegiance lies.

This is exactly Cosatu's strength: their close solidarity with the "liberation struggle" in times of increasing black militancy, while Chief Buthelezi is seen by many to be a "collaborator" of government and big capital.

But many workers are scared that Cosatu's overt political role is not in their interest as workers in a time of recession.

Uwusa, on the other hand, is seen as more non-confrontationalist and, what is more, it is against disinvestment and economic sanctions.

Many workers, although theoretically in favour of disinvestment as a form of political pressure, realise that effective disinvestment and punitive sanctions will lead to greater unemployment and economic hardship.

maphosa went on record recently as saying that Cosatu's task is to ensure that unions become the "leading force" — they will work in alliance with other organisations in the democratic movement, but "only on terms favourable to us as workers".

The workers have become very weary of the wild schoolkids who have been in the forefront of black action so far, and are determined to stem their influence.

That is why Cosatu played such a strong role at the recent education conference in Durban. They have made black education one of their political priorities and will be leading a three-day stayaway from June 16 on this issue.

But even viewed from the Government's side, Cosatu's increasing political involvement also has a positive side to it: it could become the main weapon against senseless anarchy in the townships as trade unions tend to be grassroots organisations with strong leadership and well-developed skills of negotiation.

It also represents most black South Africans' first real experience of organisational democracy. That must certainly be seen as a long-term investment in South Africa's future.

But Uwusa's anti-socialist stance is unlikely to please many black workers, who seem to believe they can only benefit from a scrapping of the capitalist system.

The trade unions in the UDF/ANC stable have already brought a new sophistication to the struggle in the townships through their experience of grassroots mobilisation.



Since these unions were brought together in Cosatu last year, their overtly political role has increased sharply — as has their overt identification with the ANC.

No mass action on a national scale by the UDF or ANC is now possible without the full co-operation of Cosatu.

Cosatu and NUM strongman Cyril Ra-

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CITY

# 20 000 SALUTE MABHIDA

CP Correspondent

11A

**HOLDING** large beach umbrellas against the sun's sweltering heat, 20 000 people paid tribute to late SA Communist Party secretary general Moses Mabhida at Port Elizabeth's Dan Qeqe Stadium at the weekend.

They raised clenched fists, observing a minute of silence in tribute to Mabhida during the four-hour memorial service addressed by local United Democratic Front leaders.

Mabhida, who died in exile on March 8, was buried in Maputo on Saturday.

The heavy presence of security forces in casspirs patrolling the perimeter of the stadium did not dampen spirits as singing crowds marched on the rugby field chanting "Viva Mabhida".

In his address, recently unbanned PE Youth Congress president and PE Consumer Boycott Committee spokesman Mkhuseleli Jack said: "Brothers and sisters, this could be the last time that we meet here - and also the last time that I speak before you, as the Botha government is bent on banning people and getting away with it easily.

"We have decided to boycott white businesses on Monday, April 7, in retaliation for the massive deaths in our townships, the bannings and the detention of people without trial."

To chants of "Amandla Ngawethu" Jack said: "We've been going to Veevaas cemetery for the past 18 months.

Now is the time for them to stop.

"The crime of killing our youth cannot go unchallenged - so the boycott is the only language they (the government) can understand.

"We demand to know the whereabouts of our comrades, the release of Nelson Mandela, and the killers of Mathew Goniwe and comrades to be brought to book," he said.

Urging patriotism among black people, Jack said life was not going to be easy as "we are going to do anything in our power to achieve the society we want".

There were shouts of "Go away" from the crowds when Jack jested to heavily armed security force members and troops who had parked their vehicles near the stadium.

"Those chaps are here now and they might even decide to kill us. But I advise them to 'trek daardie klerie uit' and rather join the people," he said.

There was laughter when he asked: "I just wonder when they ever have time to relax with their families?"

It was hardly five minutes before the security force vehicles left.

UDF regional vice-president Henry

Fazzie told of his meeting with Mabhida in Tanzania in the early 60s before Fazzie was arrested and sent to Robben Island for 20 years.

Fazzie said Inkatha - the movement headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi - was "making life miserable for Durban residents and trying very hard to create hatred between blacks and Indians."

PE Women's Organisation executive member Ivy Geina said she prayed for all exiles to come home alive.

"Freedom must come to this land for all who live in it," she said.

## 'Mabhida - the patriot'

By **MONO BADELA**

**MOSES** Mbheki Mncane Mabhida was born into a Natal peasant household in October 1923. But the young man who worked as a herdboy to help supplement the family income, was destined to become one of South Africa's leading revolutionaries.

Mabhida - a member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, secretary-general of the SA Communist Party and a leading figure in the SA Congress of Trade Unions at the time of his death - became secretary-general of the

SACP after the death of Dr Yusuf Dadoo in 1983.

He was one of the key leaders of the ANC-SACP-Sactu alliance sent into exile in 1960.

Mabhida was one of seven children of Stimela and Anna Mabhida, who lived at Thornville outside Maritzburg.

Mabhida later attended school in Slangspruit, where he became a confidante of Harry Themba Gwala, who is presently serving a life term on Robben Island for ANC activities.

Natal UDF leader Billy Nair - who has served 20 years on Robben Island for ANC activities and who once worked with Mabhida in the labour movement - said Mabhida was a "patriot who believed mankind's problems were caused by capitalism, profit-seeking and the exploitation of labour".

In December 1942 Mabhida joined the SACP and also became active in the ANC.

In 1952 he became secretary of the Maritzburg branch of the ANC. He also became a Sactu organiser.

He was elected one of the four vice-presidents of Sactu at its inaugural congress in 1955, and became chairman of the organisation in 1960.

Mabhida was active in the one-day stayaway campaign in 1959, and led the ANC's potato boycott in Natal with Sactu leaders Nair and Stephen Dlamini (present Sactu president.)

In 1961 Mabhida and Wilton Mkwazi, who is presently also serving a life sentence for ANC activities, represented Sactu at the inaugural conference of the All African Trade Union Federation in Casablanca.

Mkhuseleli Jack salutes SA Communist Party secretary general Moses Mabhida.

# Cosatu backs Tutu

By MONO BADELA

THE 500 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions has come out in support of Nobel prizewinner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu's call for the imposition of immediate punitive sanctions against South Africa.

Tutu's call for sanctions follows a warning issued at the Wits education conference three months ago that he was giving the Government until March 31 to dismantle apartheid.

Tutu said at a Press conference in Johannesburg that President PW Botha has not said anything which has made him believe that his Government intends dismantling apartheid.

"I have no hope of real change from this Government unless they are forced to do so. We face a catastrophe in this country and only the pressure of the international community can save us," he said.

Reacting to Tutu's call, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi said they supported "all forms of pressures

against this racist minority regime".

He said Cosatu believed sanctions were the only weapon which could bring about real change in South Africa.

Mafumadi accused people who said that economic sanctions would lead to greater unemployment of only being interested in maximising their profits.

"They are trying to make a moral issue out of a political one," he said.

● The Reagan Administration rejected Tutu's call for sanctions and said it would not promote change in South Africa.

"It would only escalate the level of violence and polarisation in the country, State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb said.

● The Federated Chamber of Industries said it doesn't support Tutu's call.

"Although he has no doubt expressed the frustration of many black people, the chamber cannot support a unilateral telescoping of the timetable for change asked for by Tutu," chamber president John Wison said.

## NEWS PLUS+

★ THE KATLEHONG Residents' Committee has told the Katlehong Town Council to desist from taking legal action against rent defaulters.

It has asked the council to listen to the plight of the residents. The committee has accused the council of ignoring residents' needs.

# Secret Maties' report goes sour

By BENNIE VAN DELFT

A "SECRET" report on political developments in South Africa is threatening to sour the good relations between the Inkatha Youth Movement and the Stellenbosch Students' Representative Council.

The report is allegedly critical of Inkatha and claims the organisation is interested only in the consolidation of Zulu power to dominate the country.

This week the Inkatha Youth Brigade refused to attend a conference at the Uni-

versity of Stellenbosch because they said the student council had refused to give them the report.

Youth Brigade president Musa Zondi confirmed this, saying the students' refusal to hand them the report "is jeopardising any future contact between us."

"Although they claim the report was personal and not representative of the university, it has now become a public document — and there is no longer any point in trying to keep it secret."

Mr Phillip Verster, chair-

man of the student council, confirmed this week that the youth wing of Inkatha was cutting its link with the Maties.

He said it would be "a sad day" if dialogue with Inkatha came to an end as the Maties had enjoyed very close ties with the black youth movement until recently.

The report was concluded after a tour of the country by a group of 10 Maties, including Mr Verster and members of the university's Students' Representative Council.

# Finger pointed at Inkatha bus

By **SHAUN HARRIS AND DENYSE ARMOUR**

**NEW** facts emerged this week linking members of the Inkatha movement to last weekend's attack on the black education conference in Durban.

But KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, denies emphatically that the movement was behind the violence which left two men dead.

This week a witness claimed he saw men in a white mini-bus directing a

group of armed men at the scene of the attack on delegates to the National Education Crisis Committee.

The truck has been identified as belonging to the KwaZulu Department of Works in Ulundi.

This follows confirmation by the Putco Bus Company that the three buses used in the attack were hired by a senior Inkatha official.

An eyewitness to the attack claimed he saw a white mini-bus stop near a group of men armed with spears and shields and a man inside

pointed out directions for the group to move.

The witness noted the registration number. City officials confirmed this week that the vehicle was registered to the KwaZulu Department of Works.

The Minister of Works, Mr S H Gurnede, was not available for comment this week, but a spokesman for his office said they did not know of the vehicle being used.

The Secretary for the Department of Works refused to speak to the Press.



## NF gives Government a 'last chance' to resign - and NECC throws down the gauntlet

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

DURING the Easter weekend, representatives of the people of SA gathered at two venues in Durban - and threw down the gauntlet to the Government.

In a giant step to force the Government to relinquish power and resign, the third National Forum conference in Durban called for a total shutdown of SA's industrial, educational and social structures.

The call was made in a resolution by 1 200 delegates representing, the NF claims, 457 affiliated organisations.

The six-point plan called for an "active engagement" program from May 1 to 4, when the NF committee will announce to the Government the intention to proceed with the plan - and then start:

- A labour boycott.
- A rent boycott.
- An education boycott.
- A consumer boycott.
- An intensification of the disinvestment campaign.
- A moratorium on all sports and social activities

NF convenor Sath Cooper - also Azanian People's Organisation president - said about 600 000 members of affiliated organisations would be affected.

"The intention is to give the Government the opportunity to resign and relinquish power," Cooper said.

The boycott would start on June 16 and would continue for 10 days, he said.

★ At Chatsworth's Rajput Hall over 1 500 National Education Crisis Committee delegates urged stu-

dents to return to school and called for "People's Education for People's Power".

The conference also threw down the gauntlet to the Government in a 12-point program.



Delegates Henry Fazzie, Vusi Khanyile and Reverend Molefe Tsele.

# 'We will close SA'

Resolutions called for:

- All students to return to classes. Closed schools must be reopened and students must demand the right to People's Education.
- A national stayaway on June 16, 17 and 18, and June 16 to be declared a

national youth day and a holiday

- The unbanning of Cosas.
- An end to harassment of "progressive" teachers.
- May 1 to be declared a public holiday.
- Inkatha to be declared an enemy of the people in

league with the Government.

- The formation of a national action committee.
- All political prisoners to be freed, exiles to return home and banned organisations such as the ANC to be unbanned.

● Full support for the disinvestment campaign.

- The US to be declared an accomplice to the crimes of apartheid.
- All communities and organisations to launch rent, consumer and other boycotts.

# UDF says: Tutu made right move

By KHULU SIBIYA  
THE United Democratic Front - which has more than 600 affiliates - yesterday said it wholly supports Bishop Desmond Tutu's call for punitive sanctions against the Government. Publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said Tutu's call was not unexpected - "because any reasonable person with vested interest in the status quo, could not

have arrived at a different conclusion".

"Having to live from one bloodbath after another is enough to convince anyone of the appropriateness of the call."

The message from Tutu is that we can no longer be appeased by piecemeal solutions to the problems of our country," Morobe said.

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce PRO Gabriel Mokgopo said Tutu's statement "cannot be dismissed as if it were made by an irresponsible man".

"He must have a strong case and reasons for it."

He said Nafcoc believes investment should consciously, progressively and visibly be channelled into community projects which need development.

Nafcoc's management committee meets on April 21 - and the issue of disinvestment will feature prominently, he said.

★ Page 2 - Cosatu backs



APRIL ISSUE  
NOW  
ON SALE



JULUKA'S SIPHO FINI  
PEACE AT LAST

- MAHOBE'S TA  
BOYS TO THE
- MICHAEL JAC  
RICH AND SO
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IT, IT CAN'T L

by SIBUSISO MNGADI

AMANZIMTOTI bomber Sibusiso Andrew Zondo's family - already distraught at the five death sentences the young man received this week - are now living in fear of a possible right-wing attack on their home.

The family received several threats during Zondo's trial.

Zondo, 20, was sentenced to death five times and also received ten years imprisonment.

Zondo was punched in the face by witness John Bothma's father in front of the judge last month.

His family stopped attending the hearing after the incident - and his father, Rev Aket Zondo of the African Evangelical Church, only went to court after being subpoenaed.

Zondo family members say the families of the victims of the blast were "arrogant and threatening" towards them during the trial.

They say they overheard remarks such as "kill him and the whole family" during the trial.

The remark prompted Judge Leon to intervene -

# The pain isn't over for the Zondo family

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by threatening to throw out anyone who made such remarks.

During the hearing, Zondo told the judge he was assaulted by warders "for no reason".

But the Zondo family's problems did not end with the threats they received in court - they were told they would "pay" after the trial.

They said the area they lived in and their daily trip to the court made them vulnerable to attacks.

Family sources said they had decided to stop attending the trial after speaking to several people - including their lawyer, Beka Shezi.

They said their feeling of insecurity and their con-

stant fear of reprisal had made neighbours and local youths keep a constant watch on the churchyard in which they lived.

There are constant security patrols in the area.

When *City Press* visited the family this week Zondo's mother broke down. Family members said it was the second time she had broken down since the sentence was passed.

Friends of the family said Rev Zondo had to be excused from a service this week because he was too distraught to conduct it.

But youths in the area continued the service and prayed for Zondo, who was once a close friend of theirs.

Rev Zondo told *City Press* he was unable to speak to the Press as he and his wife had made an undertaking with their son that they would not do so.

After a last message of reconciliation to the families of his victims and to South Africa, Zondo heard the judge pass the death sentence on him five times.

The young ANC member had previously been found guilty of five counts of murder and one of attempted murder after he planted a newspaper-wrapped limpet mine in a bin in the Amanzimtoti Sanlam shopping centre.

Just before passing sentence the judge asked Zondo if he had anything to

say. Zondo - who knew he was to be condemned to death because the judge had ruled there were no extenuating circumstances - then gave his last message.

Standing straight, and and speaking clearly to the court, he said: "I wish to say this to the people who might have lost their friends, and kids and families. I say that I am sorry. Next thing I wish is that my country be friendly to its neighbouring countries."

The judge then repeated the fatal words five times and added: "And may God have mercy on you."

Zondo shouted "Amandla" and immediately left the dock for the cells below court. He did not hear the judge go on to sentence him to a further ten years for the sixth count - attempted murder.

His lawyer asked for leave to appeal, but it was refused.

Before passing sentence the judge said he had taken everything into account before making up his mind.

★ See Page 2

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# Jailed ANC leader married in prison

CAPE TOWN — One of the African National Congress leaders jailed for life with Nelson Mandela was married on Saturday in the office of the commander of Pollsmoor Prison.

With Mandela as a witness, Raymond Mhlaba married Ms. Dedika Heliso, the mother of their three grown children.

Afterwards Mrs Mhlaba told reporters outside the prison: "It's the happiest day of my life."

She said she had been able to touch Mhlaba for the first time in 22 years.

The couple's children were not permitted to attend. But two relatives of the bride were present and Walter Sisulu, another jailed ANC leader, was a witness with Mandela.

Mhlaba and Mandela were among eight leaders of the ANC convicted of treason in June 1964 for plotting the violent overthrow of the Government.

Bishop Sigqibo Dwane, who conducted the service, said the couple had applied three times since 1984 for permission to marry. Each application was turned down until the Minister of Justice, Mr Hendrick Coetsee, gave permission this year. — Sapa-Associated Press.

# PAC MISSION ON WAY OUT

SOWETAN 7/4/86

(11A)

THE diplomatic mission of the Pan Africanist Congress based in Botswana may be on its way out because of pressure from the South African Government.

PAC leader Johnson Mlambo has been invited to Botswana by President Quett Masire. It is believed the president will ask Mr Mlambo to close his organisation's Botswana office.

The meeting had been scheduled for last week, but Mr Mlambo could not come to Botswana. The African National Congress (ANC) mission in the country has already left.

## Counter

Should the PAC also leave, Pretoria would have succeeded in erecting a wall around itself to counter incursions by guerrillas.

Swaziland has been closed to liberation organisations for some time now, Mozambique followed with the signing of the Nkomati Accord, Lesotho was next when Leabua Jonathan was deposed, and now Botswana has been forced to expel the ANC and PAC.

But while the South

By SOWETAN  
Reporter

African Government could have succeeded in forcing the former Protectorates and Mozambique to take action against the ANC and PAC, the ANC said recently that its guerrillas were operating from inside the country.

This has been supported by repeated

ANC action within the country where members of the security forces have had clashes with trained guerrillas.

## Pressure

The ANC early last month announced it was closing its offices in Gaborone on the advice of the Botswana Government which could "no longer guarantee the safety" of members of the ANC.

Sources in Harare report that after a series of meetings between top level delegations of the Botswana and South African governments in South Africa, Gaborone succumbed to pressure from Pretoria.

In the past Botswana has advised individual PAC or ANC officials to leave the country on the grounds that their lives were threatened.

7/1/76 BUS DIAL  
Mandela is  
witness at  
jail wedding

ONE of the African National Congress (ANC) leaders jailed for life with Nelson Mandela was married on Saturday in the office of the commander of Pollsmoor Prison, near Cape Town.

With Mandela as a witness, fellow black nationalist Raymond Mhlaba married Dedika Heliso, the mother of their three children.

Afterwards, the bride told reporters outside the prison: "It's the happiest day of my life."

She said she had been able to touch her husband for the first time in 22 years.

Mhlaba and Mandela were among eight ANC leaders convicted of treason in June 1964 for plotting the violent overthrow of government.

Bishop Siggibo Dwane, who conducted the service, said the couple had applied three times since 1964 for permission to get married but were turned down each time. A fourth request was approved this year by Justice Minister Hendrick Coetsee.

However, the couple's children were not permitted to attend the wedding, and reporters were also excluded.

Two relatives of the bride attended and Walter Sisulu, another jailed ANC leader, joined Mandela as a witness.

All three prisoners wore business suits and all appeared well, said Mhlaba.

She said Mandela gave her a message for South Africa's blacks.

Mhlaba, who like her husband is in her mid-60s, said that on previous visits to Pollsmoor she was required to speak to Mhlaba through a glass partition because they were not legally married. Now they will be allowed to meet without a partition.

"I felt so happy when I touched him for the first time in 22 years," she said.

"I just hugged and kissed him. I can't describe how I felt. Maybe saying I felt like a teenager on my first date would explain my feelings."

She said her husband was also excited and told her he had not slept the night before. —S.A.P.

# Botswana expected to tell PAC to quit

HARARE — Mr Johnson Mlambo, chairman of the PAC, is expected to be given marching orders to quit Botswana.

Senior movement sources in Harare said he is expected to be told by President Quett Masire to remove his organisation's representation in Botswana.

Mr Mlambo was to fly to Gaborone last week but "unexpected changes" to his schedule forced him to return to PAC headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

The withdrawal of the PAC from Botswana will give Pretoria almost total success in turning the territories of its neighbours into a no-man's-land in its war against guerilla movements.

The ANC early last month announced that it was closing its offices in Gaborone on the

advice of the Botswana Government, which "could no longer guarantee the safety" of ANC members.

In 1984 Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accord with South Africa, after which the two South African guerilla movements were made to terminate their operations in Mozambique and move their members and families out of the country — most going to Tanzania.

## SPRINGBOARD

More than a year before the pomp of the Nkomati signing, Swaziland secretly signed a similar deal with South Africa. The coup in December in Lesotho was followed by the removal of guerilla movement officials and supporters. They were told to sign documents saying they had left "voluntarily".

Zimbabwe, since independence in 1980, has stuck to an unwritten agreement with South Africa that it will not allow its territory to be used as a springboard for guerilla organisations.

This has been politically easier for Zimbabwe as the ruling Zanu party tended to ally itself with the PAC, which has been largely dormant for several years.

Guerilla movement sources in Harare report that after a series of meetings between top-level delegations of the Botswana and South African governments in South Africa, Gaborone succumbed to pressure from Pretoria.

In the past, Botswana has advised individual PAC or ANC officials to leave the country on the grounds that their lives were threatened.

Informed sources say this

followed notice by Pretoria that it regarded the officials as a threat to security.

However, the officials could choose to ignore the advice, which has been backed up by several cross-border raids on the homes of ANC supporters.

## EXPLOSIONS

The turning point was marked by the withdrawal in March of the ANC's full representation.

The organisation has now been given no option to stay if it wishes, a reflection of the considerably tighter agreement the South Africans have enforced.

Last June 12 people were killed in a South African commando raid on homes in Gaborone.

A series of landmine explosions in the Northern Transvaal in December was fol-

lowed by threats of further cross-border raids by South Africa.

The landmines also served as the catalyst for separate high-level meetings with Botswana and Zimbabwe where, according to security sources, the two states were warned of dramatically increased military intervention by South Africa if full co-operation was not forthcoming.

At a December meeting between top military and security officers from South Africa and Zimbabwe at Messina, Zimbabwe is said to have promised increased patrolling on its side of the border to stop guerillas crossing into South Africa.

Now guerilla movement sources fear they are about to face renewed pressure to shut down their political offices in Harare. — *The Observer*.

CAPC Times 7/4/86 (21) (22)

# Riot police charge after rally

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

A CONTINGENT of about 30 riot police armed with shotguns and quirts twice charged a group of angry people after a "Free Mandela" rally in the Westridge Civic Centre yesterday afternoon when a crowd became enraged as police sealed off one of the exits.

A possibly bloody confrontation between the police and the jeering crowd was averted when Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF secretary for the Western Cape, Mr Jan van Eck of the PFP unrest monitoring committee and UDF marshals intervened and negotiated with Major Dolf Odendaal of the police reaction unit.

Referring to the very strong police presence outside the hall, which included eight Casspirs, a Hippo and about 11 patrol vans, Mr Van Eck said afterwards that "the police presence today nearly caused a bloodbath".

"There was no need for such a police presence since it was a peaceful meeting. Had the confrontation which was looming taken place, the police would have had to take full responsibility for all the people killed or injured in the process," he added.

People in the crowd said the police charged the first time after a slanging match had developed between police and youths, and charged the second time after a bottle had been thrown at police.

At the meeting a resolution was passed calling for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC, before talk of peace could begin in South Africa.

It was resolved to demand an end to arbitrary detention and to oppose the Regional Services Council. A demand was also made for a general hospital for the people of Mitchells Plain.

Community leader Mr Johnny Issel, who addressed his first public meeting yesterday since he was banned 13 years ago, was wrapped in an African National Congress flag. Mr Issel's banning order recently effectively became invalid following a Supreme Court decision on bannings.

The "racist and evil South African Government has never been as weak as it is today", Mr Issel said.

Mr Trevor Manuel, whose banning order also recently became invalid, called for the "rebuilding of organizations in our communities and factories to a position where the people will govern".

People in townships throughout the country had shown that people could seize power from the apartheid regime and govern themselves.

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, said that in South Africa free enterprise meant the "freedom of the bosses to exploit the workers".



Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF secretary for the Western Cape (left) confronts Major Dolf Odendaal of the police reaction unit after police armed with shotguns and sjamboks charged a group of people yesterday after a "Free Mandela" rally in the Westridge Civic Centre.

Picture: Guy Tillim



Warning of  
total boycott  
in PWV area

The Release Mandela Campaign warned last night that any action by the Government against Mrs Winnie Mandela "would precipitate an immediate and total consumer boycott and mass stayaways" in the PWV complex.

The warning comes as the Eastern Cape townships resume their boycott of white businesses following the shooting of at least 10 people alleged to have attacked a liquor outlet.

A spokesman said the PWV boycott would involve all the major unions and could spread to the whole country.

# Tambo starts three-day visit to West Germany

By Wellington Long,  
The Star's Foreign  
News Service

BONN — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo's three-day visit to West Germany, which starts today, will be spent mainly with leaders of the Social Democratic Party, the Evangelical Church and the labour union federation.

When he arrived in Bonn late yesterday, it was not clear whether he would also meet Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

## SERIOUS RIFT

Although the Foreign Minister might well wish to receive Mr Tambo, to do so would provoke a serious rift between his Free Democratic Party and the Christian Social Union of Bavaria, the sister party of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union.

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The Bavarians argue that Mr Genscher already leans too far towards revolutionary movements in Southern Africa, including Namibia's Swapo.

Mr Tambo is the guest of Mr Willy Brandt, who is president of the Socialist International as well as of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

This morning, Mr Tambo will meet officials of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a political education group owned by Mr Brandt's party, and, this afternoon, leaders of the Evangelical Churches of Germany.

Tomorrow, the ANC president will confer with Mr Hans-Jochen Vogel, parliamentary leader of the Social Democratic Party, and then with Mr Brandt, who will host a lunch for Mr Tambo.

The visit will end on Wednesday with a Press conference.

# One's been banned — but not beaten by the system

By Jon Qwelane

Mrs Winnie Nomzamo Mandela has not been cowed by the banning orders and restrictions she has suffered for more than a quarter of a century.

The restrictions were lifted briefly in 1975 but reimposed in 1977 after she was released from prison, where she was held without trial for the last months of 1976.

The banning order of nine years ago was also a banishment order and early one morning policemen arrived to supervise her removal to the dusty Free State dorp of Brandfort.

She has appeared many times in court in connection with contravening her banning orders.

Her new home in Brandfort was extensively damaged by petrol bombs last year. Without the obligatory per-

mission of the Brandfort magistrate she immediately left for Soweto where she stayed at her Orlando West home.

After some months she was told by police she should return to her rebuilt house. She did not, and stayed in Soweto until she was physically removed by police and charged with entering Soweto illegally.

She left her Soweto home at dawn one day last year and drove to Pretoria to be outside the maximum security prison when convicted African National Congress member Ben Moloise was executed for the murder of a Pretoria security policeman.

Hours later she walked past dozens of policemen outside Khotso House in Johannesburg for Moloise's memorial service. She addressed the meeting, once again defying her banning orders.

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# Broederbond seeks talks with ANC — report

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Broederbond is seeking talks with the African National Congress, ANC sources in Lusaka have been reported here as saying.

Patti Waldmeir writes in *The Financial Times* that the ANC headquarters in Lusaka confirmed that emissaries of the Broederbond have approached the ANC through an intermediary, proposing talks.

She said: "The national executive committee of the ANC, its top policy-making body, has met to consider the request and has sought more information on the

proposed purpose of the meeting and on which Broederbond officials would attend.

"The executive's initial response to the approach is understood to have been negative, although a future meeting was not ruled out."

Talks with the Broederbond would "represent the closest step yet to negotiations between the ANC and the Government of President P W Botha".

During the past six months, the ANC has held talks at its Zambian headquarters, in neighbouring Zimbabwe and Mozambique and in Europe, with a wide range of interest groups from South Africa.

Waldmeir said: "The aim has been to form a broad-based anti-apartheid alliance to increase domestic political pressure on the South African regime."

The ANC's formal position is that "it will only negotiate with a defeated white regime which is preparing to hand over power and that it is still too premature to consider even talks about talks."

"The thrust of the so-called 'grand alliance' strategy is clearly to prepare for the possibility of negotiations at some earlier stage."

"The timing of such talks appears to be a subject of debate within the ranks of the ANC leadership."

# Slabbert to speak at UDF meeting in Johannesburg

CAPE TOWN — Former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert will speak from a United Democratic Front platform in the Johannesburg City Hall on Wednesday night.

The meeting has been organised by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), an affiliate of the UDF, and is part of the front's "call to whites campaign".

Titled "Where To White Politics?", the meeting is the first of five intended to offer a political alternative to whites opposed to the Government's policies.

Confirming that he is to address the meeting, Dr Slabbert said it did not necessarily represent any convergence of views between himself and the UDF. "I have made it quite clear a long time ago that I will talk on any platform."

Dr Slabbert will speak alongside Mr Zac Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Nthato Motlana, leader of the Soweto Civic Association, and Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches. — Sapa.

## Launch of Cayco branch

Cape Town - 7/6/85 Staff Reporter (111)

THE New Crossroads branch of the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) was formally launched at a rally at the New Crossroads Primary School in David Street yesterday afternoon.

Speakers from Cayco and other organizations addressed 150 to 200 youths.

One speaker said April 6 had been chosen as the official launch date in commemoration of the anniversary of the execution of ANC guerilla Solomon Mahlangu.

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## Popular resistance 'back on the scene'

Political Staff

LAST YEAR'S student protests were distinguished by the intensity of political fervour and the more violent nature of conflict between protesters and State authority, says Professor Jakes Gerwel, principal-designate of the University of the Western Cape.

Writing in the United States magazine *Africa Report*, Professor Gerwel said: "Whereas in 1976, the youth movement could claim . . . it was playing an almost solitary role in organized political protest, since that time, the United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organization have succeeded with significant political mobilization on a grassroots and adult level.

"Popular resistance has again become part of the South African political scene, and has provided youth with an 'adult' reference point and a 'movement' to fit into.

"The repressive nature of the State coupled with an intensified political consciousness and fervour among youth — manifested in a singular lack of awe at the might of State military and police power, as well as in a belief that dramatic change could be affected by their own political actions — led to an increasing level of political violence, as popular resistance and State domination sought to match one another in intensity."

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# Cosatu stresses independence

By BARRY STREEK

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has bluntly told the African National Congress that it will demand its independence — even if this leads to conflict with the ANC.

This has been disclosed by a key figure in Cosatu, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

"It was made clear to them. We explained to them that we want to retain our independence," Mr Ramaphosa said in an interview published in the latest edition of the American magazine Africa Report.

Asked if the demands for workers to be independent had the potential for conflict for political movements which said everything should fall under them, Mr Ramaphosa replied: "It could."

In his interview, Mr Ramaphosa said: "Our view is that we will work

and we will do what we have to do in alliance with other organizations which do not militate against the objectives which we uphold.

"For instance, if the UDF or any other organization which is progressive takes up an issue which we feel that we can join them on, we will do that without any hesitation."

Asked if this implied that if the UDF took up an issue, the unions would support it if they believed it was in their interests, but that the unions would not necessarily follow UDF leadership on every issue, Mr Ramaphosa replied: "No. We want to retain our own independence. It is very important for us to do so.

"And we will try to initiate issues and bring them in.

"And if they also take up issues we should support them on, we will.

"More likely than not,

you will find that the issues they bring up will be issues that affect our membership and they are more likely to be brought up by ourselves."

Asked if the element of conflict with the ANC in the unions' demand for independence was still unresolved, Mr Ramaphosa replied: "I wouldn't say it is still unresolved. They know our position.

"I think the ANC recognizes Cosatu as a major force in the struggle for liberation in this country and they respect that position."

Mr Ramaphosa also said the unions adhered to the principle of democracy and worker control to a greater degree than more populist organizations like the UDF and the ANC.

## Will

"Our structures are such that we can ensure that the will of the people is upheld at all times. We are not a populist type of organization.

"We are more cohesive in nature and operation, and many other organizations still lack that.

"Take, for instance, the UDF. It is more of a populist organization. It is not as structured and cohesive as, say for instance, a union.

"Our belief is that the union is a unique organization.

"We have a very strong base, maybe even much stronger, for instance, than the ANC, which is a political party.

"We have a constitution which the members know and are aware of," Mr Ramaphosa said.



# DEATH BLOWS

A JOURNALIST in Mahwelereng, Potgietersrus, died shortly after he was arrested with three members of the Azanian People's Organisation last Friday.

The journalist, Mr Lucky Kutumela, was a member of the Media workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

By MZIKAYISE  
EDOM

Mr Lucky Kutumela worked for the Lebowa Times.

The three Azapo officials, who were allegedly assaulted by the police and have been admitted in hospital are Mr Terry Kekane, chairman of the Azapo branch in Mahwelereng, Mr Kgalabe Kekane and Mr Dan Thobejane, both executive members of the Azapo branch in the area.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria yesterday said he could not confirm allegations. He said: "We can only be in a position to respond to the allegations today. Our offices only operate from Monday to Friday."

An executive member of Mwasa last night described the death as "horrifying". "The situation in the country today is much worse than it was during the state of emergency.

"The death of our member is a sign of the times and we wish to assure our community that we have an obligation to tell it as it is."

Mr Thobejane, who is serious, is at the Ga-Rankuwa Hospital, near Pretoria. The other two have been admitted at the Mokopane Hospital in Potgietersrus.

A source in Mahwelereng yesterday said the four were at a she-

been in the township late on Friday night when a group of policemen arrived at the house.

## Assaulted

The police allegedly assaulted a number of people who were in the house before arresting the four, the source said.

Our source said the four were taken to the Mahwelereng police sta-

tion for "questioning".

"Mr Kutumela died a few hours later," the source said.

He could not say whether Mr Kutumela died in the cells or in hospital.

A spokeswoman for the Ga-Rankuwa Hospital yesterday confirmed that Mr Thobejane was still in a critical condition. Mokopane Hospital could not be reached for comment.

No funeral arrangements have been finalised for Mr Kutumela.

His death follows that of another union member, Mr Joel Phoshoko (28), who died last Tuesday after handing himself over to the police. Mr Phoshoko was a member of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa).

Story page 2.

Newsman dies after shebeen raid

SOWETAN

7/4/86

# 'The people' have the right to hear Mandela speak

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**Q:** What are Mandela's views on sanctions against South Africa?

**A:** Let him come out and tell the people of South Africa what his views are on sanctions. They mandated him to lead them, they have a right to hear him; they have a right to hear his direction, they chose him and other leaders to lead them, (the people) have a right to get that direction from him and not from other people speaking on his behalf.

**Q:** What are your own views regarding sanctions against South Africa?

**A:** My own views have always been well known. I have always been quoted as one of those who are calling for sanctions against this country. I have called for total sanctions, mandatory sanctions.

We are asking the international community to assist us in saving the lives Ian Smith could have saved if he had listened during the (HMS) Tiger talks.

We believe sanctions are the only other open road for us, the only measure that is peaceful. Anyone who says anything to the contrary is a benefactor of apartheid.

One can understand why, those whose pockets are filled with gold from Pretoria's coffers, obviously oppose sanctions and hypocritically pretend sanctions will hurt blacks.

We bury people every day, we see blood flowing around us. With all that is happening, with 100 percent unemployment, with us living in ghettos and owning 13 percent of our land, we are still supposed to suffer when sanctions are applied to this land, when we have

Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela can be quoted, legal advisers of *The Star* pointed out at the weekend after studying very thoroughly the exact wording of her "banning" order which appears to be causing confusion about her standing in terms of the Internal Security Act. Staff Reporter JON QWELANE spoke to Mrs Mandela in a lengthy interview.

ate; prisoners cannot negotiate.

Mandela (and his fellow prisoners) cannot be expected to give direction from behind bars; the Government is free to release him in order to hear his views, and he has gone out of his way to invite the State to come and discuss with him behind bars, instead of quoting him and speculating what his views are supposed to be, and sending all kinds of demagogues to see him and then analysing what he has had to say.

But the Government never had any intention to release Mandela. At any rate, they (the prisoners) are not in the least interested about what Botha is doing and saying concerning their release, about the deals linking them with Sakharov and Du Toit.

But anybody who thinks our leaders will be released from jail by the Government is misguided. They will be fetched from Pollsmoor by the people of this country themselves.

**Q:** Have you been involved, as was reported on at least one occasion, by the authorities or someone else like Chief Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei, to assist in efforts to secure Mandela's release or even persuade him to accept the Government's offers?

**A:** What disproves such reports lies in the treatment that Pretoria has meted out to me. Only in South Africa can a person be prosecuted for coming to their home, as I have been.

It should be obvious then that they could never approach me to send me to my husband with their deals on his release.



Mrs Winnie Mandela ... we have learnt to abhor the word 'reform' as much as 'apartheid'.

aspect of our lives — we, in the majority.

The whites invaded our country in 1652 and colonised us, they now turn around and say: "If you take over, guarantee the protection of minorities." The insanity of the white man.

What they say about reform, speaking that kind of language, is absolute rubbish which is no longer the language on our lips.

We have knocked on closed doors generation after generation, and now Ronald Reagan talks

have never been party to that power they are talking about sharing.

We are talking about our power, the people's power.

**Q:** As you have been seeing Mandela often, what is his vision of a future South Africa?

**A:** His vision of a future South Africa is the same as it has always been. It is the same as it was on June 12 1964 when he and his colleagues were sentenced to life imprisonment. His colleagues' vision is the same.

They believe in a day

against this country. I have called for total sanctions, mandatory sanctions.

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One can understand why, those whose pockets are filled with gold from Pretoria's coffers, obviously oppose sanctions and hypocritically pretend sanctions will hurt blacks.

We bury people every day, we see blood flowing around us. With all that is happening, with 100 percent unemployment, with us living in ghettos and owning 13 percent of our land, we are still supposed to suffer when sanctions are applied to this land, when we have suffered so much.

Those whose pockets get fatter and fatter, who get their reward from Pretoria, will talk that kind of language.

**Q:** What do you think of the Government's proposed "reforms" like the scrapping of the dompas, citizenship for blacks, freehold rights and open CBDs?

**A:** What Pretoria says is of no relevance whatsoever. Once you mention the word (reform) which we have learnt to abhor as much as apartheid ... we do not speak that language of "reform".

Our leaders went to prison in the first place for speaking reform. They wanted a transitional sharing of power. That alone was some kind of reform in the sense that they were prepared to sit at a round-table conference and understand the white man's obsession, the white man's fear of being swamped by the black tide.

They were prepared to accommodate those fears, they were prepared to accommodate the obsessions (about) the protection of minorities.

The temerity of the white man. He ill-treats the majority, does what he pleases with the majority, prescribes for us our education, living conditions, each and every



Mrs Winnie Mandela ... we have learnt to abhor the word 'reform' as much as 'apartheid'.

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What they say about reform, speaking that kind of language, is absolute rubbish which is no longer the language on our lips.

We have knocked on closed doors generation after generation, and now Ronald Reagan talks about constructive engagement. The one thing Mandela said to me when he was in hospital (late 1985) was: "Reagan is talking of constructive engagement when we have been constructively engaged for 74 years in the ANC. The man is that much out of step, he is that outdated."

We cannot speak the language of dismantling apartheid step by step. The blacks are going to dismantle apartheid totally, in its totality, in its entirety.

**Q:** Would that be an all-or-nothing option?

**A:** Who are they to prescribe the quantity of power we, the majority of this land, want? Who are these white minority settlers; who are they to talk about the quantity of power?

Power belongs to the people, the country belongs to the natives of this land. Those with black skin, black hands — they will determine how that power is shared, and not the other way round.

**Q:** But will Mr Botha's "reforms" and proposed "power-sharing" lower the level of conflict inside the country?

**A:** The language of reform is spoken by (Mr) Botha and his clique; it is they who are bothered. We are not interested, we are not party to that. We

have never been party to that power they are talking about sharing.

We are talking about our power, the people's power.

**Q:** As you have been seeing Mandela often, what is his vision of a future South Africa?

**A:** His vision of a future South Africa is the same as it has always been. It is the same as it was on June 12 1964 when he and his colleagues were sentenced to life imprisonment. His colleagues' vision is the same.

They believe in a democratic South Africa in which the wealth of the country will be shared equally by its people; they believe in the same freedoms for all the people of the country, and they believe in a total democracy free of racism and oppression.

**Q:** How has the series of bannings — adding to more than a quarter-century of restrictions — affected you and your family?

**A:** I have not been affected in any way by the restrictions because suffering at the hands of the Nationalist Government is part and parcel of the struggle of my people.

**Q:** But are you bitter that your life has been restricted for so long?

**A:** I have often been asked that question, and I never really answer it because it is obvious that (generally) a black person is bitter because we have no other choice, we have been forced to hate.

**Q:** There have been several moves concerning the release of your husband from prison. Could you go on record about the behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing regarding the release of Mandela and his colleagues?

**A:** As he himself stated in February of last year, only free men can negoti-

Botha is doing and saying concerning their release, about the deals linking them with Sakharov and Du Toit.

But anybody who thinks our leaders will be released from jail by the Government is misguided. They will be fetched from Pollsmoor by the people of this country themselves.

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**A:** What disproves such reports lies in the treatment that Pretoria has meted out to me. Only in South Africa can a person be prosecuted for coming to their home, as I have been.

It should be obvious then that they could never approach me to send me to my husband with their deals on his release.

My alleged mediation was utter fabrication. Nothing could be further from the truth.

What happened was that Matanzima approached me, and I stated that openly. Matanzima is Mandela's nephew, and throughout the years of their political disagreement they have never lost their blood relationship, they have close family ties.

When Matanzima approached me in Brandfort and asked to see his uncle, I simply conveyed the message that said wasn't it about time he considered coming out to the Transkei as he (Matanzima) was about to retire.

(Matanzima said) one of the last things he wished, was to see to it that his uncle joined him in retirement, and that he had actually gone out of his way to prepare accommodation for him. It was open, and I had nothing to do with Botha or any other official.

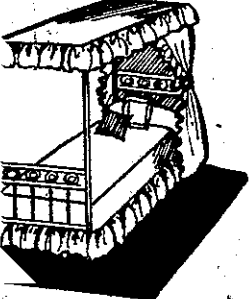
Matanzima approached me as he had always done about family matters and by that I am not saying he was not manoeuvred by Pretoria. Because it is quite obvious he never meant what he said then and he had not approached his uncle as his uncle, but as Pretoria's messenger.

**CE WHILE STOCKS  
LAST!**

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**TERMS AVAILABLE  
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ALL CREDIT CARDS  
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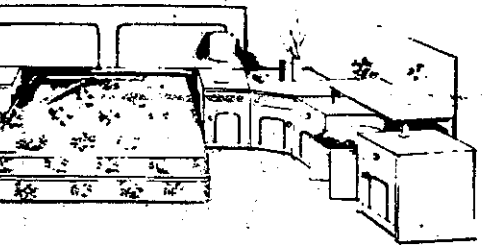


**137 cm  
(Double)  
Mattress  
Optional  
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**R299**

**CLEAR**

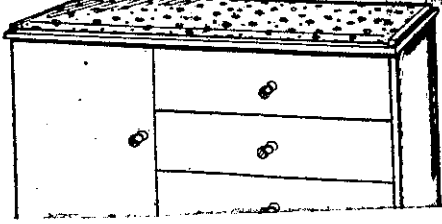
**iece "ELEGANT" BEDROOM SUITE**



**R349**

Available in white or ivory  
cnc (queen size) headboard  
ner unit \* Dressing table and stool  
ding slightly extra (gold)  
ol covered in draylon (many colours to choose from)  
e agd mattress optional extra

**BABY'S COMPACTUM**



**Riot police  
charge  
Cape rally**

CAPE TOWN — About 30 riot police armed with shotguns and sjamboks twice charged a group of angry people after a Free Mandela rally in Cape Town's Westridge Civic Centre yesterday.

A confrontation between police and the jeering crowd was averted when Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF secretary for the Western Cape, and Mr Jan Van Eck of the PFP Unrest Monitoring Committee intervened and negotiated with the police reaction unit.

People in the crowd said the police had charged once after a slanging match had developed between police and youths.

They charged a second time after a bottle had been thrown at the police, they said.

**STANDING OVATION**

Community leader Mr Johnny Issel, who addressed his first public meeting since he was banned 13 years ago, was wrapped in an African National Congress flag by "the young lions" of Umkhonto We Sizwe and received a tumultuous standing ovation.

Mr Issel's banning order effectively became invalid following the recent Supreme Court decision on bannings.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC, an end to arbitrary detention and an end to the Regional Services Council. — Sapa.

CAF Trans 7/14/86 (11A) ~~11A~~

# Joy at Pollsmoor wedding

ONE OF the African National Congress leaders jailed for life with Mr Nelson Mandela was married on Saturday in the office of Pollsmoor Prison's commander.

With Mr Mandela serving as a witness, fellow black nationalist Raymond Mhlaba married Dedika Heliso, the mother of their three grown children.

Afterwards Mrs Mhlaba told reporters outside the prison: "It's the happiest day of my life", adding that she had been able to touch Mhlaba for the first time in 22 years.

Mhlaba and Mr Mandela were among eight leaders of the ANC convicted of treason in June 1964 for plotting the violent overthrow of the government.

Mrs Mhlaba, interviewed outside Pollsmoor Prison by Chris Bate-man minutes after being married, said: "I was just happy to see him, so happy.

"He looked far better now than he did when I first saw him so long ago. We all just hugged one another."

The couple had for several years tried unsuccessfully to get permission to marry and first heard of the

official turnabout late in February.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobbie Coetsee, sent a letter to Bishop Sigquibo Dwane of the Order of Ethiopia in Grahamstown, saying that he was "pleased to inform" the couple of his approval for the marriage to go ahead, subject only to "administrative measures".

First to arrive on a day which saw dozens of relatives of long-term prisoners milling about outside the prison was the bridal car containing the bride-to-be, her life-long guardian and aunt, Mrs Martha Sali, Mrs Irene Mkwai, wife of Robben Island prisoner Walter Mkwai, and the bishop. All attended the ceremony. The couple's children did not attend.

About 15 minutes later Mhlaba's attorney, Mr Ramesh Vassen, and his wife arrived carrying the snacks for a small reception afterwards. The Vassens were prevented from attending the ceremony.

Bishop Dwane said the wedding was conducted in a "relaxed atmosphere".

"I said a few words before celebrating the sacraments. Then I told the gathering it was an occa-

sion for rejoicing and that I shared their hope that one day they would be able to be reunited in normal life," he added.

Mrs Mhlaba, who like her husband is in her mid-60s, told reporters that on previous visits to Pollsmoor she was required to speak to Mhlaba through a glass partition because they were not legally married. From now on, she said, they would be allowed to meet without a partition.

"I felt so happy when I touched him for the first time in 22 years," she said. "I just hugged and kissed him. I can't describe how I felt further. Maybe saying I felt like a teenager on my first date would explain my feelings."

She said her husband had also been excited and told her he could not sleep the previous night.

● In terms of prison regulations regarding long-term political prisoners, Mrs Mhlaba is allowed 30 visits of 40 minutes each every year with a maximum of five visits a month.

She plans to use several of her allotted visits before returning to Port Elizabeth on Thursday. — Staff Reporter and Sapa-AP



Newly-wed Mrs Dideka Mhlaba outside Pollsmoor Prison on Saturday.

11/11/86  
**SA Govt  
never so  
weak** (114)  
**says Issel**

**Staff Reporter**

THE South African Government had never been as weak as it was today, the recently unbanned community leader, Mr Johnny Issel, told a Free Mandela rally in Mitchell's Plain.

Yesterday's lively meeting at Westridge Civic Centre, organised by the Mitchell's Plain region of the United Democratic Front, marked Mr Issel's first public address after 13 years' enforced silence.

Mr Issel said the "racist government" was in a state of "general bankruptcy", while the African National Congress had never been as strong.

"The tricameral Parliament had a miscarriage even before it got off the ground, the courts are in disarray, the Security Police are confused and apartheid has very few friends today."

**EVERY HOUSEHOLD**

If newspapers could not publish pictures of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, it should be ensured that "every household" had pictures.

Youths draped Mr Issel in an ANC flag after his speech.

The general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Jay Naidoo, said the South African "ruling class was floundering and increasingly directionless".

The time for "shouting socialist slogans is over. The time for implementing socialist programmes is now".

## Botha's super-Cabinet

The initiatives have not been limited to South African groupings — the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group has been seeking common ground for negotiations and various foreign academic and quasi-academic groups have also been studying ways for a breakthrough.

Senior members of the Government admit in private they have not been able to draw sufficient credible leaders to the negotiating table.

Many candidly say that President P.W. Botha's proposals to form a type of super-Cabinet — the national statutory council — is a dead duck.

In his opening address to Parliament the President announced his intention of negotiating the establishment of a national statutory council consisting of representatives of the South African Government, the governments of the self-governing national states as well as the leaders of the other black communities and interest groups.

Asked for a progress report, a spokesman for the President's office said: "It is the nature of negotiations such as these that much work is done in private. Every negotiation consists of a process of stages and results."

### Mandela

"If this stage becomes a matter of public controversy the process of negotiation maybe jeopardised."

And the Government's main constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, would not comment.

More and more it appears the only thing that will break the logjam of negotiations will be the release of security legislation prisoners such as Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the African National Congress and a concerted effort by the Government to get rid of apartheid legislation.

Even moderate leaders



Chief Buthelezi



Mr Chris Heunis



Mr Pik Botha



Mr FW de Klerk

like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have indicated they are not prepared to negotiate within the confines of apartheid. They want to negotiate a new system — not the dismantling of the old.

Even some verligte members of the National Party now see this as the solution but they are very much in the minority.

Indications are that the Eminent Persons Group, which has now twice visited South Africa, is mainly canvassing this line.

In return it is attempting to get the ANC to declare a moratorium on violence and to negotiate with the Government.

Moves to push for a government of national

reconciliation to enable the Government move far faster and to draw up a new constitution suggested by the NRP and Sanlam's Dr Fred du Plessis are not new but have been derisively dismissed in the past by the National Party.

The NP points to its two-third majority in the House of Assembly and the 80 percent "Yes" vote in the referendum to show it has general white support while President Botha appears to firmly believe he has massive support in the black communities.

With this sort of support, it argues, there is no need for a government of national reconciliation.

On the one hand Presi-

dent Botha talks about apartheid being an outmoded concept but in the next breath refers to the preservation of communities, leaving little doubt that he is talking about race groups.

### Backlash

But the overall impression given by members of the Government is that they know they are in serious trouble without answers.

They know the tricameral system is merely a stopgap; that have already lost control in many townships; that getting agreement from a few compliant homeland leaders can no

longer be called negotiation and that tinkering with the current system will not be the answer.

But they clearly do not want to do anything that could remove rights or privileges of whites.

The reason for the current indecision appears to be the fear of losing out to black majority rule on the one side or to total white minority rule with its possibly even more violent backlash on the other.

There is again loose talk in political circles of elections being suspended or postponed to allow the Government to institute reforms which would normally see a white right-wing backlash.

The precedent for this

has already been set: A general election should have been held this year but with the implementation of the tricameral system it was postponed until 1989.

The Natal/KwaZulu indaba is being seen as a catalyst that could break the logjam but even here the Government has kept its distance.

### Black president

Initially it attempted to find ways of not participating but in the end agreed to observer status using as an excuse that it will have to be the final adjudicator of whatever is decided.

A substantial part of the problem is the vast range of opinion in the NP over the speed and type of reform ranging from Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha's view that there could be a black President to Mr FW de Klerk painstakingly spelling out in Parliament the entrenchment of white rights.

Any move by the Government seems to be preceded by enormous debate and difference which must seriously retard reform.

11A  
7/4/86



Middelburg (Transvaal)  
Secunda  
Standerton  
Wakkerstroom  
Ermelo

Belfast  
Bethal  
Volksrust  
Piet Retief  
Carolina

London: national convention  
HAN SWARD 81486 Q.C. 924  
\*24. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether he or any members of his Department intend attending a so-called provisional national convention of leading South African political leaders which is to be held in London soon; if so, why;
- (2) whether his Department is involved with arrangements for South African politicians to attend this convention; if so, (a) why and (b) who are the politicians;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the Government's standpoint in this connection?

**The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:**

- (1) No, as far as I am aware, no so-called provisional national convention of leading South African politicians was held in London. Rumours to that effect were pure newspaper speculation and were confused with a conference organised by the Wilton Park Conference Centre on the theme "South Africa in Crisis" and which ultimately was cancelled and replaced according to reports by an informal exchange of views. Neither myself nor members of my Department were invited to the conference.
- (2) No.
- (3) No, it is not proper or customary for the Government to take a stand on unfounded newspaper speculation.

HAN SWARD 81486 Q.C. 924  
Guguletu members of ANC  
\*25. Mr S S VANDER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 26 on 18 March 1986, any person escaped capture in Guguletu on 3 March 1986; if so, what were the circumstances surrounding this escape;
- (2) whether the identity of this person has been established; if so, who is this person;
- (3) whether the police received any information that this person (a) was a member of the African National Congress, (b) had received any military training and (c) was armed; if so, (i) what information and (ii) when;
- (4) whether this person has since been apprehended; if so, (a) when and (b) where;
- (5) whether the post-mortem reports on the persons killed on this occasion have now been completed; if not, why not; if so, what was the cause of death in respect of each such person;
- (6) whether any of the persons killed had gunshot wounds in the head; if so, (a) how many and (b) what was the (i) nature and (ii) extent of these head wounds;
- (7) whether the police had any (a) information on when these persons became members of the African National Congress, (b) knowledge of which part or formation of the African National Congress they belonged to and (c) access to records of the membership of these persons of the African National Congress; if so, (i)

what is the nature of this information, (ii) to which formations of the African National Congress did they belong, (iii) what records did the police have access to and (iv) where did they gain access to these records;

- (7) (a) Yes.  
(b) Yes.  
(c) No.  
(i) to (iv) Fall away.
- (8) (a) Some in the RSA and others abroad.  
(b) During the period May 1985 until December 1985.  
(c) The African National Congress.  
(d) It is neither the policy nor the custom to make known such information.
- (9) No.

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, when the shoot-out began, a person or persons fled from the scene.
- (2) No, investigation to determine without doubt his or their identity, is continuing.
- (3) No.  
(a) to (c) Fall away.
- (4) No.  
(a) and (b) Fall away.
- (5) Yes, according to the finding of the post-mortems the cause of death with regard to each of the persons is attributed to gunshot wounds.
- (6) Yes.  
(a) All the deceased.

(b) (i) and (ii) Until the inquest has taken place, I am not prepared to furnish the detail of the wounds.

- (7) (a) Yes.  
(b) Yes.  
(c) No.  
(i) to (iv) Fall away.
  - (8) (a) Some in the RSA and others abroad.  
(b) During the period May 1985 until December 1985.  
(c) The African National Congress.  
(d) It is neither the policy nor the custom to make known such information.
  - (9) No.
- Kabokweni magistrate's court  
HAN SWARD Q.C. 926  
\*26. Mr S S VANDER MERWE asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether any officials attached to his Department were witnesses to an incident at the Kabokweni magistrate's court near White River on or about 11 March 1986; if so, (a) what officials and (b) what was the nature of the incident;
- (2) whether a crowd of persons was present at the court on that date; if so,
- (3) whether any court proceedings were interrupted as a result of the presence of this crowd; if so, in what manner;
- (4) whether any officials attached to his Department took any action in regard to this crowd (a) as a result of court proceedings having been interrupted and/or (b) for any other specified reasons; if so, (i) who, (ii) what action and (iii) with what result?



*CAPE TOWN July 26*  
**Broeder**  
*(11/1) 30/77*  
**approach  
to ANC  
'indirect'**

**Own Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The ANC said yesterday it had not been approached directly by the Broederbond for talks.

An ANC spokesman was reacting to newspaper reports in The Financial Times in London which said the Broederbond was seeking talks with the outlawed organization.

However the spokesman confirmed that a third party, whom he declined to name, had asked whether the ANC would talk to the Broederbond if the request was made.

The chairman of the Broederbond, Professor J P de Lange, was not available for comment yesterday.

The spokesman said any organization that wanted to talk with the ANC must ask directly, just as other organizations had done.

He said the ANC national executive had not yet indicated what the organization's position would be if a formal request was made.

During the past year the ANC has met a wide range of Western diplomats and representatives of South African business and political organizations to discuss the situation in the country and the ANC's attitude to the future.

Last week a delegation from Nusas visited Harare for talks with the ANC. Other groups who have spoken to the ANC in recent months include businessmen, the Progressive Federal Party, the National Convention Movement and the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

11/10/86

## 'Vicious pattern in cell death

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said the death of one of its members after his arrest by Lebowa police reflected "a vicious pattern of harassment".

Journalist Mr Lucky Kutumela died soon after he was arrested with three other Azapo members in Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus, on Friday night.

The men were drinking in a shebeen when they were arrested, a spokesman for the organisation said.

Mr Kutumela died a few hours after his arrest, he said. The other three were allegedly assaulted by the police and have been admitted to hospital.

They are Mr Terry Kekane, chairman of the Azapo branch in Mahwelereng, Mr Kgalabe Kekane and Mr Dan Thobejane.

Mr Thobejane is in Garankuwa Hospital in a critical condition.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary, said the blame for these assaults lay with the South African Government "for creating these political monsters". — Sapa.

0816 1976  
8/4/86 (11)

## Slabbert to speak from UDF platform

FORMER PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert will speak from a UDF platform in Johannesburg tomorrow night.

The meeting was organized by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), a UDF affiliate, and is part of the UDF's "Call to Whites" campaign.

Entitled "Where to white politics?", the meeting is the first of five intended to offer a political alternative to whites opposed to government policies.

Dr Slabbert said it did not represent a convergence of views between himself and the UDF.

"I have made it quite clear a long time ago that I will talk on any platform. I don't think we should read into it much more than that." Mr Zac Yacoob, of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Nthato Motlana, leader of the Soweto Civic Association, and Dr Beyers Naude, SA Council of Churches general secretary, will also speak.

114 8/4/86

## Broeders 'don't want to see ANC'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Broederbond is not seeking talks with the African National Congress, said the president of the Afrikaner organisation, Professor J P de Lange.

Yesterday it was reported that the Broederbond had approached the ANC through an intermediary, proposing talks.

### 'IN THE DARK'

"We have not approached the ANC for talks. I am completely in the dark as to where this rumour originated," said Professor de Lange.

He added that it was "wishful thinking" on the part of the ANC to consider that the Broederbond would request talks.

"The ANC is a terrorist organisation and we could not hold talks with them," he said.

*(Handwritten: BIA)*

## No govt action until 'confusion' cleared up

BY LATE yesterday government had not decided whether to prosecute *The Sunday Star* and *The Star* for quoting Winnie Mandela, the banned wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A spokesman for Law and Order minister Louis le Grange said yesterday a decision had not been taken, and added that Mandela remained a banned person.

PETER WALLINGTON

Yesterday's edition of *The Sowetan* also quoted Mandela extensively, and *The Star* ran a face-to-face interview.

Government sources indicated yesterday no action was planned until the confusion surrounding banning orders had been cleared up. Mandela's ap-

peal against her banning order is due to be heard soon.

*The Star's* legal representatives said yesterday that their decision to allow the article to be published was based on the argument that the order restricting Mandela's movements was invalid, and that the ban on quoting her was linked to this order and therefore also invalid.

## Cell death

From Page 11A

the three of them were taken, bleeding and in pain, to the charge office where they asked police to take them to hospital. The police refused and instead took them to a cell **SOWETAN**

Inside the cell Makompo started writhing in pain and vomiting. Mr Thobejane said. It was about midnight. "We screamed for help in vain. A policeman came after about an hour to find out about the screams. We told him what was happening but he ignored us. Makompo then said "I am dying". We begged him to hold on, but his condition worsened," Mr Thobejane said.

Two policemen arrived after about three hours and looked at Mr Kutumela who lay motionless on the floor. "They just looked at us and left without saying a word. Another policeman came to the cell about 7 am and said he would take us to hospital.

8/4/86

## Black attacks 'diabolical'

Down Correspondent

LONDON — In a leading article on violence, the British national newspaper *The Sunday Telegraph* singled out attacks by blacks in South Africa.

The article asked whether the outrage in Britain was against what the newspaper termed "the terrible behaviour of the ANC black revolutionaries in South Africa" who had invented a new and diabolical method of killing — setting alight a petrol-soaked rubber tyre around a man's neck.

Editor Peregrine Worsthorne said: "Has the ANC been warned that such atrocities will lose Western sympathy for their cause? Apparently it has not.

"Apparently in the cause of black revolution, any violence, however atrocious, is permissible."

Worsthorne suggests that what people fear most is not "the big thermonuclear bang" but the knife, the axe, the club or cosh — or even the clenched fist.

Yet, the article continues, the disarmament lobbies go on talking absurdly about banning thermonuclear weapons from the entire world when the Government can't even rid the back streets — or the main streets either — of muggings, rapes, hooliganism and common-or-garden violence in all its forms.

## Reinstated students absent

GARANKUWA. Two white students at the Medical University of Southern Africa who were reinstated by a Pretoria magistrate failed to attend lectures when Medunsa reopened for the second term yesterday.

Mr Daryl Wilke and Mr Pieter Kruger were reinstated after the 900 black students protested against their admission earlier this year.

A press statement from the university said 11 undergraduates did

not attend lectures in order to discuss the re-admission of the white students.

A university spokesman said Medunsa had notified Mr Kruger and Mr Wilke that they must register and pay their tuition fees before noon today "failing which it will be accepted that they do not wish to continue their studies at Medunsa".

A number of students were on campus yesterday but most were at their residences. — Sapa



# 3 papers quote Mrs Mandela

CAP-705 8/4/66  
112

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two more newspapers followed the Sunday Star yesterday and quoted Mrs Winnie Mandela, the banned wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Yesterday's edition of the Sowetan quoted Mrs Mandela extensively, while the Star ran a face-to-face interview with her.

By late yesterday the government had not decided whether to prosecute the newspapers for quoting Mrs Mandela.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday said a decision had not yet been taken, adding that Mrs Mandela remained a banned person.

Government sources indicated that no action was planned until the confusion surrounding banning orders has been cleared up.

Mrs Mandela's appeal against her banning order is due to be heard soon and Mr Le Grange and his legal advisers are still reviewing the entire matter of banning orders.

The Star's legal representatives yesterday said their decision to allow the article to be published was based on the argument that the order restricting Mrs Mandela's movements was invalid. The ban on quoting her was linked to this order and was therefore also invalid.

Another lawyer said this was a valid argument if the initial conclusion — that the order restricting Mrs Mandela's movements was invalid — was correct. The second consequence would follow if no other restriction order had been issued.

However, he said it was difficult to comment without going into the history and the facts relating to Mrs Mandela's banning order, and the order itself.

The confusion arose last week after her lawyers said Mrs Mandela, first banned in 1962, had in fact been unbanned.

Her attorneys said the State Attorney had agreed that the ban was no longer in effect following last month's Port Elizabeth Supreme Court decision overturning a similar ban on United Democratic Front official Mr Mkhuseli Jack.

The State Attorney denied that such a decision had been taken.

● Mrs Mandela has been banned in terms of section 19 (1) (a) of the Internal Security Act from entering certain areas and attending gatherings. Because of the banning order her name appears on the Consolidated List of Persons who may not be quoted.

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# AGONY IN CELL

A 24-YEAR-OLD Azanian People's Organisation official yesterday described how he screamed in vain for help while a colleague lay writhing and vomiting in a police cell in Mahwelereng, Potgietersrus, at the weekend.

The wounded man, Mr Makompo Lucky Kutumela, a journalist, died the following day.

Lebowa police have confirmed that a person died in detention and two people arrested in a shebeen raid on Friday night were taken to hospital.

Mr Tsoaledi Thobejane, a teacher, said from his hospital bed that police ignored screams for help as Mr Kutumela lay writhing and vomiting in the cell.

Mr Thobejane, Mr Kutumela and Mr Motesbi Kekana were alleg-

By MONK  
NKOMO

edly assaulted by police.

All three are Azapo officials.

Mr Thobejane, a teacher at Somavugha Secondary School said Lebowa police picked them up at a shebeen in Mahwelereng about 7 pm. The police allegedly confiscated liquor, assaulted them and bundled them into a van.

They were taken to an open space and allegedly beaten up.

Mr Thobejane said they all had injuries on the head and body. His eye was severely damaged, he said.

## Teacher tells of assault in N Tvl

"When my turn to be assaulted came I was frightened. Mr Kutumela and Motesbi were lying unconscious on the ground. The police accused me of inciting pupils against the government. They tore my trousers and hit me with sjamboks and fists. They

also kicked me," he said.

A police spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said they could not comment on incidents that took place in Lebowa. The Lebowa police, they said, did not fall under the South African Police.

Colonel J M D Mphahlele, the Lebowa Deputy Commissioner said he was aware of the incident.

He was not aware of the circumstances that led to the journalist's death.

"We are investigating," he said.

Mr Thobejane said

To Page 2

## 1 400 have died

— See Page 3

# Hendrickse to know soon if he still has his pulpit

Political Staff

ARW 9/1/46  
THE Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, will know soon whether his participation in the tricameral system will cost him his pulpit.

A Cabinet Minister and chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse has

for months defied a church instruction that he abandon party politics or stop preaching.

A spokesman for the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa said yesterday that Mr Hendrickse had already forfeited his accreditation as a minister.

In terms of the church's constitution, a clergyman loses his accreditation if he enters full-time party politics.

Three ministers of the Congregational Church, including Mr Hendrickse, were given the opportunity to decide whether they wanted to remain in the church or whether they preferred to pursue political careers.

## THE REASON

The spokesman said the reason for the prohibition was that members of a congregation would belong to different parties, which could create tension.

However, under the church's constitution, each congregation can decide on a preacher at a general meeting.

Mr Hendrickse's congregation at Dale Street, Uitenhage, will hold a general meeting within the next few weeks to decide whether it wants him to continue as its preacher or not.

AAGAS 9/4/86 11A



Former German Chancellor Mr Willy Brandt greets Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, in Bonn yesterday after their talks on South Africa. Mr Brandt is to visit Johannesburg next week on his way to Botswana.

## Brandt to visit SA next week

### Political Staff

FORMER German Chancellor Mr Willy Brandt is to visit South Africa for a few days next week en route to a Socialist International conference in Botswana.

Mr Brandt, president of Socialist International and chairman of Germany's Opposition Social Democratic Party, will hold talks with churchmen, trade unionists and other anti-Government leaders in South Africa.

It is not clear whether he will be seeing Government representatives. So far he has not asked to meet any.

### SPY SCANDAL

Mr Brandt is expected to give a Press conference in Johannesburg, probably on Thursday April 17 before he leaves for Gaborone. He arrives in South Africa on Tuesday.

The former Chancellor remains a popular German political figure in spite of his fall after a spy scandal.

He made a name for himself in the Norwegian resistance movement against nazi occupation in World War 2.

TUESDAY 9/4/85

11A

# 7 in Guguletu police ambush shot in head

THE seven alleged African National Congress (ANC) insurgents who were shot dead by police in Guguletu near Cape Town on March 3, all died of gunshot wounds in the head, the House of Assembly was told yesterday.

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange said this in reply to a question by Tiaan van der Merwe (FFP Green Point).

He said post mortems on the dead men had revealed the cause of their deaths to be gunshot wounds.

But he was not prepared to furnish details of these wounds until the inquest had taken place, he said.

Le Grange added that a "person or persons" had fled from the scene when the shootout began.

The police were trying to identify those who had not subsequently been arrested.

They had received no information that he or they belonged to the ANC, he said.

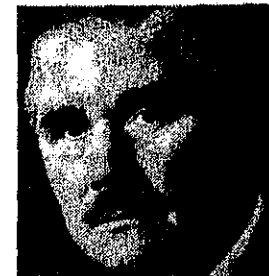
The police had information on when these persons became members of the

ANC and to which part or formation of the ANC they belonged.

Some of them had been trained as "terrorists" in SA and others had been trained abroad between May 1985 and December 1985.

The training, he said, had been conducted by the ANC.

Le Grange said it was "neither the policy nor the custom" to make known the nature of the evidence that the police had on the training. — Sapa.



● LE GRANGE

## Tambo meets Willy Brandt

BONNEN — Mr Oliver Tambo, the president of the banned African National Congress, held talks yesterday with top leaders of West Germany's opposition Social Democratic Party.

Mr Tambo met Mr Willy Brandt, the SDP chairman and former chancellor, and Mr Hans-Jochen Vogel, the party's floor leader in the federal parliament, a party statement said.

Mr Vogel told Mr Tambo the West German Social Democrats supported South African blacks' efforts to gain equal rights and called for the abolition of apartheid by peaceful means.

The ANC leader arrived here on Monday night for a three-day visit. He is also to meet Mr Johannes Rau, the Social Democrats' candidate for chancellor in next January's elections, as well as trade union and church leaders. — Sapa-AP

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# 'Junior partners' in Parliament struggle for power

By EBRAHIM MOOSA

Political Reporter  
PROTEST politics has been the dominant style in the coloured House of Representatives this year, with the ruling Labour Party adopting a more aggressive attitude towards the Nationalist government.

On the other hand the parliamentary process in the Indian chamber, the House of Delegates, has been marked by allegations of corruption and fraud.

One Labour achievement was in getting the whites-only House of As-

sembly coffee room opened to all races.

Days before the mid-session recess, a strain was evident in relations between the LP and the chief architect of the tricameral system, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

The LP had wanted Mr Heunis to reply to a private member's motion on constitutional affairs which they felt warranted his high-level response. An agreement with Labour Party whips that he could speak earlier in the debate be-

cause of another important engagement, and that the reply would be given by Mr Heunis's deputy, Mr Piet Badenhorst, was cancelled by the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Hendrickse accused Mr Heunis of "arrogance" for snubbing a high-priority LP debate and interpreted it as signalling the "demise of the tricameral system".

Last year the strategies of both the LP and the ruling National People's Party in the Indian House appeared to be one of heaping praise on

the State President, Mr P W Botha, for his reform initiatives and hoping this would be rewarded with more concessions.

Both the Indian and coloured Houses seemingly have little ability to curb the government's wide-ranging powers and prevent it from taking decisions unilaterally on matters of general affairs.

Some observers believe the bargaining power of the government's "junior partners" in the tricameral system is decreased because all

avenues for real power-sharing have been closed to them. Coloured and Indian MPs, on the other hand, say the opposite is true and that they are making gains through participation.

While the workings of the tricameral system deprive them of real power, Mr Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the NPP leader, both cabinet ministers without portfolio, indicate that they do have a say at cabinet level.

However, both Indian and coloured MPs boast of using their muscle at the standing committee

level by blocking or amending legislation before it is tabled in Parliament. It is believed that the LP had blocked five pieces of legislation dealing with education which were not acceptable to them.

Many MPs nevertheless object to the standing committee system, as each of the three ethnic groups in Parliament cast their votes separately. One Indian MP described this system as the antithesis of democracy.

Several MPs, particularly those in the House

of Representatives, have threatened to walk out of Parliament if the pace of reform is not stepped up. But both coalition partners of the government, the NPP and LP, also realize they cannot frustrate, threaten or embarrass the government indefinitely.

The House of Delegates, which last year clearly had an edge over its coloured counterpart in terms of grappling with key reform issues, has this year been plagued by in-fighting.

The attempted merger between the NPP and Solidarity is also in difficulty. The move has been shelved because of a temporary interdict

granted by the Natal Supreme Court. The interdict to prevent the merger was sought by a minority of Solidarity hardliners led by Mr Pat Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills.

Two Solidarity MPs who have been given portfolios on the Minister's Council — Mr J N Roddy, Solidarity leader, who is now Minister of the Budget, and Mr Ismail Kathrada, MP for Verulam, who is Minister of Health Services and Welfare — are continuously under fire from the rebel group.

Another major reshuffle is expected to take place in the Indian Ministers' Council some time next year. NPP sources say that some of their ministers are unable to break the grip of the white bureaucracy they have inherited and who still hold key positions in the administration of own affairs.

Many Indian MPs are disgruntled by the current state of affairs, especially in housing matters, and are pressing for the appointment of stronger and more creative ministers.

# Winnie Mandela, the woman

By HUGH ROBERTON, Special Writer

WHEN the Government banished Winnie Mandela to Brandfort in 1977 they expected her to be effectively isolated in the archetypal Free State dorp some 57km north of Bloemfontein where, according to a report at that time, blacks dismantled from their bicycles and doffed their hats to whites passing in cars.

But last weekend, Winnie Mandela returned to Brandfort's black township where she lived until last December 21, to speak at the funeral of an unrest victim, a ceremony conducted in defiance of her banning order and a magistrate's restriction orders. She was cheered by some 3 000 mourners (the total black population of Brandfort officially is 3 800), who gave black power salutes.

The Government, clearly, had underestimated Winnie Mandela. Far from rendering her politically ineffective and insulating her from the country and the world, her presence politicised the once deferential blacks of Brandfort and her banishment there brought her national and international renown.

Who is this woman who has become a visible and tangible substitute for her imprisoned husband — "the next best thing to Nelson Mandela himself" was how an American magazine recently described her — and who turned a tiny Free State dorp into a mecca for the famous who came to pay her homage?

SHE comes from an unlikely background. She was born in a tribal hut in the early morning hours of September 26, 1935, in Bizana in the Transkei, one of nine children of a schoolmaster and a traditional mother who prophetically named her Nomzamo, which means "trial".

Winnie Mandela was a tomboy as a child, but showed early promise at school and was given extra tutoring in history at home by her father. She emerged as a forceful personality, becoming a popular prefect in her matric year at the Shawbury School where many teachers were politicised students at Fort Hare.

Like her husband, Winnie Mandela shone at athletics at school, serving as a coach and becoming an impressive shot-putter. She was also a self-taught pianist and harpist and sang in the school choir, and she was a leader in traditional dancing.

From all accounts Winnie Mandela had a highly developed political sense even at school, showing a fiery concern with the poverty and illiteracy around her. Predictably, she chose to become a social worker and enrolled at the Hofmeyr School of Social

WHAT strikes most people about Winnie Mandela, is her presence. She has a dignity, almost a haughtiness, which can be quite intimidating without her saying a word.

Work in Johannesburg, becoming the first black woman to qualify as a social worker.

It was while she was there that she met Nelson Mandela, then a young attorney who was trying to raise funds for the defence of the accused in the Rivonia treason trial. They worked together, their relationship apparently undergoing a slow transformation from a strictly impersonal one to a full-blown romance — although, as mutual friends recall, there were "some tempestuous ups and downs."

One remarked: "She's certainly not what one might call a shy, retiring wife and mother. She's quite formidable, in fact. Very strong, very stubborn, very determined, but very concerned about the world around her and absolutely committed to her cause. A bit of a fanatic, some might say, but actually she's quite flexible and reasonable when you know her and in spite of everything a very loving, affectionate, mother and friend."

Winnie Mandela is also something of a no-nonsense health enthusiast, according to daughter Zinzi. She uses carboic soap and the only cosmetic to touch her face is petroleum jelly. She likes to exercise and she follows a healthy diet.

What strikes most people about Winnie Mandela, though, is her presence. "She has a dignity, almost a haughtiness, which can be quite intimidating without her saying a word," a friend said.

HER years of exile in Brandfort bear that out. She refused to observe apartheid signs and pointedly stood in queues with the deeply conservative white townspeople at the post office and other Government buildings. Such was her natural dignity that nobody dared even to question her, though the white community asked the Govern-

ment to move her out of Brandfort several times.

At a local store where blacks were served through a hatch in a side wall, she swept into the front entrance and a foreign television crew who filmed the event reported white customers and store attendants gaping in amazement. But nobody dared to say a word and she was served over the counter as the whites were. She repeated this daily until the storekeeper walked up the hatch and allowed blacks inside.

Her bearing was thought to have been honed into a "presence" by her experience on the stage. She showed enthusiastic interest in theatre in her student years, acting in experimental productions at the University of the Witwatersrand and in Natal and winning high praise.

Winnie Mandela's strength

of purpose also impresses those who know her. "She's a rock. Nobody who meets her can fail to see that. She is absolutely steadfast," a Johannesburg friend said.

And her life over the past 25 years bears that out. She was married in 1958 by special permission to Nelson Mandela, then the Number One accused in the Rivonia treason trial, and was arrested and imprisoned when she was in advanced pregnancy shortly afterwards.

Since then, she has faced a 24-year ordeal of almost continuous punishment without trial and threats on her and her two daughter's lives. And, of course, the almost continuous vigilance of the Security Police.

INITIALLY banned in 1963, she got her first respite from restrictions in September, 1975, when she had 11 months of "freedom" before

being taken into "protective" custody in August, 1976. She was released at Christmas that year, but immediately placed under another banning order and banished to Brandfort.

In December her banning order was eased, allowing her to live anywhere except in the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts — a restriction which she defied, returning to her Soweto home. She was arrested and fined R500. She has appealed against her conviction, but in the meanwhile the Appeal Court and the Supreme Court have declared restrictions imposed on others under the Internal Security Act to be invalid.

A controversy still rages as to whether or not this applies to Mrs Mandela, but she has decided to defy her banning order by returning yet again to her Soweto home and by speaking at public gatherings such as the unrest funeral in Brandfort last weekend.



"The next best thing to myself" was how an American magazine recently described her



# Riddle of Libyans with 'SA passports'

ARGUS

9/4/86

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Argus Africa News Service

**HARARE.** — A mystery group from Libya tried to board a Harare-bound aircraft in Athens at the weekend using false South African passports.

The bizarre incident on Saturday has generated intensive investigations by the authorities in at least four countries.

They are believed to be examining a number of theories — including the possibility that this was an attempt by Libyans or ANC members to enter South Africa to commit acts of insurgency.

Another possibility initially examined but now discounted is that the group planned to attack the United States embassies in Harare or Pretoria.

American diplomatic offices have been on special alert for attacks by Libyans since the confrontations in the Gulf of Sidra last month that resulted in several Libyan patrol boats being sunk by carrier-based US aircraft.

## Suspicious

The group who tried to board the Air Zimbabwe flight at Athens on Saturday were turned away because airport authorities became suspicious of their passports, according to sources.

They were not detained, however, and are believed to have returned to Libya. Full details of the incident have not yet become available.

It is not clear whether or not those in the group were, in fact, Libyans.

In the meantime several aspects are puzzling authorities. Chief among these is the purpose of the mystery group in trying to board the Air Zimbabwe flight.

The flight leaves Athens at 10.30pm SA time and flies non-stop to Harare, arriving at 5.20am SA time on Sunday.

## Non-stop flight

It appears unlikely — though not impossible — that they planned to hijack the aircraft, because if they were Libyans they would presumably avoid attacking a Zimbabwe aircraft for fear of angering the Harare Government, with which Libya maintains friendly relations. Libya has a diplomatic mission in Harare.

As the flight is non-stop to Harare the group could not have planned to get off elsewhere.

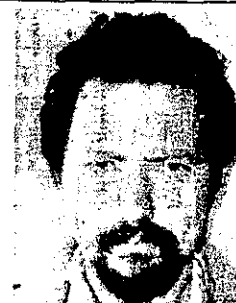
With South African passports they would in any case have been barred from entering most African countries.

Even Zimbabwe would not have allowed them in without visas and it is not known whether or not they had them.

However, as transit passengers to South Africa they would have been allowed to remain in the transit lounge at Harare Airport until they boarded a connecting flight.



Mr David Goslin



Mr Stewart Goslin

## Owner's son on way to get Alter Ego back

Yachting Reporter

CIVIL proceedings are under way to attach the Cape Town yacht Alter Ego in Grenada in the West Indies where it was spotted at a marina.

A lawyer acting for owner Mr Nelson Girdlestone confirmed that solicitors in Grenada had been instructed to secure the yacht pending repossession.

Mr Girdlestone's son Charles is on his way to Grenada with the necessary documents and certificates to claim the boat.

Mrs Maureen Girdlestone said last night her husband would institute proceedings for damages against the Goslin brothers, Stewart and David, who sailed the yacht from Cape Town to the West Indies after "buying" it with an allegedly forged cheque for R210 000.

Leaflets describing the yacht which were circulated around the world offered a "substantial reward" for information leading to its recovery and Mrs Girdlestone confirmed that the reward would be paid to Mr Slim Evans, the marina owner.

The legal position regarding the Goslin brothers is unclear.

There is no extradition agreement between Grenada and South Africa and they were travelling on Irish passports which they obtained in December on the strength of having an Irish grandfather.

Their mother is in Johannesburg with a third brother and is believed to be seriously ill.

## Fire at school

ARGUS 9/4/86 276  
The Argus Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — The headmaster's at the Bantuvukani Higher Pi School in Lamontville was set by arsonists and a 13-year-old girl shot during police action school yesterday has died in hospital, police said today.

Prudence Mngadi, a pupil school, was allegedly shot in the during a clash between pupils and lice.

She died at the King Edward Hospital in Durban.

A spokesman for the hospital several other schoolchildren has

## SA's best frogs sought f

By ANTHONY DOMAN  
Staff Reporter

IF you're well-built, especially in the thighs, and fancy yourself as a potential world champion long-jumper, you could be just what Chris Kapp of George needs.

But there are two conditions: you must be between 7.5 and 10cm tall (or long) and you have to be a frog.

Mr Kapp, a qualified paddajoggie (frog trainer) is looking for fresh tal-

ent for the world frog Olymp event takes place on May mining town of Angels Car United States.

And in November the fro to Elsburg, home of South frog guru Mr Piem Fourie, er big jump-off.

South Africa's distance of 4cm middleweight Beeld, se record of 12.1m in 1978. But

Mrs Harrison

for her. One was a rear backroom girl, and she'll be remembered for

was known to the dancing world internationally as an organizer.

she is survived by a daughter and several grandchildren.

# Mandela told of family death

CHC TOPS 9/4/80  
One



Mrs Beatrice Sabata, left, and Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela at D F Malan Airport yesterday after visiting Mr Nelson Mandela.

Staff Reporter **One**  
ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is said to be "shattered" and to have "taken very badly" the death of his nephew Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.

Chief Sabata, who fled into exile in 1982 after alleged persecution by his cousin, the then president of Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, died in Lusaka on Monday at the age of 57.

He was a senior member of the ANC.

Yesterday Mrs Winnie Mandela and Chief Sabata's widow, Mrs Beatrice Sabata, flew to Cape Town to break the news to Mr Mandela.

Mrs Sabata would only say "I am very shocked at the death of my husband." She said he and Mr Mandela were "very close" and Mr Mandela was "shattered" by the news.

As the most senior family member Mr Man-

dela must decide on funeral arrangements for his nephew — otherwise the task will fall to Chief Matanzima, which family members said was "unthinkable".

Mr Mandela decided the body should be flown back to South Africa and be buried at his ancestral home — the Great Place at Xalanga in the Umtata district.

Dressed in black mourning clothes, Mrs Mandela, Mrs Sabata and the Mandela family lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, visited Mr Mandela for over two hours.

On August 6, 1980, Chief Sabata was de-throned as paramount chief by the Transkeian Prime Minister, Mr George Matanzima, after being found guilty of "violating and injuring the dignity" of Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

The Sabatas had nine children — all living in exile — and Mrs Sabata lives in Orlando, Soweto.

**Part of a group of 150 who trained in Libya**

# PAC guerillas caught in SA

11A F. POST 9/4/86

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
Political Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN — Two Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) guerillas — part of a group of 150 politically and militarily trained in Libya in 1982 — were arrested in South Africa over the Easter weekend.**

This was disclosed today by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel.

He said the purpose of their mission to South Africa was twofold:

- To mobilise students at black universities.
- To eliminate certain prominent black leaders in South Africa.

Additional information obtained through questioning indicated that they had travelled by Libyan Airlines to Tanzania and from there to Botswana, where they received their instructions from PAC representatives.

Mr Nel made the disclosures at a Press conference originally called to explain the functions of the newly created Bureau for Information, which he heads.

He said the South African Government had repeatedly supplied Western nations with information which indicated that the masterminds behind terrorism in South Africa were to be found in Libya.

The world had recently been shocked to learn of Libyan support of the terrorist attacks at Rome and Vienna airports, and the Libyan Government had now vowed to "turn the Mediterranean into a sea of blood and fire".

Mr Nel said intelligence sources in South Africa had been aware for some time that "one of the dictators of terrorism, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, is trying to export his madness to South Africa".

The South African Government had information that as far back as 1976 a group of about 107 PAC terrorists received training in Benghazi, Libya.

This group had, *inter alia*, received training in the use of Soviet-made AK47 rifles, RPG7 missiles, 91mm mortars and other weapons of Soviet and Egyptian origin.

Mr Nel said information indicated that the two arrested in South Africa over Easter were part of a group of 150 men who in 1982 received political and weapons training in Tripoli, Libya.

Questioned about a report from Harare, Zimbabwe, today that a mystery group, believed to be Libyans, tried to board a Harare-bound aircraft at Athens at the weekend using false South African passports, Mr Nel said he had no information that there was any link between these men and the terrorists captured, or their group.

He said the Government knew that, apart from those arrested, there were some PAC terrorists in the country.

Mr Nel added that African National Congress (ANC) guerillas received their training mainly in Marxist Angola and other Soviet bloc countries.

"The South African Government once again appeals to the international community to assist in the eradication of the scourge of terrorism from our society in the interests of all people regardless of race, colour or creed", the Minister concluded.

# Pupils, unions more effective — Slabbert

ARGUS 10/4/86

11A

The Argus  
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — There is no doubt that black schoolchildren, trade unions and other pressure groups in South Africa have been more effective in generating change than had Parliament, says Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert, addressing about 2 000 people crammed into the Selbourne Hall at a United Democratic Front "Call to Whites" meeting, said he believed that effective future pressures for change would also be generated outside of Parliament.

Sharing the platform with Dr Slabbert were Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Mr Jac Jacob of the Natal Indian Congress; and Mr Murphy Morobe, an executive member of the UDF.

"It is practically impossible to change South Africa under the present tricameral system because it has been totally discredited," Dr Slabbert said.

## "ILLUSION"

Dr Slabbert said that anyone who said white South Africans were irrelevant to the future of South Africa was living under a dangerous illusion.

"But equally I can say that whites who believe they can carry on playing white politics are also living under a dangerous illusion."

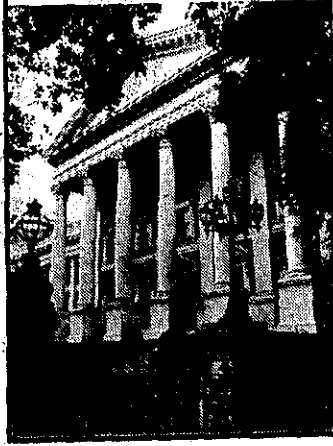
In a call to whites Dr Beyers Naude said:

"Don't draw into a laager, go out and discuss, debate and argue with other South Africans about the country's future."

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Dr Slabbert said on the BBC's Today programme that he would not join the UDF and would not call for strikes in South Africa.

Asked whether his call to whites to support the anti-apartheid movement meant he was calling for strikes and boycotts, he said the mood among black South Africans meant that these were likely to occur anyway.

PARLIAMENT '86



**'ANC leaders  
must cut  
links with  
communists'**

*STAR*  
*10/4/86*  
*1107*

PARLIAMENT — Leaders of the African National Congress who were interested in talking about the future of South Africa should distance themselves from the South African Communist Party as soon as possible, Mr W J Cuyler (NP Roodepoort) said yesterday.

Speaking during the Second Reading debate on the Appropriation Bill, he said it was clear the SACP faction of the ANC was interested only in the handover of power, not in negotiation.

He accepted that there were leaders in the top structures of the ANC who were not communists, who were Christians, and who cared about dialogue.

They should make it known that they were willing to talk.

Mr Cuyler said care should be taken that the clergy and churches were not abused as instruments of communism.

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# Genscher <sup>11A</sup> sees Tambo, <sup>Address to 10/14/80</sup> appeals for dialogue ~~SP~~

## The Argus Foreign Service

BONN. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, yesterday met ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is visiting West Germany as guest of the Social Democratic opposition.

Mr Genscher told Mr Tambo that the West German Government considers apartheid an unjust system that must be abolished, and that a first step in the right direction would be the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

Mr Genscher also appealed to all parties in South Africa to seek a peaceful rather than a violent solution, and to begin a dialogue.

### BRANDT TALKS

Mr Tambo also had talks with Mr Willy Brandt, national chairman of the Social Democratic Party, who is to visit South Africa next week.

Among those Mr Brandt is scheduled to meet are Anglo American's executive chairman Mr Gavin Rilly, the chief executive of Premier, Mr Tony Bloom, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Dennis Hurley and Dr Beyers Naude, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Dr Alex Boraine, Dr Nthato Motlana, Mrs Sheena Duncan, and representatives of Azapo and the UDF.

# MP slams PFP Indaba role

10/1/86 BUS DAY (11A)  
THE KwaNatal Indaba has shown the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) had neither the muscle nor the will to draw the ANC and the UDF to the conference table, even in a harmless regional context, said Con Botha (NP Umlazi) yesterday.

Speaking in the Second Reading Budget debate, he said the way the PFP had "tried to muscle in on the Indaba" was "too funny to be believed".

The Indaba had provided a "heaven-sent opportunity" for the PFP — which for years had been pleading for a

national convention — to persuade the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its "fellow travellers" to take part.

However, not only had it failed to do so, but it even failed to announce that it had attempted to do so, Botha said.

Without trying to detract from the Indaba, he added, it had been the rule rather than the exception of government, ever since it came to power, to talk with responsible black leaders. He said he shared the wish, with his fellow Natalians, that some good might come from the talks. — Sapa.

# Man says Lekoa councillors looked after own interests

Pretoria Bureau

A Lekoa community councillor yesterday told the Delmas treason trial that his fellow councillors looked after their own interests at the expense of those of the community.

Mr Sebeho Petrus Mohajane, who represented Ward 16 in Sebokeng during 1984, said the failure by the Lekoa Town Council to increase the rents for business premises and their decision to sell the liquor outlets pointed to that.

And he said his attempt during the budget debate in June 1984 to protest against the decision not to increase rents for business sites was overruled by the mayor.

Mr Mohajane said he was also opposed to the council's decision to sell the liquor outlets to private individuals. Many of them were councillors. He said it would have been far more beneficial to the community to have

retained the liquor outlets and used the profits to provide facilities, instead of increasing rents.

He also told the court of his battle against illegal convictions. He said people were often unnecessarily evicted from their homes so that some councillors could obtain the premises for their families. Others accepted bribes to obtain accommodation.

## DIED

In another development in the trial yesterday, one of the accused, Mr Morake Petrus Mokoena (47), of Evaton, applied for bail to attend his mother's funeral. His mother died at the weekend. Mr Mokoena has been behind bars for about 18 months.

Lekoa mayor Mr Esau Chaka Mahlatsi was the 23rd witness to be called by the State in the mammoth treason trial of 22 men, mostly members of the United Democratic Front.

All 22 have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of treason and alternative charges of terrorism, subversion and murder. Most of the charges relate to the unrest which broke out in the Vaal Triangle on September 3 1984.

Mr Mahlatsi told the court he was elected to the council in November 1983. He represented Ward 13 in Sebokeng.

Shortly after he was elected mayor, he addressed several meetings in the Vaal Triangle townships explaining the functions and powers of the council.

He said his constituents appeared happy with the news of the rent increases. The rents had gone up to meet the demands for facilities from the residents. They were originally expected to rise by R11 or more, but money was received from the development board. Rents were finally increased by R5,90.

The trial continues.



# The spiral of blood that led to Toti

TWO SADF raids into neighbouring countries proved fatal turning points in the life of Andrew Sibusiso Zondo, sentenced to death for the Amanzimtoti bombing last Christmas.

At the end of a three-week trial, Judge Raymond Leon ruled on Wednesday there were no extenuating circumstances, and passed the death sentence for each of the five murder counts on which Zondo had been found guilty.

In evidence given by Zondo and Natal University sociology professor Fatima Meer, it emerged that several actions by South African security forces had been crucial in his development.

And in his summing up of the defence's argument that there were extenuating circumstances, Denis Kury, SC, said the "tragic events" of December 23 encapsulated the "tragedy of South African society".

He said it was a reflection of South African society for a young man of Zondo's obvious intelligence to be driven to leaving the country and taking up arms against "the white regime of the country" and ultimately committing "this terrible act". But he stressed this was done "out of anger for what he perceived as unjust action by the SADF in Maputo and Maseru, which he saw as completely unjustifiable".

According to Zondo, one of his earliest political experiences had been an unprovoked police attack with teargas and batons on a prayer assembly at his KwaMashu school.

"It made me ask myself why it had happened. From that day on, whenever I looked at police I would see them as an enemy."

He was later recruited into the ANC and in 1982 left the country hoping to finish his schooling at an ANC institution. He found the ANC in Swaziland had other plans and they sent him back, saying "there was work for (him) to do in South Africa".

Soon after he returned to South Africa police arrested him — they knew he was a member of the ANC from papers they had found in a raid on ANC bases in Swaziland — and they said they would release him only if he helped trap two fellow ANC members.

At first he refused, but after his parents were brought in to help pressurise him, he agreed. After his release he left the country again, deciding he could not betray his friends.

On his way to a school in Tanzania, he stopped in Maputo. There he experienced first-hand the effects of the 1983 SADF air raid on Matola.

This was a turning point and he decided to forget about completing his matric and instead to join the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

From what had happened that day, it seemed there was no chance to

The man sentenced to hang for the Toti bomb blast told the court of the incidents that changed his life. CARMEL RICKARD reports

improve the life of blacks in South Africa except through violence," he said. "This meant I had to fight against the South African government with arms. As far as I am concerned the people with whom I had to fight were soldiers, police and other people connected with the government."

After two years' military training in Angola he returned to South Africa late last year.

Soon after he arrived there was another SADF raid, this time on Maseru where nine people were killed.

His ANC handler brought this news and informed him he had "four days to retaliate". Two days before Christmas, Zondo dumped a limpet mine into a rubbish bin at the packed Toti Sanlam shopping centre. Five people were killed and scores more injured.

Zondo's was the first trial of a new kind of ANC guerrilla — so far only described by analysts and warned of by politicians — young people not prepared to obey the ANC principles of avoiding "soft targets".

Zondo said on several occasions that he knew this principle well and that he had been taught "rather to expose myself than to harm civilians".

Nevertheless, he chose a target in a busy shopping centre where civilians would be killed indiscriminately, and it was this, the judge said, which had weighed most heavily against him.

Zondo claimed he had planned to telephone the centre immediately after planting the mine, warning that the place should be evacuated. He had not done so because all the phone booths at the Post Office had been busy.

The judge rejected this evidence, saying the claim was "preposterous".

The judge said he had taken into account that Zondo was motivated by no baser reason such as greed or self-aggrandisement, but because it was the way to serve his people.

On several occasions Zondo spoke about his remorse and this was not questioned by the judge or prosecution.

He said that if he could find a way of giving part of his flesh to those who had suffered through the blast, he would do so. He also said when he realised what he had done, he "wanted to die".

Just before the judge passed the death sentence on him, Zondo made his last remarks. He said: "I wish to say this to the people who might have lost their friends, and kids and families. I say that I am sorry. Next thing I wish is that my country be friendly to its neighbouring countries."

# Court told Stofile tortured by police

10/4/86.

11A

DISPATCH

Dispatch Reporter

**BISHO** — Details of alleged assaults on a Fort Hare University lecturer and general secretary of the United Democratic Front, the Reverend M. A. Stofile, were given in papers before the Supreme Court here.

The details were given by a former detainee at Ntoleni Police Station, near Fort Beaufort, and confirmed by two other former detainees.

Mr Stofile's wife, Mrs Nambita Stofile, applied yesterday for an interdict restraining the police from unlawfully assaulting her husband in detention, interrogating him in an unlawful manner or exerting unlawful pressures to influence him to make a statement incriminating him.

The matter came before Mr Chief Justice De Wet in chambers.

Mrs Stofile cited the Minister of Justice and the Commissioner of Police as respondents.

The matter was adjourned until April 16 for the respondents to file opposing affidavits.

Without admission of liability, the respondents undertook that no unlawful actions would be taken against Mr Stofile.

In his affidavit, Mr Vuyani Tunga of Zigodlo, Middledrift, said he and others were held at Ntoleni Police Station during their detention and shared a cell with Mr Stofile for a short while.

He said on one occasion he saw Mr Stofile carrying a pair of shoes and walking with marked difficulty. He told them he could not wear his shoes because his legs and feet were swollen. Mr Tunga noticed bruises close to Mr Stofile's ankles and similar marks round his wrists. Mr Stofile told them he had been ill-treated and tortured by the police.

He said wet cloths were tied around his ankles and wrists and he was made to lie naked on his stomach. Handcuffs were put over the wet cloths and his wrists tied behind his back. Other cuffs were put around his ankles and the two sets of cuffs were then tied together, leaving him with his legs and upper body bent backwards.

Mr Stofile said a tube was put over his head and was used to suffocate him. At times the cuffs would be taken off and he would be left lying on his stomach and be trampled on his back by policemen.

Throughout the interrogations he was questioned about the whereabouts of alleged terrorists.

Mr Tunga said Mr Sto-

file told them the interrogation teams took turns to assault him. They were all black policemen from Ciskei. Some tried to hide their faces, but he was able to identify some and even mentioned their names.

Mr Stofile told them of the time he was tortured for the whole day and night. As a result, he was finding it impossible to sleep on his back.

Mr Zandisile Kitise and Mr Zongezile Soti, who were also in detention with Mr Tunga, confirmed the contents of Mr Tunga's affidavit.

In her affidavit Mrs Stofile said that her husband, a senior lecturer in the Department of Systematic Theology at the University of Fort Hare, was detained on March 12. Three days later she was informed that he had resigned his post at the university. This came as a surprise to her as he had never indicated that he was considering such a step, and knowing his enthusiasm and commitment to his work, she found it almost impossible to accept that as true.

Two days later her anxiety was aggravated by a personal note from him informing her of his resignation. She believed that his sudden resignation was a result of pressure exerted upon him.

Mrs Stofile said the resignation, if it took effect, would have far-reaching and drastic consequences for her husband and their family.

She said representations by her attorneys to the police, to enable her to see her husband, so that she could discuss these urgent matters with him, had not been successful and she had still not been allowed to see him.

Mr P. A. M. Megid, SC, and Mr Plus Langa, instructed by Mr Hintsa Siwisa, appeared for the applicant, Mr J. W. F. van Jaarsveldt, instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the respondents.

# 3 shot dead in Winterveld march, say leaders

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least three people were shot dead and many injured yesterday when Bophuthatswana police opened fire on marchers in Winterveld, community leaders claimed.

Bophuthatswana police, however, could not confirm any deaths yesterday.

The incident occurred as scores of angry Winterveld residents were marching to the nearby Soshanguve township to protest against the refusal by police to release bodies of 10 unrest victims for burial yesterday.

## Armed

Residents said that armed police in armoured personnel carriers, trucks and vans confronted the marchers, who were singing freedom songs and chanting political slogans, on the main road in the township.

They alleged that police lobbed teargas canisters and baton-charged them. They then opened fire, leaving three dead and several marchers seriously injured.

Police ordered members of the press out of the area.

"We are sick and tired of seeing you here and the next thing, we are going to beat you up," one policeman said.

The homeland's police gave conflicting reasons for their refusal to hand over the bodies.

Police in the area said relatives of the dead did not know that the mass



Bophuthatswana police break up yesterday's protest march in Winterveld.

Picture: Daniel Simon

funeral was scheduled to take place yesterday, while their Mafikeng headquarters said they could not release the bodies as post-mortems had not yet been conducted.

Residents dismissed these statements as "rubbish".

Meanwhile, 10 families who waited in vain for the bodies of their relatives — victims of a wave of unrest in the area two weeks ago — to

be released by police, were yesterday still consulting with a top Johannesburg lawyer in a bid to find ways of recovering the bodies.

Only one body, that of Mr Thomas Lusenga, 66, has been released by police. He was shot dead with 10 others in the unrest.

Sapa reports that two-year-old Ruth Nkome, who died after a petrol bomb was hurled at her parents' Ga-Rankuwa

home, was buried at the local cemetery yesterday.

In the attack, five petrol bombs were thrown at the Nkome home in the middle of the night on March 24.

Her father, Mr Lucas Nkome, was away at the time, but five people — including his pregnant wife — escaped with their lives.

Damage to the house is estimated at R8 000.

# Black CAPE TIMES 10/1/76 councils 'collapse'

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.**  
Rent boycotts have rendered some townships ungovernable and caused the collapse of several others, Mr Tom Boya, deputy president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa), said yesterday.

Mr Boya was commenting on a heated exchange in Parliament between PFP members, who said the government had lost control of a number of black areas, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr Le Grange demanded: "Give me the names."

According to Mr Boya rent debts — accumulated mainly in Katlehong on the East Rand, the Vaal, Mamelodi in Pretoria — exceed R60-million.

Mr Boya said 32 community councils and three town councils — most of them in the Eastern Cape — had completely collapsed.

The three town councils are Lingelihle, KwaNobuhle and Nonzwakazi in the Eastern Cape.

Some of the community councils are Tsakane and Duduza in the East Rand, Parys and Vrededorf in the Free State, Maritzburg in Natal, Aberdeen, Adelaide, Alexandra, Beaufort West, Colesberg, Hanover, Humansdorp, Jansenville, Queenstown, Kirkwood, Naauppoort, Richmond, Somerset East, Steytlerville, Victoria West, Paterson, Waterval Boven, Steynsberg and Sterkstroom.

Cape Times 10/4/85

# 'Necklace' murder, beatings in township

114  
Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Kangaroo courts, which in the past have meted out brutal punishment to "offenders", appear to have made a return to at least one black township in the Eastern Cape, police said yesterday.

This follows the "necklace" murder in Port Alfred of one man and the brutal beating of others allegedly accused by "comrades" of theft, police said.

They added that when the courts

operated in the townships last year, residents had been forbidden to lay charges at police stations.

A 40-year-old Port Alfred township resident interviewed yesterday said he had been handcuffed to a beam by about 20 "comrades" and beaten with a sjambok. He was told his punishment had been ordered by a man known to him as a leader of the United Democratic Front.

He showed the reporter scars and deep open wounds left on his back and buttocks by numerous lashes.

Around his wrists were raw wounds sustained when he was made to hang handcuffed from a beam in the "courtroom" while being beaten.

He said he had been accused of stealing certain items from a woman.

He was made to witness the beating of another man. Several "comrades" then fetched four other people named by the beaten man as also being responsible for the theft.

"The four men were handcuffed to a chain hanging from the roof and the 'comrades' took turns in beating their

backs to a pulp," he said.

On Tuesday he heard that the charred body of one of the men who was beaten had been found.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, police liaison officer in the Eastern Cape, yesterday confirmed that a number of people had been severely beaten by what appeared to be a "people's court" and that the charred body of one of those beaten was later found in the township.

A number of arrests had been made and the investigation was continuing.

# Botswana denies Nel PAC claim

PETER WALLINGTON and  
CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

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THERE was no need for Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) supporters to go to Botswana for orders, a government official said in Gaborone yesterday.

He was responding to a statement by deputy information Minister Louis Nel that two Libyan-trained PAC insurgents, arrested at the Easter weekend, had received orders in Botswana.

He did not see why their orders had to be given in Botswana when there were thousands of PAC people in SA.

The government did not allow political movements to use Botswana as a springboard for attacks on SA, he said.

Nel said the PAC insurgents had travelled to SA via Tanzania and Botswana and were part of a group of 150 trained in Libya in 1982.

Night of drama as whites flock to meeting

# Thousand respond to UDF's call

10/4/86 STAY



By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

Bomb threats, police harassment, sneeze powder and general chaos did not stop more than a thousand people, mainly whites, from crowding into the Selbourne Hall last night for a United Democratic Front "Call to Whites" meeting.

In a night of drama before the meeting even began:

- People refused to leave when police tried to evacuate the hall after an alleged bomb threat.
- Sneeze powder and teargas spray were released in the foyer of the hall.

## Tried to prevent entry

- Police tried to prevent entry to the meeting, saying the hall was too full. They later allowed hundreds of people who had gathered in President Street outside the Johannesburg City Hall, to enter the building.
- Entry to some of the media was refused by police who first said the hall was too full and when challenged, said "because of a bomb scare". They later relented and allowed the media inside.
- Police later tried to bring a sniffer dog into the hall but crowds of people jamming the entrance hall, the stairs, the foyer and the hall forced them to abandon the attempt.
- Dozens of people went home before the meeting

began after being told by police that the hall was full and no further entry would be allowed.

A UDF spokesman said the reaction to the meeting was "unbelievable" and beyond anything anticipated.

The meeting, organised by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), was addressed by Dr Beyers Naude of the South African Council of Churches, former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Natal Indian Congress member Mr Zac Jacob and UDF acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe.

While cynics in the crowd suggested the whites had come to listen only to Dr Slabbert, less than 100 people left the hall at the end of his speech.

Billed as "Where to White Politics?", the meeting was convened to spell out the role of whites in extra-parliamentary politics.

Dr Naude called on white South Africans to leave their laager and talk to their fellow countrymen. He said: "You have to *really* cross the Rubicon, not just P W Botha's version."

Dr Slabbert said while he respected his former colleagues in the PFP and the parliamentary system still had a role to play, it was clear solutions to the country's problems would have to come from outside Parliament.

He said: "The Government has no intention whatsoever of scrapping the pillars of apartheid."

● See Page 15.

*SAF Times 10/4/86*  
**PAC hit men'  
had death list'**

**Political Correspondent**

THE names of the black leaders on the "death list" of the Libyan-trained PAC assassination squad arrested over the Easter weekend "will probably never be revealed", police sources said yesterday.

Government sources were guarded yesterday on whether Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders were prime targets of the two arrested Pan-Africanist Congress hit men.

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said the government was aware of the identity of some of black leaders the guerillas had been sent to "eliminate" but he declined to give their names.

Mr Nel said yesterday the two arrested men were part of group of 150 PAC guerillas who received political and military training in 1982 in Libya.

**'Another group of 107'**

In addition, the government had information that another group of 107 PAC guerillas had undergone military training in Libya "as far back as 1976".

Questioned on whether the government knew if any of the remaining 148 (of the group of 150) were in South Africa, Mr Nel said he knew that "some" PAC guerillas were in the country "but I cannot say what the exact factual situation is".

The minister would not say where in South Africa the two PAC members had been arrested. Asked when they had entered South Africa, he said the guerillas were still being questioned by the police.

Mr Nel said he did not have any information on whether those arrested over Easter were in any way linked to a mysterious group, believed to be Libyans, who tried to board a Harare-bound aircraft at Athens at the weekend using false SA passports.

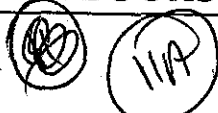
Yesterday's disclosures on PAC training and military activity came as a surprise as the armed struggle against South Africa has been dominated by the ANC for several years now.

● According to the annual SAP report published yesterday, the number of acts of terrorism rose from 56 in 1983-84 to 86 in 1984-85. During these two periods the percentage of cases solved declined from 71,4 to 53,5 percent.

The report said organizations such as the ANC, the SACP and, "to a lesser degree", the PAC were "prominent in this threat to the State".



## THE ARTS/BOOKS



AFTER more than four years the treason trial was drawing to a close. Nelson Mandela suddenly appeared at his home with friends and said to his wife Winnie:

"Darling, just pack some of my clothes in a suitcase with my toiletries. I will be going away for a long time. You're not to worry, my friends here will look after you. They'll give you news of me from time to time. Look well after the children. I know you'll have the strength and courage to do so without me, I now know you are capable of that."

Winnie Mandela had no idea of the dangerous days and the anguish that lay ahead. All she had noticed was that during the previous few weeks he had seemed to be meditating a great deal. She had asked what was wrong and he had assured her it was nothing. But he had paid the rent six months in advance, that was most unusual.

On March 29 Mandela, back in Pretoria, joined the other accused in the dock. The public galleries and the press benches were packed. The atmosphere was tense as the senior judge, Justice Rumpff, asked the accused to stand.

"You are found not guilty and discharged," he said. "You may go."

Even before they were released from the constraint of the treason trial, Mandela and Sisulu had joined other leaders in prison planning a new initiative. With Lutuli's blessing, and assuming the verdict in the trial would be "not guilty", Mandela had been chosen to lead at this hazardous time.

He fully realised the implications... the other organisers were to remain secret as protection against police persecution, while he was to go underground, with the task of surfacing for specific public actions. His family life — already much reduced — would have to be sacrificed, his legal practice abandoned.

He said it was infinitely more difficult than serving a prison sentence. No-one in his right senses would choose such a life... "But there comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right to live a normal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because the government has so decreed to use the law..."

After leaving Winnie with those devastating words, "I will be going away for a long time", he had driven to Pietermaritzburg. There, 1 400 delegates, many from Zululand, and Pondoland — a cross-section of political, religious, sporting and cultural groups — came together for an All-In African Conference on March 25, 1961. Mandela's sudden appearance after 10 years of enforced silence was, said one delegate, "electrifying".

The conference demanded a "National Convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race, colour, creed or other limitation" which must have "sovereign powers" to determine "a new non-racial democratic constitution" for South Africa.

Under Mandela, a National Action Council was elected to communicate the demand to the government. If the government failed to call such a convention, there would be countrywide demonstrations: a three-day stay-at-home to coincide with the establishment, at the end of May, of the new white Republic of South Africa.

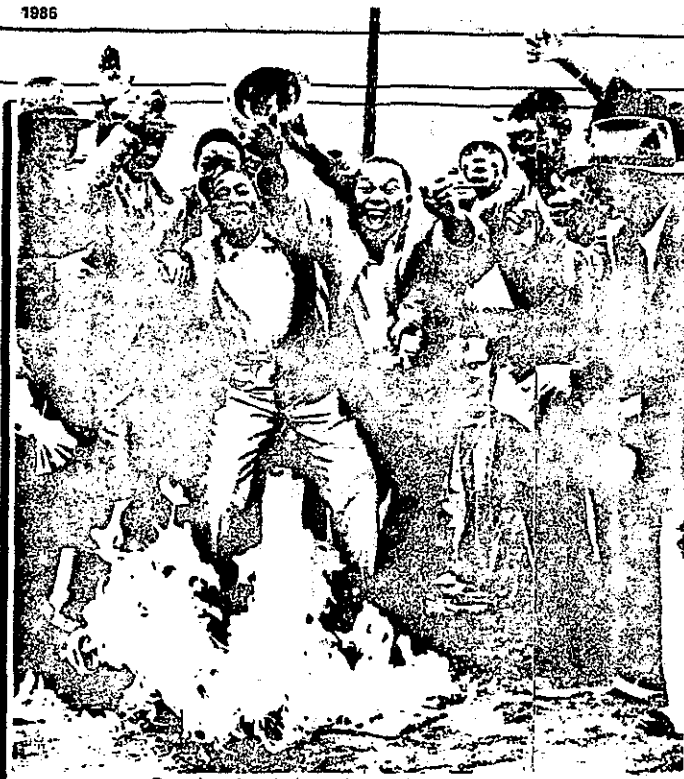
As Mandela secretly toured the country a warrant was issued for his arrest.

He found new potential for action among people in rural areas and among Cape Muslims. He moved through townships; in Soweto, he attended small meetings at night with people returning from work. And he moved through cities, meeting factory workers and also groups of Indians. In Port Elizabeth he stayed with the poet Dennis Brutus and his wife May at their home in Shell Street, and after organising sessions in New Brighton township he taught their small sons to box.

Back in Johannesburg he visited his own family only late at night. As he continued to elude the police, the press named him the "Black Pimpernel". Not the least of the difficulties was that the only car available to him in Johannesburg when he was disguised as a chauffeur continually broke down.

Mandela worked in close collaboration with Walter Sisulu, a wise, shrewd man, always unassuming, yet vital to the planning and organisation. Over the years Mandela had learned much from him, and also from his own experience. The ability to bring people together, to emphasise points of agreement were useful for Mandela when he called on white newspaper editors and leaders of the Liberal Party who had expressed hostility to the campaign for a stay-at-home.

On April 24 Mandela wrote to the Prime Minister on behalf of the National Action Council, expressing anxiety that under the



Pass burning during a fifties show of defiance

## June '61: The ANC turns to violence

Nelson Mandela becomes leader of the ANC. The last in our series of extracts from 'Nelson Mandela', a new book by MARY BENSON. The book, widely acclaimed abroad, is unlikely to be released in South Africa

proposed republic the government "already notorious the world over for its obnoxious policies, would continue to make even more savage attacks on the rights and living conditions of the African people". A dangerous situation could be averted only by the calling of a "sovereign National Convention".

He gave notice of the intended demonstrations. "We have no illusions about the counter-measures your government might take," he went on. The demonstrations were to take the form of a three-day stay-at-home from May 29. Late in the month, the police made large-scale raids and arrests, again failing to trap Mandela. They arrested not only leaders and organisers but 10 000 Africans under the pass laws. Prime Minister Verwoerd himself issued stern warnings. Even liberal English-language newspapers swung from objective reporting to warnings against responding to Mandela's call.

The Rand Daily Mail published a "secret plan" inciting non-whites to invade cities, doubtless conveyed by agents provocateurs, while ignoring Mandela's absolute repudiation of any such plan.

On Monday, 29 May 1961, hundreds of thousands of Africans risked jobs and homes to respond to Mandela's call. In Durban they were joined by Indians and in Cape Town for the first time by coloureds.

There was no doubt, however, that the overall response was disappointing and on the second day Mandela called the strike off. That morning journalists from London met him in a sparsely furnished flat in a white suburb of Johannesburg. Wearing a striped sports shirt, he was not looking in the least bit conspiratorial and his welcoming laughter boomed. Did he concede, one correspondent asked, that the strike had been a failure?

"In the light of the steps taken by the government to suppress it," he replied, "it was a tremendous success." He described the courage it had taken for workers to defy police and army and also employers. Soberly, he added: "If the government reaction is to crush by naked force our non-violent struggle, we will have to reconsider our tactics. In our mind, we are closing a chapter on this question of a non-violent policy."

On 26 June, the annual Freedom Day, he issued a statement from underground forecasting new methods of struggle. He would continue to operate from underground. A new epoch in South Africa's history was about to begin.

After discussion in the outlawed ANC, a small group led by Mandela was given the task

of forming Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). The decision to turn to violence had not been easily arrived at: some had reservations about efficacy or timing and Mandela himself, though firmly advocating the need for this change in policy, was distressed that the long struggle — his own experience of 20 years of disciplined non-violence — had been to no avail. The ANC as a mass political organisation with an express policy of non-violence would not engage in acts of violence but would no longer disapprove of such acts if "properly controlled". Sisulu would remain with the ANC and Mandela would lead Umkhonto (MK).

Through the winter and into the spring the planning went ahead. Mandela missed Winnie and his daughters badly and, to his comrades' consternation, slipped out of his various hiding-places to meet his wife. She worked for Johannesburg's Child Welfare Society, visiting children in townships and suburbs and attending children's courts. His disguises, as window-cleaner, errand "boy", chauffeur, were improbable but effective. Once when Winnie's car was giving trouble, she received a message telling her to drive to a particular corner; there a tall man in blue overalls got into the car, telling her to move over from the driver's seat; he drove her back to the centre of the city, stopped, said goodbye, got out and disappeared into a crowd.

At first, she had not recognised him. When he stayed for a while in a flat in a middle-class white area, his host, Wolfie Kodesh, found him deep in study of books on war: Mao Tse-tung, Che Guevara, Liddell-Hart, Reif's "Commando", above all Clausewitz.

A problem arose: how to explain to the Zulu cleaner employed by the landlords, the presence of a black man staying as a guest in this apartment block, a black man who never went out by day? They agreed Kodesh should tell the cleaner that "David" was a student preparing to go overseas, and studying in the flat until all the arrangements had been made. Kodesh set off for work and when he returned at lunchtime, found Mandela and the Zulu chatting and laughing.

Disconcerting though, Kodesh found, to wake at 5am and find your clandestine guest in a track-suit, running on the spot.

After October, the Mandelas had a semblance of family life. A small farm had been rented for Umkhonto; named Lilliesleaf, it was in Rivonia, a rural suburb of Johannesburg, and among the outhouses was an apartment ideal for an outlaw. Winnie, with Zeni and Zindzi,

was brought there by a sequence of cars and for the first time in many months she could cook meals for Nelson and he could take the children for walks in the wooded garden — Zindzi in her pram, Zeni a toddler. Zeni came away with a dream that this rambling house, where her Daddy lived, was her home.

Meanwhile, Mandela's survival underground was having an inspiring effect on his people as the wide-flung police net still failed to capture him. But the risks he continually took were little short of foolhardy. During November, after touring Natal and the Cape, he had a narrow escape: wearing chauffeur's coat and cap, he was waiting on a street corner in Johannesburg and the car due to pick him up failed to appear; he saw one of the black security police approaching and, as the man looked into his eyes, recognising him, he thought, "it's all up"; but the man went by and, as he did so, winked and gave the ANC thumbs-up salute.

That December in 1961 marked an end and a beginning. The ANC's long history of non-violence was acclaimed as Chief Albert Lutuli was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. Less than a week later, on 16 December — the Day of Heroes on which the ANC had traditionally held its annual conference — Umkhonto we Sizwe struck. Saboteurs exploded bombs at symbolic targets in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban. One saboteur was killed in the explosions.

Early in January 1962, Mandela was smuggled out of the country. His flight to Ethiopia, where Emperor Haile Selassie was hosting a Pan-African Freedom Conference, was the first event in a thrilling experience; for the first time in his life he was a free man.

In Addis Ababa he met Oliver Tambo, who had arranged for him to address the conference. Accompanied for much of the time by Oliver Tambo, Mandela went on to tour a number of states in North and West Africa to arrange for the military training of recruits, as well as scholarships for future administrators and technicians.

He flew to London where he met Hugh Gaitskell and Jo Grimond, leaders of the Labour and Liberal parties. Then it was back to Africa, to Algeria, where he took a course in demolition, weaponry and mortar firing.

Returning to East Africa, he met Julius Nyerere, future President of Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda, future President of Zambia, and Ogiga Odiga, opposition leader in Kenya.

It was time to return. But before flying south he met the first batch of recruits who had slipped out of South Africa for military training in Ethiopia. He made the perilous border crossing without incident and was home again.

In Johannesburg he reported on his tour to the National High Command of Umkhonto. He went to Natal to report to the regional command in Durban. Cecil Williams, a theatre director, had placed a car at his disposal and they drove down, Mandela the chauffeur and Williams the boss.

After the meeting with Umkhonto, Mandela contacted M B Yengwa, an old friend and one of Natal's ANC leaders, who was astounded and delighted when the tall chauffeur calling himself "David" asked to be taken to see "Chief", as Lutuli was known. Mandela's comrades in Johannesburg had had grave misgivings at his insistence that he must see Lutuli, but had given way in face of his stubborn determination. "I promised Chief before I left. I must go." Lutuli raised a question which had troubled him: Umkhonto's announcement in December 1961 that the policy of non-violence had ended. Lutuli criticised the failure to consult himself and the ANC "grassroots". Although apologetic, Mandela said he thought that, tactically, the action had been correct. Besides, they had wanted to protect Lutuli and the ANC from involvement in the drastic change in policy.

On their drive back to Johannesburg, Williams and Mandela were stopped by three carloads of police near the Howick Falls. Williams said afterwards that the police seemed to know precisely who they were looking for. So it was that Mandela was captured on August 5, 1962. He had been underground for 17 months.

The following morning Winnie was leaving the Child Welfare Office when one of her husband's comrades appeared, looking dishevelled and strained. Mandela was imprisoned in the Johannesburg Fort, he told her. He would probably be appearing in court within a day or two.

● NELSON MANDELA by Mary Benson. First published by Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1986. © Mary Benson, 1986.

mentary committee has raised this question by sharply criticising the Information Bureau, recently hived off from Foreign Affairs to become a department on its own, headed by Deputy Minister Louis Nel.

In its report to parliament, the Standing Select Committee on Finance said it "noted with dissatisfaction" that some of the aims of the bureau, as set out in the Budget estimates, "are not correct." The bureau is now expected to become the centre of a major

political row during the Budget debate which began in parliament this week.

The bureau's aim, according to the estimates — which provide it with R28,85m — is "to foster a positive attitude towards SA." Under various sub-headings, other aims of the bureau are: "To enlighten the community on government policy, national achievements and problems, with a view to fostering positive attitudes among all population groups; to promote the image of the RSA via

internal as well as foreign media representatives in the RSA; to promote the RSA's general image locally and overseas by means of audio-visual material, own publications and distribution of publications acquired by purchase; and to promote and co-ordinate effective communication on a national level."

The bureau, whose chief reports directly to President P W Botha, has an authorised staff of 598 people, 32 of whom earn over

JAY NAIDOO

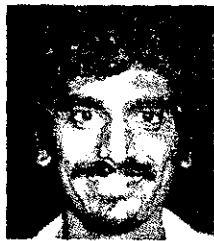
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FACE  
TO FACE

## Between freedom and a job



The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has made a major impression on the political and labour scene since its formation last November. The *FM* discusses some of its more contentious policies with general secretary Jay Naidoo.

**FM:** What are the major issues now being debated within Cosatu?

**Naidoo:** There are basically three. Firstly, the consolidation of our organisation locally, regionally and nationally, including mergers (of affiliates into single industrial unions). Secondly, there is the question of our relationships with other progressive organisations inside SA and the way in which we relate to political struggles. The third area is our links with foreign trade unions and other organisations.

After Cosatu's meeting with the African National Congress (ANC) a few weeks ago, you issued a statement recognising the ANC as the leading anti-apartheid organisation. Does this not subordinate Cosatu to the ANC, and contradict the resolution that Cosatu should be an independent and leading political force?

No. Our position is that the workers are a leading force in the struggle for national liberation — a position acknowledged by the ANC itself. It is impossible for an organisation as large as ours, and with a leadership as developed as ours, to become subordinate to any other. We recognise, though, that the ANC is regarded by most South Africans as the leading organisation in the struggle.

At no stage have we posed Cosatu as a political party. But we have a duty to carry forward the political aspirations of the working class. We have to ensure that whatever change comes about encompasses economic as well as political emancipation, through a restructuring of the economy.

Socialism, if that is what you are referring to, can mean anything from western European social democracy to a system far to the left of that. What does Cosatu stand for?

That question is difficult to answer right now. Our position is determined by workers' experiences of massive unemployment, poverty, dispossession of land and the denial of political rights. The preamble to our constitution says "we will seek to ensure that the wealth that is created by the working class is used to advance its interests." Cosatu has not yet formulated a specific economic policy, but there is pressure on us from members to begin doing so.

Cosatu has taken a very aggressive public approach, including threats of pass-burning and a refusal to pay rents and taxes. Are these wise or serious?

The broad mandate given to Cosatu leadership is to become involved in political and community issues, in co-operation with other organisations. In its public statements the organisation is reflecting the anger and frustrations of its members. We believe we have the muscle to campaign around these issues, but we are not seeking confrontation. We are seeking fundamental human rights, including the right to elect a government which will represent us.

Taxes and rents are being used to develop the instruments of our oppression. People are simply saying they are going to re-evaluate their positions on these issues.

One consequence of Cosatu's militant approach has been the formation of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa). Do you anticipate serious problems, in Natal at least?

We are disturbed that a potential division has been initiated by Inkatha. But we believe that our organisation will remain largely loyal and firm. We have lost three small factories to Uwusa — two in northern Natal and one in Newcastle. But the fact that we have held almost all of our factories and have actually experienced expansion, is the evidence of our strength.

Uwusa would have been formed whatever Cosatu did. Cosatu's policies have been distorted by Inkatha and are merely being used as an issue.

When the old Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) launched a consumer boycott in Natal, certain branches of Inkatha declared war on Fosatu. The basis for Uwusa

was being laid long before the formation of Cosatu.

**Inkatha has strongly attacked Cosatu's disinvestment policies, arguing that workers do not want to lose their jobs. Are they wrong?**

Constructive engagement policies have not enhanced change in SA. Isolation, including disinvestment pressure, has had an important impact on government. But it is not disinvestment causing a loss of jobs, it is the bankruptcy of political and economic policies. Furthermore, our policy states clearly that if companies disinvest they should leave behind the wealth produced by South African workers.

**Is that realistic?**

That is our policy position.

**The workers of Alfa Romeo and their union — a Cosatu affiliate — were very bitter when that company chose to disinvest.**

The evidence of our commitment to maintaining job security is shown by the innumerable struggles we have fought against retrenchments and lay-offs. But when the choice is between freedom and a job, the majority of people will choose freedom. With freedom comes fundamental political and economic changes and job security for all people.

The disinvestment campaign has particularly hit the South African government, which is heavily dependent on foreign loans. So it is a distortion for people to interpret our policy as primarily a campaign against private investment when the direct effect has been felt by government.

**Will Cosatu meet its commitment to complete mergers by the end of May — particularly with regard to the general unions?**

That resolution can be interpreted to mean there must be substantial progress by the deadline date. The February Central Executive Committee meeting appointed the major unions in each industrial sector to convene committees to oversee mergers in each sector. There has been substantial progress towards the goal of one union for each industry. The last conference of the General and Allied Workers' Union, for instance, divided the union into industrial sectors, and those sectors have representatives on each of the sector committees.

11/4/86

THE NATAL INDABA

# Sense and sensitivities

FIN-MAIL



SA is indeed a country of paradoxes. While the security forces and township youths are daily involved in violence and death, in another part of the land, Natal-KwaZulu, people of different race

groups are slowly groping towards a political accommodation of sorts. Precisely what the nature of the beast will be remains to be seen. But it is a most welcome development at this stage of our sorry history — people talking instead of warring.

In the Durban City Hall last week, representatives of a vast array of interest groups and divergent political opinions sat sombrely around the table to confer over the constitutional future of their region.

The meeting has been dubbed the Natal "Indaba." It seeks, quite simply, to legitimise a situation which many already accept as a reality — that Natal and KwaZulu are inextricably intertwined and, for all practical purposes, should be treated as a single administrative and legislative entity.

Most people should have no difficulty with that. The facts — economic and political — speak for themselves. But given the mindset of "own affairs" politics that characterises the thinking in the ruling hierarchy, such notions verge on heresy.

Equally, the possibility that something good, no matter how remote, might flow from the Indaba discussions is viewed with misgiving by elements on the far Left and far Right. The words "political accommodation" just do not form part of their lexicon.

They will do anything, including firebombing the homes and offices of university academics, to ensure it does not take place.

It comes as little surprise, therefore, that organisations like the African National Congress (ANC), Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the United Democratic Front (UDF), and the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) — or, for that matter, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party — will not be among the delegates. They were invited,

While it is too soon to know whether the "Indaba" on the fusion of Natal and KwaZulu will produce concrete results, the fact that it is taking place at all is welcome. It could influence wider-ranging talks at a higher level.

though.

Their non-presence is a pity. If anything workable is to emerge from the Indaba it is important that its participants consult as widely as possible. Never enamoured with the Indaba proposal in the first place, government, ruefully, finds itself in the position of the reluctant debutante. It does not want to be seen to be actively obstructing what is, in effect, an attempt at "genuine power-sharing at the regional level." That cliché has been used too often in Rubicon speeches of the past; and Pretoria's credibility could be seriously impaired if it continues to pay it no more than lip-service.

At the same time, government's distaste for home-grown constitutional initiatives that by-pass the constitutional workshops of parliament, the Special Cabinet Committee, and the President's Council, is well known, even understandable.

Government no doubt has its own vision of what second-tier government should look like under the new constitution — though it has yet to spell out precisely what that is. Perhaps the federal congress of the National Party (NP) in Durban in August will provide a suitable occasion for it to elaborate? Talk in parliamentary circles is that the NP is

considering multiracial legislatures of some kind which will have the option of including national or homeland states.

Quite conceivably, though, its proposals will bear little resemblance to the Indaba proponents' ideal of a multiracial legislature presiding over a unified KwaNatal.

For government to have resorted to a compromise to escape its dilemma might seem ironic — given that it is what the KwaNatal discussions appear to be all about. It has decided to allow three Natal Nationalist MPs, Val Volker, Jurie Mentz and Renier Schoeman, to sit in on the talks as non-voting "observers."

In the circumstances, it is not hard to sympathise with Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha's view that government could hardly participate officially in the discussions, the upshot of which is quite likely to be recommendations contrary to current government policy.

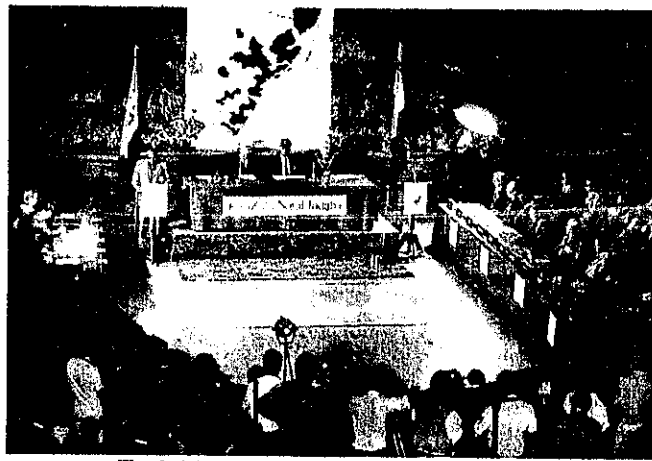
To Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and main proponent of the Indaba, the MPs' actual status seems not to matter. The important thing, he stresses, is that "they are there."

Of course, there was always the threat that Buthelezi might refuse to participate in government's own National Statutory Council discussions, should Pretoria snub his Indaba. That, too, might have been a coercive element in ensuring some form of government presence.

"Observers" or "delegates," call them what you will, what is important is that there will be NP members present — to offer inputs if necessary, and carry reports of progress back to government. That, in itself, is something of a breakthrough.

All this should be seen against the background of government's rejection of the report of the Buthelezi Commission, only a few years ago. The report advocated a form of "consociational" government for Natal and KwaZulu; and, indeed, right up to the present has not lost its relevance. It is likely to form the basis of the Inkatha delegation's submission to the Indaba.

Now that the political posturing is over and the delegates have taken their seats around the conference



The Indaba opens . . . people are talking there

## ECHOES OF HISTORY

It is, perhaps, more than mere coincidence that the Durban City Hall has been chosen as the venue for the historic Natal "Indaba."

Across the street, the old Post Office building, then the City Hall, performed a similar function some 78 years ago in October 1908, when heads of state gathered for the National Union Convention.

Their deliberations were fruitful indeed and culminated in the country being led into Union two years later and more firmly into the bosom of the Commonwealth. The significance of that earlier political milestone was not lost on Durban's mayor, Stan Lange. Quoting from the opening address of his counterpart of the time, he noted how he hoped from their deliberations "a South African constitution will be evolved that will prove acceptable to every colony, and that will materially hasten development and prosperity of the whole sub-continent."

No doubt there are those who cherish similar hopes for the Indaba today.

With a historic precedent of that status, it is understandable that a conscious air of expectancy should surround this latest convention initiative. Though essentially dealing with regional issues, it could well have an impact beyond Natal's borders.

As the delegates gathered, however, the scene outside the City Hall did not quite reflect the importance of the occasion. The brigades of Inkatha youth that one has come to expect at these events

were absent, along with their banners and sloganeering.

The Hall itself stood proud and serene, now that the traffic has been banished from Church Street and the approaches to the building paved.

Inside, the atmosphere was different. The mood of the curious onlookers seemed to contrast with the sombre, almost leaden presence



Buthelezi . . . 'a long process'

of the delegates seated around the horse-shoe table. It was as if they seemed to sense destiny calling.

Light from the stained glass windows of the baroque building streamed down as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi took his place at the podium to explain Inkatha's and the KwaZulu government's involvement. Behind him the crazy patchwork map of homeland KwaZulu in white Natal, like the splashes on a painter's palette, was a graphic reminder of the pressing need for unification.

A difficult road lay ahead, the chief minister told his audience. The Indaba, should it be successful, was only the beginning of a long process towards the normalisation of South African society along democratic principles.

There was a strong body of opinion, he noted, which believed the time for dialogue, reconciliation and negotiation had passed and that the only political options open were violent ones.

But: "We say such a moment has not yet come." More than anything else, Inkatha's presence at the negotiating table underscored that.

table, what can we expect this regional initiative towards power-sharing to yield?

The answer, no doubt, will be revealed only once the talking is over and formal recommendations emerge.

On a more immediate level, government has already recognised the need for some form of shared administrative responsibility for Natal and KwaZulu. There is a loose working arrangement between the two administrations, and a Bill, which will formalise that into a statutory joint executive, is currently before parliament.

What the Indaba backers envisage, how-

ever, is that this co-operation should eventually lead to a total fusion of the two administrations into a single, multiracial, administrative and legislative body. And this is where they part company with the NP.

It cannot be said that the central government is oblivious to the practical advantages of shared administration in Natal-KwaZulu in areas of overlapping interest, such as roads, traffic, hospitals and game conservation. The cost savings alone will probably be enormous. The facilitating Bill is therefore likely to pass unhindered.

But with ethnicity still very much at the

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centre of its constitutional master plan, and reform initiatives launched from this basic premise, talk of multiracial legislatures is a little too much for Pretoria to swallow — at present.

The Indaba, however, is not talking of secession for Natal — or of blacks in Natal-KwaZulu giving up any aspirations they may have to participation at the centre. Natal would still be very much a part of SA and, as such, any proposals emanating from the Indaba would have to fit, constitutionally speaking, with the rest of the country.

It does imply, perhaps, that the constitution might have to be redrawn to make it fit. That's not the worst thing that can happen. For many, the tricameral parliament has always been regarded as a temporary measure or ruse. In future, even government might consider a federal constitution, which makes "local options" like KwaNatal less unthinkable.

Initial reports from the Indaba indicate it has already run into an early obstacle. The problem is that the principal negotiators — the elected, but soon to be phased out Natal

Provincial Council, and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly — face an odd deadline. If government presses ahead and replaces the Natal exco with a nominated exco, with the coming of the regional services councils in June, it could damage the credibility of the discussions. Consequently, government is being asked to delay the implementation of its own constitutional package until the talks are concluded.

This could prove a shrewd move on government's part — if acceded to. After all, government could well consider incorporating elements of the Indaba's recommendations into its own plans for second-tier government.

And certainly, if the Indaba comes up with proposals that at least seem workable, government would have great difficulty in rejecting them out of hand. In the highly charged political atmosphere of the day, there is a need to reward moderate initiatives — of which the Indaba is clearly one. Also, the eyes of the Western world will be on Pretoria. The "Natal option" appears to have much support abroad; and if govern-

ment throws it out it could well expose its reformist intentions as a sham. It can't afford that.

Of course, it is entirely possible the Indaba will come up with diffuse proposals. A common litany among blacks is that there are no credible forums where they can negotiate their constitutional future with dignity.

If the Natal Indaba retains some credibility — with government participation — it could well provide a safety valve for black political frustrations and take some of the impetus out of the vicious cycle of violence and repression we appear to be caught up in.

Moreover, it could be good for the cause of negotiation in general. Having sat around the table together and tested what could be achieved mutually, the participants may well have paved the way for further negotiations at a higher level.

By implication, if it succeeds in turning the proposed National Statutory Council discussions into a full-blown Indaba on a national scale, where there are no non-negotiables, then its achievements will not have been wasted. ■

HIGHVELD

## The margins narrow

After faltering badly in 1983, Highveld Steel and Vanadium's profits took on a white-hot glow in 1985. And the key to its recovery over the past two years was the strength of export markets. In the year to end-December exports reached a new high of R372,5m (R219m) and boosted group turnover to R662,1m (R450,2m), also a record. Despite the weakness of the local steel market, earnings a share improved to 58c (38,9c), which allowed a 7c increase in the year's total dividend to 24c.

A worrying factor, though, is the lower contribution of the local market, which has traditionally been more profitable than exports. While overall sales have improved, the operating profit margin has narrowed. Even with the higher rand contribution from exports, the operating profit margin has dropped to only 11,2%, compared to 20,5% in 1982.

What's happened is that local inflation has climbed so rapidly that the profitability of the domestic market is being eroded. Most

**On the face of it, with fat profits, Highveld's share price has definite upside potential. But until the local market recovers, the company will remain heavily dependent on exports and will therefore be extremely vulnerable to sanctions.**

sure. The effects might even ripple into the export market. Chairman Leslie Boyd notes, with concern, that if the disparity between the South African inflation rate and that of its major trading partners continues, it "will soon negate the temporary export advantages arising from the weak rand, and will result in South African products being uncompetitive overseas."

World steel production and consumption in 1985 was marginally higher than the year before. In the US, though, production dropped by 4% while its consumption remained little changed, with imports making up the difference. However, the pressure of steel imports reached levels which prompted US steelmakers into attempts to limit imports. This resulted in voluntary restraint agreements (VRA) with SA and other major steel exporting countries. As most bilateral trade agreements were finalised by end-1985, a more stable US steel industry is foreseen.

But Highveld's US market potential will be restrained, since the VRA system was determined according to imports into the US during the 1981-1983 period. Nonetheless, the US remains Highveld's most important foreign market.

In any steel operation there are three phases: mining, steel making, and finishing. Traditionally the US has been strong in all three. One analyst notes, however, that with the emergence of cheaper producers like

FCN MAC 11/4/86

D X



## Botha 'failing to act boldly'

11/10/86 Correspondent

DURBAN. — Violence in South Africa would only be stemmed when President P W Botha "sentenced the tricameral Parliament to death", the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Mr Botha would also have to announce his willingness to scrap the Population Registration Act as a preparatory step to the restructuring of South Africa's constitution, he added.

Chief Buthelezi expressed these views when he met Dr Louis Rive, former chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Planning Council, in Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi said it was becoming increasingly clear to him that Mr Botha's inability to act boldly in addressing core issues that generated the politics of violence was costing the country dearly.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister invited Dr Rive to serve on the KwaZulu Planning Committee and Advisory Council.

11/4/86  
BUS DAY

## Blacks urged to control blacks

**MODERATE** blacks should be put in a position to protect themselves and encouraged to exert discipline over the small proportion of their fellows who were fanning unrest, Jurie Mentz (NP Vryheid) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Second Reading debate on the Appropriation Bill, he said he had never seen discipline better than that exerted by the Zulus in Natal.

The calm in the province at the moment was largely due to the fact that Inkatha was willing to control its own people in the interests of maintaining peace.

When the police force was expanded, it should be chiefly blacks who were brought in, so that "blacks can control blacks".

The black states should be given more powers to do what they were already doing more effectively than South Africa in controlling unrest.

Mentz also said South Africans faced "very, very difficult problems" which could not be solved through heavy-handed methods.

Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said that if blacks were given equal citizenship in SA they would fight until they had achieved equal voting rights, which could only lead to a black majority government. — Sapa.

ARGUS 1/14/80

# Two white students alone on campus

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The two white students at the heart of the Medunsa student boycott are attending classes on a deserted campus.

The move by Mr Darryl Wilke and Mr Pieter Kruger has led to an extension of the boycott by black students, who say the white students are taking university places which should have gone to blacks.

The university authorities have confirmed that Mr Wilke and Mr Kruger are alone on the campus. They told the authorities on Tuesday that they had every intention of pursuing their medical studies.

## BATTLE

The controversy will be dealt with at the next regular meeting of the university council on Tuesday.

The authorities point out that students have lost about six weeks of classes.

But the chairman of the Medunsa Students' Representative Council, Mr Raymond Bila, has vowed that the boycott will continue until the university gives in to black students' demands for the expulsion of Mr Wilke and Mr Kruger.

CAPE TOWN 11/4/00  
Embassy demo. 5 in court

Court Reporter

FIVE people who were arrested outside the American Embassy for protesting against the United States's bombing of Libya appeared yesterday in Cape Town Magistrate's Court.

Ms Mogammet Ismail Fisher, 26, Mr Shamil Isaacs, 21, both of Bonteheuvel, Mr Shamil Manie, 24, of Grassy Park, Ms Veronica Simmers, 34, of Mitchells Plain, and Mr George Rosenberg, 36, of Valhalla Park, were not asked to plead and no charges were put to them.

They were each granted bail of R50 although the prosecutor, Mr C Gavin, proposed an amount of R100.

The charge sheet indicates that they may be charged with an illegal demonstration. The hearing was adjourned to April 24 for plea.

Mr M J C Tolken was the magistrate. Mr S Desai, instructed by E Moosa and Associates, appeared for Mr Fisher, Mr Isaacs and Mr Manie. Mr B Malgreelt appeared for Ms Simmers and Mr Rosenberg.



Cape Times 11/4/85  
**Mpetha admitted to hospital**

Staff Reporter

OSCAR MPETHA has been admitted to Grootes Schuur Hospital for treatment decided on last year, a spokesman for the Prisons Services confirmed yesterday.

Mpetha, 77, who had one leg amputated in 1983, is serving a five-year sentence in Pollsmoor Prison in terms of the Terrorism Act.

Mpetha was an executive member of the Food and Canning Workers' Union when imprisoned. He is regarded in trade union circles as the "father of Cape trade unionism".

A Prisons Service spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Aubrey van Vuuren, said in response to a telex from the Cape Times yesterday that the Prisons Service was aware that Mpetha was a medically certified diabetic with a physical disability.

"On admission to prison, as is the case with all prisoners, he was medically examined and, as is normal practice, placed under medical care.

"That is the case now, and he has been hospitalized as prescribed by doctors to receive treatment as visualized as early as August 25, 1985."

11/14/86. BUS DAY.

# Jack evades police

THE whereabouts of Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee spokesman Mkhusele Jack is unknown.

A spokesman for the United Democratic Front said that since police tried to find him on Tuesday night he had been "on the run".

Attempts to contact Jack over the past two days, to see whether the CBC would discuss the boycott with PE city councillor Harold Davidson and others, have proved unsuccessful.

A relative of Jack said he had not slept at home on Tuesday night when, he added, police visited the house three times.

On Wednesday, police briefly held

PE Black Civic Organisation acting president and UDF vice-president Henry Fazzie for questioning.

In an earlier interview this week, Jack indicated that the CBC was prepared to give "seminars" explaining why it believed boycotts were an effective strategy.

He said he would explain to them why the CBC was "not worried about loss of profits" when lives were being lost and how the boycott would apply pressure on government, by demonstrating that "politics and the economy are inter-related".

Jack added that he believed the boycott strategy would "snowball" around the country. — Sapa.

# State witness admits to altered tapes

WEEKLY MAIL

By TONY OOSTHUIZEN,  
Pietermaritzburg

A RECORDING of statements made by an alleged co-conspirator of the four treason trialists on trial in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court contains "portions where changes had been made" to the recording, including an "obvious interruption", the court was told this week.

An expert state witness, Colonel Leendert Jansen, made these admissions this week after defence advocate Clifford Mailer played a portion of the tape in court and alleged that the recording had been edited in "interesting" places.

The "Lesotho tape" referred to was allegedly found by South African raiders during a "pre-emptive strike" into Lesotho in 1982.

Mailer said it was interesting that the interruption in the recording came at a time when the alleged co-conspirator, answering questions by an interviewer, denied any knowledge of African National Congress meetings.

The transcript read:

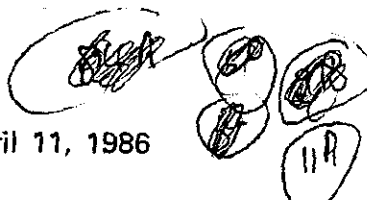
"(Question) So, because he said there were a number of meetings here. But that was mostly ANC business then?

"(Answer) No, I don't know anything about ANC meetings ... (break in recording or piece recorded over)."

The State alleges in the indictment that the tape contains statements by a person in Lesotho with whom the accused — Thozamile Gqweta, Sisa Njikelana, Samuel Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo — had conspired to overthrow the government through violence.

Jansen, a Doctor of Science, agreed that the recording had portions where changes had been made and said that he had "ill considered" his decision that the recording was original and had not been tampered with.

Earlier, during his evidence, Jansen said he had examined all the tapes being used as evidence in the trial and had found that "there had been no attempt to edit them".



# Man shot dead in petrol bomb raid

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A man was shot dead by police early yesterday morning as he fled with five others after a petrol bomb attack at a technical high school in Randfontein.

This was the second incident in less than 24 hours of petrol bombing on the West Rand.

## Surprised

On Wednesday night at 7.45pm, a petrol bomb was hurled at a disused building at the Golden Old Age Village, in Sivewright Street, Krugersdorp.

No-one was injured but the building was slightly damaged.

A police spokesman said the man was killed yesterday morning after he and his accomplices were surprised at the Jan Viljoen Technical High School, in Main Road, Randfontein.

"The men had thrown a petrol bomb at the high school's tuckshop when police arrived on the scene. The bomb exploded and caused slight damage to the building.

"When the men spotted the police, they fled. Police fired shots at the fleeing men and one man fell to the ground."

The spokesman said the men had thrown away at least eight petrol bombs as they ran away.

Police are investigating both incidents, but no arrests have been made.

● Pupils at two Randfontein schools burned text books they described as "inferior" and defied pleas by their school principals, Sapa's correspondent reports.

Eyewitnesses said pupils from Phahama and Abby Phokompe high schools burned the

books after they were issued by teachers.

● Two Northern Transvaal activists were yesterday admitted to the Pietersburg hospital with shrapnel wounds after petrol bomb and hand-grenade attacks on their homes, reports Thelma Tuch.

A hand grenade was thrown into the Mangweg township home of Joyce Mabudafasi, secretary of the UDF branch in the Northern Transvaal and a member of the National Education Crisis Committee.

She had wounds on her face, neck, arms and chest, and is under observation in the intensive care unit of the hospital, according to a doctor at the hospital.

In another incident in the same township, a hand grenade was hurled into the home of Mr Peter Mokaba, who was released three weeks ago from detention under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Mokaba was not at home, but his younger brother was slightly injured.

11 killed in  
faction fight

DURBAN — Eleven people have been killed in faction fighting in the Umbumbulu area in Natal.

Police said they found 11 bodies yesterday after clashes between the Makanja and Mpondo.

Police said weapons used in the clashes include firearms, knobkerries and knives. — Sapa.

976 TIME 11/4/86 (11) 1021

## Four ANC refugees on hold'

MASERU. — The four ANC political refugees most wanted by South Africa failed to leave Lesotho yesterday due to a breakdown in arrangements by Lesotho Government officials for their departure.

The four have been in detention at the Central Prison in Maseru since the beginning of March for interrogation. They were released to enable them to make preparations for their departure for Zambia.

The men arrived at Moshoeshoe 1 National Airport, near Maseru, accompanied by security police, but found that only one of them had been issued with a United Nations travel document. They all decided to remain in Lesotho pending the final processing of their travel documents. — Sapa

# UCT students disrupt educational meeting

Cape Times 11/4/86

By CLARE HARPER

ABOUT 50 University of Cape Town students yesterday disrupted an educational meeting on campus because they believed a KwaZulu educationist who was to address students was an Inkatha member.

The Students' Action Committee (SAC) — an umbrella body including students from the Azanian Students' Organization, the Azanian Students' Movement, and Students' of Young Azania — yesterday issued a statement saying that "no Inkatha member would be allowed to speak on the campus".

A spokesperson said the SAC would not allow "collaborators of the system to legitimize the kind of criminal activities that they (Inkatha) embark upon".

The students had demanded that the educationist "denounce the atrocities of Inkatha and Gatsha Buthelezi".

The spokesperson said the educationist had done as the students requested, but that the students were still dissatisfied with his answers.

The acting head of the department of education at UCT, Professor Doug Young, yesterday said the educationist had been invited to answer any questions students may have had on education in KwaZulu, as small groups of students annually visited KwaZulu schools as part of their

teaching practice.

"To my knowledge he is not a member of Inkatha — he is here to be interviewed in regard to his PhD application and to clarify matters about KwaZulu," Professor Young said.

"If he was a member of Inkatha, I would never have invited him. I would in no way support the presence of Inkatha people on campus and I abhor the methods employed by Inkatha — and especially their alleged violent involvement in the recent NECC (National Education Conference Crisis) meeting in Durban."

He said, however, that visitors to the UCT campus had a right to be heard fully.

"They should not be judged in advance of speaking. I stand by the university's commitment to academic freedom."

Professor Young said a lot of pressure had been put on the educationist by the student group.

The SAC spokesperson admitted to a heavy-handed questioning of the educationist "because students regard Inkatha very seriously, especially in the light of the attack on the Durban education conference".

Another meeting to discuss education in KwaZulu is scheduled for today.

The SAC spokesperson said the committee would seek more information on the educationist before taking further action.

## NF hits 'faceless boycotts'

THE National Forum has hit out at the imposition of consumer boycotts by "faceless committees" without prior consultation.

This has resulted in hardships "on our people by these elements who enforce the boycott in an undemocratic manner", the NF said in a resolution adopted at its recent annual conference in Durban.

"The NF has subsequently decided to embark on a consumer boycott campaign only after proper consultation and full and free discussion with members of the community has taken place, thereby eliminating the emergence of faceless committees who have no mandate

from the community," said NF convenor and Azanian People's Organisation president Saths Cooper.

"The consumer boycott, if effectively and selectively used, is a vital weapon in the hands of the oppressed and exploited to mobilise resistance against a vicious and exploitative regime."

Cooper said the NF's call for appropriate action taken to mark May Day and the 10th anniversary of the 1976 uprisings should not be equated with a call for a boycott or stayaways.

"What we have called for is the withdrawal of support for the system in the education, labour and sports spheres through consumer action."



# Top UDF man claims police assaults during questioning

DURBAN — The vice-chairman of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Billy Nair, told a Durban magistrate yesterday that a member of the South African Police force struck him repeatedly across the head when he refused to answer questions.

Warrant Officer Johannes van der Walt (55) and Sergeant Gary van Sluys (25), appearing before Mr J Jacobsz, pleaded not guilty to a charge of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

## ROUTINE EXAMINATION

The State alleges that on August 23 last year Mr Nair was detained in terms of the Internal Security Act and taken to Durban's police headquarters, C R Swart Square. From there he was taken to the Brighton Beach police station for a few days.

On August 26, Mr Nair was given a routine examination by the district surgeon and on September 3 he was returned to C R Swart Square for questioning.

It is alleged Warrant Officer van der Walt struck Mr Nair on the left side of the face. Sergeant van Sluys is alleged to have prodded Mr Nair in the side

with his fingers.

The court was told Mr Nair suffered bruises and a ruptured eardrum as a result of the assault.

Mr Nair claimed the warrant officer had been extremely insulting and abusive. Warrant Officer van der Walt accused him of being responsible for the violence throughout the country, the court heard.

"He used every conceivable insult as he told me I was at the helm of what was happening in the country," said Mr Nair.

"He said it was obvious I had not learnt my lesson and should have been hanged instead of being sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment."

Mr Nair claimed that after about an hour of questioning, Warrant Officer van der Walt struck him three or four times across the face.

"Sergeant van Sluys used four fingers to pierce me in the ribs," said Mr Nair. He had shouted to the policemen: "You might as well kill me."

"They said if I didn't co-operate, I would get a worse thrashing," said Mr Nair.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

SAPA  
11/4/85  
N/A

# UDF homes bombed

THE homes of two leading United Democratic Front (UDF) activists in Lebowa were bombed by alleged right-wing elements early yesterday morning. Two people were seriously injured.

The two who were injured are Mrs Joyce Mabhudafase, secretary of the Northern Transvaal branch of the UDF and Mr Ernest Mokaba, younger brother of UDF member, Mr Peter Mokaba. The Mabhudafase and Mokaba homes were attacked at about 2

By SELLO  
RABOTHATA

am. They are both in Mankweng township, near the University of the North (Turffloop).

A spokesman for the Lebowa Police, Colonel P Moloto, yesterday said the incident had not been reported to the police. "We only learnt of it when inquiries were made at our offices and we have since sent policemen to go and investigate," he said.

Mrs Mabhudafase was yesterday described as

being in a critical condition at the Pietersburg Hospital. Mr Mokaba was said to be seriously injured. Damage to the two houses was estimated at about R10 000.

The Northern Transvaal UDF executive committee yesterday condemned the attacks of "fellow comrades". In a statement to the *Sowetan* the committee said: "We view this as part of the calculated and systematic assassination and elimination of activists by the apartheid

forces. **SOWETAN**  
11/4/86

"Such acts are increasing arguments against the UDF's principle of non-violence. The police's failure to investigate raises suspicion because in the afternoon a white Cortina car with passengers was seen driving slowly and passed the two houses attacked and in one instance the Lebowa Police escorted the car. This gives a logical connection and inference to their involvement in such acts."

# The spectre of the r

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**There is at least one matter on which the South African government and its deadliest foe, the South African Communist Party, are altogether in agreement: that the SACP has become increasingly influential and increasingly dangerous to the status quo. The question for the rest of us is whether they're right. PATRICK LAURENCE reports**



Sometimes it's the SA Communist Party flag, sometimes it's the Soviet Union flag. Either way, the red banner has — since

THE hoisting of the red flag at funerals of black people killed in the township rebellion poses the question once again of the influence of the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union over the African National Congress.

When the flags of the SACP and the Soviet Union were raised at the funeral in Cradock last July of Matthew Goniwe and his three slain comrades, they were seen in some quarters as proof of the government view that communism is the driving force behind both the ANC and the rebellion sweeping across the country.

Not long afterwards President PW Botha spoke of the ANC's "enslavement to the South African Communist Party and its economic objectives". At about the same time his Law and Order Minister, Louis Le Grange, talked of a "communist assault" orchestrated by the SACP-ANC alliance, adding: "The head office of the alliance is in London under direct instructions from Moscow."

So neatly did the spectre of the red flags fit the official assertion that communists are behind black discontent that some observers even speculated that the flags had been planted at the funeral by Security Police or their agents in a bid to discredit radical black leaders.

But eight young men were subsequently charged under the Internal Security Act for raising the flags at Cradock. Since then red flags have appeared at several subsequent funerals.

The appearance of the red flags alongside ANC flags and banners is *prima facie* evidence of some support for communism in the black population. But whether that support is pervasive is another

question. Nor is it *per se* proof that the SACP is the dominant party in the tripartite alliance between it, the ANC and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

There is no evidence that the flags were raised at the behest of the underground and, as far as is known, largely exiled SACP, rather than a spontaneous action by young black men acting on their own initiative. The pending trial of the eight Cradock men may provide more information.

Dr Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand, who is working on a study of the SACP, thought it more likely to be a spontaneous decision. The SACP is a small vanguard party which is not committed to mass recruitment in South Africa, he said in an interview. It tends rather to select its recruits from the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the fighting arm of the ANC, he added.

"I suspect it was local enthusiasm," Lodge said of the Cradock incident. "The red flag is a potent

symbol of rebellion ... an eloquent expression of defiance."

Just as the ANC flag has been hoisted at funerals as visible testimony of the people's appreciation of its premier role in the struggle against apartheid, so the SACP flag has been raised as a reminder that the SACP — and, with it, the Soviet Union — is part of the alliance seeking the overthrow of the existing order in South Africa.

A top Security Police officer, however, took a different view. He agreed that the red flag was raised to show that the SACP is part of the ANC alliance but he doubted whether it was a spontaneous action. "Very little happens that is spontaneous," he said.

But whatever the precise details of the motivation for raising the red flag, there is little doubt that the SACP is an influential, though not necessarily dominant, force in the "liberation struggle".

The SACP is, however, largely a secret organisation, whose leadership, let alone rank-

and-file members, is largely unknown. It is thus difficult and even hazardous to appraise its role, except in the most general terms.

It helped to forge Umkhonto we Sizwe in the early 1960s when the decision to launch "armed struggle" was first taken. Since then it has endured in exile and, perhaps clandestinely in South Africa, to become a dynamic component of the ANC-centred alliance.

Of the 30 members elected to the ANC national executive in Kabwe, Zambia, last year, Lodge estimated that nearly half are SACP members. The Security Police officer calculated that nearly two-thirds were communists.

One of the communist members of the executive is Joe Slovo, who is thought to have been recently elected chairman of the CP central committee.

Even if Lodge's figure is too high — he details his reasoning meticulously — the SACP is undoubtedly a major factor in the ANC alliance. The revolts by Africanists against "leftist domination" of the ANC — the first led by Robert

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## THE VIEW FROM ABROAD: CONDITIONS HAVE PROBABLY NEVER FAVOURED THE PARTY MORE

By HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

IN mid-1984, a sticker proclaiming South African Communist Party support for the campaign against the tricameral parliament appeared in a toilet at Wits University.

Some incredulous opponent of the new constitution scrawled across it: "Right wing smear!"

He obviously thought the sticker was a conservative attempt to portray the campaign against the new constitution as a red plot.

But a subsequent edition of the SACP's quarterly journal, the African Communist, revealed the sticker was, indeed, the real thing.

Presumably, it had been placed by a member of this outlawed party, which has now survived in some form for 33 years — underground inside the country and in exile.

The incident illustrates at least two things: that the party had become something of a stranger to the public mind, and that the scrawler was, ironically, to some extent, also a victim of the government's xenophobic anti-communism.

Now, both these patterns seem to be changing. The Communist Party has again raised its profile; it is back in the news; and conditions have probably never been more favourable for its growth.

There are convincing indications that the recent increase in the SACP's profile is partly the result of a conscious decision taken at its last congress, held in London in late 1984.

Indications are that the SACP concluded the best way for it to strengthen the African National Congress alliance was to concentrate more of its forces on building its own strength as the SACP. This would relate to its view that the organisation of workers must be strengthened in order to

"IT IS perhaps difficult for white South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accept communists as their friends ... For many decades communists were the only political group which was prepared to eat with us, talk with us, live with us and work with us. They were the only political group which was prepared to work with

the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism. They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as communists ..."

NELSON MANDELA (Speech at the Rivonia Trial, June 1964)

ensure the leading role of the working class in the "national liberation struggle".

Its flag, a hammer and sickle on a red background, is now appearing inside the country with increased frequency alongside the black, green and gold of its ally, the ANC. Its pamphlets have begun to appear again fairly regularly and apparently in quite large numbers.

And it has started producing a long quarterly agitational pamphlet, called "U-nsebenzi" (The Worker), which includes instruction on both political issues and underground work.

The rise in black worker militancy in recent years, in which the SACP has no doubt played some role, has created conditions favouring the party's growth.

Government fulmination against communists and the SACP has, ironically, long served to bolster its image among the aggrieved — and never more so than now.

Why now?

There are probably two main reasons: One, because never before has there been so broad a consensus among militants that post-apartheid society must include far-reaching economic restructuring — a view pioneered by the SACP and its legal forerunner, until its

banning in 1950, of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA);

Two, because the experience of the past two years of revolt has shown the need for highly disciplined organisation. And it is a reasonable observation that there is probably no more experienced and professional a practitioner of the politics of conspiracy in South Africa today than the SACP.

Observers believe the SACP will take care to ensure that the raising of its profile as an autonomous entity does not in any way disturb the fabric of its formal alliance with the ANC, an alliance in which the ANC is the acknowledged senior partner.

Its overlap with the ANC is substantial, and has been so for at least the past 30 years.

This was amply illustrated by Moses Mabhida, SACP general secretary, who was buried in Maputo at the weekend. Besides being a leader of the SACP, he also sat on the national executives of the ANC and the SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

However, the claim that about half the members of the 30-person ANC national executive committee are SACP members, like the claim that the SACP controls the ANC, remains a matter of

contentious conjecture rather than ascertainable fact.

As a self-conscious "national liberation movement", the ANC places great stress on what it sees as the need that it comprise a wide range of ideological emphases united around its two main thrusts, the Freedom Charter and its Strategy and Tactics. The ANC spectrum embraces militant liberals, variegated social democrats, radical socialists and communists — and a few Trotskyites still manage to survive too.

The SACP is probably the most powerful single emphasis within this "national liberation alliance", though there is no convincing indication it constitutes a majority capable of dominating the others — or that it would want (even in the long term) to disrupt a broadly-based "united front" approach which tolerates these differences in emphasis.

Why? Because the SACP appears to be a committed follower of a particular Leninist tradition which holds that a communist party must as far as possible incur the involvement of not only the working class but other strata as well. Forty years after coming to power, a number of East European communist parties still follow the united front approach.

Although working to strengthen the ANC-led alliance, the Communist Party retains its organisational and ideological autonomy within the alliance as (so the terminology has it) the "revolutionary political vanguard party of the working class". It is understood to have its own officials and finances, its own cells and publications, and its own methods of communications.

As a standard "vanguard" party, the SACP selects its membership after a period of probation on the basis of how it assesses candidates'

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IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

# red funeral flags



— since July last year — become a commonplace sight at political funerals across the country.

Pictures by Gili de Villeg (Afrapix), Bruce Gillespie and Trevor Samson (AFP)

Sobukwe in 1958-59 and the second by Temnyson Makiwane in 1975 — is indirect evidence of the important role of communists in the ANC alliance.

Lodge, however, warned against equating the SACP influence with the number of its representatives on the ANC national executive.

Many communists are members of both the SACP and the ANC, meaning, presumably, that they would have to take account of ANC views and sentiments *per se*, even where these are in conflict with SACP policy. Further, some of the key positions in the national executive are held by non-communists. The ANC president, Oliver Tambo, is the pre-eminent example. Tambo, who was once a candidate for the Anglican ministry, was acknowledged as a non-communist by the Security Police officer interviewed by Weekly Mail.

Craig Williamson, the former Security Police officer who penetrated the ANC while purporting to be a radical, spoke with respect for the political skills of the SACP. He labelled its strategic thinking "most sophisticated" and "years

ahead" of that of the established parties.

Its power within the ANC-alliance was demonstrated by its ability to recruit men from Umkhonto we Sizwe and its control over the most successful of the MK units, the Special Operations unit, Williamson said.

Its "game plan" was not to assert itself against the non-communists but to support the ANC in the quest for a nonracial South Africa based on the Freedom Charter while building up a talented élite of dedicated communists ready to press on to the second stage of the revolution — the creation of a socialist society.

The jailed Nelson Mandela could, of course, tip the ideological balance one way or another. Mandela declared himself forthrightly on the matter at his trial more than 20 years ago.

"It is true that there has often been close co-operation between the ANC and the Communist Party," he said.

"But co-operation is merely proof of a common goal — in this case the removal of white

supremacy — and is not proof of a complete community of interests.

"The history of the world is full of similar examples. Perhaps the most striking illustration is to be found in the co-operation between Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union in the fight against Hitler."

Mandela went on to express admiration for "bourgeois" democracy, including specifically the British parliament and the American congress.

There is no evidence that Mandela has radically changed his stance and his influence appears to be consistent with that of Tambo's, whom Lodge described as a "man of consensus rather than extremes".

Against that, however, it must be conceded that the popular political culture of the townships abounds with strong socialist sentiments, manifest by condemnations of US imperialism and the chanting "vivas" for Slovo.

It is interesting to recall that before the old legal Communist Party of South Africa was banned in

1950, it resolved to relate the "struggle against racial discrimination to the struggle against capitalism by showing that the colour bar is primarily a technique of exploitation for private profit".

Today the equation between apartheid and capitalism is an axiom in the ideology of radical organisations from the United Democratic Front to the rival Azanian People's Organisation.

But the antipathy to capitalism in the townships is not so much the result of SACP propaganda as the product of South Africa's policy of "racial capitalism", in which nearly all the benefits of capitalism accrued to white capitalists and in which, until recently, aspirant black capitalists were largely hamstrung (except in the "homelands").

But the large and growing socialist constituency provides a potentially fertile area for SACP recruitment, should the SACP abandon its elite vanguard role and seek to become a mass-based party.



Joe Slovo

revolutionary in the current South African context.

From this, one can deduce the SACP would insist that after the envisaged seizure of state power by the ANC-led alliance, a wholly new set of national political institutions reflecting, and capable of protecting, working class political authority must be put in place.

Secondly, the party would insist that the struggle to achieve the socialism it envisages cannot be postponed to some date after the seizure of state power. Instead, its view would be that the forces for socialism must be developed now, within the struggle for what is termed "national liberation".

In 1950, the Communist Party of South Africa (or CPUSA), the legal predecessor of the SACP, became the first of what is now a long list of organisations to be outlawed under apartheid rule.

But a number of communists now went all out to strengthen the ANC as the "national liberation movement". In the ensuing 10 years — which embraced the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People, and which culminated in the banning of the ANC in 1960 — the bonds between communists and the ANC were firmly established.

By 1953, a new, clandestine party, the South African Communist Party (or SACP) had been established and its members operated both underground and through legal organisations and institutions.

In 1961, the SACP was an important partner with the ANC in the decision to adopt armed struggle and form Umkhonto we Sizwe.

At the ANC consultative conference at Morogoro in Tanzania in 1969, the SACP and the ANC reached a formal alliance and several leading communists have, since then, been elected to important positions in the ANC.

## SLOVO: PRETORIA'S FAVOURITE BOGEYMAN

By HOWARD BARRELL

JOE SLOVO, it is said, is quietly upset at being accused by South African government supporters of being a KGB colonel with his own country dacha somewhere out in the wilds of the Soviet Union.

He is said to feel his accusers should have done him the justice of taking the absurdity further by charging he is at least a KGB general.

An affable and humorous man, Slovo is, in real life, the very antithesis of the mammoth political ghouls striding the shadows of South African politics that government propaganda portrays him as.

He is popular within the ANC external mission and, to judge from the chants in his honour at black political meetings inside the country, he has similar popularity as a symbol among many other black people.

Although government estimates of his importance in the alliance between the African National Congress, South African Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions appear excessive, there is no doubt he carries some weight.

At the last congress of the South African Communist Party — held in London in late 1984 — he is widely believed finally to have achieved the position that government officials have so incorrectly and for so long said he occupied. That is, chairman of the Communist Party — the successor to Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

His colleagues in the ANC say he takes a very dim view of the Stalin era, with its personality cults and bloody purges, believing it seriously set back the socialist cause. They add that, although he is a senior official in a party whose organisational pillar is discipline, he has a horror of "apparatchiks" and aggressively conformist

political behaviour.

He is also said to be a strong supporter of Soviet Communist Party general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to modernise and regenerate socialism in that country.

Slovo, whose father was a van driver, managed to get to university because as a World War II ex-serviceman he could get a bursary. He then studied law at Wits University and, after qualifying, was involved in the defence teams in a number of political trials.

A founder member of the Congress of Democrats, he represented it on the national consultative committee of the Congress Alliance. After being banned in 1954, Slovo continued his political work clandestinely. He was subsequently one of the accused in the marathon Treason Trial which started in 1956.

During the State of Emergency in 1960, he was detained for four months and, in 1963, he was instructed to join the external missions of the African National Congress and SACP.

He became one of the key figures in the ANC operational machinery, the Revolutionary Council, set up after the 1969 ANC national consultative conference in Morogoro, Tanzania. His wife, Ruth First, was assassinated in a parcel bomb explosion in Maputo, for which the ANC blamed South African agents, in 1982.

As far as can be ascertained, Slovo is currently chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. This makes him number three in the ANC military hierarchy, below Umkhonto commander Joe Modise and deputy commander/political commissar Chris Hans.

At the ANC national consultative conference held in Kabwe in Zambia in June last year, Slovo became the first and only white to be elected to the ANC national executive committee.

# An angry voice from

AMBASSADE DER NEDERLANDEN

POLITIEKE AFDELING  
&  
ECONOMISCHE AFDELING

WEEKLY MAIL  
11/4/88



De Jonge at the door ... at 6.30 am every morning the police shout out: 'Klaas, Klaas, are you awake?'

IN his first interview from his hide-out in the Dutch Embassy, Pretoria, fugitive Klaas de Jonge, charged under the Internal Security Act with terrorism, claimed to Weekly Mail: "It is the South African government which is the terrorist. Not I."

And, he added, in an exclusive interview from the embassy's premises in the Nedbank building, he did not believe he would get a fair trial in South Africa — although there would be a presence of one.

Because of these views he has refused to appear in court with his former wife Helene Passtoors, whose treason trial is scheduled to start in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Monday. And he may not be tried in absentia. He would have to face his charges and plead, and if found guilty would face a life sentence, or even death.

"I don't think South Africa's legal system is a democratic one. It defends the racist regime and the privileges of the group in power. I don't think the South African legal system has the right to try anybody, because it is the legal system linked to one group," De Jonge said.

The interview took place at the end of last year, when De Jonge had already spent several months in hiding from the police whom he eluded in July last year to seek refuge in the Dutch Embassy.

De Jonge, an anthropologist-sociologist-demographer, and Passtoors were arrested in June. After taking refuge in the embassy he was dragged out by police, who violated the embassy's diplomatic immunity. He was handed back only after strong representations to the South African government.

Weekly Mail had asked De Jonge for his views on terrorism, South African laws and public and press reaction to his case. But he also spoke — in fluent English — of how he, a Dutchman, became interested in South Africa, how he plotted to escape from the police because of their "arrogance" and how he spent his days in the embassy.

He was not a 'hero, he said. But neither was he a terrorist — and this image irritated him.

"Who is the South African government to talk about violence? They use it regularly. In the Emergency we saw people killed, we see torture institutionalised in prisons. So who is violent, who are the terrorists?"

South Africa, he said, had the right

## DE JONGE: FIRST SA INTERVIEW

If the South African police had their way, the smiling man at right would be in the dock on Monday, alongside his ex-wife. Klaas De Jonge, who slipped out of police clutches last year to take refuge in the Dutch embassy in Pretoria, has decided not to defend charges under the Internal Security Act. His ex-wife, Helene Passtoors, will stand trial on her own.

No South African newspaper has gained access to De Jonge before. Here we present for the first time the opinions — and the pictures — of the man who has embarrassed the governments of two countries.

Interviewed by PAT SIDLEY



to bring him to court — from their point of view. But that did not mean he had to accept it.

"I think the whole thing has been prejudged already, by the way the press was manipulated, and I don't feel much for participating in a disorted legal system," he said.

He said he was reluctant to be charged with "non-political" crimes. He had been held under the security laws and considered himself a political prisoner.

"Section 29 (of the Internal Security Act under which he was detained) is not a law of a law-abiding country. It is an apartheid law which defends that system. These laws are seen as anti-democratic and a flagrant violation of the purpose and principles of the Charter for Human Rights. I have a very critical view of your laws," he

said. To him, the South African government was a terrorist organisation.

"I get fed up with the whole discussion about violence and I don't think it's useful ... I say this government is violent.

"I don't think in international discussions they accentuate enough the whole history of how liberation movements were forced to resort to a certain limited form of violence, but directed towards strategic aims and military objects ... not innocent people.

"But you have to ask yourself, who are the innocent people here? I read that six out of 10 of you (South Africans) have guns ... I don't think your judges are innocent defending this racist regime and I don't think the

farmers at the borders are innocent with their territorial army organisations.

"So not all civilians here are innocent and ... aren't you also voting for the system partly?"

"They tell me a lot of soldiers don't want to fight, but it is their responsibility if they join the army. They are part of the apartheid structure. They are defending it and fighting for it, not only inside South Africa, but also outside South Africa. So even if they are against it themselves, they are still part of the whole system."

Despite this argument, he quotes the ANC's Oliver Tambo saying the Pretoria car bomb blast, which killed 19 people, was a mistake.

Initial press reports about De Jonge, attributed only to "security sources", had linked him and Passtoors to the bombing. But no reference to this incident appears in the 48-page indictment.

De Jonge quoted this as one of the many occasions where, he claimed, public opinion was manipulated through the press, both in South Africa and in Holland.

"They said I had links with the PLO, the KGB and IRA and that everybody was looking for me in different countries. It's rubbish," he said.

"I know the function the writing has. It mobilises a lot of sentiment against the total onslaught that I am supposed to be part of.

"It's all communist-oriented propaganda — people from outside killing innocent people inside, blacks, women, children, and now you have some of these stupid Dutchmen doing this too," he said, launching into an attack on the Dutch press.

"Here in South Africa I don't mind (a bad press) too much, because if you even criticise, they think you are a communist, and very soon after you are a terrorist. I was much more disappointed at the role of the press in Holland," De Jonge said.

## 'I WANTED TO SHOW THEM THEY WERE NOT AS GOOD AS THEY THOUGHT'

KLAAS DE JONGE decided to escape from the Security Police and take refuge in the Dutch Embassy because of "the arrogance of the South African Police".

"I hated it," he told Weekly Mail. "They were so clever. I was angry with them for several reasons. I wanted to show them they were not as good as they thought they were."

The police had told him that Helene Passtoors, his former wife, had been detained before this had actually taken place — "and I worried like hell."

They had also told him that Passtoors' daughter, Brigitte, was also in prison and that she had tried to commit suicide.

Passtoors was detained about three days after De Jonge, after she had put her daughter on a plane bound for Zimbabwe.

Angered by the police, he decided to escape to the embassy. He took police

to the Nedbank building, saying he wanted to show them something on the second floor. He knew the embassy entrance was on the first floor.

"I didn't know if it would succeed or not. But I gave myself a fair chance. I was very social with the people around me — two Security Policemen and a detective from Johannesburg.

"I was very tense when we got here (the embassy). In front of the building they took a photograph, and I saw the blue shield of the Dutch embassy. I was so damned afraid they would see it. Then we went inside the entrance and they wanted to wait for the lifts. I saw at the right side "Dutch Embassy" and at the left side a second shield.

"I said to them: 'Oh, gee, no, let's go on and not wait. It's the second floor so we can take the staircase.' We went up and at the beginning of the first floor I started running. I heard them screaming."

He expected the policemen might shoot, but they had not realised they were at the Dutch Embassy.

"I was in before they realised what was happening," De Jonge said.

One policeman tackled him — he was in leg irons — and started dragging him out. De Jonge shouted: "Help me. I'm a political prisoner. Klaas de Jonge."

An embassy official appeared, but De Jonge was taken back to prison in Johannesburg. Only after protests from the Dutch government was he returned to the embassy.

"My point was to tell everybody that I was in prison and that I was a political prisoner and that the police were not clever enough to see what I was doing. That was tremendously important for me.

"I was amused at the rumpus I caused. But sometimes it made me angry to read some of the bullshit

stories about me."

He knew nothing about the embassy's protests. Police simply told him he was to be handed back there.

A room had been fixed up for him and he felt welcome there, he said.

De Jonge said he believed the behaviour of the Dutch government had been correct.

"The moment they realised the police had taken me away, they asked me back and they got me back, and afterwards they decided not to hand me over.

"The members of the embassy staff were quite understanding in the sense that even if they didn't quite agree with my views, they were sympathetic towards me."

But life in the embassy has been something of a trial, with the police task force outside waking him up at odd hours and the fact that he could not move outside freely and



# inside the Embassy



Barbed wire at the window: escape from one prison cell to another

Instant kitchen: De Jonge's lawyer provided the cooker

KLAAS de Jonge's path to detention in a South African prison and refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria began in Mozambique when he witnessed the aftermath of the SADF raid on Matola.

Asked how he, a Dutchman, came to be involved in South Africa, he said: "I was confronted with the South African apartheid regime in Mozambique. I came 10 days after the Matola attack.

"I saw what the MNR did in the villages. I met people who were tortured. That makes me a foreigner?"

"I'm of the generation of the sixties. We demonstrated about Vietnam. I read about the apartheid system and I think it's really one of the worst you can imagine — legalising this difference built on race.

"I was always against it — but in Mozambique I got to know it better. I was working there and I saw how your country (South Africa) destabilised at my work; South Africans killed Ruth First whom I held in very high esteem. She worked at the university at the institute where I worked.

"I met people who came through Mozambique ... South African refugees who were tortured.

"I read more than I had before and got so fed up with this (South African) government and its destabilising actions that I thought if there was a possibility to do something about it, I would not say no.

"I wanted to do something. If you believe in things you can't always stay on the periphery, always studying and analysing it. At a certain moment, you have no other choice. I think I had no other choice than to do something I believed in."

De Jonge likens this interest in a "foreign country" to the reasons

## The path from Matola to Pretoria

people from all over the world went off to fight in the Spanish Civil War.

"It was not because they were pro-Spanish culture or anything or because they wanted to spend time in Spain, but because they thought in 1937 that their (Spanish) fascism was attacking all kinds of beliefs they stood for, and they felt concerned for what could happen in their own country as it did afterwards — in France, Germany, everywhere.

"For the same reasons, I hate racism. I hate it in Holland, I see it there too and I attack it there too. And I attack it here too.

"It is not only racism, but the whole system of exploitation: of cheap labour and everything else concerned. It's more than only a battle against racism. It's a battle against the whole exploitative system."

De Jonge came from a "social democratic kind of family". He hardly knew his real father, but his stepfather was a painter and a teacher; his mother was an artist.

He had what he describes as a "normal schooling" which he hated and only a spell in the army made him believe university would not be so bad.

He studied sociology there during the 1960's and developed a political consciousness and — through meetings — an interest in the continent.

He did not belong to any political groups, although he participated in the political life of the times. And despite newspaper claims to the contrary, he was not an associate of the French student leader Danny Cohn-Bendit.

He took a job at the African Studies Centre in Leiden and later travelled to Africa. He came to Mozambique after meeting his wife, Helene Passtoors, a linguist specialising in Bantu languages who was about to take a job at the university in Maputo.

"I got very involved very quickly with what was going on in Mozambique. I was very impressed with the university centre where Ruth First worked and with the way they worked."

Distressed at the behaviour of the Mozambique government in signing the Nkomati Accord and the break-up of his marriage, he decided to go to Zimbabwe.

He was given a rude reminder of his feelings about South Africa. The MNR attacked four cars along the Mozambique/Swaziland road an hour after he and his eldest son had driven along it. "Twelve people were killed, one of them a girlfriend of my son," he said.

In Zimbabwe, he taught at an English high school.

De Jonge will not discuss the period of time dealt with in the state's charges against him. However, he had applied for, and been granted a job at the University of Bophuthatswana. He was on his way out of South Africa when he was arrested by Security Police and detained on suspicion of setting up arms caches for the ANC.

His sons, aged 18 and 15, are both in Holland. His parents live in retirement in Austria. They have, he says, reacted very well to his situation. They were very supportive although "they probably did not understand all that was going on".

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Later, he baldly stated that blacks the state  
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WEEKLY MAIL 11/18/86 11A

## Broeders do want ANC talks

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE secret Afrikaner Broederbond is interested in talking to the outlawed African National Congress, despite pro forma denials by the AB chairman, Professor JP de Lange.

Weekly Mail can confirm Lusaka-based reports that the ANC was approached by an emissary acting for the Broederbond on the question of discussions. Weekly Mail knows the identity of the emissary but agreed not to disclose his name.

"Both sides are very eager to talk," he said. "They want to search to see if they have anything in common which could lead to a negotiated settlement."

But, he added, there was no prospect of formal discussions in the immediate future.

One problem for the Broederbond is that many top Broeders are members of the government and President PW Botha has ruled that there can be no discussions with the ANC while it remains committed to armed struggle and retains its ties with the

● To PAGE 2

## Broeders do want talks

● From PAGE 1

South African Communist Party.

One way round the obstacle would be for the AB to send a Broeder in the guise of, say, an academic, who could then report back informally to his Broeders.

According to Gerrit Oliver in his book "Praat met die ANC", four Afrikaner academics, among them De Lange, planned to see the ANC last year but were dissuaded from doing so by Botha.

But that was last year. The exigencies of the situation may have persuaded them to go ahead now.

Despite its obscurantist image, the AB is a modernising, adaptive force. Its role is to monitor the political situation closely in order to appraise how best to ensure the survival of Afrikanerdom. Clearly the ANC is a major component in the present crisis. Equally clearly its views are pertinent to the Broeders' appraisals.

# Soweto groups called on to protect residents

By Rich Mkhondo

Soweto's Consumer Boycott Committee and the United Democratic Front have called on all student, political and civic organisations to help protect residents against people who "rob other black people in the name of the struggle".

The organisations have called an "all-important mass meeting" at the Regina Mundi Church tomorrow at noon.

UDF acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said: "The meeting will address the problems and conflict in our townships caused by people taking advantage of the volatile situation.

"It will ensure that the oppressive machinery does not di-

vide the people of Soweto but that some type of co-ordination in the activities of the people is ensured."

A spokesman of the Consumer Boycott Committee, Mr Jabu Ngwenya, said "notorious elements" were taking advantage of the escalation of violence in the townships and robbing people of goods, saying they would be "used for the struggle of a black man".

"The black community is facing problems. Cars and buses are stoned, stolen and burnt. Sheebeners and business people are harassed. Taxis are hijacked and stoned.

"These things and many more are done in the name of the struggle by our enemies and people taking advantage of the

situation

"They want to break our unity and put a bad name on the struggle. Our unity is still our powerful weapon and the enemy is afraid of it."

"Our demands will only be met when we are united. Now let us unite against those who divide us."

According to the organisers, tomorrow's open meeting will have no political or ideological affiliations.

Among the speakers, will be business people, sheebeners, taximen, representatives of the UDF, the Soweto Students' Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and "someone representing ordinary Soweto residents".

ISA  
12/4/86



Wife's bid  
to stop  
police  
assaults

April 1986

An application seeking to restrain Ciskei police from assaulting detained Fort Hare University lecturer, the Rev Makhenkesi Arnold Stofile, will be heard in the East London Supreme Court today.

Mr Stofile, general secretary of the United Democratic Front's border region, was recently mentioned by New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, as having been instrumental in the cancellation of last year's All Blacks tour to South Africa.

Mr Stofile travelled to New Zealand last year to give evidence in a Supreme Court hearing in which an interdict was obtained against the tour taking place as it would breach the New Zealand Rugby Football Union's constitution.

**INDEFINITE**

Ciskei police have confirmed Mr Stofile was detained on March 12 under section 26 of the Ciskei Security Act. Security Police spokesman Lieutenant Morris Mavuso Ngwendu said he was not obliged to give reasons for the detention, although he confirmed the lecturer could be held "for an indefinite period".

The interdict filed by Mr Stofile's wife, Mrs Nambita Stofile, urges police to refrain from "unlawfully assaulting her husband in detention, interrogating him in an unlawful manner or exerting unlawful pressures to influence him to make a statement incriminating himself".

In affidavits submitted to the Supreme Court last week, three former detainees held with Mr Stofile claimed he had been tortured by police.

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

Mtshali, 9, Sindisile Mtshali, 7, Lindelilwa Zwane, 9, Lynette Mtshali, 10, Freda Mkhize, 12, and Artwell Phothwane, 9.

A Pretoria police spokesman said there had been "police action" in Lamontville, but he was unable to confirm the 13-year-old's death. He said that according to his report, a pupil had been slightly wounded and taken into custody.

Lamontville Education Crisis Committee co-ordinator Florence Mkhize said pupils had expressed legitimate grievances to principal Langa about non-delivery of stationery.

"They were not boycotting classes," she said.

Meanwhile, pupils at other Lamontville schools have been staying away after allegedly being warned by cops that action would be taken against them if they entered the school premises.

A Durban police spokesman said schools had been closed until April 15, but this could not be confirmed by the DET.

● Lamontville High School students last week alleged they were turned away from school at gunpoint by cops, who told them the DET had suspended classes until April 11. DET deputy director Steve Buys confirmed this week classes at the school had been suspended until April 11.

# Court stops death threats

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

A DURBAN judge this week granted a National Education Crisis Committee member's father an urgent interdict against two senior Inkatha members.

Judge Nienaber granted applicants James Tombela and Moses Mthembu of KwaMashu an interdict restraining KwaMashu Councillor BW Jwara and former KwaZulu MP Gobisizwe Bhengu from assaulting and threatening them and their families.

Jwara and Bhengu are prominent Inkatha leaders. They were also restrained from damaging the applicants' homes.

In his affidavit, Ntombela - father of Durban NECC member Simon Ntombela - said last week Bhengu, Jwara and two others known to him as Mbutho and Bhengu - both C Section block chairmen - came to his house.

"He said he had heard that my other son, Bongani, 22, intended to burn down KwaZulu government buildings and Bhengu's home in KwaMashu," read the affidavit.

Jwara threatened if any building or vehicle was burnt in KwaMashu, he would hold the Ntombela family responsible.

He would surround their house, bomb it and shoot whoever tried to escape.

Bhengu said they had guns and ammunition.

They then went to Ntombela's neighbour, a Mr Mthembu, accompanied by 10 armed men. Jwara accused Mthembu's 12-year-old son Martin of attacking homes. They repeated the threat made to Ntombela.

The local police said they could do nothing, said Ntombela.

11A  
13/4/81

Button up with ....



**DARWOOD**  
THE TROUSER WITH  
THE NAME  
ON THE BUTTON

# LP member slain in mafia-type attack

By BOETI ESHAK

THE "mafia-type" killing of a member of the Labour Party has been linked to a campaign he launched to focus public attention on alleged housing irregularities.

Mr Frans Danster, 28, was lured out of his home in Eden Park, Alberton, on Sunday night, according to family members.

As he got to an enclosed porch to investigate a noise outside his house, a window was smashed and shots were fired at him.

Two bullets hit Mr Danster in the chest. He staggered back into the lounge and collapsed on

the floor.

Mr Danster was a member of the Eden Park Management Committee (EPMC).

Describing the killing as "mafia-type", Labour Party MP Mr Peter Jacobs said: "I believe the killing was a direct result of a pamphlet and petition presented to the management committee of Eden Park a week before Mr Danster's death."

Mr Jacobs said a pamphlet and petition, which detailed "allegations of gross misconduct and misuse of powers against certain members of the EPMC" had been handed out at that meeting.

"The same papers were sent to me in Cape Town and, I presume, to housing Minister Mr David Curry and the Alberton Town Council."

Mr Jacobs said Mr

Danster had denied he was the author of the pamphlet and petition, although he had been investigating a "housing scandal" in Eden Park.

## Double rentals

Mr Danster had found that some people owned more than one home in an area where a person could be allocated only one house.

Mr Danster had also found that some homes

were being let at more than double the normal rentals to people who did not qualify for a home, said Mr Jacobs.

"Mr Danster was a re-born Christian of the Apostolic Faith Mission Church and he died for justice," said Mr Jacobs.

"He would have preferred to die for a just cause than to live and suffer injustice. He died for the right of the ordinary person to own a home.

"He came from Germiston, one of the worst slums in the Transvaal, and he believed that everybody had an equal and fundamental right to have a roof over their heads and to live without any harassment or intimidation."

## No arrests

Major C R Liebenberg, liaison officer for the East Rand police, said the killing was being investigated and no arrests had been made.

Mr Danster is survived by his wife, Olive, and two children, Francesca, 11, and Favian, 5.

Several high-ranking Labour Party officials attended Mr Danster's funeral in Eden Park yesterday.



Mr Frans Danster, the Eden Park Management Committee member who was gunned down in a Mafia-type killing.

# Azapo slams Lebowa terror

by CAS ST LEGER

AZAPO has claimed that the Government of Lebowa has mounted a campaign to eliminate its members through assault, arrest and harassment. And to support its allegations, "secret" copies of the minutes of a meeting and three unnamed witnesses or victims of the Lebowa police, were produced at a Press conference in Johannesburg on Friday.

There is most definitely a systematic and brutal campaign to eliminate Azapo," said Mr Saths Cooper, Azapo's publicity secretary. Mr Muntu Myeza, produced an itemised list of those claiming unlawful arrest, detention or assault with the Lebowa Minister of Police. He said there had been 288 recorded assaults and 207 cases of unlawful arrest in Lebowa, with complaints total of R2 837 100 in damages.

Actual figures, he claimed, were much higher, as there was a reluctance to lay official complaints.

## Evidence

As evidence of the anti-Azapo campaign, a copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Lebowa Cabinet, held on August 23, 1981, chaired at Seshogo and presided over by Lebowa Chief Minister Dr Cedrick Phahle, was produced. A resolution allegedly adopted during the meeting reads:

"That public servants/Government officials (teachers and nurses included) who are members of and/or take active part in subversive organisations such as Azapo, UDF and related organisations be dismissed from the Government service."

Mr Myeza said this "secret document" confirmed collusion between Lebowa and the SA Government.

## Matotie's body found - 13 in court

A BADLY decomposed body - believed to be that of former ANC member Joseph Matotie - was discovered by East London cops in a grave in the Mzonzana cemetery near the C Section of Eziphunzana.

Matotie - who disappeared on March 18 - was a state witness in the trial of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

● Mzwakhe Nqongwa, 21, Mkhapeni Xaba, 29, Mteletezi Miseli, 18, Mandla Mzamo, 22, Ayanda Nayo, 20, Siphiso Monono, 25, Mangezi Mpulampula, 25, Texan Nayo, 20, Headman Mtuyedwa, 32, and four youths appeared in the East London Magistrate's Court charged with Matotie's murder. They did not plead.

16/11/86

# ANC man out of Ciskei jail

ANC veteran Alfred Metele - jailed for one year by the Appellate Division of the Ciskei Supreme Court last year - was released this week.

Metele and 15 Fort Hare students were charged with public violence after the motorcade of President Lennox Sebe was stoned.

- Seven Azapo members - detained two weeks ago - have been released.
- Ginsberg Youth Organisation president Dickson Matika - held under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act - was also released.

By **BENITO PHILLIPS**

NAMBITA Stofile, wife of detained United Democratic Front Border secretary Rev Makhenkesi Stofile, has been given until April 30 to move out of their home on the Fort Hare University campus in Alice.

Her husband, a theology lecturer at the university, was detained by Ciskei security police on March 14, and is being held incommunicado.

This week a distraught Mrs Stofile said she had no idea where she would find shelter for herself, her three little children and a child of her sister's who is living with her.

"I don't even know where my husband is being held. The last time I heard from him was when security cops

CITY P. 13/4/86  
11A

## Now Stofiles are stranded

delivered a letter to me which he had signed, saying he was resigning his lecturing post at the university," she said.

Mrs Stofile said she had received two letters - one from Fort Hare rector Prof Johan Lamprecht and the other from the personnel officer - informing her to vacate her home on the campus.

As international and local outrage at Stofile's detention grew this week, the university's council issued an undertaking to reinstate Stofile if it was shown his resignation was made "un-

der duress".

In a statement, the university's council said: "The university accepted his resignation in good faith and there was no reason not to.

"However, the university recently received representation from various staff and student members alleging Rev Stofile's resignation was not made voluntarily and that the university should not accept his resignation at present.

"Should Rev Stofile later satisfy the university council that he had not resigned voluntarily, the university will reinstate him."

4 years on... the mystery of the missing PE student deepens, with the claim:

# MTHINKHULU BACK - AS A GUERRILLA

BY MONO BARDELA CITY P.

AN amazing claim that missing Port Elizabeth Cosas leader Siphwo Mthimkhulu is not merely alive, but has just returned to SA as a trained guerrilla, has been made to his mother.

Just a month before the anniversary - on Monday - of Mthimkhulu's mysterious disappearance shortly after his release from detention, says Mrs Joyce Mthimkhulu, her Zwide home was raided by armed police "looking for Siphwo".

"They said they knew Siphwo was back in the country as a trained guerrilla. They said he was well and well trained terrorists," she told City Press. A week later, she says, security police visited her home to ask her for details of her son's whereabouts. They had with them a list of "people who have left the country", she said, and ticked off his name when they left.

She said she had heard nothing for four years about her son's possible whereabouts - "and we were about to give up".

"But now there is hope. We still hope our son is still alive."

The issue has been confused, however, by a statement from police Colonel Gerrit van Ruyven, who told City Press: "I can't believe police raided Mthimkhulu's home, nor that they claim he's back here as a terrorist".

Mthimkhulu disappeared after leaving hospital to collect pills to ease the pain of the Thallium poisoning which, for weeks after his release from detention, had turned him into a wheelchair-bound cripple. When he vanished on April 14, 1982, he could still barely walk.

Lawyer Patrick Bracher, who is to preparing a R150 000 claim against Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, said as far as he was concerned Siphwo was still missing and that the family had not abandoned its claim against the Minister. "There is enough medical evidence for the family to go ahead with the claim."

Black Sash vice-president Di Bishop, who travelled to Botswana and Lesotho in search of Mthimkhulu, condemned the alleged police action as "appalling, disgusting and a horrible experience for his mother".

Bishop, whose Civil Rights League husband Brian Bishop died in car crash last year with anti apartheid campaigner Molly Blackburn, said she would take the matter up with Le Grange.



Black Sash's Di Bishop with Mthimkhulu shortly before he disappeared three years ago

(1/A)



# Two hurt in blasts at UDF homes

By SINNAH KUNENE

UDF Northern Transvaal secretary Joyce Mabudasasi, 48, was seriously wounded in a grenade attack on her Mahwelereng home at 2am yesterday.

Within five minutes of the attack, a similar explosion at UDF activist Peter Mokaba's home injured his brother Ernest.

The two wounded were admitted to Pietersburg Hospital, where a spokesman said they were in a stable condition. Mabudasasi was out of danger and her condition was improving.

"A sharp nail was removed from her throat. Mokaba was treated and discharged," he said.

Lebowa assistant police commissioner Col P Moloto said the bombings had not been reported to them.

Mabudasasi, a National Education Crisis Committee member, sustained shrapnel wounds on her throat, face and temple, said her son Crause.

He said Mokaba, a technician at the telecommunication offices, sustained shrapnel wounds on the head, back and hands.

The two families said at midday on Wednesday a white Ford Cortina with four white occupants was seen near their homes, apparently inspecting them.

Mabudasasi's son Crause said his mother had seen a torchlight shine on her bedroom window before the blast.

After the explosion a neighbour saw a car drive off from her home.

A former Section 50 detainee, Mabudasasi is a librarian at Turfloop.

CP Correspondent

"COMRADE King" is dead. And with King Sabata Dalindyebo died his dream of returning as king of the Tembu - once apartheid has died.

King Sabata - who was forced to flee from the Transkei into exile in 1980 - died in hospital in Lusaka, Zambia.

The former Paramount Chief of the Transkei - who was deposed by ex-President Kaiser Mantanzima's cabinet in 1980 - spent the last years of his life serving the African National Congress' External Mission.

King Sabata, a cousin of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was a fierce opponent of apartheid and had fought against the bantustanisation of the Transkei.

His dream in exile was to return as king of the Tembus - once apartheid was dead. But he regarded ANC president Oliver Tambo as his leader.

"The chiefs and kings were defeated long ago by the Boers and so we must accept the new leaders," he said in exile.

"The so-called Transkei independence means nothing for the people in terms of social and economic advancement," King Sabata said.

Sabata Dalindyebo, a half-brother of former president Kaiser Mantanzima, was born in Tyalata on November 25, 1928 - only a month after his father, Paramount Chief Sampu Jongilizwe Mifirara, had died.

Though he was born to be paramount chief, he grew up as an ordinary Tembu child.

Two of his uncles acted as regents before he was installed as paramount chief in 1954.

As a leader of the Democrat-



How City Press broke the news about King Sabata Dalindyebo soon after he fled the Transkei.

ic Party - the chief opposition in the Transkei - he was a symbol of opposition to apartheid and the homelands policy.

He fled the country on August 15, 1980, after being deposed by the Mantanzima cabinet. His half-brother was installed in his place.

Earlier, he had been found guilty in the Transkei Supreme Court of "injuring and violating the dignity" of President KD Mantanzima. He was fined R700 or 18 months in jail. Posing as a journalist, he en-

ter Lesotho - where he said he would continue with the struggle "until our country is free."

For a few months he remained in Lesotho under cover - as journalists and others battled to trace his whereabouts - and joined the ANC's External Mission.

He undertook a number of tasks for the outlawed liberation movement.

In some respects, he was the SA equivalent of Zimbabwean Chief Tangwena, who led his

people in fierce resistance to the Ian Smith government in then Rhodesia, and later played a key role in smuggling Zanu leaders Robert Mugabe and Edgar Tekerere to Mozambique, where they led the armed struggle.

King Sabata used his traditional power base to mobilise his people for democracy instead of collaborating with the minority white power structure.

As traditional leader of over one million people, he perhaps felt a more acute pain than most

# The king who dreamed of freedom in SA

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has contacted the homeland's Department of Foreign Affairs to make arrangements for Sabata's body to be flown to the Transkei.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela - Sabata's cousin - after conferring with his wife,

Winnie, has instructed that Sabata be buried at his ancestral home at Xalanga Great Place outside Umtata.

Sabata is survived by his three wives, eighteen children and seven grandchildren. Funeral arrangements are

yet to be announced.

Sabata once threatened to organise a mass protest march to dump Transkei travel documents and passports outside the Botha/Sigcau government building because, as he put it, "they are useless."

King Sabata Dalindyebo in cabinet in 1980.

deposed as Paramount



King Sabata Dalindyebo in cabinet in 1980.

# Tembus honours Sabata

By MONO BADELA

WHETHER Tembu King Sabata Dalindyebo is buried in South Africa or not, Tembu tribesmen and Port Elizabeth residents will flock to the memorial service for him in Port Elizabeth next week.

Big plans are being made to ensure that the biggest number of people attend the service. PE business- man and Sabata's chief councillor in the area until 1982 AT Yeko told City Press this week.

Yeko and the king's councillors in the Eastern Cape - who last year planned to commemorate the deposed king's birthday on November 25 - blame apartheid for his death.

"We will continue to remember him as our king. We could not hold the service last year because of the state of emergency - but we will do so this year," said Yeko.

"He will always be remembered by us." Meanwhile the Eastern Cape region of the United Democratic Front, which is also involved in the preparations for the memorial service, have issued a state-

ment paying homage to "Comrade King." Publicity secretary Stone Sizani said: "The fact that he was the King of the Tembu, the biggest Xhosa tribe in the Transkei, did not make him irrelevant to the struggle for peace and justice. It did not make him a reactionary."

Sizani said because Sabata died in exile during his quest for real freedom for his people, "I strongly put the blame for his death in the hands of apartheid."

"King Sabata will always be hailed for his courage, dedication and commitment to the freedom of South Africans as a whole," he said.

"We will remember him as one of the martyrs for a free South Africa." Yeko said when Sabata was deposed by the Transkei government in 1979, "it hurt the Tembus - because we had accepted him as a shepherd of the people."

He said at least three-quarters of the Transkei's people supported King Sabata. At the time of his death, Yeko said, he was still highly esteemed and considered as the Tembu's rightful king.

## Bury Sabata at his ancestral home, says Mandela

By STAN MZIMBA

INDICATIONS are that the Mantanzima government will not object to exiled King Sabata Dalindyebo being buried in the Transkei.

According to a radio report, ex-president KD Mantanzima

has contacted the homeland's Department of Foreign Affairs to make arrangements for Sabata's body to be flown to the Transkei.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela - Sabata's cousin - after conferring with his wife,

Winnie, has instructed that Sabata be buried at his ancestral home at Xalanga Great Place outside Umtata.

Sabata is survived by his three wives, eighteen children and seven grandchildren. Funeral arrangements are

yet to be announced.

Sabata once threatened to organise a mass protest march to dump Transkei travel documents and passports outside the Botha/Sigcau government building because, as he put it, "they are useless."

King Sabata Dalindyebo in cabinet in 1980.

## Necklaced by 'comrades'

**A KILLER who battered a three-year-old girl to death died this week after being necklaced by "comrades".**

James Msomi, of Hammersdale died of 90% third-degree burns a few days after he was admitted to Leratong Hospital.

A hospital spokesman told *City Press* that doctors had tried all they could, but the burns were too severe.

Msomi died after he had battered three-year-old Thandi Majola to death in her sleep with an iron rod — after a tiff with the toddler's mother.

The "comrades" were enraged when they heard about it.

They took the man from his Mohlakeng Hostel bed on Easter Sunday, bound him with wire and frog-marched him to Mohlakeng cemetery, singing freedom songs.

They necklaced Msomi — but were chased away by patrolling troops.

● About two weeks ago, Joyce Majola, 22, had a clash with the man.

He was chased away and told that he should go and "cool off" at the hostel.

He returned later — armed with an iron rod.

Majola's friend Violet Raqola said the man returned as they were preparing to go to bed.

They saw him forcing open the front window of their three-roomed house with the iron rod.

They were so frightened they forgot Majola's three-year-old daughter Thandi was sleeping in bed — and fled.

They escaped through the back window, and Raqola hid in the loo while Joyce went to look for help.

"I have known the man for some time — but I never thought he could be so cruel," said Raqola.

"I thought he was coming to make peace with my friend," she said.

"I only became frightened when he started forcing the window open.

"We decided to escape through the back window

# KILLER KILLED BY FIRE

11A  
CITY P  
13/4/86

By MARTIN NTSOELINGOE

— but forgot that Thandi was in bed," Raqola said.

On their return they found Thandi bleeding from the mouth.

They discovered that she had multiple head injuries.

There was a big gash on the back of her head, one on the left and two on top of her head.

After he'd battered the baby to death with the iron rod, the man took all her blankets to his hostel room.

He left her naked and

bleeding, the woman said.

Majola and Raqola took the battered baby to Leratong Hospital.

The next day they were told that the baby had died.

## Caught

By SELLO SERIPE

A CENTRAL Western Jabavu man had his pants stolen off him this week.

The man — who has asked not to be named — said he had given chase to a thief who he found stealing

# Hendrickse faces ultimatum soon

By NORMAN WEST

13/4/86 11A  
THE leader of the Labour party, Cabinet Minister the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is likely to be stripped of his accreditation as an ordained minister of the United Congregational Church (UCC).

The Assembly of the UCC recently decided to axe him because he defied an ultimatum to sever ties with the tricameral parliament by December 31, last year, or face expulsion.

Two other Labour Party MPs who are ordained church ministers, the Rev Andrew Julies and the Rev A D Goosen, also face similar censure from their respective congregations.

## Crucial decision

A three-man committee, appointed by the Algoa Regional Council, will preside over the meeting of the Dale Street congregation to be held on April 23.

This is when the crucial decision will be taken on Mr Hendrickse's 33-year career as UCC minister — and Mr Hendrickse feels at least two of the members are prejudiced against him for political reasons.

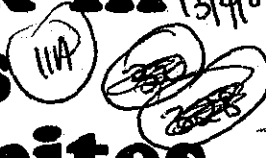
The ultimatum on either his political platform or his pulpit was first issued last year following a UCC Assembly congress at Gaborone, Botswana, where the church constitution was amended, making party-politics taboo for UCC ministers.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse, who must choose between church and politics.

# PE's Jack in hiding as boycott bites

CITY PRESS  
13/4/86



JACK  
In hiding

## CP Reporter

PORT ELIZABETH consumer boycott leader Mkhoseli Jack went into hiding on Tuesday - as white businessmen in the "Friendly City" were beginning to feel the bite of the week-old boycott.

Colleagues of Jack's told City Press the community leader has not been to work since Tuesday, when police called there for him.

"He has gone into hiding, apparently fearing action against him," one said. Attempts to locate Jack were unsuccessful.

City Press was also told UDF regional vice-president Henry Fazzie - who leads the boycott campaign alongside Jack - was quizzed by security police for a few hours on Wednesday and released.

Both were briefly banned and house arrested last month - but successful court action by Jack just 12 days later effectively invalidated banning orders throughout the country.

The consumer boycott of white businesses was relaunched in PE on Monday - and, says Fazzie, was vir-

tually total within 48 hours, in line with last year's successful four-month boycott.

While most businessmen were not eager to comment to City Press, an outfitter who relies on black customers for his business, said: "We've had it. Business slumped with the recession and now this. We'll never survive the boycott."

Black traders are reported to be doing roaring business, but in Korsten coloured township, traders say they have been hit by a complete boycott.

# 'Black-on-black' violence up

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

**THE GRIM** death-toll as a result of black-on-black violence in South Africa took an alarmingly-sharp rise this year — and, by this weekend, stood at about 450, the total since the start of the unrest in September, 1984.

Since the beginning of the unrest, violence claimed more than 1 220 lives, including 720 blacks killed by police.

During the same period, 30 members of the South African Police and one member of the South African Defence Force lost their lives.

## Updated

From the beginning of this year up to April 5, security forces were responsible for about 120 deaths, while blacks themselves killed almost an equal number — about 115, according to the most-updated figures available.

The figure of 450 blacks killed by blacks excludes those killed in tribal warfare and faction fighting. This year, alone, about 170 died in tribal skirmishes in Natal and Port Natal.

Apart from the lives claimed so far in the

13/4/86  
SMES

Republic-wide unrest, the damage caused to property by rioters was understood to have reached astronomical figures running into millions of rands — but, police would not disclose exact amounts.

Blacks also damaged or destroyed about 950 of their own schools, about 35 churches, about 20 clinics, about 650 shops and factories, 14 banks and close to 2 600 private residences.

Official statistics also showed that, whereas about two-thirds of blacks were killed by police since the unrest from September 1984 up to January this year, black violence on blacks has now escalated to a disturbing level.

A substantial number of the 450 blacks killed by their fellows died horror deaths as victims of being burned alive and executions — sometimes following so-called "kangaroo court" hearings.

Some met their fiery deaths through the use of the dreaded "necklace", whereby a petrol-soaked tyre is forced around a person's neck and set alight while the victim is mutilated with daggers, axes and further kicked and stoned to death.

While the victim writhes in agony and pain, the body is normally further slashed and chopped up, often including children under 16 armed with pangas and spears — according to video footage in possession of the police.

Of the 720 blacks killed by police since the beginning of the unrest in September 1984, a

substantial number were killed by policemen defending their homes and families.

Police sources also revealed that policemen often guarded homes of colleagues to help protect their families

and properties — sometimes when the owners of township homes were doing duty elsewhere.

About 70 black deaths were also caused by action of Administration Board officials.

11A

IT IS a reflection of the profound uncertainty that so many people feel about the future of this country that scenario construction has almost become a growth industry.

One can contemplate three kinds of future: the first involves the collapse of the present Government and a violent takeover by revolutionaries. In my opinion this is the least likely, and the least desirable.

A revolutionary regime would tolerate neither multi-party democracy nor the rule of law — it probably would not tolerate trade unionism either — and the economic destruction that revolution would bring would make most blacks (and others) worse off materially than they are under white minority rule.

A necessary condition would be a switch of loyalty of the police and army to the left — but there is little chance of this.

Let us nevertheless be aware that a growing number of people in religious, academic, and newspaper circles regard revolutionary violence as respectable.

To my way of thinking this is every bit as alarming as the actual violence occurring around us. If you want an example of what I mean, compare the outrage universally expressed by many government critics against deaths in detention with their relatively muted protests against necklace executions.

## The equilibrium of violence

The second scenario is a kind of perpetual stalemate in which violent revolt occurs in cycles or even on a more or less permanent basis, but never on a scale large enough to threaten the basic stability of the state.

This is a kind of violent equilibrium. It is accompanied by permanent emergency powers, in fact if not in name, increasing racial polarisation, growing international isolation, and an insatiable government appetite for tax revenues in efforts to maintain security and buy off revolt through socio-economic expenditure in black townships.

We are fairly far down this road already; some people believe that it is too late to turn back.

One of the factors that may prevent our turning back is state violence. "Riot control" methods frequently seem not only to alienate militant groups but also to antagonise moderate and even conservative township residents, who are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea.

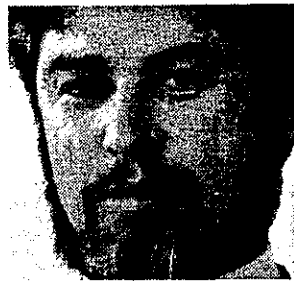
State violence is doing terrible damage to prospects for political compromise and racial reconciliation in this country. It sometimes seems as if extreme rightwing elements have heavily infiltrated the security forces and become a law unto themselves.

I think we are headed down the road towards this second scenario.

Obviously, we should be headed down a different road, and if we took purposeful action we could be head-

# Three routes to our future

S.M.E.S.  
11A 13/4/86



By  
**JOHN KANE-BERMAN**  
director of the South African  
Institute of Race Relations

political reconstruction, based on these values.

It has been argued that Mr P W Botha has introduced more reforms than any head of government since Union.

Any objective analysis would show this to be true — except that the reforms that have taken place have been greatly overshadowed by the entrenchment of apartheid in the 1983 constitution and the imposition of the crazy structure of "own affairs".

## An important symbolic step

heid must extend to the political sphere, so my next imperative is a commitment by the Government to the creation of a political system that has legitimacy.

Until the crossing is made there is little chance of getting real negotiation with a broad enough spectrum of black political leaders off the ground.

The last imperative is the devising of a sensible strategy for accommodating black political dissent. Such a strategy has to be based on liberal principles.

It can hardly be denied that the strategy adopted over the past 25 years has been massively counter-productive and staggeringly costly. Essentially South Africa has sought to cope with black political dissent by putting in the boot.

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I think we are headed down the road towards this second scenario.

Obviously, we should be headed down a different road, and if we took purposeful action we could be headed down a road towards a society based on liberal values, such as the Rule of Law, freedom of association, and multi-party democracy.

Fortunately we have not reached the stage in South Africa where we have to rebuild these values from scratch, because they have all survived, though in a very attenuated form.

## Liberal values have survived

A critical Press, critical opposition parties, the English-language universities, courageous people on other campuses, and, I like to think, organisations like the South African Institute of Race Relations, have helped to ensure that liberal values have survived — so much so that a government which once regarded liberalism as a swear word is now at least paying lip-service to some of them.

So the landscape is not entirely bleak.

If we want to move down the third road we need to replace the present process of patchy reform with a much more purposeful strategy of



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These are new aspects of apartheid that now have to be eliminated.

The starting-point of any strategy of political reconstruction must be to avoid imposing any new forms of apartheid.

Next on any list of components of a strategy for political reconstruction is education. Despite the substantial increases in government spending in the last 15 years on black education and a much more conciliatory approach by the black education authorities, the black education system remains gripped by crisis.

A necessary, though not sufficient, condition for putting matters right is to scrap educational apartheid. Introducing a single Ministry could be an important symbolic step in this direction.

Then there is the systematic removal of all other statutory apartheid. This must include its cornerstone legislation, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Land Acts.

A system of freedom of association will have to replace the present system of statutory imposition of racial identity and the attachment of differential rights depending on such imposed identities.

The removal of statutory apart-

heid must extend to the political sphere, so my next imperative is a commitment by the Government to the creation of a political system that has legitimacy.

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The last imperative is the devising of a sensible strategy for accommodating black political dissent. Such a strategy has to be based on liberal principles.

It can hardly be denied that the strategy adopted over the past 25 years has been massively counter-productive and staggeringly costly. Essentially South Africa has sought to cope with black political dissent by putting in the boot.

The statute book has been blotted with one repressive law after another and vast sums have been spent on uniforms and guns and now helicopters.

We have spend huge sums on security, but people of all races are now feeling less secure about the future of this country than ever before.

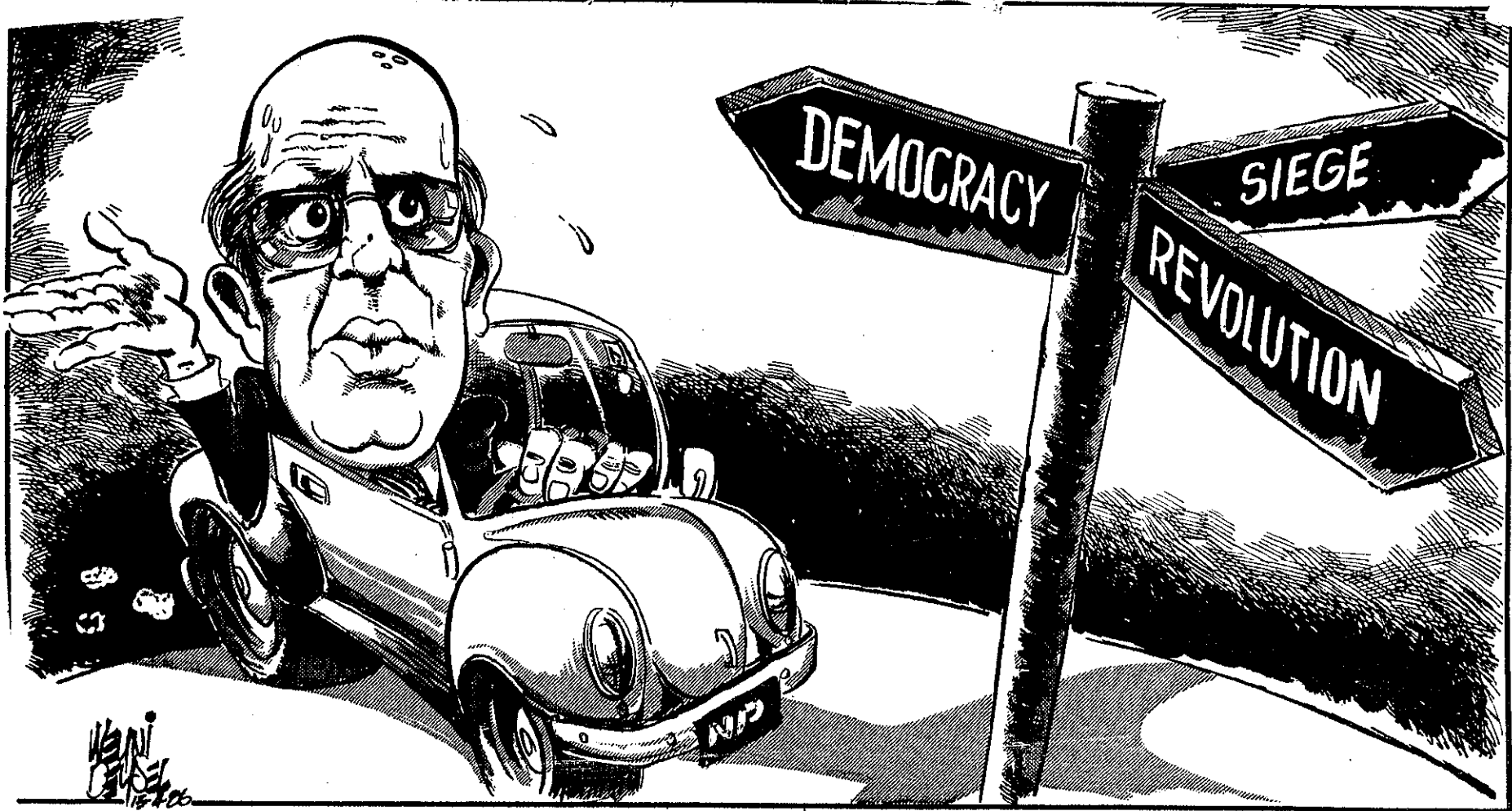
Who could deny that for each rand we spend on security we get less and less of this commodity?

## Broad strategy is needed

Any strategy of creating more space for black dissent needs to be broad enough to handle the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the banning orders on black political organisations. This nettle simply has to be grasped.

The deregulation of black politics so that all leaders and parties can operate freely and sell their wares in the political market-place is a necessary condition for a successful outcome of the process of negotiation to which the Government says it is committed.





# Hurley to talk to ANC today

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress played an important role in South Africa and it was important for church leaders to know what to expect from the organization, Archbishop Denis Hurley said yesterday.

The president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) is leading a four-man delegation which will hold talks with the ANC in Lusaka today.

He said there was no set agenda for the talks and he was not sure whom the group would meet.

## Document

"The ANC plays a very important role in South Africa today and it is important for church leaders to know what developments we can expect from them — what we might not agree with."

Archbishop Hurley said it was possible a recent document issued by the Roman Catholic Church saying armed struggle was admissible as a last resort against prolonged tyranny would be discussed.

He said the main thrust of the document was in favour of peaceful means of protest.

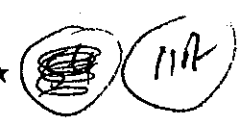
At the end of the document was a small section dealing with the possibility of armed action. It reiterated the traditional stance of the church that a "just war" was possible under certain circumstances.

Archbishop Hurley said the document dealt with the question in a very general way and made no reference to South Africa.

"The main thrust of the document is very strongly in favour of peaceful means of overcoming oppression."

He said the four-man delegation would report back to the SACBC after the talks.

The other members of the delegation are Bishop Wilfrid Napier of Kokstad, Bishop Marsuet Biyase of Eshowe and SACBC secretary-general Smangaliso Mkhathshwa.



# UCT disruption: Prof Carr responds

By YAZEED FAKIER  
Education Reporter

SPEAKERS addressing University of Cape Town students on educational matters had the right to do so irrespective of their affiliations, UCT's acting vice-chancellor, Professor Donald Carr, said last night.

He was responding to Thursday's incident on the campus when about 50 members of the black Students' Action Committee disrupted an educational meeting, believing a KwaZulu educationist present to be an Inkatha member.

The SAC — an umbrella body in-

cluding students from the Azanian Students' Organization, the Azanian Students' Movement and Students of Young Azania — said in a statement that "no Inkatha member will be allowed to speak on campus".

It demanded that the educationist "denounce the atrocities of Inkatha and Gatsha Buthelezi", which he did.

A spokesperson said the SAC would not allow "collaborators of the system to legitimize the kind of criminal activities that they (Inkatha) embark upon".

He said that although the educationist had done as the students had

requested, they were still not satisfied with his answers.

The acting head of the department of education at UCT, Professor Doug Young, said afterwards that as far as he knew the visitor was not a member of Inkatha and would not have been invited had he been one.

Professor Carr last night said UCT did not accept that any group had the right to deny free speech to any other.

"The freedoms are indivisible — deny one and you erode all, and then law falls into disrepute. This is the sad recent history of this country.

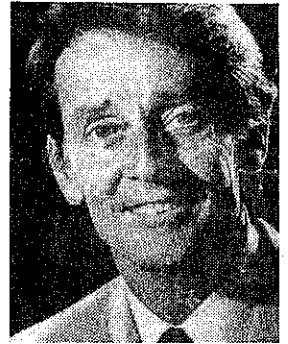
"Specifically, if someone were to come onto the campus to talk about

the military aims of their organization, we would believe this did not have a role in our academic community.

"But if someone were talking to our students on educational matters, we would consider that he had the right to do so irrespective of his affiliations ..."

Professor Carr added however that: "Should any group, whatever their persuasion, intend to bring a speaker to the campus who would clearly cause disruption, I would wish to dissuade them from doing so.

"However, the right of freedom of speech remains."



Professor Carr

# 2 Atteridgeville residents hurt in 4 bomb attacks

SMC  
14/1/86

## Pretoria Bureau

Two people were injured when four Atteridgeville houses were petrol-bombed at the weekend.

The attacks, on the homes of two unidentified policemen, as well as the homes of Mr Simon Tshabalala of 48 Hlakubela Street and Mr Stanley Baloyi of Kgaka Street, brings to 49 the number of homes bombed in the past six months.

Mr Joseph Baloyi and his wife Selina (54) were injured when two bombs hit their bedroom at

about 1 am on Friday.

Mrs Baloyi was admitted to the Kalafong Hospital.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria, Major S Van Rooyen, dismissed as "ludicrous" allegations that policemen were responsible for the two attacks.

## EXPLOSION

He said the attacks had not been reported, "and if people have any complaints against anybody they should lay charges".

He added that the only attacks reported on Friday were those on the homes of the two policemen staying in Saulsville.

Mr Tshabalala said they were awakened by a loud explosion outside their bedroom window at about 12.55 am on Friday.

He said: "I saw three vehicles drive away at high speed.

"A few minutes later the same cars passed in front of my house."

Nobody was injured. Curtains and a hi-fi system were damaged.

# Winnie backs Soweto's youth

By Montshiwa Moroke

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, yesterday stated her belief in the youth of Soweto.

Mrs Mandela was speaking at Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, where about 1 000 people were gathered to discuss the behaviour of the township's youth.

Speaker after speaker condemned "harassment" by youths of residents, in particular "abosiyainyova", a name given to township youth involved in acts of violence.

But while criticising some of the actions, speakers also gave their support to youth for "spearheading the liberation struggle".

Mrs Mandela also assured youth it would be supported in its fight for education.

The speakers included Mrs Grata Ncapayi, a member of the Transvaal Federation of South African Women, and Mr Phillip Mathews, a member of the Soweto Civic Association.

## MEANS

The meeting dealt with the formation of street and block committees. It also discussed ways and means of combating acts of violence in the name of the "struggle".

One speaker attacked the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) in Orlando East and accused the organisation of coercing pupils to become members and threatening their lives if they failed to do so.

Impassioned pleas were made to the youth of Soweto for discipline and vigilance against "agents of the State" who were sowing seeds of division.

Speakers called upon people to inform organisations like the civic associations whenever they encountered people committing acts of violence.

After the meeting, scores of people came forward to join the Release Mandela Committee, the SCA and the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco).

Associated Press reported today that Mrs Mandela said in three speeches this weekend that blacks would finally win equal rights this year.

She said that although they were fighting a far more heavily armed white government "the power is in our hands".

Top UDF  
man dies  
in custody  
STAL 14/12/85

The president of the Northern Transvaal region of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Peter Nchabeleng, has died in detention after being detained by security forces at his home in Lebowa.

The 59-year-old veteran politician, was detained at Apel, in Sekhukhuneland, on Friday and was allegedly taken to Schoonoord police station, where he died hours later.

Police confirmed his death at Schoonoord and say it was apparently due to a heart attack which Mr Nchabeleng suffered in the charge office.

Mr Nchabeleng is the second person to die in Lebowa police custody in a week.

The other victim was journalist and Azanian People's Organisation official Mr Makompo Kutumela.

Mr Kutumela was allegedly sjambokked and beaten with a hammer near Potgietersrus.

# Inkatha a target — Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned of plans to stage violent confrontations in KwaZulu/Natal before June 16, with Inkatha as the main target for enemies of negotiated peace for South Africa.

He called on all who rejected disinvestment — and the starvation and increased unemployment it would bring — to turn out at Durban's King's Park Stadium on May 1 for the launching of the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

## Blamed

In his presidential address to Inkatha's central committee on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi blamed President Botha's intransigence and inability to face real reform for the emergence of the pro-disinvestment Congress of South African Trade

Unions (Cosatu), which Uwusa will oppose.

However, he strongly criticized 'fashionable white super-liberals' and those white-owned newspapers who castigated Inkatha for defending itself against attacks instigated by anti-democratic forces and who helped create a climate of "ANC euphoria".

They were behaving like mobs which egged people on to commit suicide by jumping off tall buildings.

Chief Buthelezi said there was no outcry when the UDF and Azapo killed each other and when the ANC Mission-in-Exile ordered blacks to kill fellow blacks.

## Expectations

However, whenever ordinary black people resisted the politics of violence and intimidation, Inkatha was blamed bitterly.

"We are expected to behave so that we do not contradict white liberal traditions, whereas those same white liberal traditions lead to our castigation by some of the clergy, the Black Sash, Nusas, the SACC, Diakonia, university groups and the like," he said.

If white society did not do something about the government, and if white liberal opinion tried to use Inkatha as a smoke-screen for its failure, they should not expect Inkatha to bear the brunt of their failures, he said.

Certain white-owned newspapers expected Inkatha to bear the brunt of attacks against democracy without retaliating.

When supporters of the UDF killed those of Azapo, and vice versa, it

was reported as a political fact.

When Inkatha defended itself against Azapo and the UDF, however, it was accused of committing hideous crimes against humanity and the forces of democracy. This state of affairs could no longer be tolerated, said Chief Buthelezi.

He recalled having told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last week that he was sceptical about whether whites had learnt anything. This was because they were doing nothing to halt the State President's blundering into a political abyss and were allowing Mr Botha to drag South Africa down by his refusal to address fundamental issues.

"We will perish if we sit and wait for the State President to make meaningful moves which will defuse the violence in South Africa... I do not exercise my leadership with the prime objective of perpetrating it (to) perish in the pursuit of futility," said Chief Buthelezi.

## Gets rough

"I lead to win. When the going gets rough, I will get rougher. When courses of action, which are imperative for survival, have to be adopted, they must be adopted, even at great risk."

Chief Buthelezi called on the Inkatha Central Committee to "exceed all the bounds of duty to the movement" by ensuring that people were at the launching of Uwusa at King's Park on May 1 in their tens of thousands.

The mass meeting had to be such a resounding rejection of disinvestment and the destruction of the economy that its message would reverberate around the world.

# KIDS BURN 'INFORMER'

A 22-YEAR-OLD woman, accused of being a police informer, died after being doused with petrol and set alight by youths in Alexandra last weekend.

Miss Theresa Lucia Maseko was fetched from her 19th avenue home by a group of youths at 3 pm on Saturday. The youths took an axe and told the family they were going to "chop her to death" with it. When her 52-year-old mother, Mrs Jane Maseko, pleaded with the youths to leave the axe she was warned to "Shut up or else we will chop your head off" by one of the four people who entered the house. Scores of other youths waited outside the yard. Miss Maseko was put into a panel van which the youths hijacked as it came into the township.

Eyewitnesses said she escaped into a room at 7th avenue but was pursued by her attackers. She escaped through a window when the group stormed the house. They eventually caught up with her and the youths assaulted her with an assortment of weapons as they cried: "Burn the impimpi (informer)". They doused her with petrol and set her alight.

The police arrived and fired tearsmoke.

Miss Maseko was rushed to hospital where she died.

### Fear

The family is living in fear and two girls who attend school at the Realogile Secondary School in Alexandra stopped going to class last week after threats of "necklace treatment" by

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

other pupils. Antoinette Maseko, who is in standard 10 said: "We no longer go out of the yard. I was accused of helping my sister and threatened by other pupils. I will not go back to school until the issue has been settled by the civic organisations in Alexandra". Plans of Miss Maseko's funeral had not been made.

Meanwhile Sapa reports police shot an 18-year-old man dead in Katlehong "during a stone-throwing attack on the SAP", according to the overnight unrest report from the Police Public Relations Directorate.

At Sebokeng "a guard at the administration board buildings was stabbed in the neck and

he was robbed of his shotgun," the report added.

A number of unrest incidents in the Eastern Cape were also reported.

In New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, arsonists set fire to a private home, a business property and vehicles belonging to a local undertaker. Extensive damage was caused.

In Walmer, another township of Port Elizabeth, a police patrol was fired upon overnight.

At Alexandria in the Eastern Cape, a man was wounded and arrested and four men and one woman wounded after residents attacked an SAP vehicle and the administration board of fices with petrol bombs.



Theresa Maseko ... horror death.

SOWETAN  
11A 14/4/86





MRS WINNIE MANDELA . . . "I was never told what I had done wrong, but banned of what they thought I would do . . .



. . . NO black man can afford not to be bitter when he looks back on what he has gone through . . .



. . . We no longer speak the language of reform"

# Bitter Winnie Mandela says:

# I WAS HARASSED

11A

MRS WINNIE Mandela yesterday spoke of her bitterness about the way she has been harassed for the past 24 years.

"My husband has been in jail for 24 years, and I have suffered at the hands of the police for the same period," she said.

Mrs Mandela is the wife of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

"Throughout this period I was never told why I was banned. I discovered that I was banned because of what

they thought I could do, not because of what I had done. How immoral can one be? How unchristian could they be?

"This is what we have been subjected to," she said.

Asked if she was bitter after all her experiences, she asked: "Who would not be bitter?"

"No black man can afford not to be bitter when he looks back on what he has gone through. I will do anything in defence of my principles and beliefs.

Mrs Mandela spoke to the *Sowetan* from her

Orlando West home from which she was banned for about nine years. She was banished to Brandfort. She could only come to Johannesburg after applying for permission from a magistrate.

When her banishment to Brandfort was lifted last year she was still barred from entering Soweto, thus banned from her own home and living with her children. Two weeks ago her lawyers announced they believed that the State would no longer oppose her appeal against a

judgment that upheld her ban from Johannesburg.

She said her husband, Nelson, was fitter than people thought he was. "He tells me he will walk from Cape to Cairo on his release," she chuckled.

On a more serious note she said she was more than convinced that the Government was faced with the reality that it had to release him but could not.

"The release of Mandela means much more to the oppressed people of this country. It means

**MORE** than a week ago lawyers acting for Mrs Winnie Mandela announced that they believed the State would no longer oppose an appeal by Mrs Mandela against orders banning her from Johannesburg. Our lawyers have advised us that we can quote her. *Sowetan* news editor THAMI MAZWAI spoke to Mrs Mandela yesterday.

that their entire leadership must be released.

"They said they were prepared to release my husband on humanitarian grounds." But the same people who said this send Oscar Mpetha to jail at his age and in his condition. Can he live his sentence out? (Mr Mpetha (77) is serving a 5-year prison sentence.)

"After my nine years in Brandfort, in the heart of Afrikanerdom, and after my three months in white South Africa I have no doubt that the white man is not prepared to release Mandela.

The Government is not prepared to share power," she said. The three months Mrs Mandela refers to are the pe-

riod she stayed outside Johannesburg and at times in Sandton.

Referring to the clashes in the black community she said there was no black-on-black violence but "apartheid violence".

"Our anger is against collaborators.

"The ideological rift between the UDF and Azapo is being fermented by Pretoria. This is done to justify Pretoria's claim that blacks are divided and thus divert the cause.

"Those agents in Azapo who are fighting the UDF, and those agents in the UDF who are fighting Azapo, do not have the blessings of

(cont)

AMND	AMND	AMND			
10/84	9/85	4/86			
<b>Timbr Drv&lt;4536</b>					
31.28	32.66	32.66			
18.18	16.56	14.97			
Current Hours: 46.0			Hourly Change 1976 to date:	Nominal	+0.0%
<b>Timbr Drv&gt;4536</b>					
34.50	36.34	36.34			
20.05	18.43	16.66			
Current Hours: 46.0			Hourly Change 1976 to date:	Nominal	+0.0%
<b>Sawyer</b>					
34.50	36.34	36.34			
20.05	18.43	16.66			
Current Hours: 46.0			Hourly Change 1976 to date:	Nominal	+0.0%
<b>Mech Equip Drvr</b>					
34.50	36.34	36.34			
20.05	18.43	16.66			
Current Hours: 46.0			Hourly Change 1976 to date:	Nominal	+0.0%
<b>Joiner Etc.</b>					
80.00	84.00	84.00			
46.48	42.60	38.51			
Current Hours: 40.0			Hourly Change 1976 to date:	Nominal	+0.0%
<b>Glazier</b>					
76.00	80.00	80.00			
44.16	40.57	36.68			
Current Hours: 40.0			Hourly Change 1976 to date:	Nominal	+0.0%
<b>Foreman</b>					
80.00	84.00	84.00			
46.48	42.60	38.51			
Current Hours: 40.0			Hourly Change 1976 to date:	Nominal	+0.0%
			Real Weekly Wage at 12/85:	R	40.66
			Real Weekly Wage at 12/85:	R	38.72
			Real Weekly Wage at 12/85:	R	40.66
			Real Weekly Wage at 12/85:	R	17.59
			Real Weekly Wage at 12/85:	R	17.59
			Real Weekly Wage at 12/85:	R	15.91

Mrs Mandela also spoke scathingly of people who opposed the call for sanctions. Asked about her position she said: "The call for sanctions is not new. That call was made by the ANC to the international community. As far as I am concerned it is the only peaceful method that still exists to force change. Pretoria confirmed the effectiveness of this strategy when she used it on Lesotho. Within a week the country was on its knees.

"We do not want a protracted struggle. The only people against sanctions are those who benefit from Pretoria," she said.

She scoffed at President Botha's reform strategy. "We are no longer prepared to move on the road of minimal considerate reforms. We no longer speak the language of reform.

"Our leaders have been in jail for 24 years. They spoke of gradual reforms until they became tired. We no longer speak of the phasing out of passes. How they group themselves as the Nats, PFP Herstigtes or whatever is no longer of interest to us. How dare they have the audacity to prescribe change to us? she asked.

"We speak only one language today. We only speak of the transfer of power," she ended.

Dutch woman denies treason

# Passtoors owns up to contact with the ANC

DUTCH citizen Helene Passtoors admitted yesterday she performed certain acts as a result of her association and support of the banned African National Congress.



● PASSTOORS

In a statement read to the Johannesburg Supreme Court by her legal representative, Denis Kuy, SC, Passtoors described how she had developed a relationship with an ANC member and helped him find a suitable escape route out of SA.

The 44-year-old Dutch mother of four pleaded not guilty to two charges of treason and alternative charges of terrorism. She pleaded not guilty to a second charge of terrorism, alternatively of participating in terroristic activities.

Klaas de Jonge, her former husband and co-accused in terms of the indictment, did not appear in court and is still under the diplomatic protection of the Netherlands embassy in Pretoria.

During argument yesterday, Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau applied for a warrant to have De Jonge arrested. The application was later abandoned.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The court also heard that the serving of the indictment — destined for De Jonge — by a Foreign Affairs Department official on a representative of the Netherlands embassy was improper.

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Passtoors, who was an employee of the Dutch Foreign Affairs Department and a doctoral student in African linguistics at Witwatersrand University at the time of her arrest on June 28, said she met Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim while living in Maputo. He was an SA refugee and ANC member.

She admitted that she communicated with the ANC, applied for post office boxes which facilitated communications for the ANC, learnt secret codes to communicate secretly with the ANC, and was in possession of two spanners designed for use on a limpet mine.

She also admitted she had knowledge of four ANC arms caches.

The hearing continues today.

BUDYAY

15/4/86

11A



● MANDELA

# Winnie's words shock liberals

Own Correspondent

LONDON — British newspaper reports of Winnie Mandela's weekend speeches have shocked some liberal sympathisers, particularly in church and academic circles.

The *Daily Telegraph* reported the speeches yesterday under the headline: "Winnie Mandela calls for violence."

There has been considerable publicity here recently for Winnie Mandela, and she has been portrayed sympathetically as a brave and crusading fighter against apartheid.

However, the latest reports have shocked some sympathisers.

The Foreign Office declined to comment specifically on Mandela's speeches but a spokesman said: "Our objective is the suspension of violence in South Africa and the beginning of peaceful dialogue in that country."

This was a low-key but quite plain renunciation of violence as a method of change in SA.

Hardliners in African National Congress and Anti-Apartheid Movement

areas of anti-SA support were unmoved by the nature of Mandela's call.

They praised her courage and said her statements were an inevitable result of the "violence" of the SA government.

In a BBC radio interview in the main news bulletin yesterday the Rev Eric Pike, an Anglican priest in Mooiplaas, near East London, which had been the centre of violence at the weekend, told British listeners that most people in that area would have been saddened by the killings over the weekend and the violence.

Asked if he would be surprised to know that Mandela supported this type of action, he said he would, and that the people of Mooiplaas would battle to accept this.

They recognised that there was a great deal that needed to be changed very quickly, but they found the recourse to burning of property and people abhorrent.



● MANDELA

Bus DAY 15/4/86 (11A)

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# Winnie 'wants violence'

11A

BUS DAY 15/4/86  
Own Correspondent

LONDON — Winnie Mandela was yesterday widely reported in British newspapers to be expressing support for violence.



● MANDELA

*The Daily Telegraph* carried a front page report under the headline: "Winnie Mandela calls for violence".

The article read in part: "Mrs Winnie Mandela forecast yesterday the end of white rule in South Africa by the end of this year, and openly advocated violence against whites."

"The wife of jailed leader of the outlawed African National Congress also commended the use by black radicals of

the 'necklace' technique — the placing of a petrol-filled tyre around the neck of an alleged informer and setting it alight."

Mandela had been speaking at a meeting in Munsieville, a black township west of Johannesburg.

*The Daily Telegraph* continued: "She told a cheering crowd that the blacks of South Africa would liberate themselves by the end of the year by using matches, petrol and tyres."

"In her call for violence against whites, she made no distinction between

● To Page 2



# Call for violence claimed

15/4/86 BUS DAY

those who support and those who oppose apartheid.

"White liberal opponents of the apartheid system last night expressed their 'extreme dismay' at her remarks."

The Progressive Federal Party's Helen Suzman is quoted as saying that Mandela's remarks would alienate millions of moderate whites.

*The Guardian* also quoted Mandela at the end of a story on Breyten Breytenbach.

After reporting the brief return to SA of Breytenbach, *The Guardian* said: "Meanwhile, the black nationalist leader, Mrs Winnie Mandela, said yesterday that South Africa's black majority would free themselves from white rule this year, and hinted that violence might be used to achieve it."

"On a speaking tour of three black

11A



● From Page 1

townships near Johannesburg, she told a cheering crowd: "Together, hand-in-hand with our sticks and matches, with our necklaces, we shall liberate this country." The necklace is a method of killing in which a petrol-soaked tyre is placed around the neck of a victim and set alight."

In the main BBC radio news broadcast at 1pm yesterday, reference was also made to Mandela's alleged words.

The newscaster said: "The weekend's violence comes just at a time when Mrs Winnie Mandela seems to support bloodshed as the best way to overthrow the apartheid system... Although few South Africans heard of her speech, because it wasn't reported in that country."

15/4/86  
 (LATA)  
 (WA)  
 (BSP)

# Secret ballot under the union spotlight

USE of a secret ballot to test support for closed-shop agreements between unions and employers has proved the most controversial of the recent National Manpower Commission report's recommendations.

The NMC examined closed-shop arrangements — which make union membership a condition of employment — and recommended that certain restrictions and safeguards should be implemented.

Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) general secretary Jay Naidoo says Cosatu's position is that there have never been enough safeguards to protect workers covered by a closed shop.

Many Cosatu affiliates have fought bitter battles against closed-shop agreements that favoured established unions in the garment, textile and paper industries.

Although Cosatu does not yet have a conclusive position on the closed shop, Naidoo said he believed it was "consistent for undemocratic unions to oppose secret ballots".

The established unions represented on the NMC strongly opposed the recommendation that a secret ballot should be held to test support for a closed-shop agreement if at least 20% of employees petitioned the Minister of Manpower.

They argued that sufficiently democratic arrangements existed to ratify or reject closed-shop agreements.

Norman Daniels, general secretary of the Textile Workers' Industrial Union (TWIU) — an affiliate of the middle-of-the-road Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa) — was an NMC member who opposed introducing secret ballots.

Daniels said a closed-shop agreement could be negotiated only if a union had the support of a great majority of the affected workers.

"Once the agreement has been negotiated it becomes damaging to have a small number of people trying to break up the union and the agreement."

Daniels conceded that support for the closed shop was now tested only when the agreement was negotiated between

*Claire Pickard-Cambridge reports on attitudes towards a recent recommendation that secret ballots should be used to test closed-shop agreements*

parties. But he believed this shortcoming was outweighed by the fact that "closed-shop unions have done a lot towards gaining benefits for workers and maintaining labour stability".

Professor Nic Wiehahn, pioneer of many labour reforms, said he opposed the closed shop because it prevented freedom of association and could be used in a discriminatory fashion.

"I cannot agree that there are sufficient mechanisms to test support for the closed shop. We live in a time where there is a lot of intimidation and discrimination and I believe the secret ballot should be granted."

In the past courts have provided one of the few ways for an outside union to break a closed shop.

The National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW) broke in this way the closed shop between the then Tucsa-affiliated Garment Workers Industrial Union and James North clothing manufacturers in Durban in 1984.

Labour consultant Andrew Levy said closed-shop agreements could be beneficial for unions, provided there were a secret ballot to test support.

But he believed that, while Cosatu unions denigrated the closed shop, most unions would accept this agreement if it benefited them.

Closed-shop arrangements can serve to build stronger unions which are able to bargain from a position of greater strength. But this appears to be only in the interests of employees if the union operates democratically.

The NMC's recommendation on secret ballots is likely to involve employees to a greater extent in determining collective bargaining arrangements, and could prove a constructive reform if the Department of Manpower is prepared to implement it.

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# X 'An unbanned Winnie harms the cause in SA'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — By disregarding the banning order on Mrs Winnie Mandela the South African authorities — in effect, if not in law — may unwittingly be dealing the anti-apartheid movement there its greatest blow for years.

So says *The Times* in an editorial today headed "Mrs Mandela's Call to Action."

It says: "The more Mrs Mandela is heard to advocate violence as the only means of achieving majority rule, the greater will be the misgivings, not only on the part of the white population, but on the part of many blacks as well."

The paper describes Mrs Mandela as "a passionate and powerful speaker whose symbolic influence as Nelson Mandela's wife goes far beyond her personal influence with blacks."

"Both her rhetorical gifts and her symbolic leadership status give her an obligation to show responsibility. To judge by the past week's performance, this is an obligation she has not yet appreciated."

Many South Africans, blacks included, are convinced that violence can and must be avoided at all costs, says the paper. They are quietly hopeful the limited reforms already

made towards ending segregation will eventually yield more.

Such people are appalled by the riots, the lynching and the murder proliferating in the townships. They see such violence as counter-productive: An illustration of why the white minority is so reluctant to cede power.

Although change has been slow, it originated largely from a sense of realism and moral outrage on the part of the white, English-speaking minority, not in response to violence in the townships.

*The Times* says Mrs Mandela's hints that the white population can no longer be left out of the violence will only alienate that constituency.

● Britain has made clear it does not accept Mrs Mandela's rejection of dialogue and her apparent advocacy of violence to bring about change in South Africa.

In what is seen as support for violent revolt in South Africa, Mrs Mandela is reported as saying at the weekend the "time for speeches and debate has ended — we will return fire with fire".

The British Government has declined to comment specifically on Mrs Mandela's remarks, but has repeated its determined commitment to peaceful negotiation.

SPAC  
5/4/86  
11A



ARGUS 15/4/86 (11A)

## Police discover 30 victims of 'necklace' death

### The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The bodies of more than 30 "necklace" victims have been discovered in the Sekhukhune district of southern Lebowa, south-east of Pietersburg.

Some of the bodies were found in shallow graves — others were not even buried. Lebowa police came upon the scene of the grim massacre after receiving information from terrified villagers.

Although police investigations have not yet brought all the details to light, it has been established that the deaths were largely the result of clashes between political rivals.

But it seems that criminals and perpetrators of witchcraft have also taken advantage of the situation.

### HACKED TO DEATH

The majority of deaths, however, are alleged to be part of a campaign by radicals to eliminate "collaborators with the system".

Earlier this year, Chief Maroga of Driekop and three of his top indunas were hacked to death. Since then rumours of the deaths of other tribal leaders have spread rapidly.

Villagers are viewing every stranger with suspicion and are refusing to speak to the Press or the police for fear of reprisal.

Businessmen have been attacked and members of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly have been threatened with death if they do not resign.

### CHIEF'S BIRTH PLACE

Mr M A M Masha and Mr A K Mariri, two local MPs, have reportedly resigned but they could not be reached for comment. Both are businessmen in the Sekhukhune area.

The Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, was not available for comment today. Violence and death have also been reported from Gampahlele, Chief Phatudi's birth place.

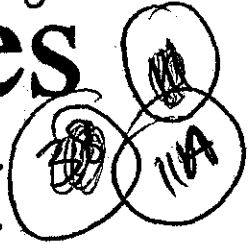
Today police were combing Sekhukhune for more bodies and clues to the identities of some of the dead.

A Lebowa police spokesman said police were finding it difficult to get information because of fear and intimidation but he added that violence had subsided in the past week.

Killings done by 'necklace' method

15/4/86 - BUS DAY

# 32 charred bodies found in dragnet



SOPHIE TEMA and Sapa

THE bodies of 32 people — all necklace victims — have been found in Lebowa.

Police using helicopters yesterday combed the mountainous areas of the Pasha-Nchabeleng villages, in Sekhukhuneland, where the bodies were discovered.

A police spokesman said that by yesterday morning 32 bodies had been found. Some were burnt beyond recognition by the blazing tyres placed around their necks.

It is possible more will be found.

He said that up to Sunday night 22 bodies had been discovered in mountains and dense bush. By yesterday morning the number had risen to 32.

Police headquarters in Pretoria also reported that 14 more blacks have been killed in unrest, mostly in the Eastern Cape. There were five shot by policemen and nine burnt in their huts.

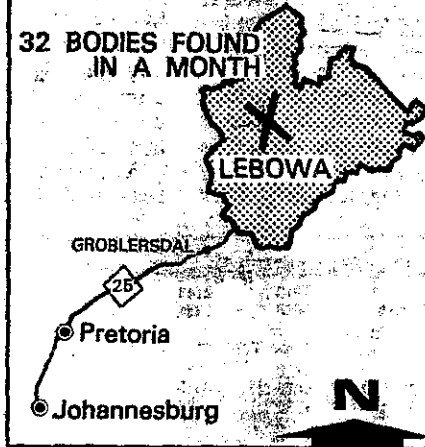
For the past year there has been conflict in Mooiplaas, near East London where the bodies were found, between residents wanting the town to become part of Ciskei and those opposing such a move.

The bodies of six blacks were also dug up on Saturday during a funeral in the Zwide Cemetery, Port Elizabeth.

They were later found at a funeral

## NECKLACE HORROR

32 BODIES FOUND IN A MONTH



parlour which was set alight.

In Lebowa, police reported that the necklace method of killing people reached the area on March 15 when several people were suspected to have been killed. The cases were, however, not reported to the police.

Bodies were found in three different areas: Pasha, Nchabeleng and Apel, home of Peter Nchabeleng, president of the United Democratic Front's Northern Transvaal region.

Nchabeleng, 59, died on Friday after being allegedly taken to Schoonoord, where police confirmed his death, saying: "It was apparently due to a heart attack he suffered in the charge office."

Nchabeleng, elected to the presidency in 1984, is the second person within a week to die in detention in Lebowa.

The other death was that of Azanian People's Organisation official and journalist Patrick Makompo Kutumela.

In a statement, UDF spokesman Peter Mokaba said: "Nchabeleng's death came after two months of a state of civil war between security forces and the Sekhukhuneland people which resulted in the declaration of no-go areas, like Apel, for police."

Nchabeleng was convicted in 1962 on charges of furthering the aims of the African National Congress and sabotage. He served an eight-year sentence on Robben Island.

Unrest deaths elsewhere include:

- Two men killed in Daveyton, near Johannesburg, by a policeman who said he was threatened by a crowd of 300;
- A youth was killed when officers used shotguns to disperse attackers throwing petrol bombs in Tantie, Eastern Cape;
- Two men reported killed near Cradock when a group stoning policemen's homes was dispersed with rifle fire.

11A



Foreign Pressmen are ordered out of Vosloorus Township.

## UDF official held as police swoop on Vosloorus funeral

The funeral service of two unrest victims was disrupted yesterday when police stormed a church in Vosloorus, near Boksburg, and whisked away a United Democratic Front official delivering a speech.

At least 10 policemen escorted Mr Themba Mbandlwa out of St Boniface Anglican Church which was packed with about 500 mourners. It is not known whether Mr Mbandlwa has been detained or arrested.

Heavy restrictions were placed on the funeral of Mr Jacob Moloi (46) and Sidney Maake (15) by the local magistrate, Mr J Roets. Both victims are reported to have been shot by the police during the funeral of an alleged

African National Congress insurgent about a week ago.

Outside the church police and members of the South African Defence Force sealed off all the roads leading to the funeral.

A policeman was injured when a firearm allegedly went off by mistake.

The media were ordered out of the township, which was teeming with police and SADF mem-

bers throughout the day.

There was confusion when the police ordered the mourners not to march to the graveyard. Transport had to be hastily organised and five buses were offered by the Putco transport company.

At about 4 pm, a deadline stipulated on the magistrate's restriction order, the police and troops moved into the graveyard and ordered mourners to disperse.

# Breytenbach calls for freedom, justice in SA

APR 15 / 4/86  
11A

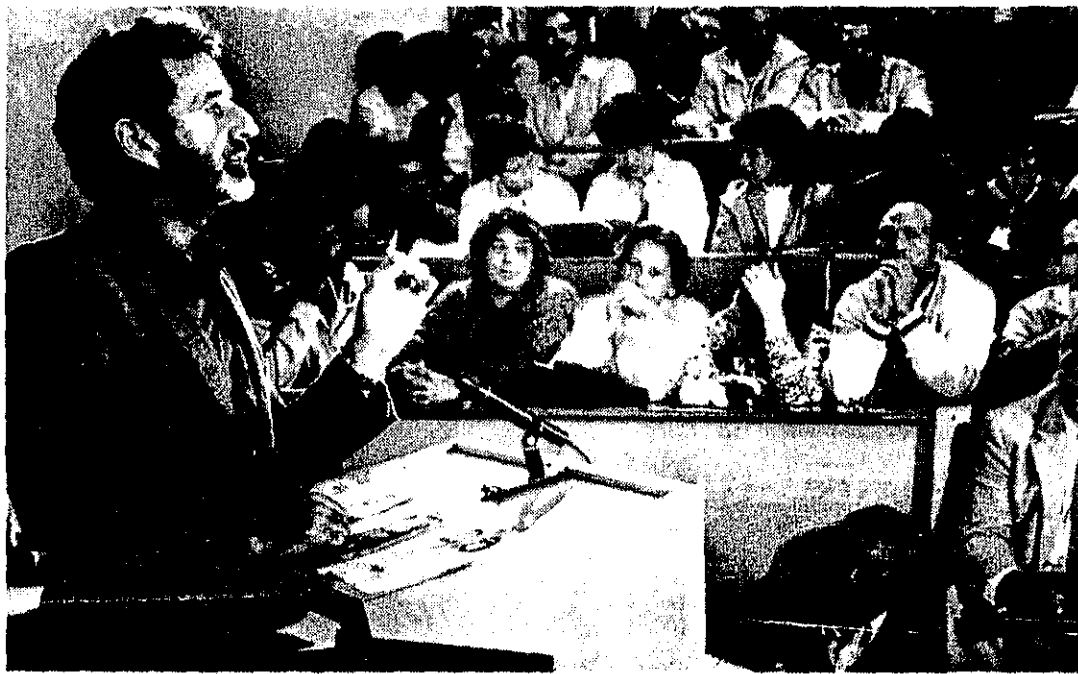
Staff Reporter

**BREYTEN** Breytenbach, the self-exiled Afrikaner poet, has reiterated his commitment to sharing his R15 000 Rapport literature prize with an organisation caring for the families of political prisoners.

Although he did not name the organisation, it is believed to be the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

The poet, who received the award in Pretoria at the weekend, confirmed his pledge on a public platform at the University of the Western Cape last night.

He also called for socialism, fraternity, freedom, justice and tolerance in a new South Africa.



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

**Breyten Breytenbach, the Paris-based Afrikaner poet, addressing students and academics at the University of the Western Cape last night.**

After speaking in Afrikaans with a soft French accent against the backdrop chalked with pro-African National Congress, South African Communist Party and United Democratic Front slogans, Breytenbach received a standing ovation at the end of his speech-cum-poetry-reading and discussion session from an enthusiastic audience who included Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and author Dr Richard Rive.

Looking relaxed and sporting a grey beard, Breytenbach said South Africa was in a process of replacing the old regime.

"We are living in exciting times. We are watching the old regime falling apart. One can feel the freedom taking effect," he said.

He said minimum requirements for freedom in the new order were freedom, justice and tolerance.

"We must have socialism and fraternity as well. But these two requirements are my own," he said.

Asked if he was prepared to sacrifice his life to liberate South Africa, he replied: "If a child is prepared to throw a stone at a Casspir, what justification do I have in not using everything inside me to fight the system?"

"I am not in favour of violence. But apartheid is violent and can be ended only through violence."

# Britain rejects Winnie Mandela's latest views

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Britain has made it clear that it does not accept Mrs Winnie Mandela's views on how to bring about change in South Africa.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "We do not normally comment on matters of this kind and we would not wish to in this case. But our position, as always, is that we support the suspension of violence and the beginning of peaceful dialogue."

At least two international news agencies and some foreign correspondents have reported Mrs Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, as saying that blacks would win equal rights this year.

They have also attributed to her comments that suggested she supports some forms of violence.

The agencies are Associated Press and Agence France Press. Their reports were sent world-wide and have been featured on British radio and television and in British newspapers.

One report said that Mrs Mandela's comments had been recorded by a TV crew for broadcasting.

The Times has a report from its correspondent, Michael Hornsby, saying substantially

the same as the agency reports.

Mrs Mandela spoke to crowds in Soweto, Johannesburg, and in Kagiso and Munsieville outside Krugersdorp.

A Johannesburg newspaper has been advised by its legal representative that while he considers her banning order no longer valid and she can therefore be quoted, some of her language may constitute an offence.

In Cape Town today, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said he would normally prefer not to react to such irresponsible statements as those made by Mrs Mandela during speeches at the weekend.

These statements seemed to constitute a call for violence, he said, and all civilised people should reject this out of hand.

"My attention has been drawn to Mrs Mandela's claim that she has been quoted out of context. I have, however, satisfied myself from verified reports and television broadcasts in various countries that she was indeed not misquoted," he said.

Mr Nel said Mrs Mandela had now revealed her and the ANC's true colours.

● Government sources have indicated that there are no plans to take action against Mrs Mandela for her remarks.

Killings done by 'necklace' method

# 32 charred bodies found in dragnet

BUD DAY  
15/4/86  
11A

SOPHIE TEMA and Sapa

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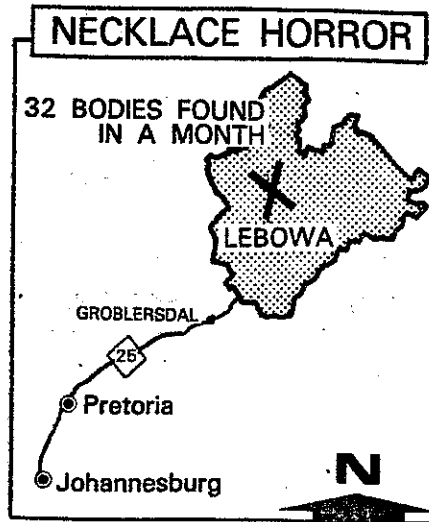
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The other death was that of Azanian People's Organisation official and journalist Patrick Makompo Kutumela.

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- Two men reported killed near Cradock when a group stoning policemen's homes was dispersed with rifle fire.

15/4/86  
WED DAY



Dutch woman denies treason

# Passtoors owns up to contact with the ANC

DUTCH citizen Helene Passtoors admitted yesterday she performed certain acts as a result of her association and support of the banned African National Congress.



● PASSTOORS

In a statement read to the Johannesburg Supreme Court by her legal representative, Denis Kuny, SC, Passtoors described how she had developed a relationship with an ANC member and helped him find a suitable escape route out of SA.

The 44-year-old Dutch mother of four pleaded not guilty to two charges of treason and alternative charges of terrorism. She pleaded not guilty to a second charge of terrorism, alternatively of participating in terroristic activities.

Klaas de Jonge, her former husband and co-accused in terms of the indictment, did not appear in court and is still under the diplomatic protection of the Netherlands embassy in Pretoria.

During argument yesterday, Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau applied for a warrant to have De Jonge arrested. The application was later abandoned.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The court also heard that the serving of the indictment — destined for De Jonge — by a Foreign Affairs Department official on a representative of the Netherlands embassy was improper.

The judge found there was, in effect, no serving of an indictment on De Jonge.

After legal argument, Justice T T Spoelstra ordered that the trials be separated. De Jonge will be tried when the State is able to bring him to court.

Passtoors, who was an employee of the Dutch Foreign Affairs Department and a doctoral student in African linguistics at Witwatersrand University at the time of her arrest on June 28, said she met Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim while living in Maputo. He was an SA refugee and ANC member.

She admitted that she communicated with the ANC, applied for post office boxes which facilitated communications for the ANC, learnt secret codes to communicate secretly with the ANC, and was in possession of two spanners designed for use on a limpet mine.

She also admitted she had knowledge of four ANC arms caches.

The hearing continues today.

CMT Times 15/4/86

# Lawyers oppose Bill of Rights

Staff Reporter

AN organization called the Democratic Lawyers Anti-Bill of Rights Committee (DLAC) has been formed to oppose the notion of a Bill of Rights and "to focus on the vital questions facing the country before entertaining ideas and models of such a bill".

Formed at the Mamelodi Cultural Centre in Pretoria last Thursday, the committee took its cue from an inter-university faculty council meeting at the University of the North last month where it was resolved to condemn the idea of a Bill of Rights.

DLAC publicity secretary Mr Jacob Malatji said yesterday that law students, lawyers and academics should rather be discussing:

- In what type of constitutional framework the proposed Bill of Rights would function;
- Which Parliament was competent to adopt such a constitution;
- What type of society was envisaged by such a constitution;
- What was the future and position of the silenced leadership in such a constitution and Bill.

Mr Malatji said: "DLAC wants to sound some words of warning to the advocates of a Bill of Rights, that while trying to appear as national saviours their programme and discussion panels still smack of racial exclusion and abhorrence of the other

cultures and ideas.

"DLAC believes that a Bill of Rights is and can only be a national document offered at the instance of national leadership and not a device to keep the national leadership out of politics."

DLAC, he said, supports the ideas in the Freedom Charter.



# Sergeant describes bugging Passtoors

By Jenni Tennant

A security policeman described in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday how he listened to a conversation between Ms Helene Passtoors and an alleged member of the African National Congress on a listening device in a Durban hotel room.

Detective Sergeant H du M Pitout said on June 17 last year he had placed listening apparatus in a Durban hotel where Ms Passtoors had booked a room.

The sergeant then kept a watch at Louis Botha Airport and saw a man who he knew as Ismail Ebrahim, meet Ms Passtoors at the airport.

"I listened to them talking on the apparatus. Ms Passtoors did most of the talking and the man mostly listened."

## Plan discussed

The sergeant said a plan was discussed and Ms Passtoors had explained to the man how to flee the country through Border Gate/Lebombo to Swaziland.

Tapes were made of the conversation, he said.

Ms Passtoors (44) has pleaded not guilty to treason and terrorism and to alternative charges of terrorism and participating in terroristic activities.

Earlier Mr Justice T T Spoelstra, presiding, ordered that the trials of Ms Passtoors and her former husband, Mr Klaas de Jonge (49), who are Dutch citizens, be separated. Mr de Jonge's trial was postponed indefinitely.

Mr de Jonge has been holed up in the former Netherlands Embassy building in Pretoria for the past nine months.

The trial was attended Ms Passtoors' mother and by representatives of the Netherlands and Belgian Consulates and a representative of the International Commission of Jurists.

Sergeant Pitout described how on June 23 he had kept Ms Passtoors under observation and had seen her pick up Mr de Jonge.

Twice during the evening they drove to an open piece of land in Halfway House, he said.

"I realised there was something fishy. Mr de Jonge went to his car a few times and took something from the boot."

After they left the area, the sergeant went to inspect a mound behind which he had seen them standing.

"I carefully removed some soft soil and found a black plastic bag," he said. He loosened it and found demolition charges.

Earlier, a statement in which certain admissions were made by Ms Passtoors was handed into court by her legal representative.

In it she said she was a supporter of the ANC and that had she learnt secret codes for the purpose of communicating secretly with the ANC.

Ms Passtoors also admitted scouting an area in the Eastern Transvaal code-named "Mango" to find a suitable route for an alleged ANC member, Mr Ismail Ebrahim, to leave South Africa.

But Mr Ebrahim did not leave the republic using the route, she said.

She also said she had knowledge of arms caches and had pointed out these caches to the police after her detention.

She said she was a doctorate student, but denied she had registered as a student as a cover for activities on behalf of the ANC.

Ms Passtoors denied she owed allegiance to the State by virtue of her residence in South Africa. The hearing continues.

Mr K von Lieres SC, assisted by Mr G Gertsch, appeared for the State. Mr D Kuny SC, assisted by Mr C Loxton and instructed by Miss K Satchwell, appeared for Ms Passtoors.



Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Johannesburg, and Rt Rev Michael Nuttall, Bishop of Natal, share a joke at the elective assembly.

## Election of Tutu won't please all

The Church of the Province of South Africa could not have chosen a more controversial figure than Bishop Desmond Tutu to be its leader.

Some 20 years ago he was a relatively unknown curate in an English parish in the village of Blechingley, where he lived with his wife Leah and his children, Trevor, Naomi, Teresa and Mpa.

He decided, however, that he had a role to play in his mother country, and left the easy life in the English countryside to return to South Africa.

Always an outspoken campaigner against what he calls "the evil" of apartheid, he became a well-known figure as the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). It has even been said it was Bishop Tutu who put the SACC on the map.

In December 1984 he was presented with the Nobel Peace Prize and shortly afterwards gave up his position at the SACC when he was enthroned as the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

### 'RADICAL'

It was his fight against apartheid that won him the Nobel Prize — but that also made him such a controversial figure in his own country. He has called for the release of all security detainees, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the release of Nelson Mandela, the abolishment of influx control, citizenship for all — and a large section of the white community does not want to hear this. They have accused him of being a troublemaker, of meddling in politics, of being a radical.

While his condemnation of apartheid has grown ever stronger, Bishop Tutu always made it very clear he was a man of peace.

This has placed him in double trouble — while his outspoken criticism of the Government and apartheid earned him the label of "radical" from a large section of the white community, some in the unrest-torn black communities feel he is taking a too soft line with his continued pleas to abandon violence.

His plea for punitive sanctions recently re-opened the controversy surrounding him. His election as archbishop of the Anglican church will surely renew the controversy yet again.

## Tutu's election evokes praise and concern

By Susan Fleming and Sue Dobson

The election of Bishop Desmond Tutu as the new leader of the Anglican Church of the Province of South Africa has been slammed by right-wing political organisations and welcomed by the Progressive Federal Party and the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso).

Bishop Tutu will be succeeding Archbishop Philip Russell, who retires at the end of August after serving for five years.

HNP general secretary Mr Louis Stofberg described Bishop Tutu's election as "shocking and disappointing — it will further efforts to achieve a revolution in South Africa."

"The Anglican community must have come under tremendous pressure from certain parties inside and outside the country. The election will cause great problems for the English community and it also goes against the grain of the Afrikaner", he said.

Azaso welcomed Bishop Tutu's new position. "He is definitely the right person for the job. He addresses himself to the problems of the oppressed people," a spokesman said.

He urged Bishop Tutu to "stand firm" in his demands for economic sanctions and in calling on the international community to "support the struggle in South Africa".

The leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff, described the appointment of Bishop Tutu as leader of the Anglican church as "a great disappointment".

The leader of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, welcomed the election. "Bishop Tutu will be a good leader and I wish him well through a very hard time ahead."

A member of the Anglican church and the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on mineral and energy affairs, Mr Brian Goodall, said he was pleased with the new leader of his church.

"Many white Anglicans will find the election of Bishop Tutu to this position as a bit of a shock. But they must come to terms with his leadership. If they can work with this moderate leader, it will be of benefit to South African society," he said.



Solidarity,  
NPP  
hammer  
Budget

PARLIAMENT — Both the ruling National People's Party and the opposition Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates gave the Budget a sound hammering yesterday.

Mr Boetie Abramjee (NPP, Laudium) said the main cause of inflation was excess Government spending.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Budget, Mr Abramjee said the present economic climate had forced the private sector to cut back on expenditure. There was no reason why the Government should not do the same.

"But I realise that asking the Government to reduce expenditure is like asking the Mafia to fight crime."

'FAVOURS WEALTHY'

He told the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, that the Budget apparently favoured only the most powerful lobby group: the wealthy.

Mr John Iyman (Sol, Camperdown) moved an Opposition amendment saying the House refused to pass the Budget unless the Government formulated a clear declaration of intent pledging its commitment to the establishment of a society without group domination.

Mr Iyman said it was appalling that Indian pupils living in King William's Town were having to travel more than 150 km daily to and from school in East London simply because the local white school did not admit other races.

Mr Somaroo Pachai (NPP, Natal Midlands) said the Budget was not only disappointing, but a "serious indictment" on the pace of reform.

Mr Kisten Moodley (Sol, Southern Natal) appealed to Mr du Plessis to tell his Cabinet colleagues he would no longer approve finance for segregated facilities.

— Political Staff.

NPP  
stages  
walk-out

Members of the ruling National People's Party in the House of Delegates staged a walk-out yesterday, apparently in protest over a remark passed by Opposition MP Mr Pat Poovalingam recently.

When Mr Poovalingam, the Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills, rose to speak during yesterday's Budget debate, almost all the NPP MPs left the chamber.

Party members said afterwards that the walk-out was intended as a snub to Mr Poovalingam for saying a fortnight ago that Health Minister Mr Ismael Kathrada belonged in a piggery.

DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

Though the comment was withdrawn, Mr Kathrada — a member of Mr Poovalingam's own party — has taken exception to the remark and has written to party chairman Mr Ismael Omar for disciplinary measures to be taken.

Mr Kathrada said last week that if no action were taken, he would reconsider his membership of Solidarity.

Party leaders are to discuss the issue this week.

'contempt'

gal, and costs already incurred would be wasted.

Mr Raw said the transport committee had asked for consultation with bodies which would be affected by the new system.

He was speaking during the debate on the Transport Vote.

# 30 burnt bodies found in Lebowa

By Dirk Nel,  
Northern Transvaal Bureau

More than 30 "necklaced" bodies have been discovered in the Sekhukhune district of southern Lebowa, south-east of Pietersburg. Some of the bodies were found in shallow graves, while others were not buried. Lebowa police came upon the scene of the grim massacre after receiving information from terrified villagers.

Although police investigations have not yet brought all the details to light, it has been established that the deaths were largely the result of vicious clashes between political rivals in the area.

But it appears that criminals and perpetrators of witchcraft have also taken advantage of the situation.

Most of deaths, however, are alleged to be part of a campaign by radicals to eliminate "collaborators of the system".

Earlier this year Chief Maroga of Driekop and three of his top indunas were hacked to death and, since then, rumours of the deaths of other tribal leaders have spread rapidly.

Villagers are viewing every stranger with suspicion and are refusing to speak to the media or the police, for fear of being killed.

Several businessmen have been attacked and Lebowa Legislative Assembly members have been threatened with death if they do not resign.

## RESIGNED

Two MPs, Mr M A M Masha and Mr A K Mariri, have reportedly resigned but they could not be reached for comment. Both are businessmen in the Sekhukhune area.

The Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, was also not available for comment today. Violence and death has been reported from Ga-Mphahlele, Chief Phatudi's birth place.

Today police were combing the area for more bodies and clues to the identities of some of the dead.

A police spokesman said police were finding it difficult to get information due to the fear and intimidation rife in the area.

But he said actual violence had subsided considerably during the past week.

A wave of violence has hit Lebowa during the past three weeks and incidents reported include these:

- The destruction of the home of the Lebowa Minister of Education, Mr SP Kwakwa, in a petrol bomb attack at Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus.
- The gutting of a circuit office of the Lebowa Department of Education and accompanying destruction of important files and documents.
- Live burnings of villagers near Lebowakgomo.
- A violent attack on an official of the commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, Mr Phokela Rasethaba, who was left in the veld for dead.
- The robbery of several shops by rampaging youths.
- The deaths of at least six people at Motatema near Groblersdal, during violent clashes between police and radicals.

# Call for violence claimed

BUDDAY 15/4/86

those who support and those who oppose apartheid.

"White liberal opponents of the apartheid system last night expressed their 'extreme dismay' at her remarks."

The Progressive Federal Party's Helen Suzman is quoted as saying that Mandela's remarks would alienate millions of moderate whites.

*The Guardian* also quoted Mandela at the end of a story on Breyten Breytenbach.

After reporting the brief return to SA of Breytenbach, *The Guardian* said: "Meanwhile, the black nationalist leader, Mrs Winnie Mandela, said yesterday that South Africa's black majority would free themselves from white rule this year, and hinted that violence might be used to achieve it."

"On a speaking tour of three black

11A

From Page 1

townships near Johannesburg, she told a cheering crowd: "Together, hand-in-hand with our sticks and matches, with our necklaces, we shall liberate this country." The necklace is a method of killing in which a petrol-soaked tyre is placed around the neck of a victim and set alight."

In the main BBC radio news broadcast at 1pm yesterday, reference was also made to Mandela's alleged words.

The newscaster said: "The weekend's violence comes just at a time when Mrs Winnie Mandela seems to support bloodshed as the best way to overthrow the apartheid system ... Although few South Africans heard of her speech, because it wasn't reported in that country."

# Winnie 'wants violence'

BUDDAY 15/4/86 11A  
Own Correspondent

LONDON — Winnie Mandela was yesterday widely reported in British newspapers to be expressing support for violence.

*The Daily Telegraph* carried a front page report under the headline: "Winnie Mandela calls for violence"



MANDELA

The article read in part: "Mrs Winnie Mandela forecast yesterday the end of white rule in South Africa by the end of this year, and openly advocated violence against whites."

"The wife of jailed leader of the outlawed African National Congress also commended the use by black radicals of

the 'necklace' technique — the placing of a petrol-filled tyre around the neck of an alleged informer and setting it alight."

Mandela had been speaking at a meeting in Munsieville, a black township west of Johannesburg.

*The Daily Telegraph* continued: "She told a cheering crowd that the blacks of South Africa would liberate themselves by the end of the year by using matches, petrol and tyres."

"In her call for violence against whites, she made no distinction between

To Page 2



# UDF leader made a statement before dying in custody — lawyer

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A Pietersburg lawyer says there is evidence that United Democratic Front leader, Mr Peter Nchabeleng, made a written statement to the police before he died in custody in the Lebowa police station of Schoonoord.

He believes the statement may contain clues to Mr Nchabeleng's condition and state of mind shortly before his death.

Mr Nchabeleng (59), Northern Transvaal president of the UDF and a former prisoner on Robben Island, was detained at his Apel home in Sekhukhuneland on Thursday evening and was dead by 5 pm next day, his lawyer, Mr C Ramusi, said.

Police have stated that Mr Nchabeleng apparently had a heart attack.

## SECOND PERSON

Mr Ramusi said the Nchabeleng family would take steps to ensure that the cause of death was reliably ascertained. They would probably appoint an independent pathologist to conduct or observe a post-mortem, he said.

Mr Nchabeleng was the second person to die in Lebowa police cells this month. The other was journalist Mr Makompo Kutumela. Members of the Azanian People's Organisation who were detained with Mr Kutumela in Mahwelereng told lawyers he had been severely assaulted and subjected to hammer blows before his death.

A lawyer who attended the post-mortem on Mr Kutumela said his body was a horrifying sight.

Treason accused had five passports, court told

# Dutch Govt link with Passtoors is revealed

By Jenni Tennant

Five passports in the name of Miss Helene Passtoors — three Belgian and two Dutch — were handed into the Rand Supreme Court yesterday as evidence in her trial.

One was an official Dutch Government service passport and another was cancelled. Also handed to the court were financial statements and an employment agreement between Miss Passtoors and the Netherlands Department of International Co-Operation, dated December 1980.

The passports and other documents were taken from her Bellevue East home after her arrest.

Major C J A Victor, of the Johannesburg Security Police, said he had searched Ms Passtoors's Bellevue East residence after she was arrested on June 28 last year.

## ARMS CACHE

He found financial records and statements in a box in the house, he said.

One bank account from Swaziland was in the name of K de Jonge, Major Victor told the court.

Debit notes in Miss Passtoors's name showing payments had been made to an organisation called "Boycott Outspan" Action and to an anti-apartheid movement in Amsterdam were also handed into court.

Major Victor was giving evidence in the trial of Miss Passtoors (44), who has pleaded not guilty to

charges of treason and terrorism.

Earlier Brigadier G N Erasmus, commanding officer of the Johannesburg security branch, described what was found in a hidden compartment in a car driven by Mr Klaas de Jonge, the former husband of Miss Passtoors, when he was arrested on June 28 last year.

Found in the compartment, which was behind the back seat, were a radio, three brown envelopes, a pistol and crumpled brown paper.

A document headed "Mango", which described a specific area, photographs and three topographical maps of Barberton, Mbabane and Vryheid was also found in the car, the brigadier said.

Personal documents and receipts of Mr de Jonge were found in a leather bag taken from the car. A brown wallet was also found in the bag.

In it were found handwritten notes and a sketch which showed the way to an arms cache at Halfway House, Brigadier Erasmus said.

Evidence was also given on forensic tests carried out by the police forensic department in Pretoria on some items removed from the car.

Lieutenant J B Laurens told how he found that the brown paper had been in contact with explosives, which were used in demolition.

Appearances: Mr Justice T T Spoelstra is on the Bench. Mr K von Lieres SC, assisted by Mr G Gertsch, appeared for the State. Mr D Kuny SC, assisted by Mr C Loxton and instructed by K Satchwell, appeared for Miss Passtoors.



# The heavy price of ignorance

16/4/88  
SIA  
TIA

There is a passage in a recent article by that most refined of South African writers, J M Coetzee, which reveals one of the great crimes that the Nationalist Government has committed against the people of this nation.

"It is one of the bitterest consequences of the decades-long suppression of black dissent," Coetzee writes, "that ordinary whites now not only have no one with whom to imagine negotiating their future, but have not the vaguest idea of what blacks might be prepared to settle for."

Coetzee is writing in *The New York Times* magazine about a series of conversations he had with Afrikaner verligtes who are living, as he puts it, "in a country seething with black anger" with everything around them in ferment.

He is struck by their "shifting fears", realising that change is coming, knowing that their generation must make huge adjustments, but not knowing what to expect. One moment they imagine a future social order much like the present one but without the racial laws; the next they are overcome by darker fears of life as an unwelcome minority in the land of their birth.

What an appalling prospect, having to come to terms with the unknown, not even knowing what to fear. If it is disorienting the verligtes, imagine what it is doing to the more conservative spirits among our ruling group.

This is a wicked disservice to the people of South Africa. They face a challenge as daunting as any in history. Ahead lies the prospect of a race war which, as Breyten Breytenbach has put it, will "sweep like a firewind through the subcontinent" destroying all before it, not least the Afrikaner Volk.

To avoid that awful prospect requires a leap of faith by which the estranged people of this land must commit themselves to trust one another.

Yet we are kept in enforced ignorance of the people we must

trust. Worse still, the vacuum of ignorance is filled with the poison of propaganda to increase mistrust. As a deliberate act of State policy, it is made more difficult for our people to contemplate the leap of faith necessary to avoid self-destruction.

Years ago an Afrikaans newspaper editor warned that the time would come when his people would have to recognise that the African National Congress was the National Party of the black man. That time is now.

There can be no doubt that the ANC is the organisation that has captured the hearts and minds of the great mass of the black population.

Every reporter who has been in the townships over the past 20 months covering the unrest, talking to the people and sensing the mood of the huge funeral rallies with their flags and banners and revolutionary songs, knows that.

This is true not only of the big urban townships but of little dorps all over the country, and increasingly of some "homelands". It is a firewind of its own spreading across the veld, raging faster with every teargas canister and shotgun cartridge discharged by the police in their crude attempts to extinguish fire with fire.

What it means is that there can be no solution to the racial conflict

in this country that is not subscribed to by the ANC. Many thoughtful whites, including some Nationalist newspaper editors and MPs now realise this, which is why there is such a steady pilgrimage to Lusaka.

Yet the Government maintains its ban on the ANC, preventing white South Africans from knowing about the organisation, preventing them from getting the measure of the people they must come to terms with, preventing them, as Coetzee wrote, of getting some idea of what blacks might be prepared to settle for.

Instead the Government has demonised the ANC, filling the information vacuum with a sustained propaganda smear that includes allowing a few selected quotes which reinforce the demon image to be published — a form of wilful distortion to which our newspapers, to their shame, have lent themselves.

I have recently returned from a week of detailed conversations with the ANC that included the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and six other members of the national executive.

It was my fourth meeting with them in two years, and each time I have been filled with wrath at being able to report on the conversations for foreign readers while the law requires me to keep you, the South

Africans who so desperately need to know, ignorant of them.

I can only say that the impression gained from the conversations could hardly be more different from the image projected by Mr Louis le Grange and his predecessors over the past quarter century.

These are neither bloodthirsty monsters nor rigid ideologues. I have found them to be intellectually impressive, personally likeable and surprisingly pragmatic.

Above all, I have found them to have a passionate commitment to non-racialism. It is not their intention to turn the tables of racial oppression, but they are determined not to preserve racial privileges. They want the defining of race groups as such eradicated in the equivalent of a denazification process.

Though I do not agree with all their positions, I find those positions logical and well thought out. I also find that they are not as rigidly held as I expected, and that among the leading figures I have met there is a considerable range of views that seem to be accommodated with a good deal of tolerance.

Yes, there are communists among them, but then I am old enough to remember that there were Nazis in the National Party of the forties.

Nationalist parties fighting for the emancipation of their people will always seek powerful allies abroad, and sometimes, inevitably, they are going to absorb some of the ideology.

One has only to re-read *Die Kruithoring* of the forties to see that. But in the end it is their nationalist interests that predominate.

I am not afraid of taking a leap of faith with these people. But that is because I have been able to assess them for myself. Because of this pernicious, self-immolating ban, you are not.



# Call to honour dead journalist

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has called on workers in the Potgietersrus area to stayaway from work on Friday and Saturday in honour of dead journalist, Mr Lucky Makompo Kutumela, who is to be buried on Saturday.

This was announced yesterday by Azapo's acting branch chairman in Mahwelereng, Mr Perry Kekana. Mahwelereng is the black township outside Potgietersrus. It is administered by the Lebowa Government.

Mr Kekana said Azapo called "upon all black workers and shoppers in Potgietersrus to stayaway from work and Potgietersrus town to express the collective

feeling of disgust and outrage at the death of Mr Kutumela". (11A)

A call has also been made to the local taxi association not to ferry people to town. Prayer meetings will be organised with one starting at 9am on Friday at the home of Mr Kutumela, he said. (11A) 16/4/84

Mr Kutumela (25), who was a member of Azapo and the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), died in police detention 10 days ago. SOWETAN

The stayaway call was immediately endorsed by the Mahwelereng Confederation of Students Representative Council (MCSRS).

**Azaso, Azasm deplore of closure of Medunsa**

THE Azanian Students Organisation has condemned what it calls the "unwarranted" closure of the Medical University of Southern Africa yesterday.

Azaso's general secretary, Mr Chris Ngcobo, said in a statement that the South African Police had "no respect for academic freedom" because they demanded that students leave the campus with only an hour's notice.

The closure of the university yesterday follows class boycotts against the registration of two white students. One of the students has withdrawn his registration.

**Violence**

Violence erupted at the campus yesterday when about 500 students damaged the administration building and tried to set fire to a university official's car.

At the same time, Mr Xolisile Manyaka, vice-president of the Azanian Students Movement, issued a Press statement yesterday calling on the authorities of Medunsa to open the university immediately so that blacks can continue to qualify as doctors.

He said his organisation pledges solidarity with the black students at Medunsa who were sent home on Monday. Mr Manyaka added: "We demand that the university be re-opened exclusively to the black students immediately."

Students of the university were warned yesterday to attend classes from April 21, or "their registrations will be cancelled forthwith".

*Southern*



114

16/4/82

**Fort Hare**

In a statement yesterday, the Rector, Prof Leon Taljard, said the University Council strongly "condemns the recent destructive behaviour and attitudes on the part of undergraduate students which occurred notwithstanding the sincere efforts of the university to give attention to grievances and to resolve problems."

The University of Fort Hare has been rocked by another boycott of lectures by students, the second in two weeks. There is a total boycott of lectures this week by students demanding the release of detained university lecturer the Rev Arnold Makhene.

Mr. Stotie was detained by the Ciskei Security Police on March 12. At a meeting on Sunday the students decided

11/11/85 (S) (P) 11/11

## May Day action: Exams postponed

### Education Reporter

THE start of postponed 1985 matric exams for black pupils has been delayed to May 2 — averting a clash with action to mark May Day.

Department of Education and Training spokesman Mr Job Schoeman said calls for a stayaway on May 1 prompted the decision.

### CONCESSIONS

The change is one of a number of concessions on matric exams announced by the director-general of the department, Dr Braam Fourie, in Pretoria.

They include:

- The closing date for pupils to enter the 1986 matric exams in November this year has been extended from April 11 to April 25.

- Pupils who paid exam fees in April last year, did not write in November 1985 and want to write in November this year instead of in May, will not have to pay fresh exam fees.

- Pupils who fail in May will be able to try again in November but they will have to pay exam fees. The closing date for these candidates' entries will be announced later.

Dr Fourie said the new arrangements were made "because of the disruption of education in certain schools over the past months and the difficulty experienced by pupils in certain areas in receiving normal schooling and preparing for examinations".

- The department advised all matric candidates, especially private candidates, to get copies of the revised timetable which will be available from examination centres from tomorrow.

*cap. 10/14/60*  
**Matches, tyres all too real'**

LONDON. — The Times has commented here on Mrs Winnie Mandela's call for revolutionary action to make South Africa change its policies.

"From outside South Africa it is easy to dismiss Mrs Mandela's call for liberation with boxes of matches and petrol-doused tyres as a metaphorical flourish designed to captivate an already captive audience." The Times said.

But to that audience, composed mainly of blacks, the references were all too real. Many South Africans, blacks included, saw such violence as counter-productive — "an illustration of why the white minority is so reluctant to cede power".

"The more Mrs Mandela is heard to advocate violence as the only means of achieving majority rule, the greater will be the misgivings, not only on the part of the white population, but on the part of many blacks as well," The Times said. — Sapa-AP

Winnie slams  
<sup>STAR</sup>  
'hysterical' <sup>(IIP)</sup>  
16/4/86  
media reaction

By Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday criticised the media for "its hysterical reaction" to her weekend speeches and said they were wasting time analysing her words.

Mrs Mandela was reacting to reports of speeches she made on Sunday — and the Government's comments on them — in which she referred to "boxes of matches and the necklace" as part of the liberation struggle.

Mrs Mandela said the country was faced with a bloodbath.

"You are not hysterical about that," she added.

"Le Grange (Minister of Law and Order) can stand up in Parliament and tell the whole world and the country: 'When they throw petrol bombs I am going to shoot them.'"

"The Press did not become hysterical and analyse that," Mrs Mandela said.

She said it was pointless to comment further until restrictions on free speech were lifted.

Yesterday the Government attacked Mrs Mandela over her comments about "necklace" killings and mass violence.

# Court told of explosives traces in De Jonge's car

14486 BUJDAY 11A

A FORENSIC expert told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that traces of explosive were found in a motor vehicle alleged to have belonged to Dutch fugitive, Klaas de Jonge.

Lieutenant Johannes Laurens told the court that a bundle of brown wrapping paper delivered to him at the SAP forensic laboratories in Pretoria last June was found to contain particles of RDX explosive.

He said in reply to a question from state prosecutor Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau that the type of explosive found on the brown wrapping paper was consistent with that used in a majority of demolition mines.

At Monday's hearing Helene Passtoors, 44,

LIAM EGAN

pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice T T Spoelstra to charges of treason, or alternatively terrorism, as well as a second charge of terrorism, or alternatively participating in terroristic activities.

Her former husband and co-accused in terms of the indictment, Klaas de Jonge, remains under the diplomatic protection of the Netherlands embassy in Pretoria and has not appeared in court.

It transpired from yesterday's testimony of Johannesburg security policeman Detective Danie Joubert that the brown wrapping

paper was among the contents discovered in a brown Peugeot sedan driven by De Jonge at the time of his arrest.

A divisional head of the Security Police at John Vorster Square, Brigadier Gerhard Erasmus, testified at yesterday's hearing he had taken possession of the vehicle at Zeerust after De Jonge's arrest.

He told the court he believed hand-written notes found in the vehicle "clearly related to the Halfway House arms cache".

Evidence relating to the establishment of an arms cache near Halfway House by Passtoors and De Jonge was led at Monday's hearing.

The trial continues today.

# Police commander tells how Vaal violence began

Michael Tisson and policemen's lives were being threatened in another area.

DELMAS — Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen, who was in charge of the police force in the Vaal Triangle on the day in 1984 when the five townships erupted in protest, told a Circuit Court yesterday that minutes before his vehicle was stoned a large group of youths chanted: "Oliver Tambo, Tambo, Tambo".

He also told the court, in which 22 men are facing charges of treason, that the youths raised their fists in Black Power salutes while chanting the name. (Oliver Tambo is president of the African National Congress.)

Brigadier Viljoen said he went to the Vaal Triangle after receiving a report about pending trouble. He mobilised riot squad units in Krugersdorp and Roodepoort.

A residents' meeting in the Vaal Triangle had called for a stayaway from work the next day.

Brigadier Viljoen said he was in charge of "a task force of 116 whites and 97 non-whites, and deployed them to the different townships.

"It was quiet during the night," he said, "but at about 6 am I got a report of stone-throwing at buses and police vehicles in Sebokeng. At 6.05 am I heard over the radio from Sharpeville that heavy attacks were taking place against police vehicles and buses. I was asked to get the buses out of the area.

"At about 6.20 am I heard a report that buses were being heavily attacked,

"On arrival in Sharpeville, the main road, Seiso Street, was blocked with a variety of things. There were scrap cars, dirtbins, large stones and rubble strewn across the road.

"I noticed that other streets were blocked in a similar manner. I decided to handle the situation in Sharpeville myself, although I had earlier put another policeman in charge there.

"I gave orders for the side streets to be patrolled. I saw groups of people further down Seiso Street. Some groups were 30 to 50 people, others were between 200 and 300.

## STRUCK WITH STONES

"When I came closer I heard them shouting and making a noise. The Black Power fist salute was evident all over. The groups were shouting different things. While one group shouted 'Amandla', another answered 'Awethu'.

"As we came within striking distance we were hit with stones. There were only two of us in the police van at the time and we fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse the crowds.

"Further down Seiso Street, I saw a police van which had also been attacked. Its windscreen was smashed out. I ordered the policemen to go the edge of the township and await further orders. By that time the bus service had been withdrawn."

The hearing continues.

16/4/86  
SNAK

# Relatives say aged women necklaced

By Abel Mabelane

Several families at Makgane village in Sekhukhuneland have described seeing their loved ones — most of them elderly women — being led with tyres round their necks to a fiery death after being accused of being witches.

At least 32 people are reported by the Lebowa police to have been killed "through the necklace".

The villagers, who are mostly women, said they watched helplessly as their mothers and grannies — some of them blind — were fetched from their homes by a group of youths last Wednesday. They were thrown into a hole at a nearby mountain and burnt to ashes.

The bodies were discovered by the Lebowa police after they had been led to the scene of the carnage by relatives.

Helen Pasha (16) said: "A group of youths came at noon and pulled my blind grandmother, Masigsheng Selebalo Pasha (80), out of the house.

"They accused her of having 'finished people' by bewitching them and they beat her up with wire cables until she bled profusely. She was taken away in a wheelbarrow to a hole in a nearby mountain where she was burnt to death."

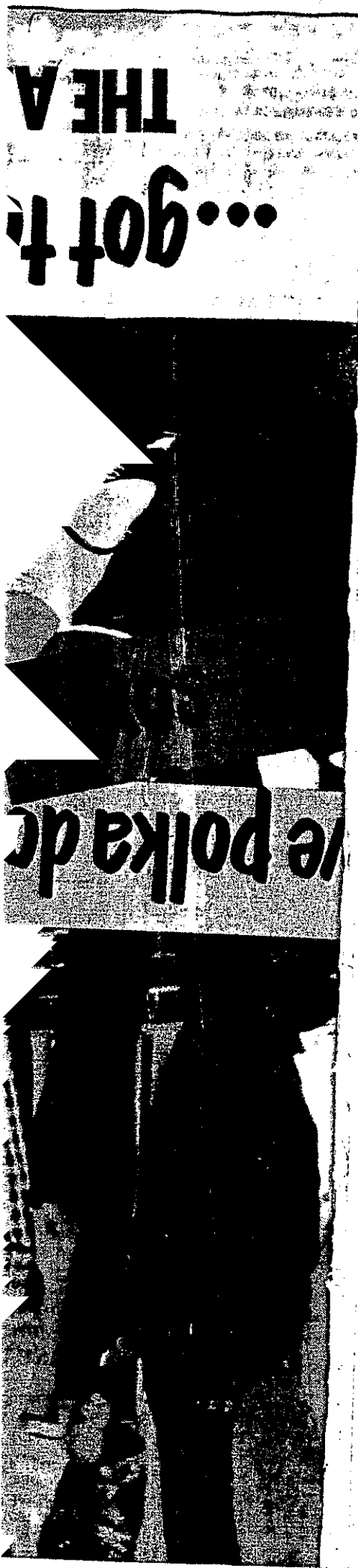
Mrs Ramaabelo-Leshabane said her mother Ramotsele Magaga Pasha, a pensioner, was found alone at home and taken to the "hole of death" where she was set alight.

Another woman said her mother was accused of harbouring a monkey in her house and was taken by a group of youths with two tyres dangling around her neck to the mountain, where she was set alight.

The family members of all the victims said they were worried that those accused of witchcraft were not "smelt out by nyangas".

Chief Stephen Pasha of Makgane said the killings were not politically motivated. He said the whole thing started among local youths but later took a nasty turn.

He said about 50 youths were arrested by the police yesterday in connection with the killings.





S Two injured as  
bombs hit youth  
leader's home

Pretoria Bureau

Two men were injured when a home-made explosive device and a petrol bomb hit the home of the president of the Saulsville Atteridgeville Youth Organisation, Mr Sam Morotoba, yesterday morning.

A police spokesman, Colonel Victor Haynes, confirmed the blast at 47 Mokolobotlo Street and said that two men were injured in the attack.

Mr Morotoba was not at home but his brother, Harry, who was sleeping with his cousin, Eric Makhala (21), a visitor from Venda, in the front room said the heavy explosion rocked their home at 2.10 am, ripping open the roof and shattering all the front windows.

Mr Makhala, who suffered wounds on the right arm and on the left side of the body was treated at Kalfong Hospital and discharged.

WER IS JUST

It escaped the...  
Tipoli after the American bombing raid.

consider the...  
1118 which raided Libya.

*Cape Times 16/4/86*  
**5 die in township unrest**

PRETORIA. — Five more township unrest deaths were reported by police last night.

According to the nightly situation report of the SAP public relations division, four of the deaths occurred in the Cape and one in Natal.

Two black men were stoned to death at Langa, near Uitenhage, after a private home, said to belong to an Azapo member, was set alight.

At Bongoletu, near Oudtshoorn, a coloured man was fatally wounded when a group of blacks forced his car to a halt. In Soweto, Port Elizabeth, police found the burnt body of an 18-year-old black man.

At Chesterville, near Durban, a man was killed and another seriously injured when they were stoned by a mob.

A group of blacks stoned an ambulance on the Old Klipfontein Road opposite Crossroads, but the vehicle was only slightly damaged.

The police report added that nine black men had been arrested for questioning in connection with the deaths last Sunday of nine people when 20 huts were set alight at Mooiplaas, in the Eastern Cape. — Sapa

*Cape Times 16/4/86*  
**Winnie's statements: No govt decision yet**



NO DECISION had been taken on what action, "if any", would be taken against Mrs Winnie Mandela as a result of statements attributed to her at the weekend, a government spokesman said yesterday.

According to the spokesman, the government had "obviously taken note of" the statements allegedly made by Mrs Mandela, but declined to comment on a newspaper report yesterday that they did not intend taking legal steps against her.

In an Agence France Presse report, which was widely circulated internationally, Mrs Mandela is reported to have said: "With our matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country", and that the country's blacks would win back their freedom in 1986 even though they had only rocks and petrol to use in their fight.

The report said that in Munsieville, outside Krugersdorp, Mrs

Mandela said South Africa's blacks were fighting a far more heavily armed government, but that "the power is in our hands — we have people power".

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said Mrs Mandela's statements about "necklace" violence revealed her and the ANC's true colours.

In a statement, he said he had established she had not, as she claimed, been quoted out of context in reports of her address at Munsieville on Sunday.

"I have satisfied myself from verified reports and television broadcasts in various countries, that she was, indeed, not misquoted."

The minister said it was imperative the public be informed of the implications of Mrs Mandela's statement.

It was well known that the "necklace" — lighting a petrol-

filled tyre around the neck of a victim — was one of several methods by which moderate blacks, who did not support the violence of the ANC, were being intimidated by radical revolutionaries.

It was worth noting that, since January, 175 people had been murdered by radical rioters, many of the victims having been "necklaced".

In the same period, 720 homes and 228 businesses of moderate black citizens had been destroyed or badly damaged through arson.

"These facts prove the necessity for security forces' action to protect the lives and property of innocent people and to maintain law and order," said Mr Nel.

This action had resulted in the death of 143 people.

It was against this background that Mrs Mandela's statement should be evaluated. — Sapa

**Ex-UK pop star shot dead**

JOHANNESBURG. — An English businessman and musician from Roodepoort, who once recorded with the Beatles, was shot and killed on Monday afternoon while a woman companion sat next to him in his company car.

West Rand Murder and Robbery detectives have found no motive for the murder of Mr Brian Newton, 48, of Galena Avenue, Helderkruin.

A police spokesman said the incident occurred about 1.30pm, soon after Mr Newton met Mrs Cathy Hobbs in Creswell Park.

Mrs Hobbs told police she heard Mr Newton talking to a man and then a

shot went off.

She caught a fleeting glimpse of the gunman as he fled. Then Mr Newton fell out of his car and she tried to drag him to her car to seek help.

When help arrived, Mr Newton lay dead in a pool of blood.

Mr Newton, who immigrated from England about four years ago, was lead guitarist with the pop group Gerry and the Pacemakers, and featured as a session artist on numerous Beatles albums.

He is survived by his wife, Doreen, and three children. — Sapa

**crack of dawn**

"Private schools will be subsidised according to restrictions on the number of blacks they admit. Is that a government quota or a government quota?"

ARCUS 17/4/86

# Tyres slashed at UDF rally

Staff Reporter

THE time to work for the transfer of power was now and people should not "wait for some heroic day in the future", the Western Cape secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Trevor Manuel, told a UDF rally.

Woodstock Town Hall was packed for the meeting last night, organised by the UDF Woodstock area committee, in spite of anonymous attempts to disrupt it by pasting luminous "cancelled" stickers on advertising posters.

It was announced during the meeting that tyres of cars had been slashed. Marshals later reported that about eight vehicles had been vandalised.

## "True voice"

Mr Manuel urged people to "put their energies into the democratic organisations of the people" at a time when the "morale of the State" was breaking.

The UDF had "grown in leaps and bounds as a true voice of those striving for democracy in South Africa" since its inception in 1983.

Waiting for President P W Botha to abolish pass laws was "like waiting for Halley's Comet — we see nothing".

Mr Manuel said he was outraged at the American attack on Libya.

People could "organise against President Ronald Reagan by organising against imperialism in South Africa".

The vice-president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Henry Fazzie, said things were "rolling like a rugby ball" in the Eastern Cape.

"We are sure that by January 1987 we will be ruling this country."

He appealed to the white community to "stop sending their children to fight on our borders. Those they fight are people striving to return to their own country".

Moulana Faried Esack, national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam, said no activists imprisoned on Robben Island or at Victor Verster or Pollsmoor prisons had "grown rich on the backs of others".

Mr Esack said people were "clamouring for the release of Nelson Mandela from Oslo to Peking".



Pictures: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

A section of the capacity crowd at last night's United Democratic Front rally.



Mr Henry Fazzie, vice-president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, addresses the meeting.

*Cape Times* 17/4/86 (E) 19  
500 asked to leave campus

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — More than 500 students of Umlazi's Mangosuthu Technikon College were yesterday asked to leave the campus after they refused to return to classrooms following a 36-hour boycott.

Alan Shakespeare, said students boycotted classes after demanding that he sack the registrar, Mr S D Hibbett.

He said after a meeting with student representatives that he had told them he could not sack a staff member without investigating the complaints against him.

The rector, Professor

# Four more charred bodies found in village

FOUR more charred bodies were pointed out yesterday to Lebowa police in the Ga-Nkoana village, in Sekhukhuneland, bringing the death toll in the area to 36.

Local residents interviewed by *Business Day* said UDF leader Peter Nchabeleng, who died in police detention at the weekend, had been an organiser of the youths who "necklaced" the 36 victims.

Gertrude Nchabeleng, his widow, confirmed that residents believed Nchabeleng was behind the 36 murders, but denied that her husband had played any role in organising the murders.

The Lebowa police also said, in an

*BUS. DAY* 17/1/86  
SOPHIE TEMA and  
PETER WALLINGTON

interview with *Business Day*, that they suspected Nchabeleng was involved in organising the youths responsible for the murders.

Gertrude Nchabeleng said that several of the squad of about 10 policemen who detained her husband had said they would kill him.

Police said Nchabeleng had died of a heart attack. His wife said the police would not produce his body.

Colonel P Moloto of the Lebowa Police

was not available for comment yesterday.

The United Democratic Front, at a Press conference in Johannesburg, condemned the Lebowa police for allegedly making death threats to activists in the Phokwane and Ga-Nkoana villages.

The bodies were found minutes before the Lebowa Cabinet inspected the area.

□ A report issued on Monday by Sapa indicated that 36 people had died in the necklaced attacks. This was based on incorrect information supplied by the Lebowa police. The death toll then was 32.

● See Page 5

# Buthelezi launches bitter attack on clerics

April 1986

**KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has attacked the Anglican Archbishop-elect Bishop Desmond Tutu, World Alliance of Reformed Churches**



**chairman Allan Boesak and SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude for signing a document of the Dutch Council of Churches that is critical of Inkatha.**

He was delivering his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday.

Buthelezi said the document, entitled "The Hour of Truth", stated that Inkatha preached non-violent resistance against white domination but, in fact,

Own Correspondent

served the "white master" because it fitted into the "divide and rule" policy which had led to the formation of the homelands system.

The document said Inkatha did not hesitate to use violence against other blacks and darkened the prospect of liberation by dividing blacks while it emphasised white superiority excessively.

Buthelezi said the document, although issued by the Dutch Council of Churches, expressed views which emerged during consultations with the SACC in which it had "quite brazenly and blatantly" identified with the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Call Time 17/4/66

## Exiled chief's body returned

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The body of the deposed and exiled Tembu king and ANC member, Paramount Chief Dalindyebo Sabata, last night arrived at K D Matanzima Airport from Lusaka.

Chief Sabata's former senior counsellor, Mr Archibald Yeko, said last night that eight people — including the chief's wife — arrived with the body after their flight had been delayed in Zimbabwe.

An uncle of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Sabata will be buried at Bumbane "The Great Place" in Transkei on Sunday "as was requested" by Mr Mandela, Mr Yeko said.

Cape Times 17/4/86 (10) 11/12

## Lebowa bodies: 23 in court

JOHANNESBURG. — graves around Nkoana village over the past week.

Twenty-three people appeared on murder charges in the Sekhukhune Magistrate's Court yesterday in a sequel to the massacre of suspected witchcraft practitioners whose bodies were found in shallow graves.

The accused, mostly Lebowa labourers and villagers, were not asked to plead and remanded to May 15.

The charred and decomposing bodies of the suspected "witches" — mostly young people — were found in shallow

Initial reports that 36 bodies had been found were based on incorrect information supplied by the Lebowa police. The death toll then was 32.

Meanwhile, four more charred bodies were yesterday found by Lebowa police in the G-Nkoana village, in Sekhukhuneland, bringing the death toll to 36.

To date more than 80 people have appeared in court to face charges over the killings. — Sapa.



# Socialist meeting will maintain anti-SA line

② (11A) STB/C 17/10/86

The Star's Africa  
News Service

GABORONE — The South African Government and its policies will come under fierce attack here tomorrow and on Saturday from political leaders claiming the support of more than 100 million voters.

Both Botswana's Presi-

dent Quett Masire and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda are due to address the opening session of a two-day Socialist International executive meeting.

The meeting, will be chaired by Mr Willy Brandt, president of SI and a former German Chancellor.

It will focus on developments in Southern Africa, the struggle against apartheid, independence for Namibia and support for the "liberation movements".

Attending will be the leaders of between 50 and 60 socialist, social democratic and labour parties from Europe, the Americas and Australia.

Delegates will include three former Prime Min-

isters — Mr Anker Joergensen (Denmark), Mr Joop den Uyl (the Netherlands), and Mr Harlem Brundtland (Norway).

SI, which claims to be the world's largest and oldest grouping of political parties, has connections with 75 organisations.

The organisation has been outspoken in its criticism of South Africa and last year organised a conference on Southern Africa at Arusha, Tanzania which was attended by SI members, representatives of the Frontline states, the African National Congress and of Swapo.

The conference adopted a joint communique rededicating SI to "the battle against apartheid".

# ANC not running show Hurley

ALAN RUDDOCK

THE ANC does not claim to be in direct control of events in townships, Archbishop Denis Hurley said yesterday on his return from two days of talks with the banned organisation.

"While they make their suggestions known on the general lines of strategy, they leave the tactics and implementation to people in the townships."

Hurley said he saw no chance of reconciliation between the ANC and government at the moment. He added that this was because government would not accept ANC participation and the ANC was uncompromising in its call to dismantle apartheid. — Sapa.

CAMP TINKS 17/4/86

# Message had ANC names, says witness

**Own Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Rand Supreme Court yesterday heard how a coded message alleged to have been concealed in a car driven Mr Klaas de Jonge was decoded by security police to reveal the names of two top ANC members.

Brigadier H Stedler told the court that Satharan Ratha alias Mac Maharaj and Gedleyah Lekusa alias Zuma were referred to respectively by the words Mac and Zuma appearing in the message.

## 'Fled'

He said in reply to a question from Attorney-General and prosecutor Mr Klaus von Lieres that Ratha and Lekusa were two London-based members of the ANC executive. They had fled South Africa after serving prison sentences for subversive activities.

He was giving evidence in the trial of Ms Helene Passtoors, 44, who has pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice T T Spoelstra to charges of treason, alternatively terrorism, and a second charge of terrorism, alternatively participating in terroristic activities.

Her former husband and co-accused, Mr De Jonge, is still in the Pretoria building that used to house the Netherlands Embassy.

The message, read to the court by Mr Von Lieres, was signed by a Moosa Ahmed and stated that Mac or Zuma should be informed that Zac and Y Mohamed would be in London for two days from July 6 to 8.

Brigadier Stedler said Ahmed was Ismail Ebrahim, a member of the ANC high command in London, while Zac and Y Mohamed were identified as Mr Zac Yacoob and Mr Y Mohamed, two South African advocates who have previously defended treason trialists.

He said the security police had bugged the telephone at Ms Passtoors's Johannesburg home last year with permission being granted under the Post Office Act.

Brigadier Stedler also said the security police had investigated the case in conjunction with the National Intelligence Service until June 6 last year when the NIS withdrew after it became clear that there was the possibility of a criminal charge being laid.

## NEWS FOCUS

# Only birds sing in the village of burnt bodies

ONLY the calls of turtle doves and the songs of bright multi-coloured birds were echoing from the mountains surrounding the Ga-Nkoana and Nchabeleng villages, where the charred bodies of at least 32 people who were burnt alive — all necklace killings — were discovered this week.

The hundreds of youths who had turned the mountains into their habitation were now all in the hands of the Lebowa police, held as suspects in the most vicious and gruesome killings recorded in the history of the homeland.

A village resident described the agonising screams of men and women pleading for mercy as they lay dying under the burning tyres.

Residents said most of those killed were accused by the youths of practising witchcraft. Other killings are believed to have been politically-related.

On Tuesday, 67 of the youths appeared in the Sekhukhune Magistrate's Court in connection with the killings while about 150 others — aged between 15 and 21 — had gathered at the royal kraal of Chief M Phasha, waiting to be picked up by the police for questioning.

Relatives of the burnt victims have gone into hiding, fearing for their own lives after youths had threatened to come back and "get even" with them as well.

At Apel — the home of Peter

SOPHIE TEMA

Nchabeleng, president of the Northern Transvaal region of the United Democratic Front, who died in detention at the weekend, parents have been instructed to take their children to the Schoonoord police for questioning today.

Meanwhile, police are continuing their investigations and conducting extensive raids in the villages where many of the charred bodies were found in the dongas along the mountains, shallow graves and in bushes.

Some of the bodies were burned beyond recognition.

Lebowa Police spokesman Colonel P Moloto confirmed that police investigations suggested the deaths were related to witchcraft.

He said: "Youths are being used in these witchcraft killings. It used to be the old people, but now youths are being used. Politics is involved, though."

On the other hand, many other residents said: "It is time these people who ride on brooms and fly over other people's roofs at night are eradicated."

But for those who lost their dear ones, it remains a painful and dreadful experience.

Gertrude Nchabeleng, shares the

grief of those who lost their friends and relatives when youths went on the rampage setting men and women — young and old — alight using car tyres doused with petrol.

Nchabeleng, who this week told how her husband was picked up by police at midnight from their home in Apel, said: "My husband saved a family from being burnt by the youths before his detention."

"I am now living in fear of my life and that of my children because some people in the area believe my husband had links and influence over the youths — some of them now in detention. Meanwhile he had tried his best to show them the right way."

"He was a man of peace and would never have encouraged the type of killings that took place in the villages in the past two weeks."

"He did not believe in the power of witchcraft and always said nobody can cast a bad spell over another and get it to work."

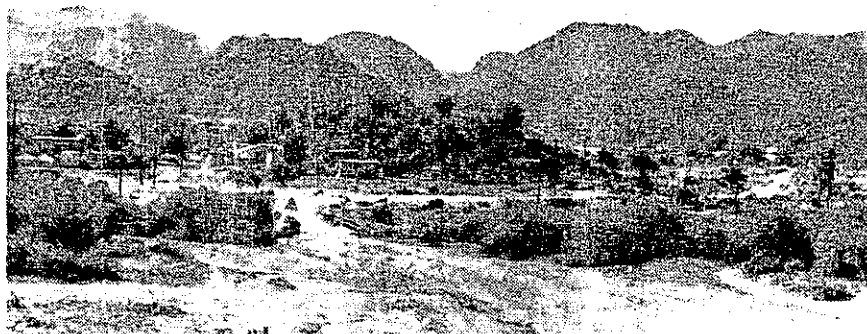
"Before his detention my husband was making arrangements with the chief of our village to call a residents' meeting to protest against the killings."

A spokesman at the kraal of Chief Phasha, said: "We came to this area in 1902 and have never had an experience as tragic as this in our village."

"The killings took place in broad daylight covering the mountains with thick and heavy black smoke and the air was filled with petrol fumes."



© NCHABELENG



The mountains in the background of Ga-Nkoana village where bodies were found. Picture: Walter Dhadha

April 1986

# Zulu King attacks Cosatu calls for sanctions

By Sheryl Raine

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Integration of Uwusa - the United Workers' Union of SA.

King Goodwill Zwelithini, King of the Zulus, yesterday accused the Congress of SA Trade Unions of advocating suffering for black people by echoing the calls for sanctions against South Africa which were being made by organisations outside the country.

In a rare incursion into politics, the King called on all who opposed disinvestment to gather at Durban's Kings Park Stadium on May 1 for the inau-

Uwusa, which has the backing of Inkatha, is pro-capitalist and anti-disinvestment.

In a statement at the opening of a community centre named after him at Bhekuzulu Township, near Vryheid, Natal, the King said it was imperative for people who disagreed with the "wild suggestions that are being made to destroy the economy" to be at Kings Park and to make their voices heard

beyond the borders of South Africa.

Already there were not enough jobs for black school-leavers. It would be suicidal to create an atmosphere in which there would be even fewer jobs.

Nearly a million citizens of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Mozambique were in South Africa, not because they were impressed with apartheid, but because their countries could not create jobs

for them. This applied also to the so-called independent TBCV states.

King Goodwill said the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had fought for years to persuade the South African Government to allow his people to take part in the trade union movement and this had finally materialised.

He regretted that, instead of being the expected unifying factor, trade unionism was being used by some trade unionists and organisers to create

chasms between people.

"Our land was taken away from us after our conquest," he said. "And the land we now occupy is not enough to support us. This has made job creation a priority.

"And yet we now have organisations such as the Congress of SA Trade Unions which have declared themselves against multinational corporations continuing to operate here and who have stated that they want no further investment in South Africa."

COPY TIPS

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April 1986

## Inkatha hired buses

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Inkatha hired three Putco buses to transport impis who attacked delegates to the weekend National Education Crisis Conference in Congella, Durban.

This was disclosed yesterday by Putco's public relations officer Mr. Pat Rogers, who added that the company had been unaware of the passengers' intention.

He said that after the clashes — in which two people died and many were injured — drivers were asked to pick up Inkatha reinforcements and to return to the scene of the clashes. The drivers had refused.

Mr Rogers said Putco was fully aware of the importance of the National Education Crisis Conference and had sent a delegate.

The company had chosen to serve the black community as a whole.

At the conference, Putco was condemned of "aiding the criminal activities of Inkatha against our people".

Mr Rogers said Putco's Durban management was making a full inquiry into the matter.

A spokesman for Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, said the chief would comment after clarifying the matter with Putco.

# 'Power for peace'

April 1986

Staff Reporter

UNITED Democratic Front activist and law lecturer Mr Raymond Suttner told a UCT law conference at the weekend that "people's power", of which one aspect is "people's justice", is staring the country in the face.

In his paper on the Nature of Repression in South Africa and the People's Courts, he said many in the audience would probably be sceptical of "people's justice".

Mr Suttner said there was an important distinction between "people's power" and ungovernability.

"With people's power control is being exercised, where there is ungovernability there is no control by the people or the authorities. People's courts are responsible and accountable to the communities concerned and therefore exclude kangaroo courts."

He said the rise of people's power was related to the loss of legitimacy of the police and courts.

People's courts were

not trying to imitate "white courts" but trying to create peace.

Punishment, according to Mr Suttner, was not an important factor in people's justice and it was "pointless to use violence when poverty is the cause".

The emphasis, he said, was on compensation, such as the return of stolen goods, and the basic approach was to educate people, build unity and integrate people into community organizations.

Mr Suttner cited examples of how police in Port Elizabeth referred complaints to the UDF "comrades" to solve community problems, "recognizing they are more effective".

He concluded that attempts to control crime by street committees and people's courts had helped to unite people.

He said kangaroo courts were not responsible to the community and "may be run by irresponsible youths as opposed to people's courts" where correction was the emphasis.

# Evidence to be led about alleged police petrol bombs

By Kym Hamilton,  
Pretoria Bureau

The Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday ruled evidence should be led in support of an urgent application to restrain the police from petrol-bombing an Atteridgeville home.

But an interim order was granted interdicting an Atteridgeville policeman, Constable David Mdawo, from petrol-bombing the home of or harassing the Sekgothe family.

No order was made against the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, who was cited on the papers as the first respondent.

Mrs Miriam Sekgothe, a domestic worker who lives in Atteridgeville, brought the application as she said she feared Constable Mdawo would carry out his alleged threats to petrol-bomb her home in Mantoedi Street and kill her son, Sello.

## HAND GRENADES

Deputy Police Commissioner General Hendrik de Witt said there was "not the slightest possibility" that policemen in the course of their duty took part in the alleged terror activities and misconduct.

Mrs Sekgothe said unidentified policemen arrived at her home on April 4 looking for her son. They claimed he was involved in a petrol bomb attack on the home of an Atteridgeville Town Council policeman, Mr Ruben Kgogomo.

While searching her home, they asked if she had seen how the police burn homes and warned her the same would happen if Sello was not found.

On April 10, Constable Mdawo and another policeman arrived at her home looking for her son.

Constable Mdawo threatened to throw petrol bombs and hand grenades at the house and to arrest her and her daughter, she said.

Five other affidavits from Atteridgeville residents detailing petrol bomb attacks and the threat of attacks from the policemen, were also before the court. The court heard there had been about 50 such attacks.

Constable Mdawo denied the allegations, saying the application was founded on "patent untruths".

The hearing was postponed indefinitely.



1710186  
STAR

# 'Accused defied funeral curbs'

By Michael Tissong

**DELMAS** — Photographs showing treason accused Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka in the forefront of a funeral procession which turned to violence, were handed in to a Circuit Court judge yesterday.

Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen, who was in charge of the police force in the Vaal Triangle when the five townships erupted in protest in 1984, said Mr Baleka featured prominently at the funeral.

Mr Baleka, a member of the Azanian National Youth Unity, is standing trial with 21 people on charges of treason and alternative charges of murder, subversion and terrorism. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Brigadier Viljoen said the funeral on September 23 1984 was restricted by a magistrate who said there should be no political slogans or songs, mourners should travel in vehicles and no banners should be displayed.

Brigadier Viljoen said he noticed Mr Baleka featured prominently in the gathering of people outside the church.

He said: "I told the priest of the restrictions, but the slogans, Black Power fists and singing went on."

"The mourners also walked to the graveside. At the graveside Mr Baleka and groups of other blacks were blatantly breaking all the restrictions imposed on the funeral."

## RUBBER BULLETS

"I decided this noisy and unruly crowd could not be let loose on the community. I ordered the police to surround the people and make arrests."

"People ran in all directions and some climbed into buses while others stoned the police."

"Only the necessary violence was used to quell the crowd. We used rubber bullets, teargas and sjamboks and 570 people were arrested. Mr Baleka was among them."

Brigadier Viljoen also described how he ordered policemen to shoot people who were inciting others during demonstrations.

The hearing continues.



Harry Belafonte, left, and Dali, son of ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, together at the launch in London this week of Artists Against Apartheid.

*Carole Timp 17/4/86*

## Artists Against Apartheid movement formed in UK

From  
**MARGARET SMITH**  
LONDON. — A group, Artists Against Apartheid (UK) was formed here recently with formidable backing from local musicians.

Their chief aim is to ban musicians and groups from appearing in South Africa — or in states such as Bophuthatswana — and also to prevent their records from being released in South Africa.

Well known US human rights activist and for-

mer singer, Harry Belafonte gave the opening address in which he appealed passionately for support to isolate South Africa culturally.

In his speech he made clear his stand and that of the artists supporting the new movement when he said: "Until South Africa has one man, one vote, our work in the international community will never stop."

The political orientation of Artists Against Apartheid was quite clear from the emphasis of the speeches and some of the people who attended the launch.

Chief organizer was Dali Tambo, young son of Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC).

On the platform was a representative of Amandla, the cultural wing of the ANC and among the guests was Mr Solly Smith, London representative of the ANC.

In fact, in his opening address, Mr Belafonte went so far as to claim that "the ANC is the legitimate voice of the people of South Africa".

He spoke of the difficulties which faced his anti-apartheid organization in America, Athletes and Artists Against Apartheid.

But once it took off it has gathered momentum at "a tremendous rate,"

drawing some of the very top Americans in their fields into active support.

He pledged their help to the new UK organization.

Very soon, he predicted, no artists would be willing to appear in South Africa or in Sun City, no matter what the financial inducement.

"Today we have gained more momentum than we ever dreamt of and we are part of a world alliance."

Earlier, in opening the meeting, Dali Tambo spelt out the organization's aims. He said these were:

- To promote the use of culture in the campaign to isolate South Africa.

- To spread the boycott not only to musicians and groups but to their recordings as well.

- To increase anti-South African publicity through music, concerts and recordings.

- To give what aid they could to South African artists.

Among those who have pledged support to Artists Against Apartheid are Simon le Bon, Sir Richard Attenborough, Bob Geldof, Elvis Costello, Madness, Hugh Masekela, Dizzy Heights, Dire Straits and UB40.

Plans for a benefit record and concerts were also announced.

17/4/88 BUS DAY

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# Court told of coded message

BUSINESS DA

THE Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday how a coded message, alleged to have been found in a vehicle driven by Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge, was decoded to reveal the names of two high-ranking members of the ANC.

The evidence was led at the trial of his former wife, Helene Passtoors, who faces a charge of treason, alternatively terrorism.

The head of the Intelligence branch of the security police, Brigadier H

LIAM EGAN

Stedler, said Satharan Ratha, alias Mac Maharaj, and Gedleyah Lekusa, alias Zuma, were referred to in the message as Mac and Zuma.

He added, in reply to a question from State prosecutor Klaus von Lieres, that Ratha and Lekusa were London-based members of the ANC executive committee who had fled SA after serving jail terms for subversive activities.

The message read to the court by Von Lieres was signed by Moosa Ahmed. It said Mac or Zuma should be informed that Zac and Y Mohamed would be in London from July 6 to 8.

Stedler said Ahmed was the alias for Ismail Ebrahim, a member of the ANC high command in London. Zac and Y Mohammed were identified as Zac Yacoob and Y Mohamed, two SA advocates who had defended treason trialists.

The hearing continues.

Orange Free State have been  
in the same period

# Dairy Belle hires guards for replacement delivery drivers

17/4/86 STAR

Dairy Belle in Pretoria has hired security guards to protect drivers of milk delivery vans employed to replace 500 black employees dismissed for striking.

A company spokesman said after intimidation of replacement drivers supplied by an outside contractor, guards were hired to accompany milk rounds from the company's Clayville factory in Pretoria.

About 1 000 Dairy Belle workers organised by the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU), are still on strike at three Pretoria depots and the Turffontein West depot in Johannesburg.

The dispute between the company and the union began at Clayville two weeks ago. About 500 black employees went on strike, demanding the reinstatement of three shop-stewards dismissed for allegedly using violence on workers hired to replace them during a previous strike. The union denied the claim of violence.

When Dairy Belle dismissed the 500 strikers, workers at four other depots went on strike, demanding their reinstatement.

The company has so far dismissed 75 sympathy strikers from the Koedoespoort depot in Pretoria.

Mr Jan Theron of the FCWU said a meeting had been arranged with the company for Sunday to discuss the situation.

# 60 in court after necklace killings

More than 60 people appeared in the Sekhukhune Magistrates Court on Tuesday and Wednesday in connection with the deaths of 32 suspected witches "necklaced" at the Lebowa villages of Makgane and Nchabeleng recently.

Lebowa Police liaison officer Major Thys du Preez said the case was postponed to May 15 pending further investigations.

He said the bodies of three other people who had been burnt to death were found at Spruitkraal, also in Lebowa. Several people have been arrested in connection with the killings. Police investigations were still continuing on the killings at the two villages.

● See Page 15.

Putco to cut Wool Dam level is still falling

17/4/88  
STAR

### UDF plans service for Dalindyebo 119

The United Democratic Front (UDF) is to hold a service in Johannesburg tomorrow in honour of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, who died in exile in Lusaka last week. The service will be held at Khotso House from 1 pm.

Chief Sabata (57), fled South Africa for Zambia in 1977 after being detained and charged with treason in the Transkei. He became a senior member of the African National Congress.

The main speaker at the service will be Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the Front.

Buses are being arranged to transport mourners to Chief Sabata's funeral in the Transkei this weekend, leaving Johannesburg on Saturday at R50 for a return trip.



# Coded note read at Passtoors trial

By Jenni Tennant

STAR 17/4/86

A note in code, said to have been found in the boot of a car owned by Mr Klaas de Jonge and allegedly containing the names of high-ranking African National Congress contacts, was read in the Rand Supreme Court trial of Miss Helene Passtoors yesterday.

Miss Passtoors (44), former wife of Mr de Jonge, has pleaded not guilty to a charge of treason and terrorism.

The note was alleged to be a transcript of a three-line typed report which was handed in to court earlier this week. The coded note was among the items allegedly found in Mr de Jonge's car when it was searched by Security Police after his arrest on June 23 last year.

The note read: "Inform Mac or Zuma: Zac and Y Mohamed will be in London two days July six to eight they must be seen by PHQ Ahmed."

Brigadier Hermanus N Stadler, head of the intelligence section of the Security Police, gave brief autobiographies of the names in the note.

The brigadier said that "Mac" referred to a person known as Mr Mac Maharaj who represented the ANC in Zimbabwe and was a member of the ANC's steering committee.

He said that "Zuma" was apparently Mr Getleya Hlekisa who was also known as "Jacob".

"As far as I know, in 1985 he was the chief ANC representative in Maputo," the brigadier said.

"Zuma" was also allegedly linked to the ANC's department of information and propaganda and was a member of the steering committee, the court heard.

Brigadier Stadler said "Ahmed" was the Umkhonto we Sizwe name of someone he knew as Ebrahim Ismail.

The three men had been jailed at different times and had left South Africa unlawfully, the brigadier told the court.

When asked about the names "Zac" and "Y Mohamed" the brigadier told the court that the names were of an advocate and an attorney who were involved in the Maritzburg treason trial — Mr Zac Yacoob and Mr Y Mohamed.

PHQ stood for political headquarters, he said.

Mr D Kuny, SC, appearing for Miss Passtoors, asked that the cross-examination of Brigadier Stadler be postponed as time was needed to study his evidence.

The hearing continues.

Appearances: Mr Justice T T Spoelstra is on the Bench. Mr K von Lieres, SC, assisted by Mr G Gertsch, appeared for the State. Mr D Kuny, SC, assisted by Mr C Loxton and instructed by K Satchwell, appeared for Miss Passtoors.

CAPL TIMES 17/4/86

# 16 in court over 'witdoek' deaths

Court Reporter

FOURTEEN people, including five from UDF-affiliated organizations in the New Crossroads area, appeared in the Athlone Magistrate's Court on Tuesday on charges of murder.

Yesterday two more appeared on the same charges. Nine were adults and each was granted bail of R100. The other seven, who were minors, were released into the custody of their parents.

Mr Alfred Madlavu, 47, Ms Mary Ngemntu, 45, Ms Regina Ntongana, 47, Ms Lillian Peter, 44, Ms Temba Nonjola, 19, Mr Kholekile Sokani, 18, Ms Thozamile Kondile, 23, Mr Winston Tukashe, 20, Ms Nomabango Mbeka, 18, and the minors are all of New Crossroads.

The State alleges that on March 21 in New Crossroads, they killed Mr Jackson Mbindini, Mr John Palama, Mr Zityele Mtsha, Mr Mzwandile Xeketwana, Mr Jack Mahlabeledlu, Mr Zwelisha Matola, Mr Madoda Kuze, Mr James Nehiale and Mr Venfolo Sitway.

The charges follow battles between residents of New Crossroads and "witdoek" vigilantes from Old Crossroads in which seven "witdoeke" died, and the earlier death of two New Crossroads committee members.

The hearing was adjourned to May 20.

Mr G A Groenewald was the magistrate. Mr A Geerts appeared for the State on Tuesday and Mr P Basson yesterday. Mr E Moosa and Mr K Amien appeared for the 16.

Shuttlehunters find cocaine

WOULD Buthelezi allow Mandela to take over? Would Mandela sit back and let the Zulu leader take control?



Graham Leach — BBC Southern Africa correspondent, based in Johannesburg.

## BBC man's view of SA

By NEILL DARKE

**T**HE unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would probably not settle the question of who is the strong man in South Africa's black nationalist struggle.

This is one of a number of controversial views expressed by Graham Leach, a BBC Southern Africa radio correspondent, in a new, topical book which describes the violent explosions of black anger which have rocked the Republic since 1984.

Leach attempts to shed light on the complex, often long-standing grievances which have caused continuing conflict — from Crossroads and the Eastern Cape to the Rand and Pretoria.

Regarding Mandela, he states that there is no doubt that he has become the symbol of the struggle against apartheid and, if freed, would certainly have the most support among blacks.

"But numbers don't necessarily count. Would the Zulus ever allow Mandela (a Xhosa) to become the unrivalled leader of the blacks in a free Azania? Would the Xhosas allow anyone else but Mandela to assume the leadership?"

Would Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi allow Mandela to take over? Would Mandela sit back and let the Zulu leader take control? Would either of them tolerate the continuance of a different school of thought, such as Azapo, a black consciousness movement, or the National Front, which believes in black exclusivity?

"The notion of a united black struggle in South Africa is appealing, but misleading."

**L**EACH examines the right-wing backlash among whites and comments that for the first time an Afrikaner leader — President PW Botha — has sent part of Afrikanerdom on its way. He has "waved farewell to them at the laager gates, while through the back door he has admitted a substantial proportion of the English population.

"PW Botha has achieved what Smuts and Louis Botha failed to bring about, something of a common identity between Afrikaner and English."

Regarding the dismantling of apartheid, he believes the whole monolithic system would be a nightmare to untangle.

"The house of cards is not going to come tumbling down overnight, but rather piece by piece over a long period and with some of the more crucial supports remaining..."

Looking to the future, Leach, who has been based here since 1983, forecasts that a population explosion will change the face of the country.

A Department of Health and Welfare report has forecast that the population will multiply almost five times during the next 60 years.

Whites are outnumbered almost 5-2 by blacks at present. By the year 2040 this ratio will have risen to around 17-1.

He writes that the present unrest in black townships may prove minimal when compared to what could happen in the homelands and rural areas if this time-bomb of economic deprivation and population explosion is not defused.

**F**OR the moment, the inevitable question remains: Will peaceful change, or a revolutionary bloodbath, confront South Africa in the years to come? He believes that history is on the side of the latter, particularly when it is recalled how the often bloody tide of black nationalism swept through Africa since the 1960s.

"But South Africa is different in many respects to those other countries. It has a white race which has nowhere else to go, a strategic importance which the West will not easily let slip into Marxist hands, and a defence force (possibly supported by a last-ditch nuclear bomb capability) which can withstand any offensive threat which, under present political circumstances, might arise.

"So one has to look for more hopeful signs and here, as the author Alan Paton has put it, it is necessary to be optimistic because to be pessimistic about South Africa does not bear thinking about."

Leach is an acute, fair observer and he impressed me as being a writer with no political axe to grind.

● South Africa — *No Easy Path To Peace*, by Graham Leach (Century Hutchinson).



# 5 held after City demo

By CHRIS BATEMAN

FIVE out of 15 people demonstrating in Cape Town against the United States bombing of Libya were arrested by police yesterday after an attempt by the Mayor of Cape Town to defuse the situation.

The chanting, placard-bearing demonstrators, who were intermittently pelted with eggs, drew a large lunchtime crowd outside the General Post Office in Darling Street.

All members of the Call of Islam, they stood facing the American Cultural Centre with placards bearing slogans such as "The Call of Islam says: End American and South African terrorism now".

The police arrived after about 30 minutes and warned the group to disperse within five minutes. The Mayor, Mr Leon Markovitz, then approached the protest leader and asked him to persuade his group to leave.

## Chased

Five demonstrators were arrested soon afterwards as they crossed Darling Street into Plein Street. Policemen chased protesters up Plein Street, confiscating posters. Those caught were bundled into a police prison truck.

Mr Markovitz later said he found the police modus operandi "unsatisfactory" and had written to the Minister of Police, Mr Louisa de Graange, expressing displeasure.

He said he felt the police could have asked the 15 to hand over the posters. "If the colonel in charge had walked over to the guy I spoke to before the five-minute warning was given and asked diplomatically, things might have been different."

Sapa reports that placard-bearing students at Gaberone's University of Botswana yesterday marched on the city's US and British embassies where they burned US and British flags.



Members of the Call of Islam organization, demonstrating outside the American Cultural Centre yesterday, are addressed by a police officer with loudhailer.



Mr Leon Markovitz, the Mayor of Cape Town, pleads with Moulana Faried Esack, one of the demonstrators outside the American Cultural Centre yesterday against the American bombing of Libya.



A woman badly injured in the American bombing raid on Libya on Tuesday, consoles her children at Tripoli Centre Hospital yesterday.

Picture: Reuters



A collage of yesterday's front pages shows how newspapers in Britain treated the US bombing of Libya.

# More gunfire over Tripoli

**TRIPOLI.** Machine-gun fire broke out in Tripoli yesterday but Libyan officials said it was brief and caused by the appearance of American aircraft over the tense capital.

Libyan radio said four aircraft were shot down but in Washington the United States Defence Department denied that any American planes had flown over the city.

Later, gunfire broke out in a military barracks where the Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, maintains a residence.

## Lighting up

The Information Ministry denied a foreign radio report of a rebellion in the barracks, which was attacked in 1984 by opposition elements trying to overthrow Colonel Gaddafi.

Anti-aircraft guns and automatic weapons opened fire after nightfall again, lighting up the Tripoli port with streams of tracer bullets.

Reporters in the Al Kabir Hotel, 400m from the harbour, could see guns firing from at least two Libyan naval vessels in the harbour, and anti-aircraft missiles being fired into the sky.

There was no evidence of aircraft approaching on bombing missions or of fires breaking out.

Colonel Gaddafi has not been seen since before Tuesday's attack.

He has not talked to foreign journalists since the US air raids against his Tripoli barracks and a bus trip to see him earlier yesterday turned into a tour to see the damage to the compound where his family lives.

As the bus approached the barracks, Libyan soldiers rushed out from the front gate, fanned out and began firing assault rifles. The bus wheeled around and headed back to the Al Kabir Hotel where the reporters are staying, and Libyan drivers manoeuvred frantically to get away from the gunfire.

At the same time as



Gaddafi on Libyan TV

**TRIPOLI.** Colonel Gaddafi appeared on television and radio last night and condemned the United States and Britain for the attack on Libya.

"We are ready to die and we are ready to carry on fighting in defending our country," he said.

"Reagan has issued orders to his armed forces to kill our children. We have not issued any orders to murder anybody."

"We will not abandon our incitement of popular revolution, whatever raids they carry out." — Sapa-AP

the shooting started outside the barracks, Libyan navy gunboats in Tripoli harbour opened fire for about 10 minutes. Anti-aircraft guns and automatic-weapons fire were heard in the distance as an unidentified aircraft flew high overhead.

Furious Libyan officials denied reports by foreign journalists who had seen bullets ricocheting off the streets and thought the shooting may have been related to an internal power struggle.

"It's not true, it's not true," screamed an Information Department official, as he huddled over a short-wave radio and listened to a broadcast account of the shooting based on the foreign journalists' dispatches.

A half-hour after the aborted bus trip, journalists again were taken to the compound through calm streets with no evidence of factional fighting.

Libyan television has shown film of Colonel Gaddafi that was purportedly taken after the American attack,

and Libyan Radio reported he met the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Anatoly Anassimov, for the second straight day.

Bombs and shells had severely damaged the Gaddafi family residence, blasted a tennis court, knocked down power lines and left a mess of shrapnel and debris in the compound. The two-storey home was still standing, but a huge crater just 10m from it indicated the force of a bomb which had sent shrapnel through the walls and knocked down plaster and some walls.

In the capital, where the atmosphere was described as tense, many shops, banks and offices remained closed and traffic was less than normal.

Meanwhile, Libya has repeated calls to fellow Arab states to take up arms against American targets and to break off diplomatic relations with Washington.

In what appeared to

be the first concrete reply to the call, the United Arab Emirates yesterday cancelled a scheduled ministerial meeting with Britain in protest against its role in the US air raids on Libya.

In central London on Tuesday night, police arrested 160 people in a 2,000-strong demonstration near Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Downing Street residence.

She cancelled a dinner on Tuesday night with Queen Elizabeth at Windsor Castle, west of London, to prepare her speech in an emergency debate in parliament defending her decision to help the United States mount the raids.

The Cape Times correspondent reports from London that panic-stricken travellers were paying hand over fist yesterday to switch from US and British airways flights out of the UK.

Travel agents reported a wave of calls from businessmen wanting to cancel their bookings on airlines which might be hit by Libyan terror squads.

Trips to the Middle East were high on the list of cancellations, especially if the flights passed through major European cities.

Meanwhile in the genteel English village of Gazeley, four-year-old Ferdie Ribas and his mother Bianco waited quietly for Captain Fernando Ribas-Dominici to return after he flew off to Libya late on Monday night.

Late yesterday hopes were fading for the survival of the 33-year-old American pilot and his weapons operator, Captain Paul Lorence, 31, both based at Lakenheath, Suffolk.

Their aircraft is thought to have crashed into the sea shortly before or after the raid on Tripoli. The American Fleet has now given up a search for them.

Libyan reports that they were shot down over Tripoli and beaten to death by angry crowds after ejecting are not being taken seriously. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and Own Correspondent

# 'Inkatha hired buses'

2/4/85  
SOWETAN  
11A  
~~11A~~

PUTCO yesterday disclosed that the two buses used to ferry heavily armed imps to the National Education Crisis Committee conference in Durban at the weekend were hired by Inkatha members.

The explanation follows the killing of two men during a confrontation with delegates who were attending the conference.

The NECC later passed a resolution condemning the bus company for "aiding and abetting the criminal activities of Inkatha against the people".

Mr Pat Rogers, a Putco spokesman, yesterday said: "We did hire buses to be used by Inkatha to a prominent community leader for the Saturday of the re-

ported clashes, but were not aware at the time of the intention of the passengers. Putco is fully aware of the importance of the NECC conference held in Durban over the weekend."

He said some of these buses were stopped by the police and that after the clashes Putco drivers refused to pick up Inkatha reinforcements who wanted to return to the scene. The Durban management is making a full inquiry into the matter, Mr Rogers said.

He added: "We would point out that we had also discussed the hire of buses to the NECC in Johannesburg and Durban on the same hire terms, but in the event, the NECC did not con-

To Page 2

# 'Inkatha hired buses'

SOWETAN  
2/4/85  
11A

From Page 1

clude arrangements. It is very difficult for our company to stand neutral in South Africa's present political conflict but it is our chosen stance that we are here to serve the black community as a whole."

A statement issued by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's office yesterday said he had met with the United States consul-general in Durban, Mr

M.L. Cheshes on attacks on Inkatha and the United States in conference resolutions.

He told Mr Cheshes that both were tarred with the same brush because those who met at Chatsworth were "in cahoots" with the external mission of the ANC.

The Sowetan had made inquiries to the Inkatha president's office for his reaction to alle-

gations that Inkatha was involved in the incident that saw two men killed and about 20 injured. We were told that a comment would be received in due course. No mention of the clashes was available in the statement received. A telex was also sent in a bid to get a full explanation of Inkatha's part in the clash. By late yesterday no reply had been received.

FIN/MALC  
18/4/86

VUSI KHANYILE

# The crisis is not over

The past six months have seen dramatic changes in the nature of black educational opposition. For the first time, parents and teachers joined students in formulating demands and last month, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), an umbrella body for the multifarious local education organisations, was formed. Vusi Khanyile is its convenor.

"Essentially, I act as chairman," he says. "Our executive is loosely structured, with a representative from each region, as well as a secretary and media person." The organisation operates in consultation with regional and local grassroots bodies; and he stresses that it has no ambitions to evolve into a national political movement.

The big surprise of NECC's Easter meeting was the unanimous decision that pupils should return to school, though the demands formulated at the December conference had not all been met.

"Teachers are still harassed, detained or punitively transferred. We do not yet have free education for blacks," says Khanyile. The crisis is by no means over, he warns. The burning issue now is the demand that the Department of Education and Training (DET) supplies free stationery and textbooks.

The DET has agreed to the former, but says free networks will be supplied only next year. Khanyile says that many students, while back at school, are holding back from attending regular classes until both demands are met.

"We sought educationists' opinions as to the latest date on which pupils must start studying to be ready to write exams by November. The consensus seems to be that if students are not seriously studying by the end of April, the year will be lost. We're gravely concerned that if the DET doesn't speed up distribution of stationery and agree to supply textbooks, this will happen," Khanyile says.

If enough students don't start regular classes in time, would NECC negotiate for postponement of exams, or would the prospect of a national schools boycott resurface? Khanyile responds that his executive will not prescribe a strategy, but would canvass regional organisations to formulate a response.

What trends are likely? He points to students' determination to return to school, demonstrated at the NECC conference. "We have never taken the line of 'no education



Khanyile... students demand free stationery and textbooks from the DET

before liberation,' nor have any student or parent organisations. Our slogan is rather 'people's education in people's schools for people's power.'"

What does this entail? "A People's Education Committee is to launch a programme in the schools by the end of June. An earlier NECC commission on alternative education concluded that it is impossible to replace the Bantu Education system overnight — pupils need certificates recognised by potential employers and tertiary education institutions."

So, Khanyile says, people's education will probably begin extra-murally, with input from local community resources. "It will most likely focus on alternatives to official history and the humanities. But the committee's regional secretariats are hearing evidence to determine what to include and will evaluate the resources of different regions," he says.

What of accusations, notably from Black Consciousness (BC) bodies, that the decision to return to school was a sell-out? Khanyile, himself once a BC activist, replies with restraint: "People are free to express opinions. We get our authority and mandate not from BC intellectual organisations, but from grass-roots bodies. The majority of community organisations support us and most have written to encourage us."

Articulate and systematic in exposition, Khanyile is a member of the Soweto Civic Association executive and a founder-member of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee

(SPCC). He grew up in Natal and was at Turfloop studying for a B Com degree in 1976 — a watershed year. As vice-president of the 1977 Students' Representative Council, he was expelled along with his president. He was at that time committed to BC, "but some of us have moved to a more pragmatic approach."

He moved to Johannesburg and after some years working as a bookkeeper was sent to Birmingham University in England on a corporate scholarship to complete his B Comm Hons degree.

He returned in mid-1982. While working as an accountant, he joined the Soweto Civic Association. Last October, when it convened the public meeting on the education crisis from which the SPCC emerged, Khanyile became an office-bearer. He was instrumental in organising the Wits education conference in December, an essential step in the emergence of

NECC.

He stresses, though, that the process was one of day-to-day crisis management, rather than the product of a preconceived strategy. The black education situation is so fluid that Khanyile and his colleagues are likely to gain a lot more experience in steering the precarious course between ultra-militants on the one hand and the DET on the other. ■

## OWEN DINSDALE

### Starting a thaw

Imperial Cold Storage (ICS) has been in the doldrums. Getting things moving will be the job of its youthful new MD, Owen Dinsdale (39), who takes over at the beginning of next month.

"My primary long-term objective is to revalue the share. It's trading well below net worth and is undervalued if you compare its performance to the food sector generally," Dinsdale says.

He won't describe himself as a troubleshooter, though. "I'm coming in to bring new blood and ultimately, a new management style. The succession needed to be looked after, with room for somebody to learn the ropes from chairman Bill Neate over the next few years."

What are Dinsdale's management intentions? It's early days to pronounce on specifics, he replies, adding that he's in the throes

CHURCH OR STATE

FINAL  
16/4/86. (scribble) (11A)

# The paradox of Desmond Tutu

It would be too much to believe that in becoming the Anglican Metropolitan in this country the Right Reverend Desmond Tutu has reached the summit of his ecclesiastical and political ambition.

So while his elevation might be Johannesburg's loss and Cape Town's gain, we would not rule out the Lord's desire to have him at Lambeth, leading eventually to his withdrawal altogether (often threatened) from the land of his birth.

Ecclesiastically, archbishops and bishops are taken more seriously in lands where the Church of England, or its derivatives, are the established church or what amounts to it. The intrusion of British bishops into criticism of monetarism and other things they don't understand suggests that they are ripe for another equivalent of an abdication crisis to focus their minds. Tutu and apartheid may be heaven-sent in this respect.

Politically, Tutu now has a constituency: two million Christian soldiers of the Anglican persuasion. But even then, in this country they represent a minority among English-speakers. They are never going to give him the political clout that the top job in Britain's established church would do.

Moreover, Tutu is an intriguing bundle of paradoxes — so much so that he must represent irresistible stimulation to the Balliol minds among uppercrust British clergymen so beloved of irony. It would be extraordinarily selfish of us not to recommend him to them.

Take his position as a clergyman. As such he must stand on the one hand for peace and forgiveness, and in his way he tries to do so. But his desire for political reform, which we share, has led him to advocate sanctions against this country that must ultimately lead to economic attrition and heightened violence. There are those, too, who point out that he took his time to speak out about the appalling acts committed in the name of freedom by delinquents in our townships.

Tutu blames for this response what he calls "institutional violence," which is rather like blaming Lloyd George for Hitler's depredations in World War 2. In his defence, there are those who say that we must not expect logical thought from a metaphysician whose predecessors have claimed to speak in tongues.

Then there is the question of money. Tutu has said that he hates capitalism. Yet he has had the effrontery to accept a

peace prize funded on the proceeds of that very system. His church in this country is financed from the profits of whites who have been successful businessmen. And he has recently been to the United States to beg for help from the largest and most robust capitalist country in the world.

If there be any logic or consistency in the man, he should have gone instead to the Soviet Union, where of course he would have been given sweet Fanny Adams for his pains.

Socialism, which he advocates, is no more than an extension of the romantic philosophy of Voltaire and Rousseau which incorporates the idea of collective guilt. In its excess it led to the mass murders of Hitler, Lenin and Stalin and to the denial of Christianity.

We doubt that his secret election to the Archbishopric will

lead to schism in the Church of the Province. Most of its members are black and they have been fed on pernicious ideas of African socialism. Advocacy of African or liberation Christianity has already started and we flinch with dismay at what perverted horrors that may contain.

But we guess that money may in future weigh more heavily on Tutu's mind as white Anglicans take stock, as they most definitely should. And while the Atlantic Ocean may be to him no less an obstacle than the Sea of Galilee was to his Redeemer, the new Archbishop may have to cast his nets rather more widely.

Of course, we sympathise with the schizophrenia of the modern Anglican clergyman in this country. He has, after all, to minister unto both the very primitive and the very sophisticated. And he must be convincing to both.

Tutu has yet a third dimension to his ministry. That is the radical viewpoint of his supporters abroad who do not understand the complexities of this country and, if they do, could not give a damn. It was no doubt in an effort to impress this audience that he made the unfortunate remark about black servants poisoning the morning coffee of their white employees.

It was an extremely foolish thing to say under any circumstances. It reveals lack of understanding of the modern media that does not behave an aspirant archbishop, with political motives, who should be both fluent and consistent, as well as a man of God. ■



wholly-owned subsidiary of Autolec will have sufficient income-generating funds to return to profitability.

The terms of the initial deal proved controversial, because Simchowitz had placed market prices on the shares of Gentyre and Williams Hunt which were far below net worth.

The dispute was resolved recently, after Simchowitz offered Aurochs minorities the option of swapping their shares on attractive terms for shares in the newly formed Hunts.

A striking feature of W & A's recent history is the way it has managed to cut debt, while operating in recession-sensitive markets. When the recession began biting in 1982, W & A's debt:equity ratio was 130%. By the end of 1985, the ratio had fallen to 87%, and, according to Simchowitz, is set to fall further.

The furniture companies, Bradlows and World, would, in the nature of their business, tend to be debt-heavy anyway.

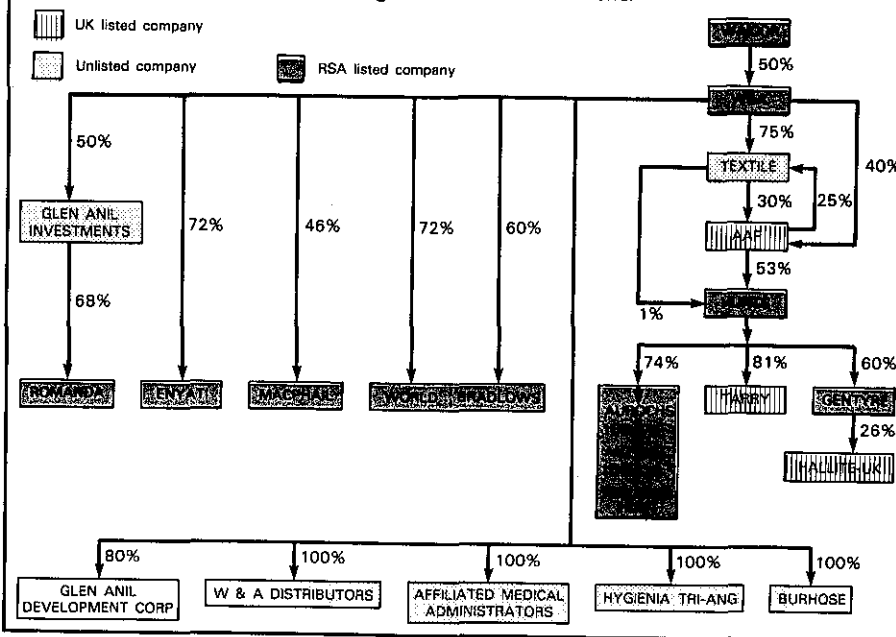
It is here that most progress was made. Over the last year, Bradlows cut its debt:equity ratio from 101% to 71% and World from 162% to 67%.

If ever a deal exemplified Simchowitz's investment skills, it is his recent strategy with Jazz, a former subsidiary of World. Jazz was acquired some time ago for R265 000.

By late last year, after Jazz had been listed, the stake was worth R15m. World subsequently sold large tranches of Jazz stock, eradicating a large proportion of its debt.

## W&A's NEW LOOK

W & A group structure after Hunts and Autolec schemes of arrangement, and after rights issue and Aurochs offer



Group earnings over the last 10 years have been augmented by share dealing profits, such as the Calan deal some years ago.

Analysts, however, would tend to ignore such windfall profits, claiming they are non-recurring so can not be relied upon.

Simchowitz argues that given his group's record in investment management, such profits in the W & A group can be relied on, and should be considered in rating the share.

It is a tantalising argument and one which could, some day, strike a chord in the investment community's heart.

However, even if you use conventional criteria, the share is beginning to look undoubtedly attractive. Its main operating companies, World, Bradlows, Burhose, E W Tarry, W & A Distributors and Gentyre, appear to be over the worst of the recession.

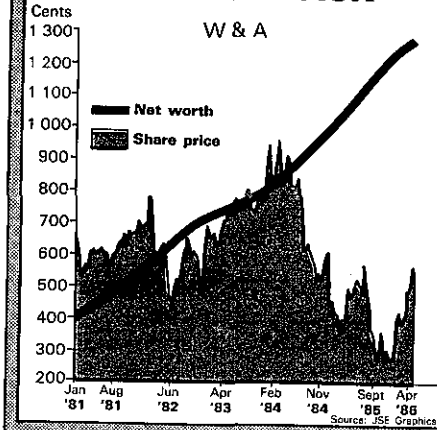
The structure is cleaner, allowing a stronger flow of earnings to the top. Group gearing has been reduced to healthy levels, where the potential interest saving alone could give a good kick to earnings.

Structurally, there is one remaining flaw in the separate divisions for World and Bradlows. The two furniture companies are ripe for a merger of some kind and I would not be surprised if this was next on Simchowitz's overworked agenda.

The fact that W & A could more than double earnings to 77c (34c) last year, while trading in depressed markets, must mean that its potential for rebound is enormous. It is, surely, only a matter of time.

Neville Glaser

## CLIMBING BACK



W & A shares trade at a huge discount to net worth, a fact Simchowitz clearly resents. Even after running up recently to 620c, W & A stock still stands at less than half its 1 268c asset value.

WINNIE MANDELA

# The seeds of wrath

The scale of the atrocity in Sekhukhuneland — where the rains have uncovered the bodies of at least 32 "necklace" victims — is staggering. While it remained unclear as the *FM* went to press exactly who had done the killing, the mass murder is clearly the worst of its kind in South African history — one has to look to Vietnam, Cambodia and Algeria for comparisons.

What has become known as "black-on-black" violence has reached frightening proportions. Deputy Minister of Information,

The wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has caused a furore with what is apparently a blatant call to intensified violence. At a time of heightened community terror, her words could not have come at a worse time.

Louis Nel, said this week that since January, 175 people had been killed by radicals, many necklaced. In the same period, 720 homes

and 228 businesses of "moderate" blacks had been burnt or damaged by arson.

As a consequence of security force actions against riotous elements, Nel said, 143 people had been killed. A grim score-card, indeed.

In this frightening, and deepening, situation of terror and counter-terror (witness the behaviour of the Lebowa police), almost any event involving opposing elements in the townships, or police-mob confrontations, can lead to death. And against this situation, the

# Reagan's revenge



Reagan

Reagan's specific justification was "conclusive" proof of direct Libyan involvement in the bombing of a West Berlin discotheque — killing a US soldier and a Turkish woman and injuring 230 people — and its plans for future attacks on US targets. "We have

done what we had to do. If necessary we will do it again," he told Americans.

But in European eyes his action could backfire — as did the Franco-British 1956 invasion of Suez in an attempt to topple Abdul Nasser. It will rally Libyans behind President Muammar Gaddafi — two of his sons were reported injured in the raid — and win him support from his traditional enemies within the Arab world. Diplomatic experts in both Europe and the US also pointed out the dubious legality of the "self defensive" attack in terms of international law. Unless Washington can produce the evidence it claims to have, the US (and possibly Britain) rather than Libya, could be on trial in the inevitable UN Security Council debate that will follow. ■



Gaddafi

were in shallow graves and others unburied. Their discovery brings to at least 48 the number of violent killings in the homeland since the beginning of last month. Many more have been severely injured in attacks on homes and individuals.

Among the earlier deaths were the United Democratic Front's (UDF) regional president, Peter Nchabeleng, a former Robben Island prisoner and member of the ANC; journalist, Lucky Kutumela, of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo); and Reggie Kapa, president of the Students' Representative Council at Modjadji College of Education near Tzaneen. Kutumela and Nchabeleng died in police custody.

Those injured last week include Joyce Mabudafasi, a UDF official whose home at Mankweng near the University of the North was blasted with hand grenades, and Ernest Mokaba, also a victim of hand grenade attacks. There have been numerous allegations of police torture and of direct police involvement in the bomb attacks. More than 440 assault claims have been lodged by inhabitants against the police.

The discovery of the mass necklace victims has struck fear into the villagers. No one was willing to say, over the telephone, who may have been behind the killings. Said a tribesman at Phasha village: "Trouble started in March, but only the police can give details."

The gruesome deaths of the 36 come at a time when many in the area have gone into hiding or "disappeared," following police raids in villages and townships. As the *FM* went to press, it could not be established whether any of them were among the 36 dead.

At Madibong, near Jane Furse, police allegedly ambushed and beat up youths, including women, at a meeting between Chief Walter Kgoloko Morwamoche and members of the local youth congress last Sunday. Meetings elsewhere, called to discuss the schools boycott, were also prevented from taking place.

Youth groups in Sekhukhuneland have for weeks been putting pressure on tribesmen and chiefs to resign from the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. So far four MPs, including businessmen Adam Mariri and M A Masha, have resigned.

In Sekhukhuneland, the Lebowa bus service has been crippled by youths opposed to the homeland government of Cedric Phatudi. The home of Education Minister S P Kwakwa and offices of the education inspectorate have been gutted at Mahwelereng in Potgietersrus. At Lebowakgomo, cane furniture tycoon Habakuk Shikwane has closed his businesses because he is unable to meet

## THE UNREST

### Homeland horror

The discovery in Lebowa this week of at least 32, and possibly 36, charred bodies at Phasha-Nkwana/Nchabeleng villages in Sekhukhuneland starkly reveals the seriousness of the violence which has gripped the Lebowa homeland (*Current affairs* March 21).

However, the macabre fact of a mass grave does more — symbolising the deteriorating situation nationally.

More than 60 people have been arrested in connection with the deaths and Lebowa police investigations are continuing. Convoys of police vehicles patrolled various villages in the bantustan, apparently in search of people said to be on the run, at the weekend. The people there are now palpably fear-stricken.

Police have said that some of the bodies



demands from workers and radicals. In Phalaborwa, six people died on March 28 when hand grenades were hurled into a township shebeen. Four soldiers have been arrested and charged in connection with the shebeen incident.

The escalating violence and fear seems to have been precipitated by a little-reported meeting of the Lebowa authorities last year.

At a special Lebowa government session on August 23 1985, convened by Phatudi and attended by chiefs, mayors and community authorities, it was decided to ask the central government to provide soldiers and more police to help Lebowa police eliminate "subversive" organisations operating in villages and townships within the homeland.

Recently, State President P W Botha appeared to oblige by granting greater security powers to the non-independent homelands in a special Proclamation (*Current affairs* April 11).



**Phatudi**

Phatudi's special meeting last year declared that the homeland's civil servants and government officials, including teachers and nurses — who

were members of, and took active part in "subversive organisations such as Azapo, UDF and related movements" — be fired. It was also resolved that church leaders and school principals were to be warned not to allow their buildings to be used as platforms by those organisations.

Spokesmen for both the UDF and Azapo have complained that the homeland government, in collusion with Pretoria, is "waging civil war" against their members in an attempt to destroy opposition to the apartheid system.

Azapo's publicity officer, Muntu Myeza, says his organisation has compiled 236 cases of assault and 207 of unlawful arrest of Lebowa inhabitants, mostly Azapo members. Lawyers acting on behalf of victims are suing the homeland government for nearly R3m, involving a total of 449 claims. ■



MANAGEMENTS cannot expect industrial peace as long as they are benefiting from the migrant-labour system and other apartheid laws, Congress of SA Trade Unions president Elijah Barayi said yesterday.

He told a Johannesburg conference that removal of institutions and laws which restrict the rights of workers and their trade unions was a precondition for industrial peace.

Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sydney Mafumadi said the federation had also made a call to white workers to become part of Cosatu and to realise

## 'No peace under apartheid'

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

their future did not lie with management. He said white workers had been used as buffers between the State and black workers in the past.

Mafumadi said Cosatu was demanding May Day as a paid holiday. If management did not grant this, workers would simply take the day off to participate in May Day celebrations.

Cosatu has also called for June 16, the

anniversary of the Soweto and Langa police shootings in 1976 and 1985 respectively, to be declared a public holiday. It has said it would be prepared to forfeit a different public holiday to have the day off.

Mafumadi said the super-federation was considering applications for membership from several ex-Trade Union Council of SA affiliates.

Cosatu's policy was to form 12 broadly-based industrial unions after mergers

between the 33 affiliates had taken place. Good progress had been made in talks on forming one union per industry, but deadlines could not be set on the merger process, he said.

Barayi said Cosatu would continue to fight for a living wage, improved health and safety conditions, improved maternity and paternity rights for workers, the right to strike, and for trade union rights for domestic and farm workers.

Barayi said Cosatu would continue to campaign against the migrant-labour system, pass laws and the involvement of police and troops in labour disputes.

# Put your questions to the ANC

NOW you don't have to fly to Lusaka to find out what the African National Congress is saying. The Weekly Mail will help you learn the views of the exiled organisation, as our contribution to the debate about the future South Africa.

Big business and the Broederbond can get to Lusaka to have their questions answered. But most people can't — even though everyone wants to know what the ANC is saying.

The Weekly Mail believes it is crucial for all South Africans to know what this organisation is thinking about the future. There can be no proper political debate unless everyone takes part and unless we are fully informed about the options.

Therefore, we are offering a service that we hope will assist you.

Send us the questions you would like to put to the ANC. We will forward these to Lusaka, where ANC official spokesmen

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have agreed to answer such questions.

We will then print your questions — and the ANC's answers (as far as the law allows us to do so).

Hopefully, this will help you become better informed about the organisation and better equipped to make choices.

Send your questions (keep them brief, please) to The Weekly Mail, PO Box 32362, Braamfontein 2017 and watch these columns for the answers.

## Parliament and Politics

# Hit-squad men 'from W Cape'

By **EBRAHIM MOOSA**  
Political Reporter

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — A Libyan-trained hit-squad with a "hit-list" of prominent black leaders who were intercepted at Athens airport last week consisted largely of Muslims from the Western Cape, the State President, Mr P W Botha, charged yesterday.

Mr Botha said the 12 South African citizens — "nine from the Western Cape, one from Guguletu, one from East London and one from Johannesburg" — attempted to board a flight to Harare.

Nine of the men had South African passports, while three had travel documents, issued in Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

### Proof

Mr Botha said he had documentary proof of the reports and offered to make it available to Opposition leaders.

Introducing his Budget vote to Parliament, Mr Botha referred to the recent US bombing of Libya and linked Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's government and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) with the banned African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Mr Botha said the large Muslim community in South Africa enjoyed "complete freedom of

religion" and described them as "respected citizens".

"However, a small group has emerged within this community who, under the influence of Libya and Iran and with funding from those quarters, have committed themselves, with the ANC and PAC, to terror and violence.

"The Athens group consists largely of members of this faction,



while the rest of that group have ANC and or PAC connections," Mr Botha said.

Intelligence reports indicated that South African terrorist groups would apply "the Gaddafi/PLO style of terrorism" inside South Africa and abroad and would sometimes operate in conjunction with "international terrorist groups".

The Athens group was only one of the hit squads which had orders to return to Harare for

further instructions and equipment.

Mr Botha said the ANC and PAC conferred regularly with PLO leaders, adding that the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, visited Lebanon in 1980 at the invitation of the PLO.

Mr Botha said the ANC secretary-general and South African Communist Party member, Mr Alfred Nzo, visited Moscow frequently and addressed the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a few weeks ago.

"The deceitful plans of the SACP are apparent from ANC conversations conducted with safari-goers to Lusaka. Dialogue is being encouraged with the objective of enhancing the image of the ANC while undermining the power bases of the government, particularly among whites."

### 'Wiser'

He asked those persons who had met with the ANC whether they "became much wiser and if they obtained satisfactory answers to questions such as who in the ANC are communists and what hold the SACP actually has".

"I can put it plainly that the government has never said that all ANC members are communists. As a matter of fact, it is clear that there are confirmed black nationalists within the ANC who are not aware that they are being manipulated by hardened communists," Mr Botha said.

He added that South African churchmen — "owing to their sense of justice and their striving for peace and reconciliation" — were extremely vulnerable.

CMG Trans 18/4/86  
ANC 'only wants  
power' ~~RA~~ Botha

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The African National Congress was not interested in negotiations or in a settlement, but wanted to take over power at any cost, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He said to all persons, interested parties and Western governments who had held talks with them that the ANC was only using such rapprochement to promote its own legitimacy in South Africa and abroad.

The government was, by virtue of carefully evaluated intelligence and not for propaganda reasons, perhaps in a better position than the ANC itself to determine what influence the SACP had in the organisation.

### Oliver Tambo

It was known that the SACP was strongly represented in all the ANC delegations that had held talks with the various parties from South Africa.

The ANC did not want rapprochement with groups such as businessmen or the PFP to prevent it from obtaining its goal of a take-over of power.

"It is not interested in negotiations and in a settlement. It regards itself as the 'only alternative government' for South Africa. Its purpose is to take over power in South Africa at any cost."

The president of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo has said as recently as February this year that Western governments, the PFP, the business sector in South Africa and even the government wanted to reform the apartheid system so the end result would be a system which secured their business but was minus racial discrimination.

"We must protect our struggle against forces which sound correct but whose object is entirely to destroy the cause, the objective, of our revolutionary struggle," Mr Tambo had said.

Mr Botha said it was no wonder that a person such as Mr Gavin Relly, the chairman of Anglo American, whose insight he respected, was somewhat disillusioned after talks between the businessmen and the ANC.

Mr Relly's considered opinion that the ANC need not be an essential factor in an internationally acceptable settlement was particularly significant.

— Sapa

# Those who refused to go

W Mail 18/4/86

BY SHAUN JOHNSON

ON the eve of the National Education Crisis Conference in Durban, the National Forum decided it "could not allow itself to participate fully in the discussions of the NECC". A lengthy clarifying statement was prepared, to be read to the education gathering on the NF's behalf.

NF representatives were sent to the Rajput Hall, where the NECC was meeting; but according to NECC convenor Vusi Khanyile, the statement was not read at the conference, and he had still not seen it a full five days after it was prepared.

Lusiba Ntloko, an NF executive member, told the Weekly Mail he hadn't heard from his emissaries as to why the document did not get through. "But I am going to make sure that an NF official presents it personally to the NECC," he said. "We want them to consider it."

The document itself is at once rancorous and conciliatory. Its substantive claim is that the NECC was constituted by an "extremely sectarian, undemocratic and manipulative process". The NF states that the education conference "had the potential to become one of the most important national initiatives undertaken by the oppressed and exploited people of Azania", but the allocation of delegate status "made a mockery of the seriousness with which we view the education crisis".

The NF's "forced absence", according to the statement, does not mean that the Forum is not deeply concerned with the issue of education.

"The Third National Forum has considered the whole question of the future content and control of the education of the children of Azania in detail. We have formulated a clear strategy on the basis of reports and

discussions

But despite the attack on the NECC convenors, the statement opens the way for NF support for those decisions "which are in line with our strategy ... We will make sure that wherever and whenever possible we encourage our students, teachers and parents and their organisations to strike together even if they march separately for the present".

Further, the Forum states that "should some of the *fait accompli* decisions conflict with our strategy, we shall do everything in our power to ensure that such conflict does not play into the hands of the enemy". In spite of the "divisive birth" of the conference, the NF expresses "the hope that it will bring us closer to the realisation of our goal ... a free Azania".

Khanyile declined to make any detailed comments on the NF statement until he had studied it, but strongly denied charges of manipulating the composition of the conference.

"We made a blanket appeal to all grassroots groups which were involved in the education crisis," he said, "and we also invited national organisations to send delegates — the UDF, Azapo, the NF, Cosatu, Cusa. We didn't turn down one organisation that asked to come.

"Of course we had to restrict numbers from some areas — like Soweto — in order to have representatives from all over the country. But we didn't ask about people's political affiliations; we didn't care, as long as they were recognised and credible in their own community.

# Leandra teenage refugees on run again

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Many Leandra "teenage refugees" are on the run again, having left their sanctuary at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre because of fears that vigilantes are preparing to attack it.

The fugitive teenagers said yesterday they could not go home to Leandra because the vigilantes, who killed Leandra Action Committee leader Chief Ampie Mayisa in January, were still after their blood.

The Anglican Bishop Suffragan for Johannesburg East Bishop Simeon Nkoane, made an emotional plea to senior police officials to curb the power of the vigilantes.

He also accused the police of not taking action during December and January after being warned by him of serious divisions and violence in the area.

## NORMALITY

But Bishop Nkoane said: "I still believe police could restore normality to the people of Leandra. There is nothing these children wish more than to be able to sleep in their own homes and to go back to school."

The teenagers' flight from Wilgespruit was sparked by:

- Repeated shootings on the periphery of the property.
- A particularly heavy police presence.
- A TV report suggesting that the young people had been taken from Leandra against their will.

Soon after the teenagers arrived at Wilgespruit in late January, police swooped on the centre and detained most of them. Their release was secured by urgent court action but the teenagers have not been secure since.

About a month ago, the homesick teenagers went back Leandra but were forced out by vigilantes within 24 hours. Several supporters of the Leandra Action Committee were hurt trying to take the youngsters home.

And yesterday, the fugitives rebutted TV claims that they had been forced by "outsiders" to leave Leandra. They said most people interviewed as "parents" were relatives sympathetic to the vigilantes.

**SACC link  
to violence  
'appalling'**

*ACCUS 18/4/86*  
*119*  
The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The gulf emerging between the South African Council of Churches and the ordinary people of the country was frightening, according to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu.

Addressing the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said he was appalled at the extent to which the current leadership of the SACC was becoming embroiled in party politics and black-on-black violence.

Referring to the Kairos document — a controversial brief endorsed by the SACC exhorting all Christians to join the "revolutionary struggle" — Chief Buthelezi said it was obvious that the SACC condoned the "horrible acts of violence" by the ANC mission in exile.

"There are so many who fail to understand that running through South Africans of all race groups there is a strain of human Christian decency which is beginning to permeate ever deeper into society," he said.

# Lonely grave for an ex-king

WEEKLY M. 103 11A

SABATA DALINDYEBO, the king of the Thembus, who was ousted from office by his arch-rival, Kaiser Matanzima, in 1980, will be buried tomorrow, nearly a fortnight after his lonely death in exile in a Lusaka hospital.

But his long fight against apartheid and the pro-separate development policies of ex-president Matanzima will not be forgotten, particularly in the Transkei region.

The personal rivalry between Matanzima and Dalindyebo, who were cousins, went back to their childhood.

Matanzima, a BA graduate from Fort Hare and a qualified attorney, was angered when the semi-educated Dalindyebo, who was of royal descent, inherited the Thembu paramountcy. But Matanzima was forced by tribal law to recognise his cousin as his paramount chief.

Matanzima never practised as an attorney but returned to his tribal

Sabata Dalindyebo was Kaiser Matanzima's arch-rival from boyhood to his death in exile this month. BARRY STREEK reports

15/11/80

home, where his father had been a minor chief, to establish a power base, which he soon did with the aid of the South African government, which was desperate to find a relatively competent tribal figure to make the bantustan policy work.

In Kaiser Matanzima it found the ideal partner.

At a time when Sabata Dalindyebo was leading protests to Pretoria and becoming active in the Liberal Party, Matanzima was being rewarded for his loyalty: despite the opposition of his paramount chief, he was elevated to the level of regional chief — of emigrant Thembuland.

Matanzima's determination and ambition and the crucial support of the government brought him a new office in 1961: chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority.

Two years later, the Democratic Party — led by Paramount Chief Victor Poto, with the backing of Dalindyebo and a programme of "multi-racialism" — thrashed the Matanzima supporters in Transkei's first election. But the popular will was overturned with the support of government-paid chiefs in the legislature, and Matanzima became chief minister.

Matanzima was, contrary to tribal law, later elevated to the status of

paramount chief in his own right.

And Sabata Dalindyebo lost out. When the Democratic Party split, he backed the progressive wing of the party and became its leader, but by then Matanzima was preparing for the final coup against his cousin.

After the police raided his Great Place in 1978, Dalindyebo commented: "Since the early 60s my close associates have been subjected to arbitrary action by the government to make me a lone voice in Transkei politics. I want the world to know that I have been persecuted for my political convictions since 1963 and have been ridiculed and humiliated even by junior chiefs who are government supporters. All along I have kept quiet but now I cannot take any more."

He did not keep quiet and two years later, he was arrested and charged with impugning the dignity of the state president (who was, by then, Kaiser Matanzima). He was also charged with infringing the Public Safety Act, which made it an offence to issue statements or disseminate views subverting the sovereignty of parliament or the constitutional independence of Transkei.

Convicted and fined, he was also fined by his regional authority, but this was not enough for Matanzima, who ensured that Dalindyebo was dismissed and replaced by his government-supporting half brother.

Dalindyebo then opted for exile where he joined the ANC — and died without ever returning home.



Cape Times 11/4/86

# Evidence by Cosas was 'illuminating'

Political Staff

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.**  
— Members of the now-banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) spent four hours giving evidence to the Van der Walt inquiry into the educational conflict in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984.

The head of the inquiry, Professor Tjaart van der Walt, rector of Potchefstroom University, said in the report, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday, that the Cosas evidence was "one of the most illuminating events of my whole investigation".

Cosas, a high school pupil organization, was affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF) until it was banned last year.

The account of the Cosas evidence by Professor Van der Walt, who was appointed by the government to conduct the inquiry, is remarkable, particularly because of UDF's usual stance of boycott towards government institutions.

Professor Van der Walt said the way he persuaded them to come forward and his approach was unconventional — "and a story in itself" but "I am of the opinion that this strategy paid handsome dividends".



Tjaart van der Walt

He said: "I was very outspoken in both my appreciation and my criticism — but most important was the fact that I listened to them first and continued to do so.

"As regards my appreciation: I told them frankly that they were in my opinion more mature than the average white

pupil of their age generally speaking, that I respected their commitment and idealism, as well as their responsibility in respect of community affairs, specifically the plight of their parents."

He had allowed the Cosas students to "talk and talk and talk" until they "began to express trivialities about which they differed among themselves".

"Eventually they conceded that they had had sufficient opportunity to put their side of the matter and that they wanted to hear what I thought.

"I then gave them feedback point by point, telling where in my opinion they had made a valid point and telling them also what steps had already been taken (for example, concerning the matter of students' councils, the age limit and corporal punishment) but I also told them quite frankly where I differed from them."

He told the students that the authorities were willing to listen to reason although this did not mean all their objections were valid.

"I also told them I had learnt more about their grievances by talking to them personally than from newspaper reports and from hearsay.

"In this way I tried to stress the value of direct communication, of dialogue rather than confrontation, discussions rather than boycotts."

He said he was convinced that Cosas's three main grievances, regarding students' councils, the age limit and corporal punishment, had been adequately dealt with

12/1/85 BUS DAY (8/11/17)

# Court told of limpet mines

THE Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday how Helene Passtoors had led police to concealed limpet mines in the Muldersdrift area, near Krugersdorp.

Lieutenant Albertus Smith said he had accompanied Passtoors last July to where an unspecified number of mines lay under a wrecked car.

A security policeman said that last October Passtoors, facing charges of high treason, alternatively terrorism, had shown him a type of spanner used exclusively to prime limpet mines.

Jacobus van der Merwe said Passtoors had produced two spanners from a filing cabinet stored with other of her possessions at John Vorster Square after her arrest.

LIAM EGAN

Passtoors' former husband, Klaas de Jonge, was alleged at yesterday's hearing to have revealed the presence of limpet mines at two locations to a security policeman last July.

De Jonge was indicted with Passtoors on the same charges, but remains under protection of the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria and has not appeared in court.

Captain Barend Dippenaar said that 26 limpet mines were uncovered in the presence of De Jonge near Muldersdrift and an unspecified number uncovered later on the same day near Bapsfontein.

The hearing continues.

STYL 18/4/80

# Passtoors admits learning ANC codes

By Jenni Tennant

Treason accused Miss Helene Passtoors was instructed by members of the African National Congress in the use of secret codes to be used when communicating with the organisation, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was one of several additional admissions in a statement handed into court on her behalf.

Miss Passtoors also admitted that several documents which were handed into court earlier this week were typed on a typewriter found in her Bellevue East residence after her arrest on June 28 last year.

## Certain instructions

One of the documents apparently referred to was a typed note headed "Mango" which was allegedly found in a brown envelope in a hidden compartment in a car driven by Mr Klaas de Jonge when he was arrested on June 23 last year.

Miss Passtoors admitted she had typed on the typewriter certain further instructions in regard to "Mango" which were lifted by the police at her home from a piece of carbon paper.

On Monday Miss Passtoors admitted in a state-

ment that she had scouted an area in the Eastern Transvaal which she code-named "Mango" and prepared notes on it in code, which had been correctly decoded by the police.

In the statement Miss Passtoors said she had agreed to assist an ANC member in finding a suitable route to leave South Africa. He did not leave the country by the route described in the document, she said.

Miss Passtoors, the former wife of Mr de Jonge, has pleaded not guilty to treason and terrorism.

A policeman, Lieutenant A E Smith, told the court Miss Passtoors had pointed out certain places to him after her arrest.

This was not contested by Miss Passtoors. Earlier this week in a statement Miss Passtoors said she had knowledge of some arms caches and had pointed them out to the police.

Photographs were handed into court showing areas which were pointed out.

These included two areas in Muldersdrif and in the Komatipoort district.

Yesterday Detective Warrant Officer J Raven told the court how he had decoded a series of numerical figures from documents he was given.

He received a map of Barber-ton and two typed sheets headed "Mango" which he managed to decode.

The decoded sheets allegedly referred to two possible routes out of South Africa.

Mr de Jonge also allegedly pointed out certain areas to the police after his arrest, the court heard yesterday.

These sites allegedly pointed out by Mr de Jonge included pumpstations at Quaggasnek, Scheepersnek and Mahlabatini, in Natal, and caches in the Transvaal.

The hearing continues.

18/4/80 STAR 11A

# 'Irresponsible officer' could not be traced, brigadier tells treason trial

By Duncan Guy

**DELMAS** — Attempts by a senior police officer to trace the identity of a junior who reportedly acted irresponsibly during Vaal Triangle unrest in 1984 were futile.

Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen said this in cross-examination yesterday by Mr G Bizos in the Circuit Court here, where 22 men face treason charges.

Allegations were put to him that re-inforcements from Pretoria had used

unnecessary violence

## SCATTERED

The court further heard that police patrolling the township had chased and scattered groups of people at roadsides on the morning of September 2 when a work stayaway had been planned.

"The police, travelling around in vehicles, had no way of telling whether those whom they chased were people telling others to obey a

stayaway from work or those going to work — and many of their victims were in fact on their way to work," said Mr Bizos.

He also put it to Brigadier Viljoen that a victim of police action, Mr Thabo Twala, had, according to his family, not done anything to deserve being shot and later to die from a rubber bullet.

It was also heard that two other children died after police action.

The hearing continues.



Police and firemen this week uncovered a suspected Satan-worship coven in a disused mine outside Johannesburg. Among the objects found in the mineshaft near New Canada station was this blanket, being held by policemen. Police believe there are rotting bodies in the shaft.

## 'Violence not caused by' leader

*Cape Times* Staff Reporter

*SECRET*

THE violence which flared in New Crossroads last month in which seven people were killed was not caused by squatter leader Mr Johnson Nxobongwana or his people, an executive member of Mr Nxobongwana's Old Crossroads committee has said.

Mr Sydney Mzilikazi said Mr Nxobongwana had not sent his people to New Crossroads to attack people, but rather to help people remove their furniture after their houses were burnt down by "members of the Cape Youth Congress and the United Wom-

en's Organization".

Mr Nxobongwana had merely told his people he would provide them with trucks and they were to go into New Crossroads to fetch possessions and not to fight, he said.

These people had falsely accused Mr Nxobongwana of being "a collaborator and a community councillor", Mr Mzilikazi said.

Mr Nxobongwana wished to know whether CAYCO and the UWO were leading the battle for liberation or whether they were promoting violence among black people.

18/4/76 BUS DAY (11A)

**WORKER** demands for a paid holiday on May Day have escalated with an unprecedented number of unions calling on members to take the day off.

This is the first time so many union bodies, including the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) have urged workers to observe May Day.

May 1 is known as International Labour Day and is presently recognised as an official holiday in over 100 Western and Eastern bloc countries.

Its significance to the labour movement is that it is regarded as a time of unity between workers in different countries in their campaign for improved living and working conditions.

**A** noticeable development is that many unions tabled a May Day holiday as a demand in negotiations last year, but either dropped it or used it as a tradeoff to obtain other benefits.

This year May Day has become a significant political issue and a rallying point for many unions who are treating it as an important priority.

Cosatu are using May Day rallies this year to mobilise members around a wide range of socio-political demands such as improved worker rights, the right to free political activity, an alternative education system and an end to influx control and apartheid.

Other demands include May Day as a paid holiday, a 40-hour week and social security.

Many unions are still engaged in last minute negotiations with companies on the issue. But although more employers have granted May Day as a holiday this year, they remain in the minority.

**M**ost managers have adopted the policy of no work, no pay — and no disciplinary action.

The three union federations calling for May Day claim a combined membership of 760 000 workers and their leaders ambitiously estimate that over 1-million workers

# May Day a priority for most unions

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE



□ MAY DAY rallies will be used to mobilise members around a wide range of socio-political demands

may heed the call.

In addition, several unions affiliated to the local council of the International Metalworkers' Federation (IMF) — representing many skilled and semi-skilled workers — are also demanding this holiday.

But perennial divisions in the union movement also surface on this issue. The middle-of-the-road Trade Union Council of SA (Tucsa) — a multiracial body representing over 300 000 members — does not support workers taking the day off.

Tucsa president Robbie Botha says most Tucsa unions want January 2 as a public holiday. He says this would not affect productivity to a great extent because many companies already give this day off.

Some management sources believe there has been a considerable change in employer attitudes to May Day over the past year. They

report a greater sensitivity to the issue, along with a more widespread view that present holiday structures are not meeting the needs of the majority of the population.

At least one major employer federation — which does not wish to be identified at this stage — has sent a letter to Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha suggesting there might be a need to review present holiday arrangements.

**H**owever, vice-chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer Tom Moodie warns that its members would never support a worker absence on May Day because public holidays are laid down by law.

"We will follow a policy of no work, no pay, but are leaving it up to individual employers to decide whether they want to dismiss ab-

sent workers," he said.

A major focus will be on the mining industry, where a major showdown over May Day looms.

Both NUM and the Chamber declared disputes with each other in late February over their approach to May Day and the parties are currently engaged in conciliation board negotiations on the issue.

Opposing legal arguments are raging as to whether NUM is already entitled to go on a legal strike. But NUM has undertaken not to strike until the outcome of conciliation board meetings are known.

May 1 will also see the launch of the Inkatha-backed United Workers' Union of SA (Uwusa) in opposition to Cosatu. Inkatha have said they chose to launch Uwusa on May Day as a symbolic challenge to Cosatu's socialist sentiments.

Concern is rising about possible clashes between Inkatha members

who will be meeting for Uwusa's launch at Durban's Kings Park, and Cosatu supporters who will be attending a major May Day rally at nearby Currie's Fountain. Nearly 5 000 Durban workers met at Currie's Fountain last year to celebrate May Day.

**B**oth parties maintain they will not initiate violence, but say they will not hesitate to defend themselves if attacked.

Worker calls for May Day in SA date back to 1904 with the arrival of class conscious immigrant workers.

According to *Labour Bulletin*, the Forties and Fifties saw increased demands for a holiday on May 1, but government enforced the exclusion of May Day from wage determinations and industrial council agreements in 1961.

However, the growth of the black union movement in the Seventies resulted in May Day rallies being held again from 1962.

Some of the first May Day agreements negotiated in the Eighties were between the Chemical Workers Union (CWIU) and Pilkington Glass in Port Elizabeth in 1984, and the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) and BTR Sarnacol in 1985.

The list of companies which have granted May Day as a holiday include Pilkington Shatterproof, Chesebrough Ponds, Colgate Palmolive and Dunlop.

**A**greements range from a day to a few hours, paid and unpaid leave or exchanges with other holidays. Some agreements were obtained in the normal course of negotiations, while others were conceded after strike action.

Last year several thousand workers took time off for May Day rallies in most of the major centres. However, these rallies were not so widespread and tended to represent pockets of workers from a variety of different industries.

While it cannot be predicted how many will take off this year, an important difference is that a greater number of political and community organisations have backed the call.

Following Miss Smit's death and a rent board

# 1 700 'bitter' strikers return to Dunlop

STAR 18/4/83

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By Sheryl Raine

The 1700 workers at four BTR Dunlop plants on strike for more than a week returned to work yesterday.

This was because the employers were about to seek an interdict from the Industrial Court declaring the strike illegal, according to Mr Bobbie Marie, branch secretary of Mawu (Metal and Allied Workers Union). No agreement had been reached. "Workers have returned to work extremely bitter but determined to continue their fight."

Plants affected by the strike, co-ordinated by Mawu and the Chemical Workers Industrial Union, included Benoni, Ladysmith, Mobeni and Durban.

The strike started when about 1000 workers downed tools at the company's Sydney Road plant in Durban, demanding the reinstatement of colleagues fired for alleged violent behaviour. More workers went on strike in solidarity at Dunlop plants in Ladysmith, Mobeni and Benoni.

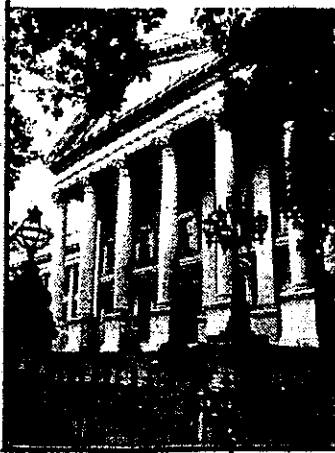
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PARLIAMENT '86



# Libya's terrorist role against SA has been revealed — PW

11A BEEFA

PARLIAMENT — The recent arrest of Pan African Congress (PAC) terrorists in South Africa, who had been trained in Libya, again focused attention on the role played by Libya and international terrorism pointed at South Africa, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on his vote, the President said South African missions and other South African bodies represented abroad, and foreign companies with interests in South Africa had, during the past year, increasingly become targets for terrorist acts by foreign terrorist groups that could be linked with Libya.

Mr Botha said recent news



President Botha . . . pointing at Libya.

events had been dominated by the increasing tensions between the USA and Libya in connection with the latter's involvement in recent terror incidents in which innocent civilians had been killed.

"Libya is being accused of being the master brain behind an international network of terror which acts mainly against Western interests.

"Threats and acts of terrorism form the basis of Libya's foreign policy and it is no wonder that Gaddafi has been called the mad dog of the Middle East."

Gaddafi's close co-operation with the PLO was clear from his accommodation of the particularly extreme PLO faction led by Abo Nidal and which was being held responsible for the recent shooting incidents in Italy and Austria.

Libyan passports had been supplied, among others, to terrorists of this faction.

## ks quota

threats by some private schools to close their doors, particularly as the Government was insisting on a 70 percent white domination at private schools.

## Unrest recommendations being attended to — Viljoen

Political Staff  
PARLIAMENT — Certain matters raised by Professor Tjaart van der Walt in his report on the Vaal triangle unrest of 1984 had already been attended to, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said here yesterday.

Dr Viljoen said although Professor van der Walt came to the conclusion that education was not the real cause of the unrest, he nevertheless made certain recommendations regarding educational matters.

He said: "Some of these recommendations are already

being implemented or receiving attention."

Dr Viljoen said measures being implemented included:

- A strategy for the collection of rent and service fees.
- A plan of action to enlighten residents on the purpose and functions of local authorities.

● A White Paper on urbanisation was underway.

● Everything possible was being done to assist residents to obtain their homes under the 99-year leasehold system.

● The introduction of regional service councils was receiving priority.

11A BEEFA STAK 18/4/86



BUD DAY

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# Botha rebukes foreigners for meddling in SA

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha appealed to the rest of the world yesterday not to interfere officially or covertly in SA affairs.

He said in debate on his budget vote he could not allow SA to become a laboratory and its people the guinea pigs of foreign academics seeking to test their own theories.

"I make an appeal to the rest of the world: considering that we ourselves are occupied with these formidable domestic affairs to which you have no answers, do refrain from interfering, whether it be by way of official organs, or by espionage, cover-organisations, mediators or subtle brainwashing."

Foreigners, however, did not have to bear the consequences of their own abortive experiments.

He addressed a word of warning to South Africans who held talks with the ANC in the belief that information so obtained was not freely available in SA, or because government over-emphasised the influence of the Communist Party on the ANC. — Sapa.

Talks Bill soon — PW

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha announced yesterday that he intended to publish a Bill on his proposed National Council for constitutional negotiation.

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote in the House of Assembly, Botha said he believed the council could contribute significantly to creating the climate for negotiation of a new constitutional dispensation allowing participation by all South Africans.

He intended publishing the Bill as soon as possible to give all those concerned the chance to make their views known to him through comment and proposals.

"It is my wish that negotiations on the National Council be furthered in this way and that it will lead to the passing of the Bill before the end of the present session in its extended term."

The council was not an end in itself, but a means to an end, Botha said.

"I am thus of the opinion that the council indeed offers South Africans the opportunity to freely state their views and pre-conditions." — Sapa.

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# 'SA hit squad'

THE group reported to have tried to board an Athens flight to Harare were 12 Muslim South Africans who had formed a Libyan-trained "hit squad", State President P W Botha said yesterday.

The 12 had left SA a while ago and had undergone basic training in Frontline states. They had then received specialist training in Libya and were organised into a "hit squad", he said in his speech to the House of Assembly.

They had been ordered to return to Harare for further instructions and equipment.

Botha said: "The people concerned are 12 SA citizens — nine from the Western Cape, one from Guguletu (near Cape Town), one from East London and one from Johannesburg.

"Nine passports were lawfully issued in Cape Town. The others had travel documents from Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

"A small group has emerged within the Muslim community who, under the influence of Libya and Iran and with funding from those quarters, have committed themselves, with the ANC and PAC, to terror and violence," he said. — Sapa.

BUD DAY

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# Six major issues settled at indaba

ARGUS  
18/4/86

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## Schoeman rejects criticisms of the SAA

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

THE Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, today rejected harsh criticisms of South African Airways service and its failure to reduce fares.

A Progressive Federal Party transport spokesman yesterday appealed to Mr Schoeman to intervene personally to improve the services.

Apart from criticising SAA for not reducing fares, Mr John Malcomess described the business class as a rip-off and condemned the airline for the lack of available seats.

Mr Schoeman said today SAA had budgeted for a loss of R80-million for this year — and this was mainly a result of not passing increased fuel costs to passengers.

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Participants in the Natal/Kwazulu indaba have reached unanimity on six major issues, according to an announcement by the meeting's administrative office.

Yesterday was the third day of the indaba and there was unanimous agreement by delegates on the following "basic points of departure":

● The indaba accepts that the Kwazulu/Natal region is a single unit and that its second-tier government should reflect this reality in its political structure.

### Interdependence

● It is aware of the economic and strategic interdependence between the Kwazulu/Natal region and the rest of South Africa and aware of the patriotism of its people to its fatherland, South Africa, and has no desire to be sovereignly independent of South Africa.

● All people of the region should have a right to full political participation and effective representation.

● The indaba accepts the democratic principles of freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law and access to the law. Legislation based on racial discrimination must be abolished.

### Protection of rights

● Society in Natal/Kwazulu must be founded upon a free economic system and the provision must also be made for the protection of the rights of individuals and groups.

● Legislative and administrative power should be devolved as much as possible.

Papers were also presented by the Kwazulu government, the Natal Provincial Council, the Progressive Federal Party, the New Republic Party and the Natal ad hoc consultative committee on Kwanatal.

The indaba is in session today at the Durban City Hall.

CMC Times 18/4/86

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# Curbs on 'political' funeral

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ATTEMPTS by the United Democratic Front to turn the funeral of a former senior African National Congress member on Sunday outside Umtata into a major political rally seem to have been thwarted by the Transkei Government.

The government yesterday published restrictions on those allowed to attend the funeral of former exile Chief Sabata Dalindyebo at Bumbane, the traditional Xhosa royal burial ground.

It also introduced strict border-control measures which will prevent buses carrying UDF supporters from entering the homeland.

Chief Sabata was a joint first cousin of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and of the man who forced him into exile, Transkei's former president, Chief Kaiser Matanzima.

He died in Lusaka on April 7 at the age of 57. His body was flown to Umtata on Wednesday.

## Message from Mandela

Government permission for Chief Sabata's funeral to take place near his birthplace at Bumbane is rumoured to have been obtained after a message was conveyed to Chief Matanzima by Mrs Winnie Mandela from her jailed husband.

Chief Matanzima yesterday said the UDF was banned in Transkei and that he could not understand why these people had said they would be coming in full force.

"As head of state and the army I should not be blamed for any drastic action I deem fit to take to ensure the maintenance of law and order in the country," Chief Matanzima added.

He still wields considerable influence with the Transkei Government, sources said yesterday.

Traditionally, as the most senior member of the family, Mr Mandela must decide on funeral arrangements for his cousin. Otherwise the task falls on the next-eldest, Chief Matanzima, a position family members regard as "unthinkable".

## Buses to leave for Umtata

The vice-president of the Western Cape Region of the UDF, Mr Christmas Tinto, said earlier this week that a dozen buses would leave for Umtata from Guguletu tomorrow morning. Mr Tinto said he knew of 20 buses departing for Umtata from the Johannesburg area and another 27 from the Port Elizabeth district about the same time.

Chief Sabata leaves nine children, all living in exile, and Mrs Sabata, living in Orlando, Soweto.

Sapa reports that rumours are rife in Umtata that it might be decided to bury Chief Sabata today with only members of the family attending and a memorial service later in the week. This was seen as an attempt to pre-empt any participation by groups like the UDF or members of the banned ANC.

But a statement by the Paramount Chief of Tembuland, Chief Bambilanga Dalindyebo, said the burial was fixed for Sunday at Bumbane.

Call Tunis 19/4/86 (in/LEAP)

# SA bid to undermine ANC 'prestige'

**Own Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The ANC yesterday accused the State President of telling "deliberate untruths about the ANC" to prepare the ground for strikes against independent Southern African states. In a statement reacting to a speech Mr P W Botha made in Parliament on Thursday, the ANC denied from Lusaka that any of its members had

received training in Libya or that it had any plans to carry out acts of terrorism. Mr Botha's remarks were an attempt to "undermine the influence and prestige that our movement enjoys and to prepare for further acts of aggression against the independent states in our region", the statement said. "He wants to repeat in Southern Africa the rep-

rehensible act of aggression that the Reagan administration recently carried out against Libya. The terrorist is the Botha regime. "Contrary to what he (Mr Botha) said, the ANC has not changed its strategy and has no plans, in any shape or form, to carry out acts of terrorism. There are no ANC cadres trained in Libya to embark on this or any other campaign."

● The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) receives political, moral and material support from Libya, as it does from other members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU.) This was said in New York this week by Mr Lesaoana Makhanda, the deputy chief representative of the PAC at the United Nations. Mr Mahanda also said that the PAC had no

office in Tripoli. He expressed his organization's condemnation of the American attack on Libya. He said he knew of no conference which had been planned for South African guerilla movements in Libya within the next few weeks. He claimed that if there had been such a meeting on the cards, he would almost certainly have known about it.



Court exhibits in the treason and terrorism trial of Miss Helene Passtoors. The trial is being heard in the Rand Supreme Court.

# Each morning it's a slow walk — to the dock

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By Jenni Tennant

Every morning, just before 10 am, Helene Therese Judith Marie Passtoors walks slowly into the dock of Court No 2F from the cell block below the Rand Supreme Court, hugs her mother, and sits down to listen to evidence against her.

She was originally accused No 1 in the present treason trial, which is expected to last another two weeks. But after the non-appearance of her co-accused and former husband, Mr Klaas de Jonge — who is still taking refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria — she is now just "the accused".

Yesterday was a special day for Miss Passtoors. Three of her four children from her first marriage, which according to court documents ended in divorce shortly before she met Mr de Jonge, came to visit her.

The judge gave special permission for the children — Philippe (15), Fabrice (13) and 11-year-old Yves van Leynseele — to sit in the court to be near her.

According to documents handed in at the start of the trial, Miss Passtoors was born in Eindhoven, Holland, in 1942 and educated at a convent boarding school.

In 1964 she went to the United States, where she worked for two years. There she met her first husband, anthropology student Mr Pierre

van Leynseele. They married in 1966.

In 1967 they went to live in Zaire, where she studied at the National University of Zaire in Kinshasa. They lived there for about six years.

In 1975 she worked as an assistant in the department of African Linguistics of the University of Leiden, Holland, and continued studying. She later became a lecturer until 1980.

She was separated from her husband in 1979 and they were divorced a year later.

During 1979 she met Mr de Jonge, who was also working at the University of Leiden in the African Study Centre, and they married in 1980.

In 1981 Miss Passtoors took up a lecturing post at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. The couple separated in 1983 and were divorced in Holland on March 26 last year.

In 1984 she formed a relationship with a South African refugee whom, she admitted in the court documents, was a member of the African National Congress. In February 1985 she moved to Johannesburg, where she registered for a doctorate in African Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"I don't think anyone in the world could question Miss Passtoors's credentials as a linguist," Professor MV Aldrige, head of the linguistics department at Wits, said in evidence this week.

But just four months after starting her studies she was arrested ...

## Radio was trigger for bomb, court told

A modified radio set, apparently capable of setting off a bomb, was one of the exhibits handed into the Rand Supreme Court yesterday at the trial of Miss Helene Passtoors who has pleaded not guilty to charges of treason and terrorism.

A technical expert, Captain TP McKellar, told the court that he was given certain items including the portable radio, a receiver, a battery charger and an antenna.

Captain McKellar said the radio was no longer a standard FM/AM radio. Inside was a transmitter.

After inspecting the apparatus,

he concluded that it had been specially assembled to set off explosives.

Lieutenant CA Zeelie, of the Johannesburg Security Branch, said that, on June 23 last year, he was called to Halfway House, near Chloorkop, where a black plastic bag was unearthed. The bag was replaced and he returned to the site on the next day.

Lieutenant Zeelie said that, in the black plastic bag, he found demolition charges of Russian origin, electric detonators, mechanical detonators, a portable radio, a radio signal receiver, a battery charger and a radio antenna.

The items were wrapped in aluminium foil and then in plastic.

Some of the items — including the radio and receiver — were eventually handed to Captain McKellar.

The lieutenant said that, in Bapsfontein, he found a black plastic bag in the ground. In it were two Russian-made limpet mines. Nearby, covered by leaves, he found a detonator.

On June 27 he found various items, including eight limpet mines, 18 mini-limpet mines and several limpet-mine detonators, at Muldersdrift, he said.

It was alleged that Mr Klaas

de Jonge pointed out the site.

Mr Justice TT Spoelstra adjourned the hearing early to allow Miss Passtoors to see her children.

When the court was open after 2 pm, Miss Passtoors climbed the stairs to the dock and gave a cry of pleasure when she saw her three sons.

After an emotional reunion — the children arrived from the Netherlands yesterday afternoon — Mr D Kuy, SC, for Ms Passtoors, asked the court whether the children could remain in court to listen to the hearing. This was allowed.

The hearing continues.

# Policeman denies smiling as people whipped

By Duncan Gay

DELMAS — Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen — who was in charge of police operations in unrest-torn Vaal Triangle townships in September 1984 — yesterday denied standing on top of a police vehicle, smiling, as his juniors sjambokked and arrested people leaving a funeral.

The allegation was put to him at the trial of 22 men, among them senior United Democratic

Front and Azanian Peoples' Organisation members — by Mr S Bizos, appearing for the men.

The 22 have pleaded not guilty to high treason, and alternatively subversion, incitement to murder and furthering the aims of banned organisations.

Other allegations put to Brigadier Viljoen were that on September 15, during the funeral of victims of police action, troops played cricket in a vacant part

of the Evaton cemetery.

Mr Bizos: "What do you expect were the feelings of the grandmother and mother at the funeral when the people they felt to be responsible for death of their child were playing cricket in the graveyard?"

Brigadier Viljoen: "I do not know what they would have felt."

He said he was not aware of the cricket game.

# Four die in Cape township attack

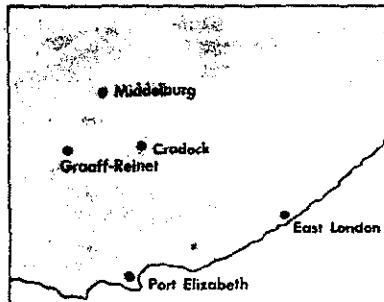
By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY and KEN VERNON  
Weekend Argus Reporters

FOUR people have died in attacks on community councillors' homes in a township in Middelburg, Cape.

Two children are missing from one of the homes and a large-scale police investigation was mounted today to try to find them.

"It was impossible to do anything last night because of the darkness but we are back in there in force today," a police spokesman said.

Two of the dead were killed when councillors fired on their assailants. A baby died when one of the homes was destroyed by fire and the body of a man who had been stabbed and "necklaced" was found later. Police believe the body may be that of one of the missing councillors.



Police have not yet released the names of the councillors involved. It is understood that they fear further attacks on the families of the men involved.

The killings follow a petrol-bomb attack on a UDF youth leader in the town on Thursday night.

The president of the UDF-affiliated Middelburg Youth Congress, Mr Victor Mtila, was badly burnt over most of his body when a petrol-bomb was thrown through his bedroom window.

The Rev Leon Husselmann of the Middelburg Council of Churches said that Mr Mtila's girlfriend, who was with him at the time of the attack, was slightly injured.

Mr Mtila's father was also injured when three petrol-bombs were thrown into his home moments after the first attack.

## Serious condition

Last night Mr Mtila was reported to be in a "serious condition" in the intensive care ward of the Wilhelm Stahl Hospital in Middelburg.

Last week another man was murdered in a "neck-face" killing in the township.

The violence last night started about 6pm when a group of about 600 people attacked the home of a councillor in the "Old Location". Petrol-bombs and burning tyres were thrown at the building.

The second councillor's home was attacked soon afterwards.

Police said both men opened fire on the crowd but the first councillor was unable to stop his home being burnt down.

"His two-year-old baby was burnt to death and his four-year-old and eight-year-old children are missing. We are looking for them now."

When police moved in to restore order they found the bodies of two men who had been shot dead — presumably by the councillors.

Outside the second councillor's home they found the body of a man who had been stabbed and "necklaced".

"The councillor is missing so we are investigating the possibility that he was the person killed," the police spokesman said.

The police spokesman said one person had been arrested in connection with the incidents. He was detained at the hospital in Noupoort.

● In Cape Town, police on patrol were fired on early today in Mahobe Drive, Nyanga.

# ANC pay to wed in jail today

Staff Reporters

High treason prisoners Carl Niehaus (26) and Jansie Lourens (26) will marry today in the Pretoria Central Prison.

Niehaus is serving a 15-year term after being found guilty of being a member of the banned African National Congress.

Lourens was found to be an active supporter of the ANC and sentenced to four years in jail.

They had both pleaded not guilty in the Rand Supreme Court in 1983.

Their marriage today follows many requests to the Minister of Justice to allow the wedding to take place.

The couple met when they were 19-year-old students at the Rand Afrikaans University.

They were due to marry in August 1983, but were both detained before the planned wedding.

According to Prison Services regulations, the wedding is conducted in a "suitable place" inside the prison walls.

Only the couple, the officiating minister, parents or guardians and witnesses may attend.

The couple "may exchange rings and will be treated to refreshments afterwards".

They then return to their respective cells.



Parliament and Politics

# Govt go-ahead for KwaNatal

By ORMANDE POLLOK  
Political Staff

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — A joint KwaNatal administration has been accepted in principle by the government and other similar bodies could be established elsewhere.

This was announced yesterday by the State President, Mr P W Botha, who said this decision had nothing to do with the current Indaba concerning a joint legislative body for Natal, which was a completely different matter.

However, the government was not opposed to

the conference and had sent three senior members of the National Party as observers.

Mr Botha said he could not accept a request by the chairman of the Indaba, Professor Desmond Clarence, for a moratorium on all changes to the Natal provincial system until October 1 so that the Indaba could present specific proposals of their own about a possible joint legislature.

The life of the provincial councils had already been extended once and would have to be extended again if he accepted the moratori-

um on Natal because all provinces had to be treated the same way.

"A further extension of the present term of the provincial councils will have no effect on the negotiations of the Indaba about a proposed legislature or the time scale of such deliberations," said Mr Botha.

"Parliamentary legislation is in any case necessary to implement such proposals if they are acceptable and this would only be possible during the 1987 session."

The government had therefore decided it could no longer delay urgent reform measures at provincial level any longer.

Dealing with the proposals for a joint administration which were handed to the government recently Mr Botha said the Cabinet supported the principle.

### Health

"The parties proposed a body which will be able to harness the existing resources of the two administrations," he said.

Areas of co-operation could include health, roads, traffic control, physical planning and nature conservation. Similar areas in which a rationalised combined effort made good practical sense at the operational level could also be considered.

Equal representation would be afforded to both Natal and KwaZulu in the joint executive authority and the chairmanship would alternate on an agreed basis.

### Disagreement

"Decisions will necessarily have to be by consensus," said Mr Botha.

"In the event of a disagreement, the matter in issue would be referred to the Administrator of Natal and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu jointly for determination."

The way ahead would be to submit special draft legislation to Parliament which, if approved, would enable such a joint executive authority to be created.

"Because of the infinite variation of detail and circumstances to be dealt with, it was recommended by the two parties that the necessary legislation should take the form of an empowering enactment," said Mr Botha.

### Proclamation

This meant the joint body could be established by proclamation.

"The KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority may not be the last of its sort," said Mr Botha.

Provision would be made in legislation concerning the self governing areas and provincial government for such bodies. This would be done because the needs which led to the co-operation in Natal could apply in other parts of the country.



Mr Pat Rogers

Political Staff and Sapa



Mrs Helen Suzman



Mr Frank le Roux



Mr Daan van der Merwe

## Suzman hails pass-law move

MRS HELEN SUZMAN, the veteran MP who has fought the controversial influx control measures for more than 30 years, said yesterday she was "obviously elated" that the pass laws would be abolished as announced by President P W Botha yesterday.

"I can only hope that the white paper due next week on planned urbanization will in no way suggest any form of substitution for restrictions on mobility which have been a major cause of racial friction over so many years," she said in an interview yesterday.

"I hope, too, this means that all other offences, linked to influx control and pass laws, like curfew regulations, are also on their way out.

### Eglin

"Tackling genuine grievances about discriminatory and oppressive laws is clearly a better means and more permanent manner of dealing with unrest in the black townships," Mrs Suzman said.

● The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said during the debate in Parliament yesterday if the

proposed National Council was going to contribute to the success of negotiation, the people who took part in its deliberations would have to be the genuine leaders of the communities they were supposed to represent.

Mr P W Botha had to "make it clear his government is not locked into the concept that constitutional development can only take place within the framework of racially based structures founded on statutory race classification and compulsory group membership".

This also implied willingness to abandon "the costly and divisive constitutional monstrosity known as own affairs".

At local government level the introduction of Regional Services Councils based on separate racial authorities was meeting massive resistance from blacks and increasing resistance from coloureds and Indi-

ans, who wanted full participation on a non-racial basis.

● The delay in calling a general election was legal and constitutional but not honourable or democratic, Mr Roger Hulley (PFP Constantia) said yesterday during the Budget vote of the State President.

He called on Mr Botha to call an election this year.

In the 76 years since Union in 1910 there had been an average of four years and two months between each of the 18 elections.

The provision in the previous constitution was that every Parliament should continue for five years "and no longer".

According to that constitution the State President would have had to call a general election before July 31 this year. But in terms of the 1983 Constitution the State President was permitted to allow Parliament to

continue until September 4, 1989.

"It is absolutely unprecedented for South Africa, even in wartime, not to hold a general election within the constitutional five year period."

● Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) said Mr Botha had been reported as saying that he found the past system to be repugnant.

"Mr Botha is the only member who has sat in this House since 1948 and implemented the laws of separation. For him to say he found this system repugnant was the same as saying his whole political career was repugnant."

● The CP supported the bombing of Libya by United States jets. Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said yesterday during the debate.

He hoped, however, that the US also understood South African military action in Angola.

● Mr Pat Rogers (NRP King Williams' Town) said his party backed a confederation of Southern African states whose national anthem could be N'kosi Sikelele i'Afrika, which was revered throughout Africa.

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Cap's Times 19/4/86

Police told Nchabeleng they were going to kill him, family claims

# Mystery letter found after UDF man dies

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Questions are flying thick and fast about the death of United Democratic Front leader Mr Peter Nchabeleng in Lebowa's Schoonoord police station after the discovery of a "letter" signed by him in captivity during his last hours.

The letter is said to be a total negation of everything Mr Nchabeleng stood for during a life of struggle against apartheid. The UDF insists that it indicates that he was placed under "tremendous duress".

Mr Nchabeleng (59), the UDF's Northern Transvaal president, died before noon on Friday, April 11, 1986 just hours after being taken from his home. Police said he had apparently had a heart attack, but the UDF claims he had been in "perfect condition" before he was held.

## Chiefs detained

- The South African Council of Churches (SACC) claims that:
  - The Nchabeleng family overheard police saying: "This time we are going to kill you," as they removed Mr Nchabeleng from his home.
  - Two chiefs detained at the same time were beaten and one of them said he had seen Mr Nchabeleng being tortured.

Brigadier W Beetge, Commissioner of Police for Lebowa, has strongly denied that Mr Nchabeleng was assaulted during his detention. He has also denied knowledge of the letter bearing Mr Nchabeleng's signature. "It has not been brought to our attention at this stage," he said.

## Main thrust

The main thrust of the letter, dated April 11 — the day of Mr Nchabeleng's death — is an appeal to the community to abandon its campaign of social isolation of the security forces. In many parts of Sekhukhuneland police have been refused service in shops and transportation in local taxis.

It states: "This is to certify that the Lebowa police, the SAP and SADF and related forces must enjoy the privileges of the community like any other citizen of South Africa ... Any businessman who refuses forces the abovementioned must close his business with effect from today 1986/04/11 midnight."

The letter also appeals for an end to the burning of people and property "including the State property" and for a return to school by pupils.

The document came to light on Friday when a policeman took it to a shopkeeper in the area and demanded that he be served, according to Dr Beyers Naude, secretary-general of the SACC.

Dr Naude said the statement "must have been made under extreme conditions and was an attempt by the police to break the campaign of isolation".

Dr Naude has also highlighted an incident which took place less than 48 hours before Mr Nchabeleng's death. Youths in the village of Apel allegedly called a meeting with a local school principal to discover whether he had collaborated in an attempt to kill Mr Nchabeleng in 1983 when a letter bomb was sent to him, disguised as his son's school report card.

At Wednesday night's meeting the principal was allegedly doused with petrol — but he was not burnt.

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S.M.R.

11A

CAME TIMES 19/4/86 (11A)

# Azapo demos held on Rand after 'rampage'

JOHANNESBURG. — Supporters of Libya gathered outside American embassies around the world yesterday as a backlash continued against the United States attack on Libya.

In Johannesburg placard-wielding supporters of Azapo marched through the centre of the city yesterday protesting against the strike and calling on Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi to retaliate against the US.

Police, who had shadowed the march, arrested five of the protesters

after they went on the rampage after demonstrating outside the US Information Center offices.

Agence France Presse photographer Gideon Mendel was detained, and later released, by police for allegedly taking photographs of the arrested people.

In Tripoli thousands of Libyans, some chanting "We will destroy America", jammed the streets around a small mosque yesterday for the mass funeral of 19 victims of the US bombing raid.

Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was not seen at the funeral.

In London, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe confirmed in a statement that two Britons being held hostage in Beirut had been murdered and he said that they had been kidnapped by Libyans on March 28.

A third body found with theirs on Thursday

has been identified as that of American librarian Peter Kilburn, 60, who was kidnapped in December, 1984.

The Libyan envoy said on American television his country was prepared to talk to Washington about the spiralling cycle of violence following the air raid.

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, yesterday denied that the raid was planned in the hopes of killing Colonel Gaddafi but said one goal was to encourage a coup against him.

In Paris, the French government said it was expelling four Libyans accused of activities considered likely to upset public order.

There were protests by Arabs in Warsaw, and protesters demonstrated in Bangladesh, Belgium, Kuala Lumpur, Lagos and Accra. In Nicosia, Cyprus, the US Embassy was closed early. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and Own Correspondent

ONE TIMES 19/4/86

## Man hurt by petrol bomb

THE president of the UDF-affiliated Middelberg Youth Congress, Mr Victor Mtila, is in a serious condition in the Willemstahl Hospital, after a petrol-bomb attack on his home early yesterday morning.

A representative of the Midlands Council of Churches said yesterday Mr Mtila had burns to his face, chest and both arms. His girlfriend was also injured.

The bomb had been thrown through his bedroom window.

Another three petrol bombs were thrown into the home of his father, Mr Fikile Mtila, a few minutes later.

Mr Mtila, who is the principal of the local school, was not harmed, but his home was badly damaged.

Police yesterday declined to comment.

SA <sup>cap Times</sup> 19/4/88

# mourners barred

**JOHANNESBURG.** — South African mourners are determined to attend Paramount Chief Dalindyebo Sabata's funeral in Bumbane near Umtata tomorrow despite a ban on South Africans from attending.

Mr Murphy Morobe, publicity secretary of the UDF told mourners at a memorial service here yesterday that South Africans were determined to attend the funeral and that Mrs Winnie Mandela was already in Transkei to discuss the matter with the authorities.

At the memorial service Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Transvaal president of the UDF, said Chief Sabata, who died in Lusaka, had preferred to go into exile to avoid being persecuted by the South African Government and the Matanzima brothers.

She said the Matanzimas, Chief Sabata's relatives, had no claim on his body for burial because he had opted to join the ANC to involve himself in the liberation struggle of his people while they preferred to work with Pretoria to oppress their own people.

— Sapa

# SUNDAY SATISFIES

To Indulge in  
**SUNDAY BREAKFAST** from  
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Catholics to  
back sanctions?

W/L ARGUS

19/4/86

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119

# tions ?

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Roman Catholic Church is on the verge of throwing its full weight behind the disinvestment and sanctions campaign against South Africa.

The Catholic Bishops' Conference has instructed its administrative board to make arrangements for an extraordinary plenary session in May when the matter is to be discussed and a decision taken.

The Church, hesitant till now to make a stand, has indicated that it cannot postpone a decision much longer and will formulate its policy at the special plenary session. Catholics have been invited to make their views known.

If the CBC calls for sanctions the Catholic Church will become the first church in South Africa to give its support to the campaign.

Bishop Desmond Tutu earlier this month appealed to the international community to apply punitive sanctions. However, Bishop Tutu was speaking for himself and not for the Anglican Church.

## Passive resistance

An explanatory paper to members of the church stated: "We see no choice but to envisage forms of non-violent action such as passive resistance, boycott and economic pressure to move our country away from its present state of racial conflict and set it firmly on the road to justice and full participation for its inhabitants in the structure of government."

The paper pointed out that at the bishops' recent plenary session the conference passed a resolution emphasising that it was deeply conscious of its responsibilities, as leaders of the church, to give moral guidance and to play its part in ending the rapidly escalating violence in South Africa.

## Hurley : 'Rapport with ANC'

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley, who led a church deputation in talks this week with the African National Congress in Lusaka, said from Johannesburg today he accepted that the organisation was not communist but at the same time recognised the dangers of the organisation working with communism.

The archbishop said: "I appreciate the danger of any organisation which works closely with communism because of the communist practice of working harder than other groups, taking over and imposing its own dictatorships."

Archbishop Hurley headed a four-man delegation of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference which had talks with the president of the banned ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, and six other ANC members.

He described the talks as "very fruitful". He said no further meeting was planned, "but we will keep in touch".

"The meeting certainly gave us as a delegation an acquaintance with the leadership of the ANC and established quite a rapport, I think. I was impressed by Mr Oliver Tambo and all the members of the delegation I spoke to."

Asked whether negotiations could work between the South African Government and the ANC he said: "At present I don't think so. The ANC's stand on one-person, one-vote seems to be absolute."

"They would come to the negotiating table saying 'we want a state in which the principle of one-person, one-vote is recognised and we are prepared to negotiate how we take over and establish that'."

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11A

# Arson at UDF offices

CP Correspondent

A COMMUNITY resource centre has become the latest target of rightwing arsonists in Durban.

Damage estimated at about R50 000 was caused when the resource centre in St Andrews Street was set alight this week.

Police say they're investigating.

Assistant librarian Jenni Karlsson said it was obvious from the wrecked offices that someone had poured petrol along the edges of the floor and across the front of the shelves.

A computer and two photocopying machines were destroyed. A number of irreplaceable documents in the Institute of Race Relations collection, housed in the centre, were also destroyed.

The centre is used by a number of progressive and aid organisations, including the UDF.

Tenants and trustees in the building said the centre was set up to be used by groups "working towards an alternative society in which there is justice and peace".

"We are shocked that a place of such benefit to the community should be attacked. The attack is clearly an attempt to undermine the valuable work with the community and especially with the poor," said a tenant.

# Uniformed parade for Mabhida and the SAP-TV crew

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11A



Former SA Communist Party leader Moses Mabhida's blind widow, Lenah, 60, fights back the tears at his memorial service.

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

FORMER SA Communist Party leader Moses Mabhida's memorial service in Maritzburg at the weekend was given almost full military "honours" - by a strong security force contingent.

Armed reaction unit cops lined the grounds of the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre and the huge hall where the service was held.

Troops guarded the main road leading to the centre.

Even the centre's parking area was occupied by cops' vehicles.

Inside the hall security cops took positions in all corners while an "SAP-TV" crew filmed the proceedings from a balcony - with others taking pictures and recording openly.

Other cops worked shoulder to shoulder with marshalls - herding people from the gate into the hall.

"The service only needed a 21-gun salute for full military honours," a Mabhida memorial committee

spokesman said.

The United Democratic Front's Archie Gumede, Culnick Ndlovu and Billy Nair and Maritzburg PFP MP Mike Tarr hastily negotiated with the cops to allow thousands to enter.

Cops had padlocked the gates - shutting out scores of people.

At one stage, a strong placard-carrying and chanting crowd fought back cops and pushed the gate open after cops shut it to allow only one person at a time.

Minutes later another crowd gathered outside the now padlocked gate.

A cop with a megaphone told the crowd in English and Afrikaans they had five minutes to disperse as they were "an unlawful gathering".

UDF officials appealed to the crowd to return to the buses. UDF Natal vice-chairman Billy Nair told the cops he feared police intervention might lead to confrontation.

He said the organisers were prepared to control the crowd and asked half an hour to clear them away.

Over 5 000 people were locked out, the organisers said.

Inside the hall Nair told the 8 000-strong crowd that if fighting for equality and social justice meant being called a communist, "then I am prepared to be called a communist".

Nair said Mabhida played major roles in the African National Congress, the SACP, the SA Congress of Trade Unions and Umkhonto weSizwe.

"There were those who believed that being in the ANC, the SACP and Sactu at the same time could not be reconciled - but Moses proved them wrong," he said.

"He believed in the principles laid down in the Freedom Charter, and he worked towards them in

every way possible."

They were jeers and boos at a police team video-taping the proceedings when UDF president Archie Gumede attacked them, saying "it is our democratic right to assemble peacefully and conduct meetings."

Albertina Sisulu also addressed the meeting.

Maritzburg police commissioner N van Eyk said police attended the service after consulting the organisers when "threats to disrupt the meeting and kill the organisers" had been made.

"Because of the fairly large turnout, a reasonable number of police had to be employed. The police did not intervene in the proceedings and there were no incidences," he said.

But UDF publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli said the police take-over of the memorial service was a blatant "show of force".

"Such an intrusion on the privacy of those who have gathered to pay tribute to a national hero was revolting," he said.

"It is no longer possible to meet freely without police intervention," he said.



Cops try to keep back a crowd from the Mabhida memorial service



... But the angry crowd surges forward and pushes open the gate.



Mabhida's son Henry Khehla Mabhida addresses the memorial service.



By MONO BADELA

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions says it could never become involved in the "KwaNatal indaba" being held in Durban - because the meeting is "undemocratic".

"Cosatu is committed to a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa," the 500 000-strong federation said in a statement this week.

"That's why we have not attended the indaba."

General secretary Jay Naidoo said the Cosatu central executive committee met in Soweto at the weekend to discuss this and other issues - and had flatly rejected an invitation to attend the talks in Durban.

"The future of a so-called KwaNatal can not be separated from the future of South Africa," Naidoo said.

"Cosatu has committed itself to fundamental change in South Africa, and this requires that we start with the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles."

"The KwaNatal indaba is being held at a time when the conditions for negotiations are bad. Violent attacks are being made on organisations - Cosatu is under attack, and employers and Inkatha are combining in support of the United Workers' Union of SA as opposition to Cosatu."

Cosatu felt the structure of KwaNatal was "undemocratic" and would not allow for a free and open discussion - one that would allow Cosatu members to participate fully.

Cosatu believes the people of Natal had not been committed to this initiative - and Cosatu was given only two weeks notice of the talks.

Naidoo added that the CEC will continue to discuss the matter, and it will be considered "throughout Cosatu's ranks".

"We will publicise our views on this, despite the Press campaign to suppress all criticism of the KwaNatal proposal," he said.

● The Cosatu CEC also criticised the pending formation of Uwusa, which it said was a "deliberate attempt by employers and Inkatha to divide and weaken the trade union movement in Natal".

"After decades of struggle by Natal workers to build their union, the formation of Uwusa should be condemned as a reactionary and tragic step," Naidoo said.

He said the federation also felt Uwusa's formation was carefully planned - over a long period - and that the Cosatu launch last year was used as a pretext to set these plans in action.

"Cosatu believes the full machinery of the Inkatha and the KwaZulu government - and to some extent the South African Government - has been thrown behind Uwusa."

"Cosatu has information

# Why Cosatu says no to 'KwaNatal'



Cosatu's NAIDOO

CITY P. 20/4/86  
that Inkatha representatives have addressed employer bodies, attacking Cosatu - and urging support for Uwusa.

"It also has information - which it can furnish and document - that certain employers are actively supporting Uwusa. In addition to this, the Natal Chamber

of Industries has refused to meet Cosatu to discuss the deteriorating situation in Natal - including the formation of Uwusa."  
● Cosatu decided to establish anti-pass committees in preparation for a coordinated anti-pass campaign. It also called for the release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of banned organisations, and pledged support for student fights.

(11A)

26/11/36

# UNREST GRAVES DOUB



LEFT: The corpse of a necklance victim.

RIGHT TOP: The remains of the funeral parlour

MIDDLE: Top of the funeral parlour

BOTTOM: The home of Annette Kahla - gutted by fire.



CP Gorgepigment

A PORT Elizabeth undertaker - who arranged paupers' funerals for three unidentified unrest victims - died in hospital this week after chanting youths went on the rampage, attacking her home and funeral parlour.

The youths then dug up the bodies of three



necklace victim.

**RIGHT TOP:** The remains of the funeral parlour and a vehicle after youths set it alight.

**MIDDLE:** Top of the funeral parlour.

**BOTTOM:** The home of Annette Kahla - gutted by fire.



**CP Correspondent**

A PORT Elizabeth undertaker - who arranged paupers' funerals for three unidentified unrest victims - died in hospital this week after chanting youths went on the rampage, attacking her home and funeral parlour.

The youths then dug up the bodies of three unrest victims who'd been given paupers' funerals.

Annette Kahla, owner of the New Brighton funeral parlour - died in hospital hours later after being necklaced.

The parlour - the first of its kind in the Eastern Cape's black townships - was opened in 1964 by her late husband John Siphon Phahla.

Cops were guarding her bed at the hospital after youths apparently threatened to "execute" her.

Eastern Cape police liaison officer Lt Col Gerrie van Rooyen confirmed her death.

Kahla is one of two people necklaced last week as tension once again mounted in Port Elizabeth. The other necklace victim is said to be an official of the Ibayi Town Council.

Kahla's murder and the attack on her property - which amounts to damage of R1-million - is a sequel to the burial of three unidentified unrest victims at Zwide cemetery last Wednesday.

The youths discov-



A masked youth helps dig up the graves of three unidentified unrest victims given a pauper's funeral by a Port Elizabeth undertaker.

# Undertaker killed after unrest burials

ered that the parlour had carried out the pauper's burials for the victims, and demanded that the bodies be exhumed and buried properly.

The attack on Kahla's property - on Saturday evening - was apparently triggered off by her refusal to accept the exhumed bodies for

proper burial. Youths first attacked the funeral parlour and then set Kahla's home alight.

She was apparently apprehended when she tried to escape.

Two cars were burnt as cops and neighbours tried to save her house

from destruction. Onlookers also rushed to save the furniture of her neighbour, N Peters, who was not at home.

• Six more bodies of unidentified unrest victims were exhumed by mourners at the weekend funeral of two shooting victims.

# Thokoza crime war



Members of Thokoza Anti-Crime organisation with some of the weapons they confiscated.

By SELLO SERIFE  
THOKOZA youths seized piles of deadly weapons including pangas, assegais and swords from thugs in a huge anti-crime campaign last week.

The youths were acting under Thokoza Anti-Crime, a new organisation whose spokesman, Peter Mofokeng, said youths had

formed TAC to improve living conditions in the area and root out thuggery.

"The crime rate in our area has been very high since the banning of meetings.

"Police and soldiers have failed dismally to stamp out crime in our townships. Instead there is hatred between them and the communities.

CITY P. 20/4/86  
"We feel we know our people and their problems and that is why we started this campaign," said Mofokeng.

"The purpose of the campaign is to reduce the escalating crime rate, to create a working relationship between the community and youth organisations in the area and to rehabilitate 'criminals'," he said.

# Brandt: 'I'll help'



Brandt discusses events with Winnie Mandela. <sup>ROVARS</sup> <sup>CITY P</sup> <sup>UFA</sup>

FORMER West German Chancellor Willy Brandt met leaders of the United Democratic Front this week - who told him the country is headed for escalating violence.

The veteran politician, on a three-day private tour, spent an hour with senior UDF officials.

UDF president Albertina Sisulu said Brandt had been told "time is running out".

She said Brandt "promised us he would do his best to help in the struggle."

UDF Transvaal vice-president Professor Ismail Mohammed said after the meeting: "We tried to indicate that this country is on a road of escalating violence.

"Clearly there seems to be a campaign to eliminate those who are struggling for change and one expects the socialist democratic bodies abroad to play their role." - Sapa.

# Brigadier doesn't know if he kicked accused

22/11/86 STAFF  
TVA

By Michael Tissong

**DELMAS** — The policeman in charge of the riot units in the Vaal Triangle during the unrest in 1984, Brigadier G Viljoen, declined to deny in a Circuit Court that he kicked one of the men facing a treason charge.

Under cross-examination by Mr George Bizos, Brigadier Viljoen said Mr Patrick Baleka was exciting the people at a funeral in September 1984 and was arrested.

Brigadier Viljoen said Mr Baleka was "unruly at the church and at the graveyard."

Mr Baleka is standing trial with 21 other people on charges of high treason and alternative charges of murder, subversion and terrorism. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Mr Bizos put it to Brigadier Viljoen that he kicked Mr Baleka on the chest after Mr Baleka was arrested. Brigadier Viljoen replied: "I do not know that; I cannot remember."

## RECOLLECTION

Mr Bizos said: "He was on his haunches at the time."

However, Brigadier Viljoen said: "I have no recollection of this."

Mr Bizos then replied: "I cannot understand that such an incident could have taken place and you are not sure. When I heard this from Mr Baleka, that you did this, I thought 'well...' and now you are doubtful about it. You are in no position to deny the evidence. If this took place, it took place in the presence of your juniors?"

Brigadier Viljoen agreed. Mr Bizos asked: "What example is this to them?"

Brigadier Viljoen said he didn't know whether the incident took place but Mr Bizos proposed he would have denied it immediately if it had not taken place.

Mr Bizos also told the court there were many cases of undisciplined behaviour by the police including an incident in which a Rastafarian's dreadlocks were cut off by a policeman with a knife as punishment. He was also stabbed.

Mr Bizos said many people were beaten up indiscriminately and many arrested for no apparent reason.

Brigadier Viljoen said there were cases of assault being investigated.

He said he had heard of a murder case in which a child was shot dead by a policeman.

Mr Bizos presented the Van der Walt Report on the 1984 Vaal Triangle unrest to the court and said some of Brigadier Viljoen's evidence contradicted the findings of the commission.

## SATISFIED

He read a passage in which Professor Tjaart van der Walt said that no-one had a good word to say about the council's administration of the township.

When asked to comment on the paragraph, Brigadier Viljoen said there were people in the Lekoa area who were satisfied with the way the administration was being handled.

(Proceeding).

# Detention is 'cruel'

<sup>CITY'S POLICE</sup>  
THE United Democratic Front and Presbyterian Church branch in King William's Town has called on the Ciskei Government to release Rev Makhenkesi Stofile unconditionally or charge him - if they thought he had committed "an offence" by opposing apartheid.

Stofile was detained under Section 26 of the Ciskei National Security Act on March 12.

UDF publicity secretary Mafa Goci said Stofile was fighting for an end to exploitation and a free and democratic South Africa.

Stofile, UDF Border general secretary, was a man of integrity and was respected by a large section of the population, said Goci.

Goci attacked the business community for its "indifference" while detentions of people occurred in the national states.

"They have a part to play in the prevention of human rights malpractices because they invest in these states. They cannot sit on the sidelines and pretend to be innocent onlookers.

"They invest in these homelands for profit, so they can pressurise the au-

thorities. In democratic countries, a person is presumed innocent until a court of law finds him guilty. It seems the reverse is practiced in Ciskei and South Africa," said Goci.

In a separate statement, the King William's Town Presbyterian Church said it was "deeply disturbed and grieved" by Stofile.

The church said detention without trial was "cruel" and the provisions of Section 26 were "wicked, inhuman, vicious, undemocratic and unChristian.

"We condemn this action by Ciskeian police in the

strongest terms and urgently call on those in power, in the spirit of Christ, to immediately charge or release Rev Stofile,

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# Mabuza has 'changed' - Buthelezi

IIA

CP Correspondent

KANGWANE Chief Minister Enos Mabuza came under fire from Ulundi this week for allegedly "changing his attitude" towards Inkatha after visiting the ANC.

In a stinging attack on Mabuza in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Minister and Inkatha boss Chief MG Buthelezi said Mabuza had made an "unprecedented and vicious attack" on Buthelezi himself, Inkatha and the SA Black Alliance.

In the past, he said, Mabuza had been "a brother in the struggle for peaceful change and meaningful negotiation ... (who) had the stamina to resist capitulation to the forces of darkness ... (and) knew full well the misery that disinvestment would bring to his fellow blacks.

"We believed he would stand up and join us in condemning the terror tactics

now being employed by the ANC mission in exile and its surrogates to intimidate the population and eliminate its opponents," said Buthelezi.

He said Mabuza is "ungrateful" to KwaZulu for paying the legal costs in the case stopping the SA Government from handing over KaNgwane and Ingwayuma to Swaziland.

Buthelezi dismissed Mabuza as someone "not very important in his own right".

"He does not have a substantial following," he said. He also slammed Mabuza for his apparent criticism of the new pro-capitalist Inkatha union, the United Workers' Union of SA.

According to Buthelezi, Cosatu had deliberately decided to hold its May Day Rally at Curries Fountain in Durban on May 1 - knowing that Uwusa was being launched that day - as a challenge to the Inkatha union.



# UDF man's home burnt

By BENITO PHILLIPS

THE home of Duncan Village UDF activist Zameni Mlingwane, who has been charged with intimidation, was attacked by arsonists this week.

Damage to his home has been estimated at R1 300.

Mlingwane said he was woken up at 1.40 am by an explosion.

When he saw petrol on

the floor, and a blaze, he fled his home.

Border police liaison officer Lieutenant Dot van der Vyver confirmed the incident, and said police were investigating the fire and had already searched the house for clues.

She said it was highly unlikely the blaze was related to unrest in the area.

By **DERRICK LUTHAYI**

THE Alexandra Junior Town Council collapsed this week after the mass resignation of its 11 remaining members.

Seven other members threw in the towel earlier this year at the height of unrest which has claimed about 30 lives in Alexandra.

The members said they were resigning because of pressure from their families.

Junior mayor Harvey Phalatse said they had given their resignations to acting town clerk Andrew Mardon.

They couldn't give them to town clerk Arthur Magerman - he resigned this week, too.

The resignations have been accepted by Alexandra mayor Sam Buti, who heads the four-man community council.

Five councillors - LM Taunyane, R Mashile, TK Molepo, NA Maphala and

# Council collapse

CITY P - 20/4/86 (11A)

P Williams resigned earlier this year.

However, it's not sure whether the junior councillors' resignations are official - because the council members don't form a majority.

A letter of resignation from one of the junior councillors states: "Due to the present situation in Alexandra and threats made on us and our families, we have resolved to dissolve the junior town council to try to seek solutions together with other youth organisations in the township and pursue community projects which we have left unfinished."

Junior council members say they were faced with extreme difficulties when performing their duties.

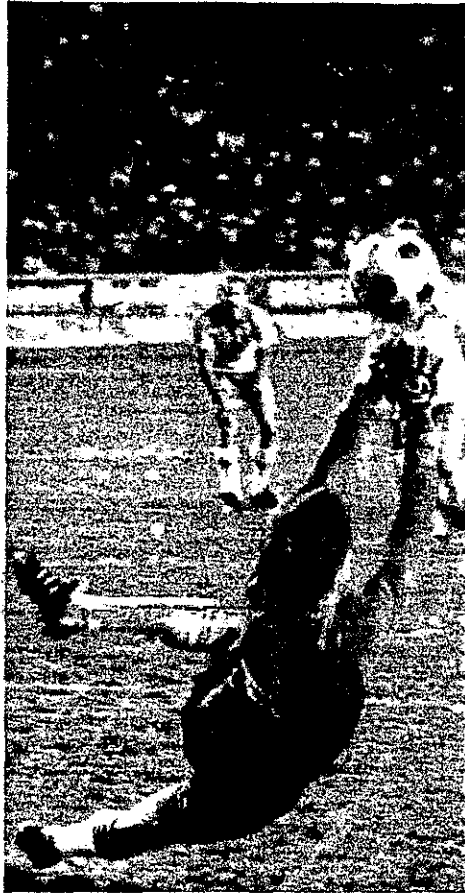
"We were unpaid servants of the council and we do not support apartheid. We were only involved with community service. Our last project will be the handing over of a cheque to the centre for handicapped children."

Among the junior councillors who have resigned are Elias Padi, Paul Modise, Prince Mathipa, Isaac Padi, Ernest Buti, Ephraim Ramphele, Elijah Tatire, Cecilia Tsie, Shadrack Padi and Eunice Musi.

# MASSIVE BOMB AS SABATA ARRIVES

By MONO BADELA and STAN MZIMBA

## Mike Mzileni: The pictures ...



which won him the title ...



Photographer of the Year



A MASSIVE bomb blew up part of Transkei's Interior Department offices yesterday - only hours after the body of "Comrade King" Sabata Dalindyebo arrived at Umtata airport.

City Press could not confirm the damage caused by the bomb, on the fifth floor of 12-storey Botha Sigcau building. However, unconfirmed reports indicated that at least one person had been killed.

The plane carrying the exiled African National Congress elder statesman's body arrived at Umtata's KD Matanzima airport from Lusaka at 4.45 pm on Wednesday. Twenty-two members of his family were on board.

Stringent security measures were imposed at the airport, with heavily-armed uniformed cops and security cops operating under the control of security police chief Brigadier LS Kawe.

### Press ban

Relatives, friends and journalists were ordered off the premises by police armed with R1 and R4 rifles, and the coffin was held at the airport for two hours before it was driven off in a hearse.

Significantly, neither Chief KD Matanzima - the dead king's uncle - nor Chief George Matanzima were at the airport to welcome the family.

Chief Bambilanga Mtirara - who took over as Tembu leader after King Sabata was deposed in 1981 - was also missing.

However, he did issue a call hours earlier that "all those in detention" - presumably a reference to jailed ANC leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu - be allowed to attend the late king's funeral on Sunday.

City Press could not confirm whether the heir to the Tembu throne - Prince Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo - was among the family members who flew to Umtata.

However, a meeting of the royal family at Winnie Mandela's Soweto home at the weekend had decided that King Sabata's children - including Prince Buyelekhaya - should fly to the country with the body.

### Escort

The party of 22 was escorted by armed police to Mbumbane, where the Great Place of the Tembus is situated.

They are expected to finalise preparations for Sunday's funeral, which is likely to be one of the biggest in the territory's history.

The family will be joined soon by Winnie Mandela, who left Soweto yesterday with daughters Zinzi and Zenani.

Zenani's husband - Prince Thumbumuzi Dlamini - will fly to Umtata tonight. He will represent the Swazi Queen Regent at the funeral.

Various other members of royalty - including Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe II and King Goodwill Zwelithini - have been told of the funeral.

Most sports fixtures in the homeland are expected to be postponed this weekend.

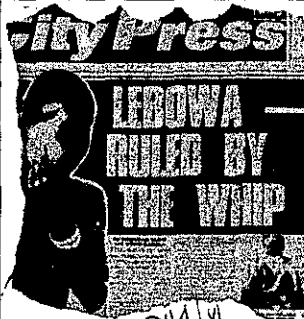
A memorial service for King Sabata will be held at Khotso House in Johannesburg at 1 pm today.

Organised by the United Democratic Front, it features Albertina Sisulu as the main speaker.

On Tuesday night, 5 000 people attended a similar service in New Brighton, where speakers blamed the SA Government for the king's death in exile.

Buses will leave Khotso House at 9 am on Saturday. The return trip costs R50. Eleven buses are expected from Cape Town and 10 from Port Elizabeth.

Particular interest centres on whether Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe will attend the funeral.



Lebowa in turmoil - City Press last week

## Fear and loathing stalks Lebowa

By DESMOND BLOW

FEAR STALKED Sekhukhuni last week Lebowa cops discovered the burnt bodies of supporters of the Phuthi Government.

So far, 32 bodies - all "necklaced" - have been found in the Gankwane district, while three more were discovered in the Steelskraal area this week.

Gankwane residents say all those killed were followers of Chief Minister Cedric Phuthudi, and considered collaborators by the "comrades". But relatives of the dead people said they were told the victims were going to be burnt because they were witches.

Because of this, they did not report the killings to the police - who only discovered the graves several weeks after the victims were "necklaced".

It is believed that several Lebowa MPs and chiefs have been threatened with death unless they resign. Residents say four MPs - MS Masha, JM Seopela, HS Nkadingeng, and A Moriri - have already resigned because of the threats.

Phuthudi addressed Sekhukhuniand chiefs and businessmen this week and assured them the authorities were investigating the threats.

He told the crowd of 500 he was opposed to apartheid and assured them that if they had suffered any losses because of police action, the allegations would be "thoroughly investigated".

Residents alleged that Lebowa police have imposed a 10 pm curfew - and were indiscriminately sjambokking those found on the streets after 10.

Poggiestersrus and Pietersburg lawyers have been collecting affidavits from victims, and doctors in Lebowa are planning an urgent Supreme Court application to prevent alleged police assaults and harassment in seven districts in the homeland.

Yesterday, 52 people appeared in the Pietersburg Regional Court on public violence charges. And at Soetvelde, 112 people were arrested after MMela Village's headman was burnt to death.

Police have confirmed that a total of nine charred bodies had been found among the ruins of 20 huts destroyed by fire on Sunday during unrest at Mooiplaas outside East London, writes Benito Phillips.

A police spokesman said nine people had been arrested after unrest incidents in the area last weekend.

There has been a long-standing feud between Mooiplaas residents who have refused to move to Ciskei, and those who have asked to be moved.

Three people were killed in renewed faction fighting in the Umbumbulu area.

## Nchabeleng body missing

By MONO BADELA

THE body of northern Transvaal UDF leader Peter Nchabeleng is missing - and there is concern about a letter he is alleged to have written just before his death in police custody.

Widow Gertrude Nchabeleng said police are refusing to produce her husband's body.

Nchabeleng's son Alec believes the statement, his father allegedly signed may contain clues to his condition and state of mind shortly before his death.

The statement is an appeal to the community to stop isolating the security forces, to put an end to the burning of people and for pupils to return to class.

"If he did make the statement, he made it under severe duress," said Alec.

Meanwhile the SA Council of Churches said at a Press conference this week:

The Nchabeleng family heard police saying: "This time we are going to kill you" when they came arrest him.

The statement, signed by the day Nchabeleng died

Two chiefs detained the same time were bea and one of them said he seen Nchabeleng being tortured.

Police said Nchabeleng died of a heart attack. Alec said his father was fit man and had never complained of any heart problems.

Family lawyer Col.

**NOW**

**CRAVE MENTHOL**

**30's**

**CRAVE**

# 'NO REASON FOR THIS HYSTERIA'

11A  
2/14/86  
SOWETAN



Mrs WINNIE Mandela.

**Winnie  
surprised  
at reaction  
to her  
speeches**

MRS Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress life prisoner Nelson Mandela, is surprised at the "hysteria" her comments about the use of "necklace" and "matches" to liberate blacks have generated among whites in South Africa and abroad.

She explained that "the Government was engaged in acts of violence against the black masses in South Africa."

"I said we accept the challenge from Pretoria that the Government has 'declared war' on the people of this country. The regime has taken the struggle to this stage.

"We have no AK47s to defend ourselves. War has been declared on defenceless and unarmed masses.

"We mine the wealth of this land and we man the industry of this country. We even bring up their children. We could have killed them if we wanted to.

"The country", said Mrs Mandela, "has suffered years of institutionalised violence which has led blacks to react in irrational ways like using matches and necklace."

Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the Release Mandela Campaign, who interpreted while Mrs Mandela spoke at the weekend meetings, said he was "sickened by the media's response to Mandela's speech."

"I was interpreting her words and I know exactly what she said," Mr Mokoena said.

"The theme of her speech was based on the power of the workers. She referred to the workers in the mines and those that kept the wheels of industry running as the power to change the status quo,"

By LANGA SKOSANA

Mr Mokoena said.

He said it would be expected from the white Press to agitate that the Government should take action against Mrs Mandela.

Mrs Mandela said it was surprising that white racists of this country made inflammatory statements, even in Parliament, but there was no such hysteria about it.

It would appear, she said, some people want to interpret her speech to suit themselves.

Mrs Mandela's comments have been widely reported in South Africa and abroad.

*Bus Day 2/14/86*  
**UN protest stalled**

**RICHARD WALKER**  
NEW YORK — African governments have backed off from appealing to the UN Security Council over the latest death sentence imposed on an alleged African National Congress member.

Instead, the 50-nation African group issued its own protest and appealed to "friends of the illegal regime in Pretoria" to exert pressure for the sentence imposed on 19-year-old Andrew Zondo to be commuted.

Zondo was convicted in Scottburgh of planting a limpet mine in a shopping centre at Amanzimtoti. The African group, which operates as a wing of the OAU, supports the ANC claim to prisoner-of-war status for its captured combatants.

In the past, the Security Council has issued a series of appeals on behalf of condemned ANC members. Diplomatic sources believe, however, that the decision not to approach the council this time is tied to the United States' high-profile stance over "terrorism".

Sta 2/4/86

## Autopsy on Nchabeleng done 'secretly'

The post-mortem on United Democratic Front leader Mr Peter Nchabeleng, who died in Lebowa police custody, was completed before the family had even been able to locate the body, a Johannesburg lawyer has claimed.

Mr Nicholas Haysom, representing the Nchabeleng family, said the autopsy was done on Thursday night in Pretoria by State pathologist Professor C Loubser without the family's knowledge.

Mr Haysom said he had had to threaten legal action to force disclosure of the whereabouts of the body before Lebowa police supplied the information.

Mr Nchabeleng (59) had been in custody at Schoonoord Police Station for less than 12 hours when he was seen dead in the charge office on April 11.

● A memorial service will be held tomorrow for Mr Nchabeleng, who was Northern Transvaal president of the UDF and a former member of both the African National Congress and South African Congress of Trade Unions. It will take place at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg at 1 pm.

# Police stopped from ending sports meet

Cape Times

21/4/66

By CHRIS BATEMAN

AN ADVOCATE yesterday stopped police dispersing a sports gathering organized to heighten awareness of government moves to build homes for members of the House of Representatives in Walmer Estate.

The sports day held on

"the green", Walmer Estate's last remaining public park, was organized by bodies in Salt River, Woodstock, Walmer Estate and Schotsche Kloof. The park is threatened by the proposed new housing scheme.

Police watched the over 100 people, most of whom took part in various sports events, from De Waal Drive and from alongside the grounds, but did not intervene.

Tension mounted after a police officer informed the organizers that the meeting was illegal in terms of Mr Louis le Grange's proclamation last month prohibiting open-air gatherings country-wide between April 1 this year and March 31 next year.

An exception to the proclamation is a "bona fide sports occasion".

City advocate Mr Dullah Omar was called in after the police officer gave the crowd 30 minutes to leave the field.

## Organized

On his arrival Mr Omar asked two security policemen monitoring the gathering to inform their seniors that he was attempting to contact a judge to bring an urgent interdict.

Mr Omar returned to the field several minutes later to say he had organized a court hearing if necessary.

Before police vehicles withdrew, a police captain took the names of Mr Omar, Mr M Daniels (an attorney), Mr Frank van der Horst (the president of the South African Council of Sport), and Mr Seraj Desai (the chairman of the combined residents associations) and told the group that a docket would be opened in terms of the Internal Security Act.

# Political liberation is the chief goal

April 1986

— Naude

Political liberation was the primary goal of the people of South Africa and all other needs had become secondary, said general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) Dr Beyers Naude yesterday.

Reporting on progress made at an SACC conference in Johannesburg at the weekend on the crisis in South Africa, Dr Naude said it was addressed by members of several secular organisations involved in the struggle for liberation.

They included representatives of trade unions, youth organisations, civic associations, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation.

The conference, held behind closed doors, was struck by the seriousness of the crisis on every level, he said.

"The perspective brought home to us was one of a very serious and ongoing crisis in our country."

## DEEP SCHISM

"We were struck by the high level of political expectations of the people. Their central focus is political liberation and nothing less."

Dr Naude said even educational and economic needs had taken a secondary place in the hearts and minds of the people.

It was clear there was a deep schism between black and white thinking. This was illustrated when one speaker told the conference that in the mind of the black community, the African National Congress had already been unbanned.

Under these circumstances, it was the duty of the Church to portray the hopes and expectations of the black community, to address the fears of the whites and to reconcile the two, Dr Naude said.

The conference would formulate its findings and make recommendations to member churches.





Paramount Chief Matanzima ... at burial.



Mrs Winnie Mandela ... absent.

# Sabata: court bid today

21/4/86  
11A

Dispatch Reporter

## Mpepo's family: no T'Kei entry

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A daughter of the Ciskei Minister of Manpower and Utilisation, Mr G. M. Mpepo, said yesterday that she and some members of her family were turned away at the Kei Bridge border post at the weekend because they were driving a Ciskei registered car.

Miss Nomvuselelo Mpepo said she and her relatives were travelling in a car lent to them by her father. She said they were turned away on the South African side of the border.

The group were on their way to attend a

family funeral in Transkei which had no connection with the funeral of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.

She said her father had told them he would be attending another funeral elsewhere and not the funeral in Transkei.

Mr Mpepo refused to comment yesterday.

Transkei and South African border control officials were not available for comment.

In 1981, Ciskei officials turned away Transkei dignitaries from the funeral of the human rights lawyer, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, at Rayi Village near King William's Town.

EAST LONDON — An urgent application will be brought in the Supreme Court in Umtata this morning to call on the former State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, to show cause why he should not be held in contempt of court over yesterday's burial of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, an attorney said last night.

The attorney, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, said in a statement it would be alleged that Chief Sabata, deposed former paramount chief of the Tembus, was buried after his body was removed from an Umtata funeral parlour in defiance of a Supreme Court order granted early yesterday morning.

Mr Ntsebeza said the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Mr H. Wylie, had been approached last night to bring an urgent application but he had said that it would serve no purpose as the burial was a fait accompli and that an application should be brought this morning.

Mr Ntsebeza said relief would be sought from the court to include Paramount Chief Matanzima as the fourth respondent in the application brought yesterday.

He said Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mtirara and Paramount Chief Matanzima would be called upon to show cause on Thursday why they should not be held in contempt of court for not complying with yesterday's court order.

They would also have to show cause why the body should not be exhumed and returned to Chief Sabata's eldest son.

Mr Ntsebeza said that in papers to go before court today it would be alleged that Paramount Chief Matanzima had ordered the removal of Chief Sabata's body from the funeral parlour.

In yesterday's court action, Chief Sabata's son, Mr Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo, 22, gained an interim ruling from the Chief Justice. Mr Justice Van Reenen, halting yesterday's scheduled funeral and granting him custody of Chief Sabata's body.

Chief Sabata was buried yesterday at Bumbane near Umtata, at a funeral held under tight security.

Mr Dalindyebo had intended taking Chief Sabata's body back to Lusaka, Zambia, to have it buried there.

He claimed in papers before Mr Justice Van Reenen that certain agreements entered into before the body was flown from Lusaka to Transkei had been violated.

In his action, Mr Dalindyebo, supported by his mother, Chief Sabata's most senior wife, Mrs No-Moscow Dalindyebo, cited Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mtirara, who succeeded Chief Sabata after he was deposed, as first respondent and the Umtata police station commander and Gwiliiza funeral parlour as second and third respondents respectively.

In his affidavit before the court, Mr Dalindyebo said the reasons for bringing the urgent application were:

● The grave dug for his father was not in the same place as originally decided. He said although the grave site was in Bumbane, it was not at the real family graveyard, which meant his father would not be buried next to his forefathers.

● Mr Dalindyebo had been ousted by the Mtirara family while his father's funeral arrangements were being made.

● He objected to the restrictions imposed by a special Government Gazette issued on Thursday afternoon prohibiting anyone from outside Transkei from attending the funeral.

Mr Justice Van Reenen heard the application from about 4.15 am yesterday and granted an interim order in favour of Mr Dalindyebo at 6.30 am.

He ordered the respondents to show cause why Chief Sabata's body should not be handed back to his son.

The respondents had to reply to the court by 3 pm yesterday, and

show cause on April 24 why the order should not be made final.

Mr Dalindyebo had also applied that the body be handed over to him so that it would be flown back to Zambia for burial.

In an earlier statement yesterday, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza said he was accompanied by the Registrar of the Supreme Court when the order was served on Mr Theo Gwiliiza, the owner of the funeral parlour, at 7 am yesterday.

Mr Ntsebeza said another order was served on the Umtata police station commander. Other officers had gone to serve the order on Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mtirara during the morning at Bumbane.

Mr Ntsebeza said after they had heard that some people had arrived at the funeral parlour at about 9 am and removed Chief Sabata's body, members of his firm went to the funeral parlour where they obtained a sworn affidavit by Mr Gwiliiza.

He said the affidavit stated that Paramount Chief Matanzima, accompanied by the police, had demanded to see the body. After they had been let in, they removed the body and took it to Bumbane for burial.

Chief Sabata's body was flown from Lusaka to Umtata on Wednesday night. He fled to Zambia in August 1980 after he had been granted leave to appeal against his conviction and sentence for violating the dignity of the then President, Paramount Chief Matanzima.

After Chief Sabata was deposed, he was succeeded as paramount chief of the Tembus by Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mtirara.

Mr Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo, Chief Sabata's 22-year-old heir, was at school in Botswana before joining his father in Lusaka.



CHIEF SABATA ... family to seek exhumation.

# King turns to politics and slams Cosatu on sanctions

11A

2/4 / 80 Mercury

**VRHEID**—The King of the Zulus yesterday accused Cosatu of advocating suffering for black people by echoing the calls for sanctions against South Africa being made by organisations outside the country.

In a rare incursion into politics, King Goodwill Zwelithini called on all who opposed disinvestment to gather at Durban's Kings Park Stadium on May 1 for the inauguration of Uwusa — the United Workers' Union of South Africa.

It was imperative for people who disagreed with the 'wild suggestions that are being made to destroy the economy' to be there and to make their voices heard beyond the borders of South Africa.

## 'Suicidal'

Already there were not enough jobs for black school-leavers. It would be suicidal to create an atmosphere in which there would be even less work for them, the king said at the opening

of a community centre named after him at Bhekuzulu Township near here.

Nearly 1 000 000 citizens of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and Mozambique were here not because they were impressed with apartheid but because their countries could not create jobs for them. This applied also to the so-called independent TBCV states.

King Goodwill said it was puzzling therefore when *de jure* citizens of the TBCV states were in the forefront of campaigns for disinvestment and sanctions. And he pointed out that Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi was a Ciskeian.

## Forefront

The king said he was proud that Zulus had always been in the forefront of efforts to unite not only among themselves but with their fellow blacks. He was pained to read of Zulus being involved not only in Zulu faction fights but with other black brothers.

He regretted that instead of being the expected unify-

ing factor, trade unionism was being used by some trade unionists and organisers to create chasms between people.

'Our land was taken away from us after our conquest,' he said. 'And the land we now occupy is not enough to support us. This has made job creation a priority.'

## Suffering

'And yet we now have organisations such as the Congress of S A Trade Unions which have declared themselves against multinational corporations continuing to operate here and who have stated that they want no further investment in South Africa.'

Everyone had friends and family who were out of work because industries had either to retrench staff or close down.

'Cosatu is advocating more suffering for our people when they echo what organisations that are operating in exile advocate, namely that sanctions should be imposed on South Africa,' the king said.

— (Sapa)

## Matanzima buries rival

# Sabata's body snatched

CAT Times  
2/4/86

114 304  
165 137

**UMTATA.** — Hundreds of soldiers stood guard yesterday as the former president of the Transkei, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, ended a tug-of-war over the body of his cousin and buried him in defiance of instructions from clan leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The funeral was held at the Bumbana Royal Place, a traditional burial ground of the Xhosa chiefs and kings.

Chief Dalindyebo Sabata was buried after a short prayer service and sermon during which Paramount Chief Matanzima and his nephew Chief Ngangomhlaba Matanzima spoke about his early life. No reference was made to his political activities.

The body was first placed inside a derelict hut in keeping with Tembu tradition that the deceased must emerge from his hut before burial.

Noticable by their absence were many cabinet ministers. Mrs Winnie Mandela, who had earlier indicated that she would be present, and Chief Sabata's immediate family, who refused to attend.

Between 800 and 1 000 middle-aged and elderly people attended the funeral.

Chief Sabata was buried while his senior wife, Nomosow, and his son, Prince Bambilanga, were waging a legal battle with the Transkei Government for possession of his body.

Chief Matanzima took the body without authorization from the Gwiliza funeral parlour in Umtata.

### Court battle

Police had ordered the body be held at the funeral parlour until a court battle over the corpse was settled.

Funeral parlour employees said Chief Matanzima took the body about 10am, some five hours before a scheduled court hearing to resolve the dispute over the burial of Chief Sa-

bata, who was an ANC member and Mr Mandela's nephew.

Tradition required that Mr Mandela, uncle to both Chief Matanzima and Chief Sabata, should organize the burial. He nominated his wife Winnie to represent him. He also wanted the funeral to be public and to be attended by leaders and supporters of the ANC.

Chief Sabata was born second in line to Mr Mandela for the leadership of the royal Tembu family.

Chief Matanzima, a minor clan chief, and his cousin Chief Sabata, hereditary monarch of the Tembus after Mr Mandela renounced his claim, were life-long political rivals.

While Chief Sabata supported the ANC campaign against apartheid and the homelands policy, Chief Matanzima won Pretoria's backing and led the fragmented Transkei homeland into unrecognized independence in 1976.

Chief Sabata renounced his claim to be king of Xhosas in 1977 and went into exile in Zambia, where he joined the ANC and lived in exile until his death on April 7 at the age of 57. His body was flown to Umtata on Thursday.

Witnesses said a light drizzle fell as Chief Sabata was buried in a gold casket that arrived on the back of an open truck.

### Turned away

There were reports of cars and bus loads of people being turned away by members of the South African Police at roadblocks in places such as Komgha, Queenstown and along the Free State and Natal borders.

At least 12 foreign journalists from the United States, Canada, Britain and France as well as reporters from South Africa and Transkei were present. — Sapa, UPI and Own Correspondent

## 154 arrested after protests at bases

**LONDON.** — Police arrested 154 protesters at United States and British bases yesterday in the second day of widespread demonstrations in Britain against the US air raids on Libya.

Police and the Ministry of Defence said people were arrested for trying to cut fences, for climbing into the bases, for sitting in entrance roads and for spraying paint on an outdated American warplane on display at a base from which US F-111 fighter-bombers flew to bomb Libya.

On Saturday over 10 000 people demonstrated at the US Embassy in London and police arrested 67.

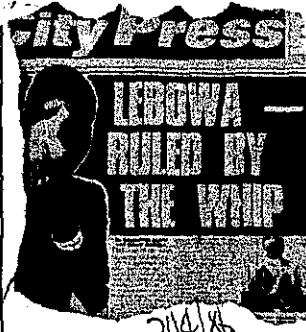
Demonstrations hit at least six bases around Britain, from Cornwall in south-western England where 61 people were arrested for breaking down the fence at the Royal Air Force St Mawgen base, to Menwith Hill in north Yorkshire where 53 were arrested for cutting the fence at a US Air Force communications base, the Ministry of Defence said.

Six protesters were arrested at Lakenheath air base for spraying paint on a Super Sabre aircraft on static display. They were released on bail.

At Greenham Common three protesters were arrested. Police also said five women, who are part of a group keeping vigil at Greenham Common, were being questioned by detectives because of documents they had when they were arrested with five other people for allegedly breaking into a base used as an ammunition store near Greenham Common.

Sixteen protesters were arrested when they began to cut the fence at a British military stores depot at Corsham in Wiltshire, and five were arrested from a crowd of about 2 000 who demonstrated at the US Fairford air base in Gloucestershire. — Sapa-AP

● Britons, Americans quit West Beirut, page 4



Lebowa in turmoil - City Press last week

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By MONO BADELA

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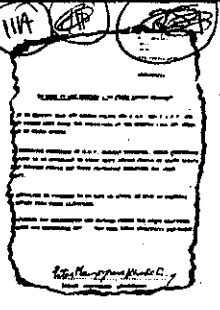
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● The Nchabeleng family heard police saying: "This time we are going to kill



The statement, signed on the day Nchabeleng died

you" when they came to arrest him.

● Two chiefs detained at the same time were beaten, and one of them said he had seen Nchabeleng being tortured.

Police said Nchabeleng died of a heart attack - but Alec said his father was a fit man and had never complained of any heart problems.

Family lawyer Collins

Ramusi said the family would take steps to ensure that the cause of death was "reliably ascertained". They would probably appoint an independent pathologist to conduct or observe the post mortem.

Nchabeleng was the second person to die in Lebowa police cells this month - the other was journalist Makompo Kutumela. Members of Azapo detained with Kutumela also told lawyers he had been severely assaulted before his death.

The UDF condemned the deaths and described Nchabeleng as a great patriot and leader of their present "rural uprising" in Sekhukhunieland.

The UDF rejected with contempt the attempt to link Nchabeleng's detention with the alleged necklacing of the bodies in Lebowa as an attempt to justify his detention.

The SACC and Cosatu also criticised Nchabeleng's death.

NOW

CRAVEN "A"

MENTHOL FRESH

30's

CRAVEN "A"

MENTHOL

# Struggle over Chief Sabata's body takes dramatic new turn

22/1/18  
STAR  
114

**EAST LONDON** — The applicants who obtained an interim Supreme Court order on Sunday halting Sunday's burial of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo have been ordered to appear in court here today to show cause why the application should not be withdrawn because of fraud and misrepresentation.

In a dramatic turn in the legal tussle for the body of the deposed former paramount chief of the Tembus, the applicants have been given notice to appear in court at 10 am today, their legal representative said last night.

The order was served by the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Mr H Wiley, on the first applicant, Mr Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo (22), who was supported by his mother, Chief Sabata's most senior wife, Mrs No-Moscow Dalindyebo.

It was also served on the firm of attorneys acting for the applicants, the Sangoni partnership, and the firm of attorneys acting for the respondents, Hughes, Chisholm and Airey.

Late last night an attorney in the Sangoni partnership, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, said attempts to secure the services of nearly every senior counsel in South Africa had been unsuccessful.

The new court move follows dramatic moves on Sunday which culminated in the burial of Chief Sabata at Bumbane Great Place, amid tight security.

At 4 am on Sunday, Chief Sabata's family obtained an interim order from the Chief Justice of Transkei, Mr Justice van Reenen, ordering a Transkei funeral undertaker to release the chief's body only to his son, Buyelekhaya.

The first respondent in the application was the police station commander of Umtata, the second respondent was Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mtirara, and the third was the undertaker, Mr T Gwilliza.

On Sunday, Mr Ntsebeza said an attempt would be made today to make the former State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the fourth respondent in the application after Chief Sabata's body was allegedly forcibly removed from the funeral parlour and buried at Bumbane.

Mr Ntsebeza said yesterday the papers could not be filed in time. A junior counsel acting for the applicants, Mr T Madala, had been called to Mr Justice van Reenen's chambers yesterday and told about the allegations of fraud and misrepresentation, Mr Ntsebeza said. — Sapa.

to intruder

1775 22/4/86  
 Dr Wim de Villiers: report  
 HANSARD Gen I  
 \*20. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

- (1) Whether he has as yet received the report of Dr Wim de Villiers on the financial and organisational structures of the South African Transport Services; if not, when is it expected that he will receive this report; if so, when;
- (2) Whether (a) any part of the report or (b) the full report is to be tabled in Parliament; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) No. It is expected that the report will be submitted by the end of May 1986.
- (2) (a) and (b) Although it is an internal study which is not normally made public, a decision whether it will be Tabled in Parliament can only be taken once the contents of the report are known.

Qc 1275  
 Western Transvaal Development Board

HANSARD 22/4/86  
 \*21. Dr F HARTZENBERG asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

Whether it is the intention to phase out the Western Transvaal Development Board; if so, (a) why, (b) when and (c) who or what agency will take over the functions of this board?

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(a), (b) and (c) The rationalisation of services and of service rendering institutions on local government level requires adaptations to, amongst others, the sys-

tem of development boards. Recommendations in this respect from the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs are being considered but final decisions have not yet been taken.

Qc 1276  
 National Senior Certificate examination  
 HANSARD 22/4/86  
 \*22. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

- (1) (a) How many Blacks (i) entered for and (ii) wrote the National Senior Certificate examinations in 1985 and (b) how many entrants (i) passed, (ii) failed and (iii) obtained matriculation exemption;
- (2) what percentage of Blacks who wrote the National Senior Certificate examinations in 1985 (a) passed and (b) obtained matriculation exemption;
- (3) (a) how many Blacks enrolled as full-time scholars at schools administered by his Department (i) entered for and (ii) wrote the National Senior Certificate examinations in 1985 and (b) how many of these entrants (i) passed, (ii) failed and (iii) obtained matriculation exemption?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID (Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

- (1) (a) (i) 91 331.  
 (ii) 71 589.  
 (b) (i) 35 161.  
 (ii) 36 428.  
 (iii) 8 917.
- (2) (a) 49,12%.  
 (b) 12,46%.

	Non-disrupted centres	Disrupted centres	Total
(3) (a) (i)	13 019	11 212	24 231
(ii)	7 313	3 210	10 523
(b) (i)	3 842	1 055	4 897
(ii)	3 471	2 155	5 626
(iii)	1 073	254	1 327

Note:

- (1) Information mentioned in (1)(a)(i) and (ii) is for the examinations administered by the Department of Education and Training and includes candidates from the Selfgoverning and Independent States with the exception of the Transkei.
  - (2) In respect of (3)(a)(ii) 10 523 candidates wrote the examination in full while 1 295 candidates did not.
  - (3) Due to the riots and unrest, 71 589 candidates out of a total of 91 331 who enrolled at the beginning of 1985, wrote the examination. The candidates who, due to circumstances, could not write the examination, are given the opportunity of writing an additional school leaving examination during May 1986.
- HANSARD 22/4/86  
 Guguletu persons captured  
 Qc 1277  
 \*23. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 25 on 8 April 1986, the person or persons who escaped capture in Guguletu on 3 March 1986 have since been captured; if so, (a) when, (b) where, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding the capture of these persons and (d) what is the identity of each of these persons; if not,
- (2) whether the identities of these persons have since been established; if so, (a) what is the identity of each person and (b)(i) how and (ii) when were these identities established;

- (3) whether the inquest referred to in the above reply has since taken place; if not, when will it be completed; if so, what was the (a) nature and (b) extent of the head wounds sustained by these persons;
- (4) whether, with reference to paragraph (7) of his reply to the above question, he will make known details of the information obtained by the police in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what is the nature of the information obtained by the police on when these persons became members of the African National Congress, (b) to which formations of the African National Congress did each of the deceased persons belong and (c) where was this information obtained;
- (5) with reference to paragraph (8) of his reply to the above question, (a) where in the Republic and (b) on what dates did this training take place in each case;
- (6) whether any action has since been taken in respect of these training centres within the Republic; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action, (b) when and (c) with what result;
- (7) whether any member of the South African Police received any information or allegations that any of these persons had been involved in any previous attacks on the police; if so, (a) when, (b) what information or allegations, (c) what (i) was the nature of and (ii) were the circumstances surrounding the attacks on the police in which these persons had allegedly been involved, (d)(i) where and (ii) when did these attacks take place and

# Police stop funeral braai

Staff Reporter

KTC and Nyanga residents intending yesterday to commemorate the death of exiled Chief Sabata Dalindyebo with a traditional sacrificial braai were allegedly dispersed by police.

According to one resident, there were no injuries.

Residents — mainly youths and women — had met briefly and had decided to slaughter an animal and hold the traditional ceremony as there had been "restrictions" placed on Chief Dalindyebo's funeral in Transkei at the weekend, the source said.

Despite the alleged police "harassment", the women were intent on holding the traditional celebrations, he said.

Similar decisions were believed to have been taken in Johannesburg and other centres, he added.

Chief Dalindyebo was a member of the African National Congress.

In 1977, after renouncing his claim to be King of the Xhosas, he moved to Zambia, where he died on April 7 this year.

His body was flown to Umtata last Thursday and buried — without authorization from his family and in the presence of hundreds of soldiers — at Bumbana Royal Place, traditional burial ground of the Xhosa chiefs and kings.

Asked to comment on the claims, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said: "You are referred to the last paragraph of the Commissioner of Police's letter, reference 58/1/3, dated April 1, 1986, and addressed to the Editor of the Cape Times."

In terms of the letter, police liaison officers and spokesmen may not pass any information concerning police matters or action to any member of the Cape Times editorial staff.

196 123 114 229  
1970 June 22/1980

# Indian schools to stay open June 16

Education Reporter

THE Indian Minister's Council has rejected a request from the 10,000-strong Teachers' Association of South Africa that June 16 — the 10th anniversary of "Soweto Day 1976" — be declared a school holiday for pupils at Indian schools throughout the country.

The request was formulated and unanimously supported at a meeting of Tasa's general purposes committee on April 12 and sent to the executive director of the Indian Department of Education and Culture, Mr A K Singh.

The association said that June 16 had become a "significant day" for the commemoration of the movement "towards the realization of the greater community's aspirations in the field of education".

Yesterday, Mr Singh said that the five-member Ministers' Council, headed by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, had met on the

issue last week.

"The decision is that Indian schools will remain open on that day," he said. He would not elaborate.

Reacting to the outcome, Tasa's acting president, Mr Poobie Naicker, said from Durban that the decision was regretted.

"We now find our pupils in the peculiar situation that our white and Indian schools will be in session while the black and coloured schools will be in recess on June 16," he said.

Tasa said in its letter that black, coloured and Indian high school pupils and students at tertiary institutions had consistently indicated a need to show solidarity with each other and with the community.

"They want to achieve among the deprived peoples of the Republic an education programme that liberates individuals spiritually and materially."



11A

Case Link 22/4/80

## Burial battle: New turn as fraud alleged

Own Correspondent

**EAST LONDON.** — The people who obtained a Supreme Court order on Sunday in an attempt to stop the burial of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo have been ordered to appear in court in Umtata this morning to show cause why the application should not be withdrawn because of fraud and misrepresentation.

In a dramatic turn in the legal tussle for the body of the deposed former paramount chief of the Tembus, the applicants have been given notice to appear in court at 10am today.

The order was served by the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Mr H Wiley, on the first applicant, Mr Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo, 22, who was supported by his mother, Chief Dalindyebo's most senior wife, Mrs No-Moscow Dalindyebo.

It was also served on the attorneys acting for them, the Sangoni partnership, and on Hughes, Chisholm and Airey, who acted for the respondents.

The first respondent was the police station commander of Umtata, the second respondent was Paramount Chief Bambilanga Mtirara, and the third was the undertaker, Mr T Gwiliza.

Last night an attorney in the Sangoni partnership, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, said attempts to secure the services of a South African senior counsel were not successful. There are no senior counsel in Transkei.

The new court move follows drama on Sunday which culminated in the burial of Chief Dalindyebo at Bumbane Great Place, amid tight security.

At 4am on Sunday, the applicants obtained an interim order from the Chief Justice of Transkei, Mr Justice Van Reenen, ordering a Transkei undertaker to release the chief's body only to his son.

An advocate acting for the chief's relatives, Mr T Madala, had been called to Mr Justice Van Reenen's chambers yesterday and told about the fraud and the misrepresentation allegation, Mr Ntsebeza said.

Case Tink 2/14/86

## ANC warns on 'crossfire'

MARITZBURG. — Nusas apartheid, before any leaders were told by an negotiations could take eight-member ANC dele- place. These included gation at a recent meet- the unbanning of the ing of the two groups in ANC and the uncondi- Harare that its armed tional release of all po- struggle for democracy litical prisoners, includ- in South Africa would ing Mr Nelson Mandela. continue.

At a report-back meet- ing yesterday at Natal University, Nusas presi- dent Mr Brendan Barry told a group of about 200 students the ANC had said that while they had not taken any decision to attack white civilians, they could not be held responsible for any anger which was carried into white areas. It was inevitable that some civilians would die in the crossfire.

It had planned its struggle for the "free- dom of the oppressed masses" through boy- cotts and protests in white areas and armed attacks on armed units in white areas, which in- cluded farms.

It said it had resorted to an armed struggle after attempts to find peaceful solutions to apartheid had been met with brutality and violence.

The ANC told the stu- dents that when a new state was born it was obliged to fulfil the aspi- rations of the masses. The ANC would control the economy to serve the masses, taking control of the mines, banks and monopolies, which would be nationalized.

There would be a re- distribution of land tak- en from monopolies, the Land Bank and absentee farmers, it added.

The ANC said a num- ber of steps had to be taken by government to show it was serious about the dismantling of

negotiations could take place. These included the unbanning of the ANC and the uncondi- tional release of all po- litical prisoners, includ- ing Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Freedom Charter would be used as a basis for a new constitution, but it would not be forced on the people, it would be a democratic process where a one- man, one-vote system op- erated, the ANC said.

It said it was not op- posed to a multi-party system but was opposed to the entrenchment of rights for any one group.

— Sapa

22/4/86

11A

NATIONAL

# Alexandra's Mayor Buti and last councillors quit

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Mayor of Alexandra, the Rev Sam Buti, and the remaining three members of his town council, resigned today leaving the township without a local authority.

Mr Buti made the announcement at a Press conference in the council chambers today attended by local and foreign newsmen.

Others who resigned with Mr Buti were the Deputy Mayor, Mr Lucas Koza, Mr Harry Makubire and Pastor Patrick Peters.

## Without quorum

The council was operating without a quorum before their resignation as five members of the nine-member council had already left it. Two resigned last year and three in February at the height of unrest in the area.

Today's resignation followed that of the Town Clerk, Mr Arthur Magerman, last week.

The councillors' letter of resignation read in part: "It is with heavy laden hearts that we arrive to call it a day as councillors serving the community of Alexandra. This decision was made after days of extremely agonising soul-searching and constant prayers of our lives.

"It leaves us with the deepest morose (sic) to have to be compelled to resign when the total redevelopment project of Alexandra is not fully realised."

# Brandt's social bundu bash

DESPITE the swing of the pendulum back to political conservatism across Europe, socialism is alive and well — and hard at work in Africa. Or at least it was this past weekend. Just over the Botswana border, in Gaborone, ardent socialists from all over the world gathered to do whatever it is that socialists do when they gather.

Certainly they talked a great deal. The language of the almost-radical chic flew fast and thick at this second African conference of the Socialist International (SI).

But that was only to be expected. It was, after all, a conference about Southern Africa, with a hard focus on apartheid. A conference of mainly Europeans, in Africa, about Africa — but not for Africans. Ironically, barely any African political parties or countries qualify for membership of the SI, which demands adherence to the principles of social democracy.

## ANC contact

Only Senegal attended the conference. The other two African members — Mauritius, if one can call it African, and Burkino Faso (or was that pre-coup?) — did not show.

But one should not underestimate the SI's support for African factions. The conference decided that the ANC was the most important resistance movement in Southern Africa, and the most representative of South Africans, and promised to step up contact.

At the SI's previous African conference, in Tanzania in 1984, close links were established with both ANC president Oliver Tambo and Swapo head Sam Nujoma. Neither organisation sent representatives to Botswana, but their interest were none the less well looked after.

Asked about their stand on the violent methods adopted by the ANC, delegates are quick to retort that violence is inherent in the apartheid system.



Socialist International, the world's largest and oldest association of political parties, gathered in Botswana this past weekend. The focus was on Southern Africa and Pretoria's policies

□ KAUNDA



BRANDT □

## NEIL JACOBSON in Gaborone

SI president Willy Brandt, the former West German chancellor, said it publicly: "The source of violence is not those who resist, but those who have built their rule on injustice and oppression."

It says something about the world's preoccupation with apartheid that the conference took place at all. And while non-socialists might be tempted to dismiss the SI as one more extremist organisation, it is hardly an insignificant body.

With 75 organisations worldwide as members, 45 of them active political parties, SI can boast an indirect following of more than 100-million voters. At present, 24 of its 45 member parties hold or share government in 23 countries.

SI claims to have existed in various forms since 1864, when the First International was established in London by none other than Karl Marx.

## Excluded

Communist and Marxist parties are not admitted as members to the SI, which indeed includes as consultative parties such exiled organisations as the Yugoslav Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party of Latvia.

Which brings us to a Botswana bundu bash on an April morning.

The current strength of SI undoubtedly is attributable to its president Willy Brandt, who has been re-elected leader four times. Brandt is a pragmatic socialist,

and a more conservative one than many, and members admit privately that this plays a role in winning respectability for the organisation.

Brandt admits in private conversation, for example, that he is uncomfortable with the idea of sanctions, be they applied against SA or anyone else.

But on the SI platform, he's as stout a defender of the faith as anyone. But as a pragmatist, he showed a great liking for good Cape red wine.

The SI has moved somewhat Left over recent years, mainly because of the influx of Latin American members. Socialism was spawned by the working classes during the industrialisation of Europe, but, as in the United Nations, SI now finds itself numerically dominated by essentially Third World countries. Thus Brandt's high profile and his pragmatism is doubly useful.

Certainly he dominated this conference, along with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who delivered a gritty opening address in which Pretoria was spared few harsh words. They were familiar words, but devoured by both the delegates and the swarm of foreign Pressmen present.

The major plague of Southern Africa continued to be the apartheid regime and Pretoria's aggressive destabilisation of neighbouring states, said Kaunda.

He dismissed current reforms with contempt, making the point —

with which many within SA would agree — that apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be abolished.

The US, too, came in for a tongue-lashing, accused of being an ally of apartheid through its policy of constructive engagement and its support for Unita. Multinational corporations operating in SA were also branded apartheid supporters by Kaunda.

It's easy to dismiss much of what emerged as simply rhetoric. The language of socialism has become almost a cant.

Thus, in summing up the conference, Brandt thundered that he would tell President P W Botha that there was no compromise with apartheid. And he called for a wide-ranging new package of sanctions against SA. Again, it's easy to dismiss the call. SI is a voluntary body, and its resolution on sanctions is anything but binding.

## Fixed item

But at the same time there is no doubting that the message taken back this week to Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, the UK, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Senegal, Sweden, Spain and the US is not one P W would like.

And messages of this nature are having their effect. Already Denmark has announced its intentions to completely end trade with SA. Other Scandinavian and European countries are likely also to tighten the noose.

In the words of Senator Margherita Boniver, of the Italian Socialist Party, apartheid has finally become a fixed item on the international agenda.

That meant something concrete to the recently-assassinated Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, who was a leading light in SI.

"When the world decides to abolish apartheid, apartheid will disappear," he said in one of his last major speeches. The world shuffled one step closer to that this weekend.

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he said. But he declined to comment on whether disciplinary action would be taken against the rebel players.

● Meanwhile IAN HOBBS reports from London that the International Rugby Board (IRB) began its crisis centenary meeting behind locked doors yesterday amid claims that firm action will be taken against the rebel All Blacks in South Africa.

The board members have been instructed to say nothing to the press until their decision on the rebel tour is announced at midday tomorrow — hours before the rebel tourists kick off against the Junior Springboks.

It is claimed that the board is still hoping that pressure it has placed on the SARB will force the abandonment of the tour.



Mr. Louis Luyt, and Colin Meads.

*Cart Times 22/11/86*  
**Peter Ngobeni quits in PE**

*110*  
*CAPE*  
Own Correspondent  
PORT ELIZABETH. — South African sprint sensation Peter Ngobeni and fellow black athletes bowed to appeals from the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and withdrew at the last minute from last night's athletics meeting here.

An official blanket of silence descended on the stayaway and no explanations were offered to the disappointed crowd as the 100m was run without Ngobeni.

By 9.30pm, with many of the key events completed, not a single black athlete had lined up for a race at the University of Port Elizabeth.

Attempts to speak to Ngobeni before the race got under way last night were thwarted by officials who barred the press from speaking to the 100m champion.

The president of the South African Amateur Athletics Union, Professor Charles Nieuwoudt, said Ngobeni's earlier decision to run, despite appeals to boycott the event by Mr Mkhusele Jack, president of Peyco and spokesman for the PE Boycott Committee, had been a personal one.

Before the final decision of the athletes became known, Mr Jack said Ngobeni had in no way been threatened.

### Support

He said he had told Ngobeni and three other black athletes yesterday of the "brutality of what happened" at the weekend funeral of unrest victims at New Brighton and that "security force athletes" participated in last night's meeting.

Ngobeni had expressed support for their cause and said he would withdraw, said Mr Jack.



Miss Helene Passtoors ... has pleaded not guilty to charges of treason and terrorism but has admitted knowing about arms caches.

STAN

22/4/88

~~STAN~~ ~~STAN~~ ~~STAN~~  
IIA

## Passtoors knew about arms cache in Amanzimtoti — major

By Jenni Tennant  
Treason-accused Miss Helene Passtoors knew the whereabouts of an arms cache which was found to contain 10 rocket projectiles, two rocket launchers and other weapons, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday. Major MC Botha, of the Durban Security Police, told the court how he found a store of weapons in Amanzimtoti last June 7 after receiving information from Pretoria.

Several weapons — including 10 RPG7 projectiles, 10 RPG7 charges, two RPG7 launchers, nine limpet mines, two AKMS assault rifles, 10 hand grenades and luger pistols — were unearthed by the police in a vacant lot in Riverside Road, Amanzimtoti.

Miss Passtoors, who has pleaded not guilty to charges of treason and terrorism, admitted last week to knowing the whereabouts of some arms caches, in-

cluding Riverside Road, but denied knowing what weapons they contained.

Major Botha said last July 16 Mr Klaas de Jonge, Miss Passtoors' former husband, allegedly indicated a site to another policeman, Captain G I du Preez.

### FOLLOWED

He followed the policemen and Mr de Jonge to the area, and was later shown the site by Captain du Preez. It was the same place where the weapons had been found the previous month.

Another security policeman, Captain S J Weyers, said he had followed a lieutenant and Miss Passtoors to the same place.

Both Miss Passtoors and Mr de Jonge also allegedly pointed out places near the Umfolozi game reserve and the Natal pumping stations at Mhlabatini and Scheepersnek.

Vryheid Warrant Officer

J F E Brase said Scheepersnek had been subject to a sabotage attempt in 1982.

And he said on March 23 1983, he had unearthed weapons in two caches near the Umfolozi game reserve.

Weapons were found in a water furrow along Ulundi-Umfolozi road near the Umfolozi game reserve and in a dry gully on the game reserve's boundary.

Warrant Officer Brase said that last July 10 he saw Miss Passtoors point out the two areas to another policeman. She also allegedly pointed out the Mhlabatini and Scheepersnek pumping stations.

Then on July 17 Mr de Jonge allegedly showed another policeman the same places.

Earlier yesterday Lieutenant C A Zeelie described how during July last year he unearthed two arms caches — one in Muldersdrift and one in Mamelodi.

The hearing continues.

22/4/86 8:00 AM (S) (S) (11A)

# Passtoors-ANC links alleged

A SECURITY policeman told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he had seen and photographed Helene Passtoors at Durban's Louis Botha airport last year in the company of a high-ranking ANC member.

Passtoors (44) has pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Tjebbe Spoelstra to a charge of treason or, alternatively, terrorism; as well as a second charge of terrorism or, alternatively, participating in terroristic activities.

Lieutenant Robert Shaw said he had first noticed Passtoors with Ismail Ebrahim, a London-based

LJAM EGAN

member of the ANC high command, while they were travelling towards the airport on June 17.

He said he had sighted them while under instructions to observe Ebrahim for suspected contravention of a banning order confining him, after release from a 15-year jail sentence for sabotage, to the Durban magisterial district.

Another Durban-based security policeman testified to finding a substantial arms cache at Amanzimtoti after acting on the instructions of a Johannesburg-based

policeman who was investigating the case against Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge.

Major Cornelius Botha said he had unearthed two RPG-7 projectile launchers, 10 RPG-7 projectiles, nine limpet mines, two AK-47 rifles, four pistols, 10 hand grenades and an assortment of bullets from a vacant plot next to Riverside Way, Amanzimtoti, in June.

A Vryheid-based security policeman said Passtoors and De Jonge had indicated to him the location of an empty arms cache near the Umfolozi game reserve.

But if you've got time to spare, there are

# Brigadier doesn't know if he kicked accused

22/11/86 STAFF  
TVA

By Michael Tissong

**DELMAS** — The policeman in charge of the riot units in the Vaal Triangle during the unrest in 1984, Brigadier G Viljoen, declined to deny in a Circuit Court that he kicked one of the men facing a treason charge.

Under cross-examination by Mr George Bizos, Brigadier Viljoen said Mr Patrick Baleka was exciting the people at a funeral in September 1984 and was arrested.

Brigadier Viljoen said Mr Baleka was "unruly at the church and at the graveyard."

Mr Baleka is standing trial with 21 other people on charges of high treason and alternative charges of murder, subversion and terrorism. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Mr Bizos put it to Brigadier Viljoen that he kicked Mr Baleka on the chest after Mr Baleka was arrested. Brigadier Viljoen replied: "I do not know that; I cannot remember."

## RECOLLECTION

Mr Bizos said: "He was on his haunches at the time."

However, Brigadier Viljoen said: "I have no recollection of this."

Mr Bizos then replied: "I cannot understand that such an incident could have taken place and you are not sure. When I heard this from Mr Baleka, that you did this, I thought 'well...' and now you are doubtful about it. You are in no position to deny the evidence. If this took place, it took place in the presence of your juniors?"

Brigadier Viljoen agreed. Mr Bizos asked: "What example is this to them?"

Brigadier Viljoen said he didn't know whether the incident took place but Mr Bizos proposed he would have denied it immediately if it had not taken place.

Mr Bizos also told the court there were many cases of undisciplined behaviour by the police including an incident in which a Rastafarian's dreadlocks were cut off by a policeman with a knife as punishment. He was also stabbed.

Mr Bizos said many people were beaten up indiscriminately and many arrested for no apparent reason.

Brigadier Viljoen said there were cases of assault being investigated.

He said he had heard of a murder case in which a child was shot dead by a policeman.

Mr Bizos presented the Van der Walt Report on the 1984 Vaal Triangle unrest to the court and said some of Brigadier Viljoen's evidence contradicted the findings of the commission.

## SATISFIED

He read a passage in which Professor Tjaart van der Walt said that no-one had a good word to say about the council's administration of the township.

When asked to comment on the paragraph, Brigadier Viljoen said there were people in the Lekoa area who were satisfied with the way the administration was being handled.

(Proceeding).



*CAI on 2/23/66*

# Muslims protest

Staff Reporter *[initials]*

THREE Muslim organizations will hold a meeting at the St Athans Road Mosque in Athlone this evening in protest against the US bombing of Libya and the growing threat of imperialism to the Islamic Middle East.

In a joint statement, the Qibla Mass Movement, the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM) and the Muslim Students' Association (MSA) declared their support for the Libyan people in the face of "the imperialist Yankee onslaught".

Yesterday handbills were distributed in the Cape Flats announcing the meeting, which will start at 8pm.

# 14 held over 'necklace' <sup>AR 6/13</sup> death of three <sup>73/4/86</sup>

Staff Reporter <sup>(38) 111</sup>

FOURTEEN people aged between 15 and 24 have been detained for questioning in connection with three "necklace" killings on the Cape Flats at the weekend.

The body of one man was found at the KTC squatter camp on Sunday and two more were found at Crossroads on Monday. Their identity has not been disclosed.

A police spokesman said the 14 were detained yesterday and during the previous night.

# Optimism on SA peace moves

CAPC TALKS 23/4/86

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Hopes for a dialogue between the South African Government and the African National Congress received a boost here yesterday.

The Commonwealth is eagerly awaiting President P W Botha's response to a peace package drawn up by its special mission on South Africa.

Optimism that Pretoria's response could be positive enough to keep the peace initiative alive — and avert tougher economic sanctions — came from three key figures yesterday ahead of a meeting of the so-called Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in London next week.

Breaking a studied silence by Commonwealth heads of government on the EPG, Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke, on a visit to London, said he expected a positive response from Pretoria.

Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sonny Ramphal confirmed in an interview yesterday that the group had met ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in prison last month.

## 'Important step'

"This was a very important, a unique, step and one that immeasurably strengthens the case for going forward towards negotiation on the basis of Mandela's release," he said.

"The man in prison is the man who can save South Africa."

But he said he had not yet had as strong a signal as he would have liked from Pretoria on the EPG initiative.

Without a positive response "there is not much more the Commonwealth can do", he said.

Sir Sonny played down the reported

comments of Mrs Winnie Mandela urging blacks to seek liberation "with our boxes of matches and our necklaces".

"I believe Mrs Mandela was selectively quoted," he said.

The Commonwealth's specific proposals, drawn up by the EPG after a two-week visit to South Africa last month, are believed to include the release of Mr Mandela and the lifting of the 26-year ban on the ANC prior to dialogue with Pretoria.

## Thatcher 'hopeful'

The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said yesterday after a meeting with Mr Hawke on Monday night that she was "hopeful" that the EPG would successfully fulfil its mandate.

But Mrs Thatcher's comments stopped short of Mr Hawke's expectations expressed at a press conference following his meeting with Mrs Thatcher on Monday night.

Mr Hawke said he expected that the South African Government would give a favourable response to the EPG proposals aimed at initiating a dialogue between black and white leaders and the suspension of violence on both sides.

He added, however, that the precise nature of Pretoria's response would be the acid test of whether the Commonwealth should proceed with its peace initiative or press for further economic sanctions against Pretoria.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday that the EPG initiative was receiving active encouragement and support from the Reagan administration.

*(25/4/86) (1/11) CAPL Times 23/4/86*

## Council honours Buthelezi

DURBAN. — Pinetown's Borough Council yesterday voted to confer the honorary freedom of the borough on the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The motion was proposed by the deputy mayor, Mr Brian Matthee, and seconded by the mayor, Mr Michael Wheelwright.

Mr Matthee said the Chief Minister

deserved the honour because of his commitment to dialogue and his efforts to achieve a society founded on justice and a free economic system.

A councillor, Mr William Naude, said: "Violence is commonplace in our society and with the huge Zulu population in and around our borough, this gesture of goodwill can only benefit our borough." — Sapa

CALIF TIMES 23/4/84 (11A)

## Genscher: Release Mandela

**BONN.** — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, conferred yesterday with West German Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the situation in troubled South Africa and prospects of achieving SWA/Namibian independence.

The West German Foreign Ministry said Mr Genscher had told Mr Botha that he feared the chances for a peaceful solution to racial tension in South Africa were diminishing.

Mr Genscher called on Pretoria to demonstrate its goodwill by releasing Mr Nelson Mandela and lifting the ban on the African National Congress, it said in a statement.

Such moves would demonstrate its commitment to a peaceful solution to South Africa's divisions.

Mr Botha told reporters after the meeting: "I made an appeal through him to the German Government and the European governments ... not to take further actions or steps which serve to encourage violence rather than facilitate the ending of violence."

Bonn and its European Community partners imposed limited sanctions against South Africa last year.

Mr Botha also announced Pretoria was scrapping visa requirements for West German visitors and businessmen visiting South Africa.

The Foreign Ministry said it hoped the lifting of visa requirements would also apply to journalists, representatives of the churches and politicians.

— Sapa

BUS DAY 23/9/86

# Hopes high for SA talks with ANC

11A

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — Hopes for dialogue between the South African government and the African National Congress (ANC) received a boost here yesterday.

The Commonwealth is eagerly awaiting President P W Botha's response to a peace package drawn up by its special mission on SA.

Optimism that Pretoria's response would be positive enough to keep the peace initiative alive — and avert tougher economic sanctions — came from three key figures ahead of a meeting of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in London next week.

Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, on a visit to London, said he expected a positive response from Pretoria.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Sonny Ramphal confirmed in an interview that the group had met black leader Nelson Mandela in prison last month.

It is believed Mandela received two visits, first by EPG co-chairman General Olusegun Obasanjo, and later by other members of the group, including Britain's Lord Barber, who was said to have been deeply impressed by Mandela.

Sir Sonny said yesterday that he had not yet had as strong a signal as he would have liked from Pretoria on the EPG initiative.

"I yearn for a positive response to the Commonwealth initiative. I hope that SA will realise the importance of a positive response. Without it there is not much more the Commonwealth can do," he said.

Sir Sonny said his grounds for hope were that the Commonwealth had a process in motion which had engaged the SA government and won the confidence of nationalist movements.

The dialogue proposals were left with Botha after the EPG's visit in early March.

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BUSDAY

23/1/85

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# SA neighbours 'allow' armed guerrilla attacks

**EVEN** though SA's neighbours officially reject armed attacks against the country from their territories, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) "act in a clandestine way" under the protection of refugee status.

This was stated in a government White Paper on defence which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The White Paper stated

ANC and PAC actions against "certain targets" in SA were directed from neighbouring states.

"The ANC has head-quarter facilities in Zambia and the country acts as a centre for planning and co-ordinating the terror onslaught."

The external threat, directed against all the components of the "national power base" of SA and Namibia was culminating "mainly in a revolutionary onslaught".

This was directed and co-ordinated by Russia which, by supplying increased quantities of weapons to countries like Angola and Mozambique, and deploying surrogate forces, instructors and advisers, was ensuring their dependence on the Soviet bloc.

"The USSR thus also creates a protective umbrella which allows the ANC and Swapo to enjoy greater freedom of movement in these states with-

out which these organisations would be unable to conduct their deeds of terror successfully."

In addition to about 40 000 troops from surrogate countries, about 15 Soviet officers had been attached as command elements to some Angolan formations.

Under the influence of the Soviet bloc, the UN and the OAU, the black states in southern Africa were striving to isolate SA by implementing "intensified coercive measures" through disinvestment and by promoting the "revolutionary onslaught against the RSA".

"Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique especially are increasingly prepared to allow the ANC, in a clandestine way, to commit deeds of terror in the RSA through, and from, their territories.

"During the past year the ANC has also established and extended its military and political infrastructures in order to plan, co-ordinate and control the revolutionary onslaught in all the RSA's neighbouring states (excluding the TBVC states)," stated the White Paper. — Sapa.

## BUFFALO CORPORATION LIMITED

("Buffcor") (Reg No. 05/25532/06)

# PACTAPE LIMITED

("Pactape") (Reg No. 84/09168/06)

### ANNOUNCEMENT OF INTENDED RIGHTS OFFER AND SUBSEQUENT LISTING OF PACTAPE

Mercabank Limited is authorised to announce that Buffcor has decided to afford the opportunity to its ordinary and participating preference shareholders to participate directly in its subsidiary, Pactape. Buffcor will therefore offer approximately 3,5 million 4,5 cent dividend preferred ordinary shares in Pactape to its shareholders, by way of rights, at 60 cents per share. The proceeds will accrue to Pactape. Further announcements in this regard will follow shortly.

Pactape manufactures and distributes industrial and domestic pressure-sensitive tapes under well known brand names such as Tesa, Sellotape and Nashua as well as pump and valve gland packings under the brand name Impact. Pactape enjoys market leadership in both the pressure-sensitive tape and packings markets.

Application will be made to The Johannesburg Stock Exchange for a listing of the prefer-

~~SP~~ STAR 23/4/86  
~~11A~~ 11A

# Video shown of police assaults

By Duncan Guy

DELMAS — A video showing police assaulting people returning from a mass funeral in Evaton in September 1984 was yesterday screened before a Circuit Court in which 22 people, including United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azanian Peoples' Organisation leaders, have pleaded not guilty to high treason.

Cross-examined, Mr S Bizos, for the 22, asked Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen, in charge of police operations in the Vaal Triangle at the time, if he was sure of his denials that police had acted unlawfully.

Mr Bizos submitted that, on the film, mourners were neither throwing stones nor behaving dangerously, but police were nevertheless sjambokking people and arresting them violently.

Brigadier Viljoen said that, although it had not appeared on the film, stone throwing had taken place. He had allowed his men to use some violence because of the circumstances they were under.

Other scenes on the screen were of:

- An arrested mourner being assaulted by a police-

man who came running into the picture from nearby.

- Police kicking people thrown to the ground.
- A single policeman who was initially talking to mourners standing on top of a bus, but when joined by another policeman, starting assaulting them.

The brigadier, admitting the film was of an incident at which he had been present, said that, when talking over a loud hailer as seen on the film, he had been instructing his men to calm down.

## Father sick

Mr Bizos challenged evidence by Brigadier Viljoen that, at another funeral following the unrest, a man, pointed out as the father of the deceased Joseph Sithole, had told him that he had not wished to be associated with his son's funeral.

"His father was sick on the day," Mr Bizos said.

Other police State witnesses testified about facing crowds of up to 1 000 on September 3 using dustbin lids as shields and attacking with stones and bottles.

Warrant Officer Etienne Coetzee said his vehicle had broken down about 1 am on September 3 in Bapilong Township. He and another policeman had been faced by a crowd of about 400 chanting death threats and shouting "Viva Mandela, Viva ANC, Viva Oliver Tambo, Viva UDF." They had warded the mob off with teargas and rubber bullets.

Battles between mobs and police had ensued after daybreak as police made their way through the crowded streets of nearby Sharpeville.

Police spent the day attending to councillors' premises which had been set alight and looted.

Warrant Officer Coetzee and Sergeant Lourens Riekert spoke of an activist being shot dead when a police vehicle was petrol-bombed.

Police retaliated using birdshot. They said they saw people wearing UDF and Congress of South African Students T-shirts leading and inciting the crowds.

Cross-examined, Sergeant Riekert said that four weeks ago — 18 months afterwards — he had referred to the shirts for the first time in a statement.



APCS 24/4/86

PARLIAMENT

# 'Necklace' murders aimed at moderate groups, says Botha

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Parliamentary Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha has told Parliament that "necklace" murders and the brutal maiming of people were methods of intimidating moderate black people.

He said yesterday that the victims were people who did not support the violent aims of the African National Congress and the instigators of unrest.

Speaking in the House of Delegates, Mr Botha said the "necklace" was no longer regarded as sufficiently effective.

"The latest trend is to first chop off the arms of the victim at the elbows and then, screaming helplessly, he is made a pathetic example of what happens to those who oppose the will of the so-called liberators," Mr Botha said.

## "Dreadful fear"

"In this manner, a dreadful fear as a method of intimidation is instilled in those who prefer to be moderates."

The ANC and its "cohorts" used terror and violence to gain control of the black population groups.

This corresponded to the "blueprint methods" of other revolutionary groups. Other forms of intimidation included indiscriminate killing by means of landmines, limpet mines, car bombs and other explosive devices placed in public places and buried in roads.

## Alarming

Mr Botha said that since the lifting of the state of emergency, black-on-black violence had increased "alarminglly".

The Government had no choice but to extend the powers of the police. A Bill to this effect was tabled yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

As already announced, he said, the police force would be increased by 7 500 posts.

This would increase the police/population ratio to 2,03 for every 1 000 people.

5 MAR 24/1985 (11A)

# Policeman causes stir in Vaal treason trial

By Michael Tissong

**DELMAS** — A policeman caused a stir in the Circuit Court here yesterday when he said he saw groups of rioting youths in the Vaal Triangle in 1984 wearing T-shirts with the word he pronounced as "koza".

Twenty-two men from various organisations in the Vaal Triangle, including Cosas (Congress of South African Students), face charges of high treason and alternative charges of murder, subversion and terrorism. They have all pleaded not guilty.

## American citizens

After several policemen had told the court they saw people wearing Cosas T-shirts, Mr George Bizos, representing the men, asked Sergeant Pieter Prinsloo how to spell the word he saw on the youths' chests.

Sergeant Prinsloo replied: "It starts with an 'x' or a 'c'. I am not sure which."

Mr Bizos: "And what follows this 'x' or 'c'?"

Sergeant Prinsloo said he was not sure.

Laughter broke out when Mr Bizos asked where the "koza" people were from and Sergeant Prinsloo replied that they were from the Ciskei or Transkei.

Among the observers in the court were the former leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Mr Alistair Sparks, members of the Black Sash, a representative of the American Embassy and visiting American citizens.

Sergeant Prinsloo said there was widespread chaos in Sebokeng on the day the unrest broke out.

"There were large groups of people in the streets shouting 'Viva Mandela', 'Viva Africa' and 'SAP

honde'. I was driving a Mercedes Benz bus, but I could not travel down some of the barricaded streets.

"We were attacked with stones when we stopped.

"An object came flying through my window and struck me on my throat. My 'Adam's apple' was bent inwards and I had to later undergo an operation in hospital for the injury."

Captain Daniel Keyter told the court that he was attacked by a group of youths as he patrolled the township.

"It took place like a planned attack. We did not provoke them," he said.

An Orange Vaal Development Board inspector, Mr Cornelius Schlebusch, said while he was riding in a bus, it was attacked by youths using stones and pieces of iron.

"I fired one shot over their heads with a shotgun, but they carried on attacking us.

"I shot at them and they scattered. I saw a man lying on the ground. The police later came and took him away."

● The men on trial are: Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka, Mr Oupa Hlomuka, the Rev Teboho Geoffrey Moselane, Mr Mohapi Lazarus More, Mr Gcinumuzi Petrus Malindi, Mr Morake Petrus Mokoena, Mr Tsietsi David Mphuthi, Mr Naphtali Mbuti Nkopane, Mr Tebello Ephraim Ramakgula, Mr Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi, Mr Sekwati John Mokoena, Mr Mkhambi Amos Malindi, Mr Simon Tseko Nkoli, Mr Pelamotse Jerry Tihopane, Mr Serame Jacob Hlanyane, Mr Thomas Madikwe Manthatha, Mr Hlabeng Sam Matlole, Mr Maxala Simon Vilakazi, Mr Popo Simon Molefe, Mr Mosiuoa Gerard Patrick Lekota, Mr Moses Mabokela Chikane and Mr Thabiso Andrew Ratsoma.

# PW urges ANC 'nats' to ditch Reds and start talks

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — President P W Botha has urged the "nationalists" within the ANC to break away from the "communist" faction and return to South Africa to take part in peaceful negotiation.

Replying to debate on his vote in the committee stage of the Budget in the House of Delegates yesterday, Mr Botha said:

"If they (the nationalists) come forward to take part in constitutional development and renounce violence ... they can come back tomorrow."

Mr Botha said in the House of Assembly last week that it was clear there were confirmed nationalists within the ANC who were not aware they were being manipulated by "hardened communists".

Going a step further yesterday, he said it was "the duty of nationalist members of the ANC to sever themselves from the Marxists".

## PERCENTAGE

He was responding to a speech by Mr Mamoo Rajab (Solidarity, Springfield), who suggested that the Government begin talking to those in the ANC who rejected Marxism.

Mr Botha said it had emerged from the ANC's last executive council elections that 63 percent of the organisation's members were communists.

The South African Communist Party wanted to destroy South Africa and seize power.

"These nationalists, if they exist, must turn their backs on



P W Botha ... prepared to talk to ANC non-communist faction.

their communist colleagues."

He pointed out that the same appeal had been made to Swapo members a few years ago.

Some Swapo nationalists had come forward and were now taking part in negotiations over the future of SWA/Namibia.

Responding to an appeal by

the Rev Edward Manikkam (Sol, Rylands) for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Mr Botha said the ball was entirely in Mandela's court.

## RELEASE

It was up to Mandela to say he would renounce violence upon his release.

Mr Botha asked Members of the House whether, if Mandela were released, they would support his re-arrest if he continued with violence.

"Yes," chorused Members of the House.

It was therefore a "nonsensical argument", Mr Botha said, to advocate Mandela's release without first requiring an undertaking from Mandela to abandon violence.

# P W tells of brutal maiming to frighten moderate blacks

Political Staff 2/1/86  
PARLIAMENT — President P W Botha has told Parliament that “necklace” executions and brutal maiming are being used to intimidate moderate blacks.

He said the victims were people who did not support the violent aims of the African National Congress and the instigators of unrest.

Mr Botha said in the House of Delegates that the “necklace” was no longer regarded as sufficiently effective.

“The latest trend is first to chop off the arms

of the victim at the elbows so that he becomes a pathetic example of what happens to those who oppose the will of the so-called liberators,” Mr Botha said.

“In this manner, a dreadful fear is instilled into those who prefer to be moderates.”

## TO GAIN CONTROL

The ANC and its “cohorts” used these methods of terror and extreme violence to intimidate people and, thus, to gain control of the various black population groups.

This corresponded to the “blue-print methods

of other communist-inspired revolutionary groups.

Other forms of intimidation included indiscriminate killing by landmines, limpet mines, car bombs and other explosive devices placed in public places and buried on public and farm roads.

Mr Botha said that, since the lifting of the state of emergency, black-on-black violence had increased alarmingly.

In these circumstances the Government had no choice but to ask Parliament to extend the powers of the police.

**T**HE death in detention of black consciousness Leader Steve Biko, in 1977 and the subsequent student demonstrations in Ciskei, marked the beginning of a tough life for political activists there.

Since then, political activity in the bantustan was curbed and Pretoria gave Ciskei wide detention powers.

The Green Berets, a vigilante group formed by Ciskei's President, Chief Lennox Sebe, showed no mercy in dealing with school boycotters.

In retaliation for a student attack on the president's car and his bodyguard, the Green Berets launched a terror campaign in which they attacked every boy or girl of schoolgoing age they met in the street and flushed others out of their homes.

But the most stubborn resistance encountered by Ciskei since its "independence" was that of commuters who boycotted buses in 1983, which the government tried to suppress by using methods which provoked a loud chorus of international protest.

It was one of the most well-organised mass actions and one for which the commuters were prepared to sacrifice and suffer. They chose to walk distances of up to 30km a day than pay a 10 percent fare increase.

It was also a boycott which gave the government the opportunity to demonstrate its might. A state of emergency was declared during which about 1 000 people were detained.

Commuters were attacked indiscriminately and other political activists were beaten, raped and shot at by soldiers who claimed the lives of 90 people during the boycott.

The soldiers tried to force commuters to use buses at gunpoint by driving them away from a railway station. During a confrontation with the commuters at Fort Jackson station, the soldiers shot and killed 15 people. The police claimed only nine people were killed.

**Inhuman**

At one stage, Ciskei's mortuaries were full and the jails could no longer house the growing number of people who were detained everyday. As an alternative, a local football stadium was used to house detainees who were kept under the most unhygienic and inhuman conditions.

The change rooms in which they were held

were overcrowded. It was reported that the detainees were not given food, washing or drinking water and had no blankets or ablution facilities.

As a result, they urinated and defecated on the floor where there was hardly enough room to stand, let alone to sit



PRESIDENT Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei

# Terror of Green Berets

## FOCUS

or to sleep.

A trade unionist who was also held at the stadium said: "There were between 60 and 80 people in one room. The thought of it still makes me shudder. You can imagine what this type of thing can do to your humanity in a so-called independent state."

But Ciskei's independence was supported by only 20 percent of the population. In a referendum conducted by the Quail Commission, it was found that only 295 891 people wanted independence out of a population of 2 250 000.

**Lost**

The harsh treatment received by commuters in the hands of the Green Berets, a vigilante group formed by Chief Lennox Sebe to crush his opponents, seemed to make commuters even more determined to continue the boycott.

Even after the fares were reduced by 10 percent, commuters continued the boycott, in-

He used to be the most powerful policeman in Southern Africa. He was vested with powers that no Cabinet minister in Ciskei could exercise.

He was head of Ciskei's intelligence, armed forces, police, traffic and prison services. He had powers to ban people and organisations and to prohibit publications and the staging of theatrical plays.

He did not see eye to eye with trade unionists, especially the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) which was the most popular organisation in Ciskei and the only organisation posing a threat to the government.

**Boast**

In September 1981 alone, 250 trade unionists were detained. Journalists, poets and church field workers were also among Charles Sebe's hate list. In his dealings with them, he showed no mercy, especially when force was to be used.

He used to boast about his ability to deal with "terrorists" and was once quoted as saying: "They are terrorists, but I am also trained as a terrorist. We are trained in the same skills".

The two Sebe brothers, notorious for their lust for power, were so close that they telephoned each other every evening to discuss matters of state.

But it seemed that Brigadier Sebe had ambitions going beyond being the second most powerful person in Ciskei. His relationship with his brother soured when there was a rumour of a coup d'etat which forced Chief Sebe to make a hasty return home from Israel in 1983.

**Sacked**

Suspected of being behind the coup attempt, Brigadier Sebe was stripped of most of his powers before he was detained and subsequently charged and jailed for 10 years.

Thirteen of his aides, including seven top officials were also detained. A purge on his family members followed. Two Sebe brothers were sacked as ministers and some of their sons were detained, including that of the Vice-President, Mr Willie Kaba, who was also sacked from the Cabinet.

Despite his inability to curb the high rate of unemployment, illiteracy, starvation and malnutrition, Chief Sebe was awarded the highest decoration in Ciskei, Order of Indwe, in recognition of "distinguished and meritorious leadership".

Born a commoner, he is a self-styled chief and in July 1983, he proclaimed himself Ciskei's life president. So much for the independence that Ciskeians did not

SAM MABE gives an insight into the violation of human rights in bantustans. The rationale behind the late former South African Prime Minister, Dr H F Verwoerd's creation of bantustans was to give political representation to blacks in their own areas. But from the start, human rights was something alien to governments in the bantustans. This is the second part of a series.

tending to see the collapse of the Ciskei Transport Corporation which lost over R2-million because of the boycott.

Eventually, Gomo Bus Company, a subsidiary of CTC folded and sold 74 buses and retrenched 330 workers. To the people of Ciskei, this was victory for them.

One observer said the reign of terror during the boycott could have been worse had it taken place while Ciskei's most feared man, Brigadier Charles Sebe, was still head of the security forces.

Presently serving a 10-year jail sentence, Brigadiers Sebe, younger brother to Chief Sebe, was stripped of his powers in July 1983, the same month in which the boycott started.

BUS DAY 24/4/86

~~221~~ ~~273~~ 11A

BUSINESS C

# Alex gunmen attack police

I HAD just arrived in Alex on my way to the stadium where a mass meeting was being held by thousands of residents after the killings of political activists on Tuesday night.

As I reached Selbourne Road, which leads to what used to be Alexandra Stadium, a contingent of armed police was leaping from armoured carriers. A crowd of more than 10 000 was moving towards them.

Police moved forward with guns ready. The crowd kept coming, apparently fearless.

Then the crowd stopped. A salvo of gunfire from the crowd sent the advancing police scattering for cover.

Police frantically took cover in little ditches and under the trees. I dived, hands first, behind the car of a foreign television crew.

Next to me, also taking cover, was



● NGCOBO

Reporter SIPHO NGCOBO was under fire in Sandton's Alexandra township for about 45 minutes yesterday as volley after volley rung out from a crowd confronting about 100 policemen.

a young policeman, about 22. His hands gripped his gun. He was shaking. I realised I was shaking too.

Police returned the fire, but the crowd stood as if glued to the road.

One policeman moved forward. An AK47 rattled and I heard him yell. He had been shot in the stomach. His colleagues carried him to an emergency vehicle.

From my cramped position I could only see one of those firing from the crowd, a youngster of about 18, armed with an AK47.

The AK47 kept rattling. I was

trapped. Police returned fire, the crowd not retreating and there also being no apparent injuries.

Suddenly, police told me and other journalists that we were under arrest. As the firing continued, they confiscated camera film and took six of us to Bramley Police Station.

Later a senior policeman told us we were allowed to report on the events, but only at our own risk.

I returned to Alex to find the large crowd still there and many police still taking cover, but the firing was over and the gunmen had gone.

# Alleged vigilante says he stands for peace, order

Staff Reporter

ALLEGED vigilantes from Zolani township, Ashton, have denied contravening a court order by committing violent acts against residents.

In February Mrs Miriam Tyhahlisu, Mr Mvula Tokwe and Mr Freddie Memani were granted an urgent interdict in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, restraining 15 alleged vigilantes from imposing a curfew on residents and assaulting, threatening, harassing or intimidating them.

On March 26, four of the 15, Mr Sizi William Klaas, Mr Thimba Kolase Ndabeni, Mr Mlungusi Mkhetsu and Mr Kokoloyi Stanford Matroos were ordered to show cause why they should not be convicted of contempt of court for ignoring the interdict.

## IGNORED

The four denied in papers yesterday that they had ignored the order.

Mr Klaas, a lay preacher and former community council chairman, said that on March 19 he saw a youth preparing to throw a stone at his car. He jumped out of the car and ran after the youth.

Another youth threw a stone at him, injuring his hand. He said he laid charges against both youths.

Mr Klaas said he "stood for order and peace in the community" and was "a target for those who were anti-community".

The situation had become so serious that he had sent his children to Transkei.

Mr Matroos, a former community councillor, said that on March 19 a youth stood in front of his brother's house, taunting his family. He lost his temper and hit and kicked the youth.

He said he paid an admission of guilt fine for the assault.

The court ruled that the matter go to trial on a date yet to be set.

24/4/85

STAR

(11A)



# Negotiation with the ANC may be closer

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

## Cape Town

The chances of negotiations between the Government and the African National Congress could be closer than thought.

In Parliament yesterday, President Botha said that discussions between the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) and the Government had reached "a delicate stage".

And Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke also indicated this week that the talks had been encouraging.

It is known that central to proposals put by the EPG to the Government is the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and negotiations for a non-racial and representative government.

But it is clear from the Government's public stance that the key question is the question of the ANC renouncing violence — even if only for the duration of discussions.

The EPG is in a position to play a crucial role in that it could, on behalf of the Commonwealth, provide the undertaking that the ANC will adhere to non-violence if Pretoria keeps its side of the deal.

The obvious attraction of this for Pretoria is that the Commonwealth, by putting its seal of approval on any agreement, and by furnishing "guarantees" to both sides, lends enormous international prestige and credibility to any agreement to start negotiations.

## Incentive

If the ANC is unable to meet its obligation to renounce violence, Pretoria could feel free to start constitutional negotiations without the organisation.

A powerful incentive for Pretoria to take an EPG-proposed deal seriously is that about half South Africa's international trade is with Commonwealth countries.

If the EPG should report back to the Commonwealth in June that no progress in its efforts to promote dialogue inside South Africa had been made, the nations could press for the harsh economic sanctions that it came close to applying during its conference in October.

The EPG was mandated by the Commonwealth to explore the possibilities of South Africa meeting the following conditions to ward off sanctions:

- Declare its intention to dismantle apartheid and implement that intention.
- Termination of the state of emergency.
- Release Nelson Mandela and others detained for opposition to apartheid.
- Establish political freedom.
- Lift bans on the ANC and other political parties.
- Initiate dialogue with all races with a view to establishing a nonracial and representative government.

● See Page 3.



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## Police probe fire clue

POLICE are investigating a possible link between the fire on Tuesday at the University of Natal, Durban, and other arson incidents at the university and at Brettonwood High School, Umbilo.

The arson caused damage estimated at hundreds of thousands of rands to the Sugar Milling Research Institute. They spray-painted in yellow on a corner of the building: "Sugar supports Buthelezi" and "ANC".

The slogan letters were similar to those seen at Brettonwood last Wednesday and at the university when it was fire-bombed on March 21. — Sapa.

## 'No more evictions in Zolani'

Staff Reporter

AP 24/4/86  
THE Ashton Civic Organisation based in Zolani township has urged the Western Cape Development Board to negotiate with them rather than the "unpopular" community council.

This was one of several demands put to Development Board superintendent Mr Willie Fourie this week.

The organisation's public relations officer, Mr Timothy Tyhahisisu, said the talks were "successful".

Main grievances had focused

on the unemployment crisis in Zolani and rent payment difficulties.

Mr Tyhahisisu said the board agreed to stay evictions of residents unable to meet rent deadlines, provided that they signed unemployment forms.

Mr Fourie told them of a government job creation scheme, which would enable unemployed residents to work for R4 a day "cleaning up the township".

The organisation will hold a report-back meeting tonight.

# Radicals killed 508 <sup>APC Times 24/4/86</sup> Botha <sup>224 111 254 254</sup>

By PATRICK CULL  
Political Staff

**HOUSE OF DELEGATES.** — A total of 508 people, mostly moderate blacks, had been murdered by radical blacks generally by the "necklace" method, the State President, Mr P W Botha, told the House yesterday.

During the debate on his vote in the committee stage of the Budget, Mr Botha said that of the 508, some 295 had been murdered during the past four months — most of them after the lifting of the emergency.

In addition, he said, a further 439 blacks had been killed during the same 20-month period by fellow blacks in tribal or faction fighting "which has nothing whatsoever to do with so-called 'apartheid' or for that matter, politics".

Mr Botha said it had become necessary to "focus on the phenomenon of black-on-black



violence" which, he added, was escalating and which gravely concerned the government.

Spelling out the extent of the carnage, Mr Botha said that since September 1984, 1 417 black-owned businesses, 4 435 private homes, 28 churches, 54 community centres, several hundred schools and a number of clinics, all serving the black community, had been destroyed or badly damaged.

In addition, several thousand black-owned vehicles had been destroyed or badly damaged by petrol bombs or other forms of arson or attacks.

Mr Botha said that the extent of black-on-black violence placed "a great responsibility on the police and conveys a clear message to South Africa and the world".

He said that the violence against which the police had to react was perpetrated by "ruthless and unscrupulous people who make use of savage and barbaric methods to achieve their goals".

"In exercising their responsibility to protect the lives and property of innocent people, death as a result of security action is sometimes inevitable.

"Can any reasonable person expect of the police, who are responsible for the protection of lives and property and for the maintenance of law and order, to sit back and not to act when these dastardly acts of destruction are being perpetrated by elements out to intimidate the communities amongst whom they operate?"

Mr Botha said that as black-on-black violence had increased alarmingly since the state of emergency was lifted, the government had no alternative but to give the Minister of Law and Order greater powers.

He said it was common knowledge that the necklace murders were perpetrated against those who did not support the ANC and if the necklace was not enough the "latest trend" was to first chop off the arms of the victim above the elbow.

In this manner, Mr Botha added, "a dreadful fear as a method of intimidation is instilled in those who prefer to be moderates".

## 20 000 to benefit in partial amnesty

Political Staff

**SOME 20 000 prisoners will benefit from a partial amnesty declared in terms of the 25th anniversary of the Republic which will be celebrated on May 31 this year.**

Announcing this in Parliament yesterday during the debate on his Budget Vote, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had approved the granting of the amnesty to certain categories of prisoners.

He said that six months would be deducted from the sentences being served by prisoners.

Excluded from the amnesty are prisoners held for offences relating to unrest, robbery, rape and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice last night said the amnesty did not mean that 20 000 people would be released on May 31 but rather that the sentences concerned would be reduced by six months.

Further details of the amnesty would be released later, he added.

# 'Terrorists recruited from UDF affiliates'

April 1986

~~UDF~~ ~~ANC~~ Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Candidates for 14-day training courses in handling hand-grenades and petrol-bombs are recruited from UDF-affiliates such as Cosas and Peyco, according to the White Paper on Defence tabled here yesterday.

It alleges a "terror campaign by the ANC in solidarity with internal radical organizations".

To boost the "terror onslaught", it adds, the ANC used terrorists who underwent instant training for "deeds of terror against relatively low-risk targets".

The White Paper states that despite the fact that neighbouring states officially reject armed terrorist actions against the Republic from their territories, the ANC and PAC do "act in a clandestine way under the protection of refugee status".

The White Paper says the UDF and affiliates are involved "in mobilising the population in an attempt to attain" revolutionary objectives.

CHIT - 11/18 241 1/10  
Brandt: 'We'll back ~~ANC~~'

Own Correspondent

BONN. — West Germany's opposition Social Democratic Party is to collaborate "far more closely" with the ANC, Swapo and other black and white opposition groups in South Africa.

The declaration was made on Tuesday by its chairman, Mr Willy Brandt, after what he described as the "most depressing experience" of his meeting with President P W Botha.

# Policemen guilty of assaulting UDF man

Own Correspondent

TWO security police members were found guilty in the Durban Regional Court yesterday of assaulting United Democratic Front vice-chairman Billy Nair. W/O Johannes de Wet, 55, and Sgt Gary van Sluys, 25, were charged with common assault. They pleaded not guilty. De Wet was fined R150 or 75 days' jail. Van Sluys was fined R50 or 25 days.

Magistrate J Jacobsz said that after Nair was detained under the Internal Security Act on August 23 he was slapped, punched and prodded by the accused.

The State alleged that De Wet slapped Nair across the face, which caused a burst eardrum and a bruise below his left eye, while Van Sluys prodded him below the ribs.

Nair was taken to CR Swart Square where he refused to disclose the names of certain people who had been involved in the distribution of a document to all the consulates in Durban.

De Wet then began swearing and insulting Nair, blaming him for the unrest and violence in the country, the court heard.

When Nair refused to answer certain questions, De Wet became angry and struck him three or four times across his face. The two men promised Nair a more-severe hiding if he did not give them the required information.

It was suggested previously by the defence that Nair inflicted the injuries himself to bring the SAP into disrepute.

Jacobsz said Nair was a man of strong political convictions who denied being instructed to lay a charge of assault against the SAP in order to bring it into disrepute. "It would, however, be unwise to convict the accused on Nair's evidence alone," he said.

# Alleged vigilantes in court dispute

Supreme Court Reporter

A DISPUTE between residents and a group of alleged vigilantes of Zolani township at Ashton has been postponed in the Supreme Court so that oral evidence may be heard.

The dispute began on February 27 when a temporary order was granted restraining 16 Zolani men from "operating as vigilantes" and imposing their own curfew.

On March 26, when the order was to be made final, the Supreme Court ordered four of the alleged vigilantes to show why they should not be convicted of contempt of court and imprisoned for ignoring the order.

## 'Breaches'

The court took this action after a series of affidavits was placed before it detailing alleged breaches of the February 27 order.

By yesterday the four men — Mr Sizi William Klaas, Mr Thimba Ndabeni, Mr Mlungisi Mkhetsu and Mr Kokoloyi Matroos — had all placed affidavits before the court denying the allegations, so the matter was postponed for oral evidence on a date yet to be determined.

Mr Klaas, 49, said in his affidavit that he was a member of the com-

munity council. He denied he had assaulted schoolboys after a boycott, and said a boy had thrown a stone which injured his hand.

"I am a proponent of order and peace and as a result of that and the general unrest I am seen as a target for those who are anti-community," he said.

He denied burning down anyone's house, and said a woman had already been found guilty of arson for the incident.

## 'Job'

Mr Ndabeni, 65, a former community councillor, denied he had set a house on fire and denied an allegation that he had said to a Warrant Officer Joubert afterwards: "We did the job."

Mr Matroos said he had slapped and kicked one boy who had "taunted" him and thrown a stone at his mother, but had already been convicted and fined R30 and given a suspended sentence for it.

He denied he had disobeyed the court order.

Mr Justice C T Howie presided. Mr L J Krige, instructed by Mr W Kerfoot of the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the residents who applied for the restraining order. Mr J Slabbert, instructed by Bornman and Hayward, appeared for the four men.

Cape Times 24/11/80

## 'Necklace deaths' 14 held

Staff Reporter

POLICE this week detained 14 Montsumba Bush residents — aged between 15 and 24 — for questioning in connection with three "necklace" killings in Crossroads at the weekend.

The 14 were detained in police action on Monday evening and Tuesday morning.

The body of one of the men, reportedly a Cape Youth Congress member, was found on Sunday and it is believed that those detained were members of the dead man's family.

The bodies of the two other men were found at Crossroads on Monday.

The Cape Times has not been able to ascertain the names of those killed in the violence following Saturday's funeral for unrest victims at Nxolo School in Crossroads on Saturday.

Meanwhile, a deputation of Nyanga Bush squatters said yesterday that none of the recent violence in the squatter communities occurred in Nyanga Bush.

"Nyanga Bush has been peaceful. We don't want the police to come into our area asking about the trouble. There hasn't been any," said one resident, Mr Simo Mensiwa.

● Police confirmed the 14 arrests, according to a Sapa report.



# White border farmers part of the enemy says ANC

By Susan Fleming, Education Reporter

White border farmers, who were in police and army defence units, could not be considered soft targets and were regarded as part of the "enemy", the African National Congress told the National Union of South African Students delegation during talks at Easter.

That came out at a report-back meeting attended by about 2 000 Witwatersrand University students yesterday.

## Not speaking on the ANC's behalf

Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry said the aim of the report-back was not to speak on behalf of the ANC, but to answer students' questions.

He said although the ANC said it did not plan to indiscriminately attack white civilians, it would take up "the struggle" in white areas.

The ANC had stressed that white people were welcome in South Africa — as long as they rejected racism.

Mr Barry said the ANC regarded genuine negotiations seriously. But, before any negotiation could take place with the South African

Government, the ANC would have to be unbanned and all political prisoners unconditionally released.

The ANC said although some of its members belonged to the South African Communist Party they were bound by ANC discipline.

Arms and funds were received from Eastern bloc countries, but that support was unconditional.

Mr Barry said the ANC had stressed that South Africa would not become a Soviet state. The future of the country would be determined by South Africans.

The ANC, which supported a bill of rights, was not opposed to a multi-party system, but no party should be allowed to propagate racism.

In the new South Africa, security legislation would be abolished and media freedom would be guaranteed.

Mr Barry said as far as economic policies were concerned, the ANC advocated an anti-monopoly democracy. Small businesses would be allowed to operate but they would have to serve what was described as "the needs of the people".

## It never rains but it pours in Northern Tvl

Own Correspondent

TZANEEN — Parts of the Magoebaskloof and Tzaneen areas are waterlogged after their highest April rainfall for 20 years.

Tzaneen has had more than 200 mm in the past week and many farm and district roads are impassable. At Duiwelskloof, 175 mm has fallen since last Thursday, while Haenertsburg had 182 mm.

### FLOWING STEADILY

The level of the Fanie Botha Dam at Tzaneen, which was down to five percent last year and had reached 14 percent last week, has now risen to 20 percent. Water is still flowing steadily into the dam.

The nearby Merensky Dam is overflowing and good rains have also been reported at Phalaborwa, Soekmekaar and Louis Triardt.

# Ex-ANC man tells of meeting Passtoors

By Jenni Tennant

A former member of the African National Congress — referred to as "Mr Z" — told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he had seen Miss Helene Passtoors, accused of treason, while he was with the organisation.

Testifying behind closed doors, he told the court he had also seen Miss Passtoors's former husband, Mr Klaas de Jonge — but both had used different names.

He had later identified the two from photographs shown to him by the police.

Mr Z, who deserted from the ANC, told the court how he became involved with the organisation and underwent training in Angola.

He also identified high-ranking members of the ANC from photographs shown to him in court.

He said he had been trained in the use of various weapons and explosives.

### PSEUDONYM

Earlier yesterday Mr Justice T T Spoelstra ordered that Mr Z give evidence behind closed doors and that only those who authorised to remain in court could hear it.

The Attorney-General, Mr K von Lieres, SC, brought the application, saying the witness could not testify in open court because he feared for his safety.

Mr D Kuny, SC, for Miss Passtoors, opposed the application.

The judge also ruled that the witness could use a pseudonym in court and should not be identified in any way.

Accredited members of the media and two legal observers were permitted to remain in the courtroom while Mr Z gave evidence.

Later the judge allowed representatives from the Netherlands and Belgian consulates to attend the hearing.

Miss Passtoors, who holds dual nationality, has pleaded not guilty to treason and terrorism.

Mr Justice Spoelstra ordered that evidence could be published provided it did not disclose Mr Z's identity.

The hearing continues.

VALUE MEET-JUST UP YOUR STREET  
**SOCKERS**



party abo

BUDAY 24/4/86

Alex volley hits policeman in stomach

# Police, youths in AK47 shoot-out

11A

SIPHO NGCOBO, SOPHIE TEMA and DOMINIQUE GILBERT

A CONTINGENT of 100 policemen took cover for 45 minutes in Alexandra township, Sandton, yesterday when youths — some armed with AK47 rifles — fired repeated volleys at them from a 10 000-strong crowd.

Constable G C Terblanche was shot in the stomach during the confrontation. He was in serious condition and undergoing surgery last night.

Police reported only one death, but residents put the toll at eight.

In a 24-hour period, the homes of ten activists were burned down, allegedly by black policemen, and more than 30 cars destroyed. The township was cordoned off and an emergency hospital set up.

Dr T Wilson of the Alexandra Clinic said a dead man was brought into the

See Page 3

clinic at midday yesterday. He was thought to have died the night before.

At least one other body was taken straight to the mortuary, he said.

About fifty people were wounded, said Wilson, a large number by birdshot. Many others had bullet wounds.

Those killed on Tuesday night were either members of the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) or the Alexandra Civic Association (ACA), both affiliates of the UDF.

Residents claimed two of the casualties were first shot and then set alight by a mob.

They said the first attacks by the mob, which was brandishing guns and wielding pangas, axes and clubs, took place at about 7.45pm on Tuesday.

They claimed 10 of the 60 houses hit by petrol bombs were razed to the ground.



Under fire in Alex...

Picture: Walter Dhladhla

SOPHIE TEMA reports the homes of several political activists, including that of Mike Beea, chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association, were gutted.

Yesterday police were seen carrying out a house-to-house raid on homes in Alexandra.

Asked to confirm the allegations that police were involved in the burning of houses in the township, a spokesman for the Police Directorate in Pretoria said: "Investigations are continuing. We have had a number of inquiries.

"We are aware of allegations that police were involved in these incidents and

we are investigating that angle."

A white motorist was attacked and stoned by the youths yesterday before being saved by the police.

A police report released to Sapa yesterday said:

"Alexandra, near Johannesburg: Two private vehicles were extensively damaged by arsonists. In another incident, the SAP were attacked with a petrol bomb. One black man was fatally wounded."

Late yesterday, groups of people, some

To Page 2

# Police, youths in shoot-out

singing and dancing, stood around buring tyres in the township, but the area appeared to be without any major incidents.

Soldiers in Defence Force Hippos were randomly shooting teargas into the air.

A police spokesman confirmed that three people were detained early yesterday morning under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act. He said their names would be released when they appeared in court.

Earlier a spokesman for the Alexandra Action Committee said a number of community leaders had been detained. They included John Grant, the vice-chairman of the committee, Maria Mthembu, a committee member, and Obed Bapela of the Alexandra Youth Congress.

BUDAY 24/4/86

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From Page 1

30 DAY  
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# Loss of memory claimed

A FORMER ANC member told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he could not remember whether a handgrenade or handgrenades were found in his possession at the time of his arrest.

The state witness, who may not be identified, was replying to cross-examination by advocate Denis Kuny, SC, for Helene Passtoors, 44, who has pleaded not guilty to charges of treason and terrorism.

His testimony to Mr Justice Van Dijkhoff earlier this year revealed

that he was carrying handgrenades, an AK47 rifle and a pistol at the time of his arrest.

He claimed loss of memory when asked by Kuny why he had admitted during his testimony on Wednesday to carrying only a pistol in his luggage when arrested.

He admitted at yesterday's hearing, however, possessing "one handgrenade maybe", but denied that he was carrying an AK 47 rifle at the time of his arrest.

The hearing continues today.

# Nchabeleng will be buried today

THE family of Peter Nchabeleng — the United Democratic Front leader who died while in detention in Lebowa recently — has decided against holding their own autopsy to determine the cause of his death.

Nchabeleng will be buried in Sekhukhuleni tomorrow.

A pathologist will be appointed by the Lebowa government to complete a reconstruction report on the remains of the 36 charred bodies found on mountains surrounding Phasha-Nkoana and Apel.

## 'Not ANC policy to attack whites'

Staff Reporter

AKC45 25/4/86 (112)

AT a report back meeting on talks between a National Union of South African Students delegation and the African National Congress in Harare earlier this month, University of Cape Town SRC president Glen Goosen said the ANC felt it was crucial that apartheid be made ungovernable by the people.

This had been demonstrated through the collapse of community councils in various townships and their replacement with community organisations, he told the meeting yesterday.

Though the ANC had no policy to attack white civilians, they could not discount "unplanned incidents of anger".

Mr Goosen said the ANC listed four components of the struggle to be taken up in white areas.

These were the strengthening of worker organisation in factories, the spreading of national consumer boycotts, protest engagement and armed attacks on "enemy personnel" including white farmers who were part of police or army defence units.

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# PW 'taking first steps' for talks with the ANC

BW DAY. 25/4/86. 204A 11A

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha had begun "drawing the line" between the Marxists and the nationalists within the African National Congress (ANC).

This was said yesterday by Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point), who added that it was being done as a first step towards conceding the need for negotiation with the banned organisation.

Speaking on the home affairs budget vote, he said government's attitude to talks with the ANC had changed since the refusal of passports to a group of Stellenbosch students and churchmen last year. He said this attitude would change further.

The refusal of the passports had been an "act of political spite motivated by party political considerations".

Government's feeling that it had been upstaged by these people was no reason for a violation of their democratic rights, said Van der Merwe.

The students and young people were in the front line when SA faced internal or external threats.

The least government owed them was not to put obstacles in their way if they wanted to find out whether reconciliation was possible between the opposing forces.

Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha, replying, said government was still convinced it was totally wrong to hold discussions with people who "murdered", and it was not the function of students and clergymen to talk with the ANC. — Sapa.

STAR

~~BUDDA~~  
25/4/86

# SA envoy has debate with ANC in US

208  
232  
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Washington

An historic first public debate between representatives of the South African Government and the African National Congress took place on a prime time television programme in the United States yesterday.

The 15-minute discussion coincided with a debate in Parliament in which the Government's changing attitude to talks with the ANC — since it refused passports to Stellenbosch students and churchmen last year — was highlighted by Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point).

But Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha denied any change in the Government's view on talking to the ANC. He said the Government was still convinced that it was totally wrong to hold discussions with people who murdered and destroyed.

The Star reported yesterday that the chances of negotiation between the Government and the ANC could be closer than previously thought.

The television debate was between the ANC's deputy-representative in the United States, Mr Solly Semelane, and the South African Ambassador to Washington, Mr Herbert Beukes.

The significance of Mr Beukes and Mr Semelane debating the pass laws on the same forum is not

likely to have been lost on the hawk-eyed US State Department. It has been pursuing a much-criticised policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria in the belief that it would best advance political progress in South Africa.

The State Department has often gone on record in support of dialogue between black and white.

In the television debate, Mr Semelane said dumping the pass laws was a move calculated to dampen the revolutionary spirit of black South Africans and to destroy or isolate the ANC internationally.

He said the scrapping of pass laws was also calculated to destroy the national liberation movement in South Africa.

"But this is a miscalculation ... because our struggle has gone beyond that. It has outgrown the confines of the pass system."

He then quoted Bishop Desmond Tutu, who said on the programme that the Government should have listened to church leaders six years ago.

"For our people now, the name of the game is political power," said Mr Semelane. "It's the struggle for the seizure of political power and economic power."

Mr Beukes said it was sad to hear someone saying this, because people had to focus on efforts to broaden democracy.

"What I'm hearing ... is a question of revolutionary language — violence, radicalism. That is not the answer in South Africa." — The Star's Foreign News Service and Political Staff.

# No to Mandela's release - poll

**MOST urban whites in South Africa are against the release of the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, on humanitarian grounds according to a Markinor poll conducted countrywide recently.**

According to the poll,

66 percent voted against the release of Mandela. Strong support for President P W Botha's reform programme was recorded among whites. The survey found that 67 percent backed the idea of a common citizenship for all, 77 percent backed equal education for all and 71 percent supported the opening of central business districts for all. The highest support for the

reform programme by Botha came from Cape, his former constituency, with a 74 percent vote with Port Elizabeth and East London scoring the lowest at 60 percent. Durban, which is under spotlight over the Kwa-Natal Indaba, came second in support of Botha's reforms with a 71 percent vote while the PWV area came third with 64 percent backing for the reforms.

11/11/86  
SWE TAN



*Cape Times 2/14/86*

# UDF: Apartheid will 'maintain its grip'

**JOHANNESBURG.** — While welcoming any move that would "ease the suffering our people have to go through under apartheid", the United Democratic Front said yesterday, "the government is known for giving with one hand and taking away with the other".

In an "initial" comment on the White Paper on Urbanization, the UDF said legislation under which apartheid would maintain its grip was in existence.

"Botha's so-called 'bold new approach' is

still located within the context of the existing 1913 and 1936 Land Acts," UDF acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a statement.

"The government still has the benefit of the Population Registration Act, the Race Classifica-

tion Act and most importantly the Group Areas Act.

"Even amending the Slums Act or the Illegal Squatters Act is not in our view going to make any significant changes to the lives of thousands and thousands of blacks who are searching for a

better life, because of the continued existence of the general framework of apartheid ...

"Almost at the same time as P W Botha was announcing the changes to influx control laws, Louis le Grange was being given almost dictatorial powers. This indi-

cates the government's continued use and intensification of repressive measures."

● Britain yesterday welcomed moves to repeal restrictions on the movements of blacks as "an important movement toward peaceful reform".

In London the Foreign Office said it welcomed the proposals in the White Paper and expressed the hope that they would be "widely acknowledged as an important movement toward peaceful reform". — Sapa-AP

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25/4/86  
6 Cape Times, Friday, A

## Rare honour for Tutu

TORONTO. — Bishop Desmond Tutu has been extended a rare invitation to address the Ontario Legislature during a scheduled visit to Canada next month.

Ontario Premier Mr David Peterson, describing the invitation as the "highest compliment we can give him", told reporters he was almost certain Bishop Tutu would accept.

The last outsider to address the parliament was Jean Lesage 22 years ago when he was premier of the Canadian province of Quebec.

Bishop Tutu would be guest of honour at a fund-raising dinner on May 30 during a "Toronto Arts Against Apartheid" music and arts festival. — Sapa-Reuter

# Legal wrangle over <sup>some</sup> chief's body <sup>11/16</sup> continues <sup>1/15</sup>

UMTATA — The return <sup>hearing in which Chief Sa-</sup> date for an application for <sup>bata's son and widow</sup> the custody of the body of <sup>were to have shown cause</sup> Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, <sup>why the application for</sup> who died in Lusaka, was <sup>custody should not be</sup> yesterday extended to <sup>withdrawn, because of</sup> May 15. <sup>fraud and misrepresenta-</sup>

The application by Chief Sabata's son, Mr Buyelekaya Dalindyebo (22), and his mother, Mrs No-Moscow Dalindyebo, was made on Sunday morning, hours before he was due to be buried at Bumbane, and the respondents were given to 3 pm that day to reply.

The return date was set for Wednesday.

Chief Sabata was buried at midday on Sunday after Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima and a group of policemen allegedly removed his body from the mortuary by force.

This week the application was the subject in a

## FEARED

Both applicants were not in court and Mr I Schwartzman, appearing for them, told the Chief Justice, Mr Justice J van Reenen, the son had left <sup>Frankel</sup> because he feared for his life, while the whereabouts of the widow were not known.

The judge said he had received information that the mother did not support the application and before postponing the proceedings ruled that the matter be referred to the Attorney-General. — Sapa

# 'Secret ANC witness contradicted himself'

By Jenni Tennant

Information from another court showed a former member of the African National Congress contradicted himself several times during the Rand Supreme Court trial of Miss Helene Passtoors, it was claimed yesterday.

This was submitted yesterday by Mr D Kuny SC, appearing for Miss Passtoors, who was cross-examining a State witness referred to as Mr Z.

Mr Z was testifying in camera during the trial of Miss Passtoors, who has pleaded not guilty to treason and terrorism.

This week Mr Justice Spoelstra ordered Mr Z give evidence behind closed doors and only those authorised to remain in court could listen to his evidence.

## FORMER LINKS

This decision was given after Attorney-General Mr K von Lieres SC, for the State, brought an application that the witness give evidence in camera because he feared for his safety.

Yesterday Mr Kuny told Mr Justice T T Spoelstra the defence team had obtained information from another court which enabled him to cross-examine the secret witness.

Mr Z recalled his former links with the ANC and told the court he had waited for an opportunity to get away.

At the end of the day's cross-examination Mr Kuny submitted that on several occasions Mr Z had contradicted information obtained by the defence team.

The hearing continues.

Mr Justice T T Spoelstra is on the Bench. Mr K von Lieres SC, assisted by Mr G Gertsch, appeared for the State. Mr D Kuny SC, assisted by Mr C Loxton, appeared for Miss Passtoors.

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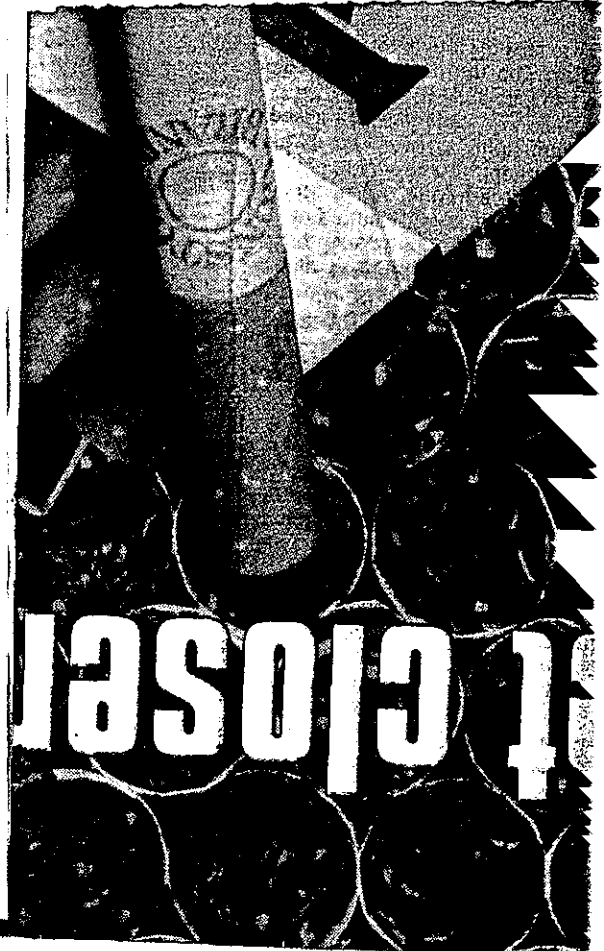
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ARGUS 25/7/86

# Necklace death 'not ordered' by by Alex 'court'

JOHANNESBURG. — Alexandra residents have denied that sentences of death by "necklace" have been passed by a "people's court" in the township.

In the latest upheaval in Alexandra on Tuesday night the "court" was the first to be attacked by a group of men whom residents claim were policemen parading as members of activist organisations.

Residents said the "court" dealt with domestic affairs.

The chairman of the local civic association, Mr Mike Beea said the "court" was formed after February's six days of violence to assist the deceased, people missing their next-of-kin and other matters related to the people of Alexandra.

He denied allegations that the "court" was established for sinister purposes.

## Set alight

In Alexandra violence this week at least seven cars, three of them almost new, were set alight and destroyed by the men when they were found parked outside the "court", which was in session.

Residents said the "people's court" function was to solve family disputes amicably "and nobody was ever sentenced to death by necklace (a burning tyre)."

Replying to allegations that the "court" was where "Young Comrades" planned attacks on "collaborators of the system" and self-made judges sentenced people to death with a necklace, a resident said:

"A popular belief, deeply rooted in our society is that some problems in our townships are beyond the white man's law. Only the people's court, guided by senior citizens, were competent to sit in judgement."

# 'ANC recruiting more whites'

**HOUSE OF DELEGATES** — The African National Congress had stepped up its recruitment campaign among whites — and especially among “draft dodgers” — in South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said in the

House yesterday.

Replying to the debate on his Vote in the Budget, Mr le Grange said South Africa was experiencing a revolutionary onslaught on a multi-dimensional front.

The South African Communist Party, the ANC and the Pan Afri-

canist Congress aimed at advancing a revolution by exploiting situations. Their goal was an increase in the military struggle.

Mr le Grange said the organisations were recruiting over a “wide section” of the community. Most of the re-

cruits were students who had left the country, criminals and revolutionaries.

“The ANC has increased its recruitment campaign among whites, where draft dodgers are the prime targets,” he said.

Training of ANC recruits internally had increased since the signing of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique.

A small number of ANC members were training others “in isolated places” in South Africa.

Describing police successes against the ANC and the PAC, Mr le Grange said police had captured two PAC members on the East Rand on April 7 and five in Johannesburg two days later.

One of the men arrested was the second in command of the Azanian People's Army who had been sought in connection with a murder in the Eastern Cape.

In an incident near Maritzburg on Monday, police had shot dead one



**Mr LOUIS le Grange ... praised Mr Rajbansi.**

man and seriously wounded another when they fled after being apprehended.

In their car police found six limpet mines, mechanical detonators, fuses, ammunition and

other equipment.

Mr le Grange praised the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, for “coming out strongly in support of law and order”. — Sapa.



The Rev Sam Buti has declined to elaborate on his secret talks with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town's Polsmoor prison.

## Buti mum on Mandela meeting

Alexandra's former mayor the Rev Sam Buti has confirmed that he recently held secret talks with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Buti refused to elaborate on the meeting or to comment on speculation that he is to travel to Lusaka for talks with the ANC.

"I did meet with him, but what transpired there is something that I cannot disclose at all," Mr

Buti told *The Star*.

A report in *The New Nation* yesterday said a secret consultation between Mandela and Mr Buti in Cape Town's Polsmoor Prison led to his resignation from the Alexandra council this week.

His resignation, along with those of three town council colleagues, resulted in a collapse of the Alexandra council.

SPAR 26/4/86

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**Azasm****congress**

Staff Reporter

THE Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) will hold its regional congress tomorrow at the Kismet Cinema in Athlone.

The president of the Azanian Peoples' Organization and convener of the National Forum, Mr Saths Cooper, will address issues pertaining to May Day and the 10th anniversary of the 1976 uprisings.

The meeting will also focus on the education crisis which has seen co-operative action between the United Democratic Front and black consciousness groupings such as Azapo and Azasm.



# Student leader dies in hospital

Cape Times 26/4/86 (11A) (120) (176)  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A KwaMashu student leader, Mr Dumisani Ximba, died in hospital this week after being abducted by armed men who took him to an Inanda settlement where he was brutally assaulted, his father said yesterday.

Mr Vusi Dlamini said he narrowly escaped death when he, Dumisani and a number of pupils were attacked by spear-wielding men.

Mr Dlamini, whose

house was petrol-bombed yesterday, said they were returning from a SRC meeting at the VM School when the group of men attacked them.

"They were wearing yellow T-shirts with 'Amatigulu Youth Camp' written on them. They just went for us without saying a word. It was unbelievable," he said.

"Most of my colleagues managed to escape but I fell down and a man started hitting me in the

face with a knobkerie. I got up somehow and ran towards the railway station with two spear-wielding men chasing me."

He said he was saved by a railway policeman who drew his gun.

"I was taken to King Edward VIII Hospital where I was treated and discharged."

The father of the dead student, Mr Walter Ximba, said his son was beaten semi-conscious. He was found by relatives while trying to crawl home.

Mr Ximba said his son, who could not speak properly, kept on mumbling 'amabutho' (warriors) and saying he was taken to Inanda where he was beaten.

A spokesman for police in Durban was unable to confirm the incident yesterday, but said he could not deny it if the family had confirmed the death.

State witness

could not  
26/4/84  
have seen

Passtoors

Miss Helene Passtoors — on trial in the Rand Supreme Court for treason — was not in a foreign country at the time a former member of the African National Congress allegedly saw her there, it was claimed yesterday.

This was said by Mr D Kuny SC, appearing for Miss Passtoors, during cross-examination of a State witness, Mr Z.

Mr Z is protected from identification by a court order.

Asked by Mr Kuny whether he was sure he had seen Miss Passtoors with Mr Klaas de Jonge, Mr Z replied he had no doubt he had seen her.

Mr Kuny said Miss Passtoors had not been in the particular country at the time he was supposed to have seen her.

Earlier this week Mr Z told the court he had seen Miss Passtoors and her former husband Mr de Jonge — who had used different names — while he was still a member of the ANC.

The doors of the court were later opened to the public.

#### ITEMS TAKEN

Items taken by the police from Miss Passtoors's house after her arrest last year were identified by the investigating officer, Warrant Officer N J Deetlefs.

He said a Belgian passport used by Miss Passtoors had no corresponding entry and exit stamps from another country although there was a Swaziland exit stamp and later an entry stamp.

The hearing continues on Monday.

● Mr Justice T T Spoelstra is on the Bench. Mr K von Lieres SC, assisted by Mr G Gertsch, appeared for the State. Mr D Kuny SC, assisted by Mr C Loxton, appeared for Miss Passtoors.

# sunrise news

## Pilot describes flight over troubled townships *SPAR*

# I saw the world explode, major tells treason trial

By Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

A pilot who flew reconnaissance flights over the troubled Vaal Triangle townships on September 3 1984 described to the Delmas treason trial yesterday how he saw "the world explode" at about 8 am.

Major Johannes Adriaan Krause, of Sasolburg, testified he was called out on the morning of September 3 and immediately took off in a light aircraft.

He flew reconnaissance flights over the five townships until about 8.40 am. During that time he noticed many people were in the streets. He said several were throwing stones at houses and vehicles, including police vehicles.

As he flew from Boipatong to Evaton he gradually noticed the crowds increase in size until some in Sharpeville numbered between 500 to 600.

Major Krause said he reached Sharpeville at about 7.40 am and saw several burnt-out vehicles in the streets. In Sebokeng he saw two houses burning.

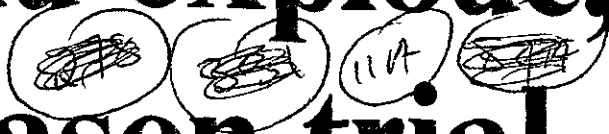
At about 8 am the unrest exploded, he said. This was indicated by the increased activity of the radio he was using to report back his observations to security forces on the ground. He also noticed large crowds moving through the streets towards the administration offices. He said it was then that everything blew up.

All 22 accused have pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

During cross-examination he said he had taken photographs during the flights and admitted none of those taken between 7 am and 8.30 am showed big crowds or any violence.

In reply to a question from Mr George Bizos (SC), for the defence, Major Krause said he was not confusing the days when he had told the court the administration building in Boipatong had been burnt down prior to his first flight on Monday September 3. Mr Bizos put it to him the building was set alight only after 10.30 am.

The trial continues on Monday.



# Monroe look-alike competition cancelled

CPM Political Staff 7/10/83 26/4/84

CHECKERS has cancelled its Marilyn-Monroe look-alike competition following criticism by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, that the competition was "discriminatory".

In a statement Mr Hendrickse said the competition discriminated in favour of whites.

The supermarket chain relied more on black than white patronage and at a time like this companies should not be alienating people, he said.

The managing director of Checkers, Mr Clive Weil, said yesterday that the competition was cancelled because it had become a "political issue".

His company regretted that a "fun competition" which followed other successful other look-alike competitions had become "politicized".

This had happened, he added, despite the fact that there was no stipulation as to age, colour or sex.

Mr Weil said he wished to apologize to those who had already entered and said they would be compensated for their time, money and energy spent.

Commenting on Mr Weil's statement, Mr Hendrickse said that he wished to congratulate Checkers on their decision which showed that they were sensitive to what was happening around them and took cognizance of it.

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STARTS SUNDAY 27 APRIL

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# SA IS ON NEW path — Pik

April 1986

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11A

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

(P)

**CAPE TOWN** — There were very high hope and very good reason to believe that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) could play a meaningful role to promote dialogue and bring the violence in South Africa to an end, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said on television last night.

He was being interviewed on the programme Network.

Mr Botha said the Government had received a report from the EPG and had responded. It was now awaiting further clarification and reaction from the EPG.

"I personally believe that this group can play a useful role. It is delicate for us to say anything in public because then we break an agreement with them not to publicise our discussions.

"But there is very high hope and very good reason to believe that this group can play a useful role and promote dialogue and help end the violence," Mr Botha said.

"If this will happen I cannot say. But nothing has happened which has cancelled the useful role of this group."

Mr Botha said the EPG consisted of people who had held leading positions in their time and they would not want to ruin their reputations over what they were trying to do.

They had a realistic and objective approach and they put South Africa in the African context, unlike the Europeans and "do-gooders" in America, he said.

## STINGING ATTACK ON PRESIDENT

Mr Botha also delivered a stinging attack on President Kenneth Kaunda during the programme, accusing him of being influenced by the ANC and a "bunch of communists" into not giving South Africa credit for its recent reforms.

He said if the South African delegation in Swaziland for the coronation of King Mswati III had approached Mr Kaunda for discussions he (Mr Kaunda) would have refused, then he would have leaked the approach to the Press.

Instead, President Kaunda had announced there had been no attempt to speak to him, Mr Botha said.

"But he cannot bluff us. This country is on a new path and a better South Africa is coming for all.

"We have a great interest in good relations. We will continue to help ... but we are not interested in being shouted at morning and night by an African leader who knows better," said Mr Botha.

He said South Africa had met the requirements that any reasonable African leader could expect.

"I am sorry to say the ANC headquarters sits in Lusaka and stuffs Dr Kaunda full of rubbish.

"In the four or five times that I saw him over the last two years I told him what we were planning and he was satisfied.

Mr Botha also revealed he and President Botha had asked President Reagan's daughter, Maureen, who was also present at the ceremonies in Swaziland, to convey what she had seen and heard to her father.

"We told her to say how those hated white racists were received in black Africa.

"We have invited her to visit South Africa for two weeks," he said.

# How they bury kings

By STAN MZIMBA

CHIEF Sabata Dalindyebo's burial at Bumbane Great Place outside Umtata was like something out of Thomas Pringle's *The Burial of Sir John Moore*.

As it goes: "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note, as his corpse to the rampant was hurried. Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot over the grave where the king was buried."

As some cynics said: "They buried a king as if he were a dog."

According to the official announcement, the service was scheduled for 9am. But it only got going at 10.25am, and those wearing watches grew tired of gazing at their wrists.

Nobody actually knew what was happening until ex-president Kaizer Matanzima stepped onto the ros-



The grieving Sabata family on Sunday, before the funeral.

trum, donned his winter jacket and marched towards Umtata - with a contingent of security cops at his heel.

Some 30 minutes later, he returned and took his seat.

Not far behind was a white bakkie without a canopy, with a steel coffin in the back - wet from the drizzling rain - carrying Chief Sabata's body.

There were only three speakers - Matanzima, Chief Ngangomhlaba and Rev Don Dabula, who conducted the service.

Matanzima spoke very briefly of Chief Sabata's life - not ignoring the fact that the chief had not passed his junior certificate at school.

No mention was made of how the man they called "the people's leader" was

he made a paramount chief, nor what happened to Chief Sabata before he went into exile in Zambia.

No mention was made of his participation in the opposition Democratic Progressive Party.

The first leader of the party, Knowledge Guzana, was not at the funeral, nor was the present leader, Caledon Mda.

Nor was the family there - but then they were still trying to stop Matanzima burying their leader.

There was a lot of murmuring about the burial from a group of tribesmen, who said "Comrade King" was being buried at the wrong place.

They said the chief was buried next to his mother's grave - but according to tradition, he ought to have been buried next to his father's grave.

# The bus stops here

SCORES of buses carrying mourners from all over South Africa were turned back at the Transkei border post - but white motorists were waved through with a smile.

Roadblocks were mounted on all roads leading to the territory, by South African police assisted by small army units.

Heavy police roadblocks were also set up inside the Transkei. Even Transkei residents driving cars with SA number plates were refused entry into Transkei.

Butterworth businessman M Malotana - driving a hired car with Transvaal plates - was turned back at the Kei Bridge border post despite producing his Transkei passport.

*Imvo* journalist Bafu Mkefa and photographer Pat Zwane were detained at a roadblock and taken to Tsomo police station.

In Cala, cops stopped people leaving the area after 4pm.



Western Cape Men's Hostel Association organizer Mr Johnson Mpukumpa addresses the meeting in Langa yesterday.

Cape Times 28/4/88

## Role of women recognized

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape Men's Hostel Association is soon to become the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association in acknowledgement of the role of women.

At a meeting yesterday in the St Francis Cultural Centre in Langa, held to launch a people's advice office, organizer Mr Johnson Mpukumpa drew laughter and shouts of "Viva" when he said: "We realize we have discriminated against women. If we aim at uniting families, we must involve women in the effort."

Mr Mpukumpa said the new ad-

vice office — "a small house with a red roof" at St Cyprian's Anglican Church in Langa — was to help all workers solve problems, "whether they live in hostels or makeshift shacks".

He said the Hostel Association had been formed because workers were oppressed not only on the factory floor but also where they lived.

Appealing to workers to join whatever union was operative at their place of work, Mr Mpukumpa said everyone should belong to an organization.

But these organizations should

come under "some kind of umbrella or parent organization" because "it is important that there should be discipline in the way people are organized".

Guest speaker Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, in apparent protest at the inability of various whites present to understand Xhosa, chose not to speak in concert with an interpreter.

Emphasizing that the success of the advice office depended on the members of the Hostel Association, he urged people to recognize that the office was "yours".

Argus 2/19/86 2:15 PM

## Inkatha, Cosatu men's homes petrol-bombed

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A man was burned to death and two homes were petrol-bombed in renewed violence in townships outside Durban at the weekend.

Police are investigating the death of an unidentified man who was set alight at F section in Kwamashu yesterday.

Motor cars and a filling station were also set alight on Saturday by youths returning from the funeral of a Kwamashu student leader, Dumisani Kimba, who was abducted and killed last week.

In Umlazi yesterday the homes of a Kwazulu Legislative Assembly member Mr Winnington Sabelo and the Natal regional secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Thami Mohlomi, were petrol-bombed.



CRC Times 28/4/86  
119

# Violence follows funeral

Own Correspondent  
DURBAN.— Houses and cars were petrol-bombed at the weekend after the KwaMashu funeral of student leader Dumisani Ximba.

Several houses, a garage and three cars were set alight, causing damage estimated at R50 000.

Traffic was disrupted as youths marched through the streets with banners, one depicting a hammer and sickle.

Soon after the funeral, youths attacked several

houses and cars. A garage belonging to a former KwaZulu MP, Mr Gobizizwe Bhengu, and a house owned by the local councillor, Mr B W Jwara, were among targets of the attacks.

Mr Ximba, a student leader and pupil at Mzuzvele High School, was last week abducted and brutally assaulted by a band of armed people. He died in hospital the next day.

● The Umlazi home of a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assem-

bly and an Inkatha official, Mr Wimmington Sabelo, was extensively damaged by petrol bombs in an attack by a group of youths early yesterday.

Mr Sabelo last night said the attackers were "trying to get rid of me" before May 1, the date of the launch of the new Inkatha-backed union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said he could not confirm the incident.

207 E 7th St, 4/16  
**Hendrickse**  
**divested**

LABOUR Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has had his accreditation as a minister of the Dale Street church of the United Congregational Church in Uitenhage withdrawn.

And, with many people angry at the decision, it is understood that a substantial number of people are planning to persuade Mr Hendrickse to establish a new congregation.

The decision, taken by 445 votes to 382, follows the decision of the Assembly of the UCC to end his accreditation when he failed to obey a December 31 ultimatum to withdraw from the tricameral Parliament.

While this decision halted his right to minister in other churches, it was left to the Dale Street congregation to decide whether to end his 25-year ministry at the church.

**BISHOP Desmond Tutu**  
says almost every credible  
organisation and black leader  
supports his call for  
sanctions.

He makes the claim in a video-recorded interview made by Anglican church worker Mr Mike Thornton.

Mr Thornton, a fund-raiser for church development in Cape Town and co-ordinator of the provincial stewardship committee, made the video at his own expense before Bishop Tutu's election as Archbishop of Cape Town.

He said he made the video to counter the image of Bishop Tutu projected in some media and to introduce people to "the real man, a warm and deeply religious person".

### Mandate

Questioned in the interview about his call for sanctions and doubts voiced by his critics whether he had a mandate from the black community, Bishop Tutu said he had never claimed to speak for anyone.

"I say the things I say because of who I am. My ultimate mandate is from Jesus Christ."

Almost every credible organisation and leaders representing blacks "except the predictable ones" had supported his call.

He said: "Show me one (who has not) and I will sit up and take notice, but don't give me stooges."

### Ill-served

Bishop Tutu said that by and large the South African media had served whites ill by helping them hold on to certain views and not helping them accept the inevitable.

"There is no way a small group of whites are going to rule the roost forever. Even some of the best English newspapers have helped to depict me as an ogre, one who most white people love to hate.

"The black community is quite determined, especially the young, that they are going to be free. That goal is going to be attained. We would much rather do it with the whites."

● Copies of the hour-long video are on sale to congregations or individuals at R56,40.

By KAREN STANDER  
Religion Reporter

# Black leaders back my sanctions call: Tutu

Meals 28/4/86

11/11

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

# Arrest while reporting to police station

CAPT 710 TS 28/4/86  
Staff Reporter

A MEMBER of the Western Cape Civic Association, Mr Kholisile Ntondini, was arrested on a murder charge by police when he reported to the Guguletu police station at the weekend.

And last week his wife said their home was "attacked" by four men in the early hours of the morning.

Mrs Gladys Ntondini said she believed the four men who "kicked and banged" on the doors and windows of her home at 2.30am on Thursday were "witdoeke".

She said the police had told her they wanted to see her husband at the police station.

On Friday Mr Ntondini went there with Mr Jan Van Eck, of the Progressive Federal Party's Repression Monitoring Committee, as he was afraid he would be detained, Mrs Ntondini said.

Mr Van Eck last week said he had accompanied Mr Ntondini because "in previous cases when people were asked to go to the police station they have been detained".

## Broken window panes

On their arrival, he said, police said Mr Ntondini was being arrested as he was a suspect in a murder case.

On Thursday night Mrs Ntondini showed the Cape Times cracked and broken window panes and a pole, which she said had been used to bang on the doors.

She said she recognized the voice as that of a man who, she said, was working with Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, the Old Crossroads "leader". Residents say Mr Ngxobongwana has not been seen since seven "witdoeke" were killed in a raid on New Crossroads last month.

Residents said they were afraid of renewed conflict between the "witdoeke" vigilantes and members of progressive organizations.

Mr Ntondini was one of the seven men elected by the community to "make peace" between the "comrades" and the New Crossroads committee collecting "bail funds" from the community.

● Sapa reports that a police spokesman in Pretoria said that if Mrs Ntondini was satisfied that the police had neglected their duty, she could make an affidavit and take it to her local police station or any other for investigation, or send it directly to police headquarters in Pretoria for investigation.

①  
②  
NA  
④

# Minister refuses to give answers

Cape Times 28/4/86

By BARRY STREEK

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday refused further questions in Parliament about the shooting of seven alleged ANC guerillas in Guguletu last month.

Mr Le Grange told Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point) that as each of the seven people shot and killed by the police in Guguletu on March 3 would be the subject of an inquest in the near future, "I am not prepared to be subjected to cross-examination on this matter in this House".

In his questions, Mr Van der Merwe asked whether any of the people who escaped capture in Guguletu had since been captured and whether their identities had been established.

He asked whether the inquests had taken place and if this was the case he wanted to know the nature of the head wounds sustained by the seven people.

He also asked when the seven became members of the ANC, to which formations they belonged, where and when they were trained both inside and outside South Africa, whether any action had been taken against the training centres in South Africa, and whether any information or allegations had been received that any of the seven people had been involved in previous attacks on the police.



Cape Town's specialist running doctor, Dr Tim Godfrey Mocke (left), a long-distance swimmer of triathlons and will compete in the tough marathon which is contested over a 3,2km surf swim.

of plot...  
Cape Times

Cape Times

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## 'Join our struggle' Boesak urges Jews

### Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak told a Jews for Justice meeting that he welcomed the Jewish community in the struggle for the liberation of "oppressed black people".

The United Democratic Front patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches was guest speaker last night at a meeting in Gardens to commemorate Passover, the Jewish festival of freedom.

About 300 people attended.

### NEW DAWN

Dr Boesak urged the Jewish community to join black people and work together for a "new dawn" for all.

"Please join us in the struggle for liberation," he said.

He said all South Africans had the right to call their land "home", therefore he did not speak only for black people.

He said the words of Moses to Pharaoh, "let my people go", had become a rallying point for freedom-loving peoples all over the world.

### TAKEN INITIATIVE

Rabbi Selwyn Franklin of the Green and Sea Point congregations said that since the same time last year the youth of South Africa had taken the initiative to improve their education.

All freedom-loving people could no longer condone the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and South African Jews had come to realise that the suffering of their people was indivisible from the suffering of all other people.

# 'Mandela will release SA from bondage'

29/4/86 SAPP

WA

BULAWAYO — The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Sir Shridath Ramphal, has made an impassioned plea for the release of Nelson Mandela, naming him as the one man who could inaugurate a free, non-racial South Africa.

Opening the 1986 Zimbabwe Trade Fair yesterday, Sir Shridath said Mandela was "the spirit which can release the entire country from bondage".

Commenting on the South African Government's stipulation that Mandela must renounce violence before he can be released from Pollsmoor prison outside Cape Town, Sir Shridath said violence "has its headquarters in apartheid, the very system of violence masquerading as legality".

He hoped the Commonwealth nations could help end the "reign of terror" in South Africa through the initiatives of the Eminent Persons Group which had won the respect of all sides.

He welcomed the fact that the group, established after last year's Nassau summit of Commonwealth leaders, had been taken seriously.

Calling for more pressure from Europe and North America on the Government, Sir Shridath made repeated reference to the influence of "westerly winds" in ending apartheid.

Sir Shridath said the ending of apartheid would be the greatest contribution to economic development in Southern Africa.

South African "destabilisation" imposed a burden on all South Africa's neighbours which could reach R4,8 billion a year. — Sapa.

# Terror man arrested after 20 year hunt

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said recent police successes against the Pan Africanist Congress included the arrest of two alleged terrorists on the East Rand on April 7 and a further five in Bophuthatswana two days later.

"One of the five terrorists is Enoch Zulu, who was second in command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and who had been sought since 1962 for his alleged involvement in the Bashee Bridge murders in the Eastern Cape," Mr le Grange said.

He said that since the signing of the Nkomati Accord there had been an escalation in the number of ANC members receiving military training inside South Africa.

"From March 1 last year to April 22 this year, 34 internally trained ANC terrorists were arrested and seven killed.

"These include two of the seven terrorists who were killed on March 3 in Guguletu. The other five who were involved in the Guguletu incident were trained in Lesotho and Botswana," he said.

Weaponry seized included six AK-47 rifles, 1 000 rounds of AK-47 ammunition and 35 Czechoslovakian handgrenades.

● See Page 4.



# PW takes a softer line on the ANC

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN— An important thread running through this year's debate on the Budget vote of the State President in all three Houses of Parliament was an apparent public softening of the Government towards the African National Congress.

Apart from the suspension of the pass laws, this was probably the most significant development in the five-day debate.

President Botha appeared to be appealing directly to the moderates in the ANC to take up his offer to renounce violence and come and join him and the country's other leaders round a conference table.

In the Assembly he said it was clear to him there were confirmed nationalists within the ANC who were not aware they were being manipulated by "hardened communists".

In the House of Delegates a few days later he said no responsible government could unconditionally release people who were publicly committed to the violent overthrow of the Government.

It was not unreasonable to expect of people who desired to rejoin the South African community to renounce violence, he said.

## Come back

Nationalists within the ANC ought to break away from the "communist" faction and return to South Africa to take part in negotiation, he said.

If they came forward to take part in constitutional development and renounce violence, they could come back tomorrow, he said.

In the House of Representatives yesterday Mr Botha said 63 percent of the elected members of the ANC were also members of the Communist Party.

"It is high time for those who do not believe in communism and who do not support the principles of communism to step out and come back to South Africa and take part in the constitutional action," Mr Botha said.

While the ANC under the control of the Communist Party openly advocated violence, no-one could expect him to deal with them, he said.

There is an important link between these sentiments and another subject touched upon by Mr Botha in the overall debate — his dealings with the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group.

## Positive interest

Speaking in the House of Delegates last Wednesday, Mr Botha spoke appreciatively of the group and its mission to promote dialogue in South Africa.

In the House of Representatives yesterday he said he was prepared to listen to any people from other countries who had proved they had a positive interest in the country.

However, the country was not prepared to be prescribed to.

The group has been mandated by the Commonwealth to explore the possibilities of dialogue in South Africa primarily by getting the Government to end the state of emergency, release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and unban the ANC.

To this end it has held a series of very low-profile talks with Government officials, including President Botha.

On Wednesday Mr Botha said discussions with the group had reached a delicate stage and it was not in South Africa's interest to make any further comment.

Mr Botha's repeated appeals to the nationalist wing of the ANC to renounce violence and return to South Africa for negotiations should be seen in this light, as should his continued insistence that he will not deal with any people or an organisation which continues to subscribe to violence.

## Argument today in Passtoors trial

The defence team in the Rand Supreme Court trial of Miss Helene Passtoors closed its case yesterday without leading any evidence.

Miss Passtoors has pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice T T Spoelstra to charges of treason and terrorism.

The State closed its case earlier yesterday.

The hearing continues today when argument will begin.

21/11

# Tutu at Delmas treason trial

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11A  
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Staff Reporter

**DELMAS** — Anglican Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu yesterday took a break from his punishing schedule to spend some time at the Delmas treason trial.

The 22 accused were delighted to see the bishop in the public gallery and during the tea adjournment, the court was buzzing as everyone caught up with the latest news on his appointment.

Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst refused an application by the State for the case to be adjourned to May 1 for witnesses still to be consulted.

Several State witnesses yesterday described events around September 3 1984.

Mrs Nomakhosanza Mgcina, wife of a community councillor, Mr John Mgcina, said that while her husband was at a meeting on August 29 1984, she heard a crowd of people approach her house in Boipalong. They were singing political songs and she and her children fled from her home. They hid behind a neighbour's chicken coop. She saw the crowd break the windows of her home and tear down the curtains.

## STONES

Mr Michael Buti Sekobane, the brother of a councillor, described looking after his brother's family at their Sharpeville home on September 3 when he was woken at about 7 am by people throwing stones at the house.

He phoned the police twice before they arrived.

Mrs Gertrude Nkhiwani, wife of community councillor Mr Michael Nkhiwani, also told of the attack by youths on her home in Zone 7, Sebokeng. She said she fled with her children on September 3 when she saw the crowd approach. From her refuge in a neighbour's home she watched as they set her house alight.

All 22 men have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of conspiring to overthrow the State and alternative charges of murder, subversion and terrorism.

The hearing continues.

# EPG to discuss 'honest broker' in SA reports

29/11/85  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group will discuss reports tomorrow that it might be called on to mediate between South Africa's white and black nationalists.

But a spokesman for the Commonwealth Secretariat would not speculate on whether approaches had already been made to the EPG by Pretoria as hinted in South Africa.

"The EPG has decided to maintain its low-profile approach to the whole matter of negotiations and will not be making a statement either before or after tomorrow's meeting," the spokesman said.

But the Commonwealth Secretariat is hopeful that the South African reports indicate Pretoria has accepted some of the EPG's offers, notably to act as intermediaries until proper dialogue can be arranged.

"The EPG made a number of proposals to the South African Government, and these reports from inside the country might indicate that the Government is looking on some of these proposals with interest," the spokesman added.

Nevertheless, the EPG still has to decide whether to advise the seven-nation Commonwealth committee to apply economic sanctions.

These were to have been brought into effect if the South African Government refused to make a number of specific moves committing itself to the renunciation of apartheid. Of these, so far, only the State of Emergency has been lifted.

Another key decision is expected to be whether to return to South Africa next month for a second, extended, fact-finding visit.

# Ucasa to ask for R500m for townships

**Own Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasa) is to appeal to overseas donors for a loan of R500 million for the upgrading of facilities in black townships.

At its two-day annual conference in Bloemfontein at the weekend, Ucasa was given a mandate to raise this money to build houses, provide essential services and improve the infrastructure of the smaller and poorer black communities.

Ucasa president Mr Steve Kgame said the association would approach the government to act as a guarantee for the money to be borrowed overseas.

## Electrification

The government did this in 1980 when R206 million was raised in Germany for the electrification of Greater Soweto and R150 million locally from a consortium of banks for the upgrading of services in the township, he said.

Mr Kgame said appalling conditions face black residents in townships such as Devon, Hendrina, Bekkerdal and Delmas, where residents have no water-borne sewerage and are forced to collect water from a communal tap.

He said that not one of the 37 local councils in the country was financially viable, with areas

such as Soweto facing an enormous deficit of R10 million, Diepmeadow R7 million and Dobsonville R2 million.

He criticized the government for pumping money into the homelands instead of providing money to the debt-ridden councils.

## Responsibility

"We would like to make the government aware that it should not shift its responsibility on to the black residents," he said.

Councils could not raise extra money by increasing rent as residents could not afford to pay, he said.

At the conference, attended by 300 accredited delegates, Ucasa called for the release of the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, as well as of all political detainees.

The press was criticized for negative reports about the collapse of black local authorities in SA.

These reports have criticized the councils as lacking the support of the people.

However, Mr Kgame said only five of the 42 local authorities had collapsed, three in the Eastern Cape and two in the Transvaal — Bela Bela at Warmbaths and recently the council in strife-torn Alexandra.

Of the 192 community councils throughout the country, only 38 had collapsed, he added.

# ANC stepping up drive to recruit whites — Le Grange



President Botha ... invite "when necessary".

PARLIAMENT — The African National Congress has stepped up its recruitment campaign among whites — and especially among "draft dodgers" Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on his vote in the budget, Mr Le Grange said South Africa was experiencing a revolutionary onslaught on a multi-dimensional front.

## PW repeats offer to ANC wing against communism

PARLIAMENT — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday repeated his statement that ANC members who did not believe in communism should "come back to South Africa and take part in constitutional action".

However, he could not be expected to deal with the African National Congress while they were controlled by the Communist Party and openly advocated violence, he said in his reply to the debate on his Budget vote.

Mr Botha said he found it "worrying" that 63 percent of the ANC's national executive elected last year were members of the Communist Party.

"I have said it is high time that those who do not believe in communism should step out and come back to South Africa and take part in constitutional action.

"But you can't expect from me, while the ANC is under the control of the Communist Party and still openly advocates violence, to deal with them."

Referring to the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, Mr Botha said he had "dealt with his position very carefully in the past".

"He is keeping himself in jail. The moment he renounces violence, he will be set free." — Sapa.

The South African Communist Party, the ANC and the Pan African Congress aimed at advancing a revolution by exploiting situations. Their goal was to increase the military struggle.

Mr Le Grange said the organisations were recruiting over a "wide section" of the community. Most of the recruits were students who had left the country, criminals and revolutionaries.

"The ANC has increased its recruitment campaign among whites, where draft dodgers are the prime targets," he said.

Training of ANC recruits internally had increased since the signing of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique.

A small number of ANC members were training others "in isolated places" in South Africa.

Describing police successes against the ANC and the PAC, Mr Le Grange said police had captured two PAC members on the East Rand on April 7 and five in Bophuthatswana two days later.

One of the men arrested was the second in command of the Azanian People's Army who had been sought in connection with a murder in the Eastern Cape.

In an incident near Maritzburg on Sunday, police shot dead one man and seriously wounded another when they fled after being apprehended.

Police had found six limpet mines, mechanical detonators, fuses, ammunition and other equipment in their car.

Mr Le Grange praised the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, for "coming out strongly in support of law and order." — Sapa.

## PW's statutory council may be introduced soon

PARLIAMENT — State President Mr P W Botha has told Parliament he hopes to introduce an enabling Act to bring about the National Statutory Council "shortly."

Mr Botha said he envisaged the country's "most prominent leaders" — including members of the Government and the ministers councils — serving on it.

Mr Botha was replying to the debate on his vote in the House of Representatives.

The council would enable people to "speak with each other, to deal with the question of minorities and to make provision for the future of the country." — Political Staff.

## 'PFP is building bridges in our divided society'

PARLIAMENT — The PFP was trying to promote contact between the different groups in the country's divided society, Mr Mike Tarr (PFP Maritzburg South), said yesterday.

Speaking in committee on the own affairs Budget vote, Mr Tarr said there should be a building of bridges, not walls.

He said: "As part of this process it is important we go out and listen to what blacks are saying and doing. It is for this reason we attend, among other functions, funeral services and black political rallies.

"Our presence at these functions does not necessarily signify support for one side or another, but we regard it as our duty to the electorate to see and hear what is going on.

"It is the duty of every MP to find out what is going on outside Parliament." — Sapa.

# PAC blasts Le Grange's new powers

**SOWETAN** Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress of Azania yesterday condemned the South African Government's intention "to intensify the state of emergency" by giving sweeping powers to the army and police to contain the "so-called black-on-black violence".

In a statement released by the PAC's chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, the organisation said when the Government announced the lifting of the state of emergency a short while ago, the PAC dismissed it as a public relations exercise to lure international bankers.

In 1960, PAC founder president Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe warned that South Africa will know no peace until the advent of African majority rule. That warning is being repeated by the PAC to the white "oppressors" and their "imperialist" supporters.

## **Repressive**

"The state of emergency imposed in 1960 after the PAC campaign for the abolition of the pass laws was never lifted. The essence of that first emergency was continued under such repressive legislation as the sabotage and terrorism acts," the statement added.

The PAC restated its call to the international community to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa and to give moral and material support to the

"Azanian masses". Only this kind of support will quickly bring to an end the repression in the country. Apartheid cannot be reformed or accommodated, it must be completely eradicated, the PAC said.

- The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said recent police successes against the Pan Africanist Congress included the arrest of two alleged guerillas on the East Rand on April 7 and a further five in Bophuthatswana two days later. "One of the five terrorists is Enoch Zulu, who was second in command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and who had been sought since 1962 for his alleged involvement in the Bashee Bridge murders in the Eastern Cape," Mr le Grange said.

CAPE TIMES 30/4/80

# May Day tensions

Own Correspondent

Violent incidents:

DURBAN. — The May Day celebrations of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the launch of the Inkatha-initiated United Workers' Union of South Africa tomorrow have been marred by attacks on the homes of officials of both organizations.

● The home of Cosatu's regional vice-chairman, Mr Jeffrey Vilane, was set alight and shot at in Empangeni.

● The KwaMashu home of Cosatu's regional secretary, Mr Thami Mohlomi, was petrol-bombed and shot at.

● The Umlazi home of the KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, was badly burned.

The attacks have aroused fears among some black leaders that feelings might run high at the gatherings.

Mr Sabelo has been quoted as saying that his attackers were trying to get rid of him before the launch of the Inkatha-backed union.

Tension has been heightened by claims in press statements and pamphlets which have flooded the townships.

Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, this week claimed that there was a deliberate move against his organization's May Day services and rallies.

The rival organizations have placed press advertisements to woo workers to gatherings.



UDF expects  
funeral crowd

STAT (11A)  
SOLD 186  
The United Democratic Front expects a huge turnout at the funeral of its Northern Transvaal president, Mr Peter Nchabeleng, who died in police custody.

Mr Nchabeleng, who died within hours of being held by the Lebowa police, will be buried on Saturday morning near his home in the North-Eastern Transvaal village of Apel, near Burgersfort.

Colonel P Moloto, deputy police commissioner for Lebowa, said homeland police would meet today to decide whether to take any measures to control the funeral.

Mr Nchabeleng's death, ascribed by police to heart attack, has caused an international outcry.

# Botha's call meaningless, says ANC

30/4/86  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — President Botha's call for non-communist members of the ANC to return to South Africa and negotiate cannot be taken seriously, an ANC spokesman said here yesterday.

"The ANC has certain demands and those are the demands that matter," he said.

"The demands are set out in the Freedom Charter. We are calling for the dismantling of the apartheid system.

"This ploy of Botha's implying he is prepared to entertain negotiations with some members and not other members is meaningless. The position of the ANC is that it is time Botha and his government resigned.

"In our view it is nonsense to talk about negotiations when Nelson Mandela and a whole lot of other persons are in prison and the laws of the country are such that they do not permit any democratic functioning by the people," said the spokesman.

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina, responding to criticisms of the organisation by President Botha, has denied that it is communistic.

"The ANC is not a 'communist' movement as he claims but a wide movement that has always accommodated people from a wide spectrum," he said.

Mr Sebina repeated previous ANC denials that the organisation had training camps in other countries, as claimed by Minister of Law and Order Mr le Grange, and said the ANC was training members inside South Africa.

# ANC claimed <sup>STAR</sup> responsibility for <sup>30/4/86</sup> bomb — editor

The day after the bomb blast at South African Defence Force offices in Johannesburg last year, the African National Congress claimed responsibility for the attack, the editor of the South African Press Association (Sapa), Mr Edwin Linington, told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Linington said he received a telex message from the Reuter news agency concerning the claim by an ANC representative.

A Soweto man, Isaac Thulane Mabaso (24), of Naledi, has been convicted of terrorism for taking part in the limpet mine blast in the SADF offices in the Nedbank building in End Street. Mabaso, who was employed by the SADF at the time, pleaded guilty.

## Liberation war

Mr Linington said according to the report an ANC spokesman claimed a unit of the ANC's military wing, Umkonto We Sizwe, carried out the attack.

He said: "The report said the blast was 'only the beginning and part of a general escalation of the liberation war'."

Mabaso's legal representative, Mr Eric Dane, objected to the admissibility of the report to the court.

He said: "There is no admission Mabaso was a member or an active supporter of the ANC. That he was an accomplice to Caswell, an ANC member,

does not mean he was an active supporter of the ANC".

Speaking on the admissibility of the report the prosecutor, Mr Etienne du Toit, said Reuter and Sapa were acting on behalf of the ANC in distributing the claim.

He said: "The claim itself comes from the ANC. It was disseminated through Sapa and Reuter by the ANC. I say the ANC used Reuter and Sapa to publish its Press release on its behalf because the ANC spokesman went to a Reuter correspondent to make the claim".

Responding, the judge, Mr Justice S W McCreath said: "I have difficulty in accepting a news agency can be said to be publishing or issuing a report on behalf of a particular organisation which claims responsibility for having perpetrated a certain act".

Mr Dane said it "was a ridiculous submission to say Reuter issued the story on behalf of the ANC. This makes newspapers the agents of the ANC for distributing any information in which the ANC makes claims".

The judge adjourned the case to do research on the admissibility of the story.

Earlier, an explosives expert, Lieutenant Charles Zeelie, told the court if he had not taken the wrong route to the building after being alerted to the presence of the bomb, he would have been killed!



Pupils at Beacon Hill Senior Secondary School, Mitchells Plain, take part in a May Day placard demonstration in the schoolgrounds yesterday. They were also addressed by SRC members in a show of support for workers not working on May Day tomorrow

CME Tuis 30/4/86

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Picture: Obed Zilwa

# Passtoors 'made her home here'

By Jenni Tennant

Miss Helene Passtoors was an important cog in the wheel of the African National Congress, the State submitted in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Miss Passtoors (44) has pleaded not guilty to treason and to alternative charges of terrorism. The State and defence closed their cases on Monday.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Mr K von Lieres SC during argument yesterday dealt with the question of whether Miss Passtoors owed allegiance to South Africa.

## PERMANENT RESIDENCE

"Miss Passtoors's decision to obtain residence in Johannesburg was a ruthlessly calculated one.

"She was a PhD student. Behind the scenes she would promote the policy of the ANC," he said.

Miss Passtoors had registered for a doctorate at the University of the Witwatersrand and she had declared her intention to apply for permanent residence.

It was clear she considered Johannesburg as her

base.

"There is little doubt she established her home here and from her writings, she foresaw her residence as being of some considerable length," said Mr von Lieres.

An adverse inference could be drawn from the fact that she chose not to testify, he argued.

Miss Passtoors had possessed knowledge of where numerous arms caches were to be found. She must have had a high security clearance with the ANC or had established the caches herself, the Attorney-General said.

She had pointed out six arms caches to the police after her arrest, containing items such as 35 demolition charges, 62 slabs of TNT, 53 detonators, 75 limpet mines and 11 firearms. Most of the items were of foreign origin.

The hearing continues.

Appearances: Mr Justice T T Spoelstra is on the Bench. Mr von Lieres is assisted by Mr G Gertsch. Mr D Kuny SC, assisted by Mr C Loxton, appears for Miss Passtoors.

# Rajbansi makes political history

Political Staff  
POLITICAL and parliamentary history was made yesterday when Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, became the first black man to address the white House of Assembly.

Both he and the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, have the right as full cabinet

ministers to sit and speak in any of the three chambers of Parliament.

However, while White Ministers regularly address the other two chambers, neither Mr Rajbansi nor Mr Hendrickse have spoken in the Assembly since the tri-cameral system was introduced.

Seasoned political observers have interpreted

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To page 2

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Mr Rajbansi's entry to the debate on measures to remove racial clauses from immigration and residence rights in South Africa as the first step toward fully integrated debates in Parliament.

As the one-time all-white symbol of political power opened its doors to people of colour, Mr Rajbansi and others described it as an "historic" moment.

Members of the Conservative Party and Herstigste Nasionale Party remained in the chamber and interjected while Mr Rajbansi was speaking.

At one stage, Mr Louis Stoffberg, lone member of the HNP, interjected: "Tell us about the Punjab."

While Mr Rajbansi was praising the removal of discriminatory immigration laws, Mr Jan Hoon, chief whip of the CP, pointedly asked in Afrikaans if Mr Rajbansi believed the Group Areas Act was not discriminatory.

He was not phased by the hubbub his appearance caused and when he entered the debate there were several "hear hears" from Nationalist benches. Observers felt yesterday that it would not be much longer before members of the three chambers will be debating matters of general concern together.

However, apart from current constitutional barriers, there are logistical problems as well.

There is no chamber big enough at present to accommodate all the MPs from all three chambers. However, a new debating chamber which is rapidly nearing completion.

CALL TIMES 30/4/80

# Soweto man shot in home

JOHANNESBURG. — An unknown gunman shot dead Mr David Molo Mabebe of Diepkloof, Soweto, on Monday night and wounded his wife and son.

Mr Mabebe (59), a father of five sons, died at Baragwanath Hospital. His wife, Elizabeth, and son, David, were admitted to the hospital.

A relative said yesterday that a man had arrived at the Mabebe home about 6.30pm and asked for one of the Mabebe boys, a high school pupil. "He was told the youth was not at home, then without warning he produced a firearm and fired several shots, wounding all three, before fleeing," the relative said.

The attack came in the wake of a wave of terror that has swept through the township since Sunday, when a gang of about 40 men in balaclavas attacked a group of mourners early on Sunday morning with petrol-bombing.

Several homes were petrol-bombed at the weekend and many students are believed to have fled their homes.

At least six people are believed to have been killed in Sunday's attack, which came at the end of a night vigil by students for an 18-year-old youth shot dead in the township earlier this month.

Hospital authorities said 10 are still in Baragwanath Hospital with serious gunshot and stab wounds. More than 30 others have been treated and discharged.

Several students were reported missing after they were allegedly dragged into waiting vehicles after being injured.

Pupils at Diepkloof high schools stayed away from classes on Monday, many too frightened to leave their homes. — Sapa

BUS DAY 30/4/76 ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ 11A

JOHN BATTERSBY

# EPG set for crucial meeting

LONDON — Members of the Commonwealth's peace mission were arriving here last night for a crucial meeting on the future of its South African dialogue initiative.

The Eminent Persons Group (EPG) — as the mission is known — will meet today and tomorrow to consider P W Botha's response to a peace package presented at the end of a two-week visit last month.

Diplomatic observers believe that the nuts and bolts of a peace package — including the release of Mandela, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and a truce in the ANC's armed struggle — have already been worked out.

Botha is understood to be trying to secure Western guarantees that the ANC would

honour the truce and — if it did not — Pretoria would not forfeit its right to strike at ANC bases.

The group will decide whether to pay a third visit to South Africa and continue its mediation between Pretoria and the ANC leadership in Lusaka or recommend tougher Commonwealth sanctions against SA.

It is understood that the future of the mission is delicately poised after Botha's response, which is clearly pitched to keep the initiative on course.

The group is already drafting its report which will be published in June and is ex-

pected to contain a forthright condemnation of apartheid and an unequivocal demand for Pretoria to sit down with leaders of the ANC — including jailed leader Nelson Mandela.

The report will be delivered to a seven-nation Commonwealth committee made up of Britain's Margaret Thatcher, Australia's Bob Hawke, India's Rajiv Gandhi, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Canada's Brian Mulroney and the Bahamas' Lynden Pindling.

Today's meeting will be attended by Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sonny Ramphal and the seven members of the EPG.