Black Politics — 1987

Nov. — December
ANC's terror chief dodged raids

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

ANC's experienced survivor of many terrorist raids into South Africa, Chris Hani, has taken command of the military wing of the African National Congress.

The former Fort Hare student, now in his 40s, this week stepped in to replace veteran strategist and former Johannesburg lawyer Joe Slovo as chief of staff. Hani is now in charge of day-to-day operations by Umkhonto we Sizwe and responsible only to the ANC's leader, Oliver Tambo, and army commander Joe Modise.

According to sources in Lon-

CHRIS HANI...promoted

Chris Hani has escaped numerous attempts on his life, sometimes only hours before SAPR forces raided houses he was known to frequent.

He was political commissar for the army – in charge of political indoctrination of trainees and the army's political strategy.

As such, he formulated ANC policy on recession executions – saying that while the organisation had not directly ordered the method to be used, it made a potent deterrent for informers and "traitors of the class struggle".

While based in Cape Town, he organised the ANC's Youth League before fleeing the country in 1962.

He trained in Zambia before taking part in a largely unsuccessful operation to establish base camps in the bush, launching cross-border raids into Transvaal and the Cape.

The ANC's reshuffle is seen as a power struggle between the South African Communist Party (SACP) and an anti-Marxist old guard within the organisation.

Hani is no member of the SACP, but is thought to have close sympathies with the party.

Hani's successor as former Eastern Cape teacher and "Robben Island" prisoner Steve Tshwete, 56, who died in Lusaka in 1985.
QUESTION 9

(a) What is the linear search order of the following:

Frank Talk was a pseudonym used by Steve Biko, the father of the BC movement in South Africa, who died in 1977 while in detention.

Azapo's 'frank talking'

Frank Talk was a pseudonym used by Steve Biko, father of the BC movement in South Africa, who died in 1977 while in detention.

(b) What is the search order of the following:

This edition of Frank Talk, put out by an editorial collective with allegiance to the Azanian People's Organisation, contains writings by Biko.

The publication of Frank Talk follows close on the heels of the banning by the Directorate of Publications in South Africa of the journal's sister publication in Johannesburg, Azanian Focus.

(c) Given the following ten keys, suggest a hashing algorithm (which may be as simple as you wish to make it), and, using that algorithm, insert the keys in the table given below (12 positions).

(1) Hashing algorithm

(ii) Insertion:

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The UDF delegation at the congress was, from left, Mr William Thomas, Mr Rauf Kahn, Mr Wilfred Rhodes, Mrs Roshida Omar, Mrs Sabira Jinnah, Mrs Maggie Marks and Mr Joseph Marks.

Traders' association has strong links with community

Staff Reporter

FROM an organisation born out of grocery traders' problems, the Western Cape Traders' Association had grown during the past 10 years into an organisation which embraced all types of business and established strong links with other community organisations.

Speaking at the conference session of the WCTA's 10th annual congress in the Wittebome Civic Centre last night, chairman Mr Sharief Hassan said one of the major achievements of the organisation was the establishment of the WCTA Educational Trust.

The trust had recently been promised a total of R37,500 by two new sponsors.

Politically, the WCTA had established closer links with the community by, for example, becoming affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

Haji Ebrahim Essop Patel, an executive member of the Municipal Market Buyers' Association for fruit and vegetable dealers, called on WCTA members to work more closely with trade unions and other community organisations.

"Don't exploit. Never become so inhumane that you become profit-motivated only," Mr Patel said.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Mr Faried Saved, editor of the weekly Muslim Views, said the WCTA had raised the political consciousness of its members and had to realise it was "part of the broader mass of people with a responsibility in the struggle for liberation".

Advocate Mr Dulla Omar, chairman of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape, said that the WCTA had "through participation in action heralded in a new era of co-operation between black traders and the oppressed workers".

During the second session of the congress, the following office-bearers were elected:

Mr Sharief Hassan (chairman); Mr Abdul-Kader Hormoony (vice-chairman); Mr Kassiem Allie (secretary); Mr Yusuf Phahad (assistant secretary); Mr Hamza Essack (treasurer); Mr Siva Moodley (assistant treasurer); Mr Kazi Abdullah (trustee); Haji Ibrahim Essop Patel (trustee).

Other executive members are Mr Makkie Isaacs, Mr Anoos Samsodien, Mr Les Rudolph, Mr Ebrahim Badoodien, Mr Rob Williams, Mr Abu Baker Arnot, Mr Shaheen Ebrahim, Mr Hasmet Khan and Mr Sataar Parker.
Peace bid in townships war

CHURCH groups and organised commerce were frantically trying to set up peace talks this weekend to stop the carnage between the warring Inkatha and United Democratic Front forces in Natal.

Stabbing, stone-throwing and arson continued unabated this week, leaving another nine people dead and bringing the official death toll in the past month's violence to at least 56.

Police have increased patrols in the Maritzburg townships, calling in reinforcements from other parts of the province.

But as refugees from strife-torn Maritzburg continue the feud, violence is threatening to spill over into other Natal townships. Unrest killings outside Amatshembe and Umkomaas on the Natal South Coast have been linked to the trouble in Maritzburg.

Meanwhile, the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce is attempting to bring Inkatha and the UDF to the negotiating table to start peace talks.

Church organisations are also trying to get the two sides together. And the Rev Athol Jennings, director of the Buleka Trust, is chairing talks between Maritzburg residents.

The trust, backed by the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist churches, has for some time provided a forum for talks between warring factions in troubled areas.

"We were approached by several Maritzburg residents and a series of discussions is taking place."

"The next meeting is on Wednesday," Mr Jennings said.

In a dramatic peace move today, an interdenominational mass prayer service for peace is being held at the Edendale Ecumenical Centre in Maritzburg.

Rejection

Church leaders at the meeting include the Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Rev Denis Hurley, the president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Khoza Mgobo and the Methodist Church's president-elect, the Rev Stanley Mogoba.

While the organisations of the service expect about 3,000 people to attend, the Maritzburg chamber of Inkatha, Velaphi Ndlouv, has rejected the service.

"Although individual members are welcome to go and pray, as they do every Sunday, I will not be going," he said.

"Tutu is a patron of the UDF, the organisation we are at war with. How can we go and listen to what he tells us?"

"Anyway, we need peace talks - not prayer. A ceasefire can't fall from the heavens. We must sit at a table together and resolve the issue."

Mr Ndlouv said it was imperative for the two sides to reach a ceasefire before the end of this month - when students will have written their end-of-year examinations.

"We can communicate with and control our members now, but we must have a ceasefire before the students start their holidays.

"We are in Inkatha are trying our best, but the UDF will not come to the table."

Mr Ndlouv added that Inkatha recognised the chamber of Commerce efforts at peace-making as the only forum for negotiations with the UDF.

Mr AS Chetty, Msindane chairman of the UDF, said the UDF was ready to negotiate.

"We're not stalling. We believe in the democratic process. But we have an enormous constituency that we must go to for mandates," he said.

Support

"It's easy for leaders to sit down and talk but they must have grassroots support if lasting peace is to result from those talks.

"We are consulting our members now.

"We want to go to the talks set up by the Chamber of Commerce with all our facts correct.

"There have been so many accusations and counter-accusations since the violence started in 1983. We must now establish our points of difference."

Mr Chetty said he would be attending today's prayer service.

"Prayer is the best way of getting people together."

The Rev James V Nkumbu, one of the organisers of the prayer meeting, said: "All Christians and concerned people are invited to attend."
Kenneth Kaunda honours Tambo and Mandela

CP Correspondent
PRESIDENT Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, this week awarded jailed South African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela and ANC president Oliver Tambo the Order of the Grand Companion of Freedom, first division.

Kaunda bestowed the honours on Mandela and Tambo during a special investiture ceremony held at Lusaka's State House.

Tambo, who celebrated his 70th birthday this week, was on hand to receive his award while the liberation movement's secretary-general, Alfred Nzo, received the award for Mandela, who has been in prison for 23 years now.

The 69-year-old Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1964.

Following the banning of the ANC in 1960 by the Pretoria government, Tambo and others in the ANC Youth League (the organisation's youth wing), decided to wage the struggle from outside.

Tambo assumed the leadership of the ANC in 1967 after Albert Luthuli's death.

Kaunda commended Tambo for spearheading the struggle for the oppressed in South Africa through his unwavering and dedicated leadership.

He said through Tambo's leadership, black South Africans had rallied behind the ANC for a just society despite the "brutality" of the South African government.

Presenting Mandela's award to Nzo, the President paid tribute to Mandela for dedicating his entire life to the liberation struggle.

He said Mandela was the true embodiment of the struggle and a vital symbol of a new South Africa.
Witness tells of tents burning

**Supreme Court Reporter**

MOMENTS before a witness set fire to two big tents sheltering homeless refugees on the border of KTC on June 9 last year, three wildoekie jumped out of a police Casspir that stopped at the scene, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of 20-year-old Ms Phillia Kwinana, now a Std 9 pupil at Malizo High in Khayelitsha, but also a Red Cross voluntary worker.

She is the sixth witness to give evidence in the R542 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when most of KTC was destroyed.

The minister is being sued on the basis of an allegation that police played an active role in the destruction. Some 3 100 similar suits, with claims of over R5 million, are pending against the minister and may depend on the outcome of the KTC suit.

Ms Kwinana told the court she had been working at the Diwe clinic in Terminus Road from 7am on Monday, June 9. They were very busy and had no clocks or watches so she had no idea of how much time went by.

"While we were working I heard a noise. People screamed ‘the wildoekie are coming!’ and then I heard shots," she said.

"I went to the window and saw people running in all directions. After about five minutes, I’m not sure of the time, I saw a yellow Casspir, a brown Casspir and a white police van with a lot of wildoekie in front of and next to the vehicles."

Ms Kwinana said the procession moved slowly, halting at intervals, till it stopped near the corner of Terminus Road and Zewitsha Drive.

"Three wildoekie wearing blankets jumped out of the open back door of the yellow Casspir and joined the crowd of wildoekie on the corner. Then I saw about eight wildoekie running towards the tents and after that we saw smoke and flames coming from the tents."

Mr Venter M. de Kock, president; Mr S Aaron SC, with Mr P. Proctor; and Mr A M Gough and instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the complainants; Mr G. U. Goldin SC and Mr A. Veale SC, with Mr B. J. Brand and Mr C. V. Low and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.
SOUTH Africa was behind the plot to kidnap African National Congress members in London, the Independent newspaper in London claimed this week.

The newspaper said it had obtained a copy of the notes made on the kidnap plan, which "show how the South Africans were to fund the kidnap team and supply it with forged police warrants".

The newspaper said the British secret services appeared not to be involved — contrary to what the defence lawyers claimed — but they were tipped off about the plan.

Britain's Director of Public Prosecutions last week dropped charges against Frank Larsen, Jonathan Wheatley and Dennis Evans, who had been accused of conspiring to kidnap ANC members.

Similar charges against John Larsen were dropped earlier this month.

The Independent said Frank and John Larsen, who posed as father and son, had been identified as Norwegians, Viggo Oerbul and Hans Dahl.

Both are now detained under Britain's Immigration Act and might face deportation.

The Independent said notes kept by Frank Larsen revealed that on October 12 last year at a hotel in Surrey, he met with Wheatley, a former paratrooper, whom he had recruited, and Johann Niemoller, a former South African special forces officer posing as a businessman in Britain.

According to the newspaper, Larsen wrote: "The South Africans are prepared to fund and supply the team and accept responsibility for the operation."

The newspaper said that after a meeting the next day a list of ANC kidnap targets was reduced to five senior congress members — Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Reg September and his wife, and Sally Smith.

The notes also said: "Any South African personnel involved must appear to look British. If possible it may be an idea to use Soviet bloc weapons so it may appear to the undiscriminating (International Press) that it is an internal power struggle within a terrorist organisation."

After the kidnap case was dropped last week, British opposition politicians accused Margaret Thatcher's government of a "cover-up".

This was denied by the Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, in a special statement to the House of Commons.

Meanwhile, the London Guardian reported this week that lawyers representing Frank Larsen, Jonathan Wheatley and Dennis Evans were given permission by a High Court judge to inspect documents seized in raids by anti-terrorist squad officers.

The newspaper said the lawyers claimed the police had 70,000 documents which could cause embarrassment to the British government.
Arms haul found in home of aid worker

Argus Africa News Service
MBABANE. — Swazi police have found a cache of military arms at the house of an aid organisation worker, it was confirmed today.

A police spokesman said the arms included plastic explosives, many magazines for AK-47 rifles, a number of sub-machineguns, pistols and a large quantity of ammunition.

He said the arms were found yesterday at the Manzini home of a woman who works for Ephesus House, a Canadian-based aid organisation which helps refugees, and in many cases organises scholarships abroad.

Police spokesman Mr Azaria Ndizimandze said the woman, whom he did not identify, was being held at Manzini police station.

The Manzini offices of the Ephesus House organisation were in the headlines about two years ago when security guards came across a group of men taking files out of the office building late one night.

When the guards arrived the men leapt into two cars and drove out of the town at high speed, firing weapons as they left.

Swazi police have not made any arrests in connection with the incident.
BRITAIN is apparently closing the door on further official contacts with the African National Congress.

In a significant policy shift, Whitehall sources have indicated that Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and the Foreign Office Minister for African Affairs, Mrs Lynda Chalker, are expected to have no further contact with representatives of the ANC.

This follows Mrs Thatcher's strong attack on the Congress during the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver earlier this month, where she likened the ANC to the PLO and IRA, calling it a "typical terrorist organisation".

Her comment that she would "have no truck with those organisations" surprised observers who pointed out that, a year ago, Mrs Thatcher publicly acknowledged the importance of the ANC in the future of Southern Africa, and backed calls for its unbanning in South Africa, and the freedom of its jailed leader, Nelson Mandela.

When Britain did formally meet ANC leaders, the Foreign Office was always at pains to point out that these contacts provided an important opportunity to dissuade the African nationalism from taking the course of armed struggle.

It is possible Mrs Thatcher is anxious to dispel the impression that her emphasis on giving material aid and a measure of political support to the frontline states means Britain is siding with the "liberation" movements based there.

In fact, her attack on the ANC in Vancouver was in response to a question put by a journalist who wondered if giving aid to black South Africans, which forms part of the British alternative to imposing sanctions, meant Britain would give aid to the ANC.

Many thought at the time that the virulence of the attack suggested it was a hasty, ill-considered response which did not reflect Foreign Office thinking. However, Whitehall sources dispelled the doubt yesterday by saying her statement represented the government's policy.

This emerged on the day the UDF announced its suspension of relations with the British government.

Mrs Thatcher is apparently putting her foot down and there is clearly a cooling of relations all round between Britain and Pretoria's strongest critics.

But it must be of some concern to the diplomats responsible for shaping Southern Africa policy.
Stopping the ‘Natal war’

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.— The Rev Athol R. Jennings will be the man in the hot seat at a summit meeting to bring about reconciliation and to stop the killing and bloodshed in the Maritzburg “civil wars” between supporters of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

He has the backing of three major churches.

Mr Jennings, 56, is a former Olympic athlete and is now director of the Buleka Trust, which manages the Koinonia conference centre at Botha’s Hill.

His task is to direct moves aimed at bringing justice and reconciliation wherever it is needed, but he said that it was neither the Trust nor the centre (which is backed by the Anglican, Catholic and Methodist Churches) which initiated the move to get the warring groups to talk.

“It was the people who felt that there was a need to talk to resolve the crisis in the townships,” said Mr Jennings. “We are not here to tell them what to do. I am here to ensure that those people who want to talk are able to do so.”

Both UDF president Mr Archie Gumede and members of the Inkatha organisation such as Mr Musa Zondi and Mr Mtwe Mafolo have said the talks already held at community level had been “very useful”.

He said the talks that had already taken place and which would begin again next Wednesday were at a local level.

“But there will have to be some talks between the leadership at a higher level. Who knows what will happen then,” said Mr Jennings.

He is a man who chooses his words and talks softly. Obviously deeply caring about all people, Mr Jennings, in 1968, was appointed resident minister at Kook Methodist Church and was later appointed chaplain of Kearsney College.

In 1968, he was appointed Methodist youth leader in Natal.

During Christmas of 1972 he took part in the 968-kilometre pilgrimage of confession and concern from Grahamstown to Cape Town, to make whites aware of the evils of the migrant labour system.
By CLARE HARPER

JAILED ANC member Wilton Mkwayi will be married to Mrs Irene Mkwayi by the Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town, the Rt Rev Patrick Mato-
lengwe, in a ceremony at Pollsmoor Prison today.

Mkwayi, 64, was jailed for life in 1964.

The former South African Council of Trade Unions (SACTU) member has served 23 years of his sentence on Robben Island, since he was tried and convicted under the Sabotage Act with Mac Maharaj and David Kit-
son, who have both since been released.

Yesterday the Arch-
bishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, blessed the couple’s wedding bands in a small ceremony at Nyanga Holy Cross Church.

The guests included veteran United Women's Congress and Federation of South African Women activist Mrs Annie Jib-
liza and Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Asso-
ciation spokesman Mr Johnson Mpukuma.

Archbishop Tutu said: “We know we believe in a God that opens the doors of prisons and lets prisoners out.”

WITH THESE RINGS ... Archbishop Tutu yesterday blessing the wedding bands of Wilton Mkwayi and his common-law wife, Mrs Irene Mkwayi. Archbishop Tutu described the marriage as “a wonderful act of faith; as we know one is separated from the other”. The couple will be legally married in Pollsmoor Prison at 10am today.

Car Times 31/10/97

Prison wedding for ANC man today

Speaking after the ceremony yesterday, Mrs Mkwayi said she hoped her husband would be re-
leas ed so they could spend the rest of their lives together.

The guests at today’s wedding will comprise witnesses — the bride’s sister, Mrs Mavis Ngwane, and a priest — and Mrs Mkwayi’s attorney, Mr Ramesh Vassen, and his wife.

Mr Mkwayi will be brought from Robben Island to the inland jail for the ceremony.

Mrs Mkwayi, a retired nurse from Soweto, Johannesburg, was married by proxy to Mr Mkwayi in 1987 in a traditional ceremony in Ciskei.
UDF action threatens British interests in SA

By KHULU SIBITA

The United Democratic Front's decision to suspend all relations with British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher's government could have serious implications on British companies operating in South Africa.

In an open letter to Thatcher, the UDF said for some time now, the oppressed people in South Africa had watched the British political antics in the region with dismay.

The dropping of charges against people who allegedly plotted to kidnap members of the African National Congress living in Britain and the attack by Thatcher on the ANC were "the last straw", the UDF said.

The UDF said it had suspended all relations with the British government and its representatives, pending further discussions with its affiliate organisations.

"This action must be seen against the backdrop of widespread anger amongst our people that their calls for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid government have been "contemptuously dismissed by the British government," the open letter stated.

The UDF said the dropping of charges against men who allegedly plotted to kidnap ANC members living in Britain had only served to confirm that the British government had taken sides and had a close working relationship with the South African government against the people.

"What can we conclude, other than that the British government directly supports apartheid and is prepared to cover up the illegal actions of the regime and its supporters both internally and externally?"

"In our view it is no coincidence that, just at the time British complicity in apartheid terror was being covered up, you launched an attack on the ANC, claiming that they were terrorists," the letter said.

In conclusion, the letter calls for Thatcher and the British government to apologise to the ANC and the people of South Africa for the "offensive" statements.

"We further demand that charges are immediately reinstated against the kidnappers, and that a commission of inquiry investigates and makes public the conspiracy as well as the extent of undercover actions by the South African government on British soil," the open letter added.
Dhlomo: SAP backing UDF

Political Correspondent

The SA Police was backing the UDF in the violent clashes between the organization and Inkatha that left scores dead in recent weeks in Natal. Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo charged yesterday.

Earlier this week, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, responding to Inkatha’s claims, said it was ridiculous to suggest the SAP was favouring the UDF. It is not police policy to favour the UDF or any other organization and we have no knowledge of ill-feelings towards police there," he said.

Answering questions at a Cape Town Press Club meeting, Dr Dhlomo noted that two SAP members were on trial in Maritzburg for their involvement in the conflict. "UDF members admit that they have enlisted SAP members and prison warders to attack Inkatha," he said. Later he said during an interview that the UDF may have infiltrated the police force or "the UDF may have been infiltrated by members of the police."
JOHANNESBURG. — Confusion over the authenticity of a UDF statement on Wednesday night, that it was suspending relations with Britain, was cleared up last night by Mr Ismail Ayob, one of the UDF attorneys.

Confirming that the statement had been issued by the UDF executive, Mr Ayob said the confusion arose when certain UDF officials, approached by members of the media yesterday in connection with the statement, said they knew nothing of it. Mr Ayob explained that the officials had not been directly involved in the issuing of the statement.

The UDF action was reported prominently on national radio but a spokesman for the Prime Minister said she could not comment as she had not even been sent a copy of the organization's open letter.

The spokesman added that as there had never been a formal relationship between Britain and the UDF and therefore nothing to break off.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Dr Boesak said it was “about time the UDF took this stand”, adding that he had himself adopted such a position for almost a year to protest the British government's “support” for Pretoria.

— Sapa, Own Correspondent and Political Correspondent
Laws hamper black business, congress told

Staff Reporter

IT WOULD be impossible for seven-million whites to create job opportunities for 50-million blacks by the end of the century and black businessmen would have to help generate enough wealth to meet this demand.

However, this would only be achieved once apartheid was abolished, said Western Cape Traders Association general secretary Mr Kassiem Allie.

Giving the keynote address at the 10th annual congress of the association, which represents about 2,000 Cape Flats traders, Mr Allie said the Group Areas Act limited blacks' opportunities to become part of the economic mainstream.

More tax

This was so because the Act "denied them the right to trade freely, live freely and to educate their children freely in all parts of South Africa".

Mr Allie said the introduction of regional services councils meant that businessmen had to pay additional taxes to implement the tricameral system of government.

"In order to maintain a fast-drowning Government, our taxes are one of the highest in the world and our company taxes are enormous. The Government is fast losing control of the country's economic fate and it has shaken the confidence of the businessman."

"The Government has further lost touch with the plight of the millions of South Africans."

Turning to international pressure on South Africa and internal labour struggles, Mr Allie said: "Surely the workers of South Africa have realised their only weapon is the withdrawal of their labour and purchasing power as a peaceful method to drive some sense into the heads of the rulers."

Prisoners

He said the WCTA called on the State to avoid such a situation by implementing a number of measures "in a genuine manner and as a matter of urgency."

He listed these as the dismantling of apartheid, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unconditional and immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of all political organisations and the initiation of dialogue across colour lines with a view to establishing a non-racial, representative government.

This had to take place in the context of the suspension of violence on all sides of the political debate.
TEENS SMUGGLED OUT OF SA - MP

PENINSULA children aged between 14 and 18 have been smuggled out of South Africa by a highly-organised cell of the African National Congress and given extensive training in neighbouring states before infiltrating back into their communities.

Many of their parents thought that their children were in detention until they were informed that they had been caught re-entering South Africa from neighbouring states. They are being held under the emergency regulations.

Mr. Patrick McKenzie, MP for Bonteheuwel, this week disclosed that he had correspondence from the parents of youths recently arrested for allegedly committing acts of arson, and other crime, public violence and attacks on the forces of policemen while “acting under the influence of the ANC.”

The youths, wrote to their parents telling them to “get out of Bonteheuwel,” because some of them wished to leave the organisation, but had been threatened with death and the harming of their families if they did so.

Meetings on Table Mountain

Mr. McKenzie also claimed that indoctrination meetings of groups of youths were held at popular beaches off the western coast and on Table Mountain by members of the ANC in South Africa.

These meetings were arranged as school outings, usually on weekends, where the children were told “facts” about the South African Government, which led them to believe that an armed struggle was the only way to bring about change.” Mr. McKenzie called for the release of all children suspected of being involved in these activities.
Mandela to be best man at wedding

Staff Reporter

IMPRISONED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is expected to be best man tomorrow at the wedding of his fellow Rivonia trialist and Robben Island prisoner Wilton Mkayi to Irene — 11 years after a traditional wedding ceremony in the Transkei, which did not require his presence, a friend of the Mkayi family said last night.

Mkayi, who has served 18 years of his 27-year sentence for sabotage, is now one of the last prisoners to be moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor, where his services have been required for the preparation of the wedding.

According to him, Mkayi will be moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor for the service, to be conducted by a prison chaplain, while his bride was flying to Cape Town today. She could not be contacted last night.

A spokesman for the Prison Services said matters such as marriages of individual prisoners were considered to be of a personal matter involving the prisoner and the family concerned. It was therefore the policy of the prison services not to comment on such matters.

Mkayi’s marriage was confirmed by his attorney, Mr Ramesh Vassen. Mr Vassen said three previous applications for the wedding were turned down.
‘Kidnap’: ANC takes 4 to court

LONDON. — The ANC has reopened the kidnap case in London by issuing civil writs against four men.

The writs allege conspiracy to kidnap two ANC executive members in London.

The ANC allegations are a repeat of the police charge the Director of Public Prosecutions last week ordered to be dropped.

The civil action will open in the High Court in London on Monday.

The ANC has also announced that it will seek preservation orders on thousands of documents the police seized in July.

The four men originally charged with almost certainly be obliged to defend themselves in open court.

The ANC writes allege that two men in Home Office detention awaiting deportation and originally charged by the police under the name Frank Larsen, 53, and his son John Larsen, 28, and Briton John Wheatley, 25, who was freed from custody last week, plotted to kidnap ANC leaders in London between late 1986 and July 1987.

The ANC has also served papers on the fourth man who escaped the original police charge, Welshman Evan Dennis Evans.

Lawyers acting for Frank Larsen have won the right to challenge moves to deport him to Norway. — Sapa
Clergymen in bid to stop bitter power struggle in Natal

End the killing, pleads Tutu

Maritzburg

Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu made an impassioned plea yesterday for an end to one of South Africa’s worst internecine power struggles.

In a hard-hitting address at a peace service in Edendale, the sprawling township complex near Maritzburg, he told blacks they were setting back the anti-apartheid struggle by brutal political feuding.

"God wants us to be free," the Archbishop said. "And we say: 'Not yet — we have not suffered enough.'"

Police have sent reinforcements, including helicopters, to the area. Fighting between rival groups at the weekend, puncturing a death toll of well over 100 in the past six weeks, people fear.

The Anglican archbishop, on behalf of God, has called on leaders to seek a truce.

"We appeal for peace on behalf of God," he said.

About 20 people were reported to have been killed in the carnage. In this

...
ANC could be coaxed to the table, says academic

By Martin Challenor

There were various possibilities which could induce the African National Congress into negotiations with the South African Government, Dr Tom Lodge, an academic who has studied the movement extensively, said at a University of the Witwatersrand Business School forum at the weekend.

He said that among ANC strategists there was a fairly strong belief that militarily they would never be in a position of superiority. "Joe Slovo had himself said Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC military wing) was unlikely to knock the SADF out of the field.

Dr Lodge said ANC military operations peaked in 1986 when 228 attacks were recorded. The prospects of increasing this figure were remote. "The ANC is unlikely ever to be in a position, even within the context of widespread political unrest, to achieve a revolutionary seizure of power. It has all got to end in talks."

Military option is fading with time

Dr Lodge added: "The ANC is aware South Africa is a modern industrial power. They are rather keen to inherit this economic power and modernity. And they do not contemplate with any relish its being disrupted in a major way. They would favour a relatively short rather than a protracted struggle, and one the least destructive and bloodless as possible."

The ANC believed it should inherit South Africa's industrial achievement "because it is built upon the sacrifices of generations of black people".

Dr Lodge said the ANC and South African Communist Party favoured a transitional period when South Africa would not be a socialist state, but a mixture of socialism and capitalism. From the ANC's ideological perspective, socialism "comes about through a long period of human development, and is by no means near its maturity in present-day South Africa."

But he said the Government might decide to talk to the ANC after 15 years of severe economic sanctions.

The Wits forum was on the ANC and the future of negotiations. Dr Lodge shared the platform with Mr Sam Mabe, assistant news editor of The Star, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Wits Business School, and University of Cape Town political scientist Professor Herman Gillioome.

Professor Gillioome suggested that negotiations between the Nationalist Government and the ANC could damage both organisations.

In the ANC there were "differences about the position of whites in leadership positions in the organisation, and positions of whites in a post-liberation South Africa."

"If the ANC were to start talking to the Nats, but not about the transfer of power, then major differences will surface. That is why the ANC is desperately afraid of participating in an intermediate institutional arrangement like the kwazulu/Natal Indaba, because it will inflame tensions in the organisation."

The ANC-in-exile had to keep itself intact, and in this respect was not different from the Nats, Professor Gillioome said, because the Nats think that the moment it starts talking to the ANC it will be confronted by a white backlash."

The question relating to negotiations between the ANC and the Nats "should not be 'Why don't they negotiate?', but 'What is there to talk about?'"

Professor Gillioome said the top 5 percent of owners of wealth accounted for 88 percent of personally-owned wealth in South Africa, while black people had less than 2 percent. "Any black constituency will demand the redistribution of wealth. Whites will resist that, if it comes from existing wealth."
Pollsmoor ceremony ends years of waiting

ROBBEN ISLAND prisoner Wilton Mkwayi swooped his prison clothes for a tuxedo and tie at the weekend when he married his bride, Mrs Irene Mkwayi, in a small ceremony at Pollsmoor Prison.

The couple had waited 21 years, since their marriage by proxy in 1967, to be married in person.

Mkwayi, 64, a former South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) activist, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for helping to organize the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

His lawyer, Mr Ramesh Vassen, told reporters that warders received the small wedding party hospitably.

The Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town, Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, married Mkwayi and Irene, 63. A small reception took place in the prison, while scores of guests waited outside for the bride to emerge.

Later, celebrations at Cowley House were joined by Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The Prisons Service has declined to comment on the marriage, saying such an event was a personal matter.

Mr Nelson Mandela, despite rumours earlier this week, did not serve as best man.
COUNCILLORS in Alexandra township resigned en bloc and police moved out to live in tents at nearby Kew township, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This followed instructions from the “comrades” that all “collaborators” like the police and councillors should resign from their jobs and join the “struggle”. Shops affected by a consumer boycott had been looted and destroyed by fire, the court heard.

Some houses of “collaborators” were also set alight; a policeman was killed and trenches were dug in some streets to make it impossible for vehicles to pass. This was done to disrupt the movement of police and soldiers in the township.

Treason

This evidence was given at the trial of Mr Moses Mayekiso (38), of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) and civic leaders, Mr Obed Bapeia (28), Mr Mzwandile Mayekiso (22), Mr Paul Shabala (38) and Mr Richard Mdakane (29), all of Alexandra township.

They are charged with treason, alternatively subversion and sedition. The State alleges they committed the offences between January 1985 and June last year in Alexandra township.

They have pleaded not guilty and are appearing before Mr Justice P J van der Walt. The case is in camera.

A witness, who may not be identified, said he had been living in Alexandra since 1985. He said some councillors resigned and those who remained eventually resigned because they could not form a quorum. The comrades, he said, forced the councillors to resign.

The council police in the area wore a green uniform and were called “Green Beans”. Following a night vigil on February 15 last year a big crowd stoned and petrol-bombed police guarding council property and told them to quit Alexandra, said the witness.

Police scared them off by shooting on the ground, he said.

The witness said children aged about 10 and 15 led the huge crowd and adults remained at the back.
ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday called for a ceasefire between the warring United Democratic Front and Inkatha factions in Maritzburg’s black townships.

Addressing journalists after a prayer meeting in the area, Archbishop Tutu said the killings that had occurred in several weeks of fighting in battles for territorial advantage were “horrendous, barbaric and un-African”.

The service was led by Archbishop Tutu, Archbishop Denis Hurley of the Roman Catholic Church and Dr Khoza Mgojo of the Mopeni Church.

Two people were killed in incidents of violence in the strife-torn townships near Maritzburg at the weekend.

A youth was seriously injured when a group stabbed him with sharp objects at the Mphophomeni township near Howick outside Maritzburg. The security forces dispersed the group with shotgun-fire and tear smoke and arrested a man in connection with the incident.

At Gatza also near Maritzburg, a shot was fired at security forces from a group that had gathered illegally. The security forces answered with shotgun-fire, fatally wounding a man.

Gumede

Among the crowd of more than 1000 who attended, was Mr Archie Gumede of the UDF and supporters of both organisations.

At the time of going to Press it could not be established if Inkatha’s leadership had attended after weekend reports that the organisation felt it had not been officially invited.

More than 60 people from both sides have died in fighting that has horrified everyone decent in man. Children as young as 13 have been involved in heavy fighting.
Natal death toll tops 150 as more killed in clashes

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG—Three men were killed as fighting between rival groups in Maritzburg's townships continued at the weekend, pushing the death toll to well over 150. More than 70 people have been killed in the past six weeks.

The violence, which has dominated the country's unrest in the past few months, has been characterised by bloody clashes and massacres, reportedly between UDF and Inkatha members.

Police, unable to stamp out what they call "inter-group or faction fighting", have been accused by Inkatha of siding with the UDF.

This claim has been denied by police.

They have sent reinforcements, including helicopters, to the area. But policing its townships had been complicated by widespread damage to infrastructure of Natal and the utility and rough nature of the terrain, according to Brigadier Leon Mallet, press secretary for the Minister of Law and Order.

Emergency Update

Another factor was that much of the violence was committed by gangs of children, he said.

Brigadier Mallet said individual policemen had taken sides in the fighting. "But four of them have already been arrested and have appeared in court."

According to the latest police unrest report, a man was stoned and hacked to death by a mob at Sintshingi near Maritzburg. Security forces used shotgun fire and tear smoke to disperse the crowd.

Stabbed

At Kuluza near Maritzburg a shot was fired at security forces from a group. The security force patrol opened fire with shotguns and fatally wounded a man, according to the report.

A youth was seriously injured when a group stabbed him at the Mphophomela township near Howick outside the city. The security forces dispersed the group with shotgun fire and tear smoke and arrested a man.

At Edendale a shop was extensively damaged by arsonists and a night watchman was stabbed and killed. Six youths and a man were arrested.

Seven men were wounded after security forces opened fire with shotguns following "an illegal gathering" near Hotmead in the Free State. The seven wounded men were arrested and are under police guard in hospital.
IRENE (63) WEDS HER MAN AT LAST

MRS Winnie Mandela joined wedding celebrations on Saturday for a bride who said she had to wait 20 years for South African Government permission to marry her jailed fiancé.

Mandela arrived at a Cape Town church hall for the wedding reception of 63-year-old Irene Mkwayi, just married in the city's Pollsmoor Prison to 74-year-old Wilton Mkwayi. He was jailed for life in 1964 for guerrilla activities.

Winnie Mandela, whose own husband, African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, is serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor, joined the feasting, dancing and singing.

But she told the guests: "This is a sad day. It should have happened 25 years ago in a normal society."

The couple first sought permission to wed in prison in 1967. Consent was granted this month and Mkwayi was brought from the offshore Robben Island jail, where he is held, for the civil ceremony.

The Prisons Service has declined to comment on the marriage, saying that such an event is a personal matter.

Lawyer Ramesh Vassen told reporters that warders received the small wedding party hospitably and allowed the groom to swap his prison clothes for a tuxedo and a bow tie.

Eyewitnesses said some 100 other guests waited outside Pollsmoor during the wedding. Police kept watch on them but took no action.  — Sapa.
PW's travel action
'a slap in the face'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, has once again hit out at President P W Botha's stand on foreign travel by ministers in the House of Representatives.

Mr Botha recently stopped the Minister of Health and Welfare in the House, Mr Chris April, from undertaking a study tour to Israel and West Germany.

Speaking at the LP's Cape Peninsula congress at Paarl at the weekend, Mr Hendrickse said: "The State President's decision can be regarded as nothing else but a slap in the face for Mr April and an insult with which Mr Botha will have to live for the rest of his life."

The LP leader's remarks represent yet another indication of the steadily deteriorating relations between the majority party in the House of Representatives and the government in recent months.

Meanwhile, the LP will try to patch up their relations when a delegation from the party travels to Ulundi this Friday for discussions with Inkatha.

Relations between the two have been strained ever since the LP decided to ignore the advice of Inkatha in 1983 and participate in the tricameral Parliament which excludes Africans.

Till the bust-up, Inkatha and the LP formed the major components of the South African Black Alliance (SABA).

This week's talks, initiated by the LP, could pave the way for a thaw in relations between the two parties.

The LP delegation will include the party's deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, while KwaZulu's Education Minister, Dr Oscar Dlamini, will head the Inkatha delegation.
Scores of Harrismith school pupils may be forced to miss their year-end exams because of vigilante activity in the township, say members of the Phomolong Youth Congress.

Supporters of the youth congress and the students' congress have been forced to flee the area of 42nd Hill — also known as Phomolong — in the wake of clashes between their organisations and the more conservative Eagles Club, according to eight Harrismith youths in hiding in Johannesburg.

They estimated 200 young people might be hiding out as a small band of Eagle Club vigilantes was still patrolling the township.

The Eagles Club has distributed leaflets threatening: "We will not tolerate any killing, stayaways from schools or burning the property of the innocent people. If this happens, the Eagles will react. The same will happen to them, (as) what happened to the comrades who have burned the bus of the Eagles on Saturday (sic)."

This refers to a clash about a month ago when "comrades" demonstrated at an Eagles meeting. Some "comrades" were assaulted and a bus which had carried Eagle Club members was burnt. One youth was admitted to hospital for stab wounds.

Subsequently, at least five homes of "comrades" had been petrol-bombed and one of the Eagles was badly burnt.

Police have confirmed several clashes and have said they will act to stop intimidation.
ANC to sue London kidnappers

LONDON — A High Court Judge yesterday granted an injunction restraining men who featured in the bizarre ANC kidnap case from conspiring to kidnap or assault members of the movement in England.

The order was made in Chambers by Mr Justice Kennedy, as two senior ANC officials — Solly Smith and Frene Ginwala — opened an unprecedented civil action claiming damages from four men for alleged conspiracy to kidnap, assault or kill them.

As a preliminary step, the ANC was asking the Judge for preservation and inspection orders to be placed on thousands of documents which include minutes of meetings at which the kidnap plot was drawn up.

The ANC specifically wants documents which involve the so-called “fifth man” in the case, Cape businessman Johan Niemoller.
Daily Dispatch

UMTATA — The wife of the former chairman of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Govan Mbeki, believes her husband will be released, but felt that the time was “indefinite.”

Living a quiet rural life, which she does not want to change, Mrs Epainette Mbeki, 71, said she believed the South African Government would watch the public’s reaction as closely as the public would watch the government’s reaction.

Mrs Mbeki said she had resigned herself to remain at home while he had travelled the country.

A former member of the Communist Party, Mrs Mbeki exclaimed: “Govan was never a member of the Communist Party but I was.”

She said she was not an excitable person, and freely talked about her husband’s situation.

Speculation about Mr Mbeki’s release began after a “statement” by President P.W. Botha who hinted at the South African Parliament that the case was under review.

Born in Nqamakwe in Transkei, Mr Mbeki rose through the ranks of the ANC to be elected national chairman in 1956.

He has served almost 24 of his 77 years in jail where he has been sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage.

Mrs Mbeki said the public was excited over the question of her husband’s release and noted that such an occasion would be emotionally charged.

Born in Mount Fletcher, she met her husband in Durban where they both taught at a government school. Mrs Mbeki taught English and geography and Mr Mbeki taught Latin and history.

She said her husband’s ideas had attracted her to him, although he was not a political activist at the time of their marriage in 1940.

She supported his ideology “the hundred per cent,” adding that she held no bitterness in spite of what had occurred which time his political activities intensified.

A relaxed and youthful-looking Mrs Mbeki said the atmosphere at home during those years was not really tense.

Her husband was detained in 1960 for six months when a State of Emergency was declared after the Sharpeville shootings.

At this time, she said the “struggle began” until the time of his arrest in 1963.

The security situation for her after 1960 was “very nasty”. During that time Pretoria still controlled Transkei and security police might come at any time of the day or night to search her house.

She said there was “no peace of mind” during those times.

Since Transkei independence in 1976, the situation had calmed down. “Perhaps because they are black too, there is an understanding,” she said.

Mrs Mbeki said that as far as the family’s lawyer was concerned, her husband’s release was likely.

She explained that although her daughter Priscilla was free to visit Mr Mbeki, but that all of a sudden this was stopped.

“I think the government on one hand would like to release him, but is not aware of the reaction if he is released — therefore this hide and seek.”

Asked if her husband would consider returning to Transkei, where she has been living since 1940, she replied that it would jeopardise his political position than a compromise would have to be made.

She described her husband as a placid and easy-going man, saying she could not speak on her husband’s behalf but thought it was time “he settled down”.

Some time back, she said Mr Mbeki had mentioned he would not come to Transkei, but it was at the time Paramount Chief Matanzima was ruling the country.

The new Prime Minister, Miss Stella Sigeau, and the State President, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndumiso, were from a totally different background.

She said that President Ndumiso’s father had been a member of the Democratic Party, which had opposed Paramount Chief Matanzima’s Transkei National Independence Party, and consequently hoped that her husband would consider returning to Transkei.

Mrs Mbeki said she did not envy the high profile life led by Mrs Winnie Mandela, saying she preferred the lifestyle of Mrs Albertina Sisulu who worked among the people.

She has never met Nelson Mandela.

Asked what she thought about the future of southern Africa, Mrs Mbeki said liberation rested with the worker.

“Is the man with more power,” she said.

She felt this power could begin with small groups of mineworkers and spread to the ordinary worker.

She believe some support for the ANC existed in Transkei but added that there was little common cause in Transkei.

Mrs Mbeki said she had raised her children in a “spirit of independence” where education was the top priority.

Her son, Moleleti, lives in Harare where he is a reporter on the Herald, and her other son, Juma, is an attorney in Botswana. Her daughter, Lindi, lives in Botswana.

Due to her health, the last time Mrs Mbeki visited her husband was six years ago.

They often wrote to each other, but only on superficial matters as the letters were inevitably opened, she said.

The family lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Juma, was her only source of information but Mrs Mbeki said she had noted from her husband’s letters that he was much better following an operation.

Mrs Mbeki said that as far as the family’s lawyer was concerned, her husband’s release was likely.

She explained that although Mrs Juma could freely visit Mr Mbeki, but that all of a sudden this was stopped.

“His the man with more power,” she said.
FERTILITY STUDY - MALE Questionnaire M3

Main Questionnaire Number ____________
Child Number ____________

M301 Name of child ____________

M302 Age in years ____________

M303 Marital status of mother
1. Married
2. Never married
3. Separated
4. Divorced
5. Widowed

M304 Sex of child
1. Male
2. Female

M305 Is the child still alive?
1. Yes
2. No  Skip to M307
3. Don't know

M306 Who does the child live with?
1. Mother
2. Relatives
3. My parents
4. Other
5. Don't know  Skip to M307

Mrs Mbeki said she did not know many people who shared her ideas and felt that Transkeians basically had been "brainwashed", and because of the security situation "one tended to accept the status quo".

Asked when her husband became politically active, she said: "He brought the spirit from Fort Hare."

She said Paramount Chief Matanzima never had a "good word" about her husband.

An American lecturer, Mr Max Yergan, was a great influence at Fort Hare at the time, she said, and through him, Mr Mbeki became politicised.

Mrs Mbeki taught at Adams College and later at Clarkebury, and was fired from the Education Department after he wrote a pamphlet, Transkei in the Making, Mrs Mbeki said.

She explained that teachers in government schools were not supposed to be politically active.

Later, Mr Mbeki became a reporter for the Guardian, which was subsequently banned, at

FERTILITY STUDY - MALE Questionnaire M3

M306 Who does the child live with?
1. Mother
2. Relatives
3. My parents
4. Other
5. Don't know  Skip to M307

M307 How old was the child?

M308 Do you support the child's school?

M309 Place of birth

M310 Did you want a child?
1. Yes

M311 Do you still want a child?
1. Yes

Mrs Mbeki described Transkei's self-government as a farce with nothing tangible about it.

She said there was a contradiction in the new Prime Minister's policy that jailed ANC leaders with Transkeian roots would be free to return because the organisation was also banned in Transkei.

"How can their members come back?" she asked.

She felt a necessary political action was the unbanning of political organisations.

Mrs Mbeki can be seen around the village huddled in conversation with both young and old who come to seek her advice.

A mother of four children, three of whom are living in exile, Mrs Mbeki has not seen her son Thabo, a leading member of the ANC in Lusaka, since 1980.
ANC gets protection from kidnap accused

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — A High Court judge yesterday granted an injunction restraining men who featured in the bizarre ANC kidnap case from conspiring to kidnap or assault members of the movement in England.

The order was made in Chambers by Mr Justice Kennedy as two senior ANC officials opened an unprecedented civil action, claiming damages from four men for alleged conspiracy to kidnap, assault or kill them.

As a preliminary step, the ANC was asking the Judge for Preservation and Inspection Orders to be placed on thousands of documents.

The ANC claims the documents, now in police hands, include the minutes of meetings at which a plot was drawn up to kidnap, assault or kill its leaders in London.

The ANC specified that it was seeking inspection of documents which in any way involved the so-called ‘fifth man’ in the case, a Cape businessman, Mr Johan Niemoller.

The ANC’s damages action, taken in the name of Solly Smith, head of the London mission and Dr Frene Ginwala, a senior member, was adjourned to a future hearing.

When it comes before the judge again the two ANC leaders will be obliged to supply prima facie evidence supporting their claim that they suffered material and other damages from a kidnap conspiracy.

Many of the documents the ANC seeks, including forged passports and police warrant cards, were seized in July by Scotland Yard’s Anti-Terrorist Squad when four men were charged with conspiracy to kidnap the ANC officials.

There was an outcry in parliament on October 22, when the Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Patrick Mayhew, ordered the charges to be dropped against three men. The fourth man had been discharged earlier.

The discharged men were Frank Larsen, 53, John Larsen, 29, John Wheatley, 38, and Evan Dennis Evans, 49.

The Larsens, who yesterday gave undertakings that they would not act against the ANC members, are in custody pending their appeals against deportation to Norway.

The police maintain that Frank Larsen is in fact a convicted Norwegian swindler named Johan Viggo Olebak and John Larsen is not his son but another Norwegian named Hans Christian Dahl.

In a pending habeas corpus action, “Frank Larsen” claims he was using false names because he was a British intelligence officer.

He now claims his true name is John Parker, and he was born in Essex in 1931. He says he will undergo DNA tests to prove that “John Larsen” is his son.
Inkatha boycotts Maritzburg prayer service

Peace talks plans to go on — both parties

MARITZBURG — The peace talks between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front, (UDF) which are due to start soon, are not in jeopardy following Inkatha's boycott of the peace service held in Edendale yesterday.

Both Inkatha and the UDF said today that they were committed to finding a negotiated solution to the bloody conflict in Maritzburg’s troubled townships and would attend the talks.

The “Prayer for peace” service held in Edendale was organised by local clergy for all concerned people in an attempt to bring the two warring parties closer together, but Inkatha refused to attend because it was “a UDF service” and it had not been officially invited.

Today the local leader of Inkatha and kwazulu MP for Vulendla, Mr. Velaphi Ndlovu, said the peace talks were “very, very important” and Inkatha would still attend.

“The peace talks are not in jeopardy, as long as the UDF comes. The peace talks are more important than the prayers. We must first sit down and talk about the conflict and then pray for what we talked about,” Mr. Ndlovu said.

“If the UDF is really as sincere as we are, then the talks can succeed in bringing peace to the area,” he said.

The chairman of the Natal Midlands branch of the UDF, Mr. AS Chetty, said: “The UDF is equally prepared to talk.

“We are very, very keen to bring an end to the violence. But it is pointless sitting at the top level for discussions when, at the ground level, killings continue.

“Therefore, if one is serious about negotiations, one would have to work out a procedure before the negotiations can start,” Mr. Chetty said.

Local businessmen, Members of Parliament and newspaper editors were today told of Congress of SA Trade Union investigations into township violence at a press briefing.

Cosatu told the meeting that it had documented evidence of township violence and outlined further action which the union intended to take to help bring the violence to an end.
Three die, 3 injured in Natal violence

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Police are investigating several incidents of violence in the Hammersdale area at the weekend, in which three people were killed and three injured.

Captain P Kitching, police press liaison officer for Maritzburg, said the incidents were believed to be the result of fighting between the Majola and Khum-bule clans.

He said police believed the chain of killings and assaults were sparked off by the death of Eric Mncwane, 20, who was found stabbed to death at his home on Saturday.

Later Mr Joseph Maseko, 23, was shot and killed.

Mr Anthony Zondi, 24, was then killed in his home by three men who shot him in the left arm, chest and leg. Mr Anton Maseko was shot in both legs.

The police unrest report issued in Pretoria yesterday said a security force vehicle was set alight at Mbekweni, near Paarl.

The report also mentioned incidents of stone-throwing at Forty-Second Hill near Harrismith, at Clermont (Durban) and at Bonguletho, near Oudtshoorn.

Petrol-bomb attacks occurred at New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, and Enhlakhale, near Grey-town, the report said. — Sapa
Maritzburg’s faction war a battle for supremacy

By Georgina Hamilton
in Durban

THE violence in Maritzburg is too easily viewed as an evenly-weighted and brutal battle for political control of the area between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Equally, the fact that there is violence on both sides, fanned in recent weeks by the involvement of apolitical criminals and thugs, lends itself too easily to interpretation by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu as ‘black-on-black’ strife.

Such interpretation suggests that the violence around Maritzburg does not have serious political origins, or reflect understandable political and economic aspirations.

‘Black-on-black’ violence is a racist concept that attributes some kind of essence to violence involving black people, suggesting that violence, like everything else in the country, is susceptible to racial categorisation.

**Strife**

Just as the violence cannot be understood simply as an evenly-weighted clash between Inkatha and the UDF, it cannot be understood as ‘black-on-black’.

Strife. Both are simply descriptions and inaccurate at that. They do not approach the terrain of analysis or understanding.

The violence in Maritzburg is not an unpredictable explosion. Officials of the Congress of South African Trade Unions have documented evidence to demonstrate that there has been a long process in the areas surrounding Maritzburg in which Inkatha-supporting vigilante groups have escalated their activities in response to organisational challenges to their self-proclaimed supremacy.

Retaliation, and the initiation of violence in recent weeks, have also escalated from the UDF side. Now it is possible to play a numbers game in which numbers of people murdered or injured are given either as an indication of which side is doing the most damage or which side is most in control.

Even within the limited value of such an exercise, existing evidence shows that the weight of victimisation has fallen on members of the UDF, trade unions, and their families and associates.

Much more important than numbers though, are the structures and circumstances that have produced the conflict.

It is often forgotten, or perhaps not even understood, that Inkatha is the governing party of KwaZulu. Throughout the state of emergency it has been able to operate openly and legally. The KwaZulu government has its own branch of the national police force. Chief Buthelezi has twice met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok this year to discuss violence and police matters.

In March he asked the minister for more powers to arm his supporters. He said: "I am talking here about the need that there is for the KwaZulu government and the KwaZulu police to be put in a position to rally to the cause of the people to eradicate the kind of brutality that is now inherent in intimidatory politics."

This is in stark contrast to the groups and organisations, notably the UDF and Cosatu, whose activities have been severely constrained by emergency regulations that keep their leaders and members in detention, and prevent open organisation and political opposition.

While the normal processes of political organisation are allowed to Inkatha, they are denied to the UDF and Cosatu. It is not a question of them being constrained from subversive activity, but from normal political process such as organising opposition to rent increases or to plans put forward by the Indaba.

The most publicised initiatives of Inkatha-supporting vigilante groups in the Maritzburg area over the past few years are the threats levelled by Inkatha leaders at the community of the Federal Seminary in Imbali in 1985. Inkatha’s opposition to the widely-supported consumer boycott of the same year, opposition to trade unions, and widespread vigilante opposition to the formation, organisation and activities of youth groups.

What these confrontations with organisations outside of Inkatha’s ambit have in common is the refusal by Inkatha supporters and local leadership to countenance opposition, or even the possibility that not all opposition in Natal is under Inkatha control. Attacks, both verbal and physical, have been levelled at youth organisation and opposition in Natal for at least the past seven years.

Their virulence increased with the formation of the UDF in 1983. Similar attacks on trade union organisations have escalated since the formation of Cosatu in 1985.

**Radicalism**

Both the UDF and Cosatu have heralded the presence of a politics in Natal that cannot be contained in Inkatha’s fold. Both are part of a national struggle that has already abandoned Inkatha to its regional and ethnic preoccupations.

The threat that they pose ideologically is almost more important to Inkatha, judging by its supporters’ responses, than the actual size of the opposition. Thus the Federal Seminary in Imbali was portrayed by Inkatha supporters as a hotbed of radicalism.

Its crime, it seems, was that it was a small community of people that did not actively support Inkatha within an area that Inkatha had defined as its own territory.

In the case of clashes between Inkatha supporters and students at the Ngoye campus of the University of Zululand the offence to Inkatha was that students had created a ‘no-go’ area for Buthelezi within his very own KwaZulu.

The Inkatha terrain is both geographical and ideological. It was once supposed to have encompassed the whole of South Africa, but the strength and direction of national extra-parliamentary politics has tended to make Inkatha more circumspect of late and its supporters seldom claim the monopolistic national black political aspirations as they frequently did in the late seventies and early eighties.
Alarm... pangas into action

By Jeremy Mogga
in Durban

They usually attack in the early morning when we start to feel drowsy and sleepy... when we have been up and on guard all night. They will burst through the door. These days we are ready. I'm not scared. It is my duty...

It is past midnight. The speaker is a 10-year-old boy. As he talks, he fidgets with his hands. His voice is hoarse and throaty. "We are not scared. We are brave."

He is part of the "night patrol" of young boys who have been trained in self-defense. They are part of the local defense unit.

"Defence units" are common in the townships. They are groups of young boys who come together to protect themselves and their families from attacks by armed gangs.

The patrols are sometimes armed with pangas (primitive spears) and other weapons.

Recently, there have been reports of increased violence in the townships, including attacks on schools, homes, and businesses.

Two-pronged peace initiative to end the township killing

A two-pronged peace initiative is underway to end the violence in the townships. The initiative, which includes talks between the main warring groups and the involvement of the Rassanu peace process, is aimed at stopping the killings.

On a wider scale, three major church alliances are supporting efforts by the Rev. Ashton Jennings, director of the Vuvuzela Trust, to bring about a "peace summit" between the two groups.

"We will not be concentrating solely on the violence in the townships, but on the wider issues," said Mr. Jennings. "We need to find a solution that is acceptable to both sides."

A leading role is being played by Mr. Paul van Vuuren, manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, in encouraging the two sides to engage in negotiation and dialogue.

"We need to find a way to break the cycle of violence," he said. "We are committed to finding a peaceful resolution to this conflict."

The initiative is supported by a number of international organizations and peace activists, who have come to the townships to witness the violence and offer support.

"Peace is not just a matter of ending violence," said Mr. van Vuuren. "It is about building a future where all people can live together in harmony."

"We need to work together to make this a reality," he concluded. "The future of our townships is in our hands."
Defence units, 'liberated zones' in Natal's 'Angola'

MARTINSBURG. — The strife-torn townships near here have been aptly nicknamed "Angola".

Like the strife-torn Freidland state, these townships are embroiled in a civil war as residents are determined to resist outside interference in their lives.

The civil war is essentially a struggle for control of the townships by UDF supporters and members of Chief Gqoba Bhekukulwana's Inkatha movement.

Killed.

The killings and counter-kilings have claimed so many lives that human rights groups have been unable to keep track of the incidents.

However, UDF co-president Mr Archie Gusciole believes more than 50 people have been killed since 1983.

Residents pray at the opening of a meeting at Edendale. The meeting was called to find ways to resolve the crisis.

Over the past four years as many as 30 people are reported to have been killed and scores have been injured. But conflicting reports cast doubt over the accuracy of the statistics.

More than 350 people have been arrested, and many homes have been damaged by petrol bombings and arson.

The schooling of hundreds of children has been disrupted with matriculants worst off in examinations approach.

The "war zone" comprises Edendale, Akhadow, Imbil, Isilumhle, Isimangaliso and smaller outlying areas.

The atributions of the killing of at least 10 people last weekend suggest that common criminals are doing the killings and not Inkatha members, said a special committee in the area.

Two of the victims were stabbed to death, a number of people were wounded, some homes were attacked with petrol bombs.

Groups have formed "defence units" to protect themselves and their homes. And "robbers" are conducting "guerilla" raids on innocent residents.

Residents claimed they had to establish their own units because of the frequent attacks by armed robbers who they alleged are trying to make them join Inkatha.

Peace.

"We believe this is the right time to plan for peace," said a special committee in the area.

"We have airgraphic plans to protect ourselves because we believe some organisations want to disrupt our lives."

"They pretend they are afraid, but we want to make sure that our people live in peace without being molested," he said.

The commanders in the "civil war" are blaming each other for the killings.

Inkatha representative Mr V V Mzola claimed his members were being attacked by the UDF supporters while the UDF's provincial leader Mr Siso Cebekhulu said Inkatha were being attacked by the UDF.

Conflicts.

The director of the commission, Mr Petro Kruehoff, said he was pleased with the success of the commission and the family of lives of people who have been killed in the clashes.

The violence has caused hundreds of families to flee their homes and become refugees.

Gladys Sango was standing on the footpath of her house. Her husband and daughter were killed by Inkatha supporters.

"It's been a traumatic experience for hundreds of families."

Inkatha supporters are saying that they are being attacked and that they are only protecting themselves. On the other hand the Inkatha leadership is saying the opposite.

"I was prepared to intervene if I was called upon to do so," said Inkatha leader, Mr Siso Cebekhulu.

Residents have a spin-off of the battles that have taken place throughout Natal since the Inkatha was established in August 1983.

Inkatha has a mandate of control in some areas because of the violence and the active collaboration of different authorities.

Townspeople in and around Durban are doubled, but there are still strong undercurrents militating against permanent peace in the townships.

In Matatiele, however, the continued conflict shows that Inkatha has not been having it all its own way.

"We have to do something to end the shootings," said Inkatha leader, Mr Siso Cebekhulu.

"The government is trying to find a way to stop the violence."

Police in door-to-door survey.

POLICE have started a door-to-door survey in strife-torn Bonteheuwel, raising fears among political activists of a possible major security sweep in the area.

But police have denied the survey was politically motivated. They said it was "to build a better relationship with the community".

Members of the Bonteheuwel Independent Congress (Bice) said police were seen in the area at least twice a week.

"They ask questions about the number of people in the house, where people work and which schools the children attend." "They have also handed out information leaflets, they contact the police if there is any unrest in the area," a Bice member said.

She said Bice believed the reason for the survey was to get information about activities and to find out where students live.

"Policemen told people they could make anonymous phone calls if they wanted to give information."

"Even primary school pupils were asked detailed questions about their activities.

"We are preparing ourselves for a sweep on Bonteheuwel. The survey could also be related to the planned visit to the area by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok."

"Vlok is welcome to visit the area if he comes as peace and not to harass anyone," she said.

A woman resident said she was asked if her husband worked in a liquor outlet and nightclub.

Ravender, the officer in charge of the area, said he was not aware of any plans for a sweep.

Western Cape police liaison officer Lieutenant Artie Laasehfer confirmed that "senior policemen and officers are visiting the residents to obtain personal contact."

"They act like a deaconess, to find out if people have any problems which they are reluctant to talk about."

"It's purpose is also to win the confidence of the residents, to build a better relationship between the police and the community."

"The police are not just these men on a patrol van or Catcar."

"These policemen are specially trained for the task. It has been going on for months and it will go on as long as we have to catch the robbers in Bonteheuwel. It is not a permanent situation."

He said the operation was being run by the Western Cape regional police.
By RYLAN FISHER

ANY move from traditional parliamentary politics needs to be welcomed, says UDF national treasurer Azar Cachalia.

Cachalia was explaining his statement indicating "cautious approval" of the launch of Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

"When the formation of the National Democratic Movement was just announced, I indicated cautious approval because any move from traditional politics need to be welcomed, but this was far short of endorsement and cannot be seen as endorsement," Cachalia said.

"The NDM had given the impression that they wanted to make contact with extra-parliamentary organisations, and that they realised Parliament itself would not bring about the necessary changes.

"Since then there have been some problems. Some of the NDM speakers have said they are in favour of actions like preventative detention.

"A serious problem is that they want to reconcile conflicting positions from the Conservative Party to the UDF.

"We cannot endorse their initiative if they are not prepared to identify with the demands of the democratic movement, especially the UDF, and to actively oppose the National Party Government.

"That does not mean that the UDF does not regard this move from traditional politics as significant.

"It does not mean we cannot have discussions or some kind of relationship with them.

"But there is no question of us having an alliance with the NDM.

"There is a subtle distinction, but it is important to remember that the NDM is not the National Party." Cachalia said the UDF did not send the NDM any letters or messages of support.

"When someone like Jan van Eck resigns from the PFP but remains in Parliament and says his politics is closer to the UDF, we have to respond.

"We understand the history of whites and the House of Assembly. We cannot make someone's position on Parliament a pre-condition for everything." Cachalia said the NDM was not discussed by UDF affiliates and regions.

"What was discussed is the Five Freedoms Forum and we decided to take part in their conference along with people like Van Eck and even PFP MPs.

"We realised that the UDF needed to adopt a broader approach to organising the white community."
BC's champs run for cover

From AMEEN AKHALWAYA
JOHANNESBURG — The onslaught against Black Consciousness has reached such proportions that even those who once were among BC's pre-eminent champions have run for cover for fear of being labelled 'racists' or 'reactionaries'.

With a few prominent exceptions, such as the SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, it is strange that those now in the progressive democratic movement who championed BC in the 1970s pretend it didn't exist. Or that it was some kind of political aberration, which, like an embarrassing invalid member of the family, must be locked away and not be talked about in decent company.

Many of us believe that we are being separated by a thin white dividing line, of whether or not to accept whites in our ranks. And when we look at the small number of whites prepared to support the cause of democracy, we fail to understand why our political organisations cannot — or refuse to — agree on their role.

"I was fascinated by their courage and commitment to justice."

As one of the many thousands who have undergone the experience of both the Congress movement and BC, I can find no excuse for contradiction in supporting both.

I was born in a family that supported Gandhi and raised politically at the foot of Walter Sisulu, Yuva, Dadoo, Molvi Sali Joe and Cachalia. As with many a starry-eyed child, I was fascinated by their courage and their commitment to justice, their visions of a nonracial democracy. It is a vision I still share.

As a sports fanatic, it was this vision that led me into supporting the cause of the nonracial sports organisations that became South African Nonracial Olympic Committee (Sancoc) in exile and the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) internally. And that sports cause became almost all-consuming in the absence of any real political vehicle after the 1960 banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the jailings, banning and exile of our leaders.

"Our psychological oppression was complete."

Throughout the 1960s, most of my contacts were with the banned political movements, or had no political home. The Government was setting up its puppets in the homelands and creating the CRC and the SA Indian Council.

People died in police custody, young activists were detained without trial under the new laws and came back with shocking tales of their treatment inside.

Added to that was the fear of the new phenomenon, the ubiquitous informer, and we reached a stage where even at the family dinner table, we wouldn't discuss politics. "Walls have ears," our leaders warned. We went into a political and psychological shell.

Then along came the South African Students Organisation (Saso), a brilliant band of young men led by Steve Biko whose rhetoric reached the hell out of us. More than anything, it was their boldness and confidence that made us cover in terror. Our psychological oppression was complete.

"We had proudly chosen our own identity as 'blacks'."

At the same time, BC as analysed in the white media appeared to contradict our nonracial philosophies, so we tried to distance ourselves from it. But through our experiences as adult workers in liberal white institutions, it gradually began to dawn on us that Biko and his associates had a valid point. So we, too, grew a little bolder and joined the emerging BC groups.

Soon people such as Allan Boesak were championing BC, and older people such as Winnie Mandela and Ntate Motlana, ANC supporters through and through, Desmond Tutu and Curtis Nkondo, helped to usher in the exciting BC era. Suddenly from being psychologically defeated "non-whites", we had proudly chosen our own identity as "blacks".

Many of us still had some reservations about the thin line between black racism and promoting our own worth as black people inferior to none and owing nobody an apology for what we were. I joined the Union of Black Journalists and, after it was banned with other BC groups on Black Wednesday, October 19, 1977, its successors, Writers Association of South African (Wasa) and Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwas).

Membership of these bodies was my most exhilarating political lesson and experience. Initially, as small band of journalists without union status, we were virtually a talk shop. The membership comprised people such as Zwelakhe Sisulu, born in an ANC family, Joe Thioljo, who had marched alongside the PAC's Robert Sobukwe, others who were hardcore Saso/BPC supporters, and yet others with political allegiances or leanings we didn't question.

There was no need to question any of the BC movement's trappings — a transitory stage, a holding operation to free us psychologically and enable us to take our places in the ANC, PAC or other historical bodies once they were admitted.

After Black Wednesday, Azapo emerged as the major BC political vehicle. It went further with the "psychological liberation" aspect of Saso/BPC, and formulated its own ideology. That's when the problems started for those of us who considered BC to be transitory.

Many found it difficult to accept BC's values, hence the emergence of the UDF became inevitable. And once the lines were drawn between Azapo and UDF, the pressure to take sides affected all existing bodies such as Mwasa and Socos.

However, some, while accepting the need for the Freedom Charter supporters to band together, found contradictions in the progressive democratic movement. For example, Cosas, before it was banned, as well as black students, were in line on some issues to support non-racialism, but their membership was black.

As the UDF idea grew, some in Azapo started using racist justification to exclude whites, or denigrating the UDF for accepting whites as members. In turn, some in the UDF, to show that they were nonracial and Azapo racist, bent over backwards for whites at the expense of uniting the main victims of apartheid.

"There are many who can be comfortable in both BC and Congress movements."

Thus we have been caught up in vicious circle, or by taking inflexible stands, we paint ourselves into corners from which we dare not move. Hence we find it easy to label all BC supporters as Azapo supporters, and all Freedom Charter sympathisers as UDF supporters.

The truth is that not all BC supporters back Azapo, and not all Freedom Charter supporters back the UDF. There are many who can be comfortable in both. But those who try to pretend otherwise, to show that strategically — in terms of their ideological attitudes, we must not distort the contributions of organisations that have played major roles in our history.

Many of us are proud of having been part of the Congress tradition, and of BC, and acknowledge the roles played by various bodies and individuals in the struggle.
No date yet for Maritzburg 'peace talks'

DURBAN. — Warring factions in Maritzburg's troubled black townships have expressed a willingness for eyeball-to-eyeball talks aimed at putting an end to political violence, but no definite date has been set.

United Democratic Front and Inkatha leaders in Maritzburg said they were still committed to ending the intense fighting which had resulted in more than 60 deaths.

The peace talks between Inkatha and the UDF were due to start soon.

The chairman of the UDF in Maritzburg, Mr A Chetty, said they were prepared to stop the "bloodshed" though they were being made to appear villains.

He said UDF had had discussions with the Chamber of Commerce about talks but he did not know how far the discussions had gone.

"Under the present circumstances we would take everyone in good faith and we hope the chamber of commerce would be an honest broker," he said.

He said they were very keen to bring an end to the violence. But it was pointless sitting at top-level discussions when, at the ground level, killings were continuing.

"Therefore, if one is serious about negotiations, one would have to work out a procedure before the negotiations can start," Mr Chetty said.

Inkatha said it was still committed to talks.

The local leader of Inkatha and KwaZulu MP for Maritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, said the peace talks were "very, very important" and Inkatha would still attend.

"If the UDF is really sincere as we are, then the talks can succeed in bringing peace to the area."

The acting chairman of the Maritzburg Council of Churches, the Rev Lizo Jafta, said the church was trying to create the climate for talks.
OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN. — At the ceremonial first meeting of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in the City Hall here yesterday, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged State President Botha to speed up reform.

Chief Buthelezi pointed out that KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the proposals of which the National Party has rejected as containing insufficient safeguards for minority rights.

He said he was very depressed by the views of certain South African MPs about the Indaba.

"If you can't meet halfway, even with a leader like me who is sentenced to death because he believes in negotiation, I don't know what kind of leader can negotiate with white South Africa.

"If we can't give the young people who support me in their hundreds of thousands some hope of a compromise solution such as in the Indaba, then I feel a sense of despair for this troubled land."

He said the JEA was a step in the right direction and would contribute significantly to the domination of the politics of negotiation over the politics of confrontation and violence.

Studiously avoiding the Indaba, Mr P W Botha praised the leadership of Chief Buthelezi and the Natal Administrator, Mr Radeyile Cadman, for the good record of negotiation, cooperation and assistance between the two regional authorities.

Mr Botha said the government fully supported the JEA because it enhanced the process of regional government.

"We are often criticized for supposedly imposing centralized policies on people. But decentralization and privatization will afford everyone the opportunity to try to influence services and policies directly, according to his choice."

Mr Botha said the JEA was an experiment which could succeed and for which there was an increasing need in the Transvaal and Free State.

Dr Oscar Dhloko, Inkatha secretary-general, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and Indaba co-convenor, was elected JEA chairman.

Dr Dhloko said he looked forward to using Mr Botha's "open door" to express the hopes and dreams of the region beyond the JEA.

As Mr Botha arrived just before the ceremony started, three members of the Black Sash were hustled from the city hall by police.

The women were about to take out banners and posters. A police spokesman said they had not been arrested.
COUNCILLORS in Alexandra township resigned en-bloc and police moved out to live in tents at nearby Kew township, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This followed instructions from the "comrades" that all "collaborators" like the police and councillors should resign from their jobs and join the "struggle".

Shops affected by a consumer boycott had been looted and destroyed by fire, the court heard.

Some houses of "collaborators" were also set alight; a policeman was killed and trenches were dug in some streets to make it impossible for vehicles to pass. This was done to disrupt the movement of police and soldiers in the township.

Treason

This evidence was given at the trial of Mr Moses Mayekiso (38), of the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) and civic leaders, Mr Obed Bapeia (28), Mr Zwandile Mayekiso (22), Mr Paul Thabulala (38) and Mr Richard Mdakane (29), all of Alexandra township.

They are charged with treason, alternatively subversion and sedition. The State alleges they committed the offences between January 1985 and June last year in Alexandra township.

They have pleaded not guilty and are appearing before Mr Justice P. van der Walt. The case is in camera.

A witness, who may not be identified, said he had been living in Alexandra since 1985. He said some councillors resigned and those who remained eventually resigned because they could not form a quorum. The comrades, he said, forced the councillors to resign.

The council police in the area wore a green uniform and were called "Green Beans". Following a night vigil on February 15 last year a big crowd stoned and petrol-bombed police guarding council property and told them to quit Alexandra, said the witness.

Police scared them off by shooting on the ground, he said.

The witness said children aged about 10 and 15 led the huge crowd and adults remained at the back.
Meeting on Natal violence

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front are to hold a joint Press conference today, focusing on the violence in 'Maritzburg.

Cosatu press officer Mr Frank Meintjes said documents and papers relating to the matter will be presented to newsmen.

The conference comes in the wake of continued bloody clashes between rival groups in the Natal townships.

The conference will focus on:
- The violent attacks against UDF/Cosatu members;
- Court action; and
- Past efforts aimed at ending violence in the area.

The conference will be held in 'Maritzburg.

MR MEINTJIES: Conference to focus on 'Maritzburg Violence.
Plea for the six

COSATU, along with other “democratic” organisations, called on the Government not to go ahead with the execution of the “Sharpeville Six”, the trade union federation said yesterday.

“We are aligning ourselves with other democratic organisations who have expressed concern about the impending hanging,” the statement from the Congress of SA Trade Unions said.

The Six, five men and a woman, face the gallows after the Appellate Division’s recent decision to dismiss their appeals against the death sentence.

Cosatu rejected the use of the death sentence for political activists, the statement said.

The “escalation of conflict” can be attributed directly to the political policies of the Government, Cosatu added.

“Successive governments have attempted to deny the majority of people any democratic means to redress grievances.”

The “only solution” to the conflict was for the Government to allow “full and open democratic political participation, to end repression of political opponents, to lift the state of emergency,” Cosatu said.
Policeman ‘beckoned to witdeoek to charge’

working on June 9, Dr Blecher saw several hundred armed witdeoek approaching from Old Crossroads.

“They charged a group of so-called comrades who were opposite the clinic and a battle ensued. Four Casspirs and Buffels were patrolling the area but did absolutely nothing to prevent the attack, let alone stop it,” he said.

“The witdeoek then gathered in front of the clinic and I saw a policeman in a Casspir stationed next to them beckon with his hands to the witdeoek to charge in the direction of the Zolani Centre.

“He then turned and aimed his gun and from where I was it looked as if he was shooting at the comrades in the direction of the Zolani Centre. The witdeoek then surged forward on to Zolani Centre.

Dr Blecher said about four other witdeoek came from the other refugee tents after this and all the tents were aflame.

“All this was done a mere ten to 15 metres away from a stationary Casspir. The policemen in the Casspir did nothing to prevent the tents being burned, nor did they take any action whatsoever against the witdeoek who burned the tents,” he said.

The hearing continues.

Mr Justice M B de Kock presided. Mr S Aarns SC, with Mr E Pretorius and Mr A M Omar and instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the plaintiffs. Mr D D Roodnik and Mr E L. van der Merwe SC, with Mr P D F Bezuidenhout and Mr R van der Westhuizen SC, appeared for the plaintiff.

Supreme Court Reporter
WITDEOEK gathered in front of the Divo clinic in Nyanga surged forward and torched the Zolani Centre and refugee tents pitched beside it after a policeman in a Casspir beckoned them into a charge, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of 28-year-old Dr Mark Blecher, the seventh witness to testify in the R312,000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when most of KTC was destroyed last year.

From a window in the clinic where he was
ANC pair win legal protection from kidnap

LONDON — Two members of the ANC have gone to the High Court in London to ensure their safety after an alleged plot to kidnap them, The Guardian reported yesterday.

The ANC's chief London representative, Mr Solly Smith, and member Dr Frene Ginwala won securely the protection of documents which may provide evidence for a damages claim they intend to bring against the trio.

After a private hearing before Mr Justice Allott yesterday, Dr Ginwala said the trio had agreed not to assault or kidnap herself or Mr Smith.

Police who investigated the kidnap allegation undertook not to return several thousand documents taken from the three men.

The trio, Mr Frank Larsen, Mr John Larsen and Mr Evan Evans, were arrested last July and charged with planning to kidnap ANC members.

The charges were dropped last month.

The Guardian said the decision to drop the charges was taken after the Director of Public Prosecutions had consulted MI6.

Lawyers representing the trio have claimed the documents held by the police could embarrass the British government.

— Sapa.

Cape lawyers slate new varsity curbs

CAPE TOWN — A group of lawyers in Stellenbosch has condemned the Government's campus protest curbs because they involve "a fundamental breach" of the principles of justice.

Mr A A Kriegler, spokesman for the Stellenbosch branch of Lawyers for Human Rights, said the group had the strongest objection to the new regulations.

It was arguable that the regulations were invalid on grounds of vagueness and because the Minister of National Education had exceeded his powers in terms of the Universities Act of 1965.

The policing powers conferred on the councils by the regulations had serious implications for the principles of university autonomy and academic freedom, he said. — Sapa.
Behind the Inkatha-UDF Violence

VELAPHI Ndlovu, KwaZulu MP for the Pietermaritzburg area and regional chairman of Inkatha, believes if an Inkatha member is killed by a member of the United Democratic Front, it is acceptable to take revenge by killing relatives of the UDF member.

By PHILIP VAN NIEKERK

A nightly toll: Gertrude Mvubo mourns her teenage son, murdered coming home from a funeral. Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Atap.
The bloody war which claimed 150 lives

WILLIE MPLUPO, a 49-year-old resident of Nwabeefwe outside Pretoria, declares how his 17-year old son, Abele Mbangura, was murdered by Abahlali, a xenophobic protestor on Saturday, 4 October 1997.

"Abele was walking home from his job in the afternoon and was running late. He was carrying a bottle of water and a bag with some clothes. As he was walking, he heard a group of people shouting and yelling outside his house. He was afraid because he had heard stories about the Abahlali protest before.

"Abele tried to run away, but he was caught by the Abahlali protesters who beat him with sticks and rocks. They threw him to the ground and started kicking him. Abele was unable to get up because of the pain."

"I rushed to my neighbour's house to call for help, but by the time I arrived, Abele was already dead. The Abahlali protesters were still beating him up, and they didn't stop even when I arrived.

"I called the police, but they didn't arrive until after Abele was dead. The Abahlali protesters had already left the scene by then. I didn't have any idea what to do next.

"I'm heartbroken by the loss of my son. He was a good boy and had a bright future ahead of him. I can't believe he's gone like this."

"I have filed a report with the police, and I'm hoping they will investigate the matter and bring the Abahlali protesters to justice. But I'm not sure if anything will happen.

"I just want my son back. He was such a good boy, and I can't believe he's gone like this."

"I hope this will be a wake-up call for the Abahlali protesters. I don't want anything like this to happen again."
From Robben Island with love

By SAHMI VENTER

A SMALL piece of land in Middelburg in the Ciskei was one of the driving forces behind Rivonia trialist and ANC leader Winnie Mandela's battle to be legally married.

It was on the land and paying the rent himself, his worry was his family — his unmarried sister and their children — that he was the main source of their livelihood. The question — a civil marriage and the transfer of the land into his wife's name.

This led to a court case when his first application to marry Irene Khumalo, originally from the Lenasia Mission Station, Natal, was turned down. In October 1966, Mkwai, Prisoner No 239/65, wrote not only of the refusal but also of the fees.

About 25 years later, the Prisoner Service conceded.

And Mkwai's 'dream come true' was their marriage ceremony conducted by Bishop Pierre Maphasa at Pollsmor Prison on the weekend.

The man who slipped the Rivonia net

Wives on the outside. Mrs Irene Mkwai and Mrs Winnie Mandela at the Rondebosch Congregational Church hall where one of the Mkwai marriage celebrations was held at the weekend. Picture: NEL LIPFUS (Johannesburg)

The man who slipped the Rivonia net

WITOLD ZAMISLIE

Mkwai is described by friends, family and associates of the film and film as a 'remarkable man'.

And they have several anecdotes to back up this claim.

Often mistaken as a Rivonia trialist because he was involved right up to the arrests at Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia in 1963, Mkwai narrowly escaped being arrested. He was apparently out organizing at the time.

As one of the accused in the Treason Trial, he again narrowly missed being detained in the 1960 State of Emergency.

During a tea break, Mkwai had left the court building to get coffee. In his absence the other trialists who had not been arrested the previous night were being discharged.

Mkwai found a policeman around the court room. Disguising himself to be let through and his claim that he was one of the accused, the police refused. A policeman said to him: 'Kaffir, if you don't register, I'm going to arrest you.'

Mkwai walked out of the court and into the underground. He travelled throughout South Africa, organizing the ANC and was over the border for the South African Congress of Traders Union (SACTU).

After undergoing military training, he slipped back into South Africa in 1962 where he operated underground and was sometimes only hours ahead of the police.

He began organizing Umkhonto veterans after the Rivonia Trial and until his arrest in October 1964.

The oldest son of a secular councilor in the council of elders of the village of Zikhakazi in Middelburg in the Ciskei, Mkwai left school in Std 4 to work when his parents died.

He worked on the gold mines, in dynamite factories and on the streets. He was the first of the ANC Youth League and was later Cape Volunteers in charge of the African National Volunteer Corps.
THE national and international media have been summoned for an important meeting at the offices of the Bureau for Information in Port Elizabeth tonight — and speculation is rife that it could involve the possible release of Govan Mbeki.

The bureau, however, is not making any statement. The meeting is to be held in the bureau's new offices in the old Kolniek's Building.

Mbeki, 77, an ANC leader, who has been imprisoned on Robben Island for the past 23 years.

His attorney, Miss Priscilla Jana, was in Cape Town today and could not be contacted.

Mbeki's wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki, lives at Edithwa, Transkei.

The regional director of the bureau, Mr Carol van der Westhuizen, said today that he had no idea what the meeting, which had been organized by the bureau in Pretoria, was being called for. He was just making his facilities available for the meeting.

Details would only be made available at 5pm today, he said, adding a warning about "raising expectations".

A call to the bureau's Pretoria head office this afternoon also drew a blank.

Mbeki was sentenced to life imprisonment with Nelson Mandela and other members of the ANC in 1964 for sabotage, but the State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, recently intimated that he could be released on humanitarian grounds.
Brits mum on UDF cold-shoulder

By MONO BADELA

THERE will be no official British response to the United Democratic Front’s decision to cut contact with the Thatcher government — until the organisation’s “open letter” reaches the Iron Lady of Downing Street.

Pledging with requests for comment after the announcement yesterday, the British Embassy in Pretoria would only confirm that the letter had been received.

Embassy press officer Andrew Gibbs told the Weekly Mail: “I can’t comment at this stage. It would be incorrect for us to respond to an open letter to the Prime Minister when she has not even seen it.”

He added that the copy they had received had not been signed.

In suspending relations with Whitehall, the UDF launched a blistering attack on Mrs Thatcher. “For some time now the oppressed people of South Africa have watched your political antics in the region with some dismay,” the UDF’s national executive committee wrote.

“However, your recent attack on the African National Congress and the dropping of charges against four apartheid agents engaged in illegal activity on British soil are the last straw.”

[Signature] 20Nov 1987
Urgent bid to save man from death row

LAST-ditch attempts were yesterday made by local and international organisations to save a member of the Azanian National Youth Unity, Mlungisi Luphondo (21), who is to be hanged on Friday.

Lawyers acting for Luphondo visited him at the Pretoria Central Prison yesterday to prepare his last appeal.

Luphondo and two others, Sisa Maqina (21) and Lutando Mdolwane (19), were convicted for the killing of Mr Patrick Jacobs, a Ciskei consul-general and his girl-friend, Ms Alinah Maphatsoe in 1986.

Organisations that have asked the State President, Mr P W Botha, to stay execution include the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the African-Group in the UN, Non-Aligned Movement and the UN Security Council.

The National Forum, the Azanian People's Organisation, the United Democratic Front, the National Council of Trade Unions, the South African Council of Churches and the Azanian National Youth Unity, have also appealed for a reprieve.

Co-ordinator, Mr Lusiba Ntloko, said Luphondo's hanging "would not deter the oppressed and exploited people's quest for true humanity, justice and freedom."

The president of the UDF, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, has appealed to the State President not to hang Luphondo.

The president of Azapo, Mr Nkosi Molala, said although his organisation had not sent a message to Mr Botha, they wanted him to stay the execution.

Dr W Kistner, senior director of the SACC, said they have send an urgent message to the State President to stay execution.
Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The possibility of establishing four joint executive authorities (JEAs) in the Transvaal is being probed.

Transvaal Administrator Mr Willem Cruywagen yesterday said he had written to the Commissioners General of the four self-governing states pointing out that provision was made in the Provincial Government Act for the establishment of JEAs and asking for their views.

In Durban on Monday, President PW Botha said at the opening of the KwaZulu/Natal JEA that the structure was an experiment that could succeed.

He added that an increasing need for similar ventures existed in the Transvaal and Free State.

Mr Cruywagen said the position in Transvaal differed greatly from that in Natal, where there was only one homeland to deal with.

"Here in Transvaal it is more complicated. We have four self-governing states, and separate JEAs would have to be formed."

Mr Cruywagen said he had had "purely exploratory" discussions on the issue with Lebowa Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi shortly before his death and had also spoken to Chief Minister Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane. — Sapa
MBELA NEXT?

Mbeki speaks of ANC leader: 'I have no doubt he will be freed soon''

From PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Govan Mbeki, 77, a free man today after nearly a quarter of a century as a prisoner on Robben Island, believes African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will be released soon.

Mr Mandela was one of the last people he saw before being freed yesterday.

At a press conference here last night at which he reaffirmed his commitment to the ideals of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, he said he was taken from the island to Pretoria Prison for a medical check-up yesterday morning.

He spent an hour with Mr Mandela, who was in good health and who supported his release. He could not say what they had discussed but he had no doubt Mr Mandela would be released soon.

Quietly spoken, Mr Mbeki, who was sentenced to life imprisonment with Mr Mandela and other members of the ANC in 1964 for sabotage, faced a glare of spotlight as he was ushered into a hotel for the conference.

Dignity

Dressed in a grey suit and white shirt, he looked slightly bewildered by the large contingent of national and international journalists, but he soon settled down.

Appearing slightly strained at times, he handled the conference with tremendous dignity for a person who had been in prison for more than 23 years.

There was an emotional scene when he threw his arms around his former secretary, Mr Xolile Khataza, whom he had visited in prison.

Mr Xolile Khataza, who worked for him when he was a journalist in New York, called emotionally: "Mr Mandela has not changed. I am very happy to see him again."

Communist

Mrs Xolile Nkabinde, who has been detained several times and was weeks for a barricade, and she did not care under what conditions he was released as long as he was free.
Mandela next to be freed?
(Continued from page 1)

He did not recognize the homeland and did not intend to go to Transkei. He hoped to see his wife, who lived in Transkei, as soon as possible.

They considered his release as a step towards a solution to the country’s problems.

The Government would gain by releasing him, he reported. “What would they not gain by it?”

The Government would gain a better image by releasing him so that he could play his part for the benefit of the people.

Other prisoners released included Walter Sisulu and Thomas Manuku, ANC members who were sentenced to 10 years each for murder of a policeman, and Mike Makushane and John Nkosi, members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Also released were Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik Jacobs, who in 1983 were convicted of terrorism for stocking arms and allegedly plotting to kill black leaders.

FREE AFTER MORE THAN 23 YEARS: 1964, Mr Govan Mbeki face

‘FIRST THOUGHTS’
He said he had been able to keep abreast of what was happening while in prison through newspapers and did not feel too cut off.

He said the youth should continue fighting the struggle.

Among his first thoughts after his release were how good it was to be able to talk to journalists again.

Mr Cas Venter of the Bureau of Information said that at Mr Mbeki’s request the conference would last 23 minutes.

However, after 20 minutes Mr Mbeki said he would continue to answer questions for a few minutes.

Appearing at the conference with tremendous dignity for a person who had been in prison for more than 23 years.

There was an emotional scene when he threw his arms around his former secretary, Mrs Ndlovu Namkwa, with whom he had kept in touch.

A former colleague, journalist Mr Jimmy Matyn, Mrs Namkwa, who worked for him when he was a journalist on New Age, said emotionally: “He has not changed. I am so happy to see him again.”

COMMUNIST
Mrs Namkwa, who has been detained several times and has worked for a hardware store, said she did not care what conditions he was released on as long as he was free.

The journalists were told by the Speaker of the House for Information that as Mr Mbeki was a listed communist, only what he said at the press conference could be quoted.

Spectacles that had been seized at the conference after which he was once again silenced.

Mr Mbeki said he was in good health but had problems with his eyes. He had had excellent medical treatment.

On the question of violence, he refused to say whether he supported violence or was against it. He said violence came about as a result of force against force.

“I cannot give you a direct answer. It is something that is determined by circumstances and conditions.”

Calling for the unbanning of the ANC, he said no solution could be found to South Africa’s problems without the cooperation of the ANC.

“Negotiations with the ANC are desirable. No solution can be arrived at by keeping the ANC out.”

“I still stand for the ideals for which I went to jail and will not hold my Marxist views,” he told journalists who had rushed to Port Elizabeth from around the country when the Bureau of Information announced a press conference of

(Turn to page 3, col 1)
A delegation of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association led by the Director of the Anglican Church of the Transkei arrived about 9 am. Mr. Xundu said a flat had been found for Mr. Meshi in New Brighton. The rent would be paid by the Department of Native Affairs. It turned out that Mr. Meshi remained in his room and his attorney, Miss Fruela, arrived. They then waited for a statement.
Activists 'called SA's sports bluff'

HARARE — World anti-partheid activists had called South Africa's bluff and proved they were ready for any confrontation forced by breaches of the sports boycott, the president of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, Mr Sam Ramsamy, said yesterday.

Addressing the first conference here on apartheid and sport, Mr Ramsamy accused South Africa of wanting to see international events disrupted.

But the boycott of last year's Commonwealth Games had shown how serious the opponents of apartheid were.

Mr Ramsamy claimed South African embassies were in the forefront of the country's attempts to gain a foothold in international sport, through the secret appointment of special "sports liaison" diplomats.

The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, called on all national and international sports bodies to strengthen the Organization of African Unity and United Nations endeavours to eliminate apartheid in sports.

The finance secretary of Sacas, Mr Krish Makhudhuj, said inequalities, brutalities and atrocities in sport in South Africa must be highlighted to expose the cosmetic nature of the so-called reforms in that country.

In an interview he said his delegation had had few chances of coming out of South Africa to tell the world what sport under apartheid was like.
Army moves into Natal townships

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Defence Force armoured vehicles have rolled into the strife-torn Maritzburg townships for the first time in a move to strengthen the security force presence there.

Captain Pieter Kitching, police liaison officer for the region, confirmed that the army and police had formed a joint security force to maintain law and order.

More than 140 people have died in the region this year in the conflict involving members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front/Congress of South African Trade Unions grouping.

Many unaligned individuals have also been murdered or injured, with the death toll climbing rapidly in the past two months, during which about 80 people have lost their lives.

Captain Kitching said yesterday that the three deaths reported in the day's report on unrest were not exceptional and that the average daily death toll was still about three.

A week ago the police reaction unit in the area was enlarged. Captain Kitching declined to say how many policemen were being deployed but said that police from KwaZulu were also operating.

Among the latest victims was a 16-year-old boy stabbed to death in Ashdown township on Wednesday.

In another incident police dispersed a crowd with teargas and subsequently found the body of a man who had been stabbed to death.

Another group stabbed a 30-year-old man to death after stoning his home.

And in a separate attack a 17-year-old youth was seriously wounded after he was stabbed by a group of youths.

Meanwhile, leaders of the UDF and Inkatha in three townships — Mpumalanga, Kwadengezi and Kwamakhutha — will continue their peace talks at a private venue in Durban on November 22.
GOVAN MBeki always did his laundry on Monday — because that was the day films were screened in B-Section on Robben Island.

He never went to film shows. Western-produced films were products of capitalism and therefore promoted the "economic exploitation of man by man".

Even after the introduction of television on the Island last December, Mbeki would sit through the news readings but nothing else.

B-Section, which housed the Rivonia stalwarts, was forbidden to inmates in other parts of the prison. Those of us in A-Section had to be content with letters smuggled into our section.

In the letters I received from Govan Mbeki he was interested in the way South Africa's economic cake was divided and asked about the press and any gains made by the ANC military wing. Unhappiness was as well as what influence MX had on the masses.

Journalist THAMI MKHwanazi spent nearly five of his seven years sentence on Robben Island, much of the time in the same section as Govan Mbeki. Here he describes life with the man the prisoners knew as 'Zizi'.

We were allowed to meet him officially as inmates of A-Section were permitted to mix with those of B-Section on a trial basis.

But long before, walking past B-Section, I often stood to peer through a small hole at Mbeki — known by his clan name of Zizi — and others strolling in the section's courtyard.

Tall, slim and grey-haired, Zizi walked alone, and away from the others.

I thought he was unique. And indeed he was. He was viewed as being on the more socialist wing of the ANC. He had been an activist since the age of 20, during the time the then National Party leader Hertzog was striving to remove the franchise from the Africans.

It was a time, he said, when his confidence in the church was undermined, because the church did nothing to intervene.

After I was permanently transferred to B-Section in June 1982, I finally able to learn more of this remarkable man.

Like Mandela, Zizi was neat — so neat he kept carefully folded small pieces of toilet paper placed on his table to wipe off anything that resembled dirt on the table or his utensils.

The soft-spoken Zizi spoke very little and yet said much. As a man holding a BA Honours degree in economics, he was interested mainly in that subject.

Unlike Mandela, he was consulted for information required for the purpose of political education among inmates in the Freedom Charter camp. He respected young and old, and everyone was equal when the South African struggle was debated.

From time to time inmates also had to contend with personal problems, and Zizi would be assigned by the B-Section committee, composed of fellow inmates, to help them. During meetings in which a problem with the authorities was being discussed, Zizi would say very little, but his views invariably carried weight.

He was generous with more than advice. At a time when I was ill and had been prescribed a special ulcer diet which was not being supplied, Mbeki sacrificed his own meal — he was on the identical diet — and gave it to me.

He distanced himself from members of the Prisons Service and spoke only when it was necessary.

He was notorious from the state's point of view for what they considered his uncompromising communist leanings. Yet at weekends the same Mbeki would learn his guitar and play Afrikaans folk songs like "Hastie, hoekom is jou stert so kort..." and "Jan pieiriewit staan stil... goeie mòre my vrou, goeie mòre my man... daar is koffie in die kan".

Although inmates were allowed to buy and use iron for their laundry,
Weeks of speculation end as Rivonia man is finally released

FREED MBEKI SPEAKS

Weekly Mail Reporters

African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki was freed last night after 23 years in prison — and immediately reaffirmed his dedication to the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"The idea for which I went to jail and which the ANC stands for I still embrace. I am still an ANC member."

"I am still a member of the Communist Party. I still embrace Marxist views," he said.

Mbeki was one of seven prisoners released yesterday before ending their sentences, including PAC member John Kost, who was also serving a life sentence.

The 77-year-old Mbeki, the first major ANC leader released unconditionally while serving a life sentence, spoke happily and uncertainly at a press conference organised by the Bureau for Information.

The grey-haired, slightly balding grandfather figure said he was "happy to be back", though he was concerned about his prison conditions. "Comrades!"

But, he added, he was confident they would soon be released. "I wouldn't say my release is a step towards a solution; a solution is not found with one man. No solution can be arrived at by keeping the ANC out," he said.

Mbeki, who was imprisoned for his membership of the high command of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's military wing, said there was still a need for MK.

"As long as the ANC sees fit for it to be there, it would be there."

Asked about the UDF, he said it was "a good thing".

He had no definite plans. He was due to spend the night in the Holiday Inn and would then take up residence in the nearby New Brighton township.

He was keen to see his exiled sons and to collect an honorary degree he had been awarded in Amsterdam. He would be applying for parole.

"To PAGE 3"
Rivonia man Mbeki walks free after 24 years in prison

The ANC statement said the campaign to free South African political prisoners had scored an important victory.

But, said the ANC, "we are acutely aware that his release in a real sense also means a change of address from the confines of Robben Island into the prison house of South Africa."

John Nkosi, also released yesterday, was a PAC member who has served 24 years of a life sentence. Also released were two other PAC members, one ANC member and two members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The AWB members had served just four years of 15-year sentences. They are JD Viljoen and J G Jacobs.

The others released were Michael Matsobane, Zifozonke Tisikila, both PAC members who had served eight years of 15-year sentences, and Tom Masuku, an ANC member who has served nine years of a 20-year sentence.

Mbeki's release comes after months of wrangling between his lawyers and the government since PW Botha announced on August 13 that he had asked the prison Advisory Release Board to look into his case.

It is also the culmination of a step-by-step backdown by the government in its bid to impose conditions on the release of political prisoners serving life terms.

Gradually, through three major statements on political prisoners, Botha has dropped most of the conditions he attached to their release.

Many observers will see these releases as a step along the road to the possible freeing of South Africa's best-known political prisoner, ANC leader Nelson Mandela — a view that will be strengthened by a throwaway remark by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee in his announcement of yesterday's releases: "The release policy will be applied in the usual manner as a continuous process."
The six released: A diverse sweep from left to right

The BIG PRISONER RELEASE

By JO-ANN BEKKER

The first group released with Govan Mbeki yesterday hailed his release as a "most encouraging sign for the future," as the trade unions and the ANC South Africa Congress and the All African Congress celebrated.

Govan Mbeki walked free from prison on Friday in Pretoria, accompanied by others, to begin a new life. A small group of union leaders and others, including the ANC, celebrated outside the prison gates. Mbeki said he was "overjoyed" to be free.

The ANC said that the release of Mbeki was a turning point in the struggle for freedom. "We are confident that this release will contribute to the overthrow of the government," the ANC said.

The six released, who were all members of the ANC, included: Govan Mbeki, who had been in prison since 1985; Zinziwe Mabuza, who had been in prison since 1983; Thabo Mbeki, who had been in prison since 1984; and Sipho Maseko, who had been in prison since 1982.

The release of these six men brought to an end a 26-year period of imprisonment for the ANC. It is the longest period of imprisonment in South Africa's history.

The six released were greeted by a cheering crowd of supporters outside the prison gates. They were immediately taken to a waiting car and driven to the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

By LEON KOTZÉ

The release of the six ANC members was welcomed by many South Africans as a significant event in the struggle for freedom. "We are hopeful that this will lead to the release of more ANC members," said a senior ANC official.

The ANC said that the release of Mbeki was a turning point in the struggle for freedom. "We are confident that this release will contribute to the overthrow of the government," the ANC said.

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Plan to set up PE home

PORT ELIZABETH — Transkei-born Mr Govan Mbeki, freed yesterday after 23 years in prison, told a press conference here that he intended to remain and settle in Port Elizabeth as soon as a house could be obtained in New Brighton.

Mr Mbeki's family had an urgent meeting at his home in Ngqolingwa administrative area, Idutywa, last night.

Mr Zizi Mbeki of Butterworth, a nephew of Mr Mbeki, who is the family's spokesman, said the urgent meeting had been called by Govan's wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki.

What the family discussed last night would only be known today.

Mrs Mbeki who had been running a small shop at her house in Idutywa is now selling jerseys for a living.

Linda is the couple's only child still living with her mother in Transkei. The couple's sons Thabo, Goduka and Jama live in exile.

Asked how she felt about the release of her father, Linda said: "The only person who can comment is my mother." Mr Zizi Mbeki refused to comment saying he was still awaiting instructions from Mrs Mbeki. — DDC-Sapa.

PORT ELIZABETH — The ANC veteran, Mr Govan Mbeki, walked free yesterday after 23 years on Robben Island and declared: "The ideas for which I went to jail and for which the ANC stands, I still embrace".

Mr Mbeki, 77, was one of seven ANC Pan African Congress (PAC) and former Africaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members freed yesterday in terms of a new dispensation for political prisoners announced by President P. W. Botha in August.

Mr Mbeki, formerly national chairman of the ANC, was jailed for life in 1964 for his role in the Rivonia conspiracy to overthrow the State.

The others freed are: an ANC member, Mr John Nkosi, who was sent to jail in 1965; PAC members Mr Walter Tshikila, jailed in 1977 for 13 years, Mr V. Masuku and Mr Michael Matsobane who were jailed in 1979; and former AWB members Mr P. M. Jacob and Mr M. Jacob who were sentenced to 15 years for terrorism in 1965.

There were scenes of jubilation when Mr Mbeki arrived at a Port Elizabeth hotel for a press conference yesterday evening.

Mr Mbeki was hugged by his one time secretary in the ANC and New Age offices, Miss Nondwe Mankhla, and Mr Jimmy Maitu, a journalist and ANC associate at the time.

"You are still hefty, man!" Mr Maitu said while Miss Mankhla clung to the old ANC leader.

Mr Mbeki nodded and smiled as scores of camera flashes and TV lights followed the threesome to a small rostrum prepared for a brief press conference.

Mr Mbeki looked healthy, his hair quite white, and gave the almost caricature appearance of the venerable old gentleman in a grey flannel suit.

found in South Africa.

"I would expect that negotiations with the ANC are desirable as no solution in this country can be arrived at by keeping it out."

He did not believe any responsible government would allow people to remain indefinitely in jail for their ideas.

He said he had spoken to Mr Mandela yesterday evening after he had been brought from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison for a medical check up.

"He is fit and healthy," he said.

"I can say what Mr Mandela and I discussed but it was good things.

"It is with mixed feelings that one is here and I am happy in a way that I am back," he said.

A VIP welcome for wrong man

CAPE TOWN — A Good Hope Hospital patient, Mr John Gqabothi, received a VIP welcome at Port Elizabeth's H. P. Verwoerd airport yesterday when members of the Press photographed him, believing him to be Mr Govan Mbeki.

Mr Mbeki, a member of the ANC, was released from Robben Island yesterday after serving a 23-year jail term for sabotage.

A tip-off that Mr Mbeki would be on a flight from Cape Town arriving in Port Elizabeth at 4 pm sent newspaper reporters rushing to the airport to meet him.

When the only black passenger wearing a white scarf around his head emerged from the plane, photographers took numerous pictures of him, thinking he was Mr Mbeki.

Mr Gqabothi's slight build resembled that of a man who had been behind bars for years.

Mr Gqabothi said he was surprised by the welcome he had received. — DDC

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He was concerned, however, for Mr Mandela's continued imprisonment, "but I am confident that in the course of time, he will also be out under the same conditions".

Asked about these conditions he said that "conditions" was not the correct word to use.

"No conditions have really been set for me. What I have in mind are the factors which had to be taken into consideration for my release and the same will have to apply to him."

The State President had for instance mentioned old age. Had he been surprised at being released?

"I think at some stage those in authority must consider releasing people," he replied. - DDC-Saps.

More reports page 3

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9.39 The government temporarily lifted the restriction on Mr Mbeki being quoted.

A Bureau for Information spokesman warned journalists that although the press conference was being allowed, quoting Mr Mbeki afterwards would fall under the restrictions applying to a listed communist.

Mr Mbeki said that as far as he was concerned no conditions had been attached to his release and that he was unaware there would be restrictions on him being quoted.

He said he was still a member of both the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"I am still a Communist Party member and I still embrace Marxist views," he said.

He said the ANC should be unbanned if solutions were to be

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Real -17.4% Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 40.81

Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 23.07

Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 40.81
Mbeki — an ANC activist for 52 years

GOVAN ARCHIBALD Mvuyelina Mbeki, the ANC leader released from prison last night, was one of eight ANC members — including Nelson Mandela — who received life sentences at the 1964 ‘Rivonia’ sabotage trial. Mbeki, 77, is a former national chairman of the banned ANC.

The only white man convicted at the Rivonia trial, Dennis Goldberg, was freed in 1983 and has since moved to London. Mbeki is the first of the seven black defendants to be released.

The first public sign that Mbeki might be freed came on August 13 this year, when President PW Botha said he had told Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee to consider Mbeki’s case.

In the same speech, Botha said the cases of imprisoned black leaders would be given periodic consideration based on reports of government advisory bodies.

Botha also indicated that decisions to release banned ANC leaders would no longer depend solely on whether they renounced violence, government’s long-standing condition for freeing Mandela.

Influenced

Mbeki was born in 1910 in the Ngakweke district of the Transkei, the son of a chief. After attending mission schools he received a bursary from the Transkeian Bunga to study at Fort Hare. He obtained his BA in 1937 and completed a diploma in education.

He joined the ANC in 1938 while still a student, and was influenced by Edward Roux, an SA Communist Party leader, and Max Yergan, a black American, who was at one time a communist.

Mbeki taught at various schools, including Clarkebury Institute and Adonis College, but was dismissed for political activity. He then ran a cooperative trading store in Idutywa and was editor of the Territorial Magazine from 1938-44.

He obtained his B Econ in Social Studies in 1940 through Unisa.

In 1941 he served as secretary of the Transkei African Voters’ Association and in 1943 was elected to a four-year term in the Transkeian Bunga as representative for Idutywa.

Mbeki’s store was destroyed in a tornado in the Fifties and he went back to teaching. He was again dismissed, from a post in Ladysmith, for attempting to organise coal miners.

He moved to Port Elizabeth in 1955 as local editor of New Age, a left-wing newspaper. He was not a communist at this time, though his views were left-wing.

From Port Elizabeth he reported on news of the Transkei and maintained close ties with students at Fort Hare. He was a prominent figure amongst graduates of the university and served as the convocation representative of the university council from 1944-46.

In Port Elizabeth Mbeki became deeply involved in ANC activities, consolidating its support in the area to an extent that it became the hub of ANC support in SA. Port Elizabeth became one of the few centres in SA where the M Plan, a system of cell organisation devised by Mandela, was effectively implemented.

Mbeki at this stage voiced his opposition to Bantu authorities and Bantu education, and published articles on these subjects in a number of journals. He took part in the planning of the Congress of the People in 1955, becoming leader of the ANC in the Eastern Cape. He was elected national chairman of the ANC in 1956.

During the Sharpeville emergency in 1960, Mbeki spent five months in detention. On his release he took a leading role in the Orlando Conference, which led up to the All-In-Africa Conference at Maritzburg and the call for a national convention.

In 1961 he joined the Communist Party of SA and in December of that year was arrested and charged under the Explosives Act, spending several months in solitary confinement before being brought to trial. He was subsequently acquitted on a technicality.

Went underground

In 1963, ignoring a house arrest order, he went underground and joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, and served as secretary of its high command.

In July 1963 he was arrested during the police swoop on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, the headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and was sent to Robben Island to serve a life sentence for sabotage.

In 1970, while in prison, Mbeki completed his BA Hons degree in economics and in 1977 was awarded an Honorary Doctorate in Social Science by the University of Amsterdam for his work “The Peasani Revolt,” which had been published in the UK in 1964, and is banned in SA. In 1939 he had also written “The Transkei in the Making”.

Mbeki is married and has three sons and one daughter. His wife, Epainette, lives in Idutywa in the Transkei. His son, Thabo, is in Lusaka, Zambia, serving on the executive committee of the external mission of the ANC.
MRS WINNIE MANDELA, wife of the Imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela, left Johannesburg early today to meet Mr Govan Mbeki in Port Elizabeth this afternoon.

She is accompanied by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of the former ANC general-secretary, Mr Walter Sisulu, also serving a life imprisonment term on Robben Island, and Mrs Irene Mkhwayi, who last week was given permission to marry Robben Islander and former ANC member Mr Wilton Mkhwayi at Pollsmoor Prison.

Others who will be arriving to meet Mr Mbeki are his wife, Mrs Epainette Mbeki, and other members of the family, all from Transkei.

Today Mr Mbeki, who was released from prison yesterday, also met his niece, 76-year-old Miss Lily Williams, who lived with him at 39A Ferguson Road in New Brighton before he was jailed.

Miss Williams, who walks with the aid of a walking stick, was hugged and kissed by Mr Mbeki when they met in his room at the Holiday Inn at noon.

She last saw her "oomnie" at the Rivonia trial in Pretoria in 1964.

"God works in wonderful ways. Today I am able to see Mr Mbeki, something I never thought would happen," she said.

Miss Williams said that she had been praying for "oomnie" ever since his imprisonment.

Mr Mbeki will be leaving at 5pm today in a chartered plane for Johannesburg, where he will have another Press conference tomorrow at noon and possibly return to Port Elizabeth on Monday.

Mr Mbeki spent the morning of his first day of freedom chased in his Port Elizabeth hotel room with members of the Interdenominational Ministers Association of South African (Idamasa), awaiting the arrival of his family from Transkei.

An expected visit to New Brighton did not materialise. It also became clear that his welcome back in New Brighton would be kept low-key.

Mr Mbeki spent the morning in his room with members of Idamasa, led by the chairman, the Rev De Villiers Sege. The Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, Bishop Bruce Evans, was also present.

Members of the Mankahla family were also with him. Miss Nekile Mankahla was his secretary in Port Elizabeth in the 1960s.

An executive member of the United Democratic Front and Idamasa, the Rev Mbilisi Xandu, said Idamasa had arranged a flat for Mr Mbeki.
Mbeki the first Rivonia trialist to be set free

By Martin Challenor

 Accused No 4 in the Rivonia Treason Trial, Govan Archibald Mvuyelina Mbeki, refused to plead guilty before the Judge President of the Transvaal.

 Instead, the national chairman of the ANC, secretary of the high command of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and member of the SA Communist Party said: “I do not accept that there is any moral guilt attached to my action.”

 Mr Mbeki, 77, arrested in a police swoop on Lillesleaf Farm, Rivonia, on July 11, 1963, was one of eight ANC leaders sentenced to life imprisonment.

 His exiled son Thabo is tipped to succeed Mr Oliver Tambo as leader of the ANC in exile.

 For almost all his imprisonment, Mr Mbeki’s wife Epainette (71) has run a shop in Luthynya, Transkei. Their two other sons, Goduka and Jama, are also in exile.

 Mr Mbeki was a journalist, politician, teacher and trader.

 Born in Ngamakwe, Transkei in 1910, the son of a chief, he attended mission schools and received a bursary to study at the University of Fort Hare.

 There he completed a BA and a diploma in education. He joined the ANC in 1935 and worked actively with the Communist Party from that time.

 Mr Mbeki was sentenced for his role in launching Umkhonto we Sizwe.

 Mr Justicé de Wet found him guilty of instructing and training recruits in sabotage, preparing and manufacturing explosives and carrying out acts of sabotage. He was convicted of furthering the aims of the SA Communist Party and for offences linked to the financing of the sabotage campaign.

 Unable to speak for himself in the past 24 years, Mr Mbeki has been described as a hardline ANC militant. He refused to leave his Robben Island prison if any conditions were attached to his release.

 Mr Mbeki was the oldest of the Rivonia trialists and reports from Robben Island were that he was frail.
He is a hero, not a criminal, says Tutu

Dr. Paton remembers Mbeki as "a very militant ANC man". "And when he and Mandela and others decided that peaceful non-violent policies were no good any more, they decided to use violence."

Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, said: "We are happy and welcome him home and we hope that he will still be with us in our struggle in the destruction of apartheid."

The UDF's demand, however, was for the release of all political prisoners.

The National Democratic Movement said: "We sincerely hope that this is a forerunner of the release of more political leaders in prison or in detention."

The acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr. Ray Swart, last night welcomed the release.

He called upon the Government to give urgent attention now to the release of Mandela and others in a similar position.

Mr. Dave Dalling MP for Sandton, said the PFP hoped this meant the release of other important political prisoners.

The Conservative Party denounced Mr. Mbeki's release, saying the Government had turned its back on its conditions for the release of security prisoners.

The Five Freedoms Forum welcomed the release, but added: "It would be good to believe that this was not only a token measure."

A US embassy spokesman said: "We are especially pleased that their release was apparently unconditional."

A spokesman for the British embassy in Pretoria said his government was "holding out" to its comment on the release of Mbeki, until clarity had been obtained on possible conditions attached to his freedom. - Sapa and Staff Reporters.

Mbeki move may set stage for Mandela

Release of ANC leader welcomed

The release yesterday of seven prisoners sentenced for political offences, including Mr. Govan Mbeki (77), former secretary of the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command - the African National Congress's military wing - has been welcomed throughout South Africa and in Washington, London and Lusaka.

The release has increased speculation on the possible release of Nelson Mandela.

Among others freed were Mr. Walter Sisulu and Mr. Thomas Masuku. ANC members jailed 10 years ago for the murder of a policeman, Mr. Mike Matsobane and Mr. John Nkosi, members of the Pan-Africanist Congress, were two others released.

Right-wing anti-political prisoners Mr. Jacob Viljoen and Mr. Hendrik Joubert were also set free. They were members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who were convicted in 1983 of terrorism for stockpiling arms and allegedly plotting to kill black leaders.

They received special remission of sentence after being sentenced to 15 years in jail.

At a press conference after his release Mr. Mbeki made it clear that he still remained a communist and a member of the ANC and would still fight for the ideals he had always held.

The press was given special permission to quote Mr. Mbeki at yesterday's press conference, because he is a listed person and may not normally be quoted.

In Washington the release was welcomed by both Demo...
Embrace spans 23-year absence

An emotional Mr Govan Mbeki embraces his former secretary Mrs Ndawo Makhla after his release from 23 years in prison.

Current Hours: 46  Hourly Change 1976 to date: +195.62
Team Supervisor
19.50  21.50  30.00  33.00  48.00  52.00  61.15
32.61  33.08  32.05  30.53  34.46  35.64  30.06
Current Hours: 46  Hourly Change 1976 to date: Nominal +214.12
Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 28.06
Real -14.92 Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 29.93
Real -9.42 Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 27.26
Real -12.74 Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 29.93
Britain is also keen that Mandela should be released soon.
In Lusaka, the ANC's headquarters-in-exile hailed Mr Mbeki's release as a victory, but added: "His release means a changed prison address from the confines of Robben Island to the prison house of South Africa."
The only dissenting reaction came from the Conservative Party, who said that Mr Mbeki should have stayed in jail.

The mix of released political prisoners from the left and right was interpreted last night as an attempt by the Government to balance the euphoria that would result from the release of ANC and PAC members, against a white backlash from the right.

Mr Mbeki was one of eight ANC members, including Mandela, jailed for life in the Rivonia treason trial in 1964. His release could be a prelude to the eventual release of Mandela, a move which would have a major effect on the political situation in South Africa.
Mr Mbeki was flown from jail by the Government yesterday to face an international press conference in Port Elizabeth.
His wife, Mrs Epatonke Mbeki (71), runs a shop in Idutywa, Transkei. She has not seen her husband for six years.
Three months' amnesty is also to be granted to prisoners in jail on December 1 — except those convicted of violence, rape and certain security offences.

Real -32.13 Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 54.52
Real -9.63 Real Weekly Wage at 12/85: R 29.48
The other prisoners in poor health

BY SEFAKO NYAKA

Government ignoring national and international condemnation at continue 70-year-old Warda.

Gwala, 66, a former Communist Party member, has been suffering from a terminal motor neuron condition and is reported to be paralysed.

His transfer from Robben Island to the Pretoria Magistrate prison two months ago led to speculation that he might be released on bail. His appeal against sentence failed and he was jailed in 1985 with the

If 77-year-old veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki was released on compassion grounds, as President PW Botha implied this week, then several other political prisoners should also have been considered, according to the Release Mandela Campaign.

"Oscar Mpepsi, although in good health and vigour, has been in solitary confinement (from the knee down) and Harry Gwala is partially paralysed," said ANC representative Aba

Bursely Botha's claimed compassion should have included the release of a post-legal man and a man who is paralysed. Botha agreed that prisoners like Mpepsi, Gwala, ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and PAC president Sipho

Mbolopane should have been consid-
ered for release, if Botha was sincere. "Mandela recently underwent an operation and according to reports Mbolopane had to be moved to Jo-

hannesburg because of his failing health," said Azanu representative Lybon Mpalaba.

Mbolopane, ANC secretary and resident trade union leader, has served two years of a five-year sentence.

He was detained in August 1980 and nearly three years later, after a servitude conviction, he was released on bail. His appeal against sentence failed and he was jailed in 1985 with the

The ailing man who rose from bed to greet his friend

BY MONO BADALE

WHEN the world-dominating Simon Phakama Miskalpi heard Govan Mbeki had been released, that he was going through New Brighton, he got up and walked.

All of more than 28 years, he found it difficult at first. But the thought of being reunited with fellow treason trialist Mbeki, "gave him strength — it drove him on," said Miskalpi's wife, Maria Miskalpi.

Miskalpi may not be quoted like Mbeki, he is a listed communist.

He met his wife as his leader on Sunday when Mbeki returned triumphantly to Port Elizabeth, his wife and son, a short trip to Johannesburg.

It was, as Maria Miskalpi says, a "joyous reunion of comrades in arms."

"You see my husband has what is known as an inner vision. He said he could see Mbeki very clearly," said Maria Miskalpi.

"He now realises that freedom is just around the corner. He is now very hopeful that his other leader, Nelson Mandela, will soon be free."

Miskalpi's meeting with Mbeki was brief but, according to his wife, a scheduled meeting between the two activists has been fixed for the two ANC stalwarts.

Although his wife regards power to enchant and inspire people with his vision of an undivided South Africa, five years ago they were exiled.

He was unbanned in 1985, after being confined to KwaZulu for five years. Today he is in the parliament of the Port Elizabeth region of the United Democratic Front.

Miskalpi was born in 1913 in Grahamstown and came to Port Elizabeth in 1959 where he worked for a cigare-

ote company. He joined the ANC in 1943.

He was active in the Defiance Campa-
ign of 1952 and led several marches in Port Elizabeth in protests against Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act and increased rents and bus fares.

Miskalpi was in Kliptown when the Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955.

That year he defined an order not to attend a prayer meeting in Graham-
stown and was sentenced to eight months imprisonment.

One December afternoon, while serving his sentence, the security police arrived with a warrant for his ar-
rest.

He was taken to Port Elizabeth where he was told he was charged with high treason.

Nkosi: Out of jail but back at his books

BY THAMI NKHANZI

FORMER Pan Africanist Congress activist John Nkosi, who was re-

leased last week with Govan Mbeki and three other Robben Island pris-

oners, does not seem excited about his freedom after serving 24 years of a life sentence.

"Not yet," Nkosi said, speaking in the better part of Wednesday, the sixth day of his release, engrossed in books — a common scene in his Robben Island prison cell at this time of the year, with exams scheduled.

"I have been reading for a BSc de-
mree."

The Weekly Mail found Nkosi in a tiny room at the back of a house op-

posite his parents' Johannesburg home.

Between his other studies, he has been assuring a young university student who is suffering from cancer.

As he is left with exams in two modules to complete his degree — computer science and information systems — and the first of the two is scheduled for today, he was not able to find the time to be interviewed.

"I have no leave," he said, moving towards the door as he could continue studying.

Nkosi was sentenced in the Pretoria Superior Court to life imprisonment in 1963 with five co-accused, whose sentences ranged between five years and life, for his involvement in the plot to overthrow the state by violent means.

He is one of two PAC leaders who refused to sign the Botha "foremost violence" conditional release offer in 1985. The other one is Jeff Maposa,

who is still serving his life sen-
tence in Johannesburg prison.

In a moving moment Simon Miskalpi (right) is reunited with

In the Northland Prison he joined many former ANC leaders like Professor ZK Matthews, Cannon James Cailla, Mbeki, Raymond Mbatha, Vuyile Miez, Cebul Mayokoko, Florence Maveko and Frances Baard.

He was from Johannesburg and locked in the Port, every day, during the preliminary period of the mar-

athon treason trial, he would be hand-

cuffed and escorted to the Drill Hall to join his colleagues. The same list in 1961 and all 136 accused were acquit-

ted.

It was in 1958 during the trial that Miskalpi became ill. Maria Miskalpi claimed her husband was pushed and fell on his forehead while serving his sentence in Grahamstown.

On 21st October 1961, Miskalpi, another ex-

Robben Island prisoner, was the first

former colleague Govan Mbeki

Picturer: WALTER DJOJHOKI, APP

former colleague to meet Mbeki on Friday morning. When charged with furthering the aims of the ANC, Nkosi, called on Miskalpi and life pris-

oner Raymond Mbatha to give evi-

dence in his defence in the Cradock Regional Court.

Nkosi forced his way through the crowded hotel lobby and entered Mbeki's suite. After seeing him he said he was convinced that Miskalpi still had a major role to play in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Also making a pilgrimage to meet an old friend was Mayford Mfengu, 59, a veteran ANC campaigner who has spent about 20 years in banish-

ment after serving a five-year sen-

tence on Robben Island.

"People are very excited about Mbeki's release," Mfengu said.

"If prisoners do not meet the condi-
tions laid down in parliament, they will not be released, but at the same time, we will not hesitate to show mer-

cy if we feel mercy must be the deter-

mining factor," he said.

A few days earlier Justice Minister Kobi Coetzee had told newsmen Mbeki had been selected for release because he was 77 and 77 to start showing signs of his age.

He also conceded that if anything happened to one of the major security prisoners while still in jail it would play into the hands of radical activ-

ists.

But Miskalpi, who was released last Friday, showed no sign of age or of age has displayed remarkable stamina for a man his age.
SADF move into strife-torn Maritzburg townships

South African Defence Force armoured vehicles rolled into the strife-torn Maritzburg townships for the first time yesterday in a move to strengthen the security force presence in the area, according to local sources.

Police liaison officer for the region, Captain Pieter Kitching, confirmed that the army and police had formed "a joint security force to maintain law and order" in the area.

More than 140 people have died in the region this year in conflict between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front/Cosatu grouping.

Large numbers of unaligned individuals have also been murdered and hurt, with the death toll climbing rapidly in the last two months during which about 50 people have lost their lives.

Captain Kitching said the three deaths reported in the day's unrest report were not exceptional and "the average daily death toll is still around three".

DEATHS

A week ago the police reaction unit for the area was enlarged. Captain Kitching declined to say how many policemen were presently deployed in the area. The force comprised South African Police and the kwaZulu Police.

Captain Kitching would not disclose whether the SADF would be stationed in the sprawling complex of townships and villages, or in town.

Police headquarters in Pretoria could not comment on the strength of the army presence but said "a unit" had been moved into the area.

Among the latest victims of conflict in the area was a 16-year-old boy. He was stabbed to death on Wednesday by a group in the Ashdown township, according to yesterday's police unrest report.

In a nearby area, police said that they had dispersed a crowd with teargas and had subsequently found the body of a man who had been stabbed.

Another group stabbed a 30-year-old man to death after stoning his home, police said.

And in a separate attack, a 17-year-old was seriously wounded after being stabbed by a group of youths, police said.
Mbeki goes free

Wrong man welcomed home

African National Congress (ANC) veteran Mr Govan Mbeki walked free Monday after 23 years on Robben Island. He declared that "the ideas for which I went to jail and for which the ANC stands, I still embrace." Mr Mbeki, 77, was one of seven ANC Pan African Congress (PAC) and former African National Congress (ANC) leaders sentenced to 20 years in prison in 1962 for conspiracy to overthrow the state by force. Soon after going free, he said, "I am confident my release has brought Mr Mandela's release closer. The others who were freed are ANC members Mr John Nkosi, who was sent to jail in 1962, PAC members Mr Walter Sisulu, who was sent to jail in 1963, ANC members Mr V Maseku and Mr Michael Mamabola, who were sentenced in 1964, and former ANC member Mr Jacob Jilambe, who were sentenced in 1964 for treason in 1963.

Joy at release

There were scenes of jubilation when Mr Mbeki arrived at a Port Elizabeth hotel for a press conference yesterday evening. White-haired and trim, he appeared to be in good health. His release was also reflected in Lusaka, where hundreds of ANC members crowded outside the hospital to celebrate his freedom.

The government temporarily lifted the restrictions on Mr Mbeki's right to travel, being quoted. Mr Mbeki said that as far as he was concerned, no conditions had been attached to his release. But the government said the ban on his being quoted was being lifted temporarily and would remain in force in South Africa.

Mr Mbeki said he was still a member of both the ANC and the South African Communist Party. "I still embrace Marxist views," he said.

One of his main concerns was the continued imprisonment of Mr Mandela.

Conditions in prison had initially left a lot to be desired, but now they were "very good." He said the ANC should be unfurled if solutions were to be found in South Africa.

Mr Mbeki's release drew favourable local and international reactions.

'A signal for others'

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it was "tremendous news" and that he hoped this would be "a signal for the opening of the doors for all the other political prisoners.

The release was welcomed by Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, and UPF co-president Mr Albertina Sisulu, whose husband was jailed together with Mr Mbeki and Mr Mandela.

Acting leader of the UPF Mr Roy Spero and a spokesman for the National Democratic Movement also tasted the freedom.

But Congress leader Mr Andries Treurnicht said he had "serious misgivings." The US State Department called it "a positive move on behalf of the government.

In London, ANC spokesmen said they were not surprised by Mr Mbeki's release. The British government reserved its comments when it learnt Mr Mbeki remained "listed." Mr Mbeki told the press he hoped soon to see his 77-year-old wife, Epinnke, who visited him only once a year or twice a year. He said he was particularly proud of his son, who is widely regarded as a likely successor to ANC leader Oliver Tambo, and would apply for a passport to visit him at the movement's headquarters in Lusaka.

FREE... Mr Govan Mbeki at a press conference yesterday soon after his release and a picture taken before he was imprisoned (inset).
Veteran PAC man dies

A VETERAN Pan Africanist Congress of Azania member, Mr Isaac Lohwana Mhlekwa, has died after a long illness. Mr Mhlekwa, who was a member of PAC's Liberation Army (APLA), died at an East London hospital on October 28. He will be buried at Mqanduli in Transkei on Sunday.

Mr Mhlekwa was released from the Robben Island last year, after being convicted of carrying out activities of the outlawed organisation.

His health deteriorated while serving the sentence on the Robben Island, according to his family.

The PAC has sent a message of condolence to his wife, Selina.
AZANIAN National Youth Unity member, Mlungisi Luphondo (21), was due to hang this morning.

Late yesterday, all hope that this Port Elizabeth youth could still be saved from the gallows had evaporated as he met with his family for the last time.

His two sisters, Miss Deborah Luphondo and Miss Georgina Luphondo, were with him the whole day yesterday. Earlier, he had met with another relative, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, who is well-known in black trade union circles.

In a statement yesterday, the Pan African Congress (PAC), said it had appealed to the United Nations and other world organisations to intervene and save Luphondo from the gallows.

At a spirited service at Khotso House in Johanneburg yesterday, speakers described Luphondo as one of Azania’s gallant fighters.

The speakers included leaders from Azanyu and Mwasa, the Rev Stanley Ntwasa and a speaker from the All African Students’ Action Committee. The speakers also attacked the Government for not taking into account the circumstances that led to Luphondo’s taking up arms.

Lawyers acting for Luphondo yesterday said hope was running out fast.

“We have explored all avenues to try and get a stay of execution but we are hitting our heads against a brick wall. We will, however, continue fighting.

“We will do so even if it means continuing until just before the trapdoor is sprung,” a spokesman said.

GUILTY

Luphondo and two other youths, all from Port Elizabeth, were found guilty of the killing of Ciskeian consul-general, Mr Patrick Jacobs, and his girlfriend, Miss Alina Maphatsoe, in April 1986.

Luphondo was sentenced to death while the other two, Sisa Magina (21) and Lutando Mdlowie (21), were given 10-year sentences.

Efforts to save him from the gallows started soon after his sentence. An appeal to the State President, Mr P W Botha, for clemency failed and this week efforts were being made for a stay of execution.

The Special Committee Against Apartheid has sent telegrams to his lawyers to “exert maximum pressure on the authorities to stay the execution of Luphondo and all other people on death row.”

In a telex to the State President, Dr W Kistner, senior director of the South African Council of Churches, said: “We appeal to you to practise mercy in this case and to bestow presidential pardon upon this young life. Perchance, he may still repay his debt to society in a way that will enrich all of us.”
UDF 3 still dangerous, says State

By SOL MORATHI

THE State yesterday vehemently opposed a bail application of three United Democratic Front officials during a heated argument with the defence counsel in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The State still maintains that Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota and Moses Chikane are a threat to national security and must, as a result, be refused bail.

But George Bizos SC, for the defence, argued that the State was denying the trio bail for its own selfish and manifestly unfair reasons.

Despite having failed to give substantial and logical facts of the dangers posed by Molefe, Lekota and Chikane, he said.

"There are glaring loopholes in the State's case which the court must steriley look into before giving judgement," said Bizos.

Bizos also said the State had failed to show any causal connection between the trio and the unrest that occurred in the Vaal.

He further pointed out that the mere assertion that a "revolutionary climate prevailed in South Africa" was no reason to continue denying the men bail.

The State handed in a letter written by Lekota to ANC leader Govan Mbeki on his recent release from Robben Island.

It also submitted statistics regarding sabotage attacks, public violence, strikes and arson in recent months.

State prosecutor Peter Sick said the revolutionary climate in the country was still going on and there were no doubts that the trio might fan the flames even more upon their release.

Molefe, Lekota and Chikane have been refused bail on three occasions in the past. If the three men do not succeed with their application, they might spend yet another Christmas and, perhaps, one more year in custody.

Sixteen of their co-accused have been granted conditional bail of R15 000 each.

All of them are facing charges of treason, terrorism, subversion and murder. They have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.
ANC, PAC MEN FREE

RIVONIA treason trialist and veteran African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki and other political prisoners were released from jail yesterday.

In the other dramatic development one of the country's longest serving political prisoners, John Nkosi, who was convicted for Pan-Africanist Congress activities, was also released. Nkosi and Jeff Mosemola, who was not released, were the first political prisoners to be sentenced to life in the country—in June, 1963.

Significantly, three other political prisoners were released after Mr Koie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, said they had served their "sentences to such an extent that they can now be released".

The three are Mike Matsobane and Walter Tshikila, both sentenced for activities of the PAC, and Tom Masuku, serving a jail term for ANC activities.

The Government has also granted special remission of sentence to prisoners J D Viljoen and H G Jacobs, according to the statement.

Mr Coetsee's announcement follows that by the State President on August 13 that the release policy applicable to prisoners in general would in future apply to security prisoners as well.

The State President has also approved a three-month amnesty for all sentenced prisoners who would be in prison on December 1 this year, but excluding those sentenced for crimes of violence, rape, robbery, security, unrest, stock theft or prisoners sentenced for refusing to testify.

"It is expected that a considerable number of prisoners of all population groups will benefit from this over a period of time," Mr Coetsee added.

Mbeki was jailed for life in 1964 for plotting to overthrow the Government, along with ANC president Nelson Mandela, and has served his sentence on Robben Island.
Township reaction to more releases

By TOŠ WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

The Government will wait for reaction from the townships to the release of Mr Govan Mbeki, former national chairman of the African National Congress, before any further decision is taken on the freeing of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The swearing-off of violence as a way to political ends is no longer the sole condition for the release of political prisoners.

There was speculation in Nationalist circles today that the release of Mr Mbeki was a "kite-flying" exercise by the Government to test reaction inside the country. At the same time there has been favourable international reaction.

Some top Nationalists also see the latest move as an attempt to create a better climate for negotiation in constitutional reform and black political rights.

They said the Government would study what effect the releases have on the security and political situation.

SOFTER APPROACH

One said that the release of Mr Mandela could not be expected within the next few weeks but would be a slow process.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice was cautious today about speculation on Mr Mandela after Mr Mbeki's release, but he referred to statements by President Botha earlier this year which indicated a softening attitude to the release of political prisoners.

According to some Nationalist sources, the release yesterday of the seven members of the ANC Pan Africanist Congress and Afrikaner Weerstands beweging had to be seen in the spirit of goodwill in which it took place.

Mr Mbeki himself said yesterday he was confident that his release had brought Mr Mandela's release closer.

The gesture can be seen as a Government move aimed at improving race and political relations. If the step is received in a calm fashion, especially in the townships, the release of other political prisoners, including Mr Mandela, could be considered.

In a statement yesterday the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the policy for freeing prisoners would be applied as a continuing process.

Mr Botha told Parliament in August that the advisory board on the release of prisoners had recommended that the policy be the same for criminal and political prisoners.

Mr Botha said that renouncing violence, like any other positive factor, contribute to a good prognosis but that this would not be decisive in its own right.

© See Page 11
Natal fighting:
Army moves in

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The SADF has been called in to help police in the troubled townships here where more than 60 people have died in the past six weeks.

A police spokesman said the SADF and the police would form a joint security force to maintain law and order.

Last week extra police units moved into the Edendale area and are being helped by a police helicopter.

Meanwhile, township violence here has claimed another three lives, bringing the death roll in the past six weeks to 63.

Police yesterday reported three fatal stabbings in the city’s township of Ashdown. One of those killed was a 16-year-old youth.

A group stoned two homes, entered one and stabbed to death the owner, a 30-year-old man. The body of a man, apparently stabbed to death, was found in Ashdown after police dispersed a large group with teargas.

At Sweetwaters, also near Maritzburg, police said a 17-year-old youth was attacked by a group armed with knives and seriously injured. Two youths were arrested in connection with this incident.

Sapa reports that, according to the Sowetan yesterday, an Atteridgeville, Pretoria, couple escaped death on Wednesday when four petrol bombs were hurled into their house.

Mr. Marcus Lekgoro and his wife Mary, of Ditodi Street, escaped unhurt when one of the petrol bombs was thrown into their bedroom about 1 am, their sons told the Sowetan.

Their three children — all political activists — also escaped unjured when three other petrol bombs were hurled into the lounge. Damage to the rooms is estimated at R7 000.

The three activists are Mr. Kgaugelo Lekgoro, publicity secretary of the Southern Transvaal Youth Congress, Mr. Mpho Lekgoro, secretary of the Saulsvill/Atteridgeville Youth Organization, and Mr. Nathaniel Lekgoro, a member of the local branch of the Detainees’ Parents Support Committee.

All these organizations are affiliates of the United Democratic Front.

Mr. Mpho Lekgoro told the Sowetan neighbours informed them that the petrol bombs were thrown by three men who were wearing balaclavas and were seen running away from the scene.

The petrol bomb attack on the Lekgoro house is the third in two years.

The attack has raised fears among local activists that there is a violent crackdown on them again, similar to attacks that erupted in 1985.
Freed Mbeki is 'still communist'.

African National Congress (ANC) veteran Govan Mbeki yesterday walked free after 28 years on Robben Island and declared "the ideas for which I went to jail and for which the ANC stands, I still embrace".

Mbeki, 77, was one of seven ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and former Afrikaner Weerstands beweging (AWB) members freed yesterday in terms of a new dispensation for political prisoners announced by President PW Botha in August.

Mbeki, formerly national chairman of the ANC, was jailed for life in 1964 for his role in the Rivonia conspiracy to overthrow the State by force.

The others freed are: ANC member John Nkosi who was sent to jail in 1963, PAC members Walter Tshikila, jailed in 1977 for 13 years, VMasuku and Michael Matsobane who were jailed in 1979; former AWB members Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik Jacobz who were sentenced to 15 years for terrorism in 1983.

There were scenes of jubilation when Mbeki arrived at a Port Elizabeth hotel for a Press conference yesterday evening. He appeared to be in good health.

Government temporarily lifted the restriction on Mbeki, a listed communist, being quoted.

Mbeki said that as far as he was concerned no conditions had been attached to his release and that he was unaware there would be restrictions on him being quoted.

He said he was still a member of both the ANC and the SA Communist Party. "I am still a Communist Party member and I still embrace Marxist views," he said.

One of his main concerns was the continued imprisonment of his friend and leader, Nelson Mandela, but he believed he would be released soon.

"I am confident my release has brought Mr Mandela's (release) closer," he said.

He said the ANC should be unbanned if solutions were to be found in SA.

"I would expect that negotiations with the ANC is desirable as no solution in this country can be arrived at by keeping it out."

Mbeki's release drew favourable local and international reaction. The US State Department called it "a positive move

Freed Mbeki says he is still a communist on behalf of the SA government. In London ANC spokesmen said they were not surprised by Mbeki's release. The British government reserved its comment when it learnt Mbeki remained "listed". Dutch and West German foreign ministry spokesman welcomed the move and expressed the hope it would lead to Nelson Mandela being released.
Is Mandela next to be freed?

Political Staff

The release of Mr. Govan Mbeki — one of “big three” jailed members of the ANC’s old guard — inevitably fuelled speculation yesterday that Mr. Walter Sisulu and eventually Mr. Nelson Mandela could follow.

The 77-year-old Mr. Mbeki, the oldest of the Rivonia trialists, has spent the past 23 years on “The Island” and is regarded as one of the toughest of the old guard leaders.

The release of the former national chairman of the ANC will mean only relative freedom, for as a listed communist he may be quoted only with the permission of the Minister of Justice.

This restriction will no doubt weigh heavily on the ANC leader who, before his imprisonment in 1964, widely publicized his views during a varied career profile that included journalism, teaching, writing and politics.

Although remembered for this intellectual prowess, Mr. Mbeki was also considered a man of action, given his role as ANC activist, trade union organizer and high command member of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Govan Archibald Mvuyelina Mbeki was born in 1910 in Transkei.

A bursary from the Transkeian Bunga allowed him to study at Fort Hare, where he obtained a BA in 1937 and an education diploma. He went on to earn a B.Econ in Social Studies through Unisa in 1940, and in 1970, while in prison, completed a BA Hons degree in Economics.

Mammoth trial

Mr. Michael Matsobane, another of the security prisoners who was released yesterday, was one of 17 people sentenced after the mammoth PAC trial in Bethal between 1977 and 1979.

Mr. Matsobane was given a 15-year sentence on June 13, 1979.

He and his co-accused were charged with furthering the aims of the PAC between 1963 and 1977.

They were also charged with recruiting people to undergo military training for the PAC abroad, the alleged use of a religious organization, the Young African Religious Movement, as a cover to further the aims and objects of the PAC; as well as recruiting violence and sabotage during the unrest in Kagiso in 1977 and attempting to reactivate the PAC.

Mr. Matsobane and the current PAC president, Mr. Zeph Mothopeng, who was also jailed for 15 years, received the harshest sentence in the trial. Both were due for release in 1994.

Also released was Mr. Walter Tshikila, who had previously spent six years on Robben Island for political offences relating to the PAC. He was jailed for 13 years in 1977 in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, after he had pleaded guilty to being a PAC office-bearer, to inciting people to leave the country for military training and to giving lectures on the PAC.

During the trial, Mr. Justice Kannemeyer said that although Mr. Tshikila had been driven by his personal ideals and had not committed the offences for personal gain, no state could tolerate movements which aimed to overthrow authority by force.
Call on BP to drop District Six plans

Staff Reporter

BP Southern Africa has been called upon to "publicly renounce" its proposed plans for the redevelopment of District Six and to commit its top executives to face-to-face meetings with local community representatives.

The call was made in a statement issued yesterday and endorsed by 23 organizations in the area — including political, youth, sporting and cultural bodies.

The convenor of the Hands Off District Six Committee, Mr Anwah Nagia, said: "We have made it very clear to BP Southern Africa and its conglomerates that we totally reject any sinister scheme in cahoots with this government to redevelop the salted earth of District Six."

However, the Western Cape Traders' Association's general secretary, Mr K Allie, yesterday welcomed the scheme for the redevelopment of District Six, Woodstock, Walmer Estate and Salt River — provided priority was given to allowing those who had been forcibly removed from the area to have the opportunity to return.

A BP spokesman said Mr Nagia last wrote to BP on behalf of a number of organizations in a letter received on October 12.

"We replied on the same day by letter inviting discussions with a properly mandated group. There has been further correspondence and we look forward to further discussion."
LONDON. — Mr. Goan Mbeki’s release received a cautious welcome from European countries but the British government delayed issuing an official response when it learnt he had been "listed".

ANC spokesmen said they were not surprised by the release. They had expected it to occur before the Commonwealth Conference, but believed the government had delayed it so as not to be seen to be influenced by external pressure.

The British Foreign Office was geared up to express "unmitigated" pleasure at the release, but delayed any formal statement when it learnt Mr. Mbeki had been listed.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr. Chester Crocker, said Mr. Mbeki’s release was a "positive development ... I would hope it would lead to other things".

And in South Africa last night, political groupings to the left of government welcomed Mr. Mbeki’s release and called for the freeing of all remaining political prisoners, Anthony Johnson reports.

But the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said he had "serious misgivings" about the release of the former national chairman of the ANC as it set a "dangerous precedent".

ANC spokesman Mr. Victor Moche hailed Mr. Mbeki’s release as a victory, reports AP.

However, he added: "Even as we receive him with joy and renewed determination, we remain acutely aware that his release in a real sense also means a changed prison address from the confines of Robben Island into the prison house of South Africa."

The acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr. Ray Swart, said the blatant discrepancy between the release of Mr. Mbeki after 23 years in jail and the freeing of two right-wingers who had served four years of a 15-year sentence had to be explained.

The Five Freedoms Forum — an alliance of white organizations including the Black Sash, the End Conscript Campaign and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee - welcomed the release but asked why all political prisoners had not been released.

"It would be good to believe that this was not only a token gesture," it added.

All political prisoners should be released so that the leaders of the majority of the people could participate in "a true process of negotiation and participation in working towards a democratic future".

A Detainees’ Parents’ Support Committee statement released to Sapa said that only when political prisoners and detainees had been released, when the state of emergency had been lifted, and when organizations had been unbanned would the release of Mr. Mbeki have any real significance.

Welcoming the release on behalf of the PFP, the party’s justice spokesman, Mr. Dave Dalling, said the PFP hoped this meant the release of other important political prisoners.

If this was the case, the government might be "taking the first steps in creating a new climate in which a more representative constitution can be negotiated in peace."

The National Democratic Movement (NDM) welcomed the release of Mr. Mbeki and other political prisoners.

"We sincerely hope this is a forerunner of the release of more political leaders in prison or in detention."

"The NDM hopes Mr. Mbeki will be allowed to freely participate in the political process. Should he be restricted, his release would have no meaning."

"We hope this will open up the urgent debate on the unbanning of the ANC, because unless its leaders can take part freely as respected representatives of that organization the political process cannot be opened up in order to resolve the conflict in South Africa." Dr. Treurnicht, however, described Mr. Mbeki’s release as "dangerous.

"My difficulty is that if Mbeki is released, then Mandela is also knocking at the door," the CP leader said.

"Previously the government put some very strong conditions on the release of these prisoners — the renunciation of violence — but as far as I know Mbeki has not renounced violence or communism."

"The government has set a dangerous precedent and it will now have to follow with other concessions."

Dr. Treurnicht said he did not know enough about the circumstances surrounding the sentencing of two AWB members, Mr. J D Viljoen and Mr. H G Jacobs, to comment on their special remission of sentence and release from prison yesterday.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the release of Mr. Mbeki and others would not itself be sufficient to give the State President the credibility he needed to do what he had publicly undertaken to do. It was however a start.
MBEKI TALKS . . . Mr Govan Mbeki surrounded by pressmen in Port Elizabeth last night.

SP asked for Mbeki release - Coetsee

PRETORIA. — The release of Mr Govan Mbeki followed a request by the State President, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced here yesterday.

Mr P W Botha also granted special remission of sentence to six other prisoners.

Mr Coetsee's announcement follows that by the State President on August 18 that the release policy would apply to security prisoners as well.

The State President also approved a three-month amnesty for all sentenced prisoners who would be in prison on December 1 this year, but excluding those in for violence, rape, robbery, security, unrest, stock theft or for refusing to testify.

The complete list was too long for publication but the information could be had from the prisons liaison office, Pretoria.

"A considerable number of prisoners . . . will benefit from this over a period of time," Mr Coetsee said. — Sapa
Extended amnesty for many prisoners

Political Correspondent

The release of seven political prisoners yesterday will be followed by a three-month amnesty for all prisoners in jail on December 1, except those serving sentences for certain categories of crime.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said exceptions would be people sentenced for crimes of violence, robbery, security prisoners under certain conditions, prisoners sentenced for unrest-related transgressions, for refusing to testify and for crimes like stock theft.

A considerable number of prisoners are expected to benefit from the amnesty over a period of time.

In his statement, Mr Coetsee referred to an announcement by President Botha in Parliament on August 13 that the release policy applying to prisoners in general would also apply to security prisoners.

ADVISORY BODIES

Mr Coetsee said Mr Botha had asked him to consider seriously the case of Mr Govan Mbeki and he had requested the advisory bodies which dealt with the consideration and recommendation of the release of prisoners for advice on Mr Mbeki and a number of other prisoners.

On the advice of the Advisory Release Board, the Government had decided to free Mr G Mbeki and Mr J Nkosi who had both served more than 20 years of their sentences.

It had also been decided that security prisoners Mr M Matsobane, Mr W S Tshikila and Mr V T Masuku should receive remissions of sentence.

In terms of the Prisons Act, the President had also granted a special remission of sentence to former Afrikaner Weerstands beweging supporters Mr J D Viljoen and Mr H G Jacobz who had served four years for terrorism.

The Minister said the release policy as announced would be applied in the usual manner as a continuous process.
Mandela to be freed
"From Page 1"

about each case were usually available at least a week before any hearing.
The board held four meetings a year, but one extraordinary meeting could be held if circumstances warranted it.
Mandela was one of the last people Mr. Mbeki saw before being freed on Thursday.
Mr. Mbeki said he could not disclose what they had discussed, but he had no doubt Mandela would be released soon.
In Washington, Mandela’s oldest daughter Zanele (Coleman) expressed fear for her father’s safety
when he is released. However, the Pretoria Government or young black militants might do him harm.
Some black South Africans don’t want Daddy out of jail because, well, Daddy is a powerful personality,”
she said. “Many people, of course, will see him as the leader of black South Africa if he is released from prison and ignore many of the people now in office.”

Mrs. Diana’s move, who lives with her husband and three children in Boston, told the Washington Post Magazine in an interview to be published this weekend, that she has been encouraged by reports that the South African Government did not want the 69-year-old Mandela to die in jail.
She said her optimism was sparked in May when she and Mr. Robert Brown, a black businessman were allowed to visit Mandela. Mr. Brown was nominated by President Reagan as to Ambassador to South Africa, but later withdrew his name.

Mrs. Diana said she was optimistic about the prospect that her father was released soon because of the release last month of a white South African army captain who had been captured and held prisoner in Angola.


Chorus

Grows for Mandela’s release

Newly released political prisoner Mr. Govan Mbeki thinks Nelson Mandela will be released soon. So does Mandela’s daughter Zelzani — and expectations have been raised elsewhere in and outside South Africa.

The African Press is also openly salivating Mr. Mbeki’s release this week, with others, pressuring for Mandela.

Observers are saying the Government is testing opinion by releasing Mr. Mbeki and the four other political prisoners.

Last night SABC-TV, in an unprecedented move, interviewed the chairman of the Advisory Release Board, Mr. Justice Kumleben, about the release of Mr. Mbeki, thus placing emphasis on the “neutral” role the board played in the freeing of the prisoners.

The Government would appear to be deflating the issue by “leaving” the release of Mandela to the board’s discretion.

Mr. Mbeki’s attitude to violence was taken into account by the board,” the judge said.

The judge said no distinction was drawn between security prisoners and other prisoners, and Mr. Mbeki’s case was decided on the norms applied to all prisoners.

He said the board had been aware of Mr. Mbeki’s attitude to, and views on, the use of violence, and this had been an important consideration in deciding whether he should be released.

The board had also taken into account the unpredictability of his behaviour after release, but notwithstanding these factors, it had decided that grounds existed for Mr. Mbeki’s release without the imposition of conditions.

Referring to the possible release of Mandela, Mr. Justice Kumleben said the case was not on the agenda.

There was no fixed procedure for the holding of meetings on the release of prisoners, but details

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GOVAN MBEKI: "NELSON MANDELA WILL BE RELEASED SOON!"
WHENDAY FOCUS

BIKO DIES IN DETENTION

by NEIL LUPIN

WASHingtON

FOREIGN SERVICE

STEVES Biko is said to have been blessed by a sense of humour. Maybe he would have found some dark humour in this week's situation.

The young black leader whose brutal death in police custody 36 years ago is an indelible mark of shame for South Africa, this week acquired the international status of martyr — and has therefore been in death perhaps the most potent weapon the SA authorities have ever delivered to their worldwide enemies.

More no mistake about it. Cry Freedom, the Richard Attenborough film about black activist Steve Biko and his white friend, Donald Woods, is a big step in the history of South Africa.

It's big in the sense that it will help to shape the attitudes of millions of people towards South Africa, millions who might otherwise have remained neutral about a situation that was, after all, just another strange trouble spot in the TV news.

FILMOGRAPHS will come out of countless cinemas across southern Africa and elsewhere around the world. You can count on it. From the director, the movie will go to video rental stores for second and third viewings.

Cry Freedom will be a critical feature of South Africa's image — just as Malcolm X has been in the past.

And the last laugh is on Steve Biko — if he laughed at all. The young man who was killed before he could become involved in the national leader's potential power to produce and before his political passion could mature into a vision for all South Africans, has now emerged as a much bigger figure in the South Africa story than he ever was in life.

It is a great pity most White South Africans will not see the film. They ought to know what they are up against.

Cry Freedom is not a great movie. It presents a distorted one-sided image of South Africa, and it depicts Donald Woods, even editor of South London's Daily Dispatch, in an heroic light that borders on the absurd.

The film's main character, the young man who is a moderate whose views must be understood by SA whites, and develops a warm friendship with him.

Biko emerges as an engaging and witty character, easy to admire and like. This makes his arrest and brutal treatment by the police even more shocking.

Donald Woods is played by Kevin Kline, a talented actor whose work here is effective in mimicking Biko's stance and black racism and reeks it.

He seeks out Biko, becomes convinced of his cause, and even helps him escape from detention.

The result is an unbalanced, unsatisfying drama that currently lacks tension much of the time in spite of its subject matter — the conflict between oppressor and oppressed leading to inevitable tragedy.

Nevertheless, it is made on an epic scale. The camera work is quite brilliant and the scenes are at times unforgettable in their harshness and horror.

The last laugh is on Steve Biko.
Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN.—The bloody battle for control of the black townships around Maritzburg continued to rage in spite of a surprise joint intervention by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

They put aside their antipathy towards each other to meet at a secret venue in Durban yesterday. Although the meeting was inconclusive it has increased hope for a solution.

Meanwhile, troops were being poured into the townships to keep the warring United Democratic Front and Inkatha factions apart amid claims and counter-claims about who was responsible for the continuing bloodshed.

Another three people are believed to have been killed at Kwandengezi near Hammarsdale, bringing the total to more than 130 this year.

Yesterday's meeting, which lasted almost three hours, ended with the two leaders agreeing to continue negotiations.

The latest violence came only 48 hours after leaders from Kwandengezi, Kwamakuta and Mapumulanga agreed to continue the peace talks "facilitated" by the Rev Atholl Jennings.

Mr Jennings is attempting to establish the extent of Thursday night's violence.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede, who also met Archbishop Tutu yesterday, blamed Inkatha supporters for the renewed violence.

In a statement Chief Buthelezi accused the UDF of declaring war on Inkatha. But said in spite of Archbishop Tutu's patronage of the UDF he would create a platform on which all leaders could stand for a joint drive for peace.

Mass meeting

"I could call for the biggest mass meeting that this region of South Africa has ever seen."

"We could put together teams to work in every area where there is a threat of violence."

Others who attended the meeting were Archbishop Denis Hurley, the president-elect of the Methodist Church, the Rev Stanley Magoba, the Rev P Montgomery and the Rev R Steel of the Congregational Church, secretary-general of Inkatha Dr Oscar Dlomo, Mr R Azembe and Inkatha's leader in Maritzburg Mr Velapi Ndlovu and KwaZulu government representative Mr V Mvelase.

Archbishop Hurley described the meeting as "cordial" and "useful."

"It was decided that negotiations would go on and that there will be more meetings. I do not want to say more at this stage except to that this will be an ongoing process."
ANC-case man's birth claim rejected

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON.—The British government has rejected ANC-case mystery man Mr Frank Larsen's claim that he was born in Essex in 1931 under the name John Parker.

The police maintain that Parker is another false name and that documentary evidence — including a British certificate — is invalid.

High Court Judge Lord Parker was told yesterday that the police and Home Office maintained that Mr Larsen, 53, was in fact a Norwegian swindler and former mercenary named Mr Johan Viggo Orebak.

They rejected a sworn affidavit in which Mr Larsen, the name he used when he was arrested in July and charged with conspiracy to kidnap ANC leaders in London, claimed he was a top British secret agent who had been working undercover for the Ministry of Defence.

Lord Parker rejected an application for habeus corpus made on Mr Larsen's behalf by barrister Mr Tony Rimmer but granted permission for a judicial review to be heard next week. If the finding goes against Mr Larsen he will be deported to Norway immediately.

The judge also rejected an application for bail for Mr Larsen, who is being held in a high security detention centre.
JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress veteran, Mr Govan Mbeki, bedecked with a flower garland, arrived at Jan Smuts airport last night to a rowdy welcome from a cheering crowd.

About 500 supporters had gathered in the terminal to greet him.

Before he emerged, the crowd had formed a guard of honour along the length of the arrivals concourse.

Among the supporters were Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, the veteran anti-apartheid activist, Mrs Helen Joseph, and the national secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

As Mr Mbeki emerged, the crowd burst into cheers and chants. Within seconds he was mobbed and police moved in to escort him out of the airport terminal into a waiting car.

Mr Mbeki was driven away soon afterwards, apparently to Soweto, where it was thought a family party had been arranged for him.

Associated Press reports that during the two-hour flight to Johannesburg Mr Mbeki had his first experience with some modern devices he had not seen before going to prison. His attorneys, Mrs Priscilla Jana, had to open a pop-top tin of cold-drink for him, and he fumbled with his seat belt, unable to lock it for the landing.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has muzzled Mr Mbeki, released from Robben Island after 23 years on Thursday, by stressing that he is listed and may not be quoted without permission.

Thursday night's press conference in Port Elizabeth, he said, had been an exception. Mr Mbeki had justified his original listing by the prison hierarchy that he was still a member of the South African Communist Party, Mr Coetsee said.

Earlier yesterday Mr Mbeki was reunited with his wife Epainette in Port Elizabeth.

He failed to make a planned trip to New Brighton. No reason was given but Mrs Jana dismissed suggestions that he had planned a triumphal return to the township.

It is understood, however, that members of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa (Idamasi), with whom Mr Mbeki spent several hours yesterday, were anxious to keep events as low key as possible in the hope that further political prisoners will be released.

Mr and Mrs Mbeki hugged and kissed as they met in their hotel suite. Later they made their way down to the poolside cocktail bar for a prayer service and thanksgiving with Mr Mbeki, whose eyesight began to weaken during his years on Robben Island, leaning on his diminutive wife's shoulder.

Mrs Mbeki wept and her husband stood tight-lipped during the service. He raised his clenched fist in salute during the singing of Nkosi Sikele iAfrika.

The Reverend De Villiers Soga of Idamasi offered a prayer of thanksgiving for his release, stating that it showed that "God cares for us and for what is happening in South Africa".

Mr Soga prayed that God would give Mr Mbeki strength "to carry on in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa".

Mr Mbeki's meeting with his wife follows a short visit from Idamasi with a member of a CBS team which has secured rights to exclusive interviews with him — a situation which resulted in pandemonium among photographers and reporters on the one occasion when he did emerge during the day.

Asked how she felt about her husband's release, Mrs Mbeki said it was wonderful, adding that "he looks nice".

She said it had not yet been decided where the couple would settle.

The chairman of the advisory release board, Mr Justice Kumleben, said last night Mr Mbeki's attitude to violence had been taken into account by the board, but it was still decided to release him without any conditions.

In an interview with SABC-TV news he said no distinction was drawn between security prisoners and other prisoners and Mr Mbeki's case was decided on the norms which were applied to all prisoners.

He said the board had been aware of Mr Mbeki's attitude to violence, and this had been an important consideration in deciding whether he should be released.
A man whose intellect shaped the movement

HARARE—Whereas Oliver Tambo was the meticulous organiser who could hold together the African National Congress's "broad church" and Nelson Mandela was the bulldozing action man, Walter Sisulu and Mr Govan Mbeki were the intellectual and theoretical luminaries of the ANC in the 1950s and 1960s. This is a characterisation of the ANC leadership of that time often heard from exiles.

Mr Mbeki is generally identified with the hard left of the ANC and is believed to be a long-standing member of the outlawed South African Communist Party as well as its pro-secor, the Communist Party of South Africa. Those who have known him during his years of imprisonment on Robben Island say there is no likelihood that he will ever abandon his commitment to the ANC's armed struggle.

It is known Mr Mbeki sought the ANC's guidance on several key issues of its release. However, there is no proof that he has ever been asked about armed struggle. As a matter of fact, it is said he was not even asked about the ANC's armed struggle.

For Milles, the most intriguing aspect of Mr Mbeki's release is that it will provide the Government with a testing ground for the release of the big one, Nelson Mandela, the ANC's "inexhaustible" leader.

The ANC views Mr Mbeki's freedom as a victory for its campaign for the release of political prisoners. The outlawed movement believes that when all is said and done, the Government is free to release Mr Mbeki only to take the international heat off a bit. The organisation does not believe his release springs from any neo-liberal humanitarianism in Pretoria.

Mandela's pre-eminence, dynamism and charisma have made him the main focus of the political prisoners' campaign, but he has never been the sole intended beneficiary of it. Mr Mbeki is widely respected as the architect of the ANC's transformation from an underground to a national movement. However, his role in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is not as well known.

Born at Ngamakwe in the Transkei in 1910, Mr Mbeki was educated at Heilbron and Fort Hare. He was an active figure in the centre of the African National Congress and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was also a member of the ANC's joint committee, which was banned in 1960.

He joined the ANC in 1933 and, in subsequent years, played an important role in building the ANC's branch in the Eastern Cape. He was a member of the ANC's national executive committee and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

When he was dismissed for political activities shortly after taking up a teaching post in Ladysmith, Natal in 1954, he returned to Fort Hare, where he became editor of the left-wing newspaper "New Age" and "Spar" until they were banned, and continued organizing for the ANC in the region. Among those arrested was Mr Mbeki's wife, whom he described as the "first lady" of the Transkei and editor of the ANC's newspaper "New Age".

Mbeki, in disguise, at the time of his arrest...
Gov't's act can only promote peace.

The reaction to the release of the government's act of 1974 for the South African community has been generally welcomed in South Africa and around the world.

- Zambian Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda said the government had finally capitulated to the government's act of 1974.
- Dr. Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Consolidated Conservative Party, said the release was a challenge to the government and its community willing to work towards a peaceful and democratic dispensation of the country.
- United Nations Secretary-General Mrs. Rebecca Mtsweni said the release of her husband, faced by political persecution, will lead to good will and peace in our land.

The release of the South African community has been widely seen as a test of the likely reaction of the black community and any possible right-wing political parties. The release was considered an important first step in a new approach that might lead to a democratic dispensation of the country.
Two wounded in Natal as clerics, leaders start talks

MARITZBURG. — Two men were wounded when birdshot was used to ward off a group of armed blacks who attacked a police foot patrol in Ashdown, near here, on Thursday.

According to the overnight unrest report released in Pretoria yesterday the group was armed with stones, knobkerries and assegais.

Two wounded and a further 27 men and nine youths were also arrested, the report said.

In another incident in the same area a 17-year-old man was seriously injured when a group of youths attacked him with knives.

Police have arrested two youths.

Meanwhile, South African church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Denis Hurley, held meetings yesterday with leaders of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha to discuss an end to the conflict between the organizations.

Details of the meeting with the UDF are unclear.

They also met an Inkatha delegation of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Maritzburg leaders and the leader of the youth brigade, Mr Musa Zondi.
REUNITED ... Mr Govan Mbeki reunited with his wife Epainette yesterday.

Big crowd cheers Mbeki at Jan Smuts

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki, bedecked with a flower garland, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night to a rowdy welcome from a cheering crowd of about 500. He was also greeted by police with dogs.

Before his emergence, the crowd formed a guard of honour at the concourse for the former ANC chairman.

Among the first supporters to meet him in an airport room were Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mrs Helen Joseph, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu, and UDP treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia.

As Mr Mbeki emerged, the crowd burst into cheers and chants.

He was mobbed and police moved in to escort him out of the airport terminal into a waiting car. Scuffles erupted and one youth was brought down by dogs.

Mr Mbeki was driven away soon afterwards — apparently to Soweto, where it was believed a party had been arranged for him.

Before Mr Mbeki's arrival, the terminal was patrolled by about 35 policemen with dogs who announced to the waiting supporters that in terms of airport regulations no placards were allowed to be displayed.
"Some black South Africans don't want daddy out of jail because, well, daddy is a powerful personality," she said. "Many people, of course, will see the release of Mr Mandela's son, Luke, as a first step towards a black South Africa if he is released from prison and ignores many of the people now in the leadership." She was interviewed soon after the release of Mr Mandela's son, Luke, yesterday, under guard at a luxury hotel in Port Elizabeth after his 23 years in jail.

Protestors and police kept watch on the hotel amid fears of an attack by white extremists on the ANC leader.

Reporters warned

Mr Mbeki, former national chairman of the ANC, flew to Johannesburg last night after being reunited with his wife, Elna, yesterday afternoon. In his interview with the residents of Justice, Mr Mbeki, who is the Minister of Community Affairs, issued a stern warning to reporters that nothing could be published because he is a "labeled" member of the National Party.

Mr Mbeki, who has published a new book, entitled "The Politics of Black Power," told reporters that he was ready to negotiate a peaceful settlement between black and white South Africans.

"For the first time in my life, I have the feeling that my father's release is not remote," said Mrs Dlamini, who was three when Mr Mandela was cut in 1982.

"When I was eight or nine, I came to realize that I had no father at home," she said. "When I was eight or nine, I came to realize that I had no father at home.""

Meanwhile, in Port Elizabeth yesterday, a few white guests looked out from the balconies of their rooms as some 20 priests and well-wishers prayed, chanted ANC slogans and sang the unofficial black national anthem "Nkosi Sikelelwa Namathuna."
Life for 77-year-old Mr Govan Mbeki has been a whirlwind of events, ever since his release late on Thursday.

And if Port Elizabeth gave him a rather muted welcome, not so the Transvaal.

His arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday was every bit as dramatic as when he left 23 years ago. Chaotic scenes, a mob of hundreds of chanting supporters baying-changed and charged, surrounded by police dogs, and hordes of local and international news crews adding to the confusion.

The wives of his Organisation for the African National Congress, were there to welcome him at Jan Smuts Airport. The same women had seen him and his comrades being whisked off to Robben Island almost a quarter century ago.

Hundreds of jubilant blacks screaming their cheers nearly overwhelmed police when they started the airport to greet the newly released prisoner.

Journalists, police at press conference

Johannesburg. - A press conference given by Mr. Mbeki went off without incident in the South African Council of Churches' headquarters here this afternoon.

More than 100 local and foreign journalists heard Mr. Mbeki give his view of the present situation in South Africa and comment on possible solutions to the country's problems.

Mbeki is a listed person and may not be quoted in South Africa.

The press conference was also attended by the wives of other imprisoned ANC leaders, Mrs. Albertina Sisulu and Mrs. Winnie Mandela.

Police kept a low profile around the building where the press conference was held but the people attending were filmed as they entered the building by a police video unit in a flat across the street.

Premiers identified several security police photographers at the conference.

It was disclosed at the conference that Mr. Mbeki was released "without conditions" and that he had talked with Nelson Mandela and other jailed leaders before being released.

A UDF statement read out by Mrs. Sisulu said the organisation was "elated" at the release of a giant of the struggle.

The statement said: "He has returned to a South Africa in the grip of a state of emergency, a climate similar to the one in which he was jailed."

After reading the statement, Mrs. Sisulu said she never thought she would live to see the day she would be able to welcome one of the nation's leaders from jail.

Speaking without notes, Mrs. Mandela said she was ashamed to have to welcome Mr. Mbeki back to a country that was still not free, 23 years after he had been jailed.

A possible 24 was avowed by Mrs. Sisulu, Mrs. Mandela's wife of 23 years, 23 years ago, and by the that-mustached police officer who ordered his men to stay away from the excited, defiant crowd, and promised Mrs. Mandela that no force would be used to disperse them.

Mrs. Mandela, wearing a green silk, African print dress and head scarf, marched along the street in front of the Jan Smuts International Airport Terminal, just in front of the car carrying Mr. Mbeki, his wife, and a black leaders who had come to the airport to hug and kiss the 77-year-old man.

Behind the car, marched three hundred of the ANC policemen, with batons in their hands. Security policemen occasionally tackled journalists who were watching backwards, taking pictures of the dramatic scene.

The hundreds of blacks, who had squashed police and presses in their exuberance to cheer Mr. Mbeki, surged out of the arrivals hall in a huge swirling mass around him.

"Viva, viva, viva," they chanted with raised fists, while some among the crowd yelled for silence so they could hear anything Mr. Mbeki might say.

The crowd, most of them young, scattered and hurled themselves over barricades when the police drove up and jumped out of their trucks. But there were no reports of any arrests or injuries.

Mrs. Mandela had been planning to drive away with Mr. Mbeki and the others. But she jumped out of the surrounded car to ask the police to move back. The officer in charge approached her, and she whispered something to him.

"Why should your men be running all over there chasing these people because they have come to meet Mr. Mbeki? You are provoking people who have done absolutely nothing, in front of a man who has been in prison for 23 years?"

"I give you my word that my men will not be used. He turned to his own men, raised his hands and rode away with them in the Africans. They stepped back, and let the car pass, as scores of young people ran along past it, chanting as they escorted it toward the airport exit.

During the two-hour flight to Johannesberg, Mr. Mbeki had his first experience with some modern devices he had not seen before going to prison. His attorney, Priscilla Jana, had to open a pop-top can of carbonated drink for him, and he fumbled with his seat belt, unable to lock it for the landing.

Mr. Mbeki and his wife, Mamotsetti, 71, earlier in the day embarked for the first time in six years at the Port Elizabeth Airport, where he had been released Thursday.

Mrs. Mbeki and her 71-year-old wife hugged and kissed when they met in the hotel suite furnished by the ANC. She hung in tears on his neck.

Mr. Mbeki was welcomed with a prayer service at the hotel.

One of the first things the new premier did was to call his exile experience, public secretary of the ANC: "I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with Mr. Mbeki."

Mrs. Mamotsetsi Mbeki weeps as she stands with her husband, who has been in prison for 23 years. The couple were reunited today.

Mr. Mbeki has been held in prison in the Transvaal since 1962. He was released today after a court order in the Transvaal.

The ANC has been unable to confirm whether Mr. Mbeki is the same person who was placed in prison in 1962.

The ANC has been unable to confirm whether Mr. Mbeki is the same person who was placed in prison in 1962.
Daughter fears for Mandela's safety

WASHINGTON — The eldest daughter of Nelson Mandela says she thinks her father will be released from prison soon, but she fears what the Pretoria government or young black militants might do to him.

"Some black South Africans don't want Daddy out of jail because, well, Daddy is a powerful personality," Zenani Mandela Dlamini said.

Many people, of course, will see him as the leader of black South Africa if he is released from prison, and ignore many of the people now in the leadership," she added.

Mrs. Dlamini, who lives with her husband and three children in Boston, told the Washington Post magazine that she had been encouraged by reports that the South African Government did not want her 69-year-old father to die in jail.

Protest

She said her opinion was sparked in May when she and Robert Brown, a black bus driver, were arrested after they visited Mr. Mandela for two hours and discussed the previously forbidden subject of politics. Mr. Brown was nominated by President Reagan to be ambassador to South Africa but later withdrew his name.

Mr. Brown told the Post that he wanted to negotiate a peaceful settlement between black and whites in South Africa.

Mrs. Dlamini said, "For the first time in my life, I have the feeling that his release is not a remoteness." — AP

by Mrs. Nelson Mandela, who said of the unrolled carpet, "I think the carpet should be used. The officials showed us, in the usual parades of black youth, that we are not going to the airport without a carpet." During the two-hour flight to Johannesburg, Mr. Mbeki had his first experience with some modern devices he had never before seen in a plane or in the hotel suite furnished in 18th-century settler style where old hunting relics hung on the walls.

Quietly sobbing with joy, Mr. Mbeki, a Transkei sheik, followed his wife, Mamateki, raised in the bush and admired for her beauty, as they stepped onto the hotel lawn for a thanksgiving service.

It was the climax to a day of shock and confusion at the hotel. As journalists from all over the world and a multitude of well-wishers crowded out the public rooms and corridors, the staff at the hotel were on strike for higher wages.

His 24 hours of freedom were hectic and riddled with paradox. Even checkbook journalism reared its head as an American television crew secretly filmed off other government officials in Port Elizabeth, claiming to have "exclusive rights" to the story.

But because of the strike by catering staff at the hotel,-bedroom reporters posed as waiters and delivered refreshments to Mr. Mbeki's suite and stayed to get the story.

For a man who unceasingly embraces the ideals of the Communist Party, he was accorded red-carpet treatment by a government implicitly opposed to communism: Senior member of the Bureau for information, Mr. Caspar van der Byl, flew from Pretoria to Port Elizabeth to co-ordinate his press conference at a beachfront hotel.

The man who told the packed conference remains a communist was welcomed with a solemn prayer service conducted by leading clergymen at the hotel's poolside, and he stood with his head bowed when prayers were said.

One of the first things Mr. Mbeki did was to call his elderly son, Thabo, public secretary of the ANC and a member of its executive committee.

Mrs. Mamateki Mbeki weeps as she stands with her husband Govan, released on Thursday after 23 years on Robben Island. On the right, among pressmen and well-wishers, is the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt Rev Bruce Evans.

Picture: Peter Stanford, Weekend Argus.
MBEKI IS BACK IN THE FRAY

FREED African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki was leaving the Government in no doubt this weekend that he is back in political business.

Within hours of his release from prison, the white-haired ANC chairman plunged back into the political fray with an offer to mediate in the violence between warring Inkatha and UDF-linked factions in Natal's townships.

The offer was instantly accepted by Inkatha, thus raising the intriguing possibility that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu may soon be dealing directly with the ANC.

Also on the cards is the possibility that Mr Mbeki may become the nucleus of an unofficial and public "internal" wing of the banned ANC.

Mr Mbeki, 77, has made it clear that his political views remain as determinedly committed as they were when he was jailed for plotting the downfall of the Government 23 years ago.

And he promised a visit to Lusaka to meet the exiled ANC leadership — including his son, Thabo, who is information chief of the banned organization and regarded as one of its rising stars.

Government sources were at pains to stress that Mr Mbeki is a free agent — he may go where he pleases, see whom he likes, and engage in lawful policies.

But, as a listed person, he may not be quoted in South African newspapers.

The ageing activist's release sparked widespread celebrations in South Africa's black townships — and also a sense of admiration that the country's long-faithful political hero may be riding high.

Mr Mbeki's choice of the Natal violence as starting point for a resumed political career is fraught with danger.

The clashes between Inkatha and UDF-linked groups have so far claimed 11 lives and resulted in 4000 being deployed in the area.

People Shall

Govan Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela face the Johannesburg Press
spread celebrations in South Africa's black townships — and also a sense of anticipation that the country's long-deadlocked political scene may be shifting gear.

His choice of the Natal violence as starting point for a resumed political career is fraught with danger.

The clashes between Inkatha and UDF-linked groups have so far claimed 170 lives and resulted in troops being deployed in the worst-hit townships in the Natal Midlands.

Attempts by UDF leaders and Archbishop Desmond Tutu to defuse the issue in talks with Chief Buthelezi on Friday were only partially successful: the antagonism between Inkatha and UDF runs extremely deep.

Mr Mbeki's comments at a Johannesburg Press conference yesterday cannot be reported in terms of the law.

But it was clear that he did not intend relinquishing a political role inside and outside the country and that the ANC was deeply concerned about the savage violence in Natal.

Mr Govan Mbeki's offer of assistance in settling the war in Maritzburg's townships has been welcomed by Dr Oscar Dlamini, general secretary of Inkatha.

He said yesterday he was sure Inkatha would give its full co-operation to Mr Mbeki's initiative.

"Since Inkatha is seriously trying to end the violence, without co-operation from the UDF leadership, we would warmly welcome the involvement of Mr Mbeki as mediator in the current conflict in Maritzburg."

"We have always felt that the imprisoned political leaders, once they are released, could play a vital role in bringing about unity among all black political groupings across the political spectrum."

"I have no doubt that if Mr Mbeki did decide to get involved in Maritzburg, he would receive the full cooperation of the president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and our local Inkatha leadership in Maritzburg," Dr Dlamini said.

The release of Mr Mbeki meanwhile, follows months...
Mbeki is back in business — and eyes Maritzburg

of careful screening by the Government’s Release Advisory Board under Mr Justice Kumlien.

It was, however, only the shift in Government policy in August this year — whereby
the Government quietly shelved its insistence that prisoners renounce violence — that made this week’s dra-
matic event possible.

According to informed sources, the system had not
worked because some prisoners with bad records and dub-
ious intentions had willingly
signed the declaration, while
other prisoners whom the
Prison’s Department consid-
ered more suitable could not
quality.

Hijack

Mr Mbeki was not asked to
give any undertakings or as-
surances before his release,
but Government sources in-
dicated this week that they
had the fullest confidence
that Mr Mbeki would not
abuse his freedom.

There is, however, deep
concern that radical activists
might try to hijack the emo-
tions surrounding his release
for their own ends.

The Government’s view is
that some elements in the
ANC would welcome an out-
burst of violence in the wake
of Mr Mbeki’s release, thus
jeopardising further prisoner
releases — including Nelson
Mandela. They would prefer
him to remain in prison as a
symbol of resistance.

The Release Advisory
Board proposed some weeks
ago that Mr Mbeki be re-
leased and it was accepted by
President Botha recently.

As Mbeki — clad in a suit
provided by the Prisons De-
partment — was brought
from Robben Island to Poli-
smoor, where he had an hour-
long meeting with Nelson
Mandela — their first in four
years.

A Prison’s Department of-
oficer was assigned to help
him with his transfer, and
protection was provided until
he was safely ensconced in
Port Elizabeth. He is cur-
rently being protected by his
lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana,
and a contingent of support-
ers.

Mr Mbeki’s supporters
fear he might be a target of
right-wing violence — also of
concern to the Government
who have made it clear to
him that he is entitled to po-
lice protection whenever he
requires it.

The release of Mbeki, it is
reliably understood, is not
part of a broader and care-
fully orchestrated package to
bring about reconciliation with either the ANC or Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Instead it is a first step
which, if successful, could
lead to other prisoner re-
leases and the possible cre-
ation of an atmosphere in
which political negotiations
can begin.

Government sources,
meanwhile, have pointed out
that the release of Mr Mbeki
was taken entirely at their
own initiative and not subject
to any pressures.

They also warn that, if it
leads to renewed violence, it
will mean the end of any fur-
ther moves to release prison-
ers.

Freed rightwingers are
also gagged

Sunday Times Reporter

THE two rightwing activists
released this week with ANC
prisoners are as securely
gagged as their black coun-
terparts.

Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik
Jacobs, members of the Afri-
kaner Weerstandsbeweging,
were jailed after being con-
victed of various offences un-
der the Internal Security Act.

Together they accumulat-
ed arms and plotted to as-
sassinate political personalities
and commit sabotage at a
homeland casino.

The terms of their parole,
however, demand that they
do not speak to the Press.

Government sources said
their conviction under the In-
ternal Security Act means
they are “listed” and cannot
be quoted.

Govan Mbeki, the most
prominent of the ANC prison-
ers released on Thursday,
was listed in 1992, which
means this he cannot be quo-
ted without Government per-
mission.
ANC member Mxolisi Edward Petane, 29, of New Crossroads, has lost an appeal to be accorded prisoner-of-war status in terms of the 1977 Geneva Protocol.

Petane's application was rejected in the Cape Town Supreme Court this week. In September, Petane refused to plead to the charges and pleas of not guilty were entered by the court.

Judge Conradie is sitting with assessors W.R. Vivier and L.P. Francis. DW Rothwell, SC, and M. Stowe appeared for the State.

An allegation in one of the terrorism counts is that Petane placed a car-bomb outside the Dion's Shopping Centre in Paarl in July last year.

In argument on the Geneva Protocol, device was incapable of exploding.

In September, Petane refused to plead to the charges and pleas of not guilty were entered by the court.
Motsobane still committed to Africanist, non-racial ideals

AFTER 10 years in jail, Mr Mike Sello Motsobane (46), still upholds Africanist and non-racial ideals.

Interviewed shortly after he had arrived at his new Kagiso home near Krugersdorp on Friday afternoon, Mr Motsobane, however, cast doubts about the exact nature of his new found freedom following several parole restrictions that were served on him immediately after his release.

Mr Motsobane was convicted of furthering the aims of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in the marathon Bethal trial in 1979, and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment of which he served eight on Robben Island.

He was released on Thursday together with six other political prisoners who include Rivonia treason trialist, Mr Govan Mbeki.

Among the restrictions imposed on Mr Motsobane is that he should not engage in any political activities until September 1990, failing which the Commissioner of Prisons may suspend his parole.

If the Commissioner of Prisons notices that he has not been observing the conditions he will be detained until the Commissioner is satisfied with his conduct.

Other conditions are that:
• He must report to the Kagiso or Krugersdorp police station;
• For the duration of the parole he is under the control of the commanding officer of Krugersdorp Prisons;
• A warrant of his arrest can be issued and he can be detained at any time depending on the discretion of the authorities;
• He must report within a month his residential address at the Kagiso or Krugersdorp police stations; and
• The Commissioner of Prisons may at any time alter or correct any of the conditions or make applicable any of the conditions not originally included in the present form.

The soft-spoken Mr Motsobane, commonly known as Sello, said he will be visiting the Krugersdorp Magistrate today for further explanations about the conditions.

HAPPY REUNION: Mr Matthews Motsobane with his wife after his release last week after spending eight years on Robben Island.

ON THE LINE columnast Aggrey Khaste is overseas. He will resume his column next week.
NKOSI SLAMS SENTENCE

YESTERDAY was the first Sunday in over twenty-four years that John Nkosi (46) spent free of the fear that about him he must be locked up in his cell. In July 1993 a Pretoria judge sentenced him and five other PAC activists to terms of imprisonment varying from five years to life. Nkosi, then 21 and a Fortis One student, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

He was arrested on Friday in Johannesburg. Nkosi was the only one of the six PAC members to be convicted for sabotage. The others were sentenced for possession of diesel. The sentences were reversed on appeal and the men were released on bail.

Despite his belief that the sentences were harsh, Nkosi is one of three PAC members to reject negotiations with the government. He said he would continue his fight for political freedom.

Mr. Nkosi said he did not respond to the Government's amnesty offer in 1963 because the conditions of release were very unreasonable. One of the conditions of release, he said, was to renounce violence.

"We had already served 22 years in jail and a conditional release was unacceptable," he said. Mr. Nkosi was arrested at his house in Lady Selborne at about 1 a.m. on April 8, 1963.

Happy

"I was on the run at the time after reading in newspapers that a number of PAC members had already been arrested in Atteridgeville in March last year," he said.

At the time of his arrest, Mr. Nkosi said he worked as a messenger at the Department of Inland Revenue in Pretoria. Although he was lucky to be released, Mr. Nkosi said he was disappointed that his "comrade," Mr. Jeff Maseko, who was sentenced to life imprisonment, was still in jail.

"I have a strong hope that Jeff will be released," he said.

Degree

Mr. Nkosi, born in Riversdale near Pretoria on September 14, 1943, has been involved in politics and joined the PAC in 1960. Mr. Nkosi studied for his Junior and Matric certificates while in prison, and is presently studying for a degree in computer science.

"I am left with two more modules to get my degree," said Mr. Nkosi, who is writing his final examinations this week. He said the government is not interested in his political involvement as he still has domestic problems to attend to.

Motsobane still committed to Africanist, non-racial ideals

AFTER 10 years in jail, Mr. Motsobane (46), still uphold Africanist and non-racial ideals. Interviewed shortly after he had arrived at his new Kagiso home near Krugersdorp, Mr. Motsobane said he would continue his fight for political freedom.

Mr. Motsobane, however, cast doubts about the exact nature of his new freedom following several parole restrictions. He was among those who served on him immediately after his release.

The sentence is not for the duration of the parole he is under the warrant of the commission.
More to be freed? Focus on PW

Mystery woman dies — bound to tree

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE release of political prisoners is expected to be one of the themes of President Botha’s address when he opens the congress of the Cape National Party in the Goodwood Civic Centre tonight.

Senior Nationalist sources said today that Mr Botha was closely involved in moves to release political prisoners which started last week with the freeing of African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki and others.

The Government is watching black reaction to the release of Mr Mbeki before a decision will be taken on Nelson Mandela.

It is also expected that reform and the Government’s determination to find solutions, regardless of external pressures, will be another theme.

Reform measures in constitutional and other areas will be the key issues.

"Pose a problem"

- Releasing other security prisoners, especially those serving life sentences, would be considered from time to time, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said today.

These people in jail pose a problem. While we try our best to treat and handle them well, it would play into the hands of radicals if something happened to them while they are there.

The decision to release Mr Mbeki had been influenced by the fact that he was 77 and had developed age-related problems.

Mr Coetsee said the Government had acted from a position of strength and had not been under pressure.

The release of Mr Mbeki would have an influence on future decisions. If the release led to an increase in temperature in the country it would have an influence.

It was putting it too strongly to say that Mr Mbeki’s release was a planned and deliberate step and that it was an experiment with a view to freeing Mandela.

There were radical activists who did not want Mandela out of jail. It would not surprise them if they tried to stir up the situation around Mr Mbeki without his co-operation to complicate the release of others.

Mr Mbeki would have freedom of movement and speech and this would make it possible for him to take part in politics, subject to the emergency regulations. He remained a listed communist and could therefore not be quoted.

The Argus Foreign Service.

JOHANNESBURG. — Mystery surrounds the discovery of the decomposed body of a blonde woman tied to a tree near Witbank in the Eastern Transvaal.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Major A J Matthee said the body was discovered by a woman collecting firewood in a plantation near Witbank.

The body was tied to a tree with rope in a standing position and police said she could have been murdered.

When found she was clad in blue denim trousers and a red and white striped T-shirt.

MURDER DOCKET

She was about 1.63 m tall and slender with blonde hair which could have been dyed. She was in her twenties.

Major Matthee said the condition of the body made it impossible to identify her at this stage.

The advanced state of decomposition of the body proved to us she could have been dead for quite some time," he said.

Police have opened a murder docket and the possibility that she could have been killed somewhere else and then dumped in the plantation is being investigated.

A post-mortem examination will be held.
More die in Maritzburg

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The violence in Maritzburg continued this weekend, with five people killed in spite of urgent calls for a ceasefire by black leaders and pledges by the United Democratic Front and Inkatha to crack down on supporters instigating it.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, freed African National Congress leader Mr. Govan Mbeki, Kwa-zulu's Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi and UDF president Mr. Archie Gumede are all now involved in efforts to end the killing.

Mr. Mbeki has offered to act as a mediator and he and Nelson Mandela have asked UDF and Inkatha supporters to "bury the hatchet". Both the UDF and Inkatha have welcomed the offer.

Five people were killed this weekend — including a 15-year-old Maritzburg youth who had his throat slit and was repeatedly stabbed — bringing the death toll in Natal unrest to 73 in six weeks.
Mbeki gets big welcome in townships

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Freed Robben Island prisoner Mr. Govan Mbeki toured black townships here yesterday and was given a hero's welcome as he made his first visit in more than 20 years to his old home. The tour lasted 90 minutes, attracting a growing number of spectators as the tour progressed.

Alone stage Mr. Mbeki's car headed a procession of about 100 vehicles.

During the tour, which included New Brighton, KwaZaklu and Motherwell, Mr. Mbeki got out of the car once— to speak to a congregation at a church service.

Mr. Mbeki was accompanied by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday that Mr. Nelson Mandela, or any other prisoner, could be released on the same terms as Mr. Mbeki.

However, Mr. Coetsee said the release of Mr. Mbeki was not a specific knee-jerking exercise to test public opinion. Nor was it a gesture of any kind towards the ANC.

The government had been under no pressure and Mr. Mbeki had been released because of his age—77 years—and because he was developing old-age problems, Mr. Coetsee said in an interview.

It though declined to link Mr. Mbeki's release directly to Mr. Mandela, significantly he said: "If Mr. Mbeki's release goes smoothly and without unrest it is self-evident that it will be a factor in any further releases."

He emphasised that renouncing violence was not the sole criterion on which a prisoner's release was based.

"While Mr. Mbeki has not renounced violence, he has also not said that he intends committing any and has testified that he wants to contribute to peace." He added that while Mr. Mbeki had reiterated his belief in communism, he agreed to obey the laws of the country, "which he appears to be doing".

Mr. Mbeki had abided by the law for years in prison which was one of the "objective" factors the authorities took into account when considering if a person could be re-integrated into society.

Mr. Coetsee also pointed out that a prisoner had renounced violence to secure his release only to return to it shortly afterwards.

"This proviso was in danger of becoming just a piece of paper," he said.

He deplored speculation on political matters yesterday that the State President, Mr. P. W. Botha, could have more to say about Mr. Mbeki's release when he opens the Cape National Party congress in Cape Town tonight.
By Lester Venster
Political Correspondent

HOPES have again been raised that South Africa's flagging political pace might be set for a cycle of rejuvenation.

- Natal's Joint Executive Authority was inaugurated amid the determination of some of its major participants to develop the body into a full-blown Indaba-style experiment.

- The Government freed a prominent ANC leader to rejoin the political mainstream — and potentially restrained from criticising reports that Govan Mbeki's release was a curtain-raiser to Nelson Mandela's.

- Foes Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu — despite some hard words — met in a bid to halt UDF-Inkatha violence in Natal.

The JEA does not have lawmaking powers, and does not constitute a breach of the Government's updated apartheid system of "own affairs" and "general affairs".

But it is a forum in which Natal's provincial authority and the KwaZulu government will plan joint administration in areas yet to be specified.

The JEA's newly elected chairman, KwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dr Oscar Dibango, has made it clear he will use the JEA to promote the non-racial legislative principles of the Indaba.

President P W Botha opened — rather than closed — doors for the JEA. He said it was an experiment that would have to determine its own outcome and success.

Chief Buthelezi, while giving no indication of softening his conditions for entering negotiations on a national dispensation, moved to thaw icy relations with Mr Botha.

The KwaZulu leader praised Mr Botha for reform moves.

Martyr

His continued incarceration blocks prospects of getting the proposed National Council negotiating forum going because no credible leaders will participate without Mandela having the option to do so.

Mandela's imprisonment makes him a leading international symbol of political martyrdom. The eventual death of Mandela in prison — in terms of his sentence — would look the Impasse in place.

Cabinet members admit privately that Mandela could not be the ghost of a threat outside of prison than inside.

The risks of the release strategy are high, and the Government will be monitoring the consequences of the present amnesty carefully.

Other releases notably that of Walter Sisulu, could follow before the case of Nelson Mandela is tackled.

- See Page 29

Praise

Surrounding the JEA launch in Durban were strong signals that the Natal Provincial Executive had responded largely positively to the Indaba proposals.

The Government this week received the provincial authority's formal Indaba response — the final formal response before the Government makes known its own.

Politicians pointed out that with one coloured and two Indian members of the five-man executive, an outright dismissal of the Indaba proposals was politically unlikely.

A similar, eventual dismissal by the Government would be a profound moral blow to aspirations already resident in the JEA.

Although observers consider an unqualified "go" from Government unlikely, the Cabinet is expected to play for time by stalling on details rather than principle.

Meaning meanwhile, the KwaNatal Indaba organisation is powering ahead with a top-level study of the implications of putting the Indaba proposals to work. A fund-raising drive overseas will finance the study.

Now, a pep up for poli...
Same terms for Mandela says Coetzee

Daily Dispatch
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, or any other prisoner could be released on the same terms as Mr Govan Mbeki, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday.

However, he said in an interview the release of the former ANC national chairman was not a specific “kite flying” exercise to test public opinion, nor was it a gesture of any kind towards the ANC.

The government had been under no pressure and Mr Mbeki had been released because of his age — 77 years — and because he was developing old-age problems.

Though he declined to link Mr Mbeki’s release directly to Mr Mandela, he said: “If Mr Mbeki’s release goes smoothly and without unrest it is self-evident that it will be a factor in any further releases.”

He emphasised that renouncing violence was not the sole criterion on which a prisoner’s release was based and said: “While Mr Mbeki has not renounced violence, he has also not said that he intends committing any and has indicated that he wants to contribute to peace.”

Mr Coetzee added that while Mr Mbeki had reiterated his belief in communism, he was a free man and “an ordinary citizen who must abide by the laws of the country, which he appears to be doing”.

Replying to queries about why Mr Mbeki and other blacks had been released only after many years in prison while two former AWB members had been released in a relatively short time, Mr Coetzee said: “We cannot turn back the clock. The new approach was announced only in August this year.

“Besides, the two whites who were released are on parole for three years while Mr Mbeki is free.

“All are banned from being quoted.”

While Mr Coetzee repeatedly declined to link Mr Mandela’s possible release to Mr Mbeki’s, he implied that the former ANC leader’s release was partially in Mr Mbeki’s hands and in those of other blacks.

There was speculation in political circles yesterday that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, would speak on Mr Mbeki’s release when he opened the Cape National Party Congress in Cape Town tonight.

Mr Mbeki’s release was welcomed yesterday by the Transkei Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr T. E. ka Tshunungwa.

He said that, as the Prime Minister, Miss Stella Sigcawu, had indicated, anyone with Transkei roots who was in jail or exile was welcome to return.

Yesterday, Mr Mbeki toured Port Elizabeth’s black townships and was accorded a hero’s welcome “as he made his first visit in over two decades to his former home.”

The surprise tour, which lasted 90 minutes, attracted many spectators, which grew as the tour progressed.

Driven by the Reverend Mcebisi Xundu, Mr Mbeki’s car at one stage headed a procession of about 100 vehicles between Zwide and Soweto.

The hooting of the vehicles attracted the attention of other people and the streets were lined with cheering crowds.

During the tour Mr Mbeki only alighted from the car once — to speak to the congregation at a church service in Zwide.

Editorial opinion page 8
Mbeki returns to PE after 23-year absence

By Jo-Anne Collinge
Released African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki left Johannesburg yesterday morning for his home city of Port Elizabeth where he was to return to the township of New Brighton after 23 years.

Mr Mbeki’s exit from Johannesburg was quiet in comparison to his arrival there two days earlier, when about 600 supporters and scores of journalists turned up.

A group of 60 politicians and trade unionists accompanied him to the airport yesterday, according to United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu at whose home he spent the weekend.

Mr Mbeki (77) gave a press conference on Saturday, when his intended role in South African politics was indicated.

It was announced that he was prepared to intervene to end violence between groups of opposing political views wherever it might occur.

The Minister of Justice has warned the media that Mr Mbeki may not be quoted, particularly after Mr Mbeki’s announcement in Port Elizabeth that he was still a communist.

Immediately after Saturday’s conference a crowd of about 200, who had been singing in the lobby outside the hall, crowded in to greet Mr Mbeki. There were tense moments outside Khotso House a short while later when the crowd left the building still singing loudly.

They came face to face with a contingent of riot and security police, but dispersed without incident.

See Pages 3 and 4.
Mbeki - champion of the oppressed

GOVAN Archibald Mvuyelina Mbeki was born in 1910 in the Nqumakwe district of the Transkei, the son of a chief who was deposed by the Government.

After attending mission schools he received a bursary from the Transkeian Bunga to study at Fort Hare. He obtained his BA in 1937 and completed a diploma in education. During his university vacations he worked as a "messenger" and newsvendor.

He joined the African National Congress in 1935 while still a student, and was influenced by Edward Roux, an SA Communist Party leader, and Max Yergan, a black American, who was at one time a one-time communist.

Mbeki taught at various schools including Clarkebury Institute and Adams College, but was dismissed for political activity. He then ran a co-operative trading store in Idutywa and was editor of the Territorial magazine from 1938-44.

From Port Elizabeth he reported on news of the Transkei and maintained close ties with students at Fort Hare. He was a prominent figure among graduates of the university and served as the convocation representative of the university council from 1944-46. He became president of the Old Fort Harians Association in 1958.

In Port Elizabeth Mbeki became deeply involved in ANC activities, consolidating his support in the area to an extent that it became one of the few areas in the country where the Nationalist government was effectively implemented.

Mbeki at this stage voiced his opposition to bantu authorities and bantu education, and published articles on these subjects in a number of journals. He participated in the planning of the Congress of the People in 1955.

He obtained his BCom in social studies in 1956, and in 1960 he served as chairman of the ANC in Cape. He was also elected chairman of the ANC in 1960. During the Sharpeville crisis in March 1960, Mbeki spent five months in prison. On his release, he formed the All-Party Conference in South Africa, the cell leader of the Anti-Communist Party in South Africa, and for a national convention in December of that year.

In 1961 he joined the editorial board of the Transkei newspaper, the Guardian, which was destroyed in 1962.

In 1962, Mbeki was again dismissed from his post in the Transkei as a result of his political activities.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment and spent several months in solitary confinement. He was released on a technicality in 1963, and was subsequently moved to Port Elizabeth, where he was the editor of the New Age newspaper. He was not a Communist at the time, though his news was.

SOWETAN, Monday, November 9, 1987

Page 7
FORMER national chairman of the ANC and Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki (77), has pledged to work towards the resolution of the carnage in Maritzburg where more than 140 people have died in the current wave of violence.

This emerged at a Press conference held at Khotso House in Johannesburg on Saturday which was addressed by Mr Mbeki.

For this reason, Mr Mbeki was prepared to travel to the affected areas to try and seek peace.

The fighting, which started two months ago, is between members of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

Mr Mbeki, who arrived in Johannesburg on Friday, left yesterday morning after meeting Witwatersrand-based leaders of the UDF.

Listed person

The white-haired Mbeki was accompanied by his wife, Epame. His comments cannot be reported in terms of the law, because, as a listed person, he cannot be quoted in South African newspapers.

The Press conference was also addressed by Mrs Sisulu, Transvaal president of the UDF, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

In the evening, a reception was held for Mr Mbeki at the St Barnabas private school in Bosmont, near Johannesburg. It was hosted by the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Mbeki left for his hometown in Port Elizabeth yesterday morning.

Mr Mbeki has no immediate plans to hold rallies but he has indicated that as soon as he can get travel documents, he will travel to Lusaka to meet ANC leaders, including the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Shortly after his release last Thursday, Mr Mbeki told a Press conference held in Port Elizabeth that he was still a member of the banned ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Although he had no definite plans, he said his first aim was to get the "layout" of the South African situation.

* See Page 7
Boesak attacks press over prison party

DR·ALLAN BOESAK, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, yesterday threatened reprisals against foreign pressmen for attending a party last week at Pretoria Central Prison.

He was addressing more than 800 people at the Hanover Park Civic Centre where the release of Mr Govan Mbeki was celebrated, and a campaign to "Unlock the Doors of Apartheid Jails" was launched.

Dr Boesak himself spent some weeks in solitary confinement at Pretoria Central two years ago.

"I want to ask what has happened to them (the pressmen), when they go to a cocktail party laid on by the state, in a place where the walls of the prison have been stained with the blood of our people."

He warned that the time might come when the foreign press would be treated like the SABC and made unwelcome at "our meetings."

As part of the "unlock the jails" campaign, dozens of keys were collected on stage. Dr Boesak said he and the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, would "dump the pile of keys in front of the house of State President PW-Botha."

He concluded by asking those who had children in detention to stand up, then those who had parents, brothers and sisters, other family and friends in detention. Eventually everyone in the hall stood up.
Malan rejects UDF's 'draw closer' proposal

Political Staff

NATIONAL Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan today distanced himself from the views of a prominent United Democratic Front member on relations between the two organisations.

Mr Malan was approached to comment on a recent article by UDF patron Mr Johnny Issel, who said the UDF had to ensure fundamentally that the position the NDM and similar groups adopted was in opposition to the Botha Government.

Mr Issel said that splinterings and breakaways in Parliament were a direct result of pressure exerted by extra-parliamentary forces.

"We are in a way responsible for the creation of the NDM and must therefore make sure that its programme of action represents our line of thinking," he added.

He said the UDF's primary task should be to draw the movements closer.

Mr Malan, however, said the NDM's line of thinking was certainly not the line of thinking of Mr Issel or that of the UDF for that matter.

"Our approach is inclusive to all. It is indeed in opposition to the Botha Government, but it is inclusive to the National Party and the other parties of Parliament," he said.

Mr Malan said the formation of the NDM developed from the inability of both the Government and other existing groupings, in and out Parliament, to deal with the "reality of South Africa".
Boy's throat cut in Maritzburg violence

MARITZBURG. — A 15-year-old boy was found at Sobantu Village at the weekend with his throat cut, according to the police unrest report.

Two other people died in the Maritzburg district in incidents of unrest, one man was seriously injured and a private dwelling set alight by arsonists, according to the report.

Two people were also killed in the Pinetown area, bringing the total number of deaths to five.

A 25-year-old man was found stabbed to death at Sinateng near Maritzburg, and the body of a 20-year-old man was discovered at Caluza, near the capital. He had also been stabbed to death.

A 19-year-old man was seriously injured at Edendale when he was attacked by a group of people armed with knives.

Arsonists are said to have set alight a private home at Ashdown.

Police arrested two men and a youth during an incident at Caluza where a group of people is reported to have gathered illegally. The group was dispersed by police after they had ignored warnings, the report said.

No further details of the incidents were given.

At KwaDangezi near Pinetown a 22-year-old man was shot dead when he was attacked by a group.

In another incident in the area a 20-year-old man was attacked by a group and stabbed to death.

Also at KwaDangezi three men were injured in a clash between two opposing groups, according to the unrest report.

The report states that shots were fired by one group, injuring the three men.
**Why SA will be a prisoner of its history**

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

Krugger's successors are slicker and better protected from public exposure. Opponents do not die in such obviously attributable ways. Now they simply disappear. Infiltration and subversion have become more subtle.

But let us grant that things are better today. It still would not make "Cry Freedom" unfair, even though most who see it will not make the distinction between 1976-77 and 1997. There is no statute of limitations on barbarity. Nor does it make one whit of difference that others, to the north, behave equally, if less visibly, badly.

The fact is that as a nation white South Africans have done wrong, sickeningly wrong. They carry the guilt of Serengat. Wilkes—who declared that even in death Biko was "shaming"—and that guilt will be the terrible birthright of every white baby born in SA for generations to come.

West Germany is a paragon of its history and is forced to live with the endless litigation and massive rehashing of the concentration camps and two world wars.

While the parallels between Nazism and apartheid may be the stuff of loose, irresponsible rhetoric, so too white SA. That much "Cry Freedom" makes clear.

My chief quarrel with the film is that, like Donald Woods, whose book it is faithfully based on, it devotes so little time to Biko himself. Simply in the film's own terms, he is as infinitely more interesting a character than the editor whose escape from Lesotho is recounted in tedious, bibliographical detail.

Of course, it was much more convenient for Attenborough to focus on an idealistic white with whom he (and Western audiences) could empathize. To get inside Biko's world would have been artistically (and commercially) risky because it was—and is—a place far beyond the director's and his audience's experience. A place for whose grim external sympathy is easy, but for whose interior realities empathy is not.

It is interesting that Attenborough chose an American actor to play Biko. Denzel Washington gives a deeply moving and (surely Oscar-worthy) performance, but a trick is being played.

For US audiences, the man who is the focus of this film, the young intern in "St Elsewhere," the television hospital series, the man who is on the floor of a Port Elizabeth jail cell is not only a significant blur of Biko. He is also the attractive young intern in "St Elsewhere." The television hospital series.

Unbelievably perhaps, the result is that the memory of the black consciousness movement is enshrined in the outside world's mind in frankly alien terms—a curious irony when you think about it.

It is even more curious when you consider that this version of Biko's story was scripted, edited and directed by whites and subjugated to a white man's adventure story.

The real Biko's central thesis was that black South Africans must escape the psychology of victimhood and become managers of their own fate, not brutalized objects to whom and for whom things are done.

It is a pity Attenborough felt unable to use his medium to paint a fuller picture of the man and his philosophy. Instead, he kills him off less than halfway through the film when he has served his purpose as Woods's antagonist and tool to the objectives of apartheid.

I do not know what Biko would be saying of the world if he were alive today, and it would be worse than counterproductive to ask any particular prescription to his memory.

But that, functionally, if not in so many words, is precisely what "Cry Freedom" attempts. Its subtext is that Biko, like Woods, would be calling for the total economic and political ostracism of his country.

Perhaps, in desperation, he would. Yet reason—as opposed to the raw, xenophobic emotion provoked by the film—suggests that such a course will not fulfill his dream. Indeed, it will deprive black South Africans of what tools they may have to achieve what he prescribes.

The more vibrant the South African economy, the more it belongs to those without whose labour it would not exist; the more it is theirs to control. So long as there are legions of hungry and aimless young people, the economy will always be able to force the surplus to sell its dignity to feed its families.

With a strong economy and the help of access to capital which the sanctions would deny, black South Africans can achieve a controlling interest in the entities that employ them, and hence, since mass individual ownership is the only real source of democratic power, in the state that presently dictates (and all too often destroys) their lives.

"Cry Freedom," even though it tells a large measure of descriptive truth, hopes to encourage policies that will promote the very finality of Biko's sacrifice. Biko died trying to combat.

It is that part of the curate's egg that is particularly rotten.
Tumultuous welcome in PE for Mbeki

RETURNOF
A HERO

YOUTHS danced the emotional toyi-
toyi, sang freedom songs, chanted slogans
and gave the clenched fist salute when
African National Congress leader Mr
Govan Mbeki, 77, returned to a hero's
welcome in Port Elizabeth's black
townships on Sunday — after a 25-year
silence.

It was like a
pilgrimage to the
townships — he first
came to during 1955 as
local editor of New Age.

Mr Mbeki, who was
released on Thursday last
week after serving 23
years of a life sentence for
sabotage, appeared
touched by the tumultuous welcome.

With him was his 71-
year-old wife, Mrs
Eugenie Mbeki, his
eyes, Mrs Priscilla
his
Inter-Departmental
Association of South
Africa.

On his arrival at the H
Port Elizabeth, he was
met by a group of people
among them were the
former minister of the
Port Elizabeth
Citizen Organisation, Dr
Moodiar, and a contingent
of local and foreign
television and media
representatives.

Visit

On learning about Mr
Mbeki's planned visit to
the tortured people, the
young and old island
prisoners and members
of organisations, started

MR GOVAN Mbeki . . . served 23 years.
Mbeki is catching up, taking it easy

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH: Mr Govan Mbeki is taking it easy after his tumultuous welcome here and in Johannesburg after his release from Robben Island on Thursday.

A source close to Mr Mbeki said he was going to catch up on some reading, plan for the future and take things easy for the next few days.

Mr Mbeki did not want any publicity; he just wanted to relax and find his feet.

The source would not say where he was staying but confirmed he had not moved into a flat made available by the Dependants Conference of the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Mbeki was given a hero's welcome on Sunday when he first returned to his former home in New Brighton.

PROCESSION

His car, driven by the Rev Mcebisi Xindu, was at one stage leading a procession of about 100 cars as youths did the toyi-toyi in the streets, shouted and sang.

The Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Right Rev Bruce Evans, who spent more than two hours with Mr Mbeki on Friday, said he found the former African National Congress chairman to be a man of tremendous calibre, mature, well-balanced and magnanimous.

Questioned on why he met Mr Mbeki, who during the Rivonia trial refused to take the oath saying he did not believe in the existence of God, Bishop Evans replied that he did not know whether Mr Mbeki was a Christian, but his family were.

He said Mr Mbeki's family had asked the church "to take care" of him.

Mr Mbeki had been brought up an Anglican and had maintained contact with the church during his imprisonment, he said.
ANC's credibility shattered

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. - The curbing of unrest in South Africa has shattered the ANC's credibility, forcing it to negotiate or die.

This was said by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer at the National Clothing Federation convention yesterday.

Professor Schlemmer said the Soviet Union was persuading the organisation to adopt a more political approach.

The ANC, he said, had built a reputation internationally and internally as "heir apparent" to the South African Government through association with the "huge wave of internal unrest".

"Its status increased as unrest mounted and as people abroad anticipated some sort of major transformation.

"With the curbing of unrest and protest under the state of emergency the ANC has had to enter a new phase of strategy."

Professor Schlemmer said that according to a recent poll the ANC had the support of only 25 percent of blacks.

"As we get further into the negotiation process the ANC is faced with the severe challenge of deciding whether to come in and renounce, or at least suspend, violence and negotiate — or stay outside.

"If they stay outside, they will decline," he said.
Witness tells of course in combat tactics

Terror trial accused ‘trained by ANCO at camps in Angola’

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

MESSINA — The two accused in the Messina terrorism trial attended African National Congress training camps in Angola, a state witness testified during the Supreme Court hearing yesterday.

He said he attended a camp where accused No. 1, Mr Mthethelile Ncube, was a firearm instructor. Other training offered at the camp included combat tactics, map reading, the history of freedom struggles in other countries, and anti-aircraft weaponry.

He said Mr Mncube, with whom he had daily contact, was known as "Caesar" or "Scissor".

"I recognised him as soon as I entered this courtroom", the witness told the judge. He added that he had encountered the other accused, Mr Mzondeleli Nondula, at another training camp.

An explosives expert, Lieutenant J H Loubsor, demonstrated to the court how various so-called terrorist devices are activated. These included a Czech-made land mine, a Russian anti-personnel mine and various handgrenades.

He said the weapons had been brought into South Africa from Zimbabwe and Botswana.

The accused have pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, attempted murder, terrorism, and illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

The case arose from a series of landmine blasts which killed eight people in the Messina area in 1985, and a shooting incident which claimed the lives of two policemen in 1986.

The State also alleges that the two men promoted the aims of the ANC, and that they were involved in attempts to overthrow the Government by violent means.

‘It would be like talking to a ghost’

Northern Transvaal Bureau

MESSINA - The Supreme Court trial of two alleged terrorists took a dramatic turn yesterday when Mr Justice J P O de Villiers ordered that the evidence of a State witness be heard in camera.

Mr Frans Roets, for the State, wanted the witness to wear a balaclava and also wanted the press barred from court.

He said disclosure of the identity of the witness and the nature of his testimony could endanger his life.

Mr Rodney Black, appearing for the two accused, Mr Mthethelile Mncube (27) and Mr Mzondeleli Nondula (24), objected, saying it was unheard of to have a disguised witness testifying in court.

"I do not want a disguised person in the witness stand — it would be like talking to a ghost," said the judge. He suggested that, if the press was barred, a joint statement concerning the evidence would have to be issued by the prosecutor and council for the defence.

After an adjournment, Mr Roets told the judge that the State acceded to the defence's insistence that the press remain and the witness be undisguised.
Buthelezi welcomes talks with Mbeki

JOHANNESBURG. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would welcome talks with freed ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki on the unrest in the Maritzburg area, but said the ANC was responsible for political violence in the country.

"We are in this country faced with the harsh reality that it is Mr Mbeki's ANC and the ANC's UDF and Cosatu which have sworn to make South Africa ungovernable," the Zulu leader said.

The statement was referring to news reports that Mr. Mbeki had offered to assist in bringing an end to black-on-black confrontations in the Maritzburg area.

Chief Buthelezi said he would welcome whatever anybody could do to de-escalate the violence.

Meanwhile the SAP public relations division reported that at Ashdown, Maritzburg, police yesterday used tear-smoke to disperse two opposing groups.

At Gazabuza a group of blacks stoned a dwelling and seriously injured an 18-year-old man when they attacked him with knives.

Also in the area police found the bodies of four blacks, all with multiple stab wounds. — Sapa
A SECURITY policeman, Lieutenant Johannes Prinsloo, told a Pretoria magistrate yesterday that he told some of his colleagues that he was "not afraid of terrorists" when the accused in the Pan Africanist Congress trial were arrested last year.

He was being cross-examined by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, for the defence, in a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of a statement made by Mr Siyabulela Nododa Gcanga before a magistrate.

Seven alleged members of the PAC and Qibla, a Muslim organisation, are appearing before Mr J H Bekker on charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.

Insult

The accused, who have pleaded not guilty to all the charges, are Mr Gcanga, Mr Mabat Enoch Zulu, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Mohohlo, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, Mr Achman Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel.

Lt Prinsloo told the court that he did not insult any of the accused when their fingerprints were being taken at the Hummanskraal police station. He said he was trained not to use vulgar language.

The policeman said that Mr Zulu had his fingerprints taken in a garage-like room which was used as an office. Mr Zulu was taken into that room after he had refused to have his fingerprints taken while he was with another of the accused in an office.

Lt Prinsloo said that Mr Gcanga, Mr Mathunjwa and Mr Mohohlo did not cause the police any problems.

(Proceeding)
LP warns on Group Areas Act

DURBAN — Any Government decision to retain the Group Areas Act would not only put the clock back for South Africa, but would also lead to a build-up of frustration among blacks, the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said this weekend.

Addressing more than 300 people at the party’s Natal congress in Wentworth, Mr Hendrickse said frustration would in turn lead to a conflict situation which nobody could win.

He said his party rejected group areas completely and nothing but a repeal of the Group Areas Act would satisfy the Labour Party.

“We must be careful not to be used in terms of the Act for our own subjugation.”

UPROOTING

Between 1960 and 1975, he said, the State had spent R261 million on housing but of this amount, R200 million had been spent on “re-housing”.

He said more money was spent on uprooting people, with more than 100,000 coloureds having been uprooted in terms of group areas ideology.

Referring to “local option” which, in terms of the President’s Council recommendation would give local authorities the choice of setting “open” and “closed” areas, he said historically local option had been a tool to entrench racism.

After the meeting, a group identifying themselves as UDF supporters surrounded Mr Hendrickse and other LP leaders, and said they had not been given opportunities to challenge statements made during congress as there had been no question time. — Saps.
Two ex-ANC men testify in court trial

MESSINA. — A second, rehabilitated member of the ANC identified both the accused yesterday in the landmine trial here.

The witness, who cannot be identified, gave his testimony under an assumed name in camera in the Circuit Court before Mr Justice J P O de Villiers and two assessors.

The witness said he met one of the accused at an ANC camp while undergoing a crash course in military and political training. The accused, he said, were there on a refresher course in survival and landmines.

The witness identified the second accused as a lecturer in politics at another Angolan training camp.

The accused, Mr Mihetelile Zephania Mncube, 27, of Diephoeloot, Soweto, and Mr Zondelile Euclid Nondula, 24, of Queens-town, have pleaded not guilty to a total of 41 charges including eight of murder, 24 of attempted murder, treason and terrorism following a spate of landmine incidents in the Messina area in late 1985.

Neither of the accused looked at the witness when they were asked in turn to stand up for identification but Mr Mncube showed some nervousness by drumming a ballpoint pen against his fingers during parts of the testimony.

The witness said he had lived in the same building in Angola as Mr Mncube but in different rooms for about three months.

"What I cooked we ate and what he cooked we ate," he told the court.

Mr Justice De Villiers asked the witness if he knew anything of Mr Mncube’s family or home life, to which he replied he did not, adding that all they talked about at mealtimes was war.

He said the last time he saw Mr Mncube was in 1985 at a transit house in the Vaal Triangle.

The witness said he received lessons in politics from Mr Nondula between once and three times a week for a period of about three months at another ANC training camp in Angola.

He said that Mr Nondula’s nom de guerre was Gaba.

The witness said he was to return to South Africa and to identify enemies such as the police and army and installations such as power stations.

He was also instructed to find members to form his own group and train them, but instead of carrying out the ANC orders he handed himself over to the police.

Earlier another former ANC member, who underwent rehabilitation and joined the security police, said under cross-examination by Mr Rodney Black, for both the accused, that he blamed the ANC for the death of his friend in a Mozambique prison when he and two others left South Africa to join the organization. — Sapa
Nothing changed, says freed prisoner

By McKeed Kotholo,
Pretoria Bureau

One of the seven prisoners released by the Government last week, Mr Thomas Masuku (38), who spent the past 10 years on Robben Island, says "not the slightest change has taken place in South Africa" during this time.

Mr Masuku said he was arrested in June 1977 for receiving military training outside South Africa, recruiting people to undergo military training and possessing foreign weapons.

He was charged with two other Mamelodi men, athlete Richard Chauke and Themba Maseko, who are still serving their sentences.

Mr Masuku was sentenced to a total of 26 years, with six years running concurrently.

Maseko was sentenced to a total of 21 years, with five years running concurrently, for receiving military training outside South Africa and possessing foreign weapons. Chauke was sentenced to 11 years for recruiting people to undergo military training outside South Africa.

Mr Masuku, who said he read much about reforms in the country while serving his sentence, added that the only things which had changed were "the structures in the townships and nothing else, because people are still suffering".

He said he believed in a democratic society and did not care who governed as long as they served the interests of all South Africans.
Will the Mbeki ‘gamble’ pay off for government?

WHEN ageing ANC leader Govan Mbeki stepped into freedom last week he assumed the role of “island envoy” for the organisation’s imprisoned leadership.

Observers said Mbeki’s statements and actions after release would not only reflect the philosophy but more importantly carry the stamp of approval of those originally interned with him on Robben Island.

As a close ally of the ANC’s imprisoned leadership, Mbeki would be regarded as close confidant of fellow Rivonia trialist Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

Nothing emphasised Mbeki’s strategic and high-profile position more than the government’s failure to lift the ban on his being quoted — thereby effectively limiting his ability to “spread the word,” said political scientists.

Projection

Former Unisa political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said the Mbeki “gamble” was a clear projection of government’s intent to pursue all ends to give legitimacy to its faltering National Council (NC) concept.

Participation in government’s proposed furrow blacks had widely been turned down. “Government is desperate to implement its strategy of accommodating black political aspirations,” said Kleynhans.

Several observers view Mbeki’s release as a move to draw KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi into participation in the NC.

And, Kleynhans said, judging by the

ELSABÉ WESSELS

success of their trial run with Mbeki’s release, government could be well on its way to the release of Mandela — listed by Buthelezi as a minimum demand for NC participation.

Viewed objectively, Mbeki’s release was a major step for government and also an important psychological victory for the ANC. But the scoreboard showed very little real gain on either side, he said.

Government might not get anything in return for its move and still have to work out a more acceptable system of representing SA’s black majority. “A peace offering such as Mbeki’s release will not have the desired results for participation,” remarked Kleynhans.

On the other hand, as a listed person of a banned political organisation, Mbeki was hindered from becoming a totally effective and full participant in popular politics.

With political studies lecturer Mark Swilling said Mbeki’s release was important — not only because of his role as an experienced activist but also because he would be seen as a go-between. He refuted speculation that Mbeki’s commitment to communist principles would bring dissension in ANC ranks.

Swilling pointed out that there was a historical alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP), and the common belief still held that a national democratic struggle would precede a socialist revolution.

By pleding his support for the ANC, committing himself to remaining in SA and identifying the violence in Natal as his first priority, Mbeki had embraced the ANC’s policy of a national democratic struggle, Swilling said. Mbeki’s ideological commitment to the SACP, which he joined in 1961, would not stand in the way of his commitment to a national democratic liberation. “By choosing to stay in the country, Mbeki has made a choice to pursue political rather than military means,” said Swilling.

Heartland

Mbeki, who served a life sentence for sabotage, was at the time of his arrest high command sentry of Umkhonto we Sizwe, military wing of the ANC. Although there was still minority support for an armed seizure of power “the majority view still upholds support for a negotiated settlement,” said Swilling.

As a leader of national stature, Mbeki was personally responsible for turning the Eastern Cape into the heartland of ANC activity during the Fifties, especially during the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

Time would tell whether Mbeki would reassert his role as ideological progenitor of the national democratic struggle, a Cape Town academic said.
Boy hacked to death as gangs clash

PRETORIA. — Three people died violently on Thursday, including a youth who was hacked to death in a clash in one of Maritzburg's war-torn townships, police reported yesterday.

The 16-year-old youth was killed at Sinathing when a group attacked another group with pangas and knives. A 15-year-old was seriously injured in the attack. Four youths were arrested.

A man was injured in a similar attack, at Georgetown, Maritzburg.

At least 150 people have died this year in clashes between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha for control of townships in the Maritzburg area.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is scheduled to lead an inter-denominational church service tomorrow for peace in the townships.

Police reinforcements drafted into the area have arrested more than 360 people this month in an effort to halt the fighting.

Police routinely decline to name the factions involved in the regional warfare, but community leaders have identified the parties as the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's politically moderate Inkatha tribal movement.

The Rev Lizo Jafa, chairman of the Maritzburg Council of Churches, said Archbishop Tutu would join ministers from a number of churches in prayers for an end to the fighting.

He said at least 138 people, and probably more than 150, had died this year in clashes between the UDF and Inkatha, with hundreds injured.

Mr Roy Ainslie, an official of the Progressive Federal Party, said after a visit to the area earlier this week that the fighting was part of a battle for political control of ghettoes surrounding Maritzburg.

He said the UDF and Inkatha each controlled sections of the adjoining townships.

Both movements claim to support the ideals of the outlawed African National Congress and to oppose violence against apartheid. The UDF supports Western economic sanctions against Pretoria, while Inkatha advocates increased foreign investment.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said earlier this week that he will meet Inkatha leaders at a secret venue in Durban on Wednesday for a first round of peace talks.

He declined to give further details on the meeting, saying publicity had scuppered earlier attempts to bring leaders of the rival groups together.

Mr Ainslie said white opposition lawmakers toured the area and spoke to people on both sides of the conflict. He said their impression was that leaders of the two movements had lost control of gangs operating under their banners. — Sapa and UPI
Cop quizzed in PAC trial

AN alleged member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Siyabulela Ngoda Gcanga, was not told why he had to make a statement before a magistrate and was also not told that the statement would later be used against him in court, a security policeman said in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Sergeant K Schoonhaven of the Potchefstroom security police was giving evidence before Mr J H Bekker.

He was cross-examined by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, defence counsel, during a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility of the statement Mr Gcanga made before a magistrate.

Mr Gcanga, Mr Mabat Enoch Zulu, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, Mr Setsiba Mcholho, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.

Sgt Schoonhaven said Mr Gcanga had said he was willing to make a statement before a magistrate. He said that Mr Gcanga co-operated when he was asked to make the statement.

He said that the difference between statements made to the police and those made to magistrates was not explained because Mr Gcanga did not ask questions.

Sgt Schoonhaven told the court that he did not give a detailed explanation on the implications of making the statement as it was not his duty.

(Proceeding)
FRELIMO LOCKED UP SAYS WITNESS

A "rehabilitated" member of the African National Congress who is now with the Security Police told the Messina Circuit Court yesterday that he had spent nine months in a Mozambican jail after leaving South Africa.

The witness, who may not be named by order of the court, was testifying in camera in the trial of Mr Mhethetheli Mncube (27) and Mr Msondeleli Nondula (24).

Both men face charges of murder, attempted murder, terrorism and treason. They are appearing before Mr Acting Justice J P O de Villiers, sitting with two assessors. They have pleaded not guilty.

The witness said he had joined the ANC because he had felt strongly about injustice and oppression of black people in South Africa. He said he had left for Mozambique with other people.

"We were arrested by Frelimo and were held in jail for nine months. One of my friends died in jail. I do not know what caused his death," he said.

He said he had undergone military training in various ANC camps in Angola and even became drill and marching instructor. He said he had seen the accused in camps in Angola. Mr Mncube, who is facing two charges of murder for allegedly shooting two white men, had been a firearms instructor, he said.

One of the people shot and killed when Mr Mncube was captured last year had been a political commissar known as "Slow."

Mr Rodney Black SC, for the defence, put it to the witness that the four pictures that he had identified as being of one person, (Slow) were actually of two different people.
SADF township gifts greeted with suspicion

By Mckeed Kotlolo, Pretoria Bureau 12/11/87

The Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo) and Mamelodi Civic Association (MCA) have criticised members of the South African Defence Force for delivering food parcels to the homes of three executive members of Mayo at the weekend.

The three leaders are the president, Mr Akila Mapheto, the publicity secretary, Mr Strike Sekuba and the general secretary, Mr Mike Seleane.

A spokesman for the SADF said: “From time to time troops on duty in the townships take some of their own rations and give them to needy people such as the underprivileged, and churches or creches.”

With the exception of the president, the other recipients destroyed the parcels because they were suspicious about the gifts.

Mr Mapheto took the parcel to an MCA meeting the next day, where it was decided that the tins be referred to a doctor so that they could be checked.

Both MCA and Mayo warned the public against such “mysterious” hand-outs from the SADF.
Four more killed in Maritzburg violence

MARITZBURG.—Police yesterday reported four politically linked murders near here taking to the number of killings in factional clashes since the weekend.

At least 65 people have died in continuing inter-ethnic fighting in the past six weeks in ghettos around Maritzburg.

Sporadic clashes in the past year between the UDF and Inkatha have claimed some 165 lives.

A police report said patrols found four bodies at Ashdown near Maritzburg on Tuesday. "They appear to have been stabbed and hacked to death," the report said.

Police suspect the victims were abducted on Monday and murdered for refusing to join a rival faction.

On Sunday police reported five similar killings, including a 15-year-old boy whose throat was cut, and four more bodies were found in Maritzburg townships on Monday.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders last week sought to intercede in the bloody clashes.

The archbishop met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, at an undisclosed venue last Friday.

Police have been unable to pinpoint causes of the fighting. Community leaders have said rival gangs perpetuate the violence beyond the control of political leaders. — Sapa
To some, just a reference point for others, a jungle to be avoided at all costs.

Warning signs pointed out but ignored

It appears that this is more than just a bunch of "radical students" just to disrupt the community. The warning signs were pointed out but, it seems, were ignored.

Bonteheuwel targeted by outside forces

The split happened in 1985 because it was then that "outside forces" targeted Bonteheuwel as the ideal place to launch their attack against the Government and the children apparently were to be used as the "tools".

For months moderate coloured leaders have warned the Government of the crisis of the area.

Apparently without heed, because it was not until last week that police announced the arrest of those of Bonteheuwel residents aged between 17 and 18 who allegedly "acted under the influence of the African National Congress and who are linked to more than 300 serious crimes such as arson, attempted arson, public violence and attack on the homes." (The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, 24 October 1987.)

More arrests are expected to follow, according to Pretoria police spokesmen.

Mr. McKenzie said it was a "known fact that the ANC is trying to make Bonteheuwel highly politicised."

"Young people have been smuggled into neighbouring states for political training. It is not good to see a community such as Bonteheuwel being dragged down because of a majority of young people," he said.

On Saturday, October 28 youths allegedly belonging to the Bonteheuwel Military Wing were arrested.

This week Weekend Argus asked Mr. McKenzie whether the split in the community was one which divided the older, more conservative residents who were looking for non-violent means to bring about change from the younger generation who seem more prepared to wage an armed struggle in attempting their goals of a just and free society.

"It is not a case of the younger generation disagreeing with older residents. There is no real split in that sense. We are all still committed to establishing a system of government which will be just to all.

"There is, however, a clear distinction between the radical youth who believe in violence and those who seek a more peaceful method of bringing about change - which includes the majority of the youth.

"Radicals destroy positive changes"

"At about that time, the City Council decided to close the area and moved heavy earth-moving machinery to Bonteheuwel. The site of these munitions were burnt out with petrol bombs.

"Most of the community then realised that even the most reasonable positive was being done to change lives for the worse."

"We cannot blame kids for rioting if we were to follow their example. They are the only ones who attend school in Bonteheuwel."

"Mr. McKenzie has been accused of being an elusive figure within the community, not easily approached and never available when needed.

"To those who asked me what I meant, I will still tell you that the community needs a leader, not a politician who is afraid to face the issues."

Mr. McKenzie said it was a "known fact that the ANC is trying to make Bonteheuwel highly politicised."
What Mandela told Mbeki

NELSON MANDELA does not believe he will be released before Christmas.

According to reliable sources, this is what the former African National Congress leader told Govan Mbeki after his helicopter trip from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison to speak to Mandela.

The former ANC chairperson was freed last week after serving 23 years of a life sentence.

Both Mandela and Mbeki could not be quoted but reliable sources claimed this week the two had a wide-ranging talk in the hour they spent together.

- At the feet of Zizl — Page 9
- Homecoming — Page 12
- PAC man curbed — Page 2
- Breakfast for two — Page 2
- Lion of Africa — Pages 8, 13

Mbeki had gone to Pollsmoor Prison for his medical check-up before his release.

And from Mbeki’s actions in the first week of his release, it is clear that he had discussed his political role with Mandela.

The two had spent most of their time in prison together but were separated in 1982 when Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada were transferred from the Island to Pollsmoor.

At his press conference in Port Elizabeth, Mbeki

Turn to page 3

Govan Mbeki greets former associates Phakama Makaliphi (centre) and Joe Sikilela at his ‘homecoming’ to New Brighton township, Port Elizabeth this week.

Big Cape Town rally planned

A HUGE rally to be addressed by Govan Mbeki is being planned for Cape Town later this month.

The rally is being organised by the Mbeki Reception Committee (MRC), made up of progressive organisations, including United Democratic Front affiliates, trade unions, the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers’ Association, the Western Province Council of Churches and the Western Cape Traders Association.

The rally is expected to be the biggest in Cape Town since the Mitchells Plain launch of the UDF four years ago.

UDF publicity secretary Lillda Ntule said the committee had been formed to welcome Mbeki to Cape Town.

“The committee is organising for his arrival soon as part of his tour to different regions. He is expected to visit all the major centres in the country,” Ntule said.
confirmed he had discussions with Mandela who supported his release. He said Mandela appeared in good health and had sent greetings to the comrades from Pollsmoor.

Mbeki had no doubt his release was a prelude to the release of Mandela and other political prisoners.

Mbeki's offer to mediate in the conflict-ridden Natal townships, also appears to have been discussed with Mandela. It is known that Mandela is concerned about the role of Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi.

The ANC would not take part in the government's planned National Statutory Council or advisory bodies. It appears Mandela also told Mbeki to keep a low profile until he had discussed his role with the ANC in Lusaka, it has been claimed.

Mbeki went into hiding this week after returning to his hometown, New Brighton, at the weekend.

An ANC spokesperson in Lusaka said no visit to Lusaka had been planned for Mbeki.

"We do not believe his release is a prelude to negotiations between the government and the ANC. There has never been any contact with the SA government.

"The ANC will continue its demand for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela, whether the rumours in South Africa are true or not."
BC throws down gauntlet

MANDIA SELOSEANE, head of Aparo’s labour secretariat, responds to a recent SOUTH FORUM in which DR MAHPELA RAPHELE gave here views on Black Consciousness today. She accused the leadership of purporting to be in control, failing to give white voters a directive in the 1983 referendum, having a superficial economic analysis and seeing all whites as “baddies” and all blacks as “goodies.”

It may well be that we are wrong in ascribing the contours of BC; it would be helpful to please the reasons. Until we have these, we can only say that we are being urged to do something which seems to us unpremeditated and edified in history.

Raphele was also critical of BC’s failure to give white voters a directive in the 1983 referendum. The remarkable thing about the criticism is the impression that previous BC conclusions — Sane and BC for example — might have approached the issue differently. Before the criticism, Raphele wrote: “They have so distorted the fundamental essence of BC that few people want to be identified with it.” In our view we have distortions of both by holding: “We have nothing to say to whites.” Under similar circumstances, Steve Biko had written: “There are those who still completely blush at the thought of being maligned by the opposition.” There are those who are governed by logic for four-and-a-half years, but by fear at election time.

It would seem, therefore, that if Sane or BC for example were to ask white voters on how to vote in 1983, their approach might be: “It is impossible, since they will in all event vote according to their fears.” As it is, this response would make sense, since white people disregarded the directive of the UDF and the PPP gave before the referendum.

The second remarkable thing about the criticism is the manner in which Raphele magnified her own self-esteem in a reference to the National Forum (NF). She writes: “The mool baggies! Who else but whites could vote in that referendum? Why form an organisation to fight a specific issue then shy away from it?”

The NF was not formed for the purpose of fighting the referendum. It was formed to fight the entrenched oppression, and from that task it has not shied away to this day.

Distorted

Seeing all whites as “baddies” and all blacks as “goodies”, is another sweeping criticism Raphele hurled at the BC movement.

Raphele formulated this criticism in the following interesting words: “All black are good or provided they do not grossly violate certain norms.” She seems to be saying that if blacks violate the said norms, then we do not see them as humans. To me this seems to be so normal that if I fail to see the point Raphele is wanting to make, if we were saying that blacks are good and responsible, then we would deserve being maligned by the opposition.

The criticism of our position on whites is also presented as an example

Raphele of how much we have distorted the fundamental essence of BC. Says Raphele: “They have great difficulty in relating to people who have the misfortune of being born a single vote too opaquely at party.” They go to great lengths appropriating blame to whites who are condemned to cooperate with a group of which there is none.”

If people criticise us for not opening up membership to whites, that is one thing, and we are prepared to listen to their arguments. If certain of their arguments have merit, they have in the past been put to the membership for approval. If the membership does not like these views, they throw them out. An example would be the question of co-operating with white people, discussed at the 1984 Congress at Lenasia, Johannesburg. Democracy thus requires that every body should follow the wishes of the majority. We are comfortable with that position for we do not think that the leadership should impose on the membership or head policy at the face of the majority.

Some BC leaders, known as Raphele, have tried this in the past, but their wings were clipped without much decorum.

Skilful

If, however, people say we ascribe corporate guilt to whites and that we thereby distort the fundamental essence of BC, that becomes a completely different issue. The problem then becomes: How do we verify the claim by taking a look at the documents of BC before it fell into our distrusting hands.

In an article entitled White Racists and Black Consentientious, Biko argued: “White society collectively owes us a huge debt that no one should summarily escape from. The blacks condemned
Welcome home GOVERNOR 'COM ZIZI' MBeki

From
Ravensmead Uitsig Civic Association
Ravensmead Workers Advice Bureau
Ravensmead Youth

Chaos reigned in New Brighton as crowds of jubilant supporters streamed onto the streets at the news of Mr Govan Mbeki's arrival.

From MIDDLETON JINNAH and EDITH RUEERING
FRANCOIS ELIZABETH -
Govan Mbeki's 'homecoming' was described as an emotional release of hope and joy.

Youths hung from the sides of fast moving taxis, children and old women danced in the streets and crowds of people prayed as the lorry carrying Mbeki wound its way through the streets of Port Elizabeth's townships.

The enthusiasm of the people who had been suspended had not been that of the Terrorism Act had down a minimum five-year sentence.

Mr Mayard Mlamza, an old friend of Govan Mbeki sings the national anthem at a service to welcome him home. Picture: EDITH BISHOP (Des)

Emotional Mbeki reached Port Elizabeth on Sunday afternoon after spending a week in Pretoria where he was greeted at the Kimberley Aerodrome by about 50 township residents.

Punched, kicked and assaulted, communication was established with a blind former teacher, Phakamile Simon Mbeki, who was Mbeki's former secretary and is now a pensioner at the Kimberley Ranch, the township.

Before he arrived, the group of people sang protest songs, clenched their fists and danced. Traffic lights were ignored for the day.

Traffic jams

A traffic jam occurred at the circle of 9th Street in the direction of the township.

One man was knocked down by a car. He picked himself up, bleeding and weeping, and ran as he started to speak.

Some Mbeki's supporters shouted 'Down with the ANC!'

The crowd donated R10 to the man, who had an emotional reunion with a blind former teacher, Phakamile Simon Mbeki, who was Mbeki's former secretary and is now a pensioner at the Kimberley Ranch.

Sheet of pain

The sheet of pain was drawn and the car could not be seen from the open car windows. "I am Mbeki, I am home," he shouted.

Traffic lights were not ignored for the day. Mbeki sat in the front seat, clenched his fists and shouted delightfully at the jubilant reception.

He was accompanied by his sister, Mamahla, his lawyer, Priscilla Jans, and his wife, Mrs Mbeki, who arrived by car.

The procession continued and Mbeki's supporters gathered at the side of the road, raised their fists and danced on the sidewalks.

The scene of pain was not felt. The procession continued and Mbeki was returned to the township.

The crowd donated R10 to the man, who had an emotional reunion with a blind former teacher, Phakamile Simon Mbeki, who was Mbeki's former secretary and is now a pensioner at the Kimberley Ranch.
ANC man has
his jail term cut

An African National Congress
(ANC) member yesterday had
his 5½-year jail term cut by
three years in the Rand Su-
preme Court.

Vijaydave Naran Rama
Patel (42) had been convicted
of joining the ANC, possessing
ANC literature and attempting
to recruit members.

But the Appeal Court set
aside the conviction and three-
year sentence for recruitment.
Curbs on PAC man

Matsoane cannot engage in any political activity until September 1990, failing which the Commissioner of Prisons may suspend his parole. If the Commissioner finds he has not observed his bail conditions, he can be detained.

Other conditions are that he has to report to the Kagiso or Krugersdorp police station; he is under the control of the commanding officer of Krugersdorp prisons for the duration of the parole. A warrant for his arrest can be issued and he can be detained at any time; he has to report within a month his residential address; and the Commissioner of Prisons may alter any of the parole conditions.

Non-racial

Nkosikazi was released on a police caution at midnight on April 8, 1963. Although he was happy to be released, Nkosikazi said he was disappointed that his "comrade" Jeff Masemola who was sentenced with him to life imprisonment was still in jail.

"I have a strong hope that Jeff as well as other political prisoners will be freed," he said.

Nkosikazi, born at Riverside near Pretoria in September 1941, said he joined the PAC in 1960. He studied for his junior certificate in prison and is presently studying for a degree in computer science.

He said he had not yet decided about his political involvement as he still had domestic problems to attend to.

Asked about his marriage plans, he smiled and said: "I have not yet thought about that. I do not even have a huckster or a blanket to sleep under."

After 10 years in jail, Mr Mike Sallo Matsoane, 46, still upholds Africanism and non-racial ideals.

Interviewed at his new home in Kagiso near Krugersdorp, Mr Matsoane, however, cast doubts about his new-found freedom following several parole restrictions.

Matsoane was convicted of furthering the aims of the banned Pan African Congress (PAC) in the marathon Bethal trial in 1979, and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment of which he served eight on Robben Island.

Govan Mbeki greets well-wishers in Port Elizabeth. Pic: GUY TILLIM (Afrapix)

Breakfast with Mbeki

By SAHM VENTER

I SERVED Govan Mbeki his first breakfast as a free man.

While journalists waited in the Port Elizabeth Holiday Inn's lobby last Friday for the released ANC leader to put in an appearance, I exploited the absence of room service because of a labour dispute.

Many hotel workers, members of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union, were striking for higher wages as their celebrated guest arrived.

I fetched his breakfast from the hotel's restaurant and took it to Suite 255A where Mbeki had spent the night — and was rewarded with a short interview.

Breakfast was fruit, scrambled eggs, sausages, boerewors, croquettes (chopped fried potato), tea and toast.

He was also brought a razor on request.

After taking in his meal, I spend a few minutes with the soft-spoken, 77-year-old, in a room adjoining that of his attorney, Ms Priscilla Jana.

He confirmed that he would stay in South Africa, probably in New Brighton. The Inter-Denominational Ministers' Association of South Africa (Idamasa) has arranged a flat for him in the city's township.

He was concerned over disunity among people in the country and said that to resolve such problems, people had to talk.

Mbeki was surprisingly not bitter about his years in prison. While times had been hard, he acknowledged that there had been vast improvements.

The highlight of Mbeki's last day was when his wife, Mametsheli, arrived at the hotel. A car had left Port Elizabeth at 1am to fetch her in the Transkei.

Previous night.
1. Work Breaks
   Minimum lunch break : 60 minutes
   Maximum lunch break : 75 minutes
   Total tea break time : 20 minutes
   Number of tea breaks : 2

2. Maximum length of week : 6 days / 46.0 hours

3. Spreadover
   Spreadover hours per shift : --
   Hours of work consecutive : Yes
   Retrenchment provisions : 4
   Short time provisions : Exiled son

4. Overtime
   Usual weekday:
   2nd weekday of the month:
   Saturday work:
   Sunday work:
   Public Holiday:
   Maximum hours:

5. Allowances
   Shift allowance:
   Inconvenience allowance:
   Clothing allowance:
   Subsistence allowance:
   Night shift allowance:
   Travel Allowance : All
   Living Service Allowance : -
   Family Assistance Bonus :
   Maternity Bonus :
   Holiday Bonus :

6. Paid Leave
   Leave days for:
   Leave days for:
   Annual sick leave:
   Annual sick leave:
   New Years Day:
   Family Day:
   Good Friday:
   Republic Day:
   Ascension Day:
   Day of the Vow:
   Kruzer Day:
   Day of Goodwill:
   Christmas Day:
   Other:
   January : No
   February :
   March :
   April :
   May :
   June :
   July :
   August :
   September :
   October :
   November :
   December :

7. Paid Public Holidays
   New Years Day:
   Founders Day:
   Family Day:
   Good Friday:
   Republic Day:
   Ascension Day:
   Day of the Vow:
   Kruzer Day:
   Day of Goodwill:
   Christmas Day:
   Other:
   January : No
   February :
   March :
   April :
   May :
   June :
   July :
   August :
   September :
   October :
   November :
   December :

8. Piecework etc
   Piecework:
   Skilled/unskilled ratio set : Allowed
   Protective Clothing:
   Free
   Notice:
   Notice period weekly paid : 1 week(s) / -- hour(s)
   Notice period monthly paid : - week(s) / -- day(s)

9. Trade Union Status
   Closed shop:
   Union member employment first:
   Stop Order facilities for subs:
RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN
'THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN'

THE Release Mandela Campaign welcomes the unconditional release of our leader and comrade Govan Mbeki. However, we reject Pretoria’s innuendo that comrade Mbeki’s release should be treated as a “test case” before the release of other political prisoners.

Comrade Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and others have long called on the South African government to renounce violence before it called on others to do so.

This we view as a test case which will indicate Pretoria’s willingness to begin a process of meaningful negotiations.

We believe that the continued imprisonment of our leaders, the continued banning of the ANC, and the exiling of the most important participants in the resolution of the current political logjam in our country - are the tests which Pretoria has to pass if it is sincerely committed to change.

The people of South Africa are aware of the biting effects of sanctions on the economy, and if the release of Govan Mbeki is aimed at easing this pressure, then we want to state clearly that it is a self-inflicted fallacy on the part of Pretoria. And it is dangerous.

Furthermore, denying Mbeki the right to being heard, by declaring him a so-called listed person, is a gross violation of the right of South Africa’s people to articulate their aspirations through their tried and tested leaders.

We are not at all convinced that Pretoria is genuinely walking the path of dismantling apartheid.

We would also like to remind PW Botha that his predecessor, B J Vorster, advised Ian Smith in 1973 to release Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo so that they could play their role as genuine leaders of the then Rhodesia in a negotiated settlement of that country’s problems. Why now is the advice no longer suitable for the advisor? Circumstances are the same! What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. We challenge PW Botha and his cabal to apply that measure of sanity to themselves.

If the South African government desires a negotiated settlement, then, as they are the sole problem party that caused apartheid, the ball is in their court.

By delaying the release of all our leaders, Pretoria is in fact prolonging the ongoing violence and political instability that have become the order of the day in the whole country.

The people of South Africa say “Abandon all your fears and act now”. 
From MBULELO LINDA and EDITH BULRING

PORT ELIZABETH

Govan Mbeki's "homecoming" to Port Elizabeth's African townships caused an outburst of hope and joy.

Youths hung from the sides of fast moving taxis, children and old women danced in the streets and crowds of people stayed at the cream-coloured car carrying Mbeki wound its way through the streets of Port Elizabeth's townships.

One enthusiastic black declared that his arrival as an early visit from Father Christmas.

"He came from the cold in the north and brought with him such warmth. He has brightened the lives of so many suffering people. They have hope again. It's like an early Christmas present."

Emotional

Mbeki returned to Port Elizabeth on Sunday afternoon after spending a day in Johannesburg. He was greeted at the Hendrik Verwoerd Airport by about 50 township residents. Wives of demonstrators and Robben Island prisoners, children and old men went to the quiet man and hugged him joyfully.

Airports workers and politicians abandoned their work to embrace him. He was whisked from the airport to a private lunch by members of the Inter-Communal African Ministers Association of SA (Intermin).

Excited crowds waited patiently for his arrival at the Don Qeqe Service Station in New Brighton. On his arrival, the women and youth sang songs of welcome and Mbeki embraced friends he had worked with before his imprisonment.

There was an emotional reunion with a blind former trade unionist, Phakama Simon Mkalipi, who was Mbeki's former associate and is now a member of the Eastern Cape branch of the UDF.

Before his car moved off, the group of people sang protest songs, clenched their fists and danced.

Taxi's, scooters and private vehicles passed the motorcade. Television crews perched on the bonnets of cars, filming the procession. As the car slowed down, hundreds of people rushed into the streets to catch a glimpse of their old leader.

The stream of cars grew as the procession continued. Oncoming traffic pushed to the side of the road, turned around and joined in the cavalcade.

The noise of honking cars could not drown the singing and shouting from the streets.

Women shouted from the top car window: "Mbeki is back, long live Mbeki, he is home.

Traffic by-laws were ignored for the day. Mbeki sat in the front seat, clenching his fist and smiling delightfully at the jubilant reception.

He was accompanied by his wife, Mamohela, his lawyer, Pitelela Jana, and his assistant member of Parliament, MPhetha Xalaza.

Traffic jams

A traffic jam occurred at the corner of Njazi Square, a trading point for food vendors and hawkers. The car was smashed after people abandoned their stalls and taxis and surrounded the car, shouting their greetings and clenching their fists.

On reaching St Peter's Anglican church in Zwide, Mbeki was escorted into the building by crowds of well-wishers. He stood up. Pipee stoped talking and lifted Mbeki's clenched fist, his injuries forgotten.

The cavalcade then took to the highway and drove in the direction of Motherwell township 1km from Port Elizabeth. It is a resettlement area for people who have been removed from other townships around the port.

A passing Casspir went on its way, ignoring the procession. Fishermen and boaters on the Sutwa River raised their fists when they heard the name Mbeki. In Motherwell, residents came out of their homes and greeted Mbeki.

At one stage Mbeki opened the window of the car and raised a clenched fist.

Liberation

When the car stopped, residents crowded it and youths sang "ubaba um- bebika yasebirla" (our father, Mbeki, is our leader).

A youth on a scooter stood up at full speed with the fragile moped weaved precariously in and out of the cars, clenching his fist and shouting slogans.

Vehicles carrying television crews and photographers jostled with taxis of singing residents for better positions. Light flared and honked throughout. A taxi smashed into the back of a private vehicle and the driver laughed and waved his fists with good tempered acceptance.

The procession wound its way back to the service station in New Brighton from where Mbeki was whisked away to a secret place to allow him to rest.

Residens gathered around discussing the day's events. "If this is the reception for Mbeki, how can we imagine what it will be like on the day of liberation? " a woman wearing the colours of the ANC said excitedly —Pen
PAC to meet US govt officials

HARARE — A meeting between the Pan Africanist Congress and the United States State Department is scheduled for today in Washington DC, according to a statement issued by the PAC.

The meeting was arranged by the US State Department. The PAC delegation to the meeting will be led by Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs, according to the chief PAC representative in Zimbabwe who issued the statement to the Africa News Organisation.

Ebrahim will be accompanied by Count Pietersen from the PAC observer mission to the United Nations.

Last year a similar meeting was held during which Mr Ebrahim briefed the US Government on PAC policy.

According to reliable sources, the delegation will raise the issue of mandatory sanctions against South Africa again. — Africa News Organisation.
ANC will have to negotiate — Prof

Professor Schlemmer said the Soviet Union was pressuring the banned organisation increasingly to adopt a more political approach.

The ANC, he said, had built a reputation internationally and internally as "heir apparent" to the Government through association with the "huge wave of internal unrest and protest" which had swept the country during the past three to four years.

"Its status increased as unrest mounted in South Africa and as people abroad anticipated there was going to be some sort of major transformation in the society they started looking to the ANC as the heir apparent."

"With the curbing of unrest and protest under the state of emergency, the ANC has had to enter, and will have to increasingly enter, into a new phase of strategy.

While the diplomatic wing of the ANC had expanded its international network considerably it still faced the testing task of competing with existing internal black formations.

The diplomatic wing, he said, was under increasing pressure from the Soviet Union, its main sponsor, to produce new initiatives — alternatives to insurGENCY and sabotage.

"In that route it is going to have to compete with internal black formations. As long as it was a purely military struggle it did not have to compete.

Support

It could present and maintain itself as heir apparent. Professor Schlemmer said according to a recent poll the ANC only enjoyed the support of 25 percent of South Africa's blacks.

"As we get further into the process of negotiation the ANC is faced with the very severe challenge of deciding whether to come in and renounce violence or at least suspend violence and seek negotiation or stay outside."

"If they decide to stay outside and operate externally, they will decline. The role of the ANC is important one but not an exclusive one. If they participate it will be as one of several potential black formations — significant but not the key to everything," he said.
Why we have a Black Christmas
A period of reflection

THE practice of observing "Black Christmas" was initiated in December 1976 by the Black Consciousness Movement. This was during the upheaval which started on June 16 in the same year.

Until then various people had individually deplored the idea of observing Christmas in the traditional manner for various reasons. These reasons ranged from religious, through to economic and political.

The advent of 1976 brought unprecedented solidarity within the community.

There was a strong feeling of togetherness in action among the people. Of the many issues that were targets for action, "Black Christmas" was one of the most successful. The reasons for this campaign have not beeni time-bound and continue to be valid today, 11 years later.

The militancy of 1976 and subsequent years have argued that traditionally Christmas is a time of goodwill among all persons, irrespective of their social, economic or political standing. However, in South Africa, this universal Christmas message has been turned into a vulgarisation because blacks do not benefit in any way whatsoever. The only people who benefit are the owners and controllers of big business and their satellites. A few important factors can be cited in this regard:

- Blacks are made to go on "holidays" simply because the bosses want to go on "vacation." The so-called "bonuses," "back-pay," or "thirteenth cheques" that blacks receive are re-absorbed by the owners of capital because blacks have no option but to spend the money at white enterprises. In this regard black-owned or controlled concerns can be viewed as agencies or extensions of the white concerns because of their smallness and their benefits accrue to an insignificantly few blacks.

- The rejoicing and festivities which traditionally accompanies the Christmas period is often subverted and exploited by the Government and its agencies. They say that blacks are happy because the Government treats them well.

**Period**

The period of Christmas is also exploited by the Government to say that those who have detained are rubble-romers and do not represent the mass of people enjoying festivities.

South Africa professes to be a Christian country. Christmas is the most important event in Christianity. Christianity preaches the equality of people before God. It is therefore un-Christian for the white Government of South Africa to deny the majority of the country's citizens the most basic of human rights.

- The period usually extends from around December 12 to January 2. "Black Christmas" is a protest by blacks aimed at challenging the morality of white South Africa at the time when they would rather forget the problems and misery of the black masses and go on vacation.

"Black Christmas" is a protest against exploitation. Most if not all the commodities are more expensive during this period. The market is glutted with useless ornaments which blacks are expected to buy. Almost all the products are intended for blacks during this period. In this context "Black Christmas" is a protest against being treated like a nation of mere consumers.

The "Black" in "Black Christmas" is a direct cause of the group burdened by a grievance and the group responsible for such grievance.

When the Government responds to demands by blacks and the situation of "us" and "them" or "black" and "white" has been corrected, only then shall Christmas be Black, not white.

Over the years confusion, and uncertainty seems to have set in — not on what "Black Christmas" is, but on what people should do in observance of it. The exuberance of some groups and the attempts by the system and its agencies to sow confusion have occasioned this confusion.

"Black Christmas" means blacks must use the period as a time to reflect on what has brought about improvements to their condition. The guiding principle is restraint and sacrifice.

There is no struggle without sacrifice. Shared sacrifice is fulfilling. Knowledge that other people are making the same sacrifices as one is making creates a sense of accomplishment. The most encouraging thing is when one takes the decision voluntarily with conviction.
Libyan-trained men to testify on Qibla

Pretoria Correspondent
The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Qibla trial will take an interesting turn today when the State calls several Libyan-trained terrorists to testify against the two alleged Qibla members.

The trial, in which five men are accused of belonging to the banned PAC and two of being members of the Muslim Qibla organisation, is set to run until December 11.

Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa (29), Mr Sestiba Paul Moholo (29), Mr Achmad Cassiem (41), Mr Yusuf Patel (27), Reverend Daniel Saul Nkopodi (27), Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu (52) and Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga (26), have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice. They also face about 23 charges under the Internal Security Act.

Defence counsel for Mr Gcanga, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, is challenging the admissibility of his client’s statement. According to Mr Moseneke, his client was assaulted and threatened.

Magistrate JH Bekker will pass judgment on the admissibility of the statement today.

The hearing continues.
Return from the cold

Govan Mbeki, who in a surprise move was released (with four other long-term political prisoners) by government last Thursday, demanded to speak to Nelson Mandela at Pollsmoor prison before being freed. In their hour-long meeting, it is understood from reliable sources, the ANC veterans discussed a number of issues including the implications of Mbeki's release (see page 58).

Mbeki (77), a former ANC national chairman and secretary of its high command was later flown in an army helicopter from Ysterplaat military base to Port Elizabeth, where he plans to live in New Brighton, one of SA's most militant townships.

Many would say that Port Elizabeth's (and the eastern Cape's) reputation as the cradle of radical black opposition is largely due to the young Mbeki's organisational skills.

In a press conference at Port Elizabeth, Mbeki made it clear that he is still a member of the (banned) ANC and SA Communist Party.

He also said he supports the ANC's military wing as well as the United Democratic Front (UDF).

The silver-haired, elegantly dressed Mbeki, who was imprisoned after the landmark Rivonia trial in 1963, exuded dignity and charisma and looked fit and healthy for a man of his age.

Mbeki was reunited with his wife, Epainet, with whom he last stayed in 1955. The couple wept for a few minutes before a contingent of journalists and photographers was allowed into the room.

The release of Mbeki, whose stature in the liberation movement almost equals Mandela's, has drawn favourable response from both overseas governments and extra-parliamentary politicians.

An executive member of the UDF the Reverend Moebsi Xundu said: "We welcome the news of his release with tremendous pleasure."

However Mbeki spelt out his political future to some extent. It is clear that as a patron of the UDF he will work within existing opposition structures and consult closely with other leaders.

He offered to mediate in the Maritzburg feud between the UDF and Inkatha which has claimed about 176 lives.

Inkatha deputy leader Oscar Dlamzlua welcomed the offer. Mbeki's role as peacemaker will be keenly observed to see whether the revered leadership in prison is able to resolve practical political problems.

It will also have implications for future ANC-Inkatha relations. In Johannesburg Mbeki stayed with Isiulu. A reception was prepared for him at St Barnabas College in Bosmont.

He met the Rev Peter Storey and a number of high-ranking ministers from the Methodist World Conference who are due to see State President PW Botha this week.

Mbeki, a founder member of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, is generally considered to have been the ANC's leading theoretician and strategist. It will be interesting to see whether he can re-establish the structures of the UDF which have been hard-hit by the emergency.

Recently released political prisoners describe him as a "living computer" because of his photographic memory.

Indeed many have been impressed by how fully he is with the political scene.

While on Robben Island Mbeki wrote a book, The Peasant Revolt in Transkei, which earned a doctorate from Amsterdam University.

He has also written a number of articles some of which he intends to publish—probably overseas. A big project will be his autobiography. Mbeki has applied for a "travel document" to visit Lusaka to meet the ANC leadership which includes his son Thabo. Mbeki considered to be a future leader of the organisation.

Epainet Mbeki and Govan ... home at last

On Saturday Mbeki held another press conference at Khuto House but as a "listed person" he may not be quoted. (government gave permission only for his remarks at Port Elizabeth to be quoted.)

- Financial Mail November 13 1987
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CHILLING allegations about the violence in the black townships of Maritzburg were made in three applications to the Natal Supreme Court last week.

In one sworn affidavit by two children aged 12 and 13 described how their mother and sister were shot dead after a group of men came to the house looking for their two brothers but failed to find them.

The fiancé of a woman staying in the house was also found dead after the attack.

In a second it was alleged in affidavits that paraffin was poured on a woman who had been abducted and she was told she would be set alight if she did not answer questions satisfactorily.

It was also alleged in the same application that a house was surrounded and two men were shot, one of whom, left for dead, was in hospital for a week.

In all three cases — all have a January 15 1988 return date — the applicants named and identified locally prominent members of Inkatha as being responsible for these incidents, and they asked for interdicts to restrain them.

More than 130 people have now died during violence in Maritzburg townships. Inkatha says more than 40 were Inkatha members. It is impossible to assess the merits of these conflicting claims but the Supreme Court applications give an indication of the levels of violence involved.

Two brothers, Mandla and Mangethe Mkhize, were granted an interim interdict restraining Mr. David Ntombele, an induna and local chairman of Inkatha in Mpaswini area of Maritzburg, and seven other people from killing or assaulting, or attempting to do so, or intimidating seven members of their family.

Their mother Angelica and their sister Petronella were shot after a group of men arrived on October 9 at their house looking for the two applicants. A friend of the family, Sihembiso Khumalo, was also shot dead.

Their brother Khathulwana (13) described how the men entered his mother's hut and then the hut in which he was sleeping.

He identified some of the men, including Nduma Ntombele.

After they said they were satisfied his two brothers were not there "I heard my mother saying she was going out to relieve herself."

"Then heard the first respondent say to my mother she should not move and should lean against the wall. I heard a gunshot and heard her groan. I think there was another shot.

"After they shot my mother I heard someone tell her to get up and open the door. I did not hear her answer as I hid under my bed."

"A short while later certain of the respondents entered the room. I saw sixth respondent aim his gun at my sister Petronella and fire one shot. She fell to the floor and I heard more shots. I remember her crying out 'Ayu weMa!'"

"She lay bleeding on the floor. She was moaning. I closed my eyes and after a short while the men went outside and I heard first respondent say that they should burn the house."

"One of the men argued against this, saying they already had two of us."

"A few minutes later my sister Patricia came into the room. We fled from the hut and ran into the bush far from the house where we spent the night."

"Patricia Mkhize submitted a similar affidavit."

Mandla Mkhize said he was a member of the Food and Allied Workers’ Union, a Cosatu affiliate, while his brothers Mangethe and Matu were members of an informal youth group which "aligns itself broadly with the UDF."

Another of the affidavits described how a house in Sinathing was surrounded, stoned and burned.

When Godfrey Mdlalala, who with his wife, daughter and friends opened the kitchen door, he saw four or five men with spears. He slammed the door and went to the dining room but that was then set alight.

"I again went to the kitchen door and opened it. I saw larger group of heavily armed men just outside. Despite their presence, I decided it was preferable to leave the house and face our attackers rather than be burnt inside."
Cosatu slams SA business

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Cosatu's general secretary Jay Naidoo told the FM investment conference yesterday the response of business to government attacks on democracy would help to shape its future relationship with the labour movement and the "broad democratic movement". In turn, this relationship will determine the nature of SA's future, he said.

Naidoo criticized business's "silence" during government's "smear campaign" against Cosatu earlier this year and when Cosatu's living wage campaign was disrupted through the banning of meetings and seizure of literature.

He said Cosatu recognized economic growth was indispensable to creating a non-racial democracy in SA. However, it differed with business on how growth should take place.

He said Cosatu's controversial support for disinvestment and sanctions was an urgent message to employers to "actively pressure the government to move towards non-racial democracy.

He attacked solutions such as deregulation and privatization.
Parents not aware of charges

THE launching of your newspaper, SOUTH, gave the people the impression that, at last, we would have an objective mouthpiece "of the people for the people".

SOUTH would report matters in a fair and just manner without implicating unfortunate victims who find themselves in no position to defend any allegations or criticism against them by the poisoned fingers of the press, it was thought.

Terrorism

Your edition of December 10-16, under the bold headings "ANC's Cape Cells" on page 1 and "Forbes an ANC commander", refers. In 'sensationalising the plight of the 15 young people' who will appear in the Supreme Court in March next year on charges of "terrorism", your newspaper went about tabulating the allegations against some of the young people in a manner which, apparently and undoubtedly, projects the impression that they (the accused) are already guilty of the charges, and/or that they were some kind of ruthless political radicals who planned to create havoc — in a bid to overthrow the State.

We realise your journalist was "only outlining the State's allegations" against them, but did he really do these young people any justice in the manner in which he reported the matter?

Was SOUTH aware that some or most of the parents of the accused were not aware of the actual charges against their children until they read your newspaper.

Could your paper not have found the time to check with those parents and/or the representatives of those charged whether they were all aware of the charges against their kin.

Worst

It appeared as if SOUTH was just interested in collating whatever photographs could be mustered of the people concerned for use with the "scoop", without further thought of whatever adverse consequences caused, or how you may have prejudiced the support and defence of those concerned.

It should be a well-known fact that quite a lot of people in our community like to believe only the worst of others, and, when the press rushes to stoke the fire by projecting what appears to be the "worst" in people, persecutors (of those who care and fight for their fellowman) normally have a ball.

So well done SOUTH for your damaging "scoop" and purported revelations of those who are not yet in a position to defend themselves. I can assure that we, the parents of the 15 people involved, their kinsman, and the community at large are not at all impressed of the direction you have taken to try to "sell" your newspaper.

SIGNED BY SOME OF THE PARENTS.
New body to mobilise white youth

Political Staff

YOUNG supporters of the United Democratic Front, backed by the township-based Cape Youth Congress, are launching a new organisation to mobilise white youth in the Mowbray and Observatory areas.

The Mowbray Youth Congress aims to organise white youth in support of the "democratic movement's vision of a non-racial, democratic South Africa".

A spokesman said the launch was in the form of a "jol" in the St Michael's Road Church in Observatory at 8 tonight with three live bands and stalls run by community organisations.

AREA-BASED

He said the new body was area-based and not exclusively white.

The group will be affiliated to the UDF through the Claremont and Observatory area committees but its main push will be to affiliate to the Cape Youth Congress and to operate as a branch of this broad-based youth organisation.

The Gardens UDF area committee hopes to launch a similar movement in the city area soon.
methods to force people to move. Many have
gone to the equally squalid conditions at
Sandskraal in the face of what community
workers claim is official intimidation, but
others are determined to fight to have
Lawaikamk redeveloped.

The authorities claim that Lawaikamp is
beyond saving and that redevelopment is not
feasible.

The GCA, however, commissioned a study
which found that the upgrading was possible
in a number of different ways at relatively
low cost.

Further away

The Black Sash and the Surplus People
Project (SPP), which are monitoring efforts
to move the people, say the only apparent
reason for the move is to have the community
slightly further away from the town and
behind the “barrier” of the new national
road between Sandskraal and George.

Other sources say there is also pressure,
from local coloured community leaders who
want the Lawaikamk land to expand the
adjacent coloured residential areas.

A recent meeting between the GCA
executive, George’s new mayor John Rogers,
and Town Clerk Carel du Plessis, again
failed to resolve the major problems.

Return from the cold

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released (with four other long-term political
prisoners) by government last Thursday, de-
manded to speak to Nelson Mandela at
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a number of issues including the implications
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Mbeki (77) a former ANC national chair-
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The release of Mbeki,
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equals Mandela’s, has
drawn favourable response
from both overseas governments and extra-
parliamentary politicians.

An executive member of the UDF the
Reverend Mcebki Xunda said: “We wel-
come the news of his release with tremendous
pleasure.

“We hope that it is a start to a process that
will see people like Nelson Mandela and
other political prisoners released so that ne-
egotiations for a just and democratic SA can
begin.”

Mbeki flew to Johannesburg on Friday
night to a tumultuous welcome by about
1 500 well-wishers at Jan Smuts airport. A
reception committee of UDF president Al-
bertina Sisulu, Winnie Mandela, National
Union of Mineworkers leader Cyril Ram-
pollo, Cosatu’s Sydney Mafumadi, UDF’s
Samson Ndou, and Release Mandela Com-
mittee’s Irene Mkwai, drew up Mbeki’s
itinerary.

Said Albertina Sisulu: “We welcome Mr
Mbeki with open arms. We can only hope
that his release presages the liberation of the
oppressed masses. The government must
now proceed and release other political
prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.”

Speculation is, of course, that Mandela
could be released by Christmas. However,
since government wants to “test the water”
with Mbeki’s release, freeing Mandela could
take a little longer.

On Saturday Mbeki held another press
conference at Khotso House but as a “listed
person” he may not be quoted (government
gave permission only for his remarks at Port
Elizabeth to be quoted).

However Mbeki spelled out his political
future to some extent. It is clear that as a
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ning opposition structures and consult closely
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He offered to mediate in the Maritzburg
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Inkatha deputy leader Oscar Dholomo wel-
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It will also have implications for future
ANC-Inkatha relations. In Johannesburg
Mbeki stayed with Sisulu. A reception was
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Thabo Mbeki considered to be a future
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Epainet Mbeki and Govan ... home at last

FINANCIAL MAIL NOVEMBER 13 1987
Behind the scenes: global pressure

The talk among diplomats in the Frontline states is of enormous arm-twisting of both ANC and Pretoria by world leaders, pressing both sides towards the negotiating table. The Mbeki release is considered a part of this. By HOWARD BARRELL in Harare

...stuck quite hard blows against some sections of the ANC's internal ground, tactically debilitated legal and anti-apartheid organisations, charged up to many of the political leaders of Sizwe's liberation route through neighbour states, and made it very possible, in the short term at least, for any neighbouring state to play a significant role in the struggle against apartheid. The more insightful of Pretoria's own analysts and friends in the West have, according to diplomatic sources, been arguing with increasing force over the past few months that this relatively disadvantageous state of affairs is something that can be relied upon to last indefinitely. Rather, it must be argued in the near future — and those in Pretoria unwilling to make the leap of faith into the future (perhaps black) future might just have to be shoved into it. If Pretoria does indeed engage in some form of talks with the ANC over the next 10 months, this fact will not rule out attempts to cobble together some sort of "consensual consensus" whose black component would be the National Statutory Council or some more credible version of it.

On the contrary, talks with the ANC would make a lot more compelling the need for the government to make up its mind and take action. Ian Smith has not had to deal with the Mbeki release, or he would have done. The ANC has been made a lot more its place. Among other things, having a reasonably visible ANC would strengthen the government's hand in pushing for a round table design for any future negotiations. The government should consider introducing a conflict of a number of supposedly...
autonomous black parties which would owe their presence there almost entirely to government political pressure on both sides

The release of Mhodzi — and the likelihood that Mhodzi Mandals and Walter Sisulu will follow — also has precisely the effect of clearing away an important obstacle between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Gcine) and others like him and participation in the NFC or some variant of it.

For this and related reasons, the release of political prisoners could strengthen the government's hand in going for conservative concessions which includes selecting blacks. It would result in the South African version of the Rhodesian "internal settlement." The ANC and its allies face a critical challenge: to take full advantage of the situation that could soon arise.

For the ANC and its allies the future is complex and difficult. If not formally, then at least in a factual sense, the ANC could soon find itself unbanned.

There is nothing intrinsically dangerous in this for the ANC. An outlaw revolution is not a foregone conclusion. The ANC must continue to take advantage of the situation that could arise.

But in the long run an armed struggle will require extraordinary political and organisational sophistication in the ANC and its allies to avoid what they would probably describe as the "horror" of a reformist outcome.

If talks of some kind are indeed on the cards, it is sensible to anticipate that the ANC will engage in discussion with a wide range of legal mass organisations it might regard as its allies. This would be logical in a state, if the struggle against apartheid can be seen to have one strength, then it is the diversity of both the methods and organisational forms this struggle has developed over time.

Compared to liberation struggles elsewhere in Africa and most other parts of the underdeveloped world, revolutionary forces in South Africa have had a more distinctly political character and have been less dependent on the reinforcement of their struggle from abroad.

In addition, it is well known that legal movements in the massacre area of political freedom left by the Emergency restrictions is hardly an attractive proposition.

It was the Commonwealth Eminent Persons joint mission to South Africa in 1966, the ANC was prepared to suspend its guerrilla campaign while negotiating with Buthelezi in its talks. The ANC, however, is not offering to negotiate with the ANC in the manner it did before. It is unrealistic to withdraw security forces from the townships. The ANC's leaders are more realistic in their thinking than the ANC.

Bootha has not extended a formal retraction of violence from Mhodzi. But the ANC leader's release is closely linked to the ANC's decision to re-enter into war. Another, coexistence-based government might be able to split the ANC into internal and external wings, a variant of Bootha's earlier attempt to separate ANC nationalism from communism.

The unfolding situation will, of course, present the ANC with difficult decisions. To function as a semi-autonomous black party which would owe their presence there almost entirely to government political pressure on both sides...

Ian Smith
ANC's vision of negotiations with the government — if they come — is of the ANC heading a broad front of political, trade union and其它 militant forces.

This from — the ANC would hope — would sit across a two-sided table. The ANC would resist attempts to introduce into the talks a multi-party or multi-related design of which would introduce a plethora of small and supposedly autonomous parties which it would regard as irrelevant to the central conflict.

On the contrary, the ANC has undertaken on several occasions in the past not to enter into secret talks with the government. So consultations would be a requirement for the ANC.

A realisation of the difficulties which could lie ahead is probably the reason for the ANC's response to Mhodzi's release: that the ANC will not in any way restrain itself following this release.

On the contrary, it has been sounding off in the Frontline states since Thursday last week that it believes it is necessary to escalate its offensive, primarily inside the country.

Why?

Firstly, because it does not believe the South African government has had a change of heart and is yet unable to negotiate seriously over the key issue — the transfer of political power to the majority.

Secondly, because the ANC cannot, viewed from its perspective, allow foreign states to define the content or tactical complications of its struggle.

And, finally, because inside the country is where it believes its stronger contingent lies.

But the more serious problem in its ranks has been the collective enthusiasm which has lingers else where far longer than is justified by the present situation. It is likely that this enthusiasm has lingers else where far longer than is justified by the present situation. It is likely that this enthusiasm has lingers else where far longer than is justified by the...
Mandela meets Coetsee

By THAMI MKHWANAZI and
Weekly Mail Reporters

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee have come face to face in at least two meetings in the last few weeks.

The meetings — between the world’s most famous political prisoner and the government minister in charge of South Africa’s jails — were a crucial part of the build-up to last week’s release of life prisoner Govan Mbeki.

At least one meeting took place in the Pollsmoor Prison cell in which Mandela is serving his life sentence. The other may have taken place outside the prison, though this has not been confirmed.

The main subject of their discussion was Mbeki’s release, in particular a court application his lawyers had made to gain access to him.

The Weekly Mail learnt of the hush-hush meetings from a number of reliable sources. Coetsee yesterday neither confirmed nor denied that the meeting had occurred. “As Minister of Justice, prisons fall within the ambit of my responsibility. As such, communication with prisoners, and/or relatives and/or their representatives are not excluded, are prison-related and concern the private lives of people,” he said in response to queries.

Coetsee did not respond to an enquiry about whether one of the meetings had taken place at his Cape Town home.

The South African Prisons Service declined to add to Coetsee’s comment.

Mbeki’s attorney, Priscilla Jana, had applied to the supreme court on October 7 to force the prison authorities to allow her to see him on Robben Island, where he was being held. She had been refused permission to consult with him for over two months.

This application came at a time of intense speculation about the imminent release of the 77-year-old Rivonia trialist who had served 24 years’ imprisonment.

To PAGE 2

Continued
Mandela in talks with Coetsee

The next day Mbeki sent a telegram to Jana summoning her to see him.

The meetings between Coetsee and Mandela are believed to have taken place within the following few days.

Jana's application was withdrawn on October 15 and Mbeki was released on November 3.

Jana yesterday declined to comment on the reports.

Mandela's attorney, Ismail Ayob, said he had been denied permission since April 1987 to see his client and therefore knew nothing about the matter.

ANC sources in exile yesterday said they had no knowledge of meetings between Mandela and Coetsee.

At a press conference on the weekend, Mbeki said he had met Mandela on the morning of his release in Pollsmoor Prison. However, he declined to give further details.

At least one face-to-face meeting between Mandela and Coetsee has been recorded.

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group reported an encounter between the two during the group's visit in May 1987.

"The minister of justice, together with two senior officials, was present at the start of our second meeting and

Mr Mandela pressed him to remain, saying he had nothing to hide and no objection to the minister hearing the discussion.

"It was his strongly stated view that if the circumstances could be created in which the government and the ANC could talk, some of the problems which arose solely through lack of contact could be eliminated," the EPG reported.

And a book published this month in London, My Fight Against Apartheid by Michael Dingake, has given the first eyewitness account of an encounter between Mandela and Jimmy Kruger, the former minister of justice, on Robben Island in 1978.

Mandela had a long interview with Kruger during which he raised prisoners' demands and discussed topical questions, according to Dingake.

"Madiba (Mandela's clan name) came back from meeting Kruger very much disappointed and shocked. The minister, according to Madiba, was completely blank on the history and policies of the ANC. He could not argue on the Freedom Charter of the ANC, he had not read it," Dingake writes.
How a schoolboy’s rage turned Mbeki towards Marxism

WHEN Govan Mbeki spoke about how the church has undermined political thought, two themes emerged. One was the political reality in South Africa’s townships, and the other was the church’s role in fostering political ideas, especially among young people.

One of the major challenges Govan Mbeki faced was the high rate of unemployment among young people in South Africa. The church, he believed, could play a significant role in addressing this issue. Mbeki argued that the church should not only provide spiritual comfort and guidance but also act as a catalyst for political change.

Mbeki’s views were shaped by his experiences growing up in a rural village in the Eastern Cape. He witnessed the struggles of his community and the impact of apartheid on their lives. The church, he believed, could be a powerful force for social justice and liberation.

However, his views were not universally accepted. The church leadership, he argued, was often too afraid to speak out against the government’s policies. Mbeki believed that the church had a responsibility to address these issues and stand up for the rights of the poor and oppressed.

The church’s role in fostering political ideas among young people was one of the key factors that Mbeki believed contributed to the rise of the ANC (African National Congress) and its eventual victory in the 1994 elections. Mbeki argued that the church had a significant role to play in shaping the political landscape in South Africa.

Despite his reservations, Mbeki believed that the church could still play a role in promoting political consciousness among young people. He believed that the church should not abandon its traditional role but should also embrace a broader role in society.

The church, he argued, should not only provide spiritual comfort and guidance but also act as a catalyst for political change. Mbeki believed that the church had a responsibility to address the challenges faced by the poor and oppressed and to work towards a more just society.

Mbeki’s ideas were not accepted by everyone. Some church leaders were afraid to speak out against the government’s policies and were too afraid to address the challenges faced by the poor and oppressed.

However, Mbeki believed that the church could still play a role in promoting political consciousness among young people. He believed that the church should not abandon its traditional role but should also embrace a broader role in society.

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On appeal: Case of the one detainee to be freed

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

THE court-ordered release of a senior member of the Azanian People's Organisation earlier this year goes before a full bench of the Natal courts today on appeal.

In February Judge John Didcott ordered the release of Patrick Moody, resources director of Azapo's Frank Talk editorial collective, who was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act on December 12 last year.

Moody's case was the first in which police, having disclosed to the court some grounds for holding a detainee, were nevertheless ordered to release the prisoner. Giving reasons for holding Moody police said they had it from an undisclosed source that Moody was a member of an underground African National Congress cell. The cell was responsible for distributing propaganda and collecting information.

Moody's father and Azapo challenged these grounds, saying anyone who had "even a nodding acquaintance with South African politics would realise it was incompatible with the detainee's position in the black consciousness organisation," Azapo, for him to be a member of the ANC.

Colonel Hendrick Buchner, for the police, denied this was necessarily so.

He told the court, "I know there is apparently a hostile relationship between Azapo and the ANC, but I submit that it is not a necessary conclusion in law that he could therefore not be a member of the ANC."

Ordering Moody's release the judge did not refer to the Azapo-ANC question. He ruled that the grounds given — which he had to accept because the police said there were no other reasons — did not provide a reasonable basis for Buchner to believe Moody had committed any offence referred to in Section 29.

He said the evidence before the court was insufficient to satisfy him that it was reasonable for Buchner to rely on the information he had been given, and he therefore ruled Moody's detention unlawful.

After the Appeal Court ruled in 1986 that police had to show the basis on which they had "reason to believe" that a detainee had committed Section 29 offences (including sabotage and subversion), police have advanced reasons in all applications for the release of detainees.

Although relatives of a number of detainees have brought court applications challenging their detention and the grounds on which they are held, Moody's case is believed to be the only one which has been successful.

Leave was given to the state to appeal to a full bench of the Natal Supreme Court, rather than to the Bloemfontein Appellate Division.
The ailing man who rose from bed to greet his friend

By MONO BADELA

WHEN the 77-year-old veteran ANC leader Govan Mbeki was released on compassionate grounds, as President PW Botha implied this week, others political prisoners should also have been considered, according to the Release Mandela Campaign.

"Oscar Mptaha, although in good health and viole, has had his legs amputated (from the knee down) and Harry Gwala is partially paralyzed," said ANC representative Aberny Molewa.

"Surely Botha's claimed compassion should have included the release of a 90-year-old man and a man who is paralyzed," said Anapla.

"Apartheid had agreed that prisoners like Mptaha, Gwala, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and PAC president Zeph Mothopeng should have been considered to return home, if Botha was sincere.

"Mandela recently underwent an operation and according to reports Mothopeng had to be moved to Johannesburg because of his health problems," said Arap police representative Lybon Mabasa.

Mptaha, ANC president and veteran trade union leader, has served two years of a five-year sentence.

He was detained in August 1980 and nearly three years later, after a servitum conviction, he was released on bail.

His appeal against sentence failed and he was jailed in 1985 with the other prisoners in poor health.

The other prisoners in poor health

By SEFAKO NYAKA

The government ignoring national and international condemnation at confining 78-year-old dissenter.

Gwala, 66, a former Communist Party member, has been suffering from a terminal motor neuron condition and is reported to be paralyzed.

His transfer from Robben Island to the Pretoria Martha prison two months ago led to speculation that he may be released on medical grounds.

Gwala was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977 for recruiting people for military training.

The 74-year-old Mothopeng is currently serving his third spell in prison, this time for 15 years.

He was found guilty on charges under the Terrorism Act at the Pretoria Bethel Trial in 1979.

Mothopeng, who is presently being held at Johannesburg Prison, is known to be suffering from a cancerous tumour.

Opening the Cape National Party congress this week Botha said the government would not hesitate to show compassion when this became the overriding factor in considering the release of security prisoners.

"If prisoners do not meet the conditions laid down in parliament, they will not be released, but if the same time...will not hesitate to show mercy if we feel mercy must be the determining factor," he said.

A few days earlier Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had told newsmen Mbeki had been selected for release because he was 77 and starting to show signs of his age.

He also conceded that if anything happened to one of the major security prisoners while still in jail it would play into the hands of radical activists.

But Mbeki, who was released last Friday, showed no sign of age and has displayed remarkable stamina for a man his age.

Nkosi: Out of jail but back at his books

By THAMI SHIKWANZI

FORMER Pan Africanist Congress activist John Nkosi, who was released last week with Govan Mbeki and three other Robben Island prisoners, does not seem excited about his freedom after serving 24 years of a life sentence.

When the better part of Wednesday, the sixth day of his release, he was spotted in a tiny room at the back of a house opposite his parents' table-tennis and bowling.

Between his studies, he has been amusing a young university stage that he isento.

As he is left with exams in two modules to complete his degree — computer science and information systems — and the final of the two tests is scheduled for today, he was selecting his reading for a new interview.

He has been reading for a BSc degree.

The Weekly Mail found Nkosi in a tiny room at the back of a house opposite his parents' table-tennis and bowling.

As he is left with exams in two modules to complete his degree — computer science and information systems — and the final of the two tests is scheduled for today, he was selecting his reading for a new interview.

"I have seen the West," he said, moving towards the door so that the public speaking could continue.

Nkosi was sentenced in the Pretoria Supreme Court to life imprisonment in 1963 with five co-accused, whose sentences ranged between five years and 25 years for plotting to overthrow the state by violent means.

He is one of two PAC leaders who refused to sign the Botha 'forfeit violence' conditional release offer in 1985. The other one is Jeff Masemola, who is still serving his life sentence in Johannesburg prison.
Mbeki is keeping a low profile

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH — Released ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki is keeping a low profile after his release from Robben Island last week.

His whereabouts have been shrouded in secrecy and members of the press have been barred from seeing him or his wife.

A source close to the family said he wanted to read, relax and plan for the future.

Journalists trying to contact the Mbekis were referred to the Reverend Patrick Pazha of the Ministers' Fraternal, but he could not be contacted and does not return calls.

It is believed that Mr Mbeki is staying in the coloured township of Salsoneville.

He has not yet moved into the flat in New Brighton which the Defendants Conference of the South Africa Council of Churches has made available to him.
Feud grave matter PAC

THE Pan Africanist Congress views the inter-organisational feud in Maritzburg, which has claimed more than 140 lives in the past two months, with grave concern.

In a statement released yesterday, the PAC expressed strong opposition to the feuding between members of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

"The feud is helping to cloud the real issues in South Africa. Feuds among the oppressed only benefit those in power in South Africa. The PAC calls on all those involved in the fights in Maritzburg to end these senseless killings," the statement said.

The PAC urged the feuding parties to pursue their political aims and objectives in spite of tactical differences without resorting to inter-organisational violence.

* This report has been censored in terms of security legislation.
Part of the process

In its search for a formula to release Nelson Mandela, government is testing the political temperature by releasing Govan Mbeki. It is a calculated risk: while Mbeki is 77, he remains a convinced communist and has been an active member of the African National Congress (ANC) — of which he was elected national chairman in 1956 — since 1935. He was a leading figure in the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and operated underground before his arrest at Liliyafat farm in 1963. Not a man to quietly take his place in history.

Since the announcement in Rubicon 2 of President P W Botha’s linkage of Mandela’s release to that of Soviet dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov — and Wynand du Toit — hopes have risen as each part of the latter has fallen into place. The last formal obstacle — the renunciation of violence by political long-timers — was brushed away by Botha himself.

So there is actually nothing to preclude Mandela’s release. However, it is apparent that Pretoria needs reassurance on two points:

☐ That the release of such an enormously symbolic figure — a former international politician as Mandela — with whom Mbeki conferred before his own release — will not trigger further unrest around, so to speak, the Mandela epicentre; and

☐ That there will be a point to the release: that even if, as is likely, Mandela (and the other Rivonia prisoners) refuse to participate in the National Council as it stands, their (unconditional) freedom will at least make it possible, in theory, to draw Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the negotiations.

The second point is of less significance than the first. At present white fears of the future, and their very real security concerns, need to be faced and answered. But for all the denials, government is aware of the need to negotiate with the ANC, and that means that Mandela must be freed. He cannot be allowed to die in jail, and so the significance of Mbeki’s release — as a precursor to that of Mandela — cannot be underestimated.

The concomitant freeing of AWB prisoners snatches of a sop to the Right.

The release is evidently a part of government’s cautious game plan — it frequently denied “hidden agenda” on black participation in central government. On this it proceeds with inherent conservatism, aware of the Right’s, but also of its own and its constituents’ sensitivities: the pace of the ox, ponderous but actually inflexible.

But Mbeki, too, has a game plan — and one which he has discussed with Mandela in Polismoor. Unfortunately, he is listed and may not be quoted, but at this stage his immediate priorities are to visit the external mission of the ANC in Lusaka for consulta-

At the same time, obviously, Mbeki will be a figurehead for the ANC, particularly if Pretoria has the sense to permit him to travel to Lusaka, and, as cogently, if it de-lists him. It is better to hear what the enemy has to say publicly — and if Pretoria talks at that argument it should consider the ANC’s recognition of Winnie Mandela for her lifestyle and advocacy of necro-lacing: she destroyed her own credibility because she was permitted to speak.

Theories that the ANC might split if the Rivonia generation of leaders is at liberty in SA are naive. In Polismoor Mandela remains the most powerful black nationalist in Africa, and his dedication and attention to the views prevalent in Lusaka are undaunting. But when the time comes for his release, it is likely that he will wish to enter negotiations on power-sharing (given his past statements on the issue) with a measure of pragmatism. As certainly, he will also do so only on the advice of the external mission. When Pretoria releases Mandela, it must be to negotiate with him — and the ANC.

It must be stressed: Mbeki’s release will raise the political temperature — not necessarily violently — and if, or when, he is joined by Sisulu, Mothopeng and Mandela, they will not sit around like old MOTHS discussing the good old days of community organisation in the eastern Cape. The dynamics of events alone will see to that.

What would be Mandela’s — and Lusaka’s — preconditions for a beginning of negotiations on power-sharing? That is simple enough: release of all black political prisoners, a lifting of the State of Emergency, the troops out of the townships, and a wider means of testing internal black opinion. The last point relates to the status of the ANC: fortunately, the UDF does still exist as an internal movement enjoying credibility in the Natal war notwithstanding — with which the congress, and just possibly Pretoria, can co-operate.

It needs to be remembered that the ANC has been in existence for far longer than the National Party; it is almost as old as Union. Historical perspective is a stabilising force, and should serve to at least arrest — though it cannot reverse — the demonisation process which Pretoria has applied to its enemies over the years, and which the white public has accepted in toto and ignorance.

Mbeki’s release is, thus, more than a gesture of humanity from a stern-faced and shunned government. It is part of a process. The outcome cannot be known at this stage, but almost any form of negotiation with the real leaders of the black majority — including, of course, Buthelezi — is better than the stark militarisation of the South African psyche and economy, with all that implies of a siege mentality and flirtation with Götterdämmerung. (See page 66)
Foreign Office moves to re-assert control over SA policy

British govt meets with ANC

LONDON — The British Foreign Office (FO) has moved to re-assert its control over SA policy by agreeing to meet with ANC officials here today.

FO Southern African section chief Kieran Prendergast will meet with ANC's chief London representative Solly Smith and Prene Ginwala.

The meeting takes place in spite of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's recent strictures at the Commonwealth summit that the ANC is a "typical terrorist" organisation which "we will have no truck with".

In the Commons today Thatcher will again come under fire for her statements in Vancouver and a call will be made for government to take additional "measures" against SA. The attack will come from Iver Stanbrook, a right-wing Conservative MP.

The FO has denied there is any difference of opinion on the ANC between it and Downing Street.

In private, however, officials have tried to present Thatcher's attack as an aberration which would not affect existing policy.

The meeting is confirmation the FO has succeeded in getting the policy back to what it was prior to Vancouver — opposition to sanctions, opposition to violence but a willingness to meet with all parties.

A FO spokesman said the meeting was requested by the ANC so it would be setting the agenda — but the FO would take the opportunity to again appeal to the ANC to abandon violence.

Pressed to explain how the FO could meet with a terrorist organisation which Thatcher said the British government would have no truck with, the spokesman said: "That is happening and there you have it."

Asked if Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe or his deputy Lynda Chalker would meet with ANC representatives again, the spokesman said: "We are not ruling out anything, but there are no plans to do so at the moment."

Stanbrook, who on most issues stands to the right of the Conservative Party, said he would argue that when Thatcher said the ANC was just another terrorist organisation it was "not exactly the truth".
Thatcher’s outburst doesn’t halt ANC talks

LONDON — South Africa’s black nationalists resumed diplomatic contact with the British government at a "fence-mending" meeting yesterday, the first since Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher lashed the ANC as a "typical terrorist organisation" at the Commonwealth leaders meeting in Vancouver last month.

The virulence of her attack bred speculation that Britain would end its politically significant contact with ANC leaders.

But yesterday’s meeting, described by both sides as "cordial", shows clearly that despite Mrs Thatcher’s strong views, political expediency dictates that the diplomacy Britain favours in the pursuit of solutions in southern Africa must involve the ANC, one of the most important groups.

The meeting, though, was low-key. The head of the Foreign Office’s southern Africa department, Mr Kieran Frenzergast, received the ANC’s London representative, Mr Solly Smille, and colleague Mr Breni Gianwallas.

The meeting was requested by the ANC especially to discuss the alleged ANC kidnap trial dropped a few weeks ago.

Britain took the opportunity — as it always has in previous meetings with the ANC — to express its view that it would be desirable for the ANC to renounce violence, particularly as violence had a negative impact on public opinion.

On the question of the ANC "kidnap trial", the Foreign Office said it had no hand in the matter, stressing the independence of the judiciary.

After the meeting, Mr Smith said he had received an assurance that ANC representatives in Britain would be protected against attack or kidnap.

He added: "This meeting took place within the context of continuing meetings with the British government. "There will be more meetings at different levels. There are no specific plans right now for another meeting, but should the need arise, it will be arranged."
Mandela: Minister mum on ‘meetings’ with ANC chief

Coetzee silent on meetings with ANC chief

PETER FABRICUS and SAPA

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetzee has refused to deny or confirm a report that he has spoken to jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela at least twice in the last few weeks.

The meetings were reported in The Weekly Mail yesterday by Mr Thami Mkhwanazi, a former fellow prisoner of Mandela on Robben Island.

A spokesman for Mr Coetzee said the Minister wished only to reiterate a previous statement – in which he had said that prisons fell within the ambit of his job and that communication with prisoners and relatives and/or their representatives are not excluded, are prison-related and concern the private lives of people.

The Weekly Mail reported that the meetings, at least one of which was in Pollsmoor Prison where Mandela is being held, concerned the possible release of former ANC chairman Mr Mosiuoa Lekota from Robben Island, which subsequently took place.

The newspaper also suggested the second meeting may have taken place in Mr Coetzee’s Cape Town home.

Police have claimed that Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi were allegedly present when two people were robbed and assaulted at “a house in Soweto” yesterday.

CHARGES OF CULTIVATING DAGGA

The Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria also confirmed that 10 men were being held in connection with the incident.

A statement said police were investigating allegations by a man and a woman that they were forcibly taken to the house on October 20, assaulted and robbed.

“It was further alleged that Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, were present,” the statement said.

It was suspected that the suspects and the stolen property might be at Mrs Mandela’s home in Orlando West and policemen went to the house early yesterday.

Ten men were being held in connection with the incident.

“Police are also investigating charges of cultivating dagga and possession of suspected stolen property,” the division said.

It was reported earlier that security forces surrounded Mrs Mandela’s early yesterday morning and arrested five youths. Mrs Mandela said she believed another five youths were arrested at her new, uncompleted house.

It was believed most of them were members of the Mandela United football team.
ANC tries to bridge breach with Britain

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON.—The ANC has resumed diplomatic contact with the British government at a "fence-mending" meeting—the first since Mrs. Thatcher lashed the ANC as a "typical terrorist organisation".

Her attack in Vancouver last month bred speculation that Britain would end its politically significant contacts with ANC leaders.

The low-key meeting was described by both sides as cordial. It was requested by the ANC to discuss the alleged ANC kidnap trial dropped by the British courts a few weeks ago. The Foreign Office, stressing the independence of the judiciary, said it had no hand in the matter.

Britain, as it has in previous meetings, expressed the view it would be desirable for the ANC to renounce violence, particularly as violence had a negative impact on public opinion.
ST: On his release from Robben Island, Mbeki appeared more like a dignified statesman than a dreaded communist.

PATRICK LAURENCE

The release of Mr Govan Mbeki gave many South Africans their first glimpse into the inner workings of the African National Congress (ANC) - and a force to be reckoned with.

THE MEN AT THE TOP of the SACP — a secret organisation which does not disclose its membership — are chairman Dan Tshisekedi and general secretary Joe Slovo, with Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC — an estimated two-thirds of its 30-man executive are SACP members.

It is a secret organisation which does not disclose its membership or even all its office bearers; and little is known about the SACP.

According to the US State Department report, the SACP was very worried by South African Government attempts to weaken nationalists in the ANC from their alliance with the SACP.

The SACP is dubbed "Stalinist" by its enemies, as many of whom are drawn from the liberal-capitalist camp as from the National Party. But, according to Dr Tom Lodge, of the University of Witwatersrand, that is too stark a categorisation.

The SACP is strongly pro-Moscow, but that does not mean it is wedded to the overridingly Marxist ideology. Stalin died in 1953. Times has moved on. So has the SACP. It is in tune with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's new doctrine of "socialism with a human face" — or may not.

Whatever its precise ideological outlook, the SACP has survived its banning in 1960 to become one of the major actors on the South African stage.

Its strategic position within the ANC, its commitment to socialism and the tendency of the ANC to look to the SACP for advice and guidance, makes it not necessarily excluded from the mainstream role in the dramatic years ahead.
The Mbeki Vacuum

The launch of the Natal Joint Executive and release of jailed ANC chairman Mr. Govan Mbeki are exciting events. One would have expected the Government to see the Cape Congress of the National Party as a superb opportunity to project its vision of a new South Africa, or, at the very least, to share something of its plan for the future with a concerned South African population and with friends in the world.

So what did we get?

A leader of the country self-indulgently speculating about his health, petulantly asserting his determination to continue as leader and promising photographers for taking pictures of him while he was speaking. (Incidentally, it is inconceivable that any Western politician of any note would act like this.)

We are not even the winner about the Government's intentions. In fact, we are worse off in the dark - because the congress's main objective was to discuss the release of Mandela, and that was even less elucidating than the steps intended to encourage the negotiation process.

The State President actually went out of his way to discourage such an interpretation. He even mentioned that he wanted the release to be a matter of fact, in line with the ANC's wishes, but we were too busy celebrating Christmas. We had another mini-Rubicon speech. He mentioned that the State President was probably going to announce a new government, which was a good omen for black South Africans who are up in arms at the government level. I also accept that the President and the Government recognizes that this is something that has to be negotiated.

But there is a fundamental inability on the part of this Government to understand just what all this is about. What happened at the Cape Congress and everywhere else - because the Government does not understand the significance of the developments with very much.

Symbolism

Mbeki's release is important in several ways. It is important because of the large number of people who think of him as a symbol of the release of all who have been detained for their beliefs. It is also important because of the amount of money that has been spent on him and his friends. His release will also generate joy and anxiety. But there is no process to absorb his energies.

By Denis Worrall

His release generated joy and anxiety. But there is no process to absorb his energies.

The National Party does not speak for all white South Africans and the paralyzing thing, therefore, is to get all involved in the process of negotiation. It is a mistake to believe that the ANC's armed struggle, which is the aesthetic of the Mbeki campaign, is a symbol of the ANC's armed struggle.
Symbolism

Mbeki's release is important in several ways. It is important because of its symbolic value and because of the Gestapo-like surveillance of his former colleagues in the ANC; and his release is also significant because it comes after years of being forced to hide. It is significant for his presence in our politics, even though he cannot be expected to return to the same role. The failure of black leaders who might be tempted to come into the ANC's negotiations, and I believe that makes it harder (not easier) for the ANC to proceed with its Government of National Unity.

The release also has important consequences. It is not just a question of the ANC's internal politics; it is also a question of the ANC's relations with the South African government. The ANC will have to consider the implications of Mbeki's release for its own internal politics, and for its relations with the South African government.

Justified

Mbeki's release is justified. It is a matter of justice, not just for Mbeki himself, but for all of us. The ANC has been forced to release Mbeki because it had no choice. The ANC has been forced to release Mbeki because it had no alternative. The ANC has been forced to release Mbeki because it had no way out.

The ANC's release of Mbeki should not be seen as a concession to the ANC. It is not a concession to the ANC. It is a concession to the ANC. It is a concession to the ANC. It is a concession to the ANC.

The ANC's release of Mbeki should not be seen as a victory for the ANC. It is not a victory for the ANC. It is a victory for the ANC. It is a victory for the ANC. It is a victory for the ANC.

The ANC's release of Mbeki should not be seen as a triumph for the ANC. It is not a triumph for the ANC. It is a triumph for the ANC. It is a triumph for the ANC. It is a triumph for the ANC.

Who'll tell them they're naked?

BY DRIES VAN HERDEN

packed audiences across the country.

The conventional political wisdom is no longer the ideology of separate development and the Rand Act.

The reign of ideology today is that of the State security and law and order.

Everything that was previously done for the sake of the people of the group. Identity is still being done, but in the name of stability and security.

There are growing similarities between the last years of the Botha government and the Salazar and Franco regimes in Portugal and Spain.

There, authoritarian regimes also showed it is quite possible to create a personality cult without charisma.

You need to be cautious about the specter of a total onslaught - "the forces of darkness" and to present yourself as the only alternative standing between the population and annihilation.

The style of management follows a tried and trusted recipe.

You surround yourself with a small group of men who are either too tired or too ambitious to fight you, and then you appoint a strong gatekeeper to prevent the messengers bearing bad news from reaching you.

Behind the scenes, the battle for succession will be raging continuously, with contenders jockeying for the top job or waiting for their time to come. But even then they realize that they may be in for the long haul because absolute rulers tend to hang onto power absolutely.

Opposition politics, especially those to the left, are a sham. Those with the liberal idea of trying to devise a system where the law of the jungle can remain together have found they cannot even agree on strategy with those closest to them.

Analogous to the Holy Roman Empire, the UNDP is neither united, nor democratic, nor a front.

Stagnation

And, in the ANC, those who stuck to the foolhardy belief that the glorious day of liberation is near still hold sway.

Indeed, it is not only the emperor, but also the prospect and the centurions who are in dire need of clothing.

Ten years ago, the country was suffering from the same lack of direction, the same stagnation. Then one man, P W Botha, took bold steps to force Vorster into retirement and to lead the country out of the doldrums. Whether there is a man to repeat such a move remains to be seen.

Soon after his retirement from the boxing ring, "Snuppy" Joe Frazier tried his hand at music and formed a rock and roll band, aptly named "The Knockouts".

Within a few weeks, the first record appeared on the market and was met with general disapproval from critics and music lovers alike.

One review in a music magazine was short and to the point: "This is the worst music I have ever heard. But who's going to have the guts to tell Joe Frazier?"
The Release Mandela Campaign welcomes the unconditional release of our leader and Comrade Govan Mbeki. However, we reject Pretoria’s innuendo that comrade Mbeki’s release should be treated as a “test case” before the release of other political prisoners.

Comrades Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and others have long called upon the South African government to renounce violence before it called upon others to do so. This we view as a test case which will indicate Pretoria’s willingness to begin a process of meaningful negotiations.

We believe that the continued imprisonment of our leaders, the continued banning of the African National Congress, and putting into exile the most important participants in the resolution which the current political logjam in our country - are the tests which Pretoria has to pass if it is sincerely committed to change.

The people of South Africa are aware of the biting effects of sanctions on the economy, and if the release of Govan Mbeki is aimed at easing this pressure, then we want to state clearly that it is a self-inflicted fallacy on the part of Pretoria; and it is dangerous.

Furthermore, denying Mbeki the right to being heard, by declaring him a so-called listed person, is a gross violation of the right of South Africa’s people to articulating their aspirations through their tried and tested leaders. We are not at all convinced that Pretoria is genuinely walking the path of dismantling apartheid.

We would also wish to remind P.W. Botha that his predecessor, B.J. Vorster advised Ian Smith in 1973 to release Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo so that they could play their role as genuine leaders of the then Rhodesia in a negotiated settlement of that country’s problems. Why now is the advice no longer suitable to the advisor? Circumstances are the same! What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. We challenge P.W. Botha and his cabal to apply that measure of sanity to themselves.

If the South African government desires a negotiated settlement, then as they are the sole problem party that caused apartheid, the ball is in their court. By delaying the release of all our leaders, Pretoria is in fact prolonging the ongoing violence and political instability that have become the order of the day in the whole country.

The People of South Africa say:

"ABANDON ALL YOUR FEARS AND ACT NOW"
It's No to ANC!

PW rules out talks on SA’s future as ‘far-fetched idea’

PRESIDENT PW BOTHA has ruled out the possibility of negotiations on South Africa’s political future with the ANC.

"Some people think that by negotiating with terrorist leaders we will enter a new era of peace. But that is a far-fetched idea," Mr Botha said at the National Party’s Transvaal congress in Pretoria yesterday.

While all people of "balanced thinking" recognised the need to improve race relations, a stable future demanded political negotiations, he said.

But distinctions had to be made on whom would be negotiated with, what about, and with what in mind.

"There are some people with whom we can’t negotiate," he said, and then quoted from the ANC mouthpiece, Sowetan, where a case was made out for the organisation to refuse to abandon its armed struggle and to use negotiations to promote ANC aims.

Mr Botha said organisations such as the ANC entered negotiations only to force others into capitulation. "I say that with such people we don’t talk.

\textbf{Opposed}

"The Government will always remain alert not to surrender to communist demands," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said the Government was also opposed to extra-parliamentary organisations, such as some church groups, and Icasa, which tried to break down the group character of South African society.

\textbf{Emerged}

He also made it clear that the 74-year-old former chairman of the ANC had been swamped with invitations, some of them from overseas.

"He has shown me the correspondence, but has not disclosed the contents," he said.

Mr Mbeki’s immediate withdrawal from the public eye is seen by some as being partially motivated by a desire to convince the authorities that an amnesty for ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu is a safe option.

Meanwhile, another political group gagged by security laws has emerged into the public arena.

Avowed Marxist, listed communist and former lawyer Roley Arenstein was a key participant at an Imbathla Press conference on peace initiatives in Natal’s troubled townships.

Mr Arenstein has played a major role behind the scenes for Inkatha in various “peace talks” in the past few months. Should Mr Mbeki mediate in the Maritzburg township wars, Mr Arenstein could find himself on the opposite side of the negotiating table to his old ANC colleague.

In the 1960s Mr Mbeki was an ANC organiser in the Eastern Cape, while Mr Arenstein fulfilled a similar role in Durban.

\textbf{Lapsed}

While their views now differ greatly, Mr Arenstein would clearly welcome the opportunity to confer once again with an old accomplice.

This week’s Press conference was the first time Mr Arenstein, now 69, has been on a public platform since he was banned in 1962. He was South Africa’s longest-banned person — his 28-year banning order lapsed last year.

But he remains a listed person — as does Mr Mbeki — and cannot be quoted without special permission from the Minister of Justice, which has been refused.
Hendrickse challenges PW on ‘political prisoner’ issue

By Martin Challenor

Labour Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse was named “Newsmaker of the Year” on Friday night by the Johannesburg Press Club.

The third recipient of the award, he used the occasion to tell President Botha that there was no truth in what he said about South Africa having no political prisoners.

Mr Hendrickse welcomed the recent release of former ANC national chairman Mr. Govan Mbeki and other political prisoners. Thanking Mr Botha for his courage in allowing this, he called on him to release other political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

It was important for the future of South Africa that leaders like Mandela spell out their plans for the country’s future.

“The State President’s words this week at the NP Cape congress that there are no political prisoners is devoid of all truth,” he said.

Mr Hendrickse recalled his own 60 days in solitary confinement and asked how Mr. Botha could describe this except as a political-detention, and why so many people today sat without trial in South African jails.

Referring to the President’s Council report on Group Areas, he said the Government’s stance on the issue “has done extreme harm to the politics of negotiation. It is obvious that NP policy comes first and the welfare of the country and the majority of its citizens second”.

The Act would “continue to destroy individual lives,” he said. This Act, enforced racial separation “and the self-evident injustice of its application are firmly rejected by the vast majority of all South Africans”.

The Labour Party called “for the immediate repeal of this obnoxious and immoral Act. The Group Areas is the one major obstacle to the normalization of South African society and we will remain strangers to each other until it is repealed.”

Mr Hendrickse said the Government was not prepared to try draw up a constitution acceptable to all South Africans.
‘UDF united on issue of participation’

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

Detractors of the United Democratic Front are quick to read signs of a major split into any apparent dissen-
sion within the ranks of the body.

By the same token, UDF executives are quick to deny all
rumours of tension in the interests of projecting just what
the name says: a united front.

That both sides weigh self interest in matters effecting
public image is the nature of politics and if there is any one
truth it is probably somewhere in a complicated weave of
these partisan claims.

Fuel for the detracting camp recently were the utter-
ings of one of the eight UDF presidents, Natal’s Mr Archie Gumede. The Press beamed Mr Gumede’s comments promi-
nently with speculation that in feeling out participation in the present parliamentary system, the Natal president could split
the UDF on its strictly nonparticipation policy.

How much substance there was to the speculation was
and is still not easily quantifiable but the reports fostered some
public perception that a split was conceivable. The contin-
uoning tensions in Natal between Inkatha and the UDF and the
twitching muscle of the Indaba initiative serve to
highlight unresolved antipathies and fuel the perception that some-
things must give on the fault line.

The Press flurry over the question of parliamentary
participation presented the confusing picture of Mr Gumede an-
nouncing personally that participation might be considered while,
as president, he fully endorsed existing UDF policies in his next breath.

The UDF national executive reacted saying there had been
no deviation from policy; changes could only be effected
after debate at all levels.

UDF executives stress that when the body was launched in 1983 and in anticipation of the differences which would inevitably crop up given the breadth of the umbrella body and the different political his-
tories in each region, the constitution laid down mecha-
nisms for decision-making which were founded on input
from grassroots membership.

As a result of this democratic working process any state-
ment by the executive is claimed to be “of the people”.

Provision is made in the constitution for emergency
Councils to be called when UDF policy is at issue.

This mechanism was used to handle the Gumede participa-
tion debacle and because everyone appreciated the urgen-
cy of the issue, the National Executive was equipped with
input from grassroots level in just two weeks, says Mr Joe
Marks, vice-president of the Western Cape region.

So this is the political nature of the UDF and, says Mr
Marks, a practical demonstration of its democratic boast.

And those faithful to the pro-
cessed have developed a respect
for organisational discipline
quite foreign to white electoral
politics where the concept of
democratic accountability gets
an airing for John and Jane
vote at election time only.

But this is just part of the
backcloth against which the
Gumede rumble might be read.
It might be well to con-
sider the Press coverage this
issue generated in the very
specific context of the tried
and tested relationship be-
tween establishment politi-
cians and Press. It is a rela-
tionship of a particular nature
and a game played according
to certain rules and predict-
able consequences. Parliament-
arians calculate Press reaction
to their statements and, further, probably try to use it
to their own ends.

Arguably then, reaction to
Mr Gumede’s statement as the
sign of a shift in policy (and
hence a portend of a split) was
a reaction in the tradition of
establishment politics where
grassroots channels are not
used as habitually. The white
electorate is accustomed to
statements made on its behalf;
acustomed to accepting the
signs of policy shifts in Press
interpretations of these state-
ments... and uncustomed to
the notion that they might have
been consulted.

Another important consider-
ation which cannot be over-
looked in trying to understand
the background is that the
UDF continues operating in the
context of successive states of
emergency.

With that given fact as de-
parture point, Mr Mark Swil-
ing, University of the Witwa-
tersrand political scientist who
studies UDF moves and trav-
els the country broadly to up-
date his perspective, sees the
tensions in the Natal region as
indication of anything but a split in UDF ranks.

“They’re not about to split on a strategy like that of non-
participation because they’re united on the issue of survival
right now,” he says.

Another popular misconcep-
tion is that non-participation or boycott be seen as UDF
principle rather than, rightly, as strategy.

“The boycott strategy in the Congress tradition (which
espouses democratic non-racialism as opposed to any form of
nationalism) is not a principle but a tactic and as recently as
1979 there were key movers in Congress politics who were
treating boycott as a tactic inapplicable in certain circum-
cstances,” says Mr Swilling.

History provides examples of his claim: the SA Commu-
nist Party contested municipal seats in the ‘40s and ‘50s and, in
the Transvaal in the ‘50s, the ANC participated in advi-
sory boards.

“What’s re-emerging in the UDF in people like Gumede is
a not unprecedented question-
ing of the fact that the boycott
tactic might not be applicable under certain circumstances.
The Press and some popular perception has assumed that
boycott is a principle which if challenged threatens a split.
What’s happening now is evi-
dence of the beginning of a de-
bate rather than a split. But it’s a debate which needs to
take place in conditions less
troubled than those prevailing
in Natal now. Hence Mr Govan
Mbeki’s targeting of a resolu-
tion to the tensions as a priority.”

It’s as simple — and as complex — as that, says Mr
Swilling.

“I’ve seen absolutely no evi-
dence of a split on this issue.
And it is just one of many is-
Sues being debated and not the
most important.”
Vision of a new SA

THE way in which the residents of Hillbrow — both black and white — had reacted to the eviction of 76 families from their Worcester Court flat in Hillbrow last Tuesday night, showed a vision of the "new South Africa we are working for", UDF leader Albertina Sisulu said recently.

Mrs Sisulu was addressing a 700-strong crowd who gathered to meet at the Catholic Cathedral in Doornfontein to protest against evictions.

The meeting, organised by Actstop — an organisation fighting the Group Areas Act — followed Tuesday's Hillbrow eviction, when 74 families had their possessions dumped on the pavement because they had paid lower, "controlled" rentals for the first time last month.

Mrs Sisulu said the granting of the interim court order late on Tuesday night, allowing the tenants to return to their flats, was a victory for the people.

Various flat tenants, including Mr Sandile Ngidlana and the chairman of the Worcester Court Residents Committee, Mr Snowy Rasebotsa, relayed their experiences of intimidation by landlords and exorbitant rentals which, some of them had been forced to pay to landlords, or "middlemen" and agents.

Some of the tenants of flats in the area had reported having to pay rentals of up to four or six times as much as they should have been paying.

Mr Rasebotsa also thanked the black and white residents in Hillbrow and town who rallied around and helped to put furniture and belongings back into Worcester Court after news of the court order.
MINORITIES WILL NOT BE PROTECTED

BLACK South Africans flatly refuse to protect white rights in a post-apartheid society, Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association, told the foreign press recently.

Power sharing was now accepted by most South Africans, Dr Motlana said, so it was important to persuade the "ruling elite" to move away from its "obsession" with group rights.

Dr Motlana was addressing the Foreign Correspondents' Association banquet at a Johannesburg hotel.

The Western media seemed ambivalent about the question of group rights and the signals from the West — as expressed by the conservative western media — appeared confusing.

Reading certain Western conservative publications "one comes away with the feeling that there's a great deal that the media and politicians in the West can do to reassure South African whites that power-sharing will not mean the end of the white presence in South Africa," Dr Motlana said.

Dr Motlana said he has been one of the few black nationalists who has agreed to meet South Africa's official guests — mainly extreme right-wing anti-communists.

These people were now debating safeguards for the white minority. The fears they expressed were that Africans had no democratic traditions, that the future might be entrusted to "tribal despots" like Idi Amin.

Dr Motlana argued that people learned democratic ideals and that blacks needed the "political apprenticeship" that was denied them to internalise such ideals.

Despite appearing to be "in complete control" of the country, the National Party was not, he said. The ruling Whites were scared and had lost confidence in themselves. Gone was "missionary zeal" with which Afrikaner nationalists had clung to "Verwoerdian concepts of separate development.

Dr Motlana mentioned an incident last weekend at the Avalon Cemetery in Soweto when 27 tombstones, for people shot by police in White City, Jabavu, last year, were unveiled by the Soweto Civic Association. He said within 15 minutes of the unveiling police were on the scene, indicating the Government's fear.

Soweto residents had come prepared with buckets and towels, realising the possibility of being teargassed.

Government thinkers were "thrashing around for a new policy," Dr Motlana said.

The African National Congress — which would form part of any post-apartheid South Africa — was already non-racial and committed to "a progressive democratic administration," he said.

Dr Motlana was an active member of the African National Congress and was secretary of the ANC Youth League. He stood trial for his involvement in the ANC's defiance campaign and received a suspended sentence.

He played an important mediatory role in the Soweto student protests of 1976 and was detained for six months of that year and another five months in 1977.

He was elected chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten in 1977.

He is currently president of the Soweto Civic Association, a United Democratic Front affiliate.

After his speech Dr Motlana was asked how young black activists and ordinary township residents had received the release of ANC leader, Govan Mbeki from 23 years imprisonment. He replied the "Rivonia trialists were the acknowledged leaders of the people".

"When Mr Mbeki's release was mentioned we were happy that he would be released but felt they should all be released," he said. Sapa.
PRETORIA. — A man was killed when police fired birdshot into a crowd in Slangspruit in the early hours of Saturday morning, and a 15-year-old boy was murdered as unrest continued in the troubled Maritzburg townships at the weekend.

Police said birdshot was fired when a group refused to disperse after a gathering. Five men were arrested.

Also in Slangspruit, a 15-year-old boy was "brutally murdered by a group of black people". No other details were given.

In other incidents near Maritzburg at the weekend, two houses and three vehicles were set alight.

Meanwhile, political and social organizations have expressed fears that the detention on Friday of two UDF joint secretaries — Mr Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya and Mr Martin Wittenburg — could hinder talks between Inkatha and the UDF in the city's townships.

Police yesterday confirmed the detention of the two, under the emergency regulations.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede said yesterday: "Police have removed the very people in whom the UDF members in the area have confidence. Who is going to represent them now?"

— Sapa and Own Correspondent
Dismay over UDF detentions in Natal

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Violence erupted in Maritzburg townships again at the weekend and spokesmen for the United Democratic Front and Inkatha have expressed dismay at the detention of UDF leaders in the city.

UDF president Mr Archie Gumede described the arrest of Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya as “a real disaster” for peace negotiations.

He alleged that 10 youth activists had also been arrested.

The UDF leaders were arrested while negotiating with township residents. The detention of Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenya has been confirmed by the police, but not the alleged arrest of the 10 youth activists.

Inkatha also condemned the detention.

The senior Inkatha member in Maritzburg, Mr Velapi Ndlouv, said he was sorry to hear of the detentions, which had dealt a bitter blow to impending peace negotiations.

The UDF and Cosatu estimate that 200 of their Midlands supporters have now been detained and say there has been no large-scale arrest of Inkatha members.

Two people were killed, including a 15-year-old boy who was attacked by a mob and a man who died of birdshot wounds, in nine incidents of unrest in the townships on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

Mr Gumede said peace negotiations had been interrupted by the UDF detentions and could not continue with the leaders of one of the sides in jail.

“The only men able to persuade people to participate in any peace agreement have been detained. They possess the necessary skills, knowledge and ability to make representations in both directions,” he said.

Those detained were involved in negotiations with the Chamber of Commerce, the Maritzburg municipality, church leaders and all other parties concerned.”
**Third body found at squatter camp**

THE body of a third KTC man was found in the squatter camp yesterday morning — but police said they do not suspect any connection between his death and the two men shot dead at the weekend.

A police spokesman, Captain Jan Calitz, said Mr Mike Ndwalaza, 33, of M1161A, KTC, had been found dead at 6.30am yesterday. He had been stabbed in the chest with a sharp object.

One of the men shot dead at KTC at the weekend has been identified as Mr Stanford Nkosana, aged about 45. He was a member of the KTC “steering committee” which is affiliated to the UDF.

Police have not yet identified another man in his early 20s, believed to be a Cape Youth Congress member, with a Rastafarian hairstyle.

**Rape of girl, 9, alleged**

A PARKWOOD man pleaded not guilty in Wynberg Regional Court yesterday to raping a nine-year-old girl who he claimed was “willing”. Mr Jacob Adams, 29, of Gull Road, initially pleaded guilty, but the magistrate, Mr J H Venter, changed his plea to not guilty. The hearing was adjourned to November 23. Mr N C Erasmus prosecuted.

**The Facts**

IN a report in the Cape Times yesterday about the launching at a banquet in Johannesburg of the official Dias Festival book, it was stated that the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, was the host. The host was Mr Barney Hurwitz, chairman of Clinic Holdings Ltd, which is sponsoring the book and the Clinic Dias yacht race from Lisbon to Cape Town. Mr Cruywagen, who launched the Dias book on Friday night on behalf of the Cape Administrator, Mr Gene Louw, was the guest of honour at the banquet.

**UCT to test subsidy laws too**

The University Council of UCT has decided in principle to test the validity of the de Klerk subsidy conditions in the Supreme Court, the registrar of UCT, Mr Hugh Amoore, said yesterday.

Mr Amoore said that senior counsel had been briefed to prepare papers for an application “which the administration hopes will be heard in the courts at the earliest opportunity”.

The University Council of Natal took a similar decision earlier this month.

In a joint statement, Natal council chairman Mr Graham Cox and vice-chancellor Professor Peter Booyzen said their council was going to challenge the validity of the laws after taking legal advice and carefully considering the consequences of accepting the minister’s right to exercise political control over its affairs.
Two die in PE violence

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two more men have died and a boxer is missing after a new outbreak of fighting between United Democratic Front affiliates and the Ama-Afrika movement in the Khayelitsha township at Uitenhage this week.

Yesterday the whereabouts of a missing boxer, Mr Vuyisile Ngalo, 18, were still not known.

Their deaths come after an Uitenhage boxer, Mr Mzonke Befile, 16, was shot dead by four gunmen during the disruption of a boxing tournament in Kwanobuhle. — Sapa
A PRETORIA magistrate ruled yesterday that the State should prove beyond reasonable doubt that the documents which were to be presented to a State witness in a terrorism trial were from Qibla, and that Qibla was an organisation as defined in the Internal Security Act.

Mr J H Bekker made the ruling after Mr Denis Delahunt, for the defence, submitted that it would be "a gross irregularity to present a witness with an inadmissible document."

This was after the prosecutor, Mr J P Pretorius, had presented a Qibla member who is giving evidence in camera with documents he alleged were from Qibla.

The witness was testifying in a case involving seven alleged members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Qibla, a Muslim organisation.

The accused are facing charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice. They have pleaded not guilty.

They are Mr Mabat Enoch Zulu and Mr Siyabonga Ndoda of Cape Town, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa of Springs, Mr Sembiso Moholohlo of Johannesburg, the Reverend Daniel Nkopo of Bophuthatswana, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel, both of Cape Town.

In his evidence, the witness referred to Qibla as an Islamic movement based in the Western Cape.

He identified a number of items which he said he brought with him after undergoing PAC training in Libya. Among the documents which were submitted in court were Azanian Combat, the basic documents of the PAC, the political career of John Nyathl Pokela, leader of the PAC, Pokela on Sharpeville and the speeches of Mangaliso Sobukwe.

(Proceeding)
Priest had illegal gun

JOHANNESBURG. — SA Catholic Bishops' Conference general secretary Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, 48, was found guilty yesterday of illegally possessing a .38 special revolver and 50 bullets and sentenced in Pretoria Regional Court to a fine of R500 or 150 days' jail.

Four die at Maritzburg

PRETORIA. — Four people died violently overnight in continuing unrest in the Maritzburg area. The SAP yesterday said security forces shot dead two of the four, while the other two were stabbed to death by mobs.
New death raises township shootings toll to nine

Crime Reporter

A NINTH person has died in Peninsula townships, the latest in a series of apparently motiveless killings in the past three weeks.

A 25-year-old man was fatally shot in KTC squatter camp. He died yesterday.

He left his home in KTC with two other people about 10pm on Sunday. About midnight, his girlfriend was told he had been wounded. He died in hospital.

Earlier, police said another man was found murdered in KTC yesterday. He was Mr Michael Ndwalaza, 33.

WEAPONRY

Mr Ndwalaza was last seen alive about 10pm on Sunday night.

The deaths of the two men follow the shootings of Mr Standard Nkosana, an official of the UDP-affiliated Western Cape Civic Association, and another man on Friday night or early Saturday morning. The other man has not been identified.

Police see nothing sinister in the apparent increase in the number of township shootings. They say it reflects the use of more sophisticated weaponry.

Some of those who have died are community leaders.

The first death was that of Mr John "Boy" Mafanga, secretary of the Cape Town Committee, who was gunned down while sitting in his combi outside his butchery in Guguletu on October 30.

FIRED WILDLY

On November 6, a special constable and two women were shot dead in Khayelitsha. Another constable and a woman were wounded.

It is thought that this attack was directed at the constables and the women were wounded when the gunmen fired wildly.

Police reported finding a magazine from a 9mm pistol but it is understood an R4 rifle might also have been used.

Last week, a 24-year-old Guguletu man was gunned down at the intersection of NY50 and NY21 in Guguletu.

Police said no arrests had been made in connection with the killings.
ANC men 'leaders'  

NELSON Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu were generally regarded as leaders by residents of Alexandra township, a young Alexandra man told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Albert Sebola and seven co-accused have pleaded not guilty to treason, alternatively sedition and subversion.

The charges against them arise from their alleged involvement in attempts to make Alexandra and/or other areas of SA ungovernable and involvement in the holding of “people’s courts” last year.

Accused with Sebola are Vusi Andries Ngwenya, Andrew Mafutha, David Mafutha, Arthur Selby Vilakazi, Ashwell Mxolise Zwane, Piet Mogane and a 17-year-old youth.

Sebola said he had attended a funeral held in the township's stadium on March 5 last year, of people killed in unrest.

Freedom songs — “songs honouring the leaders” — were sung and political poetry was read.

Sebola said one of the dead was a friend of his.

“I was very, very, very upset.” He said the crowd was “very upset” too.

Sebola told the court he had become a member of the Alexandra Youth Congress on April 21. Before that, he had sympathised with Ayco’s policy and principles.

“They envisaged a non-racial democratic society in SA. I was in favour of that.”

“Ayco was a non-violent organisation.”

The trial continues.
Govt quotes Sechaba to back up PW

GOVERNMENT yesterday gave permission to quote an excerpt from the banned African National Congress mouthpiece Sechaba to back President PW Botha's refusal — repeated at the NP Transvaal Congress — to speak to the ANC.

Permission was granted by Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee in terms of Section 56 (1)(c) of the Internal Security Act. He gave permission for legal possession of an editorial "On Negotiations" in the October issue of Sechaba.

In the editorial the ANC reaffirms its commitment to the armed struggle and to its alliance with the SA Communist Party.

"Commenting on the editorial, Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday there was "no justification for the ANC policy of violence" and "the ANC's original reasons for its armed struggle have disappeared." He said the ball was in the ANC's court "as government has already committed itself to peaceful development".

"It is clear that dialogue with the ANC will serve no aim," van der Merwe said.

He said the ANC viewed dialogue as a means to "make way for Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military flank of the ANC, so that the struggle will be an easy one."

The editorial noted that the ANC was being pushed in two directions "which are in essence one direction namely anti-communism and renouncing armed struggle."

"We are not prepared to move in any of the two," the editorial said.

It noted the 1984 uprising had lent the question of 'talks' and 'talks about talks'

"Nothing is further from the truth. The truth of the matter is that the whole ANC prestige. It said the "media over-- started unfolding in 1985 two years ago kill" surrounding the Dakar talks may have given the impression the ANC have met many and diverse forces."
Political link in township slayings?

Crime Reporter

POLICE are looking into a possible political connection following a series of killings in KTC and Guguletu over the past three weeks.

An unidentified 25-year-old KTC resident, who was found shot near his home on Sunday night, died in Somerset Hospital on Monday, bringing to nine the total of known killings in KTC and Guguletu during the past three weeks.

Police liaison officer Captain Jan Calitz said yesterday the man had been fetched at his home by two men soon after 10pm on Sunday.

He left with the two men, and at midnight an unidentified man came to tell his girlfriend that he was lying about 50m from the house, bleeding from wounds in the chest.

After the man had been admitted to Somerset Hospital it was found that he had been shot and that the bullets had passed right through his body, Captain Calitz said.

He confirmed that police, aware of the other killings over the past few weeks, are looking into a possible political connection.

On October 30 the secretary of the Cape Town Town Committee, Mr. John "Boy" Mafunga, was shot while he and a friend were sitting outside a butchery in Guguletu.

On November 6, a special constable was killed in a gun battle in KTC and his colleague wounded. Two teenage girls, Miss Nomvuyo Khasibe and Miss Cingelwa Tshobo, were killed in the crossfire and their elder friend, Miss Xoliswa Matiwane, was injured. Police, who found a 9mm magazine at the scene, believe that an R4 rifle may have been used in the shooting incident.

On November 12 an unidentified man was shot dead at the corner of NY30 and NY21 shortly before 10pm.

On November 15 the bodies of Mr. Mr. Stanford Nkosana, in his mid-40s, and an unidentified man in his early 20s were found shot to death in KTC. Mr. Nkosana was a member of the KTC "Steering Committee" which is affiliated to the UDF.

On Monday, 33-year-old Mr. Michael Ndwalaza, who was last seen alive on Sunday, was found stabbed to death in KTC.
Kidnap plot: ANC man to be deported

London A High Court judge last night ordered the deportation of the key figure in the alleged ANC kidnap plot, Mr John Larsen.

Mr Justice McPhearson rejected the man's claim, which he supported with a birth certificate, that he was a British secret service agent named John William Parker, born in Essex in 1931 and thus immune from deportation.

The man continued to plead through his legal representatives that he was a former senior intelligence officer.

The Judge instead accepted police evidence that his true name was Johan Viggo Orebak, 53, a Norwegian swindler and former mercenary in Rhodesia who had served a prison term in Norway for five years from 1976.
A CAPE Town man, Mr Abdul Aziz Kader, this week refused to testify against seven alleged PAC men in the Pretoria Regional Court.

Kader, 27, of Rylands Estate, was asked to testify against Mr Achmad Cassiem of Hanover Park, and seven others who have been charged with furthering the aims of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Kader refused to give evidence in camera and asked to testify in an open court. When this was granted he refused and said it was against his Islamic principles to testify against his brothers.

He told the magistrate Mr J H Bekker, that for the last 18 months he was kept in solitary confinement and that he was under emotional stress. He also asked for legal representation.

"I am a practising Muslim and had chosen between what I am and testifying for the State," he said.

Asked by State prosecutor Mr J P Pretorius, if he was willing to take more stress by refusing to testify, Kader replied "I viewed what I was doing on a long-term basis. What I am presently undergoing is short-term.

His advocate, Mr Ben Ngoepe, asked the court to postpone Kader's matter until December 3 to enable the defence to call witnesses.

The trial continues.
ANC snub!

Rebuff for Labour MPs

By CHRIS GUTUZA
LIFE-SERVING African National Congress member and Rivonia trialist Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada has snubbed members of the House of Representatives who tried to speak to him at Pollsmoor Prison, according to informed sources.
The coloured MPs apparently wanted his permission to intercede on his behalf to arrange his release from prison, sources say.
"Kathrada rejected the request after being approached by the head of the prison."

Several Labour Party members approached for comment would not confirm whether a request had been made to Kathrada.
National chairman Mr Ismail "Miley" Richards said he was only aware of visits to political prisoners arranged some time ago as part of the parliamentary work of MPs.

Lodged court application
He referred SOUTH to party leader Allan Hendrickse, who could not be reached for comment.

A spokesperson for the Prisons Service said it was not policy to provide details on visits or possible visits to prisoners as it was considered a private matter.

In another development, attorneys are expected to lodge a court application within the next few days for the authorities to allow Kathrada to study for a masters degree.
Kathrada already has two honours degrees. The application will also ask the authorities to allow a relative to see him, our sources say.
Kathrada's niece has for many years made many unsuccessful attempts to visit him.

ANC man snubs MPs

From page 1

The Prisons Service's spokesperson said it provided for prisoners to enrol for different courses, including post-graduate courses.
"In the past, prisoners were not allowed to enrol for post-graduate studies except at the end of their prison terms.
"Due to changing circumstances this policy was altered and prisoners are now allowed to enrol for such courses, under certain conditions."

Kathrada, born in the Transvaal in 1929, completed his schooling in Johannesburg in 1938.

Helped organise campaign
He became a full-time member of the Passive Resistance Council after he left school.
He was chairperson of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) at Wits University and helped organise the Defiance Campaign.
Kathrada was an accused in the 1956 treason trial but was acquitted in 1961.

In October 1962 he was placed under a 12-hour house arrest order. He disappeared several months later.
He was arrested in July 1962 and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 in the Rivonia trial.
He was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982 with ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.
Dakar talks an ‘intense process’

DIANNA GAMES

DELEGATES to the Dakar meeting with the ANC debated the dynamics of a process of communication rather than a solution, Christo Nel, business consultant and a delegate, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Public Relations Institute of SA seminar on communication in conflict, Nel said he was surprised by the intensity of the debate in Dakar.

He said the Afrikaner delegation had had to try and break down the stereotypes which they carried there, and had had to battle past the rhetoric to build relationships.

It had been put forward in Dakar that if the ANC’s rhetoric faltered, so might its following, he said.

The ANC had asked, on the question of renouncing violence, why blacks were consistently asked to forget the past when they were still living their past, Nel said.

With passion

SA’s former ambassador to the UK, Denis Worrall, said while in London he had tried to sell SA as a country rather than a country with its government policy.

“It was my belief in what SA could become that I presented with passion,” he said.

He said he had also set out to distinguish between justification and explanation. “If I was seen to be justifying the indefensible in terms of Western attitudes, I would have lost all credibility.”

Dirk Kemp, KwaZulu-Natal Indaba’s communications head, said one of the reasons the Indaba had achieved an 82% consensus among participants was because the agenda was open ended.

He said too often what was called negotiation was, in fact, consultation with one group laying their plans down and asking other groups for their response, rather than forging new plans together.
SIR — The Freedom Charter is a very important document in South Africa. Many people believed that the demands in the charter can bring about a society free of oppression and exploitation.

Some people are of the opinion that the charter does not address issues such as class exploitation and is not an adequate programme for ending all oppression and exploitation.

The first problem I have with the freedom charter is its ambiguity. That is, it can be interpreted differently by different people for instance, the clause “The people shall govern” and the clause dealing with the nationalisation of banks, mines and the land has been taken to mean that the society envisaged by the charter is anti-capitalist. Nationalisation or state control of sections of the economy does not equal socialism. So that is a denial that the charter implies the overthrow of capitalism. In fact, it is positively interpreted as a programme of reforming capitalism.

The second major problem with the Freedom Charter is that it accepts the government-imposed criteria of national groups and race.

The supporters of the charter agreed that there are four nations or races in South Africa: so-called coloureds, Africans, Indians and whites. We believe this is dangerous for many reasons.

Firstly, this kind of thinking places into the hands of the Government and collaborators like Hendrikse, Buthelezi and Rajbansi. These people claim to represent different nations and we are giving them an opportunity to do this. It is true that many ordinary people see themselves as Indian, Zulus, etc., and it is easier to organise people in this manner because of geographical groupings. But divisions have been forced onto our people for a reason. In order for the State to maintain easy control. It might be more difficult to organise across colour boundaries, but it is necessary. We must fight divisions in the process of the struggle and not wait for after the revolution. We have to build a single nation under the leadership of the working class.

Failure to realise this will result in a situation where opportunistic leaders manipulate ethnic symbols. Thirdly, there is no attempt in the charter to explain how working class leadership of the struggle is compatible with the idea of several nations each consisting of antagonistic classes. Among the so-called Indian national group for instance, there are different classes. A majority are working people.

The interests of these working people are more in line with the interests of so-called African & coloured working people and not with the business in question. The Charter does not explain this.

Some people who support the Charter are themselves socialists but believe that we must first unite people against apartheid (the first stage) and then fight for socialism (the second stage).

A great deal has been written and said concerning the democratic way the Charter was adopted. Yet none other than Chief Albert Luthuli, then president of the ANC, mentioned in his autobiography that the Charter was never circulated for amendments to affiliates of the Congress alliance.

We stand by a socialist programme which reflects the class struggle and will fight to end both, class exploitation and national oppression.

J D MONTSHIWA
Randfontein
Big row over deportation

LONDON — Opposition lawmakers protested in the House of Commons on Tuesday night at the pending deportation of Norwegian, Frank Lyng Larsen, who had been detained with three others for allegedly conspiring to kidnap members of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The charges were later dropped and the Labour Party legislators said Larsen was being deported to avoid government embarrassment over the British security services' possible involvement in the affair.

Lawmaker Gerald Bermingham called for Home Secretary Douglas Hurd to be summoned to the Commons to explain the "unseemly haste" of Larsen's deportation to Oslo, scheduled for 2pm yesterday at London's Heathrow Airport.

"Could it possibly be that Mr. Larsen has a number of matters in his knowledge and possession that are somewhat damning and somewhat damaging to be revealed?" Bermingham asked.

There was no immediate government response.

"This has the smell of Watergate and the whiff of a cover-up about it now," Robin Corbett, Labour's home affairs spokesman, told a reporter outside the Commons.

Corbett said his party feared that once Larsen got to Oslo, he will disappear back, we suspect, to South Africa."
Two more killed in Maritzburg violence

PRETORIA. — A 17-year-old youth and a 25-year-old man have been murdered in continuing political faction fighting in the Maritzburg area, where more than 150 people have died in recent months. Police yesterday reported that a mob of blacks stabbed the youth to death and wounded a 20-year-old black woman at Taylor's Halt.

In the same suburb a 25-year-old black man was also attacked and murdered by a mob of blacks, police said.

Also in Maritzburg, in the township of Caluza, petrol bombs were hurled at a number of private houses, causing "fairly serious damage." The attackers were dispersed with birdshot.

Other petrol-bomb attacks were reported elsewhere.

At Azaadville, near Krugersdorp, two private houses were seriously damaged by petrol bombs. And at KwaMakutha, Durban, a private house was extensively damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. — Sapa
Men freed to talk on Maritzburg violence

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — The Maritzburg townships peace talks appeared to be salvaged when representatives of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Inkatha and the United Democratic Front met behind closed doors.

The meeting took place minutes after detained UDF secretaries Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya were freed yesterday to take part in negotiations.

DETENTION

The peace talks broke down early this week after their detention and that of many other UDF and Cosatu supporters. It has been tentatively decided now to meet again in the city on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr Wittenberg said the release was a "major step" towards continued negotiations. However, "because of the restrictions placed on us it looks as if we won't be able to report back to our affiliates or supporters."

"The channel to Inkatha has been left open, but the channel to our own people is blocked by obstacles. We will have to look at the situation fairly carefully."

UDF Midlands chairman Mr AS Chetty said he was given three hours' notice to attend the meeting at the offices of the head of the security branch in Maritzburg, Brigadier BJ Beukes.

RESTRICTIONS

Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenya are not permitted to take part in the activities of more than a dozen organisations — including their own — unless in the form of meetings hosted by the Chamber of Commerce to end the Maritzburg violence.

They are not allowed to leave the city without security police permission and may not attend any gathering at which Government activity is discussed.

A 16-year-old youth was stabbed to death after a mob wielding assegais stormed a home in Sintjang last night, according to the police report. Four men and three youths were arrested.
I was PAC victim, says State witness

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. - A former member of the Pan Africanist Congress told a magistrate here he was giving evidence against some of the accused because previously he was their victim. Now they were to be his victims.

State witness Mr Lungelo Donald Dlomo, 28, was giving evidence yesterday at the trial of five alleged PAC members and two alleged members of the outlawed Islamic Qibla movement.

Seven accused face 23 charges under the Internal Security Act, including terrorism, attempted murder and belonging to a banned organisation.

Mr Dlomo said he knew four of the accused, Mr Mabantu Enoch Zulu, 52, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Geanga, 26, Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa, 29, and Mr Sestiba Paul Moholo, 29.

SELECTED FOR TRAINING

He said Mr Zulu was a high-ranking official in the PAC and a member of the central committee who selected him for training in the PAC armed forces.

Mr Dlomo said he was a member of the PAC stationed in Dar es Salaam, but decided to leave because he had "had enough of the PAC". He was a dancer.

The other accused are Mr Achnad Cassiem, 41, Mr Yusuf Patel, 27, and the Rev Daniel Saul Nkopodi, 27.

The hearing continues.
Freed to talk to Inkatha, not UDF

When he arrived he found two senior members of the Chamber of Commerce, Paul van Uytrecht and Rob Pater, and two senior Inkatha members, V V Mvelase and Velaphi Ndlou, as well as top local police. They were asked to wait for two others who would be joining the group, and Wittenberg and Ngwenya were brought in.

Head of the security police in Pietermaritzburg, Brigadier B J Beukes then read a restriction order to each of the two and informed them that if they did not accept the conditions they would go back to detention.

Among the conditions is a ban on either having anything to do with the UDF, Cosatu or its affiliates and a number of other organisations. They may not attend meetings of any of these organisations unless they are held under the auspices of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and called for the purpose of bringing an end to the violence between supporters of Inkatha and the UDF.

Speaking later, Wittenberg said Beukes then remarked that he did not want anyone to make wild allegations about the police preventing peace talks.

After strenuous efforts to get both sides together, this had now been achieved and negotiations should begin forthwith, the police had said.

"When he was asked about the other detainees, he said he had released the leaders and that the absence of lower ranking people should not be an obstacle to talks," The meeting broke up soon afterwards when Chetty said no talks could start unless Cosatu and the churches had been consulted.

Wittenberg said later it was "fairly bizarre" that they had been released to participate in and push for peace talks, but that they could not report back to their members.

He said he had been brought straight from interrogation into the meeting and that neither he nor Ngwenya had had any idea of the police plan for their release.

Commenting on the new developments, Robin Pater, vice-president of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, said the releases were not a complete surprise.

He and PCC general manager Paul van Uytrecht had been pushing "up to ministerial level" for the two to be freed.

"We hoped they would be released, and we thought there might be some restrictions, but we did not expect the extent of the curbs," he said.

Van Uytrecht and Pater have been involved for the last nine weeks in delicate negotiations to get both sides of the conflict together.

On the future, Pater said, "We are more optimistic now than we were on Tuesday. Then we saw the door closing on talks and we were terribly depressed. Now there is an element of hope."

He acknowledged, however, that the restrictions made it "very difficult" for the two UDF leaders to get back to their members.

"However, we have offered our help in any way that is acceptable.""}

Meanwhile violence has continued in the townships around Pietermaritzburg with six deaths reported at the week-end and two since then. The death toll is now at least 89 since September 21.
UDF’s culture desk prepares to emerge from the silence

The ‘culture desk’ of the UDF, formed in the wake of the international ‘boycott’ controversies earlier this year, has kept the media at bay as its members move towards a policy stand. But a public statement is expected shortly.

CHARLOTTE BAUER and IVOR POWELL report

The blanket boycott — which anyway was never as suffocating as official statements often made it seem — came to appear a crude solution, but at least it was simple. With few exceptions, everybody was discriminated against more or less equally. Front state performing arts councils’ productions to agitprop theatre and ‘people’s’ poetry, nearly every cultural product that discovered “overseas” quickly discovered the picket line too.

The contradictions and the ironies could no longer be glossed over. What became increasingly clear was that the boycott movement was dealing with two radically opposed cultures — that of the oppressed and that of the oppressor — yet was applying the same set of rules to both.

To distinguish between the two, thereby intensifying the boycott against the latter and actively promoting the culture of the other, came to be seen as a priority. So too did the creation of local structures to administer the campaign from within.

Four days after Tambo’s statement in London the United Democratic Front went some way further in defining the criteria according to which the new look boycott would be pursued. In future, its spokespeople said, tours both to and from South Africa would only be exempt from the boycott if they were “supported by the democratic movement in South Africa, approved by overseas solidarity groups and contributed to the advancement of the national democratic struggle”.

And so the Cultural Secretariat of the UDF came to be. Made up of cultural activists from all over the country, the secretariat has two broad goals: to rationalise the boycott and to promote the culture of the democratic movement in South Africa.

Although its members have for some time been engaged in the long and tortuous process of consulting with local artists at every level, the secretariat has so far kept the media at bay while it puts its own house in order. However, after a meeting of the secretariat scheduled to take place within the next few days, many of the issues will hopefully be put into context as it releases its first official statement of policy.

In so doing it will be taking a tiger by the tail; the issues at stake are both complex and controversial.

While the formation of the desk (as it is commonly known) has in general been greeted with something like relief, fears have been expressed in some quarters that it could become a cultural constabulary, something used primarily to further party-political aims.

How and where, for example, are they likely to draw the lines between what is and what is not “democratic” or “progressive”?: How closely will the artist have to subscribe to the principles of the UDF for his or her work to be acceptable?: What, for that matter, will be scrutinised — the politics of the producer or the politics of the producer? The proper metaphor for the desk bedehat of the negotiating table or that of the courtroom bench?

What strategies will be adopted to deal with the SABC and other cultural surrogates of the state, like the National Orchestra, which has published its intention to defy the boycott openly whenever it can?

Early indications suggest hardliners may be disappointed and the desk will pursue a policy of consultation and concern with the dilemmas facing those involved in the development of South African culture. It is unlikely that the forthcoming meeting will produce any hard and fast rules governing artistic conduct. But it is almost certain to agree upon a set of initial guidelines that artists will be expected to heed, if not wholly adopt.
Mbeki release: Winnie calls for ‘caution and circumspection’

While the Govan Mbeki release is at least a tacit acknowledgement by the government that its ‘real opposition’ is the ANC, Winnie Mandela is wary of the flood of ‘over-optimistic’ expectations that the release of Nelson Mandela may follow. THAMI MKHWANAZI reports

WINNIE Mandela has cautioned against ‘over-optimistic expectations’ following the release of African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki. The influential activist, wife of the ANC’s best-known leader, believes the release reflects government weakness — but has called upon “the oppressed and exploited” people of South Africa to react with “restraint, caution and circumspection”.

Mbeki believes the government’s granting of Mbeki is an “admission that he has not lost his influence among the downtrodden”.

The decision to release the veteran resistance figure, she claimed, reflected government recognition that “they had failed to defuse escalating resistance against apartheid”.

It was also an acknowledgement that the “real opposition” in South Africa was the ANC, not the Conservative or Progressive Federal parties, she said.

The restrictions placed on Mbeki — he is “listed” and may not be quoted — were a safeguard against his words triggering an irreversible wave of resistance.

But Mandela warned that it is customary for oppressed people to expect the release from prison of their authentic leaders to be followed by freedom. Mbeki thus had a “tremendous responsibility”, as people could become “demoralised if radical changes did not quickly follow his release”.

Il-considered actions could be used by the government to keep other political prisoners in jail, said Mandela. Violent action such as the police baton-charge on crowds waiting to greet Mbeki at Jan Smuts airport should be seen as a “mischievous tactic” which was intended to be provocative.

She said the release of Mbeki was a “gamble”, a short-term plan to take the steam out of the sanctions and disinvestment debate, and give “ammunition” to potential allies like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

Mbeki, Mandela said should have heeded the warning given by the Rivonia trialists, including Mbeki, more than 20 years ago — they had predicted that apartheid would lead to escalating violence.

Mbeki, Mandela said the demands of “the people” on the ANC leader would be heavy; they would expect him to bring freedom, not be seen as a “toothless bulldog”.

Beeld had commented that “The myth has suddenly become a human being who must — like all other citizens — abide by the law.

“Mbeki must realise that he has played his role and that he now has the choice either to withdraw from politics or to exert a moderate influence on South Africa. Because he surely is the one person who must know that there is no hope of a successful revolution — having had 23 years to ponder.”

Beeld believed Nelson Mandela’s release could follow, as a “formula has finally been found to solve the problem of the ANC leadership still languishing in jail”.

But for this to happen, said the newspaper, “Mbeki and the black community will have to show that they do not intend exploiting this opportunity for the purposes of political confrontation and chaos.”

Beeld hoped Mbeki and the other released prisoners would not ruin a “praiseworthy” effort and “thereby harm the chances of others to be freed”. Mbeki, they warned, “knows what the result will be” if he makes any attempt to put his “ANC or communist convictions” into practice.

At a press conference organized by the government immediately after his release last week, Mbeki was adamant he was still a member of the banned ANC and South African Communist Party.
Death toll 170 this year in Maritzburg's townships

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Hostile words flow almost as freely as blood in the war that rages in the townships and villages around Maritzburg, claiming three lives on just an "average" day.

Verbal blows, aimed by kwazulu Chief Minister Mzimkulu Buthelezi and other prominent Inkatha members, have rained down on the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions since these organisations made their major "attack" on Inkatha at the press conference in New York.

The regional death toll for the year topped 170 — with the last 30 deaths occurring in just three fortnights. Security forces have been ordered to produce its own proportional victims.

How is sense to be made of this violence, where a major protagonist levelled accusations with murder-like counter-accusations of aggression by his opponents; and where the most common description of the bloody violence was faction fighting and black-on-black violence to obscure the forces that drive it,1 we're told.

The key claims that raise the Maritzburg violence out of the mire of random, gratuitous bloody deaths are those which describe the conflict as part of a national pattern, as inextricably part of the struggle to destroy apartheid and to form what form of political organisation will succeed the present order.

The notion of deep political roots to the conflict stems from petty territorial claims contained in the Cosatu/UDF and the Inkatha views, though it is presented from widely divergent perspectives.

Cosatu and the UDF camp argue that Inkatha-supporting vigilantes have imposed a reign of terror in response to the rise of popular organisations which subscribe to universal franchise in a unitary state — and which therefore threaten Inkatha's claim to political supremacy in the region.

"It is clear the violence in the townships is not random. It represents a campaign of destabilisation of progressive organisations," the UDF/Cosatu memorandum on the matter reads.

Cosatu and the UDF point out that the first major conflict fighting the present pattern surfaced in Maritzburg in 1986, the International Year of the Youth, in which the UDF and Cosatu took off as a popular organisation in Natal's Midlands. It was also the year of the city's consumer boycott, which gained wide support and was related to the dismissal of political strikers by Sarmcol at Howick.

UDF and Cosatu trace out, almost blow for blow, the developments within their movements and the violent response of the Inkatha opponents. The list is detailed — with names, dates and the circumstances specified.

Their argument is that local Inkatha figures, whom they describe as "warlords," have responded to the threat posed by popular organisations not only by hitting out at the UDF and Cosatu with all their might, but by attempting to drag along non-aligned residents into their own ranks.

"Once the vigilantes have claimed a territory as 'theirs,' they do not tolerate the presence of any organisation that is not part of their programme," Chief Buthelezi has angrily rejected the idea that "warlords" of Inkatha are the main spring in converting political rivalry into mayhem.

He sees the conflict as arising from the armed struggle of African National Congress "mistrust in exile" and he claims that the UDF and Cosatu have collaborated to make the country ungovernable.

The ANC — which was bent on waging any progress towards negotiation and destroying everything that hadn't destroyed itself — had declared war on Inkatha and repeatedly called for the murder of its colaborators. Chief Buthelezi told a recent business symposium.

Buthelezi and UDF group trade

Court order to protect children from Inkatha

MARITZBURG — Four Inkatha members were yesterday temporarily restrained from committing acts of violence against two Imbali minors by the Supreme Court in Maritzburg.

Mr Abdul Awetha, town councillor and leader of the Inkatha branch in Imbali, Mr Fanl Zondi, Mr Wesley Msheke and Mr Felt Diamin, were ordered by Mr Justice A J Milne to show by January 25 1988 why the order should not be made final.

The order was brought by Mr Alfred Zulu and Mrs Doreen Ngubane on behalf of their minor children.

The minor's mother, the裁定 restraining the four men from assaulting or threatening the children, intimidating and/or unlawful communicating with them.

A man insulted and a house burned down by the group of people is Alumnusla on Tuesday evening.

Police said today that Mr Tadesa Wanda and a friend, Mr Mike Kanene, were in the house when it was set alight. Mr Kanene was stabbed and killed in the ensuing scuffle. The police said the incident was notarent-related. — Sapa.

RACIAL YOUTHS

There were youths radical — some with ties to national apartheid structures — involved in the bloody battle against the blacks.

There was also fundamental rejection of homelands rule among the 190 000 people of Morotse, which was incorporated into kwandebele on January 1, 1986 and where people were being treated as political football in a contest between Lebowa and kwandebele.

The basic similarity in kwandebele and Maritzburg is the challenge of an emerging force — the national and non-racial in character — to an established organisation, essentially regional in nature and drawing much of its authority from its participation in the homeland structures born of apartheid.

One has only to look to kwandebele where order is being kept by mass detentions, to see the price that will have to be paid in blood as if the parties concerned fail to bring about a peace pact.
2 dead, child hurt in KTC clashes

By CHRIS BATEMAN

FIGHTING between the Western Cape Civic Association and the Masincedane Committee at KTC yesterday left at least two people dead and several wounded, including a three-year-old girl who was shot in the arm.

The fighting began on Monday. Most of the youth are now sleeping outside KTC.

Unconfirmed reports said four men died yesterday. Police confirmed that two unidentified men, aged about 30, died of bullet wounds. Murder dockets have been opened.

Township sources said a standing committee of the Western Cape Civic Association was installed in KTC last month.

Bodies found in alleyway

Tension between the Masincedane Committee, which claims to represent the people of KTC, and the Civic Association has been growing for several months with occasional outbursts of violence.

Reliable sources at the Guguletu Day Hospital yesterday said an unidentified three-year-old girl had been treated for a bullet wound in the arm and discharged.

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz said the bodies of the two unidentified men were found in an alleyway and in the back of a bakkie at the KTC camp just before 1pm. Motives for the killings are unknown.

A Cape Times team visited the scene of the shooting just before 2pm and saw the bloodied body of a man lying in the back of a bakkie near the Masincedane headquarters. They were then ordered from the area by police.
Natal arrests ‘not political’ say police

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Police have rejected claims that the swoop on UDF and Cosatu members here was aimed at destroying talks to resolve the unrest in the townships.

Brigadier Jan Kotze, divisional commissioner of police for Natal Inland, confirmed that UDF and Cosatu supporters had been arrested, but said they had not been arrested because of their political affiliations.

Police spokesman Captain Pieter Kitching said 29 people had been arrested in the Plessislaer and Edendale areas since Tuesday, in connection with unrest-related crimes.

In another development, a spokesman for the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pscsa) said two part-time employees and eight youths had been arrested at the Pscsa office in Berg Street.

The spokesman said Mr Siphe Khanyile, 20, a crisis field worker, and Mr T Mholotshwa, an exams crisis committee field worker, and eight youths were taken away about 9.45am.

Cpt. Kitching confirmed that nine people were later released. One person had been detained in connection with certain criminal charges, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha youth leader, Mr Musa Zondi, yesterday invited the UDF for fresh talks aimed at restoring peace.

Four Inkatha members were temporarily restrained from committing acts of violence against two Imbali residents following an urgent application in the Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

The application was brought by Mr Alfred Zulu and Mrs Doreen Ngubane on behalf of their minor children.

The order restrains Mr Abdul Awetha, Mr Weseni Awetha, Mr Zondi and Mr Dlamini from assaulting or threatening the children, intimidating and/or unlawfully communicating with them.

Yesterday’s unrest report from Pretoria said a man was stabbed to death in Mpmulanga, Hammarsdale, when several people stormed his home. The mob then set his home on fire, causing severe damage.

A petrol bomb was hurled at a private dwelling at Ashdown. A man and two youths were arrested.
Fire bomb destroys top runner's home

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Natal Marathon star Eric Ngcobo lost his most precious possessions, 29 medals for running and his running gear, when his house in Edendale was petrol-bombed and burned down.

He has sifted through the ashes in vain and hopes they were stolen before the arson. If they were, there is a chance he might recover them.

He said today that he particularly prized the medals he received for the 1983 Natal Marathon and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange Marathon.

He said police had arrested five of the people believed to have bombed his house. He was interested only in work and his running and could not understand the reason for the attack. All his possessions were burned.
Two shot dead in KTC power struggle

Crime Reporter

TWO men, thought to be members of the steering committee of the Western Cape Civic Association, have been shot dead in an apparent power struggle in KTC squatter camp.

Their death yesterday bought to six the number killed in KTC in less than a week.

They may have been killed for revenge.

One of the earlier victims was Mr Stanford Nkosana, also an official of the association.

Police said today they did not think all six deaths were related.

A spokesman said the names of the latest victims had not been established.

However, Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, who spent yesterday trying to establish what was happening in the camp, said he believed they were members of the UDF-affiliated steering committee.

Police said the men were found about 1pm, one in an alley and the other on a bakkie.
Kohl urges talks with ANC

NAIROBI — West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday said the African National Congress should be brought into any talks aimed at achieving a peaceful solution to South Africa’s problems.

But he added: “I am profoundly convinced that a violent solution would lead to absolute chaos.”

Mr Kohl told a news conference here that West Germany was strongly opposed to sanctions “because we believe they are based fundamentally on hypocrisy”.

The West German leader is visiting Kenya on an African tour which has taken him to Cameroon and Mozambique.

West German officials said Mr Kohl wanted Bonn to play a bigger role in promoting a peaceful settlement in South Africa and this was one of his main aims in visiting the continent.

Mr Kohl said he had also raised the issue of human rights in Kenya during talks here but declined to give details. — Sapa-Reuters

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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Director, Goldfields Resource
will deliver his inaugural lec
“From pariah to intellecti
cularly: the University of

UNIVERSITY
COMMUNITY leader Johnny Issel, a patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), caused a ripple in extra-parliamentary circles recently when he gave a rather more hearty welcome to Mr Wynand Malan’s National Democratic Movement (NDM) than the UDF leadership itself. ROBERT HOUSING reports . . .

Needed, white UDF support says dedicated Johnny Issel

JOHNNY Issel is fiercely dedicated to the downfall of apartheid and its administrators.

Like the majority of South Africans, he says, he dislikes bloodshed. So the sooner the goals of the majority are realised, the sooner this will come to an end.

In the face of an extremely powerful force that is the government, broadest possible national unity will be indispensable in reaching that “urgent” end.

In attempting to isolate the government, therefore, it will be necessary to show whites that it is not in their or the country’s interests to continue to support it.

He says it must be acknowledged that the UDF has “definite shortcomings” in terms of organising among whites.

“It unfortunately has an image that frightens whites who are not part of the white progressive movement and it will never be able to make a really telling impact on the wider white constituency.

“The NDM, however, has the potential to reach substantially larger numbers of whites than the UDF can ever hope to lure.”

He believes there is a better prospect of the NDM being drawn closer to the extra-parliamentary movement than the Progressive Federal Party at present. “Most of the individuals in the PFP who have traditionally allied themselves with blacks are leaving the party.

“The PFP has swung to the right and those who remain in important positions appear to be becoming extensions of the government. They are using overseas platforms which would not be made available to the government to spread ideas not dissimilar to the ruling party’s thinking.

“The NDM seems more committed to seeking ties with extra-parliamentary groupings.”

In spite of his criticism of the PFP’s tactics in the post-election period, Mr Issel says he still finds it significant and encouraging that the party has openly discussed the Freedom Charter at congresses. “We cannot ignore signs like this.”

He also sees a ray of light in Afrikaner trends in the Cape, as demonstrated in this year’s election.

“We are in a way responsible for the creation of the NDM and must therefore ensure that its actions represent our line of thinking. Admittedly very little information on the NDM has come forward since its inception, but it would be fruitless to adopt a wait-and-see attitude or insist that they clarify their position.

“There is no prospect at the moment of the NDM affiliating to the UDF, but the UDF is not prevented from forming alliances. These are forged when collaboration is considered beneficial to all concerned for the realisation of specific objectives.

“Joint campaigns calling for the lifting of the state of emergency, for instance, could be conducted with the NDM if they supported the idea.”

He dismisses as “invalid” an argument that progressive organisations should not waste time with groups like the NDM but devote all their energy to the “workers’ struggle” instead.

“Workers cannot bring about a new South Africa by themselves. How can forming an alliance that advances the broad democratic struggle be against the interests of the working class?”

He concede his views on alliances with white groupings are not shared by all in the UDF. “As with all debates, there are two sides. We have experienced that phenomenon in the UDF before, like the Edward Kennedy visit — whether to support or oppose it — and the question of immediate participation by Nusas following our launch.”

Johnny Issel

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Assegained youth joins 150 Maritzburg dead

MARITZBURG. — Fighting in the townships here claimed another life yesterday when a 16-year-old youth was assegained to death.

More than 150 people have died in recent township violence between supporters of the UDF and Inkatha.

And the UDF and Cosatu again called for an end to the violence in a full-page advertisement in a local newspaper yesterday.

Two officials of the UDF, Mr Martin Wittenberg and Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya, were released under severe restrictions and immediately taken into peace talks called by the UDF, Inkatha and the local Chamber of Commerce and attended by senior police officers.

Cosatu and the churches, however, were not present and the negotiations have been postponed.

Police also confirmed yesterday that since the violence started a few weeks ago, more than 300 people have been arrested. They said 73 have been arrested in a crackdown that began yesterday and will continue at the weekend.

A huge arms haul was displayed to the press yesterday at the Plessislaer police station. Weapons included firearms, homemade guns and petrol bombs.

In another unrest incident, the house of Natal marathon runner Mr Eric Ngcobo was petrol-bombed. Five people have been arrested. — Sapa and Own Correspondent
ANC-case: man deported

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — The last ANC kidnap-case man still in custody in London was deported to Norway last night.
The man, who was using the name John Larsen when arrested in July, had withdrawn an appeal against deportation.
He was deported as Mr. Hans Christian Dahl, 28, allegedly a former mercenary in Rhodesia, but was still claiming to be the son of Frank Larsen, 53, the key figure in the alleged kidnap plot who was deported to Oslo on Wednesday as Mr. Johan Viggo Oerbak, a convicted Norwegian swindler and former mercenary.
Both men are opening legal actions to recover documents from Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Squad which they say will prove their claim that they were British agents who had been "left in the cold" by an embarrassed British government.
**Buthelezi angered by letter to us**

SINCE the eruption of violence between rival organizations in Natal three years ago, City Press has been marred by violence from various groups. This has led to the closure of the newspaper for several days due to threats to the staff's safety.

The latest incident occurred last night when a group of armed men, believed to be members of the UDF, broke into the newspaper's offices and set fire to several copies of the paper. The attack was apparently in retaliation for an article published earlier in the week criticizing the UDF's handling of the violence.

The UDF has denied any involvement in the attack and called on the authorities to investigate vigorously. The newspaper has also called for greater security measures to be put in place to protect its staff and readers.

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**UDF slams SA action**

The UDF has condemned South Africa's intervention in Angola.

In a statement, the UDF said it had been informed that the South African government had provided military assistance to the Angolan government, including the supply of arms.

The UDF said it was concerned about the implications of this intervention for the peace process in Angola and called for a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

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**Two years ago 13 protesters were killed...**

The Nottingham Pecknold Organisation members and the residents of the area are to remember their 13 victims. The victims were killed on the 21st October 1985, during a peaceful protest against the government's policies and the discrimination faced by the residents of the area.

The Pecknold Inquiry, set up to investigate the killings, found that the police had acted with excessive force and that there had been no正当ifiable reason for the deaths.

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**Tough Test for Girls**

THE Miss NSL beauty contest...
Two years ago
13 protesters
were killed...

By SELLO SERIPE

MAMELODI Azanian People's Organisation members and the residents of the area are to remember their 13 colleagues who lost their lives on November 21, 1985 at the height of the rent boycotts.

The 13 people were shot dead on this day, when the residents marched to the local council offices to protest against rent hikes.

Speakers from various organisations such as the National Council of Trade Unions, Cosatu, Mamelodi Youth Organisation, Azanian Youth Organisation, Azanian Students' Movement and the Black Theological Project are lined up to speak at the commemoration service which will be held at the St Francis Church, Section R, Mamelodi.

The service, which will start at 10am, is expected to be attended by hundreds of people.

Youth Organisation executive member Kenneth Diadia and president Robbie Mkhize.

Both were key figures in the peace talks since their organisation commanded various structures in the region, including defence units.

The detentions followed the arrest of about 400 people in the region by a combined SAP and SADF operation, which saw a large quantity of weapons confiscated.

More than 70 people have already been charged in the past few days with crimes committed during the fighting in townships in and around the Maritzburg.

Police this week further disclosed that the man who beheaded 10-year-old S'khumbuzo Shezi had been killed.

The boy's parents had been accused of being UDF members by the killers.

Pasa spokesman Peter Kerchoff said he believed the detentions would have an extremely negative effect on the remaining leadership in the townships.

"The remaining leadership will be forced into hiding and communication will become impossible. Some can only guess about the effect this will have on the grassroots membership of these organisations."

He said the authorities needed to be asked whether they were really concerned about peace in the Maritzburg area — certainly their actions seemed to indicate the opposite.

Meanwhile, Brig Leon Melet, police secretary to the Law and Order Minister, this week denied that police were detaining or arresting people "because of their political affiliation".

He was responding to Cosatu's allegations that the detentions were part of a "campaign by security police to harass and victimise Cosatu."

"The police do not take sides in any so-called political conflict, but remain neutral in their actions and investigations into criminal activities," he said.
Peace hope in turmoil of black politics

By DENYSE ARMOUR

TWO top white businessmen who have been drawn into the turmoil of black township politics say there is hope of peace between the warring factions.

Rob Pater and Paul van Uytrech are representatives of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

They have been trying to set up peace talks between the hostile Inkatha and United Democratic Front factions in the troubled townships.

Now, Mr Pater, a vice-president, and Mr van Uytrech, general manager, may find themselves hosting what are essentially UDF report-back meetings in the townships.

They were instrumental in bringing about the release from detention of two UDF leaders this week.

Martin Wittenberg and Skambuzo Ngwenyana, joint-secretaries of the UDF's Midlands branch, were detained a week ago.

The chamber had been negotiating with Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenyana in its attempts to bring Inkatha and the UDF to a peace-talks table.

Leadership

Mr Pater said the chamber's work in the townships over the past two months had been very interesting.

He was impressed with the quality of leadership in the two warring organisations.

"Considering the atmosphere we're working in, we've even managed to forge friendships," he said.

He has found the informal chats after the peace meetings as fascinating as the negotiations themselves.

"But the main thing now is that there is hope ... a possibility that we will achieve peace," he said.

He said the chamber was mildly surprised it had achieved so much.

"We weren't sure the chamber would be acceptable to both parties as a purely honest broker."

"But we have had nothing but co-operation from both sides," Mr Pater said.

The release this week of Mr Wittenberg and Mr Ngwenyana gave the peace talks an unexpected boost.

It led to the first round-the-table meeting between the UDF and Inkatha.
Stofile may be freed on technicality

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A court bungle might yet free United Democratic Front leader, the Rev Arnold Stofile, who was sentenced to 11 years' jail by the Ciskei Supreme Court in May.

Several months after Stofile's trial ended, it has emerged that the court interpreter was never sworn in — probably making the entire trial invalid.

Ciskei's Chief Justice, Benjamin de Villiers Pickard, found Stofile guilty of arms and terrorism charges. Three co-accused received sentences of between eight and 15 years.

Now the court interpreter has admitted he was never sworn in. The admission came during the perjury trial of one of the State witnesses when the interpreter, Mr S B Mathole, was being cross-examined by the defence.

Legal sources have said there is clear authority from the Appeal Court that evidence translated by an interpreter who has not been duly sworn in is regarded as unsworn evidence.

This means Stofile will have to be released, or proceedings reopened, though the latter option is unlikely. It is likely that a special entry into the record of appeal will be applied for. The question of the unsworn interpreter would then be raised.
Joe Slovo interview on top US TV feature

ALAN DUNN

WASHINGTON. — Mr. Joe Slovo, the African National Congress white military commander, has been featured on America's most watched television news programme, "60 Minutes", a news feature programme by CBS, last night highlighted Mr Slovo's commitment to communism and the ANC's Soviet ties. The programme was watched by at least 35-million people.

Mr Slovo was portrayed as white South Africa's "public enemy number one". Reporter Mike Wallace said during the 6-minute film that the South African Government would like to see him dead.

South African commandos had already made an attempt on his life, Wallace said, noting that 11 ANC officials had been assassinated in the last year.

LETTER BOMB

Mr Slovo is chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. Wallace said he led a precarious existence and asserted that a South African letter bomb had killed his wife, Ruth First.

Wallace, who is widely respected in the US, reported that Mr Slovo had turned communist when he was 16 and that he was now chairman of the SA Communist Party.

Several ANC officials were interviewed during the news feature. They praised Mr Slovo and said they were aware he was a communist. But they argued that he had been with them for many years and saw him only as Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff.

The feature contained footage of uniformed ANC members drilling and singing in an Angolan military training camp, carrying Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifles.

Mr Slovo was questioned about military strategy, claims that he was a member of the KGB and about the role of the Communist Party. He cannot be quoted in South Africa without Government permission.
Mbeki to address rally in Cape Town

By CLARE HARPER
FREED Robben Island prisoner and African National Congress veteran Mr Govan Mbeki will address a rally in Cape Town next month.

Western Cape regional United Democratic Front executive chairman Mr Dullah Omar said Mr Mbeki, 77, would address a rally “sometime between the beginning and middle of December”.

“THERE has been so much enthusiasm we expect a very big, but an orderly and disciplined meeting,” he said.

Mr Mbeki, released on November 5 after 23 years’ imprisonment, cannot be quoted. Because of this people would be eager to hear him speak, Mr Omar said.

No final decision has been made on the venue, but it would be open and an audience of no less than 50 000 would be prepared for.

Mr Mbeki will speak at a Port Elizabeth rally this week.

The rallies are being organized by reception committees comprised of members of the UDF, Congress of South African Trade Unions, National Education Crisis Committee, Release Mandela Campaign Committee and the Western Province Council of Churches.
Hanekom freed, deported

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Patricia Hanekom, freed after more than three years in jail for dealings with the African National Congress, was deported to Zimbabwe on Friday night, the Saturday Star reported.

Mrs Hanekom, a Zimbabwean, was sentenced to 33 months' jail in September 1984 for contravening the Internal Security and Publications Act. — Sapa
Second mine found after Soweto blast

JOHANNESBURG — The explosion which extensively damaged administration offices in Zola, Soweto, on Saturday morning went off in the building's toilets and a second device was found and exploded by police experts, police said yesterday.

There were no injuries in the blast — which caused extensive damage.

The blast coincided with renewed efforts by authorities to break a 17-month-old rent strike.

According to an SAP spokesman, both explosive devices were limpet mines.

The second limpet was found by officers investigating the first blast, the spokesman added.

It was removed from the offices and "destroyed by experts under controlled conditions'.'

Two municipal police officers were guarding the building when the limpet exploded about 11.15am.

The explosion came in the wake of security force raids in areas of Soweto last week which police described as crime-prevention operations.

Also last week, officials swooped on Orlando West and warned residents to pay rent arrears or face eviction.

The rent boycott has cost the council millions of rands.

Saturday's blast blew up windows and damaged walls of the municipal office.

Meanwhile in Maritzburg, a man was stabbed to death by a gang of men in the latest confrontation in the violence-racked region.

At the same time, two UDF leaders were released from detention in a bid to start peace talks between the UDF and Inkatha.

The UDF cancelled peace talks with Inkatha after police last week detained about 50 UDF supporters. The release of Mr. Martin Wittenberg and Mr. Skumbuzo Newenya, co-secretaries of the UDF Natal branch, set the stage for rescheduling the talks.

The talks are to put an end to the internecine struggle that has seen men, women and children hacked, burnt and shot to death will begin tomorrow, UDF sources said in Maritzburg.

The talks would be held behind closed doors, said Mr. Rob Pater, vice-chairman of the local chamber of commerce, which is chairing the talks.
ANC meet in Tanzania

DAR ES SALAAM. — The first international conference of the ANC, aimed at developing a world-wide sanctions strategy against SA, will open in Tanzania next month.

More than 600 delegates from governments and organizations worldwide will attend the four-day conference at Arusha from December 1.

Delegates will discuss a strategy to isolate SA through arms and oil embargoes, tougher economic sanctions and a cultural and academic boycott.

An ANC spokesman said the conference would target the US and Britain, which, he said, had not taken serious measures against SA.

Both countries have been invited to the opening of the conference.

Consideration of the sanctions issue would include moves to get more individuals to boycott South African goods and to refuse to handle South African cargoes. — Sapa-Reuter
Police wounded, ANC men killed in Natal shootout

DURBAN — Two suspected African National Congress (ANC) terrorists and an alleged collaborator were killed in a shoot-out with police in Umlazi.

Two members of the SAP reaction unit were wounded.

The Commissioner of Police, General Henkie de Witt, confirmed that the three were killed when police stormed a house just before midnight. The operation ended at 1 a.m.

The wounded policemen are Constable L. J. Kruger, who was shot in the nose, and Constable E. de Witt, who was shot in the head.

He added that ARMs, the latest model in assault rifles, and ammunition were found inside the house.

It is believed that a large quantity of ANC literature was also found in the house.

Police in Cape Town today found a primed limpet mine of Russian origin at the bus terminus on the Parado. It was dismantled and defused. — Sapa
'I spied on ANC' says SA woman

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Miss Odile Eone Harrington (27) of Johannesburg was sent to Zimbabwe to infiltrate the African National Congress.

She was accepted as a refugee after staying in transit camp and moving after two months to a Johannesburg house occupied by ANC officials.

Her instructions from the South African security service were to become a courier and pass information to them.

But on January 29 she blundered by asking a policeman to post some letters.

One was not stuck down properly and when she went to get some glue the policeman peeped inside and saw a photograph.

The upshot was her arrest and appearance in the High Court in Harare yesterday, charged with breaking the Official Secrets Act by obtaining information that could be useful to an enemy.

Miss Harrington, slim and with brown, shoulder-length hair, looked composed when she stood in the dock before the Judge President, Mr Justice Sandura, and two assessors.

She was escorted into the courtroom by two prison warders who removed her handcuffs when she reached the dock.

In a firm voice she said: "I plead not guilty" when the charge was put to her.

But in the outline of her defence it was made clear Miss Harrington was not challenging the fact that she had been sent by agents of the South African security service to spy on the ANC.

She maintained that at no time had she tried to send anybody secret information relating to the Zimbabwean government or its agencies, and all information she obtained was about the ANC.
New attempt to end township violence

MARITZBURG — Local leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha will meet in Maritzburg today for preliminary talks to set up peace negotiations to end the bloody conflict in the city's townships.

Violence in the townships around Maritzburg claimed another four lives at the weekend, including a man who was decapitated.

A police unrest report said a 23-year-old man was stabbed to death by a group of blacks at Inadi, and then decapitated.

And at Ashdown, police discovered the body of a black man with multiple stab wounds. His neck had been nearly severed.

The report said a group of blacks stabbed a man to death at Mpumulanga. Police dispersed the mob with tear-smoke.

An 18-year-old black was killed by a group at Mpmuza. Police drove off the mob.

- At Smero, a large group of blacks ignored police warnings to disperse. Police used tear-smoke and birdshot to disperse them and arrested 18 men and 13 youths.
- At Slangspruit, police arrested two men and a youth at an illegal gathering.
- At Imbil, police arrested two men and a youth after a private house was stoned.
- At Ashdown, a group of blacks set alight a motor vehicle, causing serious damage. Police arrested four men.
- And at Dambuza, a private house was damaged by arsonists.

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*Irish **Irish
MARITZBURG. — Local leaders of the UDF and Inkatha will meet here today for preliminary talks to set up peace negotiations to end the bloody conflict in the city’s townships.

Mr Rob Pater, vice-president of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, is hosting today’s meeting.

Last week a similar meeting had to be called off after local UDF and Cosatu leaders were detained.

Mr Pater said the meeting would concentrate on setting up the actual peace talks.

Meanwhile violence in the townships claimed another four lives at the weekend, including a man who was decapitated.

Police said a 23-year-old man was stabbed to death at Inandi and then decapitated. And at Ashdown a man was stabbed to death and his neck slashed.

They said a mob who stabbed a man to death at Mpumulanga had to be dispersed with tear smoke, and at Mpumuzi police drove off the mob who killed an 18-year-old man.
Witdoek film
shown in court

He saw two witdoek firing handguns at KTC residents from behind a parked combi. Film of this was shown in court.

The trial continues.

Mr Justice M E de Kock presided. Mr P Pretorius and Mr A M Omar, instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the plaintiffs. Mr G D Griessel SC and Mr L Visser SC, with Mr F D J Brand and Mr C Y Louw and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.

The minister is being sued on the basis of an allegation that police helped witdoek destroy the camp.

Mr Everson, who was filming the start of the witdoek rampage on June 9 last year, said: "I remember seeing a yellow Casspir coming past the two armed witdoek near the combi. Two or three men waved at the Casspir as it came past. There was no one else present that they could have waved at."

SOME of a group of witdoek — two of whom had been firing handguns at KTC residents minutes earlier — waved cheerily at a police Casspir which drove past them on the day KTC began to burn, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

This was the evidence of CBS cameraman Mr Chris Everson. He is the tenth witness to give evidence in a R312 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when KTC was destroyed.

"This Court Reporter"
EAST LONDON — A former spokesman for the King William's Town Civic Association and King William's Town attorney, Mr J. Smith, has been charged in the regional court here under Section 27(a) of the Police Act.

The charge concerns the alleged publication of untruths against the police, and follows an incident at Breidbach last year when a patron of the United Democratic Front, Dr Allan Boesak, was to have addressed a mass service.

Mr Smith is being charged in connection with statements made by himself to the Daily Dispatch concerning the incident on Wednesday, March 19, 1966.

The report, containing Mr Smith's comments on the conduct of the police, was about police action involving a group of people waiting for the outcome of a court application challenging the banning of a service that was to have been conducted by Dr Boesak.

Earlier this year, the Attorney-General declined to prosecute the Daily Dispatch; its then editor, Mr George Farr; and two former members of its editorial staff on the same charges.

The case was postponed to February next year.
3 die during peace talks

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Violence continued in the townships around Maritzburg as leaders of the warring parties were trying to negotiate peace.

Three people were killed and several injured in mob attacks and clashes with the police yesterday.

The police unrest report today said 32 people were arrested. Altogether 238 have been arrested since November 13. According to the report violence yesterday was limited to the townships around Maritzburg.

- At Mpumulanga, a man was killed after police returned fire at three men who attacked them with homemade weapons. The other men were arrested.
- A 58-year-old man was killed at Sweetwaters after being set upon by a mob.
- The body of a man aged about 30 was found with bullet and stab wounds at Dambuzo.
- Thirteen people who allegedly attacked a police section have been charged with public violence.
- At Dindi, two men were injured and a private home petrol-bombed. Police used firearms to disperse the mob. Three people were injured and arrested.
- At Esigodeni, police used tear gas and shotgun fire to disperse a large group of people who had refused to comply with police orders.

Meanwhile, five hours of talks between the warring parties in Maritzburg's Imperial Hotel yesterday have created hope for a negotiated end to the killing.

WHILE Statements:

(1) Write statements to assign to K the largest integer power of 2 that is not bigger than N. (Start with K equal to 1 and double it until it is greater than N, then half it once.)

(2) Write statements to calculate

\[ X = 1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \ldots \]

stopping as soon as X reaches (or exceeds) the value limit. Then print X and the last number which was used to multiply by.

REPEAT Statements:

(1) Write statements to compute the sum of the sequence

\[ x - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^5}{5} - \frac{x^7}{7} + \ldots \] for \( x = 1 \).

To some specified accuracy (i.e., 0.001). As soon as any term in the sequence is less than this accuracy the summation can be stopped.

(Notes: This sequence is in fact that for ten \(-1\). If \( x = \sqrt{3} \) then the value of this sequence is \( \pi/6 \).)

fahrenheit

Far More Progress

Mr van Uyttrecht said far more progress had been made than expected.

In a statement issued after the meeting last night the delegates called for the release of members of their parties held in detention.

The statement also called for the freedom to meet in their constituencies without interference from the police and security forces; the endorsement of the principles of freedom of expression and disciplinary action against those who violated them.

Mr van Uytrecht said the next round of talks would be in two weeks, possibly on December 9.

The delegates left the meeting without responding to a barrage of questions from reporters.
Buthelezi: Free Mandela, Mothopeng

BY BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the Pan African Congress leader, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, had to be released before the politics of negotiation could really triumph, the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Cape Town last night.

He also said the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act were affronts to everything decent.

Addressing the Rapporttryers in Welgemoed, he said history demanded that Afrikaner South Africans and Zulu South Africans put South Africa first.

"There is no separate destiny ... we will live together or die together."

"Let Mr Mandela deal with the ANC. Put him to the test."

"There was nothing more the ANC could do with him out of jail than in jail," Chief Buthelezi said.
Royals skip Biko première

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Prince Charles and Princess Diana joined top government figures in turning down invitations to attend the London première tomorrow night of the controversial film “Cry Freedom”, based on the death of Steve Biko and the escape from South Africa of former Daily Dispatch editor Donald Woods.

The Daily Telegraph reported that the couple “diplomatically” pleaded prior engagements when they declined to turn the première into a grand royal occasion.

Government figures including Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the moderate former foreign secretaries Lord Carrington and Lord Pym also refused invitations.

But Labour leader Neil Kinnock and his wife, church leaders and other well-known human-rights crusaders will be in attendance.

Sir Richard Attenborough’s film has been given massive laudatory television advance publicity in Britain, with predictions of major awards for its stars, and is expected to do well at the box office.

It is picking up in America after a slow start and mixed reception from critics there.
SA claims ANC asked for Botswana 'conduit'  

PRETORIA. — The African National Congress has asked Botswana to allow its territory to be used as conduit for infiltrating insurgents into South Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs claims in a diplomatic note sent to Botswana yesterday.

The note, the text of which was made available to Sapa last night, said South Africa's security forces had obtained information about a "large-scale" ANC infiltration into South Africa to take place this month and in December.

The note quoted "recently-captured terrorists and other sources".

Umkhonto  

"According to the same sources, several members of the command structure of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, including a senior member, recently visited Botswana to arrange for the execution of their infiltration plan and to hold discussions with senior members of the Botswana government in this regard."

The note added that during public court hearings and interrogations, "terrorists awaiting trial" had referred to Botswana as their main infiltration route. — Sapa
A POLICE constable told a Pretoria magistrate yesterday that he stood guard outside a room in which an accused in the Pan Africanist Congress trial, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa, made a statement before a magistrate.

Constable P J van Niekerk was giving evidence before Mr J H Bekker during a trial to determine the validity of the statement Mr Mathunjwa made before a magistrate.

The constable said he was posted near the room's window to be on the lookout “in case the accused tried to escape”.

The policeman said he did not remember who had instructed him to stand outside the room. “I was a police cadet at the time and did not ask for reasons why I was supposed to stand there. The very person who gave me instructions also warned me against peeping through the window I was standing next to”, he said.

Arrested

Mr Mathunjwa and his co-accused, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Ganga were allegedly assaulted by the police after they were arrested at a house at Ngobi, Bophuthatswana, last year. They were also tied to a tree, trampled on and assaulted repeatedly with the butt of a firearm, according to evidence led earlier in court.

The two and others have pleaded not guilty to terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.
Maritzburg violence? 40 killed this month

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Violence in Maritzburg's townships has escalated sharply, with the official death toll about 40 this month — double last month's figure.

Police said the number of political murders is near 200 this year and there have been more than 400 arrests in two months.

Police liaison officer Captain Reg Crewe said in Pretoria that more than 60 had been killed in Maritzburg since the beginning of last month. Nearly 40 had died this month.

Police had arrested more than 400 people in connection with unrest-related crimes in the past two months — 150 of them this month.

He did not know how many had since been released. Detainees were being held in cells at police stations in and around Maritzburg.

Extra police or troops had not been deployed since the Defence Force was called in to patrol the townships this month.

* See page 7.
Churches look at Lusaka Document

Johannesburg. — Three mainstream churches affiliated to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) said yesterday they had received the controversial Lusaka Document, following the Anglican Church's acceptance of it on Monday.

The Methodist, United Congregational and Presbyterian churches have all received the document for “further study”, and are looking at it as a “means to political change in South Africa”.

The Rev. Joseph Wing, general secretary of the United Congregational Church, said that the church was taking the document “very seriously”.

Leaders of the Anglican church have met with severe criticism from other churches since they accepted the document at Modderpoort, in the Orange Free State, on Monday, because of the document's views on violence.

The document, which was issued earlier this year, recognizes that liberation movements are “compelled” to use force.

Bishop Duncan Buchanan, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, reacted to the criticism by saying that the church in no way condones violence, and severely criticized SABC TV news yesterday for implying in a news broadcast that it does.

"Although we do understand why people have met violence with violence in the past, we reject violence," he said.

The SABC said that the broadcast was a direct reflection of the statement issued by the Anglican Church, and that it would broadcast the new statement as soon as possible.

The Ned Gereef Kerk was one of the churches which condemned the Anglican church for accepting the document, and Dr Pierre Rouxouw said that it was not any church’s place to “side with a violent attitude towards change”.
Mbeki permitted to hold PE rally

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Govan Mbeki, the veteran African National Congress member who was released from prison recently, was yesterday granted official permission to hold a rally in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

The rally will be Mr Mbeki's first public engagement since he was freed on November 5 after 24 years in prison.

Mr Mbeki, 77, was arrested in 1963. In 1964, he was sentenced along with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and six others to life imprisonment for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government.

The gathering in a Port Elizabeth township on Saturday will be only the second authorized ANC meeting in South Africa since the movement was outlawed in 1960.

The government allowed Miss Zindzi Mandela to address a rally in Soweto in 1985 to publicize her father's rejection of an offer of freedom in return for his repudiation of political violence.

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, said the chief magistrate in Port Elizabeth yesterday granted permission for a four-hour rally in the Zwide township's Dan QoQo Stadium.

She said Mrs Winnie Mandela would be among speakers at the gathering organized to "welcome back Mr Mbeki".

All outdoor political gatherings have been banned since the state of emergency was imposed on June 12 last year.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front and wife of jailed ANC chairman Mr Walter Sisulu, is also to share the platform at the service.

The rally is being organized by the Interdenominational Ministers Association of Southern Africa, the Reverend Patrick Pasha, secretary-general of Idumo, confirmed last night.

Mr Pasha would not give more details beyond saying that the association had made an application to the chief magistrate for the service. — UPI

Neil Kinnock sinks R50 000 into ANC ad

LONDON. — ANC supporters here, including Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock and his wife Glenys — have forked out the equivalent of R50 000 to pay for an advertisement expressing "wholehearted support" for the "justified struggle" against apartheid.

The full-page advertisement in the Guardian, at a cost of £4 000, contained the names of more than 1 000 people and organizations.

Under banner headlines "Will you put your name to the struggle for peace, freedom and democracy in South Africa?" the signatories called on British people to call for a new SA. "We wholeheartedly support the ANC's justified struggle for a unitary South Africa with freedom and justice for all."

In a separate section signed by the ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Solly Smith, an appeal was made for funds to enable the organization to continue its work with "schools, hospitals and publishing information about the horrors of apartheid".
3 die in Maritzburg violence

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Three people have been killed in the continuing violence in Maritzburg’s townships.

A police report said one man was killed after policemen returned fire at three people.

A 58-year-old man was stabbed to death at Sweetwaters, while at Dambuza, the body of a 30-old man was found with bullet and stab wounds in his body.

Two Dindi men were injured and a home petrol-bombed.

Police in Maritzburg have arrested a further 32 people since Tuesday.

Captain P Kitching, police press liaison officer, said 13 people had been arrested and charged with public violence at Edendale in connection with an incident on Monday when members of the SAP were attacked by a mob who had gathered illegally.

Six others were arrested and charged with the murder of Mr Nshengu Shesi, also on Monday. — Sapa and Own Correspondent
WASHINGTON — A top member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the African National Congress, has threatened "sensational" and "ruthless" attacks in South Africa before the end of the year.

"The threat was made by Mr. Steven Tshwete, the military group's political commissar and third-in-command.

"This time we will be ruthless. We will have to take off the white gloves," he said.

Quoted in the Baltimore Sun, he said several ANC commanders had infiltrated South Africa in the last few months to reorganise the outlawed army and to start a "sustained military offensive".

Mr. Tshwete told the Sun from Lusaka that Umkhonto would be emphasising engagements with security forces more than urban bombings in coming months. "We are going to do something sensational which will rock Botha and make the world sit up and take note," he said, adding that indications of the offensive would come within six weeks.

The ANC threats have been referred to the South African Police but no response had been received at the time of going to press.
Blacks 'no longer afraid to speak out on politics'

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — Blacks are no longer afraid to speak their minds on political issues — a development that socio-political researchers countrywide regard as particularly important.

Dr Nic Rhoadie, chief research specialist at the Human Sciences Research Council's institute for sociological research, was commenting today on findings of an earlier study which recently came under the spotlight.

The HSRC study was conducted in August among 550 educationally sophisticated adult blacks in the PWV area, and was unique in the sense that a study on the black elite had never been done before on such a large scale.

The survey concentrated mainly on the attitude of blacks towards the talks between a group of Afrikaners and the ANC in Dakar.

Prerequisite
Sixty percent of the respondents said that, as a matter of principle, black parliamentary representation was a prerequisite for black participation in constitutional reform.

Another significant finding was that 75 percent of blacks said they would take part in an election to elect black leaders who would participate in the national council.

Dr Rhoadie said that five years ago researchers had experienced great difficulties in interviewing blacks on political issues.

"Now, however, they are enthusiastic because they realise that ordinary surveys are an instrument through which they can voice their opinion on pertinent political matters," he said.
Screen it challenge

LOS ANGELES — The Hollywood studio behind Cry Freedom has challenged South Africa to allow it to be screened without censorship.

The chairman of MCA Motion Picture Group, the parent company of Universal Pictures, said that if Pretoria complied, his company would donate all profits to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for southern Africa.

"The film will be submitted to the South African censors shortly and a quick response is hoped for," Mr Tom Pollock said.

The conditions listed in the statement were that "the film must be shown in its entirety and cannot be censored in any way; the film must be exhibited only in integrated theatres and in all areas of the country."

"If the film is submitted to the government without the spotlight of publicity on it, the government will ban it," Mr Pollock said.

"What we're trying to do is make the choice hard for them. With the spotlight of publicity on it, they just can't ban it outright."

He denied his offer was to gain publicity for the film. — Sapa-Reuters
PORT ELIZABETH. - Govan Mbeki will address a rally here on Saturday. The veteran ANC leader, released from 24 years imprisonment on Robben Island earlier this month, will speak at the Dan Qeqe Stadium in Zwide township.

According to his lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, official permission was granted by a magistrate on Wednesday.

The conditions placed on the rally are that it should end before at 4 pm and be confined to the stadium. People attending the meeting should leave only by mechanised transport.

This will be the first official public meeting to be addressed by the 77-year-old Mbeki since his release on November 5.

Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, will also address the meeting.

This will be the second occasion since the banning of the ANC in 1960 where the views of its leadership will be espoused - with Government approval.

The first took place two years ago in Soweto where Mandela's daughter, Zinzi, responded on behalf of her father to President PW Botha's offer to release him from prison on condition he renounced violence.

Cape blitz for rally

ABOUT ten Western Cape areas have been blitzed with pamphlets and posters in the past two weeks in preparation for a big rally featuring recently-freed African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki.

The blitzes involved dozens of volunteers from progressive organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Considered

The date and venue for the rally still had to be confirmed, but the Athlone Stadium was being considered, according to reliable sources.

The Mbeki Reception Committee, set up to organise the rally, has printed thousands of pamphlets, posters, badges and and sweaters in preparation for Mbeki's visit to Cape Town.

Mbeki is expected to tour major centres throughout the country.
The politics of coping

BY RYLAND FISHER

WHEN Hilda Ndude was elected publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front in the Western Cape in May, she was faced with a dilemma — should she go into hiding or not?

Most members of the previous executive committee had been detained, and being in the leadership of the UDF identified one as a target for the security police.

"I decided against going into hiding. I thought about it and realised that I am not involved in anything illegal. The UDF is still a legal organisation."

But, Ndude said, there was another reason.

"I am the mother of five children. How can I go into hiding? Who would look after my children?"

The problem of raising a family and being active in anti-apartheid politics became more of a problem when her husband, Alpheus, was detained two weeks ago.

Alpheus, 45, an organiser for the Adult Learning Project (ALP), was fetched from his office on Wednesday October 28 by four unidentified men. Police confirmed to lawyers two days later that he was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

"I still have no idea where they are keeping him."

Ndude said she was allowed to take clean clothes for her husband to the security police offices in Cape Town last Monday.

It will not be the first time Ndude will have to look after her children without her husband.

"Alpheus was detained on August 11 1976, the first day of the uprisings in the Western Cape. He was released the same day, but retrenched from September to December that year."

"We had been married for two years and our eldest child Nolizwe was only one at the time."

Ndude was taken and when he will be home.

Ndude leaves Nolethu at a creche every morning, while the other children are at school.

"I have to fetch her in the afternoon. I have no-one to help me with the children now."

But she is confident she will cope.

"I believe God will not give one a burden one is not able to shoulder. As a person involved in the politics, and someone who is determined, I will cope."

"I will use all the means at my disposal to raise my children the way we planned, despite their father's detention."

Ndude was born in Cape Town — she declined to say when — but was raised in the Transkei.

She returned to Cape Town in 1973 and married Alpheus the next year. They have spent most of their married life in backward shacks in Guguletu or KTC because of the housing crisis in the townships.

In 1979 she took part in talks to discuss the formation of a women's organisation in the Western Cape, the United Women's Association. When the organisation was formed later, it was known as the United Women's Organisation (UWO).

Ndude did not play an active role immediately, but was elected on to the KTC branch executive in 1982. She was UWO secretary in 1983 until the organisation merged with the Women's Front Organisation to form the United Women's Congress in March 1986.

Ndude became UWO's representative at UDF general council meetings until her election as publicity secretary.
3 more deaths as peace talks inconclusive

There were at least three more deaths and further violent incidents between warring groups in Maritzburg’s townships as the first round of peace talks came to an inconclusive end on Tuesday night.

The talks were chaired jointly by Chamber of Commerce manager Paul van Uyttert and vice-chairman Rob Peters. They were attended by members of Inkatha, the UDF, Cosatu and Uwusa.

A joint statement released after the five-hour session called for the immediate release of all detained members of organisations taking part in the talks and agreed on “certain points to be reflected on for a future meeting”.

Van Uyttert said the next round of talks was due in two weeks.

He said the progress of the talks “far exceeded our expectations”.

According to yesterday’s police unrest report, three people were killed, one of them in police action, and 28 arrested in incidents in the Maritzburg area.

“Two black men were killed at a police foot patrol with home-made firearms. Police returned the fire and a black man was fatally wounded. A youth was wounded in the leg and arrested. The third man fled but was apprehended by the SAP.”

At Sweetwaters, a 58-year-old man was stabbed to death. A 26-year-old man was attacked by a mob and stabbed. Police dispersed his attackers with birdshot and arrested two men and a youth.

At Dambaza, police found the body of a 30-year-old black man.

“At Dindi, two black men were injured and a private dwelling extensively damaged when a mob threw a number of petrol-bombs at the house. Police used firearms to disperse the attackers and, in the process, three men were wounded and arrested.”

At Esigodeni, police used teargas and shotgun fire to disperse a large illegal gathering.

Two black women and one black man were wounded and arrested and 12 black men were arrested.
Church stresses need for meetings with ANC, PAC

JOHANNESBURG — The Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) has accepted the “Lusaka Document” and “stresses the need” for further meetings with the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) “to discuss the nature of the South Africa beyond-apartheid to which we are committed,” the Church said yesterday.

It said an earlier statement had been “widely misrepresented” by media and has asked that the full resolution be quoted in full.

It reads: “The matter arose when the provincial standing committee of the CPSA was considering resolutions of the 1987 annual conference of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), which had been referred to the member churches of the SACC.”

The resolution of the Provincial Standing Committee (PSC) of the CPSA is as follows: “With regard to SACC resolutions 6, 8 and 9, the PSC, understanding the pressures which have led the liberation movements to respond to violence with violence:

“Aware that there is at present insufficient factual evidence on the effects of disinvestment to make an informed resolution on this issue or to use this issue as grounds for rejecting the Lusaka document;

“Recognising the commitment to peaceful change laid out in the Lusaka document, and acknowledging the urgent need to correct the Church’s failure to bring about meaningful change and an end to aggression;

“Implores its members to explore to its fullest, means by which it can show Jesus’ ‘third way’ as a positive non-violent way to change, despite the high cost of this way. Editorial opinion page 29}
ANC and Botswana reject SA's claims

JOHANNESBURG—Botswana and the ANC yesterday denied South African allegations that ANC insurgents planned a large scale infiltration into the Republic with the knowledge and assistance of the Botswanan Government.

The Department of Foreign Affairs called on the Botswanan Government to honour its commitment not to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on South Africa.

In a return note to South Africa, the Botswanan Government called the allegations "slanderous" and denied any knowledge of planned ANC activities.

The South African note "claimed Botswana had been approached by the ANC with a request that it allow its territory to be used for infiltration."

A spokesman for the ANC said they did not need to infiltrate any country in order to carry out its work.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs said: "Every reason exists to believe that the Botswanan Government was informed of the ANC's plans to commit acts of terror in South Africa via Botswana territory in coming weeks."

Sapa
JOHANNESBURG. — Botswana and the ANC denied South African allegations yesterday that ANC insurgents planned to infiltrate South Africa with Botswana government connivance and claimed the warning was a "prelude to a cross-border raid".

South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs claimed in a diplomatic note on Tuesday that a large ANC infiltration had been planned and called on the Botswana government to honour its commitment not to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on South Africa.

The note claimed that recently-captured terrorists and other sources alleged the ANC had approached the Botswana government to allow its territory to be used as a conduit for infiltrating terrorists and to establish transit facilities.

In a return note to South Africa, the Botswana government responded by calling the allegations "slanderous" and categorically denying any knowledge of planned ANC activities.

Botswana referred to its "well-known policy not to allow its territory to be used by anyone as a transit route or base for attacks against any neighboring countries, including South Africa".

"The government of Botswana repeats the invitation which it has offered to the South African government before, under similar circumstances, to provide it with information indicating that the ANC was using or was planning to use Botswana territory as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa," says the note.

It adds that such information would enable Botswana to take steps to ensure that its territory was not so used.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka also rejected the South African claims yesterday.

The spokesman said the ANC denied plans for a large-scale infiltration of South Africa to take place this and next month.

He said the ANC did not need to infiltrate people through any country in order to carry out its work in South Africa.

It described as "unthinkable" South Africa's allegation that it had approached Botswana to allow its territory to be used as a conduit for infiltrating "terrorists" and to establish transit facilities.

The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday reiterated its request to Botswana to prevent its territory from being used by terrorists entering SA. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
Nigeria offers training to ANC

LAGOS. — Nigeria said on Tuesday it had offered military training facilities to black nationalists in South Africa.

An official statement said the offer was conveyed to Mr. Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), in Lusaka by Nigeria's high commissioner in Zambia.

Nigeria, black Africa's most economically-powerful and populous state, has made the abolition of apartheid a major objective of its foreign policy.

The statement said the decision to offer the ANC military training facilities was in keeping with Nigeria's commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle.

— Sapa-Reuter
ANC infiltration claim slanderous Botswana

GABORONE. — The Botswana Government has rejected as "slanderous" allegations by South Africa that its territory is set to be used as the springboard for a large infiltration into South Africa by African National Congress members over the Christmas period.

"The Botswana Government does not have any knowledge of planned ANC activities involving the use of this country," the note said, adding that it denied any discussions had been held between the Botswana Government and the ANC regarding any proposed infiltration.

Botswana challenged the South African Government to provide it with any information it might have indicating that the ANC was "using, or planning to use, its territory as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa".

It accused the South African Government of using the allegations against Botswana to whip up the emotions of white South Africans.
Attenborough hurls challenge to screen Woods, Biko movie

LONDON — The South African Government has been challenged to allow the film, Cry Freedom, based on the friendship of Steve Biko and the exiled former Daily Dispatch editor, Mr Donald Woods, to be shown uncensored in South Africa.

The film's director, Sir Richard Attenborough, and the Hollywood studio behind it, the MCA Motion Picture Group, are backing their challenge by submitting a copy to the South African censors.

The MCA's chairman, Mr Tom Pollock, said in a statement all profits would go to the UN children's fund if the film was put on screen in the Republic.

He and Sir Richard stipulated only that it should be uncensored and showed to show anywhere before unsegregated audiences.

Sir Richard said on television here that he believed South African agents attempted to sabotage the making of the film in Zimbabwe last year.

He doubted, he said, that the South African Government would ever allow the film to be shown uncensored "because it gets to the truth of the horror that is apartheid."

The film includes scenes of a well known security police officer taking pot shots at children from a car during the 1976 Soweto uprising, said to be based on actual film of the incident.

It also depicts the late Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, as a weak and dishonest man who conducted a personal vendetta against Mr Woods.

Mr Woods, the main subject of the film, is still a banned person.

He has been extensively interviewed on national and international television networks in the past weeks giving his explanations of events surrounding Biko's death in detention ten years ago.

See also page 13
Witdoeke action in KTC-Crossroads seen on court video

Staff Reporter
A VIDEO screened in the Supreme Court of events near KTC showed “quite a few hundred” armed wit-
doeke moving unchallenged past police and Defence Force vehicles and through a police roadblock, the court was told.

The video, shot by NBC news cameraman Mr Anthony Wasserman on June 9 and 10 last year, was shown as evidence by counsel for 21 KTC families and the Methodist Church, who are claiming R312 000 damages from the Minister of Law and Order arising from the devast-
tion of the township.

Mr Wasserman told the court he went to the Cross-
roads-KTC area because he had heard there was a possibil-
ity of trouble.

He shot film of a police road-
block on the corner of Klipfont-
tein Road and Borchards Quar-
ry Road.

White armbands.
“I saw a bunch of people walking down Klipfontein Road towards the cemetery (on the border of KTC) through the roadblock. There were quite a few hundred people all with white armbands ... carrying axes and pangas and various things,” said Mr Wasserman.

He identified them as wit-
doeke.

Apart from policemen and police vehicles at the road-
block, he saw Buffels and Cas-
spris “going up Klipfontein Road and driving through the crowds of witdoeke who were going down the road”.

He told the court he saw a white police van at the road-
block which he believed to be the vehicle of Warrant Officer Hendrick Barnard.

“I saw the van arrive and it stopped at the roadblock and a couple of witdoeke went up and spoke to the policeman in the back of the van,” Mr Wasserman said.

“The witdoeke pointed down the road towards the cemetery. The van drove off and the wit-
doeke carried on down the road.”

Shacks burning
Mr P Pretorius, who is appearing for the KTC families, asked: “Did you see any action by the police, either at the roadblock or anywhere else, to stop this advance of witdoeke towards the cemetery?”

“No,” Mr Wasserman replied.

Footage later in the video showed groups of men on a dune where shacks were burn-
ing. Mr Wasserman identified the area as the north-eastern corner of KTC and the men as witdoeke.

The hearing resumes on De-
cember 2.
Trial run

Released ANC leader Govan Mbeki will return to political life this weekend, at a Cape Town rally. What happens will have a strong bearing on the future of Nelson Mandela.

Already there is nervousness in government circles about rightwing reaction to Mbeki's release. Crowd behaviour and Mbeki's conduct will be vital factors — assuming Pretoria allows the rally to go ahead. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has said public reaction to Mbeki's release will influence government attitudes.

Mbeki's appearance on Sunday is of major significance for South African opposition politics. It will be the first public appearance in 27 years, in SA, by a member of the ANC. The rally is being organised by the Cape Town Mbeki Reception Committee, representing 17 opposition organisations. A total of 16,000 people were at the launch of the UDF in Cape Town in 1983 — more are expected on Sunday.

Mbeki has kept a low profile since his release on November 6, appearing in public only twice — at Jan Smuts airport, and last week when he drove through his former New Brighton base. Although Mbeki is "listed" under the Internal Security Act and cannot be quoted locally, the listing does not prevent his speaking in public.

The Mbeki Reception Committee says his release is the start of a process which would culminate with Mandela standing in Johannesburg "to address the nation," after which there need be no further calls for the unbanning of the ANC.

"Now that P W Botha is finding it impossible to insist that our movement is banned, we need to ensure that all forces that support it must be drawn together and unleashed," the statement says.

Mbeki is expected to follow up his Cape Town appearance with rallies in other major centres.
Winnie won’t speak at Mbeki’s PE rally

PORT-ELIZABETH. — An order by the local chief magistrate, signed by Mr J Oosthuizen, has conditionally authorized an open-air rally to be addressed by Mr Govan Mbeki in this city tomorrow.

On the podium with Mr Mbeki at the Dan Qoqe Stadium in Zwide will be the Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the SACC, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the UDF, and the Rev De Villiers Soga, chairman of the local branch of the Interdenominational Ministers’ Association of Southern Africa (Idamasa).

Mrs Winnie Mandela, named earlier as one of those scheduled to address the gathering, will not be speaking.

The rally, a "Thanksgiving Celebration and Welcome Service" in honour of Mr Mbeki, has been organized by Idamasa and the SACC.

Permission to hold the rally was granted on condition that the service starts at noon tomorrow and ends at 4pm. All proceedings must be held strictly in the Dan Qoqe Stadium and all those attending are required to leave by means of motorized transport.
‘Festive terror plans will fail’

By David Braun

Political Correspondent

The ANC would not succeed with its avowed diabolical plans for the festive season, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer, said today.

At a passing-out parade of 1,706 students at the Police College in Pretoria, Mr Meyer referred to reports that a senior member of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, had said the organisation would intensify its violent activities in South Africa.

Mr Meyer said: ‘This is in line with the Government’s earlier warning that the ANC is a terror organisation relying on mindless violence to achieve its ends.

“Several ANC terrorists who have slipped into South Africa in recent days have already been arrested. Some of them have been shot dead in actions by the security forces. Many weapons have been seized, including land mines.”

Mr Meyer said there had been 195 incidents of terror in South Africa in the first 10 months of this year.

Of these, 63 were attempted murders of members of the police or witnesses due to appear in trials, while another 70 were cases of attempted murder of civilians.

“There must, therefore, be no illusions that the ANC will indeed attempt to intensify its terror campaign, especially during the Christmas season,” he said.
Govan Mbeki to speak at service

The Government will have its first opportunity to test the effect of freeing former African National Congress chairman Mr Govan Mbeki when he addresses a mass open-air “thanksgiving service” in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

The Chief Magistrate of Port Elizabeth has given permission for the organisers to hold the service in the Dan Qeke Stadium in Zwane. It will be Mr Mbeki’s first public appearance since he was freed on November 5.

The Chief Magistrate has imposed conditions to ensure that the meeting does not become a demonstration and the organisers have also promised that speakers will not incite law-breaking.

Mr Mbeki’s lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, said yesterday that the organisers had stressed Mr Mbeki’s return was “an occasion to promote reconciliation.”
Biko film acclaimed by British critics

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — Most British national press critics yesterday acclaimed Sir Richard Attenborough’s film Cry Freedom as a devastatingly accurate portrayal of the South African tragedy — likely to win a string of Oscars.

The film, based on the friendship of Steve Biko and a former editor of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Donald Woods, would “deservedly influence opinion world wide”, the Daily Telegraph critic said. He described the film as Sir Richard Attenborough’s “cri de coeur” against apartheid, concluding: “Too many political films constitute pathetic whinges, so I applaud Attenborough’s full-blooded yell.”

Critics disagreed on Sir Richard’s decision to base the film largely on the liberalising and devastating effects the friendship with black consciousness leader Biko meant for Mr Woods, his wife Wendy and their five children.

The film makes stark mention of Biko and his controversial death — which comes halfway through — with most time given to a heavily dramatised account of Mr Woods’s escape from East London to Lesotho, where his family joined him.

The London Standard’s critic wrote: “Cry Freedom has been attacked for being more a story about the radicalising of a white liberal than the martyrdom of a black activist.

“Too much is lost in the story this is more a matter of congratulation than reproach. This is exactly what it sets out to do — and achieves.

“The black cause in South Africa is already morally won: the white attitude to it often remains one of division, scepticism and latent apprehension. Cry Freedom is a popular polemic aimed at making whites join ranks by the power of illustration.”

Mr Walker said the film portrayed with a “forced” way Mr Woods’s relationship with Biko led to his banning and becoming a “non-person in the midst of plenty… the film exercises a white man’s shoes, if not his skin.”

The Independent’s critic said: “Something in the viewer rebels when the film devotes so much screen time to the escape of the Woods family by devious routes to England.

“To omit Biko’s suffering and then to milk him out of the Woods’s dog, which has to be left behind, seems somehow intolerable.

“Biko’s story is a tragedy. Woods’s is not — and a diluted tragedy is no tragedy at all.

“If Attenborough omits Biko’s agony he at least makes real the minor awfulness of banning — one of the few experiences shared by Biko and Woods — which prohibits writing of any sort, and restricts those banned from being with more than one person at a time.”

The Guardian’s critic said that if nothing else, Cry Freedom was an “honourable liberal” film meant to inform the world “just how vile apartheid and the regime that enthroned it is.”

He said the film’s main achievement was its “utter decency of spirit” and the way it gave “an effective sense of the South African regime’s amazing mixture of blundering crudity and obtuseness and cold, calculating shrewdness.”

Acclaiming Attenborough’s decision to end the film with a list of deaths in detention, with the official cause such as “stipped in the bath” or “fell out of window” and “natural causes” alongside the names, he said this was “one last damning proof that Biko wasn’t the only martyr and that the case against the government is unanswerable.

“Cry Freedom, for all its lack of compromise and internal passion, does not lie. Less you know about South Africa, the more you’ll need to see it.”
Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON—The state identified the African National Congress as its major opponent but was not prepared to negotiate with the organisation, the director of planning and research for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, (Idasa), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said here yesterday.

He said at a lunch attended by Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, that South Africa was in a tough situation, "but we have the option of talking — even if it is to people we don't like."

Idasa is aiming to create circumstances in which we, as white South Africans, can talk to the opposition and fellow black South Africans. Dr Slabbert added that Idasa had held workshops and taken groups of whites to meet those living in the townships.

"Idasa was born out of the desire to promote this kind of discussion — we hope to contribute to the dynamic which will allow people of all races to come together and discuss a democratic alternative," he said.

"If the collision course which the government has set continues, the awful spectre of a possible war in South African has to be considered."

Dr Boraine said that in Zimbabwe he had found there had been reconciliation between blacks and whites.

"I spoke to a Zimbabwean woman while I was there and she said that where her country had made a mistake was to prevent the future instead of anticipating it — this philosophy I suppose forms the core of Idasa's work," he said.

Editorial Opinion P22
Mbeki speaks at rally

FREED Robben Island prisoner and former national chairman of the ANC, Mr Gwam Mbeki, will speak at an open-air service in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

The city's chief magistrate has placed certain restrictions on the certain restrictions on the service.

This will be the final rally to be addressed by Mr Mbeki since his recent release after spending 23 years in jail.

It will be held at the Dan Qe-Ke Stadium in Zwide township.

Other speakers will be Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela; Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front and wife of jailed ANC chairman, Mr Walter Sisulu and UDF patron and president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak.

The rally has been organised by the South African Council of Churches and the Interdominational Ministers Association of Southern Africa.

Thousands of people are expected to attend the service.

UDF bail plea judgment to be given later

THE Pretoria Supreme Court reserved judgment in the bail application of three men, two of them senior officials of the United Democratic Front.

Mr Popo Simon Molefe, national secretary of the UDF, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF and Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal UDF secretary brought a new application for bail before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, sitting with an assessor.

The three undertook to abide by any condition imposed by the court should they be released on bail.

They have been in custody since April 1985 and three previous attempts to obtain bail were unsuccessful.

Mr P Fick for the State yesterday opposed the application and said "a revolutionary climate" still existed in the country. Captain Frederick Botha, a security branch policeman stationed at police headquarters in Pretoria, also said in evidence that the "revolutionary climate was still high." It was encouraged by the "alternative media," he said.

Defence counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, assisted by Mr Karel Tip and Mr Gilbert Marcus, argued that the court should not keep the three men in custody because of the State's vague generalisations and slogans that there was "a revolutionary climate" throughout the country.

Mr Bizos also referred to an affidavit made by Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, in which he said that the security situation in the country had generally improved. The three accused also undertook not to involve themselves in any political activities while on bail should their application be successful.

Mr Bizos submitted that there were presently about nine leaders of the UDF who were free to continue with their activities and the release on bail of the three men would not endanger the security of the country.

"The State's case," said Mr Bizos, "does not make sense."
NO DEAL WITH ANC GOVT TOLD

GABORONE — Botswana has described as slanderous allegations by the South African Government that it held discussions with members of the African National Congress (ANC) on infiltration plans into South Africa.

In a strongly worded note to the South African department of external affairs, The Botswana Government reiterated its "well known policy not to allow territory to be used by anyone as a transit route or base for attacks against any neighbouring countries, including South Africa."

Botswana was responding to Pretoria's note referring to stories by alleged arrested ANC operatives and other sources claiming that the Botswana Government has been approached by the ANC with a request that it allow its territory to be used as a conduit for infiltration into South Africa and that it assist the ANC establish transit facilities for the infiltrations.

In its note the Government categorically denies that it has any knowledge of planned ANC activities which involve the use of its territory.

"It has not held any discussions with any members of the ANC on infiltration plans and considers allegations that it has done so as slanderous," says the note.

"The government of Botswana repeats the invitation which it has offered to the South African Government before in similar circumstances, to provide it with information indicating that the ANC was using or was planning to use Botswana territory as a launching pad for attacks on South Africa," says the note.

It adds that such information would enable the government of Botswana to take steps to ensure that its territory was not so used.
Youth murdered in Maritzburg violence

PRETORIA. A youth was murdered and two houses and two cars were set alight in continuing unrest in the Maritzburg area, police reported yesterday.

The youth was killed by "a group wielding sharp instruments" at Mpumalanga. No further details were given.

Two cars and one house were set alight and extensively damaged at Smero. The second house was set alight at Inada and fairly seriously damaged.

Meanwhile, at Greytown, a man and two youths were seriously injured when "two groups clashed".

At Shongweni, Hammarsdale, a private vehicle was extensively damaged when a petrol bomb was hurled at it.

Two landmines — one on top of the other — were found on a farm road in the Piet Retief area on Wednesday night, police said. — Sapa
Woman stabbed to death

PRETORIA. — A 64-year-old woman was stabbed to death on Thursday and another woman seriously injured in the Maritzburg township of Edendale.

According to the police overnight unrest report a large group "murdered a 64-year-old woman by stabbing her to death and seriously injured a 54-year-old woman".

Meanwhile, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he was outraged by false accusations that Inkatha was the perpetrator of violence in the area.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at a passing-out parade at the Emandleni-Maleng Camp where young people are taught skills and learn to help the poor and uneducated.

He said, people had accused Inkatha of developing the camp as a "para-military" project
ANC wants to use Botswana — SA

THE African National Congress has strongly denied alleged plans to infiltrate South Africa through Botswana.

The denial came after the South African government issued a stern warning, in the form of a communique to the Botswana government, telling it not to allow its territory to be used for the expected infiltration of ANC guerrillas between now and the end of the year.

The exiled organisation reacted sharply to allegations that the command of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had recently visited Botswana to arrange for the execution of the alleged plans to infiltrate South Africa.

"Evidence to be prepared in forthcoming court cases will further point to Botswana as the main route for terrorist infiltration into South Africa. This will also increase public concern in South Africa about the safety of travellers and businessmen in Botswana," the note concluded.

It was "no secret" that the South African government had previously made such allegations before raids on neighbouring states.

"One cannot rule out the possibility that Pretoria is once again preparing the minds of whites in South Africa to expect what it did last year in Harare and Lusaka when both cities were attacked on the same day," he said.

The ANC knew "nothing" of alleged discussions, between members of Umkhonto's council and senior members of the Botswana government, to prepare for ANC members to infiltrate South Africa.
MBEKI TO SPEAK IN PE

By KHULU SIBITA

IN an unprecedented move, especially in view of the current state of emergency in the country, the government has given permission for recently released ANC veteran Govan Mbeki to address an open-air rally in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

This is the first time that the government has sanctioned a rally of this nature - to be addressed by a self-confessed member of the ANC - since the state of emergency was declared two years ago.

Thousands of people are expected to attend the rally at Don Edgar Stadium, Port Elizabeth, tomorrow, a liquid version and cannot be quoted in South Africa, speak for the first time in public since his release.

The rally is also the second authorised public meeting since the ANC has been officially allowed a platform since it was banned in exile in 1960.

The first took place two years ago in the Johannesburg Amphitheatre, where, among other things, Nelson Mandela delivered a message on behalf of his father, Nelson, responding to President Botha's proposals that he was prepared to share power.

The 77-year-old nationalist leader, who was sentenced to life imprisonment 23 years ago, will share a platform with the wives of his colleagues and former comrades.

They are Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, wives of Nelson and Walter, respectively.

Also expected to address the rally in the presence of the United Democratic Front and president of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Alton Brenk.

Permission to hold the rally was granted by the local police chief, Brigadier Ernest Smithe, and the acting magistrate for Port Elizabeth, JM Candeliser, on Wednesday.

However, two restrictions have been placed and these are that the rally should take place between 2pm and 5pm and that it should take place within the grounds of the stadium. People attending must travel by cars and buses, and not on foot.

Meanwhile, there has been wide speculation that the government has released Mbeki as a test case for the possible release of other political prisoners and to test whether his release could lead to public disturbances.

So far Mbeki has been keeping a low profile in his new home in New Brighton.

The rally is organised by the Interministerial Ministers' Association of Southern Africa.

The organisers said in view of the state of emergency, which was imposed last force, they were making a special appeal to all those who would be attending the meeting to conduct themselves in a peaceful and dignified manner appropriate to the occasion.

"This is all the more by reason of the respect which Mbeki is regarded in the whole country," said Justice

BC leaders in a weekend in

By SOL MORATH

Six black councillors - leaders who were taken away "for the night" by police on the eve of last week's communication in Nelson Mandela, have been released.

An official of the chairman of the Apartheid People's Organisation, Mr Joe Ntombela, said At the weekend in Nelson Mandela, has been released.

"It is all the more by reason of the respect which Mbeki is regarded in the whole country," said Justice

Miss NSL finalist, Lovelies ponder on the big cup winner

INSIDE HANGED!

Two rapists go to the gallows
Their fate known soon

By SOL MORATHI

THE State is expected to submit replying affidavits in the Pretoria Supreme Court today which will determine whether three high-ranking United Democratic Front officials will be released from police custody.

These statements will be replies to the affidavits made by Popo Molefe, Patrick Terror Lekota and Moses Chikane last week.

The three men, who, with 16 others, face charges ranging from murder to high treason, have been in custody for more than two years, submitted strong-worded affidavits in court last Friday calling for their release.

All have pleaded not guilty before Judge Van Dijkhorst to charges of treason, terrorism, subversion and murder.

The affidavits made part of the bail application which was made on their behalf by the defence counsel, led by George Bizos SC.

State prosecutor PB Jacobs told the court last Friday that they were still going to study the affidavits and would submit replies today.

Whether or not the three men will be granted bail will depend solely on the reaction of the State, which has in the past refused them bail three times.

While 16 of their co-accused were granted R15 000 conditional bail each, the three were denied bail because, as the State puts it, they are a threat to national security and can possibly leave the country.

Judgment in the bail application is expected within a week.

Molefe is the secretary-general of the UDF, Lekota is the publicity secretary while Chikane is the secretary of the Transvaal region.

Meanwhile, Khehla Namane, 54, of Sekhukhuneland, denied in court yesterday that speakers at the rent boycott meetings at Small Farms in Ermelo had called for the killing of councillors and the destruction of their property.

Namane, who is testifying for the defence, said the speakers only condemned the councillors as "useless" and "powerless" and had at no stage said they should be killed.
ANC 'PLANNING TO MINE ROADS'

WALVIS BAY — Armed African National Congress members were planning to, or had already infiltrated the Zeerust area of the Western Transvaal with instructions to place landmines on farm roads used by security forces, the Chief of the Security Police, Lt Gen Johannes van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Briefing journalists visiting a police camp in Walvis Bay, he warned of the ANC's intention to step up its armed struggle against South Africa, during the festive season. He said recently obtained information indicated that ANC members intended infiltrating the Western Transvaal into Botswana was being increasingly used as an infiltration route, with attempts being made to get that country's Government to sanction the use of its territory.

They have already illegally been using Botswana as an entry route for a number of years anyway, but are now pushing for co-operation from the authorities there.

Gen van der Merwe said the ANC was now concentrating more on "local" training of its members, not in secret camps, but on a "face to face basis by terrorists trained outside the country."

He said the advantages were that the trainees would not be noticeably absent from their homes for a long time, and the risks of capture and leaving the country illegally were eliminated.

Advantage

Also, frustration in far-away foreign camps was not present and the identity of the trainees insurgents was not known to other members of the ANC in the field.

"Another advantage for them is that they cannot be pointed out by rehabilitated terrorists who were trained outside the country."

An indication of the importance of local training for the ANC was that 77 of the 132 trained terrorists arrested so far this year were trained inside the country.

He said the period starting after the 1976 Soweto riots, Gen van der Merwe said it was significant that most of the 581 terrorist acts up to the end of 1986 had taken place over the last two years.

On a percentage basis, it amounted to over 64%.

This year so far, there had been 195 terrorist actions.

On an average per month, incidents had risen from 2.45 in 1976, to 11.53 in 1985 and 19.08 last year.

Sapa
Closed meeting for Mbeki, diplomats

PORT ELIZABETH — Freed ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki met foreign diplomats in a closed meeting at the weekend after the rally he was to have addressed was banned.

Mr Mbeki earlier spoke at a press conference where he read a speech he was to have delivered at the mass rally on Saturday.

The ANC leader is a listed person and cannot be quoted in SA.

Mr Frank Chikane, SACC secretary-general, said divisional police commissioner Brigadier Ernest Schnetelier's decision to ban a service sanctioned by a magistrate was an indication that the police and army overruled the courts in South Africa.

A last-minute urgent application to set aside the banning order was dismissed with costs by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on Saturday afternoon.

Brig Schnetelier argued that it was "pointless to prohibit him from being quoted while allowing him to address a gathering of 55 000 people".

Mr Justice Jones said the evidence was that the brigadier's "prime concern was that the rally would prejudice the termination of the state of emergency". — Sapa
Williamson admits link to London 'spy burglaries'

LONDON. — Former South African spy Mr Craig Williamson has admitted he had dealings with two men convicted of breaking into the office of various anti-apartheid movements here.

In a letter to the Observer newspaper yesterday, the spy-turned-politician admitted that the men — Edward Aspinall and Peter Caselton — had sent him information gained in the burglaries.

Between 1978 and 1980, Mr Williamson, now a member of the President's Council, infiltrated the University Exchange Fund, a Geneva-based organization providing grants for black South African students.

Describing himself as a South African patriot who would not break the law, he does, however, admit in the letter that he had links with Aspinall and Caselton.

The two were tried and convicted at the Old Bailey in 1982 of conspiring to burgle the London offices of the ANC, Swapo and the PAC.

Mr Williamson denies he ordered the men to commit the burglaries or that he was involved in the firebombing of some of the offices concerned.

He was, he said, only aware of the burglaries "after the fact".

"Within the intelligence world, professionals are sometimes forced to deal with and accept information from 'cowboys' or, as I prefer to call them, 'unguided missiles'.

"Nevertheless, to believe that either British or South African intelligence run actual operations using 'unguided missiles' is dangerously ignorant," he told the newspaper.
TEARS AS UDF 3 BAIL PLEA FAILS

FRIENDS and relatives of three treason trialists — two of whom are high-ranking officials of the UDF — broke down and wept immediately after the judge rejected their fourth bail application in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Friday.

Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor, dismissed the application ruling it “inopportune” to “give reasons for his decision even after Mr George Bizos, SC, for the defence submitted that the security situation in the country had improved enough for the three to be released. The three political activists who brought a new application for bail are Mr Popo Simon Molefe, national general secretary of the UDF, Mr Patric ‘Terror’ Lekota, national publicity secretary of the UDF, and Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal UDF secretary.

The three, together with 16 others who include senior officials of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, murder, subversion and terrorism.

- Two witnesses for the defence in the same trial told the Pretoria Supreme Court that a peaceful protest march against rent increases was disrupted by police who fired shots and used teargas to disperse them in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, in 1984.

Mr Mahase Mokamen and Mg Maletsane Dlamini said they were part of the march to the Houtkop Administration Board offices on September 3, 1984, when their paths were blocked by the police who parked “hippos” across the street.

BIZOS . . . “national security improved”
LANGA FUNERAL ... About 3,500 people attended the funeral of veteran trade unionist and former ANC activist the Rev Howard Marawu in Langa on Saturday. Mr Marawu was born in Lady Frere in Transkei in 1922 and came to Cape Town in 1942. He was ordained a minister of the African Reformed Church in 1973. He was a Transport and General Workers' Union organizer and a member of the Release Mandela Campaign committee, the Ecumenical Action Movement executive and the Western Cape Civic Association. He was detained under emergency regulations in 1985 and 1986.
Mbeki’s moves ‘at command of the ANC’

Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — Everything Mr. Govan Mbeki had done since his release from jail last month was at the command of the ANC, the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, said at the weekend.

He also said at a press briefing here that although the police had banned the Port Elizabeth meeting, they would consider all future rallies “separately.”

“We are obliged to look at circumstances in each case,” he said.

The police would have to consider the safety of both the public and the state in each case.

Asked if the government feared that a rally would lead to an outbreak of violence, he replied: “It may create or promote a revolutionary climate.”

But he conceded in reply to another question that the banning of the rally could lead to frustration.

“There are certainly disadvantages but we have to decide which is the greatest disadvantage,”

General Van der Merwe said. “Everything Mr. Mbeki does is at the command of the ANC.”

But he said there was nothing illegal about this.

Mr. Mbeki would only be breaking the law if he promoted the aims of the ANC and its image.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said Mr. Mbeki had been released “but we can’t control him”.

Both Mr. Vlok and General Van der Merwe declined to draw publicly on whether Mr. Mbeki’s actions since his release would affect the prospects of releasing other security prisoners.

Legal groups the main security challenge

Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — Legal rather than banned organizations posed the major security challenge in South Africa today, the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, said at the weekend.

“The activities of the legal radical organizations are the most important that we have to reckon with.

“Radical legal actions are more important than radical illegal activities at the moment,” General Van der Merwe said.

Despite recent security force actions, the revolutionary climate was on the increase, he said.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said the police were concerned about the revolutionary climate “which is still very high”, despite the outward appearance of calm.

“The unrest is on a more subtle terrain and it is therefore more difficult to deal with.”

General Van der Merwe said the problem the state faced in containing these “legal radical organizations” was that those bodies conducted their activities within the law.

He singled out the UDF, its affiliates, the Cosatu “and some other trade unions”.

He added that if organizations went “too far” they would be banned in terms of the law.

‘Hearts and minds of all in SA’

Political Staff

WALVIS BAY. — The government must win the hearts and minds of all races in South Africa otherwise “we will never have a safe South Africa”, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said at the weekend.

“We will have to find a political solution acceptable to the majority — otherwise we will lose,” Mr. Vlok said.

He said he believed the government had to curb the revolutionary climate by security actions, “good government through the removal of grievances and efficient administration” and a constitutional solution which was acceptable to the majority.
SA warned to brace itself for increase in ANC terror

**Political Staff**

WALVIS BAY. — South Africa has been warned by the head of the Security Police, Lieutenant-General Johan van der Merwe, to brace itself for increased ANC terrorism, including attacks on more "sensational targets". Between January and October this year there had already been 195 "terrorist attacks", an average of 19.5 a month, compared to the average of 19.9 a month last year and 24.5 a month between 1976 and 1994, he told a press briefing here.

But the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the ANC would "never defeat South Africa by military means".

However, the ANC was resorting to mass-mobilization techniques to create unrest and this was more difficult to curb, Mr Vlok said.

General Van der Merwe said the ANC had not only increased its violence in recent years but changed its training programmes.

The most significant feature of this was the training of "terrorists" locally inside South Africa. This held a number of advantages for the ANC.

Locally trained "terrorists" did not leave the country or their communities and were difficult to identify.

The frustration in ANC training camps, which created division, was avoided and it was more difficult for "rehabilitated terrorists" to break up cells by identifying its members.

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Less hope for early release of Mandela

The chances of an early release for jailed ANC leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, are dwindling rapidly. There was strong speculation after Mr. Govan Mbeki's release recently that Mr. Mandela would be next. But security sources have disclosed that they are not entirely happy with the way in which Mr. Mbeki is operating, which could even lead to his being banned.

He is a listed communist but may address meetings without being quoted. A senior source indicated that Mr. Mbeki was now being "manipulated" by the ANC and that everything he did was part of a deliberate campaign to improve the organization's image.

Government spokesmen indicated some time ago that the release of further security prisoners, such as Mr. Mandela, would depend on what happened after the release of Mr. Mbeki and other prisoners.

Indications now are that Mr. Mbeki's active return to politics and his attempt to address a massive rally at the weekend in particular has raised doubts about his release in security circles who believe the revolutionary climate is still too high.

It was hoped that Mr. Mbeki would retire to a quiet life after his release but he is now working in close cooperation with the ANC. He has been told not to do anything which could harm the image of the ANC or the chances of other releases.

However, it is quite evident that while the authorities are unhappy about the outcome of Mr. Mbeki's release the chances for Mr. Mandela, whose release would be even more emotional and sensational, are slim.

Mr. Mbeki's moves "at ANC command."
No dancing after Mbeki rally

There will be no toyi-toyi for freed African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki when he addresses a huge rally in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

Restrictions on the rally include a requirement that those attending the meeting must leave in cars or buses, not on foot — ruling out a toyi-toyi. The martial-style dance and chant has been in evidence at political meetings and funerals since 1985.

Mbeki, a listed communist, has decided not to apply for permission for his speech to be quoted, civil rights lawyer Priscilla Jana said yesterday.

Also scheduled to speak are activist Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, co-president of the United Democratic Front.

The rally-cum-service has been organised by the South African Council of Churches and the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Association.

At least nine ambassadors have indicated to Jana they will be at Dan Qoqo Stadium to listen to the veteran ANC politician. They include representatives of the United States, Britain, Sweden, West Germany, Australia, Finland, the Netherlands, France and Canada.

Authorisation for the event, scheduled to begin at 12 noon, has been obtained from the chief magistrate on Port Elizabeth, according to organisers, subject to the following conditions:

• that the service start at 12 noon and terminate at 4 pm;
• that all proceedings are held strictly within the precincts of the Dan Qoqo stadium; and
• that all those who attend leave the stadium by means of motor vehicles.

Mbeki's appearance tomorrow will be the first public appearance in 27 years in South Africa by a member of the outlawed African National Congress.

The 77-year-old former ANC chairman has kept a low profile since his release from Robben Island on November 6, appearing in public only twice.

A rally planned for the weekend in Mbeki's honour in Cape Town has been postponed to December 16.
A phone-call to Jeff. 'I've never met her'

BY DAVID NIDDRIE

The self-confessed South African spy who appeared this week in a Harare court was one more in a list of young, white, naive women caught up in subterfuge.

HOWARD BARRETT reports

ANC couriers, and that she had done it all for "Jeff" and the South African government.

A senior ANC source this week described Harrington's case as "pathetic, immoral, whether she received training or not."

"She is just one of a great many people who we and others have recently uncovered — black and white who have just not been prepared for what faces them if they get caught up in spying," the ANC'scircumstancesbear a close resemblance to two recent cases: involving young white women, which have not yet received the same public disclosure.

"Neither of these two women could be contacted to respond to the allegations made against them as both have disappeared from public view. The ANC and security police have acted in these cases by undercover agents of the same subsection of the intelligence section of the South African security police," one-time Rhodes University anti-apartheid activist who was removed from South Africa and returned to the ANC.

The second was apparently a young woman who had been picked up by security police in one of the front line states.

In recent months, another young white female anti-apartheid activist whose name has been released for legal reasons to the ANC was arrested and charged with spying for South Africa.
No Natal peace until detainees freed, says UDF

UNITED Democratic Front leaders in Pietermaritzburg say they cannot hold out any promise of an end to the violence in the local townships until their detained members are released.

However, AS Chetty, who chairs the Natal Midlands branch of the UDF, said it was possible that "ripple effects" of this week's initial talks between Inkatha/United Workers' Union of South Africa and the UDF/Congress of South African Trade Unions could filter down and help calm tempers in the townships.

Chetty said their detained members were key figures in the townships.

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

"At the meeting we, jointly with Inkatha, made a very heavy demand that these members be released."

Chetty was one of a group of leaders whose organisation was involved in the violence. Their first round of talks this week was chaired by officials of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce.

Following the meeting, an official statement was released by the chamber, as all parties had agreed not to make independent statements.

Chamber officials said the parties had agreed to a joint call for the release from detention of members of the organisations which are party to the talks.

They also agreed with the principle that the groups should be able to meet their constituencies without interference from the security forces.

All involved endorsed the principles of freedom of expression and agreed to take disciplinary action against members who violated this.

While there were issues on which agreement was not reached, Chamber officials said they were optimistic about the progress that was made and a date has been set for the next talks.

However, in spite of this optimism, the violence and killings have continued, with official reports of four deaths since Tuesday.

Youths are still living in church and community halls in and around Durban after fleeing their homes earlier this month to escape the violence.

At one stage there were over 120 youngsters — some of them only 11 — who fled their homes, saying they feared for their lives because of threats by Inkatha.
ANC policy review at Arusha meeting

By GERALD L'ANGE
Argus Africa News Service
in Arusha, Tanzania

THROUGH a conference with international participation in this little town near Mount Kilimanjaro the African National Congress (ANC) last week marked one of its biggest efforts to widen support for its cause.

Several hundred delegates, including political, religious, trade union, show business and other personalities as well as ANC officials are gathering for the meeting in the large conference centre here.

ANC officials said the meeting would definitely be attended by singer Stevie Wonder and the widow of assassinated Swedish premier Olof Palme, but there was less certainty that the participation of the American black politician Rev Jesse Jackson, singer Harry Belafonte and American black activist Angela Davis.

They said PLO leader Yasser Arafat might still attend but if he did not his organisation would be represented by another official.

The conference is being opened today by former Tanzanian President Julius Nyere. ANC leader Oliver Tambo, a keynote speaker, has arrived.

Redefined policies
ANC support groups from Holland, Sweden and other European countries are strongly in evidence. Prominent among them is Klaas de Jonge, a Dutch ex-prisoner and political fugitive who was freed in the recent prisoner swap.

Unlike the consultative conference at Kabwe, Zambia, in 1974, which redefined ANC policies and priorities and made major changes in the executive, the Arusha meeting will not make a major review of policy.

Through public discussion of a number of position papers it will, however, reflect the day-to-day making in the ANC on major issues.

The papers have been prepared by a working group over a period of several months. No resolutions will be passed but the conference will adopt a declaration and possibly also a programme of action.

The preparations and format of the meeting suggest that it is to a large extent a public relations exercise aimed at boosting the organisation's international image, which has taken some knocks from the South African Government's crackdown through the state of emergency.

The theme of the conference is "The world united against apartheid for a democratic South Africa."

Aiming for wider support

Argus Foreign Service
in London

THIS week's meeting of the ANC in Tanzania will focus on bolstering the faltering economic sanctions campaign against Pretoria and examine the policies the organisation hopes to pursue after apartheid.

A spokesman said this was the first time such a meeting had been organised. "This is our own initiative and we hope it's not just going to be another run of the mill meeting condemning apartheid."

ANC leaders hope to use the conference in Arusha to muster support for their policy of isolating Pretoria. A recent setback for the sanctions lobby has been the decision by the Ivory Coast to allow full landing rights to South African Airways.

ANC members are also trying defuse criticism that they have no definite political or economic plans for a future South Africa, only a vague commitment to socialism. Both the ANC and the South African Communist Party have been agonising over the international shift away from central planning towards free enterprise.

An item in the SACP journal The African Communist says the SACP and the ANC will better be able to perform their leading role if they adopt the Russian concepts of glasnost and perestroika.

Another important topic on the agenda in Arusha will be the ANC's attempt to step up its guerrilla war.

The organisation recently reshuffled the leadership of its military wing, but is confronting a white government which is increasingly confident that it can crush township opposition.

Israeli row

It is also known to be uneasy that the government took the initiative in releasing ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki without making any major concessions or agreeing to negotiate a handover of power. "The mere fact of the release of political prisoners in South Africa does not end the system of apartheid," says an ANC spokesman.

Peter Allen-Frost in Jerusalem reports that the Israeli foreign ministry has firmly denied that it offered to pay the expenses of an Israeli political activist invited by the ANC to the conference in Tanzania.

"The foreign ministry is in no way involved in this affair," a spokesman said.

However a ministry official did say there would be an Israeli representative at the ANC conference "from the Communist party." Yet a spokesman for the Israeli communists denied that their representative would attend. In Tanzania although a spokesman admitted it did have a hand in the activities of the "Israel Anti-Apartheid Organization" appeal received the original invitation — the first time in 40 years of statehood any such invitation from the ANC has been received.

Initially the Israeli Anti-Apartheid Organization had chosen freelance journalist Rina Moss to attend the conference because, as she put it in a telephone interview "I speak English and have Israeli-American nationality—and two passports."

Miss Moss however could not find the R4 000 needed to take part and her organisation does not have sufficient money to help out. Appeals were made to several quarters, Miss Moss said, but there was little real response until an appeal was made to the left wing Mapam political party here.
ANC has democratic aims, policeman agrees in court

MDANTSANE — The African National Congress had democratic objectives and was fighting apartheid in South Africa, a senior South African security policeman agreed under cross-examination in the Regional Court here yesterday.

Captain J. van Wyk was giving evidence in the trial of Xolile Matebese, Mr Mzwandile Mampunye, Mr Mlamli Faku and Mr Xolani Ngudle.

They have pleaded not guilty to charges under the Ciskei National Security Act.

Capt Van Wyk said he was aware that the ANC regarded defectors as traitors.

Mr M. Moerane, for the defence, said there had been no evidence that a state witness, Mrs or Miss X, as she is called by the state, might be harmed.

He was asked by the state whether it would be wise to call upon the witness, who had requested anonymity.

After the state and the defence had addressed the regional magistrate, Mr J. Dracatos, on this subject, the court decided that she would testify in camera and that her identity would not be revealed. — DDR

DY. IT'S A QUESTION C
ANC 'SOLDIER' FOUND GUILTY OF TERRORISM

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress "soldier" Mxolisi Edward Petane, 29, who placed a car bomb at the Dion shopping centre in Parow last year, was convicted today of terrorism and attempted murder.

When Mr Justice Conradie concluded his judgment in the Supreme Court, Petane responded with three clenched-fist salutes and a piercing cry of "Victory or death. We shall win."

Petane, who wore a black zip-up jacket with bold green and bright golden yellow stripes at the shoulder today, described himself during the trial as a "soldier" of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

He claimed the car bomb was intended as a psychological and propaganda weapon and that he had built it so that it could not explode.

The judge found that "by a stroke of the most marvellous good fortune", a "brave and cool headed" Mr Anton van der Berg had seen smoke in the car, removed a coffee tin containing TNT and a hand-grenade and closed the tin with the lid left on a seat in the car.

Mr Justice Conradie found that the bomb was a threat to property and life in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The judge said that even if the device had not been manufactured to explode as Petane claimed and had not been a direct threat to property and life, Petane would have been guilty of an act of terrorism.

This was because the "very real threat" of placing the bomb was intended to convey the message that Umkhonto we Sizwe had the skill, material and capability to plant bombs of this diabolical kind", the judge said.

Petane told the court he left the tin lid beside the device so that whoever found it could easily put out the fire in the tin. The fire had been started by a flashlight filament embedded in a quantity of potassium chlorate, the judge said.

Petane was found guilty of the attempted murder of Constable Johan Kotze and of the attempted murder of policemen who pursued him in KTC the day he was arrested. Some of the policemen were wounded by a hand-grenade Petane threw in their direction. — Sapa
An ANC perspective of SA's future

From GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Argus Africa News Service, in Arusha, Tanzania

NEW insights into policy thinking in the African National Congress have emerged from the papers presented at the organisation's international conference in Arusha, Tanzania. If anything, they appear to reinforce the strong socialist content of ANC policy.

And they emphasise the width of the gap that would have to be narrowed before there could be any serious talk of negotiation between the organisation and the South African Government.

The papers, prepared over a period of of months by a special ANC committee, are regarded here as an authoritative expression of basic policy.

Rejection

They will, however, be discussed by the ANC and the international delegates in Arusha in open plenary session — discussions that are described as the main function of the conference.

In what is probably the most important paper, entitled "Perspectives of the South African Democratic Movement," the ANC firmly reaffirms its rejection of ethnic group rights in a post-apartheid South Africa.

On economic policy it sketches what might be seen by some as a contradictory stance, proposing a "rapid increase in the production of wealth" but at the same time an equitable distribution of that wealth.

It also calls for the "deregionalisation and democratisation of the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution."

Ownership

The extent of that control represents the extent of the ANC's vision of socialism and may emerge more precisely from the public discussions in Arusha.

Declaring its intention to abrogate existing legislation on the ownership and use of land, the paper says even this "would not be sufficient to satisfy the hunger for land."

The land would have to be redistributed among those who work it — which would result in increased production, the paper maintains.

It says a sizable sector of the economy has been reserved to serve the whites and the economic policies of the present Government have resulted in "unmitigated disaster for millions of our people."

The "democratic state" envisaged by the ANC "will have to ensure that it has access to the necessary resources and the ownership and control of the economy, democratized to ensure that it serves the wellbeing of the people through increased production and fair distribution of the wealth that is created."

"We therefore visualise a mixed economy in which there will be a private sector as well as co-operative and state property."

The domination of the national culture, especially what is seen as the Afrikaner chauvinism manifested by the Federаци van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, is rejected in the paper.

Implicit support for a nationalised health service is given in the paper's call for "an alternative, people's health system." On foreign policy the paper says "a new alternative system of relations is developing between democratic South Africa and the rest of the world."

Former Tanzanian president, Dr Julius Nyerere, opened the conference yesterday. The opening ceremony was addressed also by ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is banned and cannot be quoted, and by Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Celebrities

A message from President Rajiv Gandhi of India was read by a visiting member of his cabinet. Behind the speakers at the ceremony hung a giant portrait resembling Steve Biko. The ceremony ended with a song by uniformed members of the ANC youth movement, who released several pigeons in the auditorium.

None of the foreign celebrities who were rumoured to have planned to attend the meeting have turned up. Archbishop Tutu of South Africa and the Rev Alan Boesak are expected by ANC officials to arrive before the meeting ends on Friday.
Black SA man denies he spied

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — A black South African facing three charges of spying told the High Court here that the ANC had planted notebooks in his belongings.

Mr Isaiah Moyo (31) has pleaded not guilty to charges that between October 1982 and March last year he visited Zambia to gather data on military installations and homes of ANC members.

GENUINE FRIENDS

Yesterday he denied he had been trained at Phalaborwa military camp and that he had trained other truck drivers to spy for South Africa.

Mr Moyo said he had made genuine friends among ANC members without any ulterior motives.

He admitted visiting the homes of ANC members and buying them beers but denied spying on them or collecting information on Zambia's military installations.

The case was adjourned indefinitely for judgment. The prosecution must file submissions by December 14.
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CONTRADICTORY

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"We therefore visualise a mixed economy in which there will be a private sector as well as co-operative and State property," the paper says.
SAIRR chief backs national convention

THE key to the national crisis was in the hands of South Africans, not in the hands of people in Washington or Moscow or London, the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and president-elect of the Methodist Church, the Reverend Stanley Mogoba, said yesterday.

He also said education should be depoliticised by government and all “the different types of political demagogues we have in our day”.

Mr Mogoba, who wrote “a letter to the world” in the latest edition of Inside South Africa, said many people had come to pooh-pooh the idea of a national convention.

People who despised a national convention were “the very people who have some preconceived ideas of how we can arrive at a solution to our problems. “May I venture to say that I know of no other country that has built a secure future without coming to a round-table conference to work out a solution for their land.

“I despise people who want to delay the inevitable at the cost of human lives.”
ANC in call for ‘peace’ at meeting

ARUSHA. — With children chanting peace songs, the African National Congress convened an international conference on apartheid in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

The one-day gathering drew about 400 delegates and guests, including Western diplomats, South African trade unionists and Mrs Anne Marie Palme, widow of slain Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme.

The conference was a windup to a year of events marking the 75th anniversary of the ANC.

Daughters of ANC fighters and children who have fled South Africa chanted “yes to peace, no to war” as they released six doves at the Arusha International Conference Centre.

Mr Julius Nyerere, former Tanzanian president and leader of the country’s ruling political party, said so-called reforms in South Africa were attempts to thwart the growing democratic movement within the country and to confuse anti-apartheid supporters.

He also lambasted President Reagan, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and other leaders who tried to pressure the ANC into negotiating with the Boita government. — Sap-AFP
ANC trialist salutes as he is convicted

Supreme Court Reporter

DRESSED in ANC colours, Umkhonto we Sizwe "political commissar" Mxolisi Petane gave the ANC salute and shouted "victory or death!" after Mr Justice J H Conradie convicted him yesterday of terrorism as defined by the Internal Security Act.

The judge ruled that what Petane claimed was a propaganda exercise — a bomb built so that it could not explode, placed on the back seat of a car parked, with its windows open, in a disabled person's parking bay at the entrance to Dions supermarket in Parow — was a threat to property and life.

The judge said that even if the bomb had been unable to explode, as Petane said, placing it would remain "an act of terrorism" because placing it was "a very real threat", intended to convey that Umkhonto we Sizwe was capable of planting bombs "of this, diabolical kind".

Petane was also convicted of two counts of attempted murder — for shooting a policeman who came to his shack looking for a previous resident he wanted to recruit as an informer, and for throwing a grenade which wounded four policemen pursuing him on the day he was arrested in KTC.

Petane's counsel, Mr Michael Donen, requested — and was refused — a postponement until the court's new term in 1988, to prepare evidence in mitigation.

He said this evidence would be in three categories — a history of the ANC's 49-year peaceful struggle and the eventual decision to resort to force of a limited kind, evidence on "morality and theology", and a history of the armed struggle.

"I shall be interested to hear about the morality of putting bombs outside toy shops, and the theology too," Mr Justice Conradie said.

The trial was postponed to Tuesday, December 8.

Mr L P French and Mr W B Vivier were assessors. Mr Rathwell appeared with Mr M Stew. Mr Donen was instructed by R Vasek and Co.
MARITZBURG. — Police reported that a woman and three men, one of whom was 80 years old, were killed in incidents of unrest in the Maritzburg area on Monday.

At Mnyandu, a group murdered an 80-year-old man "by stabbing him with sharp instruments," the unrest report stated.

In another incident in the area, a second man was stabbed to death.

At Willow Fountains, a group entered a home and stoned and stabbed a 45-year-old woman and a 50-year-old man to death. They then set the house alight, causing serious damage.

At Sweetwaters, police used tear gas and birdshot to disperse attackers who injured a woman when they stoned a house.

Another house was seriously damaged by petrol bombs at Shongweni.

At Fredville, a man and two youths were arrested after an incident in which a bus was damaged by stones. A home was damaged by arsonists at Taylors Halt.

In another incident this week, a northern-Natal mother and her three children were injured when a hand grenade detonator they were examining exploded. Police said the children found the detonator at Burford Kraal, about 20 km from Ladysmith. Police are investigating the incident.

The second round of preliminary talks, which are intended to seek a solution to the escalating violence between the warring Inkatha and UDF factions in Maritzburg's black townships, will take place next week.

The meeting between the two groups will be held in the shadow of continued violence in the city's townships, which, according to the latest unrest report, has claimed another four lives. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI
NYERERE WARNS ON STRUGGLE

ARUSHA — Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere opened the African National Congress' international conference here this week with a warning that the struggle for justice and democracy in South Africa would not end immediately their apartheid government had been replaced by a "government of the people."

Dr Nyerere dismissed the South African Government's reforms as "amelioration of the conditions in the prison house of apartheid."

"The people of South Africa remain prisoners."

In a scathing reference to British and American opposition to the ANC's violence, Dr Nyerere said the organisation had been left with no alternative but to resort to armed struggle after 50 years of non-violent means.

Gandhi

President Reagan of the United States was not likely to be aware of this, he said, but Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain had no reason not to be aware of it.

The opening ceremony was addressed also by ANC president Oliver Tambo, who is banned and cannot be quoted, and by Swapo president Sam Nujoma.

Mr Nujoma claimed that "racist troops" in Namibia were guilty of atrocities against civilians, suggesting, however, that Swapo was willing to enter into negotiations with South Africa over the territory. he said: "We talk with a rifle in one hand while with the other we offer the hand of peace; white flower."
SA clamp on Botswana border posts

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa has imposed a security clamp on Botswana with the enforcement of strict control measures at all border posts to counteract an alleged ANC terror campaign against SA from Botswana.

The move follows repeated SA accusations that Botswana was allowing the ANC to use its territory as a springboard for infiltration into SA.

Goods and traffic are piling up on both sides of the main border post of Tlokweng near Gaborone as customs officials undertake minute searches of vehicles and passengers.

The customs action is similar to measures taken at the Lesotho border early last year. That clampdown caused severe food shortages and was followed by the military overthrow of Lesotho leader Chief Lea-"dua Jonathan and the expulsion of the ANC from Lesotho.

A Botswana customs official said last night that more than 100 vehicles were waiting on both sides of the border post, some for over six hours, to be cleared by SA customs. It was taking an average of an hour instead of five minutes to clear a car, he said.

Botswana Press Association reported that luggage was strewn on the ground and occupants had to vacate cars. Two tents were pitched yesterday on the South African side for body searches.
FORT ELIZABETH, - The Rev Mzwandile Planzee Maqina, leader of the Ama-Afrika movement, has twice been saved by the grace of an African god from assassins with hand grenades. But not only assassins are after this 50-year-old Eastern Cape figure. "All types of forces, liberal and conservative, are up against me," says Maqina, who claims to be on a mission from God to liberate his people and create the nation of Azania. By liberal he refers to the English-language press who "never portrayed him in a good light" and by conservative he means the United Democratic Front. He sees the UDF as conservative because it strives for a nonracial future. Maqina sees whites as being part of the problem in SA and feels they cannot be part of the solution.

Useless However, when it suits him, "Patch" as he is known by his New Brighton colleagues, fights openly with the private sector and government departments such as Constitutional Development and Planning. Maqina claimed he played a prominent role in the formation of the Black People's Congress (BPC), the African Independent Churches Association (Andile Likilela), the Azanian Peoples Organisation in the Eastern Cape and more recently, the Ama-Afrika movement. He is the self-appointed director of the Black Crisis Centre, an independent body obscurely related to Ama-Afrika. Ama-Afrika was formed, according to Maqina, because of the positive results of the national "Save the Child" campaign aimed at stopping "black-on-black" violence as it affected children most. He then saw it as useless not becoming involved in politics. Ama-Afrika came into being "because my people needed political direction", he says.

Ama-Afrika follows an Africanist ideology similar to that of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The Ama-Afrika defence wing is called Pogo, as is that of the PAC. He denied involvement in the controversial Department of Education and Training-controlled rehabilitation camps Maqina is married with two wives, one of them by common law, and has nine children. One of his wives, Patricia, is president of the Port Elizabeth branch of Domestic Workers' Association of SA (Dwas). While at school, Maqina was keen to study medicine. He trained as a teacher before becoming a spiritual healer. He became a minister in the Independent African Churches after leaving an Anglican seminary. Some sources claim he was never accepted into the ministry. Maqina said he felt uncomfortable in the mission churches, and decided to leave. He is also a playwright. His first play, Give us this Day, written in 1974, landed him in jail two years later when the police "found it to be too co-incidental to the happenings of 1976".

Vigilantes Other plays by Maqina were The Tribe and Crack. "We are Africanists and our souls are restless. Until we are liberated spiritually we will be in bondage," was the underlying theme of both plays. In 1977 Maqina was detained in terms of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act with Ngcobo Ngcusa and Barney Piyanjwa. In 1980 Maqina launched Roots, a cultural movement. He says it was started by the community. Members were seen as vigilantes because they "disciplined" people in the township. Maqina claimed he was "invited" by the then district commander of police in the Eastern Province to bring an end to Roots. He claims the commander said Roots was doing the local police force out of a job. Maqina claimed Roots was instrumental in launching Azapo. His role in the church led to his involvement in politics. In the church he faced with the psychological problems of his "people" and as a spiritual healer had to solve them. Thus he became a traditionalist and rejected helping anyone but blacks, the "people of Africa".

If anyone is necktacked it should be those who support the Freedom Charter," he lists Ama-Africa's attitude to the Charter.

To support it is to collaborate with the enemy," says Maqina. He sees whites as the enemy. Maqina did not initially join Azapo, the organisation he claimed he was instrumental in launching in the Eastern Cape in 1983. After joining the organisation Maqina was banished by the local Azapo office following allegations of dishonesty surrounding the UDF/Azapo feud in 1985.

Maqina has been linked with the formation of a Joint Management Committee (JMC) in the Eastern Cape. He says he was recently, brought onto the JMC's executive committee under false pretences. He was elected convenor of the steering committee. Maqina said he resigned immediately and was disappointed the forum was controlled by a JMC.

Confident If the JMCs were not controlled by the military, Ama-Afrika and the Black Crisis Centre (BCC) would work with, but not participate in, it, he says. An official launch of Ama-Afrika has been planned amid the recent violence in Tambo's Kwanobuhle township between the UDF, Ama-Afrika and the African Persons Concerned Committee, a splinter group of Ama-Afrika. Despite what appears to be violent opposition to Ama-Afrika, Maqina seems confident the organisation was strong enough to be launched on December 16. He says it as the day when "the white settler will have to face the Africanists."
MORE than 4 000 mourners attended the funeral of the Rev Howard Marawu, a veteran trade unionist and a former ANC member, in Langa at the weekend.

The African Reformed Church minister, better known as "Rev", died of a kidney infection and pneumonia at Somerset Hospital on November 13.

The seven-hour service began at 10 am at the Rev's house before mourners moved to St Francis Hall.

In the hall speakers from community organisations spoke of Marawu's contribution. Others spoke about his church activities.

In the hall six marshall took turns to stand around the coffin draped with ANC flag. Colourful banners of several organisations were hung on the wall.

Marawu was born on January 9 1922 in Lady Frere in the Transkei. He came to Cape Town in 1942 where he worked at several places. In 1973 he was ordained as a minister in Bloemfontein.

In 1978 Marawu joined General Workers Union and organised workers in Port Elizabeth and Durban docks.

He was a TGWU organiser, a Release Mandela Committee member, an executive member of The Ecumenical Action Movement and a member of the Langa branch of Western Cape Civic Association.

He leaves his wife, Maria, and ten children.
Negotiations

With whom should
negotiations be
conducted? Say, the
broad World
Movement, the
UDF. The UDF has been
driven underground by the
South African State's
decrees. People are
believing in a
freedom movement. It is
important to
understand
the
importance of
negotiations

Nkomo, a
negotiator, said: 'A
negotiated settlement
is not possible while a State
of Emergency exists. The
organisations of
people under the
dominant
 spd are
under attack. The
National Union of
Teaching
and thousands of
disillusioned whites
must
reach out to these
disillusioned whites.
Your task is to
reach out to these
disillusioned whites.

It is going to shorten
the suffering of millions
of people, and
spend
on
democracy and
strategic
entails. It is an
important
and
strategic

In the
organisations of
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Entails was an
important
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and
strategic

Earn

your
place. How?

of the
publicly
called on
to unite
and earn their
place in
the broad
democratic
transformation.
SA group applauded at ANC meeting

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star's Africa News Service

ARUSHA — Seven South Africans, who apparently left the Republic secretly for the purpose, addressed the African National Congress's international conference in Arusha yesterday.

Their identities were not disclosed and the foreign press corps covering the meeting, including journalists from South Africa, were forbidden to take pictures of or tape-record the speakers.

The conference organisers obviously feared official action against the seven on their return to South Africa if they were identified.

According to ANC officials, some of those who had planned to come from South Africa to address the conference in Tanzania had to turn back because South African authorities found out about their plans.

The secret delegates who spoke included a youth representative, a representative of women, a representative of the workers, a representative of religious communities and a delegate who spoke about conditions in the independent homelands.

Two men, apparently lawyers, spoke on the "illegitimacy" of the South African Government and the role of the judiciary in the Republic. All were given standing ovations by some 500 delegates, about half of whom were whites from anti-apartheid and other organisations in Europe, America and Canada.

SOCIALISM
The workers' delegate said workers in South Africa were in favour of trade, academic, transport and financial (loan) sanctions against South Africa — "in fact, the total isolation of South Africa".

He strongly supported the establishment of a socialist system in South Africa and said the Freedom Charter was a vehicle for attaining this aim.

The freedom struggle, he said, was interlinked with the class struggle.

The delegate said the workers opposed negotiations by the ANC with the South African Government at the present time and supported the conditions set by the ANC for negotiations.

The Muslim priest, who was hugged by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo after his speech, said the struggle in South Africa was being conducted by a people deeply committed to their own religious ethos.

The delegate who spoke for the youth also rejected negotiations with the Government.

A black woman said members of her sex were being harassed in South Africa. She said they, too, supported sanctions.

Of the two lawyers, a black man challenged the legitimacy of the South African Government on historical, political and legal grounds. The other, a white man, challenged what he said was a myth that South Africa had an independent judiciary.
Mbeki banning backfires

From MARIMUTHU SUBRAMONEY

PORT ELIZABETH.— The banning of what was to have been ANC leader Govan Mbeki’s first rally since his release from life imprisonment has back-fired on the Government.

Although the authorities banned the mass rally scheduled for Zwide’s Dan Qeqe Stadium at the weekend, they failed to dampen Mbeki’s commitment to the struggle for a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

Mbeki, who was released from prison only three weeks ago, has scored a major psychological victory by delivering his rally speech at a press conference attended by a large contingent of foreign journalists and a few local reporters.

Statesman

Members of the Diplomatic Corps, who watched patiently on Saturday even though the banning of the rally was upheld by an urgent sifting of the Supreme Court in Port Elizabeth, were also at the press conference.

The diplomats were later given a private briefing by the ANC leader. Details of the discussions have not been disclosed.

Sharp-witted and looking extremely fit, Mbeki was calm as he read out his rally speech. The poise, charisma and dignity of his approach resembled all the hallmarks of not only a national leader, but also that of an international statesman.

The stature in which he is held was reflected by the messages of support the ANC leader received from more than 50 governments and organisations around the world. Some of the messages were from the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ), the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation and from political parties from Europe, Canada and the United States.

Although disappointed at the banning of the rally, residents of Port Elizabeth’s townships also made it clear that they held Mbeki and his fellow leaders in the “highest esteem” and that no amount of intimidation and harassment would deter them from such supporting their leaders.

One young man, who said his name was Rava, had his own assessment of why the authorities banned the rally.

“As far as I am concerned the Government was afraid that if more than 100,000 people attended the rally it would have been a solid show of support for Mbeki and the ANC. The authorities had cold feet at the last moment,” he said.

Support

Another young man, Jabu Ngwenya, said local residents had been looking forward to welcoming Mbeki home and listening to his viewpoints.

“Although we are disappointed we have been unable to listen to Mbeki we are certain that he will lead us in the future,” he said.

There is speculation that Mbeki’s first public rally was banned because the government had realised it would have clearly demonstrated to South Africans and the world the support leaders such as Mbeki and the ANC enjoy. According to some observers the government was afraid that the attendance at the rally would have been similar to those in Zimbabwe in 1980 when Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo drew thousands to their public meetings.

— Press Trust News Agency
GOVAN MBeki is expected to speak in Cape Town on December 13.
The Mbeki Reception Committee has decided to go ahead with their plans for a big Cape Town rally to be addressed by the veteran African National Congress leader recently released from Robben Island after 23 years.

This follows the banning by police of a rally in Port Elizabeth last weekend, days after the meeting had been sanctioned by PE's Chief Magistrate.
The MRC this week asked the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg and the Western Cape Divisional Commissioner of Police for permission for Mbeki to address the rally.

Athlone offices raided

"We want to prevent a repeat of the situation in Port Elizabeth," said United Democratic Front publicity secretary Hilda Ndude.
The results of the application are expected within days.
Mbeki is expected to thank the people for their support over all the years.
"We want to have an open-air rally so that as many people as possible can attend," Ndude said.

* The offices of the Mbeki Reception Committee in Athlone were raided by security police this week. Documents, posters and pamphlets were confiscated, according to a committee spokesperson.
At the time of going to press, the police had not responded to a request for comment.
Not deterred by Mbeki ban

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JOHNNY Issel's article in SOUTH (November 5-11) urging the democratic movement to court the National Democratic Movement (NDM) is one of the most explicit statements on the immediate tasks of the liberation movement. The article is written in the context of a flurry of activity aimed at isolating the apartheid regime. This became pronounced at the beginning of the year with the inclusion of Idead in the people's camp. Then during the whites-only election UDF discovered it was unable to advise whether to vote or not. Later the Dakarites were given a heroes welcome. More recently, organizing whites was given prominence in the conference organized by the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF).

Ruptures

Many an activist is wondering why there was so much emphasis on enhancing the rifts in the ranks of the ruling-class, when the obvious task is to defend and rebuild the pole of the dominated classes which has been weakened by apartheid violence.

Is it not urgent to redouble these efforts? But why is something that is so obvious not so clear to some people in the democratic movement? Issel's article makes it easier for militants to spot the source of the strategic blunder. His starting point is the powerful nature of the government which is a correct, but not a new revelation. The events in past few months have dispelled the illusion that the government is on the verge of collapse. For people not to lapse into the defeatist position of saying that because of the might of the apartheid government, there is little that can be done, the potential might of the dominated classes must be acknowledged, harnessed and tapped.

It is the might of the people's camp that causes rifts and ruptures in ruling circles.

To talk about exploiting these divisions while being quiet on how the people's camp is to be strengthened is tantamount to defeatism.

Most politicians seem to be posing the question as Johnny Issel does. He, in answering the question of how to weaken apartheid, says: "We have to work for complete isolation."

According to this kind of thinking, isolating the government means winning the whites. In addition to having an incorrect position on organizing whites, this position also entrenches another illusion — that the government will evaporate as a result of isolation. History has taught us that apartheid cannot be reformed or isolated, it must be smashed.

What is more dangerous about the position which Issel posits is the treatment of whites as a group with no class divisions.

For in terms of this position the immediate task is the winning over of whites, regardless of their class position, into the broad apartheid front.

What is disturbing is the unforced silence among the protagonists of the "isolationist" position when it comes to a perspective on the white working class. Issel takes, politically, a suicidal position when he warns the NDM not to pursue those whites on the far right. Are most of the whites who have found their way into right-wing parties not the working and lower sections of the middle classes who are starting to see that the National Party can in the present economic crisis no longer guarantee them the housing subsidies, job reservation and all the other privileges they have enjoyed for years?

That these sections of the white community — the working and lower middle classes — are moving to the right is a reflection of the weakness on the part of the democratic movement.

The weakness to consciously, in spite of the difficulties, demonstrate to the white workers and lower middle classes and their long-term interests, like job security and full employment can only be guaranteed in a socialist South Africa.

This weakness must be acknowledged and corrected by militants. We must not underestimate, as Issel does, the potential of the movement to gradually win over the white working class and the lower middle class. This, the movement can do only if it breaks with the gentlemanish diplomatic manoeuvring which can only attract the captains of industry like Tony Bloom, Gavin Kelly and Chris Ball. Gentlemanish

Winning over the white working and lower middle classes and not courting the NDM is the immediate task. This task can only be fulfilled by a strong pole in the ranks of the oppressed around the black working class. It cannot be done by NDM as Johnny Issel would like us to believe.

It is only when the democratic movement proves in struggle that it is capable of being a future government, that it can hope to win other strata of the society, particularly the white working class. This is the only way to ensure the white workers and lower middle class do not become the base of the proto-fascists like the AWB. To fool ourselves by courting anti-democrats like NDM who are still ambivalent on basic demands like the scrapping of the Group Areas Act: the rejection of the detention without trial etc. will be disastrous.
'Break ties with Parliament'

The United Democratic Front in the Western Cape has called on the National Democratic Movement to "think about" forsaking Parliament.

The UDF responded to the NDM this week after a long silence on Rensburg Independent MP Wynand Malan's new movement.

UDF publicity secretary Hilda Nduke said the UDF believed the NDM had a role to play "but outside Parliament, not inside".

"We call on the NDM to think about this seriously, in the light of the mess our country is in."

Peace-loving

Nduke said the UDF was committed to its stand on non-participation in Parliament, and to extra-parliamentary organisation.

"We want to renew our call to all peace-loving South Africans to break their ties with the apartheid government and to join the forces of those committed to a peaceful solution.

"We reiterate our stand that talks should be held with the genuine leaders of the people.

"We have no problems with people who are against apartheid, but they have to play a role outside Parliament," she said.
ANC rejects 'Marshall Plan'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC last night rejected the plan by the British Industry Committee on South Africa (Bicosa) to plough millions of rands into black advancement schemes.

Bicosa has confirmed it hopes to launch a "Marshall Plan" for South Africa in February, the Scotsman newspaper reported yesterday.

The ANC denied an earlier claim by the powerful British industry group that it had been given the banned movement's tacit go-ahead for the scheme.

Instead, an ANC statement last night told Bicosa they were just trying to justify their presence in the Republic — but should get out.

The statement called for "comprehensive mandatory sanctions" against South Africa in place of the Bicosa plan.
Mbeki hopes to address city rally

By CLARE HARPER

FREED African National Congress leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, will address a rally in Cape Town on December 13 — if the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg and the police give the go-ahead.

A spokeswoman for the Mbeki Reception Committee (MRC), Ms Hilda Ndude, said yesterday that an attorney acting for the committee delivered an application for permission for Mr Mbeki to address the rally to Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr WP Theron, and the Divisional Commissioner of Police.

Ms Ndude said it was decided to apply for permission from both a magistrate and police to prevent a repetition of the situation in Port Elizabeth, where the rally was initially allowed by a magistrate, but later banned by police.

Following Mr Mbeki's release from prison on November 6, the United Democratic Front called on its affiliates and other organizations to discuss a response to his release.

Extensive organisation was underway to ensure the rally took place in a disciplined and orderly way, she said.
SA cites ANC infiltration threat

Tight clamp at Botswana border posts

SA HAS imposed a security clamp on Botswana with the enforcement of strict control measures at all border posts to counteract an alleged ANC terror campaign against SA from Botswana.

The move follows repeated SA accusations that Botswana is allowing the ANC to use its territory as a springboard for infiltration into SA.

Goods and traffic are piling up on both sides of the main border post of Tlokweng, near Gaborone, as customs officials undertake thorough searches of vehicles and passengers.

The customs action is similar to measures taken at the Lesotho border early last year. That clampdown caused severe food shortages and was followed by the military overthrow of Lesotho leader Chief Letsie Seisiku and the expulsion of the ANC from Lesotho.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said yesterday the strict security measures began on Tuesday morning at all border posts between SA and Botswana.

"Increased control measures have become necessary following information received and intelligence gathered by the SA Police that the ANC is to step up its terror campaign against South Africans during December," he said.

"According to the information, terrorists will try to infiltrate SA mainly through Botswana. This is also to be the conduit for arms and explosives." This week's measures against Bo-

Searches at Botswana border

tswana follow the exchange of diplomatic notes between SA and the Botswana government. Botswana denied SA allegations that it was allowing the ANC to use Botswana to infiltrate SA and challenged SA to provide details.

In a weekend statement, the Department of Foreign Affairs said it was prepared to do so, but accused Botswana of "blunt denial without any constructive action".

By last night "a near traffic crisis" was reported by Botswana customs officials at the Tlokweng border post. Tlokweng is one of 12 border posts between SA and Botswana.

The customs official said more than 100 vehicles were waiting on both sides of the border post - some for over six hours - to be cleared by South African customs officials.
MBEKI RALLY

Think again on Mandela

It is difficult to work out exactly what government hoped to achieve by releasing Govan Mbeki. Whatever it was, the exercise seems to have failed.

By banning a rally, he was to have addressed in Port Elizabeth at the weekend — after initially approving it — notice has effectively been given that the honeymoon is over for the 77-year-old former ANC secretary general. Indications are that steps will soon be taken to further restrict the use of Mbeki as a powerful propaganda tool by the UDF.

Mbeki's failure to live up to government expectations has also effectively sealed the fate of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and his other top lieutenants still in jail. The chances of them being released in the near future are virtually nil. It seems that the State security establishment has decided that the implications of Mandela dying in prison are relatively less risky than freeing him.

Reaction from various quarters over Mbeki's release and proposed speech at the rally must have played a major part in Pretoria's thinking. Not only have there been representations from rightwing and Christian groups, but Mbeki himself has been criticised by government-supporting newspapers — who previously hailed his release as a sign of P W Botha's humanitarian side.

Beeld, Transvaal Flagship of Nasionale Pers, says that "the poor Mr Mbeki" has been "manipulated by the ANC. The newspaper says Mandela should not be blamed if he should think that Mbeki and those who "misuse" him have knifed him in the back.

Mbeki is still not a free man. The ANC uses him to promote a revolutionary climate, and this is why Mandela is still in jail.

In a newsletter sent out by Signposts Publications, a self-proclaimed Christian group in Pretoria, subscribers (said to be 12 000) are asked to appeal to Botha. Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and their local MPs to prevent the Marxist revolution by not releasing Mandela. Director of Signposts Edward Cain says his group consists of "Bible-believing Christians." As a missionary in Mozam-

AIR CRASH

The FM wishes to express its deepest sympathy to the families and friends of the passengers and crew of SAA flight 295.

Government acknowledged earlier that Mbeki's release was a "trial run" for the freeing of Mandela. Sources now say he has "failed the test."

Although it can be argued that Mbeki could hardly have been expected not to go back into politics — he was released unconditionally — it appears that an understanding of sorts was reached between Mbeki and the authorities before he left Robben Island. It is also significant that he had three meetings with Mandela in Pollsmoor prison before accepting freedom.

It seems government expected him to adopt a far lower profile, and possibly even retire from active politics. There was also strong hope that his release would encourage support from key black leaders for the proposed National Council. This didn't happen.

Security Police chief Johann van der Merwe says there is "no doubt" that Mbeki is being "manipulated" by the ANC, and used to promote the "revolutionary climate" and to delay the lifting of the State of Emergency.

To what extent the "manipulation" is voluntary is unclear, but there is little doubt that Mbeki is being "handled" by the UDF. At a reception for diplomats in Port Elizabeth on Saturday after the rally was banned, prominent UDF legal adviser Priscilla Jana asked the envoys not to talk politics to Mbeki because she said, he is still orientating himself and is not yet ready for political debate.

But from the few politically orientated questions that did slip through, it appears that Mbeki is more than capable of handling himself.

The problem may just be that he hasn't yet learnt his new lines properly — in other words, he could be taking a more moderate line than the UDF would like.

It is understood that the plan is for Mbeki to travel abroad soon (if permitted by government) to further "orientate" himself, and then adopt an even higher political role early in 1988.

But right now it looks as if the return of Govan Mbeki will not make much difference.

RUGBY ROW

Scrum of worms

Transvaal rugby front-ranker Deon Viljoen wanted to share in all the bonusses his team mates got paid. Now his complaints against the Transvaal Rugby Football Union (TRFU) could end up being responsible for the death of amateur rugby in SA — and not before time (see Timeout).

But South African rugby chief Danie Craven warns that he will see to it that world amateur rugby faces the same scrutiny. The row over the payment of bonuses and other perks to Transvaal players may lead to other looming revelations about big payments, at home and abroad, in this supposedly amateur game.

Man in the middle is Louis Luyt, the tough talking Transvaal rugby boss. He denies "categorically" that last year's Springbok and New Zealand Cavaliers teams — which he hosted — were paid for their on-field performances. Craven says that, if they were paid, he did not know about it. The SA Rugby Board (SARB) has announced an investigation into the matter of payments. "Let it all come out," says Craven.

He admits, however, that Luyt was not on the SARB's finance committee at the time of the Cavaliers' visit. The recent matches between the visiting South Sea Pacific team and the SA Barbarians, which were also repeatedly marred by allegations of payments, did not fall under the SARB's jurisdiction, says Craven.

Luyt says the bonuses which were paid to Transvaal players did not come from the union's coffers. "It was the money given to us by SA Breweries for winning the Lion Cup and qualifying for the Currie Cup final. Also, I didn't offer them (the players) the
We’ve only had pain from Mbeki release, says Vlok ...

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE chances of Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress, being released from Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town in the foreseeable future are negligible.

In spite of some speculation after the release of former ANC national chairman Govan Mbeki, 77, last month, that Mandela would be the next to be freed, possibly before Christmas, senior South African police officers have made it clear that this is not going to happen soon.

The security police are not happy with the way in which Mbeki has acted since his release — and this could even lead to him being banned. He is already listed as a communist and cannot be quoted in South Africa.

Mbeki’s activities are being monitored closely by the police. Although neither the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, nor the head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johannes van der Merwe, would be drawn on whether his behaviour would affect the chances of other political prisoners, it is clear his actions are influencing government decisions about whether to release more ANC leaders.

Van der Merwe said Mbeki’s activities were being manipulated by the ANC and everything he had done was at the orders of the ANC.

And Vlok said the government had not got its pound of flesh, and had only received pain, with the release of Mbeki.

Vlok, who was a senior police officer, said at a briefing to South African political correspondents at Walvis Bay said: "We had hoped that Mr Mbeki, who is suffering from diabetes, would quietly retire.

Govan Mbeki: under watch

But this has not happened. He is being misused by people around him for political purposes.

Van der Merwe said the rally, which was to have been addressed by Mbeki in Port Elizabeth last weekend, had been prohibited because it would contribute to the raising of the revolutionary climate in South Africa.

As the government feared the Mbeki rally would lead to an outbreak of violence, he replied: "It may create or promote a revolutionary climate."

But he conceded in reply to another question that the banning of the rally could lead to frustration.

"There are certainly disadvantages but we have to decide which is the greatest disadvantage."

Van der Merwe added: "Everything Mbeki does is at the command of the ANC."

Moreover, senior government representatives have said they are worried about the high profile Mbeki had received since his release and widespread negative reaction from whites, as had been reflected in mail received objecting to his release.

It is argued that Mbeki is being used as part of a subtle ANC strategy to give maximum publicity to the ANC while not overstepping the law.

Whatever the accuracy of the police view of events since Mbeki had been released, Vlok and Van der Merwe left no doubt that the release of Mandela was not on the cards.

They also argued that "legal, radical groups" such as the United Democratic Front, its affiliates, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and some trade unions were deliberately trying to increase the revolutionary climate in South Africa at present.

Vlok said a thousand new organisations had been established for this purpose.

As they believe Mbeki is part of this strategy, under orders from the ANC.

The Cape Times commented in an editorial this week: "It seems plain that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela is not on the cards ... A decision to release Mr Mandela is a decision to talk to the ANC, allowing them to play an open role in politics."

And talking to the ANC has graphically been ruled out by Vlok and Van der Merwe. Indeed, the police are still convinced they will be able to defeat the ANC militarily.

The possibility of Mandela being freed in these circumstances is very remote.

... but Mbeki himself hurt by restrictions

GOVAN MBeki was released a month ago — but his public activities have been so restricted that he has spoken more freely to journalists than to people in South Africa's townships.

This is understood to be a source of great disappointment to the resistance veteran, dampening his happiness at being released.

From the time of his initial press conference — tightly controlled by the Bureau for Information — Mbeki's political role has been severely curtailed. Of four public appearances, three have been press conferences, themselves restricted by his "listing" order.

Many believed the rally scheduled to take place in Port Elizabeth last weekend would see Mbeki setting out the parameters of his political role nationally, and in the Eastern Cape. The gathering was organised by the Inter-denominational African Minister's

By MBULELO LINDA and RICHARD BARTLETT, Port Elizabeth

Association of South Africa (Idamasa).

But an eleventh-hour banning ruled this out, once again forcing the ANC leader to address a small group of journalists.

Before he shared his thoughts with the media, more than 500 disappointed admirers had milled around Dan Qeqe stadium in the vain hope that the ban on the rally would be overturned.

Entry to the stadium was barred early on Saturday morning — people began gathering at 10am as "greenfleets" (municipal police), SA Defence Force troops and kieskonstabels kept a close watch. There was a security force presence at the entrances to all Port Elizabeth townships, and several busesloads of people on their way to the rally were turned back.

Some buses had come from as far afield as Ciskei.

A tense crowd waited until 4pm, watched by marshalls and traffic police lining Zwide's Johnson Road, parallel to the stadium.

Although the crowd was reprimanded by police after posing with clenched fists for photographers, there were no serious incidents.

Half an hour after the crowd finally dispersed, Mbeki addressed journalists at Port Elizabeth's Elizabeth Sun Hotel. In terms of his listing under the Internal Security Act, Mbeki may not be directly quoted.

However, he expressed regret that his colleagues were still imprisoned.

Apartheid had to disappear before all the people of South Africa could be free.

The banning of the rally prevented whites and blacks from coming together in the search for freedom.
Okay Tshwete, you can come back home

By LOUISE FLANAGAN, East London

South Africa.
Tshwete contested the order in April 1985. The Grahamstown Supreme Court not only upheld it, but also stated that he should move his home across the border.

Tshwete, who was then Border president of the United Democratic Front, fled to Lusaka later that year. This week the Appeal Court ruled that Tshwete was entitled to permanent residence in South Africa without any permit or exemption because he was lawfully resident in South Africa when Ciskei gained "independence".

However, the court ruled that Tshwete still needed to apply for a visa to enter South Africa. When Ciskei gained "independence" Tshwete lost his status as a South African citizen by birth or descent and therefore needed a visa.

The judgement is likely to have a bearing on the application by residents of Potsdam in Ciskei.

The South African government is being taken to court by three Potsdam residents in an attempt to force it to recognise their right to live in the country.

The applicants are part of a group of several thousand people who have tried to flee repressive conditions in Ciskei on two occasions. Each time they were forced to return to Ciskei by South African authorities.

The applicants were born in South Africa and lived at Blue Rock until they were forcibly removed to Ciskei in 1983. Since then South Africa has denied them permanent residence. — Elnews
Raids after Christmas against Emergency call

HOURS after the United Democratic Front announced a "People's Christmas against the Emergency" campaign, police raided offices of several anti-apartheid organisations in Johannesburg looking for campaign pamphlets.

The action came after the Witwatersrand divisional commissioner of police ordered the seizure of all the yellow pamphlets, saying they "may have security implications".

The pamphlet announced a campaign from December 10 to 25 to "unlock the jails of apartheid".

Earlier yesterday South African Council of Churches' general secretary Frank Chikane telephoned Sapa claiming police were raiding Khoto House in Johannesburg searching for the pamphlets.

Chikane's message was telexed by Sapa to police headquarters in Pretoria. In a reply, the SA Police said: "The Divisional Commissioner of the Witwatersrand Division, Maj.-Gen AB Conradie, after careful consideration and perusal of the pamphlet entitled 'People's Christmas Against the Emergency', and which was issued and distributed by the UDF, decided that the contents thereof may have security implications and is not conducive to ending the State of Emergency."

"As a result of the above-mentioned order, various places on the Witwatersrand were visited by the police. We are not prepared to identify these places."

A spokesperson for the National Education Crisis Committee told the Weekly Mail more than 10 policemen arrived at their offices with a search warrant and demanded to know the whereabouts of the NECC's national coordinator, Eric Molobi, then combed the office saying they were looking for the pamphlet.

Police then entered the offices of the Kagiso Trust Fund upstairs and said they were looking for Dan Motsi.

Queens Court in central Johannesburg which houses several affiliates of the Congress of South African Trade Unions was also raided by police looking for the yellow pamphlets.

It is believed that Cosatu offices at Zambezi House were raided as well by police looking for the pamphlets.

The pamphlet demands that the jails of South Africa be unlocked. It calls for an end to the State of Emergency, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, and the unbanning of the African National Congress and other outlawed organisations. It also calls for an end to rent evictions and a living wage for workers and urges families to visit those in detention.

The campaign is scheduled to begin with the ringing of church bells on December 10, International Human Rights Day. There will be a day of fasting on December 12 as a protest against against 18 months of the State of Emergency. On December 16 South Africa's heroes past and present will be remembered.
Tory right backs ANC against Thatcher

By SHAUN JOHNSON

MARGARET Thatcher's policies on South Africa are facing potentially their greatest challenge — and it is led by a right-wing Conservative Party MP.

Ivor Stanbrook, MP for Orpington and chairman of the newly-formed British Anti-Apartheid Movement, believes the British prime minister's stance on South Africa is out of step with British public opinion that a majority of Conservative MPs could soon force her to toughen up on Pretoria.

Stanbrook describes himself as being on the "right wing" of the Conservative Party.

"Thatcher's conciliatory attitude towards the South African government has long since come under fire from opposition politicians, and even from some so-called Tory 'twists'. But the revolt within the ranks of her own is a striking new development."

The new group was formed partly in response to Thatcher's unilateral attack on the African National Congress at the recent Commonwealth summit in Vancouver (which dismissed it as a "terrorist organisation"), and because of her hostility to sanctions as a means of ending apartheid.

Stanbrook told The Weekly Mail the new group, which was launched last week, is called the "Right of Centre Group". It favours a "constructive" policy towards South Africa. He said the already-existing British-African Group led by John Carlisle, was firmly in the hands of the "extreme right" of the Conservative Party, did not represent parliamentary opinion, and had no growth potential.

Between 50 and 60 MPs — a significant proportion of them Conservatives — attended the inaugural meeting of the new group and "many, many more" had indicated they would join, said Stanbrook in a telephone interview from the House of Commons in London yesterday.

"There is such a sizeable body of opinion in the Conservative Party desiring firmer policies toward South Africa that it could soon be a majority," he said.

"It is safe to say that most members of the group would not be well disposed toward the South African government," he added.

"My view is that we should accelerate peaceful change so as to produce a properly democratic regime in South Africa."

Stanbrook, near Bloemfontein, was told that Botshabelo has been reserved for white South Africans as "citizenship" — but his assurances to Pretoria have been rejected.

He also added: "Botshabelo has been reserved for white South Africans as 'citizenship' — but his assurances to Pretoria have been rejected."

"Still, as long as the South African issue has been put on the House of Commons agenda for another reason, 19 women MPs have written to Thatcher asking her to 'take steps' to secure the release before Christmas of children held in South African prison."

Margaret Thatcher: First revolt among 'her own'
POLICE have ordered the seizure of all United Democratic Front "People's Christmas Against the Emergency" pamphlets, saying the pamphlets "may have security implications."

Earlier yesterday, the Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, telephoned Saps claiming police were raiding Khotso House in Johannesburg searching for the pamphlets.

Khotso House houses offices of the SACOC and several activist organisations, including the UDF.

Mr. Chikane's message was relayed to SAPS headquarters in Pretoria. Police, in a replying letter, said:

An order

"The Matamatho Commission of the Writers' Round Table, Maj. Gen. M. B. C. C., commander, after careful consideration and personal inspection of the pamphlet entitled 'People's Christmas Against the Emergency,' and which was issued and distributed by the UDF, decided that the contents thereof may have security implications and is not conducive to ending the state of emergency."

"In terms of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953) by proclamation dated 6th of November 1953, Regulation 8, Maj. Gen. C. P. C. issued an order for the seizure of all copies of the said pamphlet.

As a result of the above mentioned order, various places on the Witwatersrand were notified by the police. We are not prepared to identify these places."

Mr. Chikane's reply said a "large dispersal of police" arrived at Khotso House about 9.45am. By the time the commanding officer came to my office to announce their presence, there were policemen on almost all the floors and offices.

"The officer in charge told me that they had come to search under some section of the state of emergency regulations to find and confiscate pamphlets purportedly produced by the United Democratic Front on the 'People's Christmas Against the Emergency Jails'."

"The officer accused the council of being partly to the campaign."

Sap.3
Politics and sport make a double-booking

A "PEACE RALLY" given the go-ahead by Pietermaritzburg's chief magistrate ran into early difficulties when it was discovered the venue was double-booked and that the rally clashed with a soccer match.

However, the soccer game is to move to another stadium and the crucial rally - the first open-air meeting in a long time for the two hosting organisations - will go ahead as planned.

The meeting has been called by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions to report back on the progress of peace talks between representatives of the two organisations and Inkatha.

Organisers, obviously surprised at being given permission for the rally, said they believed it would provide an opportunity for calling on their membership both to give the peace talks a chance and to play their part in ending the killings in the townships.

By CARMELO RICKARD, Durban

"Obviously the UDF and Cosatu hope that moves to hold similar meetings will be made on the other side," organisers said.

The meeting is to start at 9am and, in terms of the conditions set by Pietermaritzburg chief magistrate, Cecil Dicks, must be over by 2.30pm.

The programme, as submitted to the magistrate, begins with prayer, followed by reports on steps taken to achieve peace, including meetings with Inkatha representatives; and on Cosatu meetings with employers and employer bodies.

The churches are to issue a call for peace and then there is to be a "call for restraint and discipline by all members of our organisations" by UDF joint secretary, Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya, followed by the final prayer.

In his letter of permission, Dicks pointed out that one of the speakers on the list (Ngwenya) is restricted under the Emergency and he should be careful not to infringe these restrictions.

However UDF officials said their interpretation of the restrictions was that Ngwenya could speak at a meeting "called for the purpose of promoting peace which had the blessing of the Chamber of Commerce.

"The rally clearly has this purpose. It also has the blessing of the chamber and their officials will be attending."

It is expected that most people at the rally will come from the townships in and around Pietermaritzburg.

Officials of both Inkatha and the chamber have welcomed the rally go-ahead and Inkatha has announced it has applied for its members to hold a rally on December 16.
Minority

Defence counsel Mr Dikgang Moseneke asked Brigadier Buchner whether the majority of minority of South Africans supported the banning of the ANC. The brigadier asked to be excused from answering.

Mr Moseneke said the information obtained by the ANC from the accused was place before court. This meant the court could not determine whether the information was of any use to the ANC and whether it had any "serious after-effects".

Mr Moseneke felt that not all members of the community condemned membership of the ANC, and many people would not demand that Makgabudi and Rabuli be sent to jail.

(Turn to page 3, col 5)

Security police spied for ANC

(MSN 4/18/27)

A greater measure of mercy must be exercised by the court when convicting people in political cases," he said.

Mr Moseneke told the court that the accused were both married and had children. He added that Makgabudi would turn 30 tomorrow.

State advocate Mr H Primhoo of the attorney-general's office said the court should show no mercy in sentencing the men.

He referred to Miss Odile Harington, the South African spy recently sentenced to 25 years in the Zimbabwean Supreme Court for spying on the ANC.

"The ANC seemed to approve of the sentence," he said.

The men will appeal against the conviction and sentence.
A thirteenth Inkatha man told to stop violence

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

A TOWN councillor accused of gunning down three youths "because their parents don't take care of them," yesterday became the 13th Inkatha member under court order to stop harming township residents.

Mbabane town councillor Jeroma Mncwabe was ordered by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court to cease harming township residents. He is one of 13 Inkatha members named in five cases — all related to the ongoing feud between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance — heard in the court since early November.

As far as is known, there have been no similar orders brought during this period against any UDF or Cosatu members.

In Mncwabe's case the temporary order was granted yesterday by consent, but he indicated he denied the claims and would be contesting the order being made final.

The application was brought by a group of Umhlathuze residents who claim he was involved in killing three youths from the area last week.

Mduzu Sillito and six other applicants claim that as they walked down the road, Mncwabe and three men with him emerged from a vehicle. Mncwabe was armed with a gun and stabbed the others with knives and knokkerries.

Some of the youths ran away and Sillito said that from the shack where he lived he saw Mncwabe "point his gun as Bongani Msekuku and shoot him in the back. Bongani fell down. I also saw that Mduzu Dlamini and Sikumbiso Mhlwane had fallen to the ground. I concluded that (Mncwabe) had shot them."

Sillito and others claim the three with Mncwabe then beat and stabbed the shot youths lying on the ground and later placed knives "on or about them."

Sillito, his parents and others then drove back to the scene and found Mncwabe, his men and the three youths on the ground, still there.

When Sillito and his parents tried to put one of the three youths who was still alive into the car, Mncwabe allegedly pointed his gun at them, told them not to move the boy and to wait for the police.

While they waited, Mncwabe allegedly threatened Sillito and his group saying he would shoot the children and burn their houses down.

Sillito quotes Mncwabe as saying: "These people call me 'Theleweni.'"

Sillito said the word meant "Village."
At first congress in ten years, NIC hammers 'anti-Indianism'

After its first conference in a decade, the Natal Indian Congress has emerged with new blood in its executive and new policy directions.

In the report of the organizing committee, the road ahead for the NIC is seen as preparing the community for a future "under a democratic, non-racial majority government".

Top officials include Durban attorney George Sewpershad, who retains his position as president. The four vice-presidents are Mewa Ramgobin, Gerry Coovadia, Billy Nair and AS Chetty, a key figure in the peace talks in Pietermaritzburg where he chairs the United Democratic Front.

Farouk Meer and Ali Karrim, a former editor of the defunct grassroots newspaper Ukusa, are joint secretaries and treasurer is Ilamis Seedat.

There is also a 15-member executive and a working committee representing all 19 branches of the NIC.

Responding to criticism by two NIC executive members who resigned shortly before the conference when they feared allegations of secret meetings and cabals, Meer said the conference had been democratic and open to members even though there were strict security precautions. Branches were consulted about issues due to be raised at the conference and each branch sent three delegates and three observers. There were also observers from other organisations and messages of support came from groups including the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Meer said the conference marked a change in NIC operating style. "For too long there has been a problem with some people who belong to the old school who believe leaders must be listened to. The new approach is that leadership comes from below and responds to what is happening at the grassroots, so that decisions are more of a consensus."

Meer said the NIC would respond "far more aggressively to anti-Indianism."

Gibbs of NIC domination within the UDF had come from "the right and ultra left. We have no intention of dictating to anyone. . . However, we have a long track record of involvement in the struggle for freedom and we will continue to make our contribution."

Among the resolutions passed at the conference was one which dealt with this issue.

The resolution noted that "Mangosuthu Buthelezi had accused Indians and the NIC of dividing the people and of inciting black on black confrontation" and that "certain isolated elements from within the democratic movement, which include petit-bourgeois chauvinists and ultra-leftists, have weakened the unity within organisations of the people, by encouraging the spread of anti-Indian sentiments."

The conference decided new links should be forged with the Congress of South African Trade Unions and resolved to encourage Indian workers to join Cosatu and to support the federation's living wage campaign.

The NIC has also set up a permanent labour commission to coordinate their plans for greater commitment to worker issues.

In terms of another resolution the NIC is pledged to "campaign for the social, political and international isolation of all members of the House of Delegates and all those who promote its existence", as well as to "expose the corruption, deception and evils perpetrated by the HOD."
Mayor attacked for remarks

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of KwaZulu, this week sharply criticised the mayor of Pietermaritzburg for remarks he made to The Weekly Mail.

Cornell had been quoted saying, "If Inkatha had wanted to make friends (during the floods), they should have gone and helped the people instead of going and saying to them at three o'clock in the morning — sign this card or I'll kill you if you don't."

Inkatha secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said at the time that this was "just the old story repeated without substantiation".

Yesterday, Cornell told WM the challenge by Buthelezi "came like a thunderbolt" because he had not seen the newspaper.

"There was no written statement, we were just attending a report-back meeting."

"I said — I like to think I was responsible enough to have said — that anyone who had acted in this way should not have done so."

"I hope I said that. I do not want to get into a dispute with the newspaper."

"I do not want to take sides on the (Inkatha-UDF) issue, I do not know enough and am not involved enough to be able to do that."

"I just want the killings to stop.

"I assured MGB that if this was what was attributed to me this was not what I meant," Cornell said.
What police figures tell:
Most captured 'terrorists' are trained in SA

The head of the security police tells journalists that more and more 'terrorists' are trained inside the country, because they are more difficult to identify than those who must cross the border to re-enter.

More than half the 'terrorists' killed or arrested by the police in the first nine months of this year were trained inside South Africa, indicating a significant new development in the guerrilla war in South Africa.

Lieutenant-General Johannes van der Merwe, head of the security police, told the briefing of South Africa's political journalists at Walvis Bay that 77 of the 132 'terrorists' arrested between January and September this year had been locally trained, as had three of the 32 'terrorists' killed by the police.

He also claimed 'legal radical organisations' proved a far greater threat to society than the banned political organisations. He cited the United Democratic Front, as militancy, racism and some trade unions in this regard, threatening that the police would give 'close attention' to the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Johannes van der Merwe, 51, became head of the security branch in October last year. Ordinarily, his father of three sons and a daughter looks like an academic but a policeman, but underneath he is tough, knows his subject and believes the police have the security situation under control.

Van der Merwe said the training of guerrillas inside South Africa had a number of advantages for the ANC.

Locally trained 'terrorists' did not leave the country or their communities and were therefore difficult to identify.

The frustration in ANC training camps, which created divisions, was avoided and it was more difficult for 'coloured' and 'white' radicals to break up by identifying them.

He said 353 'terrorists' and helpers were either arrested or killed in the first nine months of 1987 — 63 were foreign-trained 'terrorists' 10 trained in neighbouring states and 11 in undetermined areas.

A total of 48 'inland terrorists', seven recruits, 11 coaches and 121 helpers were arrested. Two helpers were killed.

Van der Merwe also said the targets and weapons used by 'terrorists' had 'dramatically changed'.

The main targets between 1976 and 1984 were the railways (20.76 percent), state and public buildings (14.76 percent) and attacks on the police (12.95 percent).

There was a total shift in emphasis in 1985 and 1986. During those years the ANC chiefly targeted itself to murder attacks on civilians (31.64 percent) and on the police (23.58 percent).

Between January and October this year, there had been 199 'terrorist attacks', an average of 19.9 a month compared to the average of 19.08 a month last year and 12.5 a month between 1976 and 1984.

At the same briefing, the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Viljoen, said the ANC would 'never defeat South Africa by military means'.

However, the ANC was resorting to claw mobilisation techniques "to create unrest" and this was more difficult to control, according to Viljoen.

Van der Merwe also claimed legal rather than banned organisations posed the major security challenge in South Africa today.

"Radical legal activists are more important than radical illegal activities at the moment," he said.

Despite recent security force actions, the revolutionary climate was on the increase, he said.

"We have passed the phase of stone-throwing and petrol bombs, and we are now moving into a more difficult phase.

Viljoen also claimed there were more than 1,000 new organisations "inciting" people and were using "terrorist methods" of mass mobilisation.

Asking if the goal of the police was to contain these organisations, he replied: "We are looking at the situation."

He added that if organisations went "too far" they would be banned.
Former SP constables aided ANC

Police spy pair sent to jail for 14 years

Pretoria Correspondent

Two former security policemen, found guilty of spying for the ANC, were sentenced to 14 years' jail yesterday by the Pretoria Regional Court.

Matshwenyego Daniel Makgabudi (29) of Atteridgeville, and Tshifhangho Cedrick Rabuli (35) of Soshangwe, were formerly attached to the Pretoria Security Branch of the SAP.

They were convicted on seven charges of contravening the Internal Security Act, Protection of Information Act, and the Official Secrets Act.

Magistrate Mr A F Snyman imposed sentences of 36 years and 34 years, respectively, for the offences, which are to run concurrently.

This brings the total sentence for each down to an effective 14 years.

The two men were acquitted on three charges of participation in terrorist activities, and under two sections of the Internal Security Act.

The two former constables were active supporters and members of the ANC from July 12 1982 till last year, when they were arrested.

During this period they had access to secret information and files of the Security Police relating to ANC activities and police action to combat these activities.

The court heard how the accused passed on information and classified files to Piot Malaza, an SAP constable stationed at Nelspruit. Malaza later made regular contact with the ANC in Swaziland.

Malaza, who left South Africa to join the ANC, handed the information received to the ANC's head of intelligence in Swaziland, a man known as "M1".

Most of the trial was held in camera because witnesses were called who may not be identified. Among them was the so-called M1.

Malaza apparently paid the accused "substantial amounts of money" for passing on information.

Makgabudi and Rabuli joined the Security Police in 1979 and 1980. They were recruited into the ANC by Malaza.

POLICE EXPERT

Giving evidence for the State, Brigadier Jacobus Buchner, an expert on the functions and aims of the ANC, said the classified files and information passed on to the organisation by the accused could have "serious after-effects".

He said information passed on by Malaza had led to the assassination of several police informers. This could lead to problems and set the Security Police back in their fight against the ANC.

Defence counsel Mr Dikgang Moseneko said: "A greater measure of mercy must be exercised by the court when convicting people in political cases."

Mr Moseneko told the court that the accused were both married and had children. He added that Makgabudi would be turning 30 tomorrow.

State advocate Mr H Prinsloo said the court should show no mercy in its sentencing.
Six activists (U) speak at huge ANC summit
Mystery men at ANC summit

... but "we do not see any measures to create favourable conditions to start the settlement process by the Botha government".

Nyerere said that in the end discussions and negotiations would have to take place with the apartheid authorities. In the meanwhile, he said, the task of the ANC was to continue the armed struggle and the task of non-racists everywhere is to support it in its struggle.

Nyerere pointedly warned of the dangers in a post-apartheid society, saying political power would only be the beginning of a non-racial and democratic future.

"There will be many inside South Africa and even among those outside South Africa who do not like apartheid, who will complain when democracy and justice for all does not exist the day after a representative government takes over the reins of political power.

"And the people themselves, after all these years of suffering, will be impatient for radical change, even while their young government is still struggling to create and use new and democratic instruments of government," he said.

Meanwhile, many delegates were disserted at the failure of the Zimbabwean government to send messages of solidarity.

Although the local Zimbabwean high commissioner attended, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, also failed to send a message of support on behalf of that organisation.

An ANC spokesman said it was probably due to organisational problems, but it takes place against the background of historical antagonisms with Mugabe's party, Zanu, though it was believed these antagonisms had been papered over.

Amongst other issues, the conference debated the long-running cultural and academic boycott, but failed to come to a conclusion other than an urgent recommendation to the ANC to thrash out a consistent policy on the issue.
BOMBING: ‘SPRUNG’ MAN ON TRIAL

DURBAN — Mr Gordon Webster, 24, an alleged African National Congress commander, appeared in the Durban Magistrate’s Court today in connection with the death of Colonel Bobby Wolman in January, 1986, two allegations of attempted murder and 11 allegations of terrorism.

Mr Webster, who was wounded here by the police in April, 1986, was “sprung” from the Elandshale Hospital near Maritzburg by his friend, Robert McBride, the Magoon’s Bar bomber now awaiting execution, and others. A visitor was shot dead during the escape.

McBride said in his trial that Mr Webster was hidden in a caravan and he and his girlfriend, Greta Apelgren, smuggled him into Botswana.

The indictment alleges that Mr Webster murdered Col Wolman of the SAP and committed attempted murder by placing two explosive devices on transformers in Jacobs on January 9 last year.

One of the devices exploded and Colonel Wolman, Mr M W Dunn and Mr R P G van der Merwe went to the scene. While they were there the second device exploded, severely burning Colonel Wolman. He died in hospital 21 days later from multiple organ failure as a result of the burns.

In one count of terrorism it is alleged that between November, 1986, and September this year Mr Webster was to return to South Africa to seize hostages to be used for prisoner exchange. However, he was recaptured in Bophuthatswana on September 17.

Other allegations of bombings and establishing weapon and explosive caches are made against Mr Webster. The hearing continues.
Govt plans new laws to deal with strikes

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Government is planning to introduce new legislation to deal with labour strikes, according to Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

Reported on television news last night, Mr Schlebusch, Minister in the State President’s Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services, said the new legislation would be introduced in the coming session of Parliament.

Neither Mr Schlebusch nor Minister of Manpower Mr Piet du Plessis could be reached for further details today, but a spokesman for the Department of Manpower said the legislation had already been published for comment.

Entitled the Draft Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the proposed legislation would establish a special labour court, adjust the definition of an unfair labour practice and amend and simplify procedures to set up conciliation boards.

Wider powers to be given to the industrial court are among several other proposed amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

It is understood amendments are being considered to legislation dealing with SA Transport Services to bring its labour practices in line with South Africa’s other labour laws.

(Report by David Braun, 47 Saar Street, Johannesburg.)
Police search for UDF pamphlets

PRETORIA.—Police have ordered that the UDF’s “People’s Christmas Against the Emergency” pamphlets be seized on the grounds that they “may have security implications”.

Earlier yesterday, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane, informed Sapa by telex that police were raiding Khotso House in Johannesburg searching for the pamphlets.

Khotso House houses offices of the SACC and several organizations, including the UDF.

Police headquarters in Pretoria told Sapa the pamphlet “may have security implications and is not conducive to ending the state of emergency”.

Police said an order had been issued for seizure of all copies of the pamphlet “in terms of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953) by Proclamation R97 of 11 June 1987, Regulation 6”. —Sapa
COPS JAILED FOR SPYING

Two former security branch policemen who spied for the banned African National Congress were each sentenced to 14 years effective imprisonment in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Matshwenyelo Daniel Mokgabude (30) of Atteridgeville, and Tshifangalo Cedric Rabuli (34) of Soshanguve, Pretoria, were found guilty by Mr A F Snyman on charges of terrorism and of being members of the ANC and furthering its aims. The two pleaded not guilty.

Both were convicted after Mr Frans Prinsloo for the State, submitted that the offences were of a serious nature and also told the court of Odile Hampton, the self-confessed South African spy who was sentenced to 25 years in Zimbabwe recently for having spied on the ANC.

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Spies jailed

From Page 1

Mr Prinsloo called for severe sentences to be imposed.

Mr Dikgang Moseneke for the defence argued that the charges against both former policemen had been duplicated and pleaded in mitigation that there should be "no duplication of punishment".

The two men were attached to the security branch in Pretoria at the time of their arrest in July last year.

Mr Snyman said both had no previous convictions but the offences committed were of a serious nature because both had misused their positions of trust when they gave the ANC confidential documents.

He also took into consideration that both had been in custody since July 12 last year he sentenced them to a total of 40 years on four counts, 14 years on two counts and Mr Mokgabude two years on the other charge.

The magistrate ruled that the sentences run concurrently and that both serve an effective 14 years each.
MBEKIS REFUSE TO LIVE IN T'KEI

'No way ...'

MRS EPAINETTE MBEKI: We'll move to New Brighton.
Pic: MOFFAT ZUNGU

says

Govan

By MIKAYISE EDOM

RECENTLY freed ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki may settle permanently in Port Elizabeth's New Brighton township, sources close to the United Democratic Front have revealed.

His wife, Epainette, also confirmed that they were going to settle in Port Elizabeth, but refused to state where.

Giving her first Press interview since her husband was released from Robben Island on November 5 — after spending 23 years in jail — she said there was no way the family would go back to Transkei, where they had been staying for the past 20 years.

The Mbeki's own a shop in Transkei.

Mrs Mbeki said: "After my husband was sentenced to life imprisonment together with other ANC leaders including Mr Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu (in the famous Rivonia Trial in 1964) I left for Transkei with my family where I bought two shops.

Mr Mbeki said she sold one of the shops just before the release of his husband.

"I could no longer cope with running the two shops. We are now left with one. Since my husband had indicated that he is not prepared to live in Transkei, we are still to decide whether to continue running the shop, rent it or sell the whole business," she said.

Prisoners

Mrs Mbeki said she was happy that her husband had been released from prison, but said she would be much happier if all political prisoners were released . . .

A senior official of the Eastern Cape region of the UDF, who asked not to be named, told the Sowetan that plans were at an advanced stage to buy Mr Mbeki a new house in New Brighton.

However he could not say how much the house would cost and when would it be ready for occupation.

"All I can say is that the house will be ready in the near future," the source said.

In the meantime Mr Mbeki and his family are staying in a township in Port Elizabeth, the Sowetan has established.
Border clamp: Generals meet

GABORONE. — The commander of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF), Lieutenant-General Mompati Merafe, met the chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, in Pretoria on Wednesday, the Botswana Press Agency reported yesterday.

In a statement to the news agency, the BDF said the meeting concerned developments resulting from an exchange of diplomatic notes.

South Africa alleged last week that arrested ANC members had claimed Botswana helped the ANC to establish facilities for infiltration.

Botswana's Department of Foreign Affairs denied the allegation.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that stringent security measures were still evident yesterday, with several police roadblocks set up on roads between the two countries.

South African Police were unpacking cars and lorries and using sniffer dogs. In many cases tailights, doornets and seats were taken out.

A South African truck driver said he had waited 14 hours on the South African side of the border post on Wednesday.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr. Colin Eglin, said yesterday that talks at ministerial level between South Africa and Botswana should be initiated as soon as possible to resolve the tension.
Post Focus

Release of Mbeki was a test case for the State

By PATRICK CULL
FEW people could claim to have had such a marked influence on South African politics for as long as Nelson Mandela — for the last 23 years from a prison cell either on Robben Island or in Pollsmoor.

Today his presence is as strong as ever in the Government, with the problem of whether to free the 68-year-old ANC leader — a problem not made any easier by the thought of what might happen should he die in jail.

Speculation about his release has been rife since State President Mr P W Botha first mooted the possibility in January 1983 when he opened Parliament.

Mr Botha referred to Mandela’s release again a year later on this occasion linking his freedom to that of others, including Capt. Wynand du Toit and Russian dissidents Anatoly Sakharovsky and Andrei Sakharov.

Two events have happened since then which have raised the tempo of the speculation significantly.

Firstly, the Government dropped the prosecution of the jailed ANC men having to renounce violence if they wished to be freed, and secondly a month ago it released Govan Mbeki, the 77-year-old former national chairman of the ANC and several other long-serving ANC and PAC prisoners.

Mbeki was clearly a test case although it is understood that the Cabinet was divided as to the wisdom of freeing him.

It was hoped that he would settle down “quietly into retirement” and if this happened then the release of Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders looked a distinct possibility.

Things have not worked out that way and last weekend the police placed a ban on a rally scheduled to be held in Port Elizabeth at which Mbeki was to have been one of the speakers.

Concern has also been expressed at the way in which the release was experienced as to the wisdom of freeing him.

The anxiety to free him was not helped by the announcement of 23 deaths in SWA/Namibia.

Mr GOVAN MBEKI

The release was followed shortly by the announcement of 23 deaths in SWA/Namibia.

A man who makes statements which conflict with the laws of the country and then taking no action against him is not lost on senior members of the police force.

In addition, one Cabinet Minister stated recently that the mail which he had received on the subject had been totally negative, writers posing the question of how such a man could be released who supported the aims of people seeking to overthrow the Government.

That the release was followed shortly by the announcement of 23 deaths in SWA/Namibia did not help.

From the perspective of the Government he was a test case and was released without conditions apart from the fact that he cannot be quoted.

In effect there was a condition that he had to retire quietly and not take an active part in politics, a harsh requirement when one considers that he had spent the past 23 years of his life in jail because of his political beliefs.

From the perspective of the ANC, as spelled out by a senior Government source, Mbeki had to be used as part of a propaganda strategy to earn as much publicity for the ANC as possible.

At the same time, however, the ANC does not want to endanger the release of further prisoners.

Mbeki has not managed to satisfy either side.

The Government, particularly the police, are far from happy with the way he has behaved since his release, and the use which anti-Government forces have made of him.

And the corollary to that is quite simply that the chances of other ANC leaders being freed has become more remote despite the fact that the Government is keen to release a man whose continued detention is not only an embarrassment internationally but is now holding up the implementation of that much-vaulted National Council.

Essentially, Mandela’s release now depends on which forces hold sway in the Cabinet.

The Ministry of Law and Order clearly wants Mandela to remain in jail.

Those, on the other hand, who recognise that without a free Mandela there can be no hope for constitutional progress involving any but the most tame of black leaders, will continue to press for his release.

Those were the forces which prevailed as far as Mbeki was concerned.

Whether in the light of that experience, the largely negative reaction from the white electorate and the ANC’s avoided intention of going for more national targets, they will prevail again in another matter.
Mbeki release posing problems

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

The release of Mr Govan Mbeki and its significance for the position of other security prisoners is becoming shrouded in political mystery and controversy.

If, as suggested initially, it was a “trial run” for the release of other security prisoners, the new impetus from some Government quarters indicates that it is fast rebounding.

In Walvis Bay last week the chief of the security police, General J V van der Merwe, said that Mr Mbeki was being manipulated by the African National Congress and that everything he did was at the command of the ANC.

General van der Merwe also said that Government had not received any news of Mbeki in Port Elizabeth last Saturday and had not been informed about his condition.

Pound of flesh

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, added to the tough stand in these terms:

“The Government did not receive a pound of flesh with the release of Mr Mbeki, but only pain.”

He said the Government had hoped that Mr Mbeki, who had diabetes, would retire restfully, but this had not happened. He was continuing to mislead people around him for political purposes.

In response to questions from Weekend Argus seeking clarification of the Government’s stand this week, General van der Merwe said: “Mbeki was released because of humanitarian considerations.

“The Government had hoped that he would have realized this and that he would not have acted in a way that could harm public order or delay the prospects for the termination of the state of emergency.”

Unfortunately, from the outset, Mbeki made it plain that the interests of the ANC and the SACP (South African Communist Party) ranked more importantly with him than public order.

He has allowed himself to be manipulated by the ANC and radical organisations in a manner that could hamper the prospects for the termination of the state of emergency.”

Behaviour

Asked what kind of behaviour the authorities expected from Mr Mbeki if any rise in the revolutionary climate was to be avoided, General van der Merwe said: “The Government expects Mbeki not to allow himself to be exploited by the ANC and radical organisations for political purposes.”

His activities are being carefully monitored and the Government will not hesitate to act against him should it be required by law.”

General van der Merwe was also asked what he had meant when he said that “radical legal actions” were more important at the moment than radical illegal activities, and whether any steps were contemplated against “radical legal actions.”

He replied: “Radical legal activities comprise actions aimed at promoting immunity towards Government institutions and undertakings which would ultimately result in a revolutionary climate which will lead to unrest and violence.

The Government is paying meticulous attention to all these incidents and will take the necessary steps to maintain law and order. At this stage, more details cannot be given.”

No mistake

A more low-key response has come from the Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who says that Mr Mbeki’s release should not be seen as a mistake.

In a telephone interview he admitted that Mr Mbeki’s release had caused certain problems for the authorities, but said that these could be solved by means of “normal” steps such as prohibiting meetings where Mr Mbeki’s presence could be used to promote banned organisations.

“One would prefer not to have any need for such things.”

Suggestions that Mr Mbeki’s release had been a “trial run” for the release of Mr Mandela could be regarded as an exaggeration.

Dr van der Merwe said that although events surrounding Mr Mbeki’s release would be taken into account in considering Mr Nelson Mandela’s release, this was not likely to have a major influence as other factors were also involved.

There were three considerations in such matters: the question of punishment or rehabilitation for what the prisoner had done, humanitarian considerations, and the question of what would happen when the prisoner was released.

The prognosis would depend on the prisoner’s intentions, status and surrounding circumstances. In considering Mr Mandela’s case, the actions of Mr Mbeki since his release could form part of the “surrounding circumstances”.

Dr van der Merwe said it was possible, therefore, that Mr Mbeki’s actions since his release could have some bearing on the considerations for Mr Mandela’s release.

Asked what behaviour the authorities expected from Mr Mbeki, Dr van der Merwe said: “Nothing more is expected from him than from any other person. It is expected, therefore, that he should not promote banned organisations, nor encourage or stimulate violence.”

At the time of Mr Mbeki’s release, the Minister of Justice, Mr Robie Coetzee, gave an assurance that he would have freedom of movement, freedom of speech and would be free to take part in politics, subject to the laws of the country and the emergency regulations. He remained a listed communist and could therefore not be quoted, the Minister said.

Judge seeks psycho tests in bush war

WINDHOEK — Security force members serving in SWA/Namibia’s bush war should be examined regularly by psychologists to monitor the effects of pressure and violence, a Supreme Court judge said here.

Mr Justice Johan Strydom made the suggestion when he sentenced a 28-year-old sergeant of the SWA’s Police Counter-insurgency Unit — known as Koevoet — to 10 years’ jail for murder.

Dirk Johannes Calitz was convicted of killing Mr Wilhelm Haindongo in the Omaheke war zone in August last year.
Alleged ANC commander faces murder charge

DURBAN — An alleged African National Congress commander, Mr. Gordon Webster, 24, appeared in the Durban Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the death of Colonel Bobby Weisman in January 1986.

Two allegations of attempted murder and 11 allegations of terrorism were also made against him.

Mr. Webster, wounded by police in April 1986, was sprung from the Edendale Hospital near Pietermaritzburg by his friend Robert McBride, the Magoo's Bar bomber now awaiting execution, and others.

McBride said during his trial that Mr. Webster hid in a caravan before McBride and his girlfriend, Greta Apelgren, could smuggle him to Botswana.

The indictment alleges that Mr. Webster murdered Colonel Wolfman and committed attempted murder by placing two explosive devices on two transformers in Jacobs on the night of January 9 last year.

In one count of terrorism it is alleged that between November 1986 and September this year, Mr. Webster was to return to South Africa to seize hostages to be used for prisoner exchanges.

However, he was re-captured in Bophuthatswana on September 17, before the hostage plan could be put into operation.

It is also alleged that on the night of March 21, 1986, Mr. Webster, McBride and another person known only as "A," attached two limpet mines to each of two transformers in Jacobs.

They rejoined Mr. Webster and all went to a spot at which Greta Apelgren was waiting to drive them away. All four limpet mines exploded, causing extensive damage.
SAP won’t hesitate to act against Mbeki

PRETORIA — The government would not hesitate to act against the former national chairman of the ANC, Mr Govan Mbeki, “should it be required by law”, the chief deputy commissioner of the SAP security branch, Lieutenant-General J.V. van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Lieut-Gen Van der Merwe said in a statement that the interests of the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) were more important to Mr Mbeki than public order.

Mr Mbeki, who served 23 years behind bars for plotting to overthrow the government by force, was released unconditionally this year.

Lieut-Gen Van der Merwe also said Mr Mbeki was released “because of humanitarian considerations”, adding the government had hoped Mr Mbeki would have realised this and not acted in a way that could harm public order or delay the ending of the state of emergency.

“Unfortunately, from the outset, Mbeki had made it plain that the interests of the ANC and the SACP ranked more important with him than public order. He has allowed himself to be manipulated by the ANC and radical organisations in a manner that could hamper the prospects for the termination of the state of emergency.”

Lieut-Gen Van der Merwe added that Mr Mbeki’s activities were being “carefully monitored”.

“Radical legal activities comprise actions aimed at promoting animosity towards government institutions and undertakings which would ultimately result in a revolutionary climate which will lead to unrest and violence.

“The government is paying meticulous attention to all these incidents and will take the necessary steps to maintain law and order,” he said.

Meanwhile, bands and street theatre, organised by the Mbeki Reception Committee, will feature at the Mitchell’s Plain centre this evening, in the run-up to the rally to be addressed by Mr Mbeki, on December 13.

Although the organisers have not yet received permission for the rally from the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg and the Divisional Commissioner of Police, they said “we are going ahead as planned”.

No decision has yet been taken on whether permission will be granted for the meeting in Cape Town next weekend. — Sapa-DDC
Police officers' actions 'biased'

Supreme Court Reporter

MAJOR Dolf Odendaal and Warrant-Officer Hendrik Barnard were among elements in the police force who "took decisions to act in a biased manner", Independent MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Van Eck was giving evidence in the R320,000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church and 21 families who lost their homes when KTC was burned down by witdoeke, allegedly with the aid of police.

Mr Van Eck said it was not the entire police force which acted in a biased way but there was no condemnation of biased action from "higher up" and certain policemen seemed to act with impunity.

Confronted

He said Major Odendaal and WO Barnard took a definite stand against "comrades" and in favour of witdoeke.

Major Odendaal had been unable, when confronted, to give a reasonable explanation for the lack of police action when Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension and Portland Cement camps went up in smoke weeks before KTC, he said.

The conclusion he drew from this — and from watching police both fraternizing with witdoeke and preventing "comrades" from saving their possessions — was that police were actively supporting the witdoeke.

Mr Justice M R de Kock presided. Mr H P Viljoen SC, with Mr P Pretorius and Mr A M Omar and instructed by the Legal Resources Centre, appeared for the plaintiffs Mr G D Griessel SC and Mr L Visser SC, with Mr F D J Brand and Mr C Y Louw and instructed by the State Attorney, appeared for the minister.
Some of the hundreds of political activists who attended the funeral carry Howard Marawu's coffin to the graveyard.

'Comrade Rev', Langa's hero, is laid to rest

CP Reporter

ONE of the "heroes" of Langa township in Cape Town was laid to rest last weekend in a funeral which attracted more than 4,000 people.

Scores of political activists came to bury Rev Howard Marawu, known to many as "Comrade Rev" in Langa township.

Marawu, who died at the age of 64 after a long illness, was a member of the Release Mandela Campaign.

He spent five months in detention during the first state of emergency in 1985.

Marawu was first detained in the 60s as a result of his involvement in the Freedom Charter campaign.
HUNDREDS of residents from the war-torn Maritzburg townships are expected to converge at Edendale's Wadley Stadium tomorrow morning after the UDF-Cosatu alliance was granted permission by the city's chief magistrate to hold a huge open-air rally.

Chief magistrate Cecil Dicks this week approved an application by the Southern Natal region of Cosatu and the Natal Midlands UDF branch to hold a rally tomorrow at 9am to report back to their constituency on the preliminary peace talks meeting with Inkatha last week.

Under the emergency regulations, open-air gatherings may not be held without a magistrate's permission.

Meanwhile, Inkatha has also applied to hold an open-air rally at Mponulza on December 16.

The Maritzburg magistrate's decision has been welcomed by the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which had been spearheading the peace talks.

The meeting has been called to report back on the preliminary agreement reached last Tuesday, in a meeting with Inkatha leaders, on steps to be taken in restoring peace in the area. One of the points agreed upon was the direction of the police to allow meetings in order to get a mandate and report back to their constituencies.

Maritzburg (SA) Police PRO, Capt Pieter Kitching, assured the organisations that the police would keep a low profile during the meeting and would only step in if there was interference or signs of trouble.

However, while the meeting was expected to remain of a repetition of last weekend's Port Elizabeth incident, where the government stepped in after the local chief magistrate had given the go-ahead for a rally planned to welcome back Govan Mbeki.

The UDF-Cosatu rally is to be opened by Dr Simon Cwabule, principal of the local John Wesley College, and will be the first major outdoor meeting to be held in Maritzburg since the May Day rally, also held at Wadley Stadium last year.

All Natal Midlands UDF chairman AS Chetty could say was "we welcome the news that we can hold the rally, and as far as we are concerned, we will see to it that the meeting is controlled".

The decision to give a green light for the rally comes against the backdrop of the bloody chaos in Maritzburg.

The weekend saw the bloodiest violence in the Natal capital, according to the police unrest report.

Members of the SAP dispersed a rowdy mob at the Piet Retief bus terminal after fighting broke out and a man was fatally stabbed.

Also at the weekend, three Imbali youths, Bonani Masuku, Mduduzi Dlamini and Sikhumbuzo Mthiyane, were shot dead in broad daylight by two men who the residents identified as the notorious warlords.

By noon yesterday, the death toll since mid-September stood at 112, and 26 had been killed in political violence since the start of peace talks last Tuesday.

The death toll might increase dramatically as police continue to find more mutilated bodies.

In one of the most gruesome killings, 80-year-old Daniel Mncwabe was stoned and stabbed to death by a group of 100 people who attacked his home in Kwamnyandu this week.

Eleven people were arrested when police dispersed the crowd with tear gas and shotguns.

The second round of talks intended to seek a solution to the escalating violence between supporters of the warring groups are due to take place next week, according to AS Chetty.

The co-chairman of the talks and manager of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Paul van Uytroecht, said that next week's meeting would raise items on which agreement could not be reached at the first meeting.
Mbeki rally banned 'to prevent violence'

The banning of last week's "home-coming" rally for Govan Mbeki was an effort to prevent the promotion of violence in the "urtur-afflicted republic", according to Eastern Cape provincial police commissioner, Brigadier Ernest Schreuder.

In an affidavit presented during a Supreme Court hearing challenging the banning, he admitted the rally would probably have been peacefully conducted, but said the danger was in the message of violence that would be given to the 50,000 people who would attend throughout the country.

He said it was "pointless to prohibit Mbeki from being quoted and allowing him to address a gathering of 50,000 people". Mbeki, a self-confessed communist, is a listed person and may not be quoted.

The rally was originally permitted, under the Internal Security Act by Port Elizabeth's acting chief magistrate, J. Oosthuizen. However, Schreuder banned Mbeki under the Public Safety Act, the legislation under which the emergency regulations fall.

Schreuder said Mbeki had not renounced violence and would not disperse the ANC and SAP.

He said there was a calculated campaign to make him "a people's hero". He added that the "so-called" welcome rally would be used by the ANC to gain a new momentum for its campaign.

As evidence of this campaign, Schreuder presented a pamphlet distributed in the Cape. It describes Mbeki as a life-long freedom fighter and says its release is in a step towards the abolition of the ANC. "His release will give joy, victory, hope and determination to the people of SA," the pamphlet says.

Commenting on the ban, head of the security police, Lieutenant-General Johan Van der Merwe, said the police had to consider the safety of both the public and the State. He said all future rallies would be considered separately.

At the hearing, the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on Saturday, Judge Willem Jansen upheld the banning order issued by Schreuder. However, he did not withdraw the permission granted by Oosthuizen for the rally to go ahead.

He said when Schreuder predicted the meeting in terms of the emergency regulations, he was not legally entitled to do so.

He said the evidence was that the Brigadier's prime concern was that the rally would prejudice the formulation of the state of emergency and be "therefore exercised an entirely different discretion to that of the chief magistrate".

Schreuder said, with a few exceptions, the speakers did not come from Port Elizabeth and this does not make sense in what was referred to as a "home-coming rally for the people of Port Elizabeth."
Govan Mbeki gets a joyful welcome from Sister Bernard Ncube of the Federation of SA Women.

When Mbeki was first released, he was a little bewildered about how South Africa had changed in the 23 years while he was in prison.

The bulk of his knowledge of the country and its development over the years could only be through books and newspapers, giving him an incomplete picture of events.

While he was imprisoned, the huge United Democratic Front, bringing together hundreds of anti-apartheid organisations, was launched.

The labour field has also changed with the launching of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), which have brought large numbers of workers together.

It will probably take some time before Mbeki will be able to catch up on events and formulate his own analysis of the current state of affairs in the country.

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Trendy fashion prints for the modern miss.
BAN ON RALLY SHOWS GOVT FEARS MBEKI — UDF

THE UDF this week condemned the banning of a rally in Port Elizabeth where the recently-released ANC leader Govan Mbeki was to have addressed an open-air rally.

In a statement released by the UDF in Johannesburg, the organisation said the banning of the rally "has yet again exposed the hollow and cynical nature of the Pretoria regime's so-called concession in releasing Mbeki".

The statement said the Pretoria authorities were afraid of one man and what he had to say.

The UDF pointed out that Mbeki, on his release, had made no bones about the fact that he still supported the outlawed ANC and the South African Communist Party.

"What the banning of the rally makes clear," said the front, "is that, despite its state of emergency claims, the government's hold on the situation is so tenuous that it is not prepared to permit the outside world and the rest of South Africa to witness the massive support in the Eastern Cape for Mbeki and what he stands for."

"Thousands of Port Elizabeth residents arrived to hear him, and were turned away bitterly disappointed."

The statement further described Mbeki as a leader of the people and an expression of what the people stood for, and what they wanted.

"In silencing Govan Mbeki, the government is silencing the people of South Africa. In refusing to listen to Govan Mbeki, the government is closing its ears to the demands of the majority of South Africans. However, like Mbeki, the people of South Africa are not going to retire, curl up and die or go away," said the organisation.

The UDF added that, by cutting Mbeki off from legal outlets of expression, the Pretoria government was trying to force him into breaking its laws again.

"Then it can say, in its usual bullying fashion: 'We gave this man a chance and he went ahead and did this. We are going to deal with the question of other political prisoners and detainees with renewed intrasurrence,'" it claimed.

It is widely believed in South Africa that the release of Mbeki is being used by Pretoria as a test case for the possible release of such high-profile ANC leaders as Nelson Mandela.

The people of South Africa are becoming tired of the regime's posturing around reforms and concessions," the UDF said.

"The majority have had enough of grand public gestures that are still-born because of the regime's constant attempts to stifle the real leaders of the people. The UDF demands that the government unshackle Govan Mbeki and stop obstructing him from speaking to the people," the statement concluded.

Mbeki was released on November 5 after spending 23 years in a South African jail for his ANC activities.

He is currently staying in the township of New Brighton just outside the Port Elizabeth. - ANO

Flashback: Govan Mbeki (centre) at a Press conference in Johannesburg. Despite his release, Mbeki is listed and may not be quoted.

LOOK WHAT REAL DAIRY HAS DONE FOR THE RAVN FAMILY

Mrs Ravn receiving one of the three R1 000 bonus prizes from Mr E Roux of the Dairy Board in the Dairy Month competition held recently.

THE BEST THINGS IN LIFE ARE REAL
ANC declares ‘blueprint for tough action’ against SA

The first international solidarity conference staged by the African National Congress this week in Arusha, Tanzania, pledged to intensify the military, economic and diplomatic campaign to isolate South Africa.

Conference delegates hailed the declaration as a breakthrough which would provide a blueprint for support groups in nearly 50 countries to urge their governments to take tougher action against South Africa.

The four-day conference, entitled “Peoples of the World Against Apartheid: for a Democratic South Africa”, marked the climax of the ANC’s 31st Anniversary celebration. It was attended by ANC President Oliver Tambo and most members of the 20-person National Executive.

Negotiate

In his opening speech to the conference, Dr Nyerere made it clear that the ANC would have to negotiate with the Pretoria Government “in the end”.

He agreed, however, with the ANC leaders that the time had not yet arrived for talks and that the military, political and diplomatic struggle against South Africa should continue until the Government was prepared to negotiate on fundamentals.

ANC leaders side-stepped commenting on recent reports of “spectacular and ruthless” attacks by the ANC military wing before Christmas. They appeared hesitant to prescribe a role for the 77-year-old freed ANC chairman, Govan Mbeki.

Solutions

Mr Jan Bagris, deputy chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, warned that the Soviets were “especially concerned” about NATO-backed South African attempts “to stop the progressive changes in Angola and Mozambique and to increase its economic and military pressure upon Zambia and Zimbabwe”.

He said the Soviet Union was in favour of a political settlement to the problems of Southern Africa, but added that the “willingness of the

Botha Government to see such solutions was quite doubtful”.

“As far as we know, the ANC, despite the policy of repression against it, does not reject the possibility of a solution,” he said.

The ANC circulated a recent statement by its National Executive regarding negotiations which rejected the government’s present pre-conditions for talks.

The statement said any cessation of hostilities would have to be negotiated and that agreement by both sides as part of the process of the creation of a democratic South Africa.

Action

The statement also rejected out of hand any bid to pressure the ANC to cut ties with the South African Communist Party.

A three-page declaration was accompanied by a nine-page programme of action. It pledged to intensify the armed struggle against South Africa until Pretoria was prepared to negotiate about the abolition of apartheid and the transfer of political power to a democratic and non-racial government.

The programme of action called on the international community to intensify existing economic sanctions, including the oil boycott and the ban on nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

It failed, however, to resolve internal differences about the academic and cultural boycotts.

Instead, the conference called on the ANC to initiate discussions with the United Democratic Front and international anti-apartheid movements to establish criteria for the implementation of the cultural boycott.
Security shake-up looms

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA faces a renewed Government security crackdown, with the first moves likely in the New Year.

Signs of the impending step-up against political dissent have started to emerge from the security establishment and Government circles.

On the security front, presently legal organisations, such as the UDF and Cosatu, can expect increased detentions of leadership figures and a tightening control of their fields of operation.

On the political front, the crackdown will mean an end to already faded prospects for Nelson Mandela's release, as the Government guards itself against an onslaught from the right wing in nationwide elections towards the end of 1988.

Already tensions are rising in the Cabinet between Ministers who regard greater security as the national priority, and those who believe tension relief through political accommodation is the top national priority.

Headache

The elements of the new security sweep are the same, a call for focus from the external threat to internal liberation, overseas reports that new security legislation is in the pipeline, and the experimental release of ANC veteran Govan Mbeki - an undertaking top Government officials believe is backfiring.

South Africa's security police chief, Lt-General Johan Koen der Merwe, described the "radical organisations" as the "inertial force of the political change in the world".

The government has said it will take a number of steps to maintain law and order, including increasing the number of police officers and the deployment of troops to areas where violence is suspected.

Clampdown on radicals is forecast

Security chiefs now hold the view that international opposition against the liberation movement in South Africa will intensify, and that the authorities must take action to prevent further violence.

They believe the security forces will need to take a more aggressive approach, with the possibility of the deployment of troops to areas where protests are expected.

As part of the pre-publicity, which has included door-to-door promotion in white areas, Cosatu and12 workers' rights groups have been flooded with Mbeki pamphlets.

Organisers expect about 50,000 to attend the rally, which is to be held on December 15 at an undisclosed venue, more than likely a stadium.

Last week's Mbeki rally in Port Elizabeth was banned by police just minutes after a magistrate had previously given the go-ahead.

In Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, this weekend the colours of the African National Congress were removed to provoke the Mbeki rally visitor.

The occasion, at the local town centre, was accompanied by a facade of live pop bands, street theatre, children with faces painted in the coloured of the ANC and the sale of T-shirts and posters at Mbeki stalls.

Similar publicity "extravaganzas" are planned for next week.

The rally is being organised on an unprecedented scale for Cape Town, with more than 100 people involved almost full-time in organisation.

The Mbeki reception committee said it had decided to apply for permission to both the magistrates and police to allow the rally to go ahead to prevent a repeat of the situation in Port Elizabeth where the chief magistrate gave permission but the police banned the rally at the last moment.

Mbeki 'extravaganza' begins to hot up

By HENRY LDSKINI

THE Govan Mbeki "roadshow" planned for Cape Town this weekend was broadcast by enthusiasts of the formerly jailed ANC leader with all the hype of a political jamboree.

Already there has been an unprecedented wave of pre-publicity for the rally, which will be led by Mbeki himself, and the release of ballads painted in the colours of the African National Congress.

The rally in Cape Town is still in the balance and depends on whether police and Wynberg Chief Magistrate Mr W P Theriau, who has requested further information from the Mbeki reception committee, will grant permission for the rally to go ahead.

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Unlikely

However, there has been a powerful right-wing backlash - and the Government is now faced with the "new security legislation" for next year's Parliament.

Mbeki's high political profile, along with his self-proclaimed (and televised) support for communism, could make the ANC made Mr Mandela's release unlikely.

Speculation that the Government will move against Mr Mbeki, probably by banning him, is rife.
Set the people free
UDF

By KHULU SIBiya

THE 18-month state of emergency will be put to the test next week when the UDF intensifies its campaign for it to be set aside.

The organisation has also called for the release of all political prisoners.

From December 10 to Christmas day, people throughout the country will be called upon to observe the "People's Christmas Against Emergency" - a period described by the UDF as the most challenging since the state of emergency was declared 18 months ago.

During this period the UDF will also call upon the government to "unlock apartheid's jails" and urban all political organisations.

The organisation also demanded an end to rent evictions and called for living wages for workers.

A UDF spokesman said: "This Christmas, let the people of South Africa come together in united action in the spirit of freedom and peace. Let us go forward to victory as families, communities, fellow-workers and democrats in unity, and with courage and resolution."

The period will be marked with the ringing of church bells, a one-day fast and a cultural day.

The organisers have called on people to visit the families of those in detention and exile and to send Christmas cards to political prisoners, detainees and their families.

A special appeal for discipline and restraint was also made.

Meanwhile, over 800 Port Elizabeth residents were expected to attend a prayer service in support of detainees next Monday.
10 000 support rally for peace

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Undisciplined behaviour by members of the UDF and Cosatu would not be tolerated, and perpetrators would be punished, about 10 000 of the organization’s supporters were told at a peace rally held in Edendale yesterday.

The chairman of the Midlands branch of the UDF, Mr A S Chetty, said supporters at the rally were warned that disciplinary action would be taken against any members who took part in violence or acted in an undisciplined manner, such as attempting to force other township members to join their organizations.

He said the turnout at the meeting had been “fantastic”, and the rally had gone off smoothly.

“We are very confident that we have got the message across to our people on the question of township violence, and that it will be carried down to grass roots level,” he said.

Supporters at the meeting endorsed the peace proposals outlined by their leaders in a bid to achieve peace in the city’s troubled townships. So far, the violence has left at least 150 people dead. At the weekend the police reported that two more people had been killed in townships.

Police said a body of a man with stab wounds was found in a bus at Taylor’s Halt on Saturday. A man was killed by a mob and another seriously injured at Caluza.

In other incidents of unrest reported from Maritzburg at the weekend, a group armed with knives and assegais tried to abduct a man and a woman in a white residential area.

In addition, police fired tear smoke and shotguns to disperse illegal gatherings at Taylor’s Halt and Willow Fountain.

A man was wounded and 16 people were arrested in the incidents.

At Mpuuza a private home was extensively damaged after it was petrol-bombed.

Speakers from the UDF and Cosatu outlined discussions held recently by the organisations with Inkatha and the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce. Members of the Chamber of Commerce also attended the rally yesterday.

Another joint meeting between the various organizations is scheduled to take place later this week.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that the violence in Maritzburg’s townships epitomized the real intentions of the ANC.

Speaking at a meeting of Inkatha’s Central Committee, he said his people were dying “hideous deaths” because the exiled organization wanted to make Maritzburg a “no-go area” for Inkatha.
MISS Rozanne Botha, daughter of President Botha, who appeared in the controversial television programme "Children Of Apartheid" in the United States said yesterday she did so to try and put across how South Africa had progressed in promoting better living conditions.

A spokesman of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said that its consulate in New York had approached the Columbia Broadcasting System about the programme and had lodged a protest.

The programme is said to have harmed South Africa's image by the generalisations it contained. The film is also said to have been made illegally as the producers, among them one of the US's top TV personalities Walter Cronkite, had not applied for work permits.

After Miss Botha had spoken scenes of police violence and slum conditions and violence by blacks were shown.

In Cape Town yesterday Miss Botha said that she had taken part in the TV documentary because she loved her country very much and wanted to make a contribution to try and show that South Africa had progressed far in promoting better living conditions and relations.

In the programme Miss Botha's views were contrasted with those of Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

While Miss Mandela said that with Mr Botha, there was no hope, Miss Botha said she believed in a "fast moderate approach."

Yesterday she said that she had not yet seen the programme but hoped to obtain a video of it soon.

She was not entirely taken aback although she had had the impression that the programme would make a more positive than a negative impression.

Although everything in the country was not perfect she felt that there were nice things.
UDF condemns ‘Marshall Plan’ as a whitewash

The proposals of the British Industry Committee on South Africa for a “Marshall Plan” were “totally unacceptable” to the UDF.

In a statement yesterday, the UDF said: “The real motive is totally transparent: to protect the interests of British industrialists. This is part of a desperate attempt by South Africa and its Western allies to undermine the campaign of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the regime.

SUSPICIOUS IN ITS AIMS

“It is also an open secret that it is an attempt to divert funds away from support for organisations of the people into projects seen to be more in line with the interests of imperialism in South Africa. The objectives of this plan are calculated to undermine the entire liberation movement and the country’s extra-parliamentary forces, in particular the UDF, Cosatu and the churches.

“We must point out that this scheme was not discussed with the very people it claims to be helping, that it is suspicious in its aims, and in the end can only serve to prop up the South Africa regime. Further, we have no doubt that it is meant to help pave the way for a ‘Muzorewa solution’, where a group of black ‘moderates’ are to sell out the soul of democracy for a combination of dubious titles and fat bank balances.

This attempt to whitewash British investment in apartheid will do little to improve the daily lives of our people. Decent education, housing and jobs will only be realised in an apartheid-free South Africa.

APARtheid-FREE SOUTH AFRICA

“The sooner British and other industrialists stop propping up apartheid, the sooner we will be able to achieve this goal. For these reasons Bisca must not expect any co-operation from the oppressed communities with schemes such as this.” — Sapa.
Page 3

ANC support seen as murder

Post Correspondent

LONDON — Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and several of his MPs were encouraging murder when they helped to fund an advertisement sending “warmest wishes” to the ANC on its 75th anniversary and pledging “wholehearted support for its future activities”, the Sun newspaper said in a leading article yesterday.

The Sun, a right-wing, racy tabloid with the largest daily circulation of any newspaper in Britain, was commenting on the publication in the Observer of an advertisement signed by about 1,000 ANC supporters pledging support for the organisation and its “struggle for peace, freedom and democracy in SA”.

Among those whose names were listed on the advertisement, first published in the Guardian at a cost of more than R80,000, were Kinnock, his deputy Mr Roy Hattersley and about 20 Labour and Scottish National Party MPs.

Conscience

In the article titled “Blood on their hands”, the Sun said the ANC was a criminal conspiracy publicly committed to terrorism in SA.

Its bombs planted in city centres had killed or maimed “scores of white men, women and children.

“Hundreds have been murdered by the necklace treatment — pinned with a tyre doused in petrol and then set alight”.

The logic of the actions of the MPs who put their names to the advertisement, the Sun said, was that “they want more killings, more innocent victims, blacks as well as white, until the country is overthrown.

“Labour is supposed to be the party of tender conscience. Yet it not merely condones murder, it actually encourages it.

“If there are more deaths in South Africa, then some of the blood belongs on their hands.

“This is a disgraceful situation for the the leaders of a party that seeks to provide the government of Britain.”

A spokesman for Mr Kinnock’s office said the article was not worthy of comment.

continued
Proposal to allow picketing

New move to decriminalise strike action

CRIMINAL sanctions attached to strikes and lock-outs should be abolished, except possibly in regard to essential services, the National Manpower Commission (NMC) said in its report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

It also said the freedom to strike should be extended to include certain categories of workers in the public service.

The commission suggested that the law could be changed to allow a certain amount of picketing and related forms of action in industrial disputes.

But the NMC felt this proposal should be investigated further.

It recommended that no legislation be introduced to govern the non-statutory collective bargaining systems that have developed over the past decade.

A spokesman for Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis said legislation based on the report would probably be introduced next year.

The report recommended that the distinction between lawful and unlawful strikes (and lock-outs) be replaced by the concept of "acceptability".

Only strikes by workers in essential services would be considered unlawful under the proposals.

And the NMC proposed further study aimed at narrowing the area of essential services and creating improved dispute-resolving procedures for them.

The Industrial Court, it said, should be given the power to determine the acceptability of a strike, based on guidelines such as the nature of the dispute and whether adequate attempts had been made at settlement.

These did not need to include the use of statutory conciliation boards or industrial councils — privately negotiated procedures would be sufficient.

Employers would be able to apply for interdicts against "unacceptable" strikes. Should an interdict be ignored, they would be able to claim damages.

The court could also declare such a strike an unfair labour practice.

However, the NMC recommended that workers participating in acceptable strikes be protected against prosecution in terms of security legislation and by-laws.

It also expressed support for decisions of the Industrial Court protecting strikers from dismissal in certain circumstances.

The NMC said it was in favour of

Call to decriminalise strikes

legislation permitting "certain forms of picketing" and planned to investigate this further.

The report adopted a hands-off approach to the question of the relationship between industrial council and plant-level bargaining — a burning issue, particularly in the metal industry. It should be left to negotiation, the NMC said.

It laid down a series of guidelines for the Minister to follow when considering whether to extend industrial council agreements to non-parties.

The report recommended more advantageous terms of admission for parties applying for exemptions from the provisions of agreements.

It also suggested the repeal of sections 21a and 31a of the Labour Relations Act.

The former gives existing members of industrial councils the right to veto any new application for membership. The re-
Man burnt, 3 shacks razed

A MAN was badly burnt and three squatter shacks were destroyed during an attack on Nyanga East residents early on Sunday.

The chairman of the 11,000 Portland Cement squatters, Mr Christopher Toise, said yesterday that three other plastic shelters had been partly burnt, while about 12 people had lost their possessions.

He criticized the government for "extreme tardiness" in providing housing.

Mr Louis Koch, of the Regional Services Council, said plans for development were "up in the air at present".
Build socialism

Staff Reporter

"BUILD and defend socialism" was the theme of the fourth national congress of the Azanian Students' Movement, held last weekend at the Retreat Civic Centre.

Outgoing president Mr Monde Ntswa said the congress had been called the "Steve Biko congress" because it took place close to the tenth anniversary of Mr Biko's death in detention.

A huge Biko poster adorned the hall, with the words: "From amidst the ashes will arise a new nation."

At the congress emphasis had been placed on political education and political leadership, Mr Ntswa said.

Delegates also decided to establish "worker support committees" this year, comprising students and workers.
Parents not aware of charges

THE launching of your newspaper, SOUTH, gave the people the impression that, at last, we would have an objective mouthpiece "of the people for the people".

SOUTH would report matters in a fair and just manner without implicating unfortunate victims who find themselves in no position to defend any allegations or criticism against them by the poisoned fingers of the press, it was thought.

'Terrorism'

Your edition of December 10-16, under the bold headings "ANC's Cape Cells" on page 1 and "Forbes an ANC commander", refers. In 'sensationalising the plight of the 15 young people, who will appear in the Supreme Court in March next year on charges of "terrorism", your newspaper went about tabulating the allegations against some of the young people in a manner which, apparently and undoubtedly, projects the impression that they (the accused) are already guilty of the charges, and/or, that they were some kind of ruthless political radicals who planned to create havoc—in a bid to overthrow the State.

We realise your Journalist was "only outlining the State's allegations" against them, but did he really do these young people any justice in the manner in which he reported the matter.

Was SOUTH aware that some or most of the parents of the accused were not aware of the actual charges against their children until they read your newspaper.

Could your paper not have found the time to check with those parents and/or the representatives of those charged whether they were all aware of the charges against their kin.

Worst

It appeared as if SOUTH was just interested in collating whatever photographs could be mustered of the people concerned for use with the "scoop", without further thought of whatever adverse consequences caused, or how you may have prejudiced the support and defence of those concerned.

It should be a well-known fact that quite a lot of people in our community like to believe only the worst of others, and, when the press rushes to stoke the fire by projecting what appears to be the "worst" in people, persecutors (of those who care and fight for their fellow man) normally have a ball.

So well done SOUTH for your damaging "scoop" and purported revelations of those who are not yet in a position to defend themselves. I can assure that we, the parents of the 15 people involved, their kinsman, and the community at large are not at all impressed, of the direction you have taken to try to "sell" your newspaper.

SIGNED BY SOME OF THE PARENTS
CBS men not to blame, says PW's daughter

By ANDREW DONALDSON and BARRY STREEK

THE State President's daughter yesterday defended the cameramen and crew who spent "some time" with her during the making of the CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid".

It is understood CBS Television bureau chief in Johannesburg Mr Bill Mutschman has been summoned to the office of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The film, on young South Africans, screened in the US earlier this week, contrasted interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Miss Botha's involvement in the documentary has led to a considerable outcry from government-supporting newspapers. Among others, the Burger carried a front-page report yesterday headlined "Rozanne was misused to get at South Africa".

But the State President's daughter, who has not yet seen the documentary, defended the cameramen and production crew: "It's not their fault. It was probably made more anti-us overseas."

Sapa-Reuter reports that CBS denied charges yesterday that it had violated local work rules or taken advantage of Miss Botha.

CBS spokesman, Mr Tom Goodman said the network had not broken any law. "They (the crew) went in on valid visas."

"She was well aware of the programme's contents. She's an extremely intelligent woman and could have ended the interview at any time."
ANC wants talks, peace, terrorist

Staff Reporter

THE African National Congress wanted nothing more than "true negotiations" resulting in "genuine peace and lasting justice" but this was impossible while apartheid was intact, convicted terrorist Mxolisi Edward Petane told the Supreme Court.

Giving evidence yesterday in mitigation of sentence, Petane, 29, a member of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, said his organisation's struggle was for justice and that he rejected the Government's definition of the ANC as a terrorist(135,11),(803,986).

He said: "The ANC accepted the invitation to participate in the deliberations that produced the 1977 Additional Protocols (to the 1949 Geneva Convention) and in 1980 became the signatory of this document, thus abiding by the law of war."

Petane said no terrorist organisation had been invited to take part in the talks, only legitimate liberation movements.

The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe "emphatically reject terrorism as a form of fighting."

In its early stages Umkhonto we Sizwe opted for a sabotage campaign emphasising that the loss of life should be avoided at all costs, said Petane.

Intransigence

"The motive behind this campaign was that the regime should come to its senses about the seriousness of the demand for self-determination by the oppressed majority before there is bloodshed."

Government intransigence had resulted in the guerrilla war gaining momentum and in the inevitability of bloodshed.

This realisation and its insistence on minimising bloodshed and humanising the war led the ANC to enter the Additional Protocol talks.

Petane began his address to the court by telling Mr Justice J H Conradie and his assessors: "Since this is my last opportunity to speak I would like to express my appreciation of the sensitivity of this court during the course of this trial to my position as a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe and to my lordship for your sensitivity and that of the members of the Bench."

Believing his prosecution to be a "grave breach of international law", Petane refused to plead to the charges at the start of the trial.

He said they were "an attempt by the state to deprive MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) combatants and all struggling people of their legitimate right to fight and overthrow this crime against humanity, as apartheid is now recognised in international law."

He "denied the legitimacy of the ruling government" because the British Government had violated the 1919 League of Nations Covenant and granted independence to a white minority community.

As a result subsequent South African governments "became merely de facto", he said.

"I believe that such governments have no legitimacy because they are not based on the will of the people."

The de facto governments had gradually become "tyrannical regimes and enemies of the common good."

Friend and foe

Petane said he first experienced "the cruel and ruthless tyranny of this regime" during the 1976 riots with the "violent reaction to our initially peaceful demonstrations against inferior Bantu education."

He realised that the conflict was not simply between black and white but between oppressor and oppressed.

"Colour played very little role in distinguishing between friend and foe (during the riots)."

"We were shot by black policemen and treated by white doctors who risked their lives by coming to the townships, and their jobs by not reporting those who had bullet wounds to the police."

Petane said he read the Freedom Charter at this time.

"It provided a sober and objective solution to this country's constitutionalised problems declaring 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white' and that 'no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people'."

"An organisation with this kind of approach to this country's future naturally became my political home after my experiences during the riots and I therefore joined the ANC."

"It was not because of my desire for violence but because I was left with only two choices... submit to tyranny or fight apartheid."

(Proceeding)
Magistrate’s ban on Mbeki rally shocks UDF

Staff Reporter

The chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron, declined to give reasons today for his decision to ban the Govan Mbeki rally, to have been held in Athlone on Sunday.

United Democratic Front Western Cape secretary Mr Joe Marks said the ban was “a great shock to the UDF”.

Mr Theron said: “We do not usually give reasons for a decision.”

He said he gave members of the Mbeki reception committee a chance to reply to police affidavits before he made his decision.

His decision was conveyed to the committee yesterday.

Mr Theron said he was not prepared to disclose the contents of the police affidavits filed in opposition to the request for permission to hold the rally as they were “not for public consumption”.

However, the committee’s legal representative said Brigadier Eben Coetzee of the police security branch had said in an affidavit that police would find it difficult to do their duty at the rally.

THREAT TO PEACE

Brigadier Coetzee had said police expected 100 000 people to attend the rally, but the Athlone Stadium could hold only 20 000 and that the presence of a large number of police could lead to serious threats to public peace.

The UDF’s Mr Marks said the ban was “a great shock to the UDF”.

“Although the Government released Mr Mbeki and promised that he would be allowed to participate in legal political activities, it now seems determined to silence him.”
They come from different worlds

From ALAN DUNN
Argus Foreign Service in Washington

An American television programme contrasting the black and white worlds of South African youth featured a painful mismatch between the daughters of two South African leaders. State President PW Botha and the African National Congress's Nelson Mandela.

Rosanne Botha, 27, and Zinzi Mandela, 27, were shown as having very little in common, with Miss Botha stumbling through her political views, and an articulate Miss Mandela displaying practice and ease at holding questions on her father and the country's future.

Miss Botha's world was shown as one of air-conditioned political views, suntans, beaudon, fetching fashions, careful grooming, folk singing, and trendy parties to loud music at the official residence in Cape Town.

Miss Mandela's was reflected as one of deprivation, survival, bitterness, anger, police harassment and life without a vote where poverty was the norm.

Whether or not the dubbing that Miss Botha took was engineered at a CBS television editor's desk is not known. The hour-long report by CBS news legend Walter Cronkite was titled "Children of Apartheid."

In a note last month, South Africa's Bureau for Information apparently emphasised to CBS that Mr Cronkite had abused the terms of his visa. He had been granted admission to South Africa as a tourist only. Children of Apartheid was shown nationally in the US on Saturday night, amid some fear at the network that the screening may jeopardise the network's future in South Africa.

No deception

CBS said Miss Botha had been "well aware" of the programme's content. There had been no attempt to conceal it from her: "As you know, she is very intelligent and could have terminated the interview at any time," said CBS spokesman Tom Goodman.

There had been no deception, he said, and CBS believed there was no reason for any repercussions involving the status of the network's bureau in Johannesburg.

The popular "People" magazine judged Miss Botha after previewing the Cronkite report to be a "SAP" (South African President) — a commonly used American term to define a very sheltered, pampered and precious person.

Mr Cronkite said reports like Children of Apartheid were assembled "at some risk and with infrequent questioning of reporters and camera crews. Some of the young people who spoke to us on camera did so with the knowledge that they might be subject to arrest," he said.

He indicated that the programme's producer, Mr Brian Ellis, had interviewed the children because of his visa restriction. Scenes of Miss Botha on a Cape Town beach opened the programme, with her saying she believed in a "fair, moderate" approach to South Africa's problems and extolling her father's virtues.

If Mr Botha was sitting across from her now, Miss Mandela said, she would kick him where it hurt most: "I've got nothing more to say to PW. Obviously he's turned a deaf ear, he's not prepared to hear what the black man wants; he's not interested in giving us what we want."

Miss Mandela said she always joked that she had been raised by the South Africa Police — "They've been part of my life ever since I can remember," she said when Mr Ellis noted their first interview had been interrupted by a police visit.

"It's Rosanne's world," said Mr Cronkite. "It is still possible — for the moment — to postpone reality, to detach oneself from the possibilities that white South Africa might be a borrowed place on borrowed time."

Miss Botha then asserted that if one was not happy with the government's policies and went against them usefully, one should expect to be detained: "If you're unhappy about something, you shouldn't talk about it. It means, I can go and see my father... any young person in the country can go to the president and say, 'Sir, I disagree with this, that and the other thing."

"And if he doesn't want to change it, then there are laws to see him out. It's a democracy, it's supposed to be a democracy."

But Miss Mandela's world was not a democracy, said Mr Cronkite. Her was life without a vote, where fear and uncertainty usually wore uniforms.

Said Miss Botha: "Freedom to me isn't shooting for liberation, but fighting for individual freedom and things like that. You'll get it if you're adamant enough. You'll get freedom, you'll get people to listen to you."

Responsibility

"You don't have to shout and hold up banners and carry on like a madman... unless you're in an oppressed situation, I suppose you need to do that occasionally, but in a responsible manner," she said. Freedom and responsibility went together, otherwise there would be chaos.

The Botha-Mandela comparison unfurled about over 15 minutes of the report. The report then expanded into bites of interviews with Xhosa youths undergoing a tribal circumcision ceremony, Voortrekker boys hiking, a young white girl saying the Bible dictated that war was inevitable, and black and white youths vociferously rejecting apartheid.

It also showed a gang of townships youths, known as the Comrades, meeting to hear a report from a member on the killing of a person and planning the next murder.
Molobi held

ANTI-APARTHEID activist, Eric Molobi, was detained in Johannesburg under emergency regulations yesterday, as he was leaving a meeting to discuss a Mbeki Trust, attorney Mrs Priscilla Jana said yesterday.

National co-ordinator of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and executive member of the UDF, Mr Molobi, was meeting Mrs Jana and others to discuss the formation of the trust and a reception for the ANC leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, recently released after serving 23 years in prison.

Mrs Jana said police confirmed that Mr Molobi, a father of two children, was being held under Section 3 of the Emergency Regulations.

Members of the Security Police waited outside Mrs Jana's central Johannesburg office while the meeting was in progress, she said, and arrested Mr Molobi as he left.

In response the UDF National Executive Committee released a statement condemning the detention of Mr Molobi.

The statement reads: "We are shocked and angered at the detention of NECC national co-ordinator and UDF member Eric Molobi. This detention comes at a time when government security officials have announced that they will be taking action even against people who are acting within the law."
ANC wants 'negotiations for peace'

By ANDREW DONALDSON

THERE was nothing the ANC wanted more than "true negotiations that will result in genuine peace and lasting justice for all", convicted Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member Mxolisi Pelete told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Elegantly dressed in a grey suit, the well-spoken Petane — convicted of terrorism in terms of the Internal Security Act — was reading from a prepared statement as evidence in terms of mitigation of sentence.

Last week, the 29-year-old man was found guilty of placing a bomb in the back seat of a car in a parking lot, and of two counts of attempted murder — shooting a policeman who came looking for him at his shack and throwing a grenade which injured four others on the day he was arrested in KTC.

Beginning his address, he turned to the Bench: "Allow me to express my appreciation of the sensitivity of this court during the course of this trial to my position as a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe."

He had refused to plead because — as he told the court — his prosecution had been a grave breach of international law in terms of the 1977 Additional Protocols to the 1949 Geneva Convention to which the ANC was party.

The charges against him had been an attempt by the state to deprive MK combatants and all struggling people of their right to fight and overthrow apartheid, described as a "crime against humanity".

"I first experienced the cruel and ruthless tyranny of this regime during the 1976-77 riots. With stones and dustbin lids against Hippo, teargas and live ammunition we resisted and rejected Bantu Education and all unjust and discriminatory laws of apartheid's oppression." He joined MK "not because of my desire for violence but because the time had come in my life when I was left with only two choices — to submit or to fight apartheid".

MK was not a terrorist organization, he said. From the outset, the organization had rejected terrorism as a "form of fighting".

Earlier, Mr D Rothwell, the Deputy Attorney-General, questioned the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Mr Frank Chikane, about Christianity and the Bible.

"Are you a Christian?" Mr Rothwell asked.

"Yes I am," Mr Chikane replied.

"Are you familiar with the Bible?"

"I read it 9½ times when I was in prison," said Mr Chikane, a Pietermaritzburg Treason trialist.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice H Condolee addressed with two assessors, Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier. Mr D Rothwell, Deputy Attorney-General, appeared for the state with Mr Mike Stone. Mr M Dones, instructed by R Vassen and Co, appeared for Petane."
Bid to free 2 UDF officials

JOHANNESBURG — An urgent application for the release of two United Democratic Front (UDF) officials began in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr. Mafeso Morobe, the UDF's acting publicity secretary, and Mr. Mohamed Valli Moosa, the acting general secretary, are challenging their detention under the emergency regulations. The application is being opposed by the Minister of Law and Order.

The two were arrested in Port Elizabeth in July this year.

The hearing continues today. — SAPA
7 die in Maritzburg fighting

PRETORIA. Eight people died in clashes overnight — seven of them in the faction-torn Maritzburg area, police reported yesterday.

Six men were killed and many others injured after a group, who travelled by bus to the Deda area near Maritzburg, attacked residents and property. Police reported that a 67-year-old man was stabbed at least 129 times. Twenty-one men were arrested and firearms were seized.

Monday's violence follows a weekend UDP rally in Edendale, which allegedly aimed at seeking peace with rival Inkatha supporters.

At Taylor's Hall police fired shotguns and birdshot to disperse illegal gatherings. One such group had barricaded roads. At least 14 people were arrested, and the body of a 22-year-old man who had been stabbed and beaten to death was found.

At Tyokville, near Uitenhage, police found the body of a 17-year-old youth, who had also been stabbed and beaten to death. — Saps
JOHANNESBURG

The United Democratic Front announced yesterday that it had not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during of its Christmas campaign running from tomorrow through to Christmas Day.

In a statement, the UDF outlined its plans for the period and appealed to people to conduct themselves with dignity during the campaign, to avoid "drunkenness in the streets" and to carry out the campaign "in a politically disciplined manner."

The plan outline calls for the participation of church, sports and cultural bodies, together with a period of silence for political prisoners.

"The UDF has not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during this time."

"All rumours to this effect are totally incorrect and can only serve to confuse the people," the statement said. — Sapa
Witness abandoned PAC as it was useless, court told

Daily Dispatch Reporter

UMTATA — A witness testifying in camera in a regional court trial here yesterday said that he had abandoned the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), because it had become "useless".

The witness, referred to in court only as Mr X, was testifying in the trial of seven accused facing charges in connection with the banned PAC.

He continued to give evidence yesterday with the public gallery cleared and only the press allowed to remain.

The seven accused are Mr Leo Rubusana Kani, Mr Salakatyo Vililema Simuken, Mr Agreement Sibigibo Mpendulo, Miss Nomthandazo Luisi, Mr Vivien Msimakala Swartzboodi, Mr Victor Tsokolo Zamela and Mr Synod Madlebe.

Mr Madlebe was not in court as he is recovering from a stroke after being admitted to the Umtata Hospital in October.

They have pleaded not guilty to the charges.

Mr X was being cross-examined by the council for the defence, Mr Justice Poswa, about how much he knew about the PAC, and whether his comments about the organisation were pure conjecture or not.

Mr X said he had never reached a level where he knew as much as the PAC's central committee but from what he had gathered he was sufficiently knowledgeable.

He added that there were those in the central committee who could not write and he had had to prepare speeches for them and lecture them.

Mr X said the PAC's high command lacked manpower and that he was one of the first to show that the organisation had support back home.

He said the feeling of the cadres was that the central committee was not doing anything about a home-going programme.

When Mr X was first cross-examined by Mr Poswa he said he had left South Africa because of his political beliefs at the time, and because he had realised that talking would not bring about change.

"I wanted every black man to have full political rights because I was unhappy about the position of the black man. The things that concerned me were the lack of political participation in South Africa and life below the poverty line.

"I still maintain these views because change is not complete, and it's my view that it is the South African Government which denies these political rights." he admitted that since he had joined the South African Police he was against the fight against democracy, and "completely on the side of the enemy".

However, he said he would not like to make people believe the PAC was a democratic organisation as he had experienced a lot of rot in the PAC, but he had not given up on democracy ever being attained.

He said that after becoming disillusioned with the PAC he and others had tried to hand themselves to the Tanzanian Government, but the government would not listen as Ptoleko Lebalo had been a close friend of Tanzanian President, Dr Julius Nyerere.

He said he had decided at the end of 1980 to abandon the PAC shortly after he had returned from a trip to Communist China. He had realised that the PAC was useless but he could not do anything as he knew he could be killed.

Asked about the assassination of David Sibeko, Mr X said the late PAC official was killed by PAC cadres after he had been kidnapped from his room and taken to Morogoro.

The case is proceeding.
We did not call for a boycott - UDF

THE United Democratic Front announced yesterday that it had not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during the term of its Christmas campaign from Thursday to Christmas day.

In a statement to Sapa, the UDF outlined plans for the period and appealed to people to conduct themselves with dignity during the campaign; to avoid "drunkenness in the streets" and to carry out the campaign "in a politically disciplined manner."

The plan outline calls for church, sports and cultural bodies participation, together with a period of silence for political prisoners.

"The UDF has not called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during this time. All rumours to this effect are totally incorrect," the statement said. — Sapa.
‘Spy’ to face new charges

A FORMER security branch policeman, who was last week sentenced to 14 years imprisonment for spying for the banned African National Congress, is expected to appear in court again on further charges of corruption and car theft.

Matshwenyego Daniel Mokgabudi of Atteridgeville is expected to appear in the Pretoria Regional Court tomorrow on charges of bribery, alternatively corruption, the Sowetan established yesterday.

A spokesman for his lawyers confirmed that their client had been told to appear tomorrow on a charge of bribery or alternatively corruption. They also confirmed that he will only appear for a formal remand.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria yesterday said Mokgabudi was also facing charges of car theft. He is due to appear in the magistrate’s court on January 4 next year, the police spokesman said.

Mokgabudi and another former security branch policeman Tshifhango Cedric Rabuti (34) of Soshanguve were each sentenced to 14 years imprisonment by Mr AF Snyman in the Pretoria Regional Court last Thursday on charges of spying for the ANC.
'Mr X' raps PAC

"THE banned Pan Africanist Congress is riddled with corruption from top to bottom in its officialdom," said a State witness codenamed "Constable X" yesterday at the trial of seven Transkeians charged with PAC activities and appearing in the Umtata Regional Court.

The accused facing charges ranging from furthering the aims of PAC to harbouring terrorists, recruiting people to join PAC and possessing banned literature, are: Mr Leo Kantolo, Mr Salakatya Simuku, Mr Sgqibo Mpendulo, Mr Synod Madlebe, Ms Nomthandazo Lusizi, Mr Vivian Swaartbooi and Mr Victor Zamela, all of Transkei.
Mbeki's city rally banned

By PETER DENNEHY

The Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W. P. Theron, has refused permission for the Govan Mbeki rally which was to have been held on Sunday in the Athlone Stadium. The Mbeki Reception Committee, which organized the rally, had expected a crowd of 50,000 to attend the rally. Ms Zubeida Jaffer, one of the conveners, said last night.

According to a security police affidavit submitted to the magistrate, police expected a crowd of 100,000. Brigadier Eben Frederick Coetzee submitted that the stadium could only accommodate 20,000.

Mr E Mohamed, an attorney, said he and members of the Recepton Committee had been called to Mr Theron's offices yesterday.

Mr Theron had given him access to the police affidavits and an opportunity to draw up replying affidavits, he said.

At 4:30pm, Mr Theron had called him to tell him he had decided not to grant permission for the rally, Mr Mohamed said.
ANC's Petane a leading figure 'in future SA'

"Don't curtail them too much," the judge advised.

Earlier, Petane was cross-examined by the Deputy Attorney-General, Mr D Rothwell, who complimented him on the manner in which he presented his statement to the court on Tuesday.

"You entered this country as a political commissioner; and that is a position of authority and presumably you have some authority over other soldiers in the field," he asked.

"I was a deputy commander," Petane replied.

"If you've been given a term of imprisonment, don't think you'd be rehabilitated?"

"In what way?" Petane asked.

"To give up the struggle."

"Still under apartheid?"

"Yes," Mr Rothwell said. "Under the present government."

"No sir."

Mr Justice Conradie provided with two assessors, Mr L P Pringle and Mr W R Vivier, Mr Rothwell appeared with Mr Mike Donen and the whole of the ANC."
‘Community interests a factor’ in ANC case

Staff Reporter

THE interests of the community had to be taken into account when a person was sentenced for a crime. In sentencing a member of the African National Congress convicted of terrorism, the court would have to decide which community it was serving.

This was said in the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday by Mr Michael Donen, appearing for Mxolisi Edward Petane, 29, the ANC member who has been convicted of terrorism and two counts of attempted murder.

Mr Donen argued that it would be a very small community that would require Petane to be “destroyed by his sentence”.

“The guidelines set down for sentencing suggest that a sentence must be in the interests of the community. Which community? If you asked the international community or most of the community of South Africa what they felt and what they thought of the accused’s crime they would probably say ‘He did it for us’.”

Mr Donen referred to evidence given by Dr Tom Lodge, a political scientist who is considered an expert on the ANC. Dr Lodge said the ANC had the support of 40 percent of the population.

If 40 percent of the country would say Petane did it for them, there were those in the Christian community and not necessarily ANC supporters who accepted violence and counter-violence and understood it as such, said Mr Donen.

Petane’s character and intelligence were such that he might one day be able to make a contribution to the country.

“Yes, my own feelings are that he is likely to,” Mr Justice Conradie said.

Earlier Petane said he would forfeit his right to prisoner-of-war status if he attacked civilian targets.

He argued that his trial in a criminal court was a “grave breach of international law.”

The judge asked Petane if he would expect to be treated as a PoW if he attacked civilian targets.

Petane: No sir. I would lose my status.

Under cross-examination by Mr D Rothwell, SC, for the State, Petane said he was a soldier in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

Mr Rothwell: If this court sent you to prison would you still hold that position of authority after your release?

Petane: I hope so.

Mr Rothwell: Would it still be your duty to continue the struggle?

Petane: If by then apartheid is not overthrown, yes.

Mr Rothwell: If you go to prison don’t you think you’ll become rehabilitated, that you’ll leave the ANC and lead a normal life?

Petane: Still under apartheid?

Mr Rothwell: Yes.

Petane: No, sir.
COSATU, along with other “democratic” organisations, called on the Government not to go ahead with the execution of the “Sharpeville Six”, the trade union federation said yesterday.

“We are aligning ourselves with other democratic organisations who have expressed concern about the impending hanging.”

the statement from the Congress of SA Trade Unions said.

The Six, five men and a woman, face the gallows after the Appellate Division’s recent decision to dismiss their appeals against the death sentence.

Cosatu rejected the use of the death sentence for political activists, the statement said.

The “escalation of conflict” can be attributed directly to the political policies of the Government, Cosatu added.

“Successive governments have attempted to deny the majority of people any democratic means to redress grievances.”

The “only solution” to the conflict was for the Government to allow “full and open democratic political participation,” to end repression of political opponents, to lift the state of emergency,” Cosatu said.
GOVAN MBeki is coming to Cape Town this weekend "no matter what happens".

The veteran African National Congress leader, released recently after 23 years on Robben Island, was scheduled to speak at an open-air rally on Sunday.

Permission to hold the meeting was refused on Tuesday by the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron.

At the time of going to press, the Mbeki Reception Committee was preparing to challenge the banning of the rally in the Supreme Court, while looking at the possibility of holding an indoor meeting, possibility at the University of the Western Cape.

"No matter what happens, Govan Mbeki will be in Cape Town this weekend. Even if there is no rally, people just want to meet him."
Secret congress 'first in 10 years'

From MARIMUTHU SUBRAMONEY

DURBAN.—The Natal Indian Congress, one of the oldest political organisations in South Africa, recently held its first national conference in a decade — in secret.

Although organised under the strains of the Emergency Regulations, the conference held somewhere in Durban last weekend — attracted more than 200 delegates from 19 branches.

That NIC organised a conference at a time when the Government is employing some of its most repressive measures against progressive forces, is a clear demonstration of the tenacity of South Africa's anti-apartheid Indian leaders.

The calibre of the leaders it has chosen to head the organisation and the content of its resolutions show that NIC is headed and shoulders above other organisations.

Several of those elected to official positions have been banned, detained, house-arrested, jailed or tried for high treason.

**Allies**

Mr George Sewpersad, president, has been banned, detained and tried for high treason; Mr Mewa Ramgobin, vice-president, was banned for more than 17 years, detained and tried for high treason; Mr Billy Nair, vice-president, has served 22 years on Robben Island; Dr Hoosen Coovadia, vice-president, has been harassed and intimidated; Mr AS Chetty, vice-president, has been banned, detained and refused a passport; Dr Farooq Meer, joint secretary, has been detained and denied a passport; Mr Alf Karrim, joint secretary, has been detained and refused a passport; and Mr Hassim Sechal, treasurer, has been refused a passport. Nair and three other officials, Mr Yunus Mahomed, Mr Praveen Gordhan and Mr Roy Padayachee, have all three activists been previously detained and banned.

**Opportunistic**

One of the ANC's strongest allies when it was still a legal organisation, NIC has adopted some of the most far-reaching resolutions which will propel the Indian community into the forefront of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Delegates at the conference rejected apartheid structures, particularly the tri-cameral parliament which was being used by "opportunist" Indians to "mislead" the community.

NIC, which received messages of support from the Indian government and the ANC, also showed it was not only concerned about the situation in South Africa when it condemned Pretoria's de-stabilising role in Southern Africa. It called for the immediate withdrawal of SADF troops from Angola and Namibia.

The Congress also condemned the United States, Britain, West Germany and Japan for their "collaboration with apartheid".

The "constructive engagement" policies of President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher were merely smoke-screen to buttress racial domination in South Africa, it said.

NIC's high-profile stance has its genesis in the writings, thoughts and leadership qualities of its founder, Mahatma Gandhi.—(PTSA)
Sansco key to Nusas success

THE need to create stronger links between the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the South African National Students Congress (Sansco) was one of the main items on the agenda at the 65th congress of Nusas last weekend.

The importance attached by Nusas to their relationship with Sansco is clear from a resolution adopted at the congress in which Nusas resolved to reaffirm and strengthen its alliance with Sansco.

"The alliance between the two students' organisations was strengthened in 1987 through joint campaigns and increased co-ordination at national and local levels," said re-elected Nusas president, Steve Kromberg, a masters student in Afrikaans literature at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The campaign against the De Klerk proposals and the "One Person, One Vote" campaign were joint ventures with Sansco. Nusas last week adopted "Students for a Democratic Future" as its theme for 1988.

In a wide-ranging interview Kromberg said Nusas had also reaffirmed its affiliation to the United Democratic Front.

"The UDF is the most significant and representative anti-apartheid force in South Africa," he said.

"It provides Nusas with invaluable access to information about the realities of South African life, and it allows our students to actively participate alongside the democratic movement in changing South Africa.

"Our link with the UDF was the key point of Nusas' success this year. For example, Afrikaans students have been drawn to Nusas because it is clearly and unambiguously linked to the nonracial movement."

Describing Nusas' growth in the past year, he said it won a referendum at Maritzburg after an attempt by a conservative students' organisation to disaffiliate. And at Rhodes, which was previously disaffiliated, Nusas won the SRC's re-affiliation. "We now represent all five English-language universities."

New groups have also emerged at the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of Pretoria, as well as at the Natal Technikon. "We don't move in, we wait until groups approach us. Our strength is that we are the only group which offers a link to the broad democratic movement."

There was a significant mobilisation around the "One Person, One Vote" campaign and against police brutality at the time of the white elections.

Kromberg listed a series of attacks against Nusas, including infiltration by spies, smear pamphlets, intimidation of activists, and a spate of attacks from sections of the liberal press.

"Most significantly, the De Klerk proposals themselves have had the potential effect of forcing university administrations to become law-enforcement agencies which could bar open-air meetings and disallow community organisations to use the university facilities."

Nusas reiterated its view that government negotiations with the ANC were desirable as a means to end conflict and as part of the process to establish a democratic political solution.

"However, we wish to note with concern the increased repression meted out to democratic organisations in 1987, and we believe negotiations cannot be possible until all political parties are free to participate without the threat of government repression," Kromberg said.
Forbes was allegedly involved in the planning and execution of a broad-scale campaign targeting the police force, particularly after expanding the ANC cell in the 1980s. His activities were part of a larger network that included the police force's internal and external elements. Forbes was later accused of being a member of the "ANC cell" unit, as indicated by his arrested status.

Yasmin Eady

After the return of Forbes and Jacob, Forbes allegedly assisted in the control of the ANC structure in the Peninsula. He was also allegedly involved in the planning and execution of a broad-scale campaign targeting the police force, particularly after expanding the ANC cell in the 1980s. His activities were part of a larger network that included the police force's internal and external elements. Forbes was later accused of being a member of the "ANC cell" unit, as indicated by his arrested status.

Lionel Scott

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### News Sections

**Surveillance of police stations and CIEA headquarters**

This information is alleged to have been passed on to Forbes during his arrest. Forbes placed the device on the Devlin building.

**Detachment**

The arrest of the cell leader D (Commander) and the face of the device leader B is alleged to have triggered a raid on the Devlin building.

**Parow**

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**Hillbrow**

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**Sentinel**

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Last year, Leuso allegedly received a hand grenade from Pedro, which he kept in a freezer at his house in Soweto. This information is unverified and is therefore not considered reliable.

In October last year, Leuso is alleged to have received a truck containing four hand grenades, three time bombs, dynamite, and other items from Pedro, which he stored in his house in Soweto.

In about January this year, Leuso was allegedly trained in the handling of hand grenades by Pedro and subsequently received further training in the handling of time bombs, hand grenades, and dynamite. He was also allegedly involved in the theft of a minivan owned by a police officer and the planting of a time bomb in a police station.
By GEORGE HILL

ASHLEY FORBES and several others were involved in ANC cells, known as "detachments", which carried out sabotage attacks in various parts of the Peninsula.

This is alleged by the State in a preliminary indictment made available to Forbes, a University of the Western Cape student, and 14 others accused of involvement in ANC activities in the Western Cape.

The State alleges that Forbes was a commander of an ANC structure.

"As commander, he also ordered the expansion of the structure by the recruitment of new members," according to the indictment.

Forbes an 'ANC commander'
— See pages 10 and 11

The State alleges Forbes was involved in a handgrenade attack on the Manenberg police station.

Forbes, the State alleges, planned and executed a limpet mine attack on a pylon near the Goodwood Showgrounds.

He was also allegedly involved in a handgrenade attack on the house of a former policeman in Mitchells Plain.

The State alleges that the second accused, Peter Jacobs, left the country in June last year for military training in Angola.

He also allegedly served as a commander of an ANC structure in the West Cape.
MAGISTRATE FIRM ON BAN

THE Chief Magistrate of Wynberg in Cape Town, Mr WP Theron, declined to give reasons yesterday for his decision to ban the Govan Mbeki rally, which was due to be held in Athlone on Sunday.

"We do not usually give reasons for the decision," he said.

Mr Theron confirmed he had given members of the Mbeki reception committee a chance to reply to police affidavits before he took his decision.

His decision was conveyed to the committee on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr Theron said he was not prepared to disclose the contents of the police affidavits filed in opposition to the request for permission to hold the rally as they were "not for public consumption".

He was also not prepared to confirm or deny a report that Brigadier Eben Coetzee of the police security branch had said in an affidavit that the police would find it difficult to do their duty at the rally.

According to the report, Brigadier Coetzee, said police expected 100,000 to attend the rally at the Athlone Stadium but that the stadium could only hold 20,000 people.

Brigadier Coetzee is also reported to have said the presence of a large number of police would be required and this very presence could lead to "serious threats to public peace".
BEYOND THE BARRICADES

POPULAR RESISTENCE TO Apartheid IN THE EIGHTIES.

Forward by: Albertina Sisulu.
Pik tells of the ‘ANC lie’

FOREIGN Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, says “the lie” flaunted by the African National Congress during the past two years, that it should have governed South Africa by now, has been exposed, SABC radio news reports.

He said in Pretoria that it could be expected that the West would increasingly be disillusioned by the ANC, which would offer South Africa the opportunity of promoting its image abroad.

Referring to the guest programme of the Department of Foreign Affairs, whereby opinion makers and influential people are brought to South Africa, Mr Botha said because of the success of this method of promoting South Africa’s image, the guest programme should be expanded.

Policy

Meanwhile SABC radio news also reported deputy director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Glen Babb, as saying South Africa’s external policy towards African countries is to maintain stability, to assist economically and to ensure the development of southern Africa.

He said in an interview with SABC in Pretoria that there had been many positive changes in South Africa.

He pointed specifically to black political representation on a regional and municipal level.

He said the democratic process was irreversible. Stability in South Africa opened doors in Africa and to the rest of the world. — Sapa.
Govt must release Mandela — Sigcau

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE release of Mr Govan Mbeki should soon be followed by the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the Prime Minister of Transkei, Ms Stella Sigcau, said yesterday.

She also said that although the independence of Transkei was a fact, her government was prepared to consider a federal arrangement in which everyone had the equal democratic right to participate.

Ms Sigcau, who addressed a Cape Town Press Club luncheon, called for discussions and negotiations amongst all the people of Southern Africa as equals.

"Then, there might even be a rainbow in the sky," she said.

She added there was nothing she hated more than people who thought "they have a God-given right to think for others."
Sansco resolves to destroy apartheid

Education Reporter

THE South African National Students' Congress (Sansco) emerged from its 7th annual congress this week, "determined" to struggle "for the total destruction of apartheid", a spokesman said.

About 275 delegates from 62 branches attended the congress at the Peninsula Technikon, which ended on Tuesday.

Mr Bongani More (Rhodes) was elected as president, Mr Mzukisis Banzana of the (Natal/Durban) as vice-president, Mr Azhar Bham (Wits) as general-secretary, Mr Mcebisis Jonas (Rhodes) as national education and training officer, Mr Thandile Gubvencwana (UWC) Mr Mkhululi Nkohla (Natal) and Ms Thula Ngcobo (Medunsa) as women's organizer.
In the shadows of Kilimanjaro, a fifty-nation summit on SA

Diplomats from fifty countries descended on a small Tanzanian town for an ANC-hosted conference on apartheid last week. The speeches were predictable; perhaps the conference’s significance was that when the ANC called, the world was willing to arrive

anti-apartheid activists, stayed home to attend the funeral of Chicago’s mayor, Harold Washington.

The top command of Umkhonto we Sizwe — commander Joe Modise, chief of staff Chris Hani and political commissar Steve Tshwete — was not there, nor was Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo. “Someone has to hold the fort,” explained an ANC official.

“They are tired of endless international conferences,” explained another.

Much of the conference time was spent on endless solidarity messages which, after a few hours, all seemed to sound the same and make exactly the same points.

Many ANC people who were there collectively resembled a diplomatic corps without a government — ambassadors” posted to faraway places with memories of “home” fading with the long years in exile.

As a diplomatic initiative, the conference at the very least allowed the ANC to spell out to the world solidarity movements, who emerged even more clearly under the wing of the organisation, its perspectives on the struggle ahead.

The ANC position on negotiations is that it recognised the need for talks at the end of the road — but only if they are about the transfer of power to majority rule. Before then the organisation will not renounce or suspend the armed struggle.

Negotiations in the near future with the National Party government are thus ruled out, subordinated to the international political and — most importantly — economic front.

THREE-VIEWS-ON-THE-PROSPECTS-FOR-NEGOTIATION

THREE of the central participants in last week’s ANC conference in Arusha expressed their views — and sometimes the differences between them — on the issue of negotiations with the South African government.

The following are edited versions of these views.

MWALIMU Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania, in the opening address:

In the end we shall get to the position where discussions and negotiations can take place, and will have to take place, with the apartheid authorities. But these discussions and negotiations can only take place between the people’s genuine leaders — as free men and women — on the one side, and the apartheid authorities on the other.

Negotiations between prisoners and prison authorities are not really about fundamentals, and cannot be about fundamentals. Yet the negotiations have to be about fundamentals — that is, about the abolition of apartheid, and how the succeeding non-racial authorities would take over effective political power.

Anything else is a snare and delusion. Nothing else could bring a chance for democracy and freedom for the South African people.

Such negotiations are not possible yet. But there will come a time when the South African racist government, and its institutions of military power, have accepted that racial government is no longer possible. Then they will accept the necessity to have discussions with the free leaders of the free people’s organisations about how the transfer of power takes place.

This we know, and in their heart of hearts the intelligent ones among them also know, all these “reforms” are merely attempts to confuse the forces ranged against apartheid, and to avoid the inevitable.

Until these negotiations are held, and concluded, and a government of the people sits in Pretoria, the task of the ANC is to continue the struggle. And the task of non-racialists everywhere is to support them.

COMRADE Y Y Vagris, deputy chairman of the presidium of the supreme soviet of the USSR, addressing the conference:

The possibilities of a political settlement of the problems of Southern Africa have been widely discussed lately. We are in favour of such a settlement.

As far as we know, the ANC, despite the policy of repression against
the next election for the House of Delegates (HoD).

Disaffected members of the old guard, who campaigned against such a move in 1979 (Current Affairs June 12) believe they are under attack as a prelude to just such a radical switch in policy. They may have a point — Farook Meer, publicity spokesman for the revitalised executive of the NIC, emphasises that the NIC is not in "blanket opposition" to the HoD but will review its policy with changing circumstances.

But if resolutions taken at the NIC’s closed conference last Sunday provide a reliable guide, such a change in policy is unlikely. Targets included the Group Areas Act (GAA), the State of Emergency, education, RSC, the HoD, and the Indaba.

Appeals to scrap the GAA were expressed in comparatively mild language. The resolution on the emergency, by contrast, referred to "the fascist Botha regime . . . death squads . . . and dummy institutions." It demanded an end to the emergency, the release of detainees; and the scrapping of Joint Management Centres, the National Security Council, and the tricameral parliament.

The new constitution came under fire again in resolutions calling for "people’s democratic education" and the "isolation and dissolution" of HoD. The HoD was dismissed as comprising "apartheid collaborators and stooges" who had extended the life of apartheid and worsened the crisis in Indian education.

A resolution on "negotiations with the Nationalist government" committed the NIC to oppose "any attempt at collaboration with any government institution, be it the tricameral parliament, RSCs, etc." It listed six pre-conditions for reconsidering this position: the unbanning of the ANC; the free return of exiles; the release of all detainees and political prisoners; an end to violence by the State and the withdrawal of troops from townships; the repeal of repressive security laws; and the "dismantling of the tricameral parliament and the Bantustan administrations."

Under the circumstances, participation in the next round of elections for the HoD would require a massive and unlikely policy somersault.
THE freed African National Congress leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, 77, was served today with an order restricting him to the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth.

The order was made under the Public Safety Act and was issued by the Commissioner of the South African Police, General Hendrick Gideon De Witt in Pretoria.

It was served on Mr Mbeki in the House of Resurrection in Salsoneville, Port Elizabeth, at 8am by Lieutenant-Colonel Hermanus Barend du Plessis, of the security police in Port Elizabeth.

The order stipulates that Mr Mbeki is prohibited for as long as the regulations under the Public Safety Act remain in force, without the previously obtained consent of the Commissioner of South African Police, from:

- Entering or remaining in the boundary of the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth at any time.

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**From Page 1**

Mr Mbeki had been under house arrest since November 5, 1987, when he was informed of the state of emergency and that he would be restricted to the Eastern Cape Urban Area.

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**To PF's magisterial district**

Mr Mbeki's ban includes the Western Cape and Eastern Cape Provinces, where the ANC is widely in power.

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**By JIMMY MATYU**

Mr Mbeki had been under house arrest since November 5, 1987, when he was informed of the state of emergency and that he would be restricted to the Eastern Cape Urban Area.

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Mr Mbeki was released from prison in August 1989 after a 17-year sentence imposed in 1972 for sabotage.

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Restriction order on Mbeki

By STEPHEN WROTTESLEY
and PAT CANDIDO
Staff Reporters.

FREED former African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki, 77, was today served with an order restricting him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and prohibiting him from giving interviews to the Press.

The restrictions, in terms of section 7(1) of the emergency regulations ordered by the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt.

The South African Press has not been permitted to quote Mr Mbeki because he is a listed person but the new curbs also prevent foreign journalists from quoting him.

The order was served on Mr Mbeki in Salsoneville, Port Elizabeth, at 8am today by Lieutenant-Colonel Hermanus du Plessis of the security police.

Mr Mbeki, former national chairman of the ANC, was released from Robben Island prison on November 5 after serving 23 years of a life sentence for sabotage.

Unconditional
The Government said at the time his release was unconditional.

Mr Mbeki was preparing to travel to Cape Town tomorrow to attend a private meeting at the University of the Western Cape and to have medical tests at Groote Schuur Hospital.

The order stipulates that as long as the regulations under the Public Safety Act are in force, Mr Mbeki may not go beyond the boundaries of the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth without the consent of the Commissioner of Police.

He may not conduct interviews with any “journalist, news reporter, news commentator or news correspondent within the said magisterial district”.

His attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, today condemned the restriction order, saying it had completely negated his release.

A police spokesman said General de Witt’s decision was in the light of the fact that Mr Mbeki had stated he was a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party and that he supported Marxism.

Disappointed

Mr Mbeki had said he would be led by the ANC and it was clear that his presence at meetings would be used to give the ANC a platform, the spokesman said.

Mr Mbeki was to meet representatives of more than 100 organisations in Cape Town tomorrow.

The meeting was arranged after the chief magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron, refused permission for him to speak at an outdoor rally at the Athlone Stadium on Sunday.

Mrs Jana said Mr Mbeki was “extremely disappointed and distressed particularly because he was expressly informed that his release was unconditional”.

He had, however, “accepted the order in his stride with a totally rational and controlled state of mind”.

Since his release Mr Mbeki has been in Port Elizabeth keeping a low profile. Neither he nor his wife have granted interviews.

Sources close to Mr Mbeki said he was relaxing and re-establishing contact with close friends and family.
FORMER securityorman presently
facing a 14-year jail
sentence for spying for
banned African
National Congress is
facing further charges of
allegedly receiving
bribe from an accused
in a "culpable docket"
related to the latter's
defense two years ago.

Mashwenyelo Dan-
Mokgabudi (30), of
Eeridtville, Pret-
or, is alleged to have
receved the amount in
a "culpable and unlaw-
ful" manner while he
served as a policeman
in August 1985,
according to the charge
sheet read in the
Pretoria Regional
Court yesterday.

According to the
charge sheet Mok-
kgabudi faces a charge of
having interfered with
the administration of
justice by allegedly
removing and taking
into his possession two
dockets from the office
of Warrant Officer
Mokgabudi in August 1985.

The State also
alleges that Mok-
gabudi, while still a
member of the SAP,
unlawfully and in a
corrupt manner re-
cived an amount of
R3000 from a Mr J
Malatji to confiscate
the two doctets in
which Malatji was
being accused of certain
crimes.

While Mokgabudi
was expected to appear
in court yesterday
morning, his lawyer,
Mr Billy Mothle,
unlawfully and in a
corrupt manner re-
cived an amount of
R3000 from a Mr J
Malatji to confiscate
the two doctets in
which Malatji was
being accused of certain
crimes.

The case was sub-
sequently removed from
the roll and indefinitely
postponed. Mokgabudi
was expected to plead
before the magistrate.

Mr W J van den Berg,
for the case to be
postponed to February
8 next year, according
to his lawyer who
asked for a check on
the matter with prosecutor Mr J H
van der Berg in the
morning.

Mokgabudi and
another former Security
Branch policeman
Tshifangho Cedric
Rabalu (34) of Soshau-
guwe were each
sentenced to 14 years
imprisonment by Mr A
F Snyman in a Pretoria
Regional Court last
Thursday on charges of
spying for the ANC.
Casspir flattens shack in shootout with ANC

THERE were screams of agony as a police Casspir rode over a shack in which four people, two of them suspected African National Congress guerrillas, were hiding.

The two ANC guerrillas, one believed to be highly trained and the other a woman, were killed by the police in a pre-dawn raid on the shack in Port Elizabeth's Soweto township.

Mlungu Sokupha, who skipped the country early this year, a 29-year-old only known as Mpumi, and Thozama Fibi died when a police Casspir drove over the shack.

Whiwha Oliphant, owner of the dwelling, was injured in the incident and taken into custody.

Police said they approached the dwelling and drew immediate fire. Heavy fire was exchanged and police warned the occupants of the shack to come out, which they refused to do.

The police then drove over the shack. According to witnesses, who do not wish to be named, many police cars and a Casspir were present and it appeared to be a planned operation to apprehend known guerrillas.

Shots were exchanged and police then rode over the shack. Witnesses said they heard screams coming from the people in the shack.

All three bodies had bullet wounds. Whiwha was badly wounded in the stomach and leg and is in Livingstone Hospital in a critical condition.

South African Police press liaison officer, Captain Peet Grobler, said police removed a number of weapons and a quantity of ammunition from the shack. No members of the security force were injured, he said.

All that remains of the shack is a pile of bent corrugated iron and a few pieces of broken furniture. A mattress was smouldering on the street.
Buthelezi in amazing swipe at UDF

In the midst of peace talks in the violence-strewn Pietermaritzburg area, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, has delivered a major denunciation of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

In a speech released to the press, he told his central committee the UDF and Cosatu were "not worthy" of reconciliation.

"I am now coming closer to believing that the only reconciliation there will ever be in this country is the reconciliation of the most powerful with those who pay homage to the powerful," Buthelezi said.

"We are talking about a life and death struggle. We are talking about all-or-nothing victories. We are talking about the final triumph by good over evil."

This speech was followed on Thursday by a breakdown in talks between the two groups. The Thursday talks, part of a series being held under the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce, were attended by several additional Inkatha delegates, including central committee member Seigfried Bhengu.

During the meeting, the delegation produced the October issue of the journal of the Marxist Workers Tendency of...
Buthelezi takes a swipe at UDF, Cosatu

the African National Congress — Inqaba Yabasebenzi — circulated by Buthelezi at the weekend’s Inkatha Central Committee meeting and demanded that the UDF/Cosatu delegates publicly repudiate the journal.

When they refused to do so, the talks deadlocked and were adjourned.

The UDF/Cosatu delegates said later this new development posed “serious difficulties” for the talks.

They had nothing to do with the document: it did not come from their structures, did not reflect the view of their organisations and as far as they knew had not been circulated in Pietermaritzburg, they said.

“Our approach has been to agree to concrete steps that will de-escalate violence and lead to peace. Attacks and retributions against each other cannot take us forward.

National chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Musa Zondi, said they demanded a public repudiation from the UDF/Cosatu.

Copies of Inqaba ya Basenbenzi were distributed at Buthelezi’s request, by his personal assistant, to members of the central committee last weekend, but some days before he had read part of the contents in his speech to Pietermaritzburg’s mayor, Mark Cornell, then on a goodwill visit to Ulundi.

The section read by Buthelezi to Cornell referred to vigilantes and continued, “Of these forces, Inkatha is the most formidable, because of the political base that vigilante-in-chief Gatsha Buthelezi has built in Zululand through fear and appeals to conservative tribal prejudice.

“For activists especially it is a matter of life and death... To work out and put forward a clear national strategy to defeat Inkatha, Uwusa and all vigilantes is an urgent task for the leadership of Cosatu, the UDF and the ANC.”

The writer goes on to criticise Cosatu for “softness and hesitation” on Inkatha and Uwusa.

However, the article then complains sharply about UDF president Archie Gumede signing a truce with Inkatha.

However the Marxist Workers Tendency (alleged by Buthelezi to have been responsible for the journal) is a small group of mainly white academics purged from the ANC in 1985 after years of disagreement.

Political scientist and acknowledged ANC expert, Dr Tumi Lodge, said yesterday the basically Trotskyite tendency and its journal were “not very significant”.

Lodge says the tendency is highly critical of the UDF as well as of Inkatha and, asked to comment on Buthelezi’s remarks concerning the journal, added, “This is Buthelezi at his most paranoid and stupid.”

During his address to the central committee, and with the next round of peace talks just four days away, Buthelezi referred to the continuing violence in Pietermaritzburg and to attempts at “reconciliation”.

“I must say rather bluntly that the UDF and Cosatu are not worthy of the status of organisations to whom we need to be reconciled. It is their choice that death keeps us apart and death is keeping us apart. There is no reconciliation with a spear being thrust into your heart...”
It's standing room only for police at the UDF/Cosatu rally in Pietermaritzburg, but they manage a look-in from their perch beyond the wall. Picture by BILLY PADDOCK.
Mbeki for closed city meeting

Staff Reporter

MR GOVAN MBEKI is expected to arrive in Cape Town on Saturday for a three-day visit during which he is scheduled to attend a "closed function" at the University of the Western Cape on Saturday night, a spokesman for the Mbeki Reception Committee, Ms Zubaida Jaffer, said yesterday.

He will also undergo medical tests, it was disclosed at a press conference yesterday attended by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairman of the UDF, Moulana Faried Essack, national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam, and other

UDF officials.

Archbishop Tutu said it was "an extraordinary coincidence that we should be marking this particular day - 10 December - which is Human Rights Day, with the erosion of the fundamental rights of association and communication.

"The banning of the Cape Town rally is the latest in a long series of provocative acts in which the government is itself behaving as a serious threat to peace and stability."

Although the convenors of the rally had offered undertakings to the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Theron, limiting the size of the rally and ensuring proper discipline and control, the rally had been prohibited.

"By frustrating peaceful political opposition, the government is encouraging people to abandon non-violent means of change," Archbishop Tutu said.

Archbishop Tutu said at the press conference in St George's Cathedral that he was to have met with Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, in Pretoria this week to discuss the Govan Mbeki reception rally, but had been forced to cancel the meeting following Wednesday's ban.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order yesterday confirmed that Archbishop Tutu had requested that his appointment be cancelled.

Sapa-Reuters reports that right-wingers, saying they fear the government might free jailed black nationalist Nelson Mandela by Christmas, have launched a campaign to keep him in prison.

Signposts, a newsletter devoted largely to attacking SA's black liberation theologians, is mailing leaflets urging readers to write to State President PW Botha and beg him to keep Mandela in Pollsmoor.

Political Correspondent

THE release of ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki from jail was a demonstration of the government's strength and not its weakness, according to an article in the latest edition of the National Party newspaper, Nasionalis.

The article dismisses "far-right" stories that "security forces have been blackened" in the back and "Mbeki is going to take over the country as Mugabe did."

The Nasionalis argues that 77-year-old Mr Mbeki was released on purely humanitarian grounds. His release would create goodwill and could advance negotiations.

"The government is adequately equipped to handle any of the consequences flowing from this — if an old man of 77 years is responsible for a government collapsing, it would in any case not have remained in power; as happened in Iran."

Nasionalis said it could not be permitted that anyone be "unnecessarily" raised to the status of martyr because he died in jail.
3 terror suspects die in PE shack

PORT-ELIZABETH—An alleged trained terrorist of the African National Congress (ANC) and two suspected collaborators—one a woman—were killed in a fierce battle with security policemen in Soweto here.

Their bodies, police said, were found in the rubble of a wood and iron shack which had been flattened by a Casspir when repeated calls by the police to those inside the shack to stop firing and come out were ignored.

Another woman, suffering from severe shock, escaped without injury, said the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Peter Grobler.

Capt Grobler said police seized an AK-M 47 assault rifle with five fully loaded magazines and several loose rounds of ammunition, a Star 9 mm pistol with two loaded magazines, a Russian-made RGD offensive hand grenade and the strap used to carry a limpet mine. No mine had been found.

"While the police were approaching the house, someone started firing with a fully automatic rifle.

"The fire was returned by the security policemen who had surrounded the house, but this had no effect, as the person inside the shack continued to fire," Capt Grobler said.

Using a loud hailer, the policemen repeatedly warned the inhabitants of the shack to cease fire and come out. This, however, was ignored, and the firing continued "non-stop," Capt Grobler said.

To prevent innocent people from being injured or killed in the crossfire, a Casspir was brought to the scene. The shack fell like a pack of cards.

Capt Grobler said one of the men had been identified as a "trained ANC terrorist." The other three are suspected collaborators. The investigation is continuing.
FREEDOM PLEA
FOR TWO FAILS

THE application for the release of two executive members of the United Democratic Front held under the state of emergency regulations was dismissed with costs in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Murphy Morobe, UDF's acting publicity secretary, and Mr Mahomed Valli Moosa, acting general secretary, were arrested in Port Elizabeth on July 22 this year. According to papers before court, they had gone to Port Elizabeth for "ordinary routine UDF business."

Mr Morobe, of Orlando East, and Mr Moosa of Lenasia, were transferred to Johannesburg on July 29 and kept in the Diepkloof prison. On September 22 they made an application for their release. The application said that the orders made by the respondent, the Minister of Law and Order, for their further detention in terms of regulation 3(3) of the state of emergency promulgated by Government Notice R96 of June 11 1987 be reviewed and set aside, alternatively that the orders be declared void.

Mr Justice van der Merwe said in his judgment, he was satisfied in his own mind that the Minister was entitled to act in terms of sub-regulation 3.

Arrest

It was quite clear, he said, that the arresting officer was fully warranted to arrest and detain Mr Morobe and Mr Moosa in terms of the emergency regulations.

The judge said there was more than enough information to show that the police had to act in terms of the emergency regulations. He said he was satisfied that in the present case, there was no merit in the application.
New clampdown

There is increasing speculation that government is considering new measures to restrict the activities of a wide range of "extra-parliamentary" opponents. The measures are likely to be justified by what is seen in the security establishment as a more sophisticated approach by opposition groups, and the inadequacy of existing laws to deal with activities which, while more subtle, are regarded as equally threatening to the State as violent unrest.

The speculation has been fuelled by Security Police chief Johann van der Merwe's frank acknowledgement to political journalists at a recent briefing in Walvis Bay that "legal radical" organisations, such as the UDF and its affiliates, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), are of more concern to the police than the "illegal radical" groups such as the ANC.

He says the police believe certain organisations are aiming mainly at "promoting a revolutionary climate" and bolstering the ANC, rather than at constitutional solutions.

Linked to this threat, says Van der Merwe, are indications that the ANC is ready to implement a strategy of even more daring and dramatic acts of violence. (Within days of his briefing, the ANC, at a strategy conference in Tanzania, recommitted itself to escalating the "armed struggle").

Van der Merwe says recent warnings to Botswana to prevent ANC insurgents using the country as a springboard to attack SA are not a ploy — "We're not playing a game."

He says there is evidence that Botswana and the ANC have had talks concerning ANC activity in the country. Further evidence, he says, comes from three ANC men arrested recently: 14 trained operatives are moving through Botswana on a mission to plant landmines on farm roads in the western Transvaal.

Van der Merwe says since the signing of the Nkomati Accord the ANC has changed its strategy and is now relying more heavily on locally trained operatives. The training, usually in the use of firearms, hand grenades and explosives, takes place in townships or in the bush.

In the first nine months of this year, police arrested 322 "trained terrorists" and killed another 32. Of the total, 73 were trained outside the country and 80 internally, says Van der Merwe. The origin of the training of 11 is unknown. There have also been significant changes in the pattern of attacks.

Until the end of 1984 the main target was railway installations, followed by State and public buildings. These two targets accounted for 38% of all attacks or attempted attacks in the nine years up to the end of 1984. The main weapons used during the period were TNT or plastic explosives, limpet mines and timed explosive devices (70% of the weapons used in all attacks).

But since 1985 the main targets have been attacks on civilians (mainly local councillors and officials) and police (72% of total attacks) and the main weapons used have been hand grenades, limpet mines and AK-47 rifles (72%).

Van der Merwe lists the advantages to the ANC of using locally trained operatives:

- They don't have to leave the country for training and are therefore not away from their communities for long periods;
- They don't suffer frustrations in training camps abroad while waiting to re-enter SA;
- They are less likely to be known by other operatives, which reduces the risk of them being identified to the security forces by rehabilitated terrorists;

Van der Merwe says the "drastic" change in the pattern of attacks can be attributed to:

- General unrest which has hampered police action;
- Recruiting, training and deploying of locally trained operatives;
- Identification of local black officials as part of the State structure that must be destroyed; and
- Forced deployment of a large number of operatives inside the country.

The scoreboard

ANC losses in the first 9 months of 1987

- Trained ANC operatives arrested:
  - TOTAL: 132
- Trained ANC operatives, "recruiters", couriers and "collaborators" arrested:
  - TOTAL: 187

Trained ANC operatives killed:

- TOTAL: 32
- Trainee ANC operatives, "recruiters", couriers and "collaborators" killed:
  - TOTAL: 2

Source: SAP
ANC man jailed for 17 years

By ANDREW DONALDSON

UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) member Mxolisi Petane was sentenced in the Supreme Court yesterday to a total of 17 years imprisonment after being convicted of one count of terrorism, in terms of the Internal Security Act, and two counts of attempted murder.

Petane had placed a bomb in a car outside a Parow shopping centre in July last year and had, in subsequent actions, shot at an unarmed policeman and injured four other policemen by throwing a grenade at them to escape arrest in KTC.

The 29-year-old MK deputy commander had refused to plead to the charges, claiming that as a prisoner of war and in terms of the Additional Protocols of the Geneva Convention he should not have been tried at all.

It was an argument that "opened up a (legal) can of worms" concerning future security trials, according to Mr Justice H Conradie.

Sentencing Petane, the judge said "there are deeds that are so morally detestable" and these included attacks by insurgents on civilian targets. "I have been told that everyone — even the African National Congress — disapproves of them."

Petane had placed a bomb outside a crowded shopping centre which he "claimed would not go off." It was intended to "strike a psychological blow" and to have drawn members of the security forces from the townships to white areas — and the judge found he did not "fall into this category" of insurgents.

"He did not desire the detonation of the bomb," the judge said.

"His culpability does not lie in having desired the destruction of lives; it lies in having risked the death and destruction (had the bomb gone off)."

For the terrorism charge, he was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment and for each of the attempted murder charges, seven years imprisonment.

The two seven-year sentences are to run concurrently; two years of which will run concurrently with the 12-year sentence.

An application by Mr Mike Donen, Petane's counsel, for leave to appeal was refused.

Earlier, in his argument, the Deputy Attorney-General, Mr D Rothwell, called for a life sentence "or a very long term of imprisonment" for the terrorism conviction and 10 years for each of the attempted murder charges.

Mr Rothwell said that at the time the bomb was planted the shoppers would consist of people of all races and shades of political opinion.

"Forty percent of them may well have been supporters of the ANC... the chances of it (the bomb) not going off were not that great."

When Petane was led away finally he shouted "Amandla!" to the gallery.

Mr Justice Conradie presided with two assessors, Mr L P Francis and Mr W K Vivier. Mr Rothwell appeared with Mr Mike Nove. Mr Donen was instructed by R van den Co.
Horror picture in anti-ANC adverts

LONDON. — The South African Embassy has placed advertisements in British newspapers, including the London Times, showing a picture of black and white “victims of an African National Congress carbomb explosion” in Pretoria.

The embassy move follows a recent series of ANC newspaper advertisements calling for financial and moral support.

The embassy advertisements say: “How could you possibly support this organisation?” The Pretoria explosion picture is captioned “ANC acts”.

The advertisements also list quotations under the headline “ANC speaks”. The quotations include:

"Necklaces"

"Together, hand in hand, with our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country ..." — Winnie Mandela (Quoted by Agence France Presse, April 19 1986).

There are two more, by Johnny Makatini and Oliver Tambo, neither of whom may be quoted in South Africa.

The advertisements invite applications to the embassy for more information about “the true nature of the ANC” and “the real situation in South Africa”. — Sapa.
The thunderous silence...

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

GOVAN MBeki is a rare phenomenon in South African politics. His enforced silence has become more thunderous than the most impassioned speeches of political leaders.

Five weeks have gone by since the 77-year-old former chairman of the African National Congress was released from prison.

Apart from his brief appearance at a news conference, he has not been allowed to speak in public. Two public meetings at which he has to have spoken have been banned. As a listed communist he may not be quoted.

For 23 years he has been silent.

And yet indications are that he has been allowed to appear at public meetings he would have drawn audiences ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 people.

His public appeal would have been the envy of many a politician from President P W Botha down the line. Even at the height of white election campaigns, star political performers such as President Botha and Foreign Minister Pik Botha rarely draw more than 5000 people at their biggest meetings — and in after considerable publicity over SABC TV and other media.

An application for permission to hold a Govan Mbeki rally at Athlone Stadium, Cape Town, tomorrow (Sunday) was refused this week by the Chief Magistrate of Wynberg, Mr W P Tcheron.

"Police had expected a crowd of 100,000 to attend the rally, according to a security police affidavit submitted to the magistrate.

"The Mbeki Reception Committee, which organised the rally, had expected a crowd of 50,000 to attend. A similar crowd was expected at a rally binned by police last week in Port Elizabeth after a local magistrate had given approval."

"Since his release from Robben Island on November 5 Mr Mbeki was in the public limelight for only a few days."

"At Port Elizabeth, where he appeared at a news conference, he was welcomed by a singing, dancing mass of people. His subsequent arrival at Jan Smuts Airport was marked by chaotic scenes, with hundreds of chanting supporters baton-charged by police and chased by police dogs."

"After that, Mr Mbeki seemed to disappear from the public scene and little became known of his movements."

Yet, in spite of his enforced silence and his retreat from the public gaze, he remained in the news in South Africa and abroad. His presence in South Africa — outside prison walls — has been a subject of constant speculation and controversy.

There were reports that he had left the Government in no doubt that he was back in political business — and that his views remained as determinedly communist as they were when he was jailed for plotting the downfall of the Government 23 years ago.

There was speculation that his release might be a "trial run" for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

In black newspapers there was general jubilation over his release and that of some of his co-prisoners. The Soviet maintained its evidence of a "vast sea of goodwill in this country."

The Leader proclaimed it as an act of statesmanship on the part of President Botha.

At the time of Mr Mbeki's release the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, gave an assurance that he would have freedom of movement and freedom of speech and that this would make it possible for him to take part in politics, subject to the laws of the country and the emergency regulations.

Subsequently, however, misgivings about events surrounding his release were expressed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, and the Chief of the security police, General J V van der Merwe.

General Van der Merwe said Mr Mbeki was being manipulated by the banned ANC and that the planned Port Elizabeth rally had been banned because it would add to the "revolutionary climate."

In Cape Town this week, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and members of the Mbeki Reception Committee condemned the moves to ban public rallies for welcoming Mr Mbeki.

Speaking at a news conference, Archbishop Tutu said: "Our people are hurt — deeply hurt — that they are unable to welcome a leader who has made so many sacrifices for them."

Archbishop Tutu said organisers of the proposed Cape Town rally had gone to "extraordinary lengths" in attempts to meet the objections of the authorities.

He was to have flown to Pretoria for an interview with Minister Vlok on the matter, but Archbishop Tutu cancelled the appointment when it became known that the rally had been banned.

Statements expressing shock and dismay at the banning were issued at the news conference by the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Education Crisis Committee, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), and others.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has described Mr Mbeki's release as an event that could have "vast implications for South African politics."
Portrait of conviction

The conclusion this week of the trial of a trained member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress, provided a rare insight into the thinking of a young man who served allegiance to Spear of the Nation.

A combination of court privileges and the uncompromising commitment of 29-year-old Maswazi Edward Petane revealed the sort of detail about life with the Spear to tend to which most South African readers have precious little access.

Petane was sentenced to a total of 17 years imprisonment on a conviction of terrorism and two counts of attempted murder. He admitted planting a bomb outside the Diners Shopping Centre in Parow in July last year. The device was not intended to explode, he said, but to be a psychological weapon. His message to the security forces was to get out of the township and guard places like shopping centres where the ANC has the wherewithal to plot the sort of bomb.

In the course of the trial Petane revealed his biographic to the court, referring, as the judge Mr Justice J H Coetzer put it, "to the cheap way out." Petane claimed throughout that he was a soldier, a trained explosives expert, political commentator and deputy commander of an Umkhonto unit.

Stance unit. While the judge obviously did not accept this in the eyes of law, he accepted Petane's self-perception saying that concerning himself a soldier he appeared prepared to stand up for his convictions and take the consequences.

That seemed to set the tone of court proceedings during which Petane stood by his convictions in a proud but beligerent manner. During judgment he sat absolutely in the dock in a black aped-painted jacket bearing the tribal green and gold of the ANC colors. Only when the court adjourned did he leap to his feet with three clenched-fist salutes and a response about, "Victory or Death! We shall win!"

The following week, in jacket and tie again, he was in the witness box to give evidence in mitigation of his sentence beginning in address to the bench:

"Since this is my last opportunity I would like to express my appreciation of the support of this court during the course of this trial in my position as a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe and to my Lordship for your sensitivity and that of the members of the Bench.

"I was born in Steenberg, but moved by forced removal to Gugulethu, left South Africa to join the ANC in 1977."

The months before his decision to desert had been a politicizing experience by his own account.

"I first experienced the cruel and ruthless tyranny of this regime during the 1976-77 riots."

He described the violence which met the initially peaceful demonstrations against the "independent Bantu Education" and the "separate development" between "paediatric schoolchildren with stones and dynamite sticks" against hippies, teargas and live ammunition.

He realized too that the conflict was not one of black versus white, but of oppressor versus oppressor and he paid tribute to the white doctors who risked their lives and their jobs to treat those wounded by the police.

"I was convinced beyond any reasonable doubt by the government's actions that it must be replaced by another government - one that has been elected by the majority of the people with an explicit mandate to rule in the interest of all people."

He was introduced to the Freedom Charter with its "liberating and objective solution to the country's constitutional problems" and decided that "an organization with this kind of approach to this country's future naturally became my political home."

Early in 1977 he left for Botswana where he joined the ANC. Via Zambia, he reached Angola where he received "general training in guerrilla warfare" and political instruction. At the end of that year he and about 60 colleagues left for the Soviet Union for further training at Derivakha, a camp in the Ukraine.

"Here 20 of us specialized in military engineering - in other words explosives - until 1979."

During the trial and after some complicated evidence about the manufacture of home-made bombs using a combination of plasticized materials and what military equipment was available, Petane was asked whether he considered himself an explosives expert.

"Yes, sir," he replied, smiling.

Back in Southern Africa in 1979, Petane was deployed from Angola to Matabeleland and back to Angola again where he worked in air defense. He then was in Zambia for training in trade unionism. He used these new skills with the SACP Congress of Trade Unions in Gaborone, Botswana, until late 1984 when he was arrested and deported back to Zambia.

"Seventeen years is seventeen days," was the cry from the woman who persisted around Mrs Petane and her daughter Cindy outside the court after sentencing was passed.

Petane's 84-year-old grandmother pressed a handkerchief to her eyes. "Come, come," she said, "do not cry." Feeling the tension of her mother's sense, Petane's advocate, Mr Michael Down, argued in mitigation of sentence that Petane's character was such that he might well make a contribution to his country.

"Yes, my own feelings are that he is likely to," replied Mr Justice J H Coetzer. Petane's mother went further. "Is she proud of him? She laughed, shook her head and was almost embarrassed by her response. "Too much."

"Standing to embrace the small woman and wish her goodbyes, Mr Donan's tall figure dwarfed her. "Thank you, thank you," she said. "You've worked so hard... you're number one."
A wave of anger and disappointment has followed Government restrictions on Mr Govan Mbeki, with accusations that they would intensify tension and frustration.

Mr Mbeki, former national chairman of the African National Congress, has been restricted to Port Elizabeth and prohibited from giving interviews to the Press. He was to have met leaders of more than 100 organisations in Cape Town tonight.

Mr Dullah Omar, president of the Democratic Lawyers' Organisation and Western Cape chairman of the United Democratic Front, said today Mr Mbeki had been given permission to travel to Cape Town for routine checkups with his doctor and optician. He will arrive tomorrow evening and return to Port Elizabeth on Monday or Tuesday.

"Naive"

His visit is conditional that he does not attend gatherings of more than 10 people.

Mr Omar said the Government was naive if it believed it could release Mr Mbeki from jail and then expect him to renounce everything he stood for.

Mr Mbeki's attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, condemned the restriction order as a "culmination of the outrageous and unfounded allegations" against Mr Mbeki and said it had negated his release.

She said she was preparing an application to have the restriction set aside.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said the Government had to be condemned.

"We were under no illusion that Mr Mbeki's release signified any intention by the Government to enter into true negotiations with black leaders, but his release did, nevertheless, offer us hope.

"Now the Government stops Mr Mbeki from being seen and heard. It is choosing a path of violent confrontation by acting in this way," he said.

"Undo the good"

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, called on the Government to lift the restriction as it "would undo the good that has been achieved by the decision to release Mr Mbeki after 23 years in jail and will undoubtedly add to tension and frustration," he said.

A mass rally to protest against the restriction order is planned for the Good Hope Centre on Monday.

The ANC's external mission in Lusaka condemned the restrictions.

"The action illustrates that Govan Mbeki has merely changed his address from Robben Island to the vast prison of South Africa. The Government is not prepared to allow the chosen leaders of the people to speak, giving the lie to claims that it was prepared for dialogue or negotiations," the statement said.

• Cabinet Ministers have so far been silent. Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok said he had nothing to add to yesterday's statement by the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, outlining the restrictions.
Outrage, despondency at Mbeki banning

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

WIDESPREAD outrage and despondency greeted the effective banning of Mr Govan Mbeki under the emergency regulations, just one month since his "unconditional" release from Robben Island.

The 77-year-old ANC leader, who was released on November 5 after 23 years in jail, had a restriction order slapped on him yesterday silencing him and confining him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, said that by imposing "these outrageous restrictions" on Mr Mbeki the government was in effect choosing a path of violent confrontation.

Describing the restrictions as a "total sham", he said they "simply turn him into a prisoner who is his own jailer".

"His release was the most hopeful sign since the disastrous white elections in May this year that we just might have a chance of resolving the South African crisis peacefully," Archbishop Tutu said. "But now with the stroke of a police commissioner's pen, the government smashes our hope and makes our people more and more desperate," he said.

Mr Mbeki's lawyer, Ms Priscilla Jana, told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the latest restrictions indicated that the government was "obviously embarrassed" that it could not continue its "usual stance" that Mr Mbeki and Mr Nelson Mandela do not have mass support.

She said she "is greatly disappointed and distressed, particularly because he was expressly informed that his release was unconditional."

Cosatu said imposing restrictions was like putting him "back in prison — it negates any good that may have been achieved by his release."

Issuing the order yesterday the Commissioner of Police, General Henrie de Witt, said Mr Mbeki had been restricted to Port Elizabeth without prior permission, and could not take part in any interview with a journalist or other representative of the media.

"This step became necessary to prevent promotion of the revolutionary climate," he said.
Organisations call for fasting

BY KHULU SIBITA

TOMORROW the country's state of emergency will be 18 months old, and to mark the occasion, extra-parliamentary organisations have called on the nation to fast as a sign of protest.

The campaign by the United Democratic Front and other organisations opposed to apartheid started yesterday - coinciding with the International Human Rights Day - with the ringing of church bells and will continue until December 25.

According to a UDF spokesman, various meetings and gatherings of relatives of emergency detainees will be held in different centres throughout the country.

He said contrary to rumours that the UDF had called for a consumer boycott or a stayaway during this period, the “People’s Christmas Against the Emergency” was, in fact, a campaign to “unlock apartheid’s jails”.

Governments and people throughout the world yesterday observed Human Rights Day, but South Africa stood conspicuously alone as it remained firmly entrenched by decree in the system of apartheid.

While almost everyone worldwide acknowledges that apartheid is a very grave violation of basic human rights, the National Party is still bogged down in its racial policies 39 years after it came to power.

In the meantime, most nations in the same period have been paying homage to the UN General Assembly’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The declaration, adopted on December 10, 1948, says: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”

However, DPSC spokesman Max Coleman observed: “With a state of emergency prevailing, having up to 1 500 people in detention and with the State President, PW Botha, saying there are no political prisoners when there are political prisoners by the thousands with no access to court, it can’t be said that human rights are well established in South Africa.

“There is no freedom of speech; there are considerable restrictions imposed upon the Press as to what they may publish; no political gatherings may be held; and there can be no freedom of association and political expression when three-quarters of the population cannot vote.”

Coleman also called on the government to release all political prisoners and withdraw its troops from the townships and neighbouring territories and an end the state of emergency.

Apartheid, the world has been saying, not only denounces fundamental freedoms, but also poses a very serious threat to international peace and security.

The Five Freedoms Forum, a coalition of anti-apartheid bodies engaged in fighting for the basic freedoms of all South Africans, also observed that South Africa today stood second to no nation in the violation of human rights.

Notes FFF spokesman Dave Webster: “Everywhere the flickering flames of freedom are being snuffed out by detentions, censorship and intimidation.”

UDF’s Azhar Cachalia pleaded “desperately” to Pretoria “to cease its violation of human rights” and enter into negotiations with “the recognised leaders of our people”.

Azhar Cachalia
Maritzburg peace talks go to pieces

By SBU RINGABE

There seem to be no end in sight in the raging war in Maritzburg following this week's collapse of the crucial peace talks between warring factions.

"Intense three-and-a-half hour discussions reached stalemate on Wednesday night after the nine-man Inkatha-Uwusa delegation circulated copies of a banned journal and demanded that the Cosatu-UDF delegation publicly repudiate its contents.

"Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Musa Zondi called on the UDF and Cosatu "to disown this article and to stand up as patriots to commit themselves to putting SA first".

"Repudiate the hideousness of the thinking that is published and broadcast by the ANC or count us out of peace initiatives in which you are involved," he said.

In reply, the UDF and Cosatu said the document had nothing to do with them and that it did not emanate from their structures and did not reflect their policies.

"Cosatu and the UDF remain firmly committed to discussing the items previously agreed upon.

These are concrete and realistic and offer the prospects of success. We should avoid the introduction of extraneous factors to the Maritzburg situation if we are to solve it," they said.

A UDF official added that the latest "obstructionist defiance" by Inkatha must be seen in the context of the weekend's indictment on the UDF-Cosatu alliance by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Addressing the Inkatha central committee, Buthelezi said bluntly that the UDF and Cosatu were "not worthy of the status of organisations to whom we are to be reconciled."

However, all the organisations agreed that further talks would still take place at a date to be arranged by the chamber.

Meanwhile, Maritzburg SAP PRO captain Pieter Kitching announced this week that 120 people had been arrested in the area under the state of emergency regulations since September this year. More than 140 unrest-related cases are due to come before the magistrates' court in January next year.

Organ
Inkatha rank and file not enemy - UDF

BY SBU NGAKI

THE UD-Cosatu alliance needed to act in a way that made it easy for Inkatha members to join the people's organizations. John UDF secretary General Sipho Ntuli told a 17 000-strong crowd at Edendale's Walford Park Stadium at the weekend:

"We are the people of the land who have been fighting for our rights and freedom. We demand that the Inkatha members who are still fighting for their liberation must be made clear.

"We must prove to the government and the world that we are the people of the land and that we are fighting for our rights and freedom."

On the day, the ground was set alight by the police and the army, and the crowd was dispersed by the police. The protesters said they were fighting for their rights and freedom.

As the hillocks of Natal reverberated with the shouts of 'Viva Peace'...

THE SEARCH FOR THAT ELUSIVE PEACE GOES ON

BY SBU NGAKI

TO the cheers of surrounding hillocks, a 17 000-strong crowd at the UDF-Cosatu peace rally cried 'Viva Peace' at the weekend. However, the call was short-lived. A message came halfway through the rally informing the crowd that army units were under attack from Inkatha. And in the chaos, some of those protesting were injured.

Protests at the rally National Assembly members who wanted to prevent the meeting from continuing.

Speaking at the rally, National Assembly member of Parliament, Nkosi, said they had been asked questions about talks - and charge by charge was made with shouts of 'Viva'.

For the peace talks to work, the authorities must stoporo.

Organizations involved in peace talks must be freely allowed to organize openly.

Perpetrators of violence have been identified in a meeting, indicating that no one relating to the details of the perpetration of violence.

To date, 11 senior Inkatha members have been investigate and arrested for acts of murder, stabbings, and public violence.

The meeting mandated the six-man delegation to go back to talks this week and deliberate on those policies where agreement could be made.

UDF, Cosatu 'unworthy of Inkatha'

BY SBU NGAKI

THE UDF and Cosatu were not worthy of the support of organizations with whom Inkatha needed to be reconciled. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha's central committee at the weekend.

"Our people want peace, but the apartheid system denies us. Our communities are constantly threatened by the activities of the vigilantes and other supporters of apartheid."
The meeting concluded with a pledge by the Zimbabwean government to make efforts to resolve the issue peacefully. The meeting was marked by healthy exchanges and an atmosphere of understanding. The meeting was open to the public, and the government assured the participants that their concerns would be taken seriously.

The government also assured the meeting that it would continue to work towards a peaceful resolution of the issue. The government emphasized its commitment to dialogue and consultation with all stakeholders to find a solution that meets the needs of all parties. The government also said that it would ensure that the rights of all citizens are respected.

The meeting was well attended, with representatives from various political parties, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders in attendance. The meeting was characterized by a spirit of cooperation and a desire to find a peaceful resolution to the issue. The meeting also underlined the importance of dialogue and consultation in addressing the challenges facing the country.
Protest and court move to overturn Mbeki ban

Sunday Times Reporters

A PROTEST rally against the banning of ANC leader Govan Mbeki and an urgent court application for the overturning of his restriction order are on the cards. Speakers at tomorrow evening’s rally at the Good Hope Centre, Cape Town, are Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Jay Naidoo, secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, (Cosatu) and Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the Releasing Mandela Campaign.

Meanwhile, a mere 24 hours after being restricted, Mr Mbeki has been given permission to travel to Cape Town for medical examinations. The Government this week scuttled plans for a mass Mbeki rally today at Cape Town’s Athlone Stadium by slapping a restriction order on the former ANC chairman, released a month ago after 23 years in prison. He has already been silenced by being a “listed person”, and now 77-year-old Mr Mbeki is confined to the Fort Elizabeth magisterial district.

Sickly

As the sickly Mr Mbeki was on his way to consult medical specialists, his attorney was preparing an urgent court application to have the restriction order set aside.

Mr Mbeki was muzzled shortly after agreeing that the Sunday Times could record aspects of his lifestyle after 23 years in prison. The restriction order, signed by Police Commissioner General Hendrik de Witt, was served on Mr Mbeki by Lieutenant-Colonel Hermanus du Plessis, of the security police.

The House of Resurrection in the Port Elizabeth coloured suburb of Salsenestein is half-hidden behind vibracrete walls and faces a yard as stony as Gethsemane. The view downhill — over a Jewish housing estate to the wind-blown water of a large lagoon squared off into salt pans — is obstructed by a wall and a highway. This is where the tall, bespectacled former ANC chairman has been living for the past few weeks.
Yet black South Africans are still not liberated.

We are then plunged into action. Take for instance, political journalism. This began in 1884 when John Tengo Jabavu, with white financial support, founded Inno Zabantsandu.

"Thus," we are told, "at the very start of African political journalism, as throughout the history of subsequent African protests, questions of the franchise were central."

But it is the historical characters that people these two volumes that make us come to grips with the nature of black protest. Volume one spotlights these actors between 1882 to 1934.

In between we learn of the Bambatha rebellion in Natal up to black protest over education.

"It was in grave doubts they sent these children, and they had hearts to venture. It is in the hearts of these white people to make us slaves. See what education has done," says an article which appeared in the A pamphlet written by Selby Msimang in 1936 catches the mood of the day: "Let us now admit both publicly and in our conscience, that Parliament and the white people of South Africa have disowned us, flirted and flirted with our loyalty."

And then enter the ANC Youth League and its Progremme of Action for 1943 to 1949.

Names like the late Dr William Nkomo, Manasseh Moerane, one-time editor of the World newspaper, journalist Jordan Ngunbule and RV Selope- Thema, editor of the defunct Bantu World newspaper, leap across the pages as moving spirits behind the Youth League.

In October 1943 the Youth League changed direction. On February 21, 1944 we find a delegation of these Youth League members visiting Dr AB Xuma in his Sophiatown home to review the Youth League's draft constitution and manifesto.

Members of the delegation included Anton Lembede (the man who coined the term "Africanism"), medical student William Nkomo, the ANC's Walter Sisulu and Wits University law student Nelson Mandela.

"Lembede was the most outstanding personality in the early Youth League. He died in July 1947 at the age of 33 and was succeeded by Ashby Peter Mda.

They continue: "In the early months of the Youth League others stood out in addition to Mda were Oliver Tambo (who later became secretary general), Victor Mmobo (vice-president) and David Bopape - all teachers although Tambo and Mmobo later became lawyers.

"Professional men or those preparing for professional careers predominated among those who became prominent in the next few years: Godfrey Pitye, a teacher and later a lawyer, Joseph Matthews and Duma Nokwe, who were to become lawyers and Robert Sobukwe, a teacher - all of whom were active in founding the students' Youth League at Fort Hare in 1948."

At the end of Volume Two there is the last line of Document 98, an "opening address" at the First Conference of the Society of Young Africa, by IB Tafuna, on December 21, 1951 which says: "Let us get down to the task of building the Nation."

This is the message present day South Africa dare not ignore. "

History will judge our work – Natal Indian

CP Correspondent

"HISTORY must judge us. It is important that we be judged by the nature of our work and not by our name."

This was said by Natal Indian Congress vice-president Mewa Ramgobin in an interview with City Press following a national conference of the NIC – the first in nine years – at Durban last weekend.

"While the mobilisation and organisation of the NIC takes place essentially in the Indian areas, there is no doubt about the fact that we relate to and consult with other sections of the population in South Africa."

"As a people, in historical terms, of the ANC until 1976 and as an important component of the UDF present-
ly, it is easy to judge where we stand in relation to the broader democratic movement," said Ramgobin when asked about the "Indian" tag to his organisation's name.

The conference, Ramgobin noted, took place after nine years for a number of reasons. State repression until 1978 – after the NIC's last conference – was such that the organisation's leadership had constantly been subjected to bannings and other arbitrary restrictions.

Leaders like Ramgobin himself, the NIC's president, George Stpheresed, and others, were only freed of restrictions in 1983, but when the NIC consider holding a conference in that year and the next, a large percentage of its leadership was arrested and jailed.

The NIC's efforts towards a conference were then thwarted in 1985 when a state of emergency was declared in the Transvaal, and a year later, in Natal.

Finally, the conference did take place last weekend, in spite of reservations on the part of the NIC, which attracted over 200 delegates.

"The resolutions at this, as at all our conferences, mean that the NIC has committed itself to the democratic process. The fact that a conference was held was in itself one way of showing not only the NIC's accountability to the people for its involvement in this process, but also that the organisation was a force to reckon with," said Ramgobin.

"The resolutions we took at the conference declare, firstly, our historical position that the destiny of the Indian community lies in the destiny of all the democratic forces of South Africa. Secondly, government-created institutions like the House of Delegates and others have been designed not only to deflect the nature of our struggle, but also to destabilise the unified thrust of the liberation movement in the country."

The NIC was established by passive resistance campaigner Mahatma Gandhi.

Rather symbolically, too, the first executive meeting of the anti-apartheid and broader coalition, the UDF, was held at the Phoenix settlement in August 1983.

Alluding to the revival period of 1971, Ramgobin noted that since the banning of the ANC in 1961, the sister organisations of the now-exiled movement, the NIC and the Transvaal Indian Congress, went into dormancy following stringent banning orders on the organisations' leaders.

"When the NIC was revived in 1971, it was, in fact, a revival of Freedom Charter politics which, until then, had been forgotten by a large section of the population," pointed out Ramgobin.

"We saw ourselves as an integral part of the broader national democratic movement, designed to demonstrate that the destiny of the Indian people in South Africa was inextricably linked to the destiny of all black people of this land."

"The NIC, spearheaded with other organisations and the UDF leadership, especially in the 1983-1984 period, the thrust against the segregrated government created tricameral parliamentary system," said Ramgobin.

Just as the NIC has emerged from its conference rededicated to the common black struggle, so has it become even more important in the democratic movement in South Africa and in spite of it being related, at this stage in particular, to a section of the population – in this case, the so-called Indian community.

Ramgobin asserted: "The NIC has got to be the conscience of the Indian people for a future non-racial and democratic South Africa, especially in the light of the thrust and initiatives taken by the State against opposition forces and in co-opting sectors of the population into its own discriminatory system."

-Ao.
Botswana is ‘main ANC arms route’

PRETORIA. — Police said yesterday that vehicle searches at the border with Botswana were necessary because the ANC had threatened to intensify its “terror” campaign over Christmas.

They said an ANC spokesman, Mr Steve Tshwete, had confirmed that the outlawed organization would step up its “terror campaign” over the Christmas period.

The police statement also said that the border was a known infiltration point for weapons, and that “ANC members had been arrested”.

Following information that Botswana was the main infiltration route for ANC activists and arms into this country, the South African government had issued a number of warnings that it would not allow South Africans to be targets of “terror campaigns”, the police statement said.

Stringent measures were necessary at the South Africa-Botswana border and all vehicles would continue to be searched, the police said.

Proof that Botswana was a major infiltration route for “terrorist” weaponry into the country was that in most cases of “terror” that had occurred in South Africa, car bombs, limpet mines and other “terror” weaponry had come in through Botswana. — Sapa

Local Xmas flights logjam
Buthelezi warns followers against 'instant justice'

MPUMALANGA, Natal. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned Inkatha members at the weekend that it could be suicidal for black politics if they took the organization's law into their own hands “to mete out instant justice as they see it”.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was opening an administration building.

Referring to violence in the greater Maritzburg and Mpumalanga areas, he said the Zulu people had a basic unity, created by history, which would in the end always triumph over “divisive forces which come like hyenas at night to sow misery and discord”.

Inkatha had emerged, after more than a decade’s involvement, as the most intact and unified organization in the black struggle. Others had disintegrated because their members had turned on each other, he said.

“When Inkatha members take Inkatha’s law into their own hands to mete out instant justice as they see it, terrible dangers face us all.

“I have seen signs of these fratricidal developments in some of your local conflicts. As your elected leader, all I can do is to hang my head in shame, for these developments will be suicidal if we allow them to increase within the black body politic.” — Sapa
PAC trial adjourned

THE Pan Africanist Congress trial being heard in the Pretoria Regional Court was on Friday postponed to February 22.

Seven people, including a priest, are appearing on charges of terrorism, attempted murder and defeating the ends of justice.

They are also alleged to be members of the banned PAC and Qibla, a Muslim organisation.

The accused are Mr Mabutu Enoch Zulu, Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Geanga, both of Transkei, Mr Vincent Mathunjwa of Springs, Mr Setsiba Mohohlo of Johannesburg, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi of Bophuthatswana, Mr Achmad Cassim and Mr Yusuf Patel.

They have pleaded not guilty and are defended by Mr Dikgang Moseke, Mr Gert van Tonder, Mr Denis de la Hunt and Mr Omar Adam.
Mbeki arrives in city

BY PETER DENNEHY

RELEASED: African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki, who was restricted to Port Elizabeth on Friday, flew into Cape Town at 9.45pm last night.

A massive rally in his honour and in protest against his restrictions is being planned from 7pm at the Good Hope Centre tonight.

Mr Mbeki has been prevented by police order from attending the rally, according to Dr Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairman of the United Democratic Front.

Mr Mbeki is not breaking his restriction order by coming to Cape Town as permission for the trip was granted on Saturday by the Commissioner of Police, General H G de Witt — who issued the order on Friday restricting Mr Mbeki to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

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Mr Mbeki, who is 77 years old, looked healthy on his arrival last night, although he has had a medical check-up at Groote Schuur Hospital, Mr Omar said.

Mr Mbeki was casually dressed in a loose-fitting beige lumber-jacket and he wore a tweed hat. He was accompanied by his attorney, Mrs Priscilla Jana, and two other travelling companions.

It is understood that Mr Mbeki’s eyes have been giving him trouble. He may not be quoted, and is not allowed to speak to the press.

Nonetheless, a large press contingent and a hundred or more supporters were at the airport to greet him.

Security at the airport seemed exceptionally tight. Excitement rose and cries rang out as the crowd caught sight of Mr Mbeki and people behind the barrier rushed hither and thither as he fetched his luggage and then accompanied Mrs Jana to the car hire counter.

Mr Mbeki had been due to address an open-air rally in Athlone Stadium yesterday, but magisterial permission for it was refused after security police said they expected 100,000 people.

The Mbeki Reception Committee then planned an alternative indoor rally, but on Friday Mr Mbeki was served with the restricting order.

He may not address any rally.

The United Democratic Front’s Western Cape Region said on Friday that the Good Hope Centre event would go ahead as a “protest rally” against the restrictions.

Speakers at the rally will include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Albertina Sisulu, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, who is national co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Campaign and Mr Jay Naidoo, the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

The Mbeki Reception Committee said it was not surprised at Mr Mbeki’s restriction, which “emphasises Mr Mbeki’s position in the broader community”.

The UDF said that in the interests of public order and peace, the police should stay away from our functions”.

“We are quite capable of looking after the interests of our constituents in a disciplined fashion,” the UDF said.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday that the restrictions on Mr Mbeki reflected the government’s desire to suppress the truth.

“When the government goes to such lengths to manipulate white public opinion with the aim of keeping itself in power, then the Church must say that evil is rampant in our land,” he said.
Protest rally over Mbeki

A MASS rally to protest against the restriction order slapped on African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki is planned for Cape Town today.

In terms of the order Mr Mbeki has been restricted to Port Elizabeth and prohibited from giving interviews to the Press.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said the Government had to be condemned in the strongest terms for the restrictions.

**Lift**

In Cape Town the Mbeki Reception Committee has called a mass protest rally in the Good Hope Centre this evening “to give the people an opportunity to show their disgust at the State's decision to prevent Mr Mbeki from speaking.”

Speakers will include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Campaign, and Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, called on the Government to lift the restriction.
Azams slams Govt over fares

The Azamini Students’ Movement is calling on the international community to put pressure on the Government to subsidise transport for black scholars.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg last week, Mr. Thami Hicks, Azamn’s president, said the organisation’s fourth annual congress in Cape Town on December 18 had strongly condemned the Government for not subsidising transport for black schoolchildren.

He also accused the company of withdrawing the subsidy of pupils on its buses from next year, saying, “The company announced recently that from January 1, 1988 black scholars will have to pay the full fare on its buses.”

The congress attended by about 2000 delegates and observers also condemned the decision by some liberal universities in not allowing the school to operate within their campuses for allegedly being a “racist” and “exclusive” black student organisation.

A new resolution was passed that Azamn should start its call for black students to “return to school next year.”

Questions

In answer to questions, Mr. Hicks said although Azamn was an adherent of the black consciousness movement, it was not at loggerheads with other progressive student organisations.

He also slammed an article written by Mr. Joop Strydom, the DET, deputy director-general, in the Sowetan last week, He said his agreement with Mr. Fanshaw Mathebula “on a number of points was opportunist.”

The newly-elected office bearers of Azamn are: Holly Kakanna of Mamela (publicity secretary), Glante Mokgatle of Ntshinguvhil (deputy president), Brand Nthako of Welkom (secretary general), Katsile Lengane of Soweto (projects co-ordinator), Sipho Masoe of Cape Town (secretary for political education). Jackson Thamakga of Soshanguve and Mxolisi Mxwela of KwaThema (national organiser) and Thami Hicks of Soweto (president).
Police colonel pushed me, says city MP

By CLARE HARPER

The Independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, alleged he was manhandled by a police colonel at the Good Hope Centre, the venue of the banned Goven Mbeki rally, yesterday evening.

Mr Van Eck said that when he later went to lay a charge at the Caledon Square police station he was told he would be detained under the emergency regulations if he did not leave.

Mr Van Eck said he had tried to inform the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, about the incident but “he was not at home”.

“That an MP can be chased out of the Caledon Square police station and threatened with detention is unreal.”

“Now I know what people in the townships mean when they say they are chased out of police stations,” he said.

He said he had been helping organize transport for people who had arrived unaware that the meeting had been banned.

A police colonel had told him he was “interfering” and had threatened to arrest him.

Mr Van Eck alleged he was “manhandled” and “pushed” by the police colonel.

He said he was then escorted to his car by two policemen in riot gear.

A police spokesman confirmed in Pretoria last night that Mr Van Eck had been in touch with Brigadier van der Westhuizen who had undertaken to see him “personally” today.
Mbeki receptions banned in Cape areas

PRETORIA — Receptions for former Robben Island prisoner Govan Mbeki, who was recently restricted to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district, have been banned in certain districts in the Cape until December 31.

Police, said in Pretoria last night an immediate order on this had been issued under the Public Safety Act (3 of 1953).

The order reads: "I, Ronald Norman van der Westhuizen, Divisional Commissioner of the Western Province Division, hereby prohibit, for the purpose of public safety of the public, the maintenance of public order and the termination of the state of emergency, during the period ending December 31, 1987, any gathering in any building in the magisterial districts of Simonstown, Wynberg, the Cape, Goodwood, Bellville and Kuils River, which is or may be organised and advertised by the Mbeki reception committee.

This order will become effective immediately upon announcement hereof."
Appeal for lifting of restrictions on Mbeki

PORT ELIZABETH — The United Democratic Party called for the lifting of restrictions imposed on the recently released African National Congress stalwart, Mr Govan Mbeki, by the state last week.

Mr Mbeki, who was released on November 5 after serving 23 years of a life sentence for sabotage, was restricted to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and prohibited from giving interviews to the press in terms of the emergency regulations despite a state announcement that his release was unconditional.

The secretary-general of the UDP, Mr Cecil Kippen, MP, said negotiation politics was dealt a “fatal blow” by the imposition of the restrictions which exposed the government’s lack of commitment to its purported endeavours for reconciliation.

Mr Kippen said the government should be attempting to draw Mr Mbeki — who represented the highly respected black leadership in South Africa, which was so desperately needed, particularly in the national council debate — to the negotiating table.

“Without Mr Mbeki and Nelson Mandela the national council project is doomed.

Consultation was not enough and reaching agreement after negotiation was the only means of achieving a solution.

Mr Mbeki could provide the government with the opportunity to return to meaningful reform at a time when political stagnation was making the people in the townships “restless”.

“The government was not expected to ignore Mr Mbeki or place such restrictions on him”.

“The government still has time to correct the situation before it worsens”.

It was also crucial for the state to seriously consider releasing Mandela, Mr Kippen said. — Sapa
Mbeki receptions banned in W Cape

By CLARE HARPER and RONNIE MORRIS

ANY RECEPTIONS organized by the Mbeki Reception Committee for former Robben Island prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki were banned last night in six Western Cape magisterial districts until December 31.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Province, Brigadier Ronald van der Westhuizen, prohibited “any gathering in any building” which was “organized or advertised” by the Mbeki Reception Committee in Simon's Town, Wynberg, the Cape, Goodwood, Bellville and Kuils River, a police public relations directorate spokesman said.

The order, in terms of the Public Safety Act, came into effect “immediately upon announcement” last night.

Hundreds of people had arrived at the Good Hope Centre by then for the rally to protest against the restrictions placed upon Mr Mbeki — who is confined to the magisterial district of Port Elizabeth. They were turned back by marshals after a Supreme Court action, seeking to contest the banning, was aborted at the last minute.

Mr Esza Moosa, an attorney for the Mbeki Reception Committee, said an advocate had been consulted, but a court application did not go ahead because it was unfair to “keep members of the public in the dark”.

The committee decided to abort the Supreme Court action at about 5pm.

A UDF spokesman said that about 40 buses had already been on their way to the centre and about 7 000 people had been ejected to turn up.

Most of the buses were turned back midway, but people arrived in cars and taxis.

Police were present at the centre and at a road block on Sir Lowry's Road.

Mr Mbeki arrived in Cape Town on Sunday night for a medical examination up at Groote Schuur Hospital.

A spokesman for the hospital said yesterday Mr Mbeki's condition “does not give cause for alarm at all".
Mbeki lawyer to challenge restriction

Staff Reporter

THE attorney of freed African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki is preparing papers to challenge the restriction order slapped on Mr Mbeki five days ago.

At a press conference yesterday Ms Priscilla Jana said Mr Mbeki would challenge in court the restriction order, which confined him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

Ms Jana said she was preparing papers which she planned to file next week.

She said that should Mr Mbeki have been allowed to address a rally in Cape Town he would have objected to the restrictions.

"If Comrade Mbeki had attended the rally and the rally had continued, he would have, in all probability, made the following speech," Ms Jana said.

Seated between the vice-president of the United Democratic Front for the Western Cape, Mr Joe Marks, and Mr Mbeki's lawyer in the Eastern Cape, Mr T Majodina, Ms Jana then read from a typed text.

The Cape Times is not publishing the words because Mr Mbeki is not allowed to speak to the press and may not be quoted.

He was granted permission on Saturday, by the Commissioner of Police, General H G de Witt, to travel to Cape Town for a routine medical check-up at Groote Schuur Hospital.

Mr Mbeki was however, not allowed to attend any rallies.

A rally, planned in Mr Mbeki's honour and in protest against his restriction, was to have taken place at the Good Hope Centre on Monday night at 7pm but was banned hours before it was due to start.

Other receptions organized by the Mbeki Reception Committee were also banned on Monday night in six Western Cape magisterial districts until December 31.

UDF spokesman Mr Dullah Omar criticized police for declaring a later gathering at Community House, Salt River, illegal, and ordering people to board buses or trains and return home.

Mr Omar said several buses and combis containing people from up country, who had been on their way to the rally, had been diverted to Community House where they were to be fed before returning home.
Azapo returns home — after 10 years

Congress to consolidate plan towards a socialist Azania

By Michael Tissone

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will hold its 10th anniversary congress in Soweto this weekend with the theme: "10 years of resistance — consolidate for a socialist Azania," publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said.

Since Azapo was founded in Soweto on April 28, 1978, it has not held a national congress in the township.

"The congress at the DOCC hall in Orlando will be the first time the organisation has returned to Soweto for its most important decision-making gathering."

Mr Myeza said that besides discussing Azapo's programme next year, they would also clarify Azapo's relationship with the three exiled organisations — the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and the African National Congress (ANC).

Attention will also be focused on Azapo's relationship with local political organisations and the labour unions.

Mr Myeza said: "Based on the congress theme, Azapo would also reaffirm its commitment to socialism as an alternative to the South African system of racism and capitalism.

"We have brought the issue of socialism to the forefront of the political debate concerning an alternative future for this country."

Imperialist intentions

"We intend to keep it there because of imperialist intentions foreign powers have shown towards our country."

"Even internally we have faced an onslaught from the State and people who belong to organisations which are ideologically right of Azapo. We have our members enduring one of the longest treason trials in current legal history — the 'Delmas Trial' — and our people have suffered detention for many years since our entire first executive was detained and then banned release."

"Some of our members have faced attack from political thugs in the townships. The case of Tshabo Martin Mohau was one of the most sad. He was a teenager who was sentenced to Robben Island for five years and a few months after his release, he was stabbed and burned to death in Soweto for no reason other than that he was an Azapo member."

"Despite the onslaught from the State and these rightwingers, we have survived."

Mr Myeza said it was feared that police would position themselves in the hall in the same way they did during Azapo's commemoration of the banning of Black Consciousness organisations on October 18. Police said at the time that their presence anywhere in the township was not unusual.

He said he expected the congress would attract a large number of delegates particularly because Azapo had grown in the rural areas and some of the outlying districts of the country including Namakgale, Lethole, kwaNdebele, Qwa Qwa, Tzaneen and the area around Greytown in Natal.

● The themes of past Azapo congresses have been: "Courage is persistence — the demands of our times" (1980); "Forward with the people's struggle" (1982); "Mobilise and consolidate the liberatory efforts of the oppressed masses" (1983); "On the march — facing the challenges" (1984); "Resist and defend and advance" (1985); "Forward to a socialist Azania" (1985) and "Black solidarity for a socialist Azania" (1986).
PLEA FOR UNITY, RECONCILIATION

GOVAN MBeki believes unity and reconciliation are important in resolving the problems facing South Africa, his lawyer Petrolia Jana says. Mbeki, the African National Congress (ANC) leader recently freed after 23 years in prison, would have delivered a message of hope and justice and would have called for unity and the overcoming of hateful divisions, Jana said.

Mbeki said since Mbeki's release from Robben Island, he had been overwhelmed by love and kindness from many people. "I think he would have paid tribute to the Cape Town Reception Committee for its most impressive and efficient organisation," Jana said.

"He would have thanked those involved in the committee, in particular the UDF and Cosatu, and the various other organisations and individuals who have shown the strength and solidarity of their leadership in a most inspiring way." Mbeki's release after 23 years of incarceration has re-united him with his people, although he has left many friends behind.

"But while he has been released, he does not consider himself free. He was told his release would be unconditional. He believes he would be free to speak and his message could be carried through the media throughout the country. "The government has stated it wants to talk to leaders and organisers who represent the people. And yet in reality they do nothing of the kind.

"Instead, they suppress expression of any view other than their own. This is absurdly short-sighted, for to prevent free expression and the participation of all leaders representative of the people simply compounds the problems that plague our country."

"Mbeki's paranoia has manifested itself, since Mbeki's release, in attempts to silence him, to prevent his message being conveyed at meetings or through the media."

"The message which Mbeki has is one of hope, a call for freedom and justice which cannot be silenced."

Friends on Robben Island

"Mbeki has left many close friends behind on Robben Island. He believes none of us can consider ourselves free while so many men and women - great men and women of Africa, and the finest of our youth - languish in prison or find themselves detained or exiled from the soil of our country, as a result of their devotion to the struggle for freedom and justice, for a government based on the will of the people."

"He would have asked people to remember those people, and to dedicate themselves to the attainment of the same noble goal for which they have made great sacrifices."

"Mbeki believes true freedom can come to all of us - black and white, oppressor and oppressed - only when all men are free, when the evil of apartheid is dead. Apartheid seeks to divide. "It estranges citizens of this country from each other, and isolates us from the universal family of man. We must overcome these hateful divisions. It is only through unity of all our people that we will destroy this veil of apartheid and that the will of the people shall prevail."

"Mbeki would have called on all South Africans, black and white, to reject the divisions, to fragment the race, and to devote themselves to building a nation and creating a new South Africa, a society imbued with freedom, love and justice."

More than slogans, words

"The goal for which Mbeki strived is a clear one. He will accept not less. He believes economic changes which are called reforms are of no significance in the lives of the people of South Africa."

"Mbeki seeks meaningful change in our country - a change away from apartheid; a change that will destroy and bury apartheid; a change that has as its purpose the liberation of all the people of this country. It seeks to replace apartheid with a non-racial, unfragmented, democratic society."

"Mbeki believes this society will be modelled on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter, where everyone will be entitled to unqualified franchise, and government will be based on the will of the people. He believes we all belong to South Africa, and South Africa belongs to us all.

"Since his release, he has been moved by the tremendous spirit of dedication in striving for this ideal, which prevails over every part of the country, it finds expression in the various organisations of the community, the labour movement and the UDF."

"He believes the attainment of this ideal requires far more than mere slogans and words, far more than attendance of rallies and meetings."
'Workers must lead!'

FOR three years, Desmond Sampson has been working quietly in the Garment Workers Union (Western Province).

At its merger with the Natal-based Garment Workers Industrial Union last weekend, he was elected general secretary of the Garment and Allied Workers Union (SA).

With 102,000 members, Gauw is the third largest union in the country but, Sampson told RYLAND FISHER, he did not consider himself in a powerful position.

Desmond Sampson

Desmond Sampson describes himself as a person who likes to do the work while others talk.

"I prefer a low profile. I don't believe in promoting individuals in a union, the workers must be promoted," he said.

Sampson will find it difficult to keep a low profile as general secretary of the new Garment and Allied Workers Union (SA). Yet he remains modest about his influence.

"I won't have as leader of the country's third largest union. I don't think I am in a powerful position. I don't believe the general secretary is a powerful person. The people are too clever."

Legal aid

Sampson has been head of the Garment Workers Union's legal department for the past three years. He was one of the prime movers behind the merger and the application to join the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

"His only experience of trade union work was three years in the GOU. But he believes his experience of working in factories in the paint, printing and textile industries will help equip him for his new post."

A man from a legal background, Sampson has experience of working in factories of his own. His father was a teacher, but he died when Sampson was still at high school.

"My mother was forced to work in a garment factory as a machinist. My brother also worked in a garment factory and I had to try to pay my way through school.

"I have always been involved in poverty and economic struggles and the need for education.

"Because of this, my work has always been in that direction. I have been involved in education and trying to uplift the community."

Sampson is chairperson of the Blouvlei Training Centre in Pretoria, run under the auspices of the Cape Mental Health Association.

He has also been involved in the Boy Scout Movement as a parent and played a role in getting the Scout Centres in Athlone on the ground.

He was instrumental in forming the Ulusig Ratepayers’ and Tenants’ Association in 1975 and the Charlestown Residents’ Association in 1979. He still lives in Charlestown.

Sampson has also played a major role in the Woodstock Ratepayers’ Office.

At South African Nylon Spinners, where he worked for five years, he helped form a union for the black, who only white workers were allowed to use recreational facilities.

Facilities were open only to the whites.

Sampson was a legal aid officer in Athlone until he was approached to start the union's legal department three years ago.

"My experience in the legal aid work has helped me better understand the workers who are exploited to a large degree."

"In the position I am in I could do a lot to alleviate that exploitation, like taking cases of unfair dismissal."

"During the past three years, we have started an education programme to inform workers of their rights in terms of the Labour Relations Act and unfair labour practice."

Sampson was born in Goodwood and lived there until his family was forced by the Group Areas Act to move to Athlone in 1961.

He matriculated at St. Columba College in Athlone in 1963 and bailed to further his education.

"I worked as a reporter for the Golden City Post and the Cape Herald for about three years until I was retrenched in 1967.

"I spent a few months at UWC before I went to work at a printing firm and later at a paint factory."

Later, trained as a teacher at Howard, I taught for a few months before giving it up.

"I then studied law at UWC and through Unisa."

Authority

"I had to have absolute determination to achieve education. It was a terrible struggle. I would not like others to go through this. This is why I was instrumental in our union forming an education trust which gives bursaries to our members' children.

"I believe it is absolutely essential that we educate our children to take up positions in a post-apartheid era.

"We have been given a gutter education in these years and must do something to get out of it."

Sampson said he had clear objectives in his new position.

Holistic

"I believe the trade union movement in South Africa has become somewhat demilitarized. My first objective is to try to get it back on the right track.

"Worker participation and control have been lost. We have to give the authority and control back to workers."

"In many cases individuals are running trade unions. They use unions to build their self-esteem."

"I believe the whole work-force should be developed. We should lift the workers' level of debate to allow them to think for themselves and make the decisions."

"They must all go through this process together."

"My other main objective is for the union to get at workers' problems as a whole."

"Far too often we look at workers' problems on the factory floor and stop there. In South Africa, we need to look at workers' problems when they leave the factory and go back to the community. We must have a holistic approach.

"Workers have been deprived of economic and political power. We have to work hard at changing the situation.

"At the moment, economic power lies in the hands of a few. Yet, workers generated that wealth and should share in it.

"It is important in the leadership of any trade union to assist in the sharing of that wealth."

Desperation

"With this goes political power which our people have been denied. We have been denied to all these years. The apartheid system has effectively created this situation.

"It is up to the unions to help workers to work hard at restoring these basic human rights to workers."

"They also have to address the issues of a living wage for our wages."

"Employers have denied workers decent living standards. They have created poverty, misery and desperation in which workers find themselves."

Unity

Sampson was not too concerned about criticism of his union's conservative past.

"Our critics realise that any union goes through a process of change. We have a history of 60 years. It is easy for a new union to criticise. They should not judge us on our history, but on our present position."

"We have heard that changes in the union are at the top only. That is not so. The changes have been made by the workers."

"I am not really perturbed by the criticism. The workers have a clear vision of where they want to go. This is shown by the resolutions adopted at our inaugural congress. Our members' approach has been constructive and responsible."

"He said he was committed to unity.

"We have no illusions about the damage the apartheid system has done to our people. There is only one way to undo this and that is to unite all workers."
Parents not aware of charges

THE launching of your newspaper, SOUTH, gave the people the impression that, at last, we would have an objective mouth piece "of the people for the people".

SOUTH would report matters in a fair and just manner without implicating unfortunate victims who find themselves in no position to defend any allegations or criticism against them by the poisoned fingers of the press, it was thought.

Terrorism

Your edition of December 10-16, under the bold headings "ANC's Cape Cells" on page 1 and "Forbes an ANC commander", refers to the plight of the 15 young people, who will appear in the Supreme Court in March next year on charges of "terrorism", your newspaper went about tabulating the allegations against some of the young people in a manner which, apparently and undoubtedly, projects the impression that they (the accused) are already guilty of the charges, and/or, that they were some kind of ruthless political radicals who planned to create havoc — in a bid to overthrow the State.

We realise your Journalist was "only outlining the State's allegations" against them, but did he really do these young people any justice in the manner in which he reported the matter.

Was SOUTH aware that some or most of the parents of the accused was not aware of the actual charges against their children until they read your newspaper.

Could your paper not have found the time to check with those parents and/or the representatives of those charged whether they were all aware of the charges against their kin.

Worst

It appeared as if SOUTH was just interested in collating whatever photographs could be musterated of the people concerned for use with the "scoop", without further thought of whatever adverse consequences caused, or how you may have prejudiced the support and defence of those concerned.

It should be a well-known fact that quite a lot of people in our community like to believe only the worst of others, and, when the press rushes to stoke the fire by projecting what appears to be the "worst" in people, persecutors (of those who care and fight for their fellowmen) normally have a ball.

So well done SOUTH for your damaging "scoop" and purported revelations of those who are not yet in a position to defend themselves. I can assure that we, the parents of the 15 people involved, their kinsman, and the community at large are not at all impressed, of the direction you have taken to try to "sell" your newspaper.

SIGNED BY SOME OF THE PARENTS
Peace talks off rails

MARITZBURG — Negotiations to bring peace to the trouble-torn townships of Maritzburg could break down following a demand by Inkatha that the UDF and Cosatu condemn a document drawn up by expelled ANC members in London.

The document, drawn up by the Marxist Workers Tendency, called for the smashing of Inkatha and its trade union offspring, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

Inkatha

However, the UDF Midlands regional chairman, Mr A.S. Chetty, said his delegation had made it clear to Inkatha they had nothing to do with the document.

"We have already rejected the sentiments expressed in the document and it is now up to Inkatha to come forward. We are waiting for the Chamber of Commerce to contact us for further talks," he said.

It was alleged Inkatha was using recruitment drives to stamp its political domination on Maritzburg and the rest of the Natal to counter the growing popularity of the UDF and Cosatu.

The apparent failure to bring Inkatha members to heel has been highlighted in a speech made by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at a gathering in the township of Mpumalanga, near Maritzburg, at the weekend.

Referring to the violence, he warned Inkatha members not to take the law into their own hands to mete out what he termed "instant justice".

- Press Trust News Agency
UDF, Inkatha agree to extend peace talks

 Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A major stumbling block to the continuation of peace talks between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha here was removed yesterday with the public repudiation of a banned journal calling for the destruction of Inkatha and its union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

Last week Inkatha and Uwusa had insisted that the UDF and Cosatu openly repudiate a document published by the Marxist Workers' Tendency — a small, ultra-leftist grouping expelled from the ANC — or face the possible failure of the peace talks.

In a newspaper advert yesterday the UDF and Cosatu said so, after having repudiated the document at the peace talks last week.

At an Inkatha rally at Taylor's Hall outside Maritzburg yesterday, the UDF and Cosatu's actions were praised by Mr Velaphi Ndlovu, the KwaZulu MP for Maritzburg, and Mr Vitus Mvelase, the KwaZulu urban representative for Maritzburg.

Mr Ndlovu said the repudiation of the document made Inkatha "very happy" and was a "step forward" in ending the violence which has plagued the city.

He said the "talks about talks" which have been hosted by the Maritzburg chamber of commerce would definitely continue next year, once the UDF and Cosatu had reported back to their membership on their decision.
Mbeki: SA 'has blown it'

LAGOS. — South Africa had "blown it" by clamping restrictions on Mr Govan Mbeki, the United States Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, said yesterday.

"If the South African government was seeking to create a political opening, they seem to have blown it," Mr Crocker said.

He said Mr Mbeki's release could have improved the dialogue between the government and its opponents and led to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela. — Sapa-Reuters
AZAPO CONGRESS

THE Azanian People's Organisation is to hold its 10th annual congress at the DOCC Hall, Soweto, at the weekend.

The conference, whose theme is "10 Years of Resistance — Consolidate for Socialism — Azania," will deal with various issues concerning the organisation since its inception in 1978.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, yesterday said that besides discussing the organisation's programme next year, they would also clarify Azapo's relationship with the three exiled organisations — the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the African National Congress.

The congress, the first to be held in Soweto, will also discuss the organisation's relationship with other political organisations and the trade union movements within South Africa.
UDF spells out peace hopes

THE peace talks between warring groups in Pietermaritzburg are set to forge ahead again following a full-page advertisement published by the United Democratic Front yesterday morning, and hopes are high that the violence which has claimed hundreds of lives may finally end.

A representative of the Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which is hosting the Talks About Peace Talks, told a Durban daily newspaper yesterday that the organisation was "thrilled" about the breakthrough.

The full-page UDF advertisement calling for peace and publicly repudiating an anti-Inkatha document which caused the collapse of the talks last week, was published hours before a massive Inkatha peace rally was due to be held in the city.

Inkatha's leader in Pietermaritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlouv, said yesterday that all Inkatha members in the city — of whom there were many thousands — were expected to attend the rally.

Local leaders will address the all-day gathering at Taylor's Hall outside Pietermaritzburg — one of the townships' worst hit by the bitter "civil war" being waged between Inkatha and the UDF.

Mr Ndlouv said the leaders would report back on the peace talks and that Inkatha delegations would meet at a later stage to discuss their reaction to the UDF repudiation and the possibility of continuing talks.

The Inqaba Yabasebenzi Document which caused the talks to break down and calls for the destruction of Inkatha, was published by the Marxist Workers' Tendency, an African National Congress affiliate which was expelled from the organisation last year.

Yesterday's UDF advertisement is headed: "Lives are at stake — let us work for peace."

It says the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions had repeatedly repudiated the document at last week's talks and had stressed it did not reflect their policies, did not emanate from their organisations, had not been circulating in Pietermaritzburg and was not relevant to peace discussions.

"So in the interest of peace and the peace process we repeat: We repudiate this publication. It has nothing to do with us. It does not reflect our views."

The advertisement goes on to state: "Let us make this Christmas a time of peace."
Man shot dead as unrest continues in Maritzburg

PRETORIA. — A man was shot dead and three men, including a 90-year-old, were attacked in incidents of unrest in the Maritzburg area yesterday, the police unrest report said today.

At Sobantu Village, a 25-year-old man was shot dead by unknown assailants, according to the report.

At Ashdown, a man was slightly wounded when police used teargas and birdshot to disperse an illegal gathering. The wounded man and another were arrested.

At Harewood, a group beat up two men, one aged 90 and the other 25. Neither was seriously injured.

**Inkatha peace rally**

• An Inkatha peace rally at Taylor's Halt yesterday has paved the way for peace talks between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in Maritzburg early next year.

KwaZulu urban representative Mr V V Mavelase thanked the UDF for publishing a full-page advertisement repudiating the anti-Inkatha document which caused the breakdown of the talks last week.

He said the organisation was committed to "real talks" and hoped the result would be peace in "our beloved Maritzburg".

The rally was attended by hundreds of Inkatha members and a large contingent of police kept a passive presence.

Inkatha's leader in Maritzburg, Mr Velaphi Ndlouv, told the rally the organisation was "very happy" about the UDF repudiation of the anti-Inkatha document and suggested peace talks be resumed early next year.

However, Mr Ndlouv expressed grave reservations over the presence of non-Africans in the UDF delegation, in particular Midlands chairman Mr A S Chetty and organiser Mr Martin Wittenberg.

No Indians or whites had died in the Maritzburg violence, he said, and it was "fishy" that leaders of the organisation did not belong to the same group as those who were dying.

Mr Chetty welcomed the Inkatha reaction to the UDF repudiation and said his organisation was "equally resolved" to ending the violence in Maritzburg. — Sapa and The Argus Correspondent.
The full-page advert which pieced the peace talks together

Weekly Mail Reporter, Durban

work for peace.

"We are committed to the talks and the peace process. We believe the talks should continue."

They went on to say the publication did not reflect the policies of the UDF and Cosatu, but they were unaware of the circulation in the Pietermaritzburg area; and it was not relevant to the discussion about how peace could be brought to the townships.

"We made these points repeatedly during the meeting and again made them in a statement to the press afterwards, but Inkatha was not satisfied with these assurances.

"So, in the interests of peace and the peace process, we repeat: we repudiate this publication. It has nothing to do with us. It does not reflect our policy."

"Let us make this Christmas a time of peace."

At the rally, which drew about 500 people and was held in the current hotspot, the semi-rural area of Taylors Rall about 40km outside Pietermaritzburg, expressed disappointment in the small crowd: "I expected thousands of members. But I have been told that many of our members have been intimidated not to come here in fear of having their houses burnt down."

He said the UDF/Cosatu statement in the newspaper was especially reassuring in the light of rumours he had heard — that under pressure to look for a solution, Inkatha would lose sight of the interests of the blacks.

He made a concerted attack on the ANC, the Soviet Union, socialism and communism, saying: "Socialism and communism means the leaders get fat and drive big cars while the workers suffer and starve."

"Remember, the ANC is sponsored and supported financially by Moscow and this will have to be repaid at some time in the future," Mvelase said.

He said the problem in negotiating with the UDF/Cosatu was that these organisations did not like consultation and "just want to dictate to us like we are children."

He cited as examples the Pietermaritzburg consumer boycott, rent boycotts and stayaways.

However, his overriding message was conciliatory: "Let us work for peace. We are in Inkatha are committed to peace and the talks. Talking is the only way to peace.

"The inhumanity of this violence is that it dishonours the struggle for liberation from apartheid."

"So, I appeal to you to assist the police in tracking down the perpetrators of violence. We call on the state president to speed up radical political change: release all political prisoners and let us all unite."

Other speakers were less conciliatory.

Velaphi Ntlou said Inkatha could not be intimidated out of existence because it was a black organisation led by blacks for blacks. "We are not a pushover and we will die if necessary for our democratic rights."

He criticised the presence of Indians and whites in the UDF leadership.

"The UDF here is led by AS Chetty, an Indian, but no Indians have died in the violence. And Martin Wittenberg (UDF joint regional secretary) — why his involvement? He is white and none of his group are involved in the violence and are dying."

He accused non-African leaders of using black children to burn down their schools.

"This is not racism, but if leaders of an organisation are of a different race and none of their race group is being killed while their members are then there is something not right about it — there is no mutual interest and this makes peace difficult.

"We do not trust all the players at the moment, but maybe through these talks about talks we will learn to trust one another a little more."
Students to aim at colleges in '88

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE South African National Students Congress will concentrate next year on organising students in technikons and colleges.

This goal was set at Sansco's seventh annual congress in the Western Cape last week, where the organisation said the impression that the group catered only for university students was a regrettable one. In fact, the majority of students were in such tertiary institutions as technikons and colleges.

The conference, held in the Peninsula Technikon in the Western Cape, was attended by 276 delegates representing 62 campuses country-wide.

Delegates viewed the conference as "historic", taking place at the height of stepped-up state repression against "entire democratic forces".

Sansco announced a programme of action against government repression of educational institutions and the State of Emergency and condemned SA Defence Force forays into neighbouring states.

The congress criticised the De Klerk Bill threatening subsidy cuts at universities as being intended to force university councils to be an extension of the government's security machinery. The regulations were geared to frustrate "progressive development on campuses, particularly liberal campuses, in the field of research for labour movement and community organisations".

The conference also attacked the Education and Training Amendment Bill for its "attempt to crush opposition at educational institutions".

The Bill sought to amend seven Acts, four pertaining to the "tribal universities" of Zululand, Turffoep, Medunsa and Vista. The amendment relating to universities would limit the number of vice rector who may serve on the university councils.

Sansco said the height of repression at institutions like the universities of Zululand, the North and Fort Hare and tertiary institutions was manifested in the closure of campuses, expulsion of students and the permanent occupation of some of the institutions by the security forces.

A mistaken identity

THE Weekly Mail, in its issue of December 4, mistakenly identified the chairman of a government committee on land ownership in Leliofontein as
Sayco men’s release: judgment reserved

Judgment in an application for the release of the three South African Youth Congress (Sayco) members who were detained by kwaNdebele police in Johannesburg, has been reserved until December 22.

Mr Justice Spoelstra reserved judgment in the Pretoria Supreme Court in an application for the release of Sayco members Mr Fawcett Mathebe, Mr Andy Sefolateko and Mr Harold Nkuna.

The question to be decided is whether or not the kwaNdebele police have the right to detain people in terms of the emergency regulations outside the borders of the self-governing territory.

The application for the release of the men, who were detained by the kwaNdebele police in a Johannesburg hotel on November 18, first came before court on December 7.

The application was then postponed.

Mr J Unterhalter (SC) argued that the kwaNdebele police had no powers of arrest beyond the borders of the self-governing territory.

He asked whether “a man sleeping peacefully in his bed in Yeoville, Johannesburg can be subject to arrest” without a warrant by people from Lebowa or Gazankulu.

In reply, Mr L Visser, representing the South African Minister of Law and Order, the State President, kwaNdebele’s Minister of Law and Order and Commissioner of Police, denied this, saying the South African police were allowed into the self-governing territory and therefore the reverse was true in the case of kwaNdebele police.
Mbeki 'abused' his freedom

Recent restrictions imposed on former African National-Congress chairman Mr. G. van Mbekli were a consequence of certain people using him for their own political purposes, Deputy Minister of Information and of Constitutional Planning Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe said on the television programme, Network, last night.

Dr. van der Merwe said Mr. Mbeki was released unconditionally to give him as much freedom as possible, but Mr. Mbeki and his friends had abused this freedom. He added that the state of emergency was inextricably linked to the reform process. — Sapa.
LETTERS

If it's irrelevant, condemn it

I refer to the issue of the Weekly Mail (December 11) in which you carry an article about the peace talks in Pieternepalburg under the heading "Buthane in amusing swipe at UDF". I must record my total dismay that your newspaper has seen fit to report on the peace talks initiated by the Pieternepalburg Chamber of Commerce with such little understanding.

The import of your article gives the average reader the impression that I have shown a similar glee to the spokesmen of the peace talks by demanding that the UDF and Cosatu publicly repudiate an article in the October 1987 issue of Inqaba ya Selwane. In this issue Cosatu is accused of being soft on Uwusa and the UDF is castigated because it is involved in peace talks with Inkhatha instead of pursuing the destruction of Inkatha through violence.

The basis of the critical bias in the article is that Inqaba ya Selwane reflects the opinions of a discredited group of white activists in the ANC who had been thrown out by the organization some time ago. This is an entirely misleading slant to give to the facts of the matter.

You could have observed that I asked for a public repudiation of certain ANC thinking in a way which made no public repudiation most possible. If your emphasis on the irrelevance of the "Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress" is correct, then why did the UDF and Cosatu have difficulty in publicly repudiating the fabulous views it expressed? Surely it would have been very easy for UDF and Cosatu to repudiate somebody you claim the ANC had thrown out?

The harsh reality is that the tendency reflected in the article which was presented for repudiation is a tendency which is alive and well among core ANC National Executive members and activists. It is alive and well in factions of the UDF and Cosatu. They want more killing. They want the annihilation of Inkatha and it is this desire for the annihilation of Inkatha which demands public repudiation.

I could have made the demand for public repudiation much tougher by quoting at length from the ANC's own journal, Selwane, and from the South African Communist as well as from the actual texts of ANC radio broadcasts.

There is hooted violence in Pieternepalburg because revolutionary forces gain from it. This is the real issue and I was amazed that the South African press carried me for demanding that the UDF and Cosatu dissociate themselves from efforts to fan the flames of violence while they discuss peace with Inkatha. — MG Buthane, president of Inkatha, Umzimbini.
ANC at Amsterdam festival: No easing of culture boycott

The conference's value in bringing alternative African culture into the world and allowing artists and people from home to meet and mix could not be overrated.

But it has also highlighted the difficulties inherent in the cultural boycott and caused problems with the selection criteria that were used to bring people across to Amsterdam.

The selection criteria also gave room to several distortions. Within South Africa few appeared to know what was going on during preparations and selections for Casa intercourse and sympathies with the broad democratic movement seemed not always to be good enough.

Four factors cast some doubt on an ANC cultural department official claim that all the delegations were effected democratically from UDF affiliates around the country.

As the festival itself, most of the culture displayed had liberal overtones. Almost all the plays have been shown at The Market Theatre in Johannesburg. This includes Sipho Mhlongo's Iphilo, Josephine Atwood's Sophocles and Mongézi Njeza's Penny Mason and Barry Simon's Photo Affair.

The music was noticeable for its exclusion of artists like Those acquitted and released. They included quality as an artist, areas of artistic endeavour (music, feature, photography, literature etc) and a connection to or sympathy for the democratic movement.

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As the festival itself, most of the culture displayed had liberal overtones. Almost all the plays have been shown at The Market Theatre in Johannesburg. This includes Sipho Mhlongo's Iphilo, Josephine Atwood's Sophocles and Mongézi Njeza's Penny Mason and Barry Simon's Photo Affair.

The music was noticeable for its exclusion of artists like Those acquitted and released. They included quality as an artist, areas of artistic endeavour (music, feature, photography, literature etc) and a connection to or sympathy for the democratic movement.

The conference's value in bringing alternative South African culture into the world and allowing artists and people from home to meet and mix could not be overrated.

But it has also highlighted the difficulties inherent in the cultural boycott and caused problems with the selection criteria that were used to bring people across to Amsterdam.

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Mbeki would have ‘urged unity’

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

South Africa through its “shortsightedness and paranoia” in preventing free expression and the participation of all leaders.

Jana’s audience would have been wider if she had been able to speak as planned at a protest rally banned hours before it was to start on Monday night. Any receptions for Mbeki in six Western Cape magisterial districts were simultaneously banned.

People who travelled from distant towns arrived on Monday at the rally venue unaware of the ban and were re-directed by its organisers to Community House in Salt River for a meal before starting the journey back.

Police arrived at Community House at about 7.30pm and declared the gathering illegal, ordering everyone — including those still eating — to leave the premises and line up outside. There, all identity documents were checked and people were ordered to return home, witnesses said.

FREED African National Congress leader Govan Mbeki would have used last weekend’s banned rally in Cape Town to urge unity among all South Africans so that apartheid could be destroyed, according to his lawyer, Priscilla Jana.

At a press conference on Tuesday, Jana said she would be filing papers next week challenging the restriction order served on him a day earlier, confining him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district and barring him from talking to reporters.

Jana told the press conference the kinds of things he believed Mbeki would have said at the rally, had it not been banned.

He would have told the thousands expected at the rally that although released from jail he didn’t consider himself free because of government attempts to silence him and prevent his message from being spread, she said.

And, she added, he would have attacked the government for compounding the problems plaguing...
Bremen prize for the Mandelas

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife, activist Winnie Mandela have been jointly awarded the Bremen Solidarity Prize in recognition of their fight for liberation.

The announcement was made formally yesterday by West Germany's ambassador Dr Immo Stabreit when he presented a certificate of the award to Winnie Mandela at a small ceremony at the Mandela home.

By awarding the prize, the Senate has honoured the couple's "joint dedicated engagement to overcome the consequences of colonialism and racism".
POLITICAL FIGURES HONOURED

THREE black political figures who made a lasting impression on South Africa's history were honoured at a function in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

Chief Albert Luthuli, Mr Robert Sobukwe and Mr Steve Biko were chosen by the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs (Ceapa) as the top three leaders who died in the struggle for the upliftment of the African people.

Ceapa aims to provide information on the historical and current socio-political and economic development of South Africa for the local community and for other African countries.

Prominent lawyer Mr G M Pitje and Mr Hlaku Râchidi, a Black Consciousness adherent, spoke on the lives of the three men.

The function, held at the National Recreation and Exhibition Centre near Soweto, was attended by blacks in various fields such as religion, politics, business and arts. Diplomatic staff from other countries also attended.

Mr Pitje said although Chief Luthuli could have lived comfortably as a chief he chose a path that led to confrontation with the authorities.

Chief Luthuli took a stand of non-collaboration with the authorities, which led to "losing his Government salary.

Mr Sobukwe, who was a Wits lecturer when he was arrested during the anti-pass campaign of 1960, sought to make Africa for the Africans as Europe was for the Europeans, said Mr Pitje.

Mr Rachidi said Steve Biko was a good organiser and a good listener.

He was intensely against discrimination of any kind and took no nonsense.

Report

Ms Thembi Mbobo, a co-ordinator of Ceapa, said her organisation has a comprehensive reference library with a wide range of books, journals, magazines, Government papers and newspapers with information on South African, African, Asian, Latin American and Arab countries.

She said Ceapa's trustees consisted of Mr Mojaletsa Ralekhe and Mrs Joyce Siwani.

By Langa Skosana

CHIEF Albert Luthuli.
Ms Thembi Mbobo, Mr Phil Mthimkulu, Mr Mothobi Mutloa, Mr Lungile Makapelap, Ms Miriam Tladi and Mr Anthony Ngwenya.

THIS report has been shortened in terms of the emergency regulations.
Response to anti-ANC ad

LONDON. — The South African embassy says it has been overwhelmed by the response to its R230,000 campaign to discredit the ANC.

The embassy placed advertisements containing selected extracts of statements by the ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, external affairs director Mr Johnny Makatini and Mrs Winnie Mandela on violence.

It asked people to write in for more information on "the true nature of the ANC" and the "real situation in South Africa".

Press attache Mr Aubrey Dwyer said that between 1,300 and 1,500 people had written in so far.

Of these only nine were negative.

Typical of comments attached to "were statements like "white boy go home". He said the many people had simply asked for more information, but about 5,000 letters.
Police see "nothing sinister" in the spiralling number of township shootings and deaths; Claremont Independent MP Mr Jan van Eck says "sinister forces" are at work; community workers say the tensions in the KTC squatting camp are "very, very close" to exploding into a Crossroads June '86 scenario. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Political Staff reports.

**Fears of KTC squatter eruption discounted**

**THE violent deaths in recent weeks have occurred mostly in KTC, the sprawling camp (bounded by Guguletu, Nyanga and New Crossroads) that accommodates 25,000 people conservatively, alternatively about 80,000 according to community workers. About two-thirds of KTC was destroyed in June last year.**

According to a recent report, the police attributed the violent deaths to the use of "more sophisticated weaponry in the townships". But, they said, there was "nothing sinister" in the increasing number of deaths.

In one week six people were killed in KTC and among them were members of the KTC steering committee affiliated to the Western Cape Civic Association.

Approached for comment on the concern being expressed, a police spokesman said the KTC situation was being monitored but "we cannot support the view that KTC is about to explode". The shootings were being investigated as murders and were viewed "as we would view murders anywhere".

Mr Daniele Landinge, a Quaker Peace Committee community worker who represents his organisation in KTC, isolated one important source of conflict as the differences between the Masinclan Committee which represents most of KTC and the smaller Western Cape Civic Association representation in the area in the form of a steering committee.

"The issue of the civic association was introduced to KTC at the beginning of the year by two United Democratic Front activists - a Mr Qubela and a Mr Sidina - who are both now in detention."

"There were meetings about this in March and the concern of the various squatter communities was that they did not want to be represented by anyone from outside their communities," said Mr Landingwe.

**Tensions**

Tensions grew even further when a steering committee meeting just over a month ago decided to evict a certain individual.

"Then everything started to explode and meetings to address the situation are now going on," said Mr Landingwe.

Mr van Eck makes the point that the Masinclan Committee is not necessarily politically incompatible with the democratic movement as represented by the civic association.

"But remember that their priority as squatters is somewhere to live," he said. "The pressure of that issue tends to outweigh other political considerations. You have squatting needs versus political needs with parents telling the youth not to do anything which might jeopardise their future as KTC is essentially phase two of the Crossroads upgrade scheme."

The Masinclan Committee was not against the formation of a civic association but were still discussing the issue in the community when the steering committee went ahead and set itself up, he said.

"All I can say about alleged police involvement is that there are sinister forces at work exploiting the divisions in the manner of divide and rule and in the interests of creating another Crossroads '86 situation."

A community worker who asked to remain anonymous for reasons of security said the situation was not one of conservatives versus comrades.

"It's more like corruption versus sincerity," he said and here there are no clear sides but elements of both in all groupings.

Western Cape UDF chairperson Mr Dullah Omar said his organisation was "very, very" concerned about the implications for the democratic movement in the KTC situation.

"In the turmoil, the tendency is to lose sight of the politics of the situation: and its the politics we continue to emphasise because it provides the basis for unifying people."

In an effort to find a resolution, the UDF has been involved in ongoing meetings and discussions.

"The basic tensions remain the same," said Mr Omar. "But there has been a realisation in all groupings in the last few weeks of the inherent dangers of the situation, namely, the advantage which the state can take of the conflict and the mischief that can be made."
Carrying a torch

Azhar Cachalia is one of several dozen bright young lawyers in the ranks of the UDF. He was raised in the Indian Congress tradition of unswerving opposition to apartheid. These days, about three layers of the UDF’s leadership are either detained or lying low.

Cachalia (31), the organisation’s national treasurer, together with co-presidents Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gurneke, is one of the few people called on to make statements on UDF policy — which he does with charm and eloquence.

Since the government clampdown, which has undoubtedly affected UDF mobilisation, he explains, the organisation has been forced to operate largely in a clandestine way. Yet “our battle is still to try and broaden the legal space we can operate in.”

Cachalia recalls some harrowing experiences as an anti-government activist. In 1978, he was detained for the first time, for a week, together with his brother Firoz, after they had been distributing pamphlets for the Benoni Students’ Movement, urging Indian students to show solidarity with that year’s crop of political detainees.

The experience obviously didn’t deter Cachalia. During the “anti-republic” campaign at Wits in 1981, he was detained for three weeks, then issued with a five-year banning order which was lifted after two years. When the 1986 emergency was declared, he was held for nearly six weeks, and issued with a restriction order later in the year. The order lapsed when the 1986 emergency expired in June.

Soon after the appointment in February of the Munnik Commission of Inquiry into the UDF funding affair, he was arrested while leaving his office, questioned briefly, and released after informing the police that he’d be giving evidence to Munnik. In July, after the arrest of UDF spokesman Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli, Cachalia was taken in for questioning for a day.

So, compared to many other detainees, he says: “I haven’t had a lengthy spell inside. But one feels vulnerable... It has made my political approach more cautious, but hasn’t dampened my determination to see the end of apartheid.”

Indeed, the struggle against apartheid is a Cachalia family tradition. His great uncle, a pioneer Indian in SA, was a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi. His uncle Yusuf Cachalia was, until his banning, a leading figure of the Congress movement. And his father Ismail is on the executive committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

“I was born on 26 June 1956 (the first anniversary of the Freedom Charter), so I have a vested interest in Freedom Day,” says Cachalia, only slightly tongue-in-cheek.

In fact he was born in Scotland, and lived there for his first five years while his father was becoming a doctor. “But I am a child of 1976,” he says, referring to the Soweto student uprisings of that year, “which had a great impression on me. One felt an overwhelming need to do something, and I felt isolated in a little Indian group area.” As a result, he and others formed their students’ movement on the East Rand a year later, which gave Cachalia his first experience in organised politics.

He was involved in the campaign against the elections to set up an Indian chamber in terms of the tricameral constitution in 1984. Soon after he joined the high-profile legal firm of Ismail Ayob and Partners (lawyers to the Mandelas), the Vaul townships erupted in political protest. Along with the rest of the firm, Cachalia was drawn into matters associated with the “unrest.”

In the past few months, Cachalia has been busy as an attorney for the defence in the Mosebenzi trial, one of the major ANC trials currently in progress.

He is also a consultant in the Delmas treason trial, in which his UDF colleagues Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe are charged.

While Cachalia is an ardent proponent of the Freedom Charter as a “starting point,” with socialist leanings, he believes “debate should continue on the shape of a post-apartheid economy and society.” Any new government, he maintains, will have to address the question of redistribution of wealth. However, this will have to be along “pragmatic, not doctrinaire, lines.”

He says the debate in the UDF on what post-apartheid SA should look like is a vigorous one. And, although there’s a “strong socialist orientation in the democratic movement, the extent of nationalisation, for example, is an open question. The role business plays in therefore important. At the moment we see business and government as two sides of the same coin.”
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All eyes on Samcor

The fuss over the $61m payment by Ford to Samcor to help the car company pay off its debts, as part of Ford's disinvestment package, has brought with it a number of insights.

On the lowest level, it has yet again illustrated the misdirection and often downright foolishness of the disinvestment lobby in the US. In particular, Congressmen Howard Wolpe and William Gray and Senator Paul Simon have emerged poorly from the event.

From their public statements during their campaign to block the transfer of the money to SA, it is perfectly clear they are completely out of touch with those in SA whose interests they claim to represent. In particular, they were obviously unaware that the transfer had been discussed with Numsa and that the union had sensibly decided not to oppose it.

Gray, Wolpe and Co have given notice that their first interest is garnering votes on the home front, rather than any real concern for the victims of apartheid. This was entirely consistent with the fact that had they succeeded in blocking the $61m, thousands of jobs at Samcor would have been in jeopardy. In addition, the far-reaching trust schemes to benefit the wider worker community, set up as part of the Ford deal, would have been wrecked.

So long as they're making the headlines, the sanctions lobby couldn't care less. But enough about them, because far more significant than the pipings of the spoilers has been the approach of the SA unions — and the question of what they will do in the future with the power the Ford deal has placed in their hands.

We have more faith in the free enterprise system than does Numsa. Nevertheless, in its own terms, Numsa has hardly put a foot wrong. It has hammered out an extremely creative agreement which has saved 4 000 workers from unemployment and could bring significant improvements to the quality of life in their communities. Dividends accruing to the employee trust which now controls a 24% equity interest in Samcor will be used for community welfare and development, on top of which Ford is to establish two additional community trusts.

With Anglo controlling the remaining 76% of the equity, the stage is set for the first working partnership between unions and management in running a major corporation. It is thus a key test of whether there is any possibility of productive co-existence between socialist-inclined unionism and enlightened capitalism in SA — without which the future is indeed bleak.

Many eyes will be watching — from other unions, from business and from government — because what has been started at Samcor could set a new course for business in a changing society for years to come.

What a pity this significance has passed by the Washington sanctioneers.
Peace talks between Cosatu-UDF and Inkatha have ground to a halt after a bitter clash during their latest meeting in Maritzburg.

Delegates seeking an end to the violence in the city’s black townships clashed over a magazine called *Inqaba ya Basebenzi* (“The Workers’ Silo”) which Inkatha brought to the meeting.

Published by the Marxist Workers’ Tendency, a hard-Left faction recently expelled from the ANC, the magazine dealt with violence as a political strategy. Inkatha insisted that both the UDF and Cosatu should publicly repudiate the magazine.

UDF and Cosatu representatives evidently did so during the meeting, but refused to do so publicly on the grounds that neither organisation had anything to do with the magazine. After about three hours of fruitless argument, the meeting broke up. No date was set for further talks.

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, which is acting as peace broker, will now try to get things going again, according to manager Paul van Uyttrecht. Both parties remained anxious to pursue talks, he said, but each appeared to be waiting for the other to make the first move.

On the eve of last week’s talks, seven more murders were reported, including that of a 67-year-old man who was stabbed 129 times.
Transkei's new Prime Minister, Stella Sigcau, went to Cape Town last week to call for the release from prison of fellow Transkeian Nelson Mandela.

In a way it was a pity that Sigcau had to waste her first public speaking engagement (at Cape Town's press club) outside Transkei since her election as PM, by appealing for something which is now probably further from government's collective mind than at any time since State President P W Botha last year offered to release Mandela.

Sigcau said she believed Govan Mbeki's release paved the way for Mandela's freedom. But only two days later Mbeki was effectively back behind bars; restricted to the Port Elizabeth district and banned from giving media interviews.

Action against Mbeki was not unexpected (Current Affairs December 4), but effectively puts government back to square one in the Mandela release game. (Ironically, there are still some foreign governments who believe sanctions have put such pressure on Pretoria that Mandela will be released by Christmas. This line was put with conviction by a senior Canadian official to a visiting PFP MP during recent talks in Ottawa.)

The chances of Mandela seeing the outside of Pollsmoor prison as a free man in the foreseeable future are now virtually nil. This is not to say that Sigcau's appeal on Mandela was invalid. She used the issue to illustrate the need for wide-ranging negotiations (including the "independent" homelands) to solve SA's problems. Only in this way has a democratic alternative any chance of survival.

She says Transkei is willing to become part of a federation if such a system is deemed most suitable for a future, non-racial SA.
Embassy stunned by response to ANC ad

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — The South African Embassy here said it has been overwhelmed by the response to its R230,000 campaign to discredit the ANC.

The embassy placed advertisements containing selected extracts of statements by the ANC President Oliver Tambo, external affairs director Joop Makanini and Winnie Mandela on violence.

It asked people to write in for more information on “the true nature of the ANC” and the “real situation in South Africa”.

The press attaché, Mr Aubrey Dwyer, said that between 1,300 and 1,500 people had written in so far.

Of these only nine were negative. Typical of comments attached to these were statements like “white bastards go home”.

Mr Dwyer said the majority of people had simply asked for additional information, but about 50 had written letters.

These included one from a member of a British parachute regiment who wrote asking if he could join the SADF to fight against the ANC.

Another correspondent, Mr Dwyer said, has written that he was “very pleased British people would have the opportunity, if they wished, to know the true facts instead of having to accept the biased information put out by the media”.

Mr Dwyer said the response was “a lesson to us that people want to know about South Africa from sources other than the normal sources. I would certainly like to see us doing it again”.

He said the advertising department of the Guardian newspaper, had contacted him asking if the embassy would place it in their paper. He had received permission from Pretoria, but the editor of the Guardian had refused to carry it.

Meanwhile the Independent newspaper yesterday carried an advertisement containing the names of more than 1,000 people pledging support for the ANC.

Similar advertisements had previously been carried in the Guardian and the Observer newspapers.

The ANC advertisement asks people to add their names to the list of supporters. A spokesman said the response had been very good.

But since the list was first published only nine extra names — including Labour MP Paul Boateng; Liberal peer Lord Avebury; Labour peer Lord Gifford; and musicians Peter Gabriel and Pete Townsend — have been added.
5 killed in Natal weekend stabbings

PRETORIA. — A spate of stabbings in the Maritzburg area were reported at the weekend by police.

About 200 people have been killed in the violence between Inkatha and the UDF in Maritzburg’s townships in recent months.

At Shateng at the weekend, a 40-year-old man was killed by a group who attacked him with a knife.

A 59-year-old man was stabbed to death and his wife seriously hurt when attacked by a group in Edenvale.

Another man was stabbed to death by a crowd at Henly Dam.

The body of a man with knife wounds was found at Willow Fountain.

An 18-year-old man was stabbed to death at Mpumalanga.

A policeman is in a serious condition after being stabbed in KwaDebeza.

Other incidents reported were the dispersal of an illegal gathering at Slangspruit, also in the Maritzburg area, at which three men were arrested, and the setting alight of a vehicle.

Meanwhile, the next round of the Maritzburg peace talks is expected to take place early in the New Year, according to the chairman of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Paul van Uytrecht. — Sapa and Own Correspondent
Azapo fires salvos to the left and right

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, white liberal groups and Freedom Charter adherents came under fire yesterday when the eighth Azapo annual congress opened in Soweto at the weekend.

The attacks came in a hard-hitting address by Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala at the Orlando East YMCA hall before hundreds of delegates.

Groups that specifically came under attack were the National Democratic Movement and the Five Freedoms Forum.

"The NDM and the FFF are today the official organizational expression of white democratic liberalism," said Mr Molala. "Their role is to secure a place for liberalism in a future state and to agitate for the protection of minority rights."

He said this explained their close relationship with the Charterists as the Charter guarantees this protection.

"Any objective analysis of this protection of minority rights leads to the inescapable conclusion of defence of white people's standard of living, lifestyle and, most importantly, the protection of his property," said Mr Molala. "No revolutionary activist who has the interest of the oppressed masses languishing in abject poverty at heart, will ever agree with this arrangement."

The government was slated for assisting Unita in Angola and MNR in Mozambique.

Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, who led a group of leading Afrikaners to West Africa's Dakar for a meeting with the ANC earlier this year, also came in for criticism.

"All the Dakar conference has done is to sanction and endorse white liberalism, its rabid opposition to socialist forces notwithstanding," said Mr Molala.

— Sapa
THE introduction and adoption of the Freedom Charter by parts of the black labour movement was a divisive move planned by people who were against working class unity, the president of the National Council of Trade Unions, Mr James Mndaweni, said at the weekend.

Addressing over 1000 delegates attending the eighth annual congress of the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo) at the DOCC Hall in Soweto, Mr Mndaweni said the strife tearing at unions like the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers’ Union (Ccaswa), vindicated the assertion that the forces behind the adoption of the charter by unions were “against our unity, our struggle and against our liberation.”

Campaign

Mr Mndaweni lashed out at the SABC, saying the corporation was involved in a deculturisation campaign of the black community through its radio and television programmes. “They want us to forget who we are and where we come from. They are trying to make us accept white values in order to protect capitalism from the socialist demands of the working class,” he said.

He said the black community had to jealously guard against these influences in order to protect “the revolution”. It was for this reason, Mr Mndaweni added, that Nactu believed that the black working class had to lead the labour movement and the overall struggle for freedom as they were the ones who experienced daily oppression and exploitation.

Mr Mndaweni said the federation’s total support for the sanctions campaign against the South African government had resulted in people losing their jobs. “To make sure our people do not suffer, Nactu is engaged in setting up co-operatives in our communities so that those affected by the sanctions campaign can get work,” he added.

Turning to Nactu’s relations with externally based liberation movements, Mr Mndaweni said the federation maintained a non-partisan political stand. He said a delegation had held formal and fruitful discussions with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), while an informal meeting had also been held with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). “Preparations for a formal meeting with the BCMA are under way”, he added. He said no formal meeting had taken place with the African National Congress (ANC) since the formation of Nactu last year.
Azapo takes new direction

THE politics of resistance which were adopted by the Azanian People's Organisation for the past 10 years are to give way to major drive against the forces of oppression and exploitation, the organisation's president, Mr Nkosinathi Molala, said at the weekend.

Addressing over 1,000 delegates and observers at the close of the organisation's two-day annual national congress which ended at the Patidar Hall, Lenasia, Mr Molala said the resistance phase had to be "qualitatively changed into an offensive in which we will take a step forward to consolidate gains of the struggle so far".

Struggle

He said what had happened must be seen as a curtain raiser for the true struggle for a socialist transformation of this country.

Mr Molala said his organisation stood on the threshold of an exciting and inspiring period when 'the people' would be free.

Mr Molala spoke shortly after being re-elected as president.

SABC calls for open talks

As the Catholic Church throughout the world prepares to celebrate the world day of peace on January 1, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference reiterates its disapproval of all forms of violence, whether institutional or retaliatory.

Releasing yesterday the SABC said it also continues to call for open, unconditional negotiations between the SA Government and major black leaders as the only way to avoid the escalation of violence and open revolution.

"Any Government call for negotiations must have credibility also with black South Africans. This cannot be achieved if their organisations are banned and their leaders imprisoned.

"Therefore the release of Mr Govan Mbeki caused a cautious stirring of hope in the hearts of many South Africans.

"Unfortunately any slight hope there may have been has been dealt a shattering blow by the recent government restrictions imposed on Mr Mbeki. These restrictions are such that they appear as calculated to smother any public manifestation of support for Mr Mbeki as a major black leader, and to silence him lest he publicly proclaim the frustration and feelings of so many black people.

"Does the Government wish to destroy totally its credibility with the black majority? We fear that the time will come when a sincere call to open and unconditional negotiations will fall on deaf and cynical ears.

"As ministers of the gospel, with confidence in Christ's power to heal all wounds and to calm all fears, we desperately appeal again for a creative, humane and Christian effort to conclude a just and peaceful settlement in our land," the SABC statement read. — Sapa.

By MATHATHA TSEDU

The congress resolved to establish a solidarity fund to offer relief and legal defence aid to affected members. It was further decided that all avenues to bring peace to the area be utilised.

DELEGATES and observers at the Azapo congress.
'Sharpeville Six': US adds voice to appeals

JOHANNESBURG. — A further appeal has been made to the government to commute the death sentences on the "Sharpeville Six", this time by the United States.

In a statement yesterday, the United States — through its embassy in Pretoria — joined several European leaders and other organisations in appealing for clemency for the six men who were sentenced to death on December 13, 1985.

The Appeal Court in Bloemfontein earlier this month turned down the appeals of Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, Reil Malebo Mokoenen, Oupa Moses Diniso, Theresa Ramashamola, Duma Joshua Khumalo and Francis Don Mokgetsi against death sentences passed for the murder of Lekoa town councillor and deputy mayor, Mr Kuzwayo Jacob Dlamini.

Mr Dlamini was killed as he fled from his house after it had been set alight by a mob on September 3, 1984. The six accused were sentenced to death by Mr Acting Justice W J Human in the Transvaal Supreme Court.

The embassy said: "We believe that carrying out the sentences would further weaken efforts towards reconciliation and set back attempts to negotiate over the political future of the South Africa, a process which we support and encourage."

"Compassion"

"We consequently hope that the South African Government will respond to the clemency appeal with compassion."

Other people, governments and institutions which have urged the State President to commute the sentences include Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the European Community, the Israeli Government, and individual members of Amnesty International in the United States and West Germany.

The South African Government has so far not reacted to the clemency appeals.
**Xmas message**

**The Government's imposition of restrictions on released ANC prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki** was a clear message that there had been no intention to allow him or other recognised leaders to participate in the solution of the country's problems, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday.

In his Christmas message he said the only conclusion that could be drawn was that the Government wanted Mr Mbeki to "retire within an apartheid system without questioning it."

"It is a well known fact that having incarcerated the people's leaders for life, the regime is thrown into a state of panic when it contemplates what would happen if the people's leaders were to die in their hands."

It was also clear that should Nelson Mandela be released, he would be expected to disappear into oblivion rather than become part of the solution to the problems of the country.

He said it was obvious that the intention of the Government was never to negotiate with the leaders of the "oppressed masses" but to "remove, eliminate, silence or isolate" the true leaders.
Azapo: the years ahead

MOLALA SPEAKS OF THE FUTURE

POLITICAL practice of the nature that South Africa had in the last two years has been driven more by an uninformed, uneducated confidence that originates from the belief that this country is just about to fall.

This emerged in an interview with the re-elected president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, on Tuesday. He was speaking on the struggle that his organisation was facing in the years ahead which, he said, cannot be divorced from the years past — because it is the experiences of the years past that shape the years ahead.

Mr Molala said most people believe that liberation is just about to come. "But that type of attitude of belief has been shattered by a concrete reality — a concrete reality which has proven that liberation will not come because people say it has come. Liberation has to be worked for," he said.

He said liberation in Azapo's context is a protracted process. It is a process that is going to take a very long time.

Mr Molala said: "The struggle for change is a protracted struggle. Liberation is not just around the corner because the present regime and the security forces are all powerful and have not been disarmed. Those instruments are still able to move about in our townships. They are still protecting some of their minions in our townships. The time has not come for them to protect those areas that are crucial and those areas that are crucial are not in black townships."

So that it is against that background that one has to look at the years to come. The years to come therefore contain in them the potential for change of a qualitative nature in other organisations have opted for the struggle and believe these were placed in this position by the regime.

Mr Molala said in the 10 years since its re-emergence, the black consciousness movement according to Mr Molala. He said most of the people to whom international bodies send money belong to a particular political tendency. These are the very people who have to decide how the money is distributed and...

The frontier of resistance reels under the iron fist

No area of the country has been harder hit by detentions, the policing of kiskonsabels and by vigilante attacks. EDV/the BULBRING reports

Khaya Matjila, secretary of the Eastern Cape Education Crisis Committee, says that the police have been taking the law into their own hands. Many local branches of the committee have been crushed and few SRCs or Parent Teacher Student Associations have survived.

"Any struggle must have a disciplined leadership to give direction. If they are detained then it presents problems and weaknesses," he said.

Alternative government structures like street and area committees have suffered the same fate as the education and youth organisations. In Uitenhage the committees are a thing of the past. The Police have divided the community.

At the beginning of 1986 only 18 of the 45 town councils under the then East Cape Development Board were still functioning. In all, 173 councillors quit in the wake of widespread and often violent opposition to participation in structures established under the Black Local Authorities Act.

But, up until November this year, only five townships in the region were not functioning. In three of these - KwaNobuhlile in Uitenhage, Illangi in Cradock and Umashonke in Graaff Reinet - administrators have been appointed to carry out the functions of the local authorities. In the Port Alfred and Queenstown townships there are no administrators.

There are 429 municipal policemen, or "greenfields", operating in 19 Eastern Cape towns, according to the Minister of Constitution and Development Planning Chris Heunis. According to represión monitoring groups in the Eastern Cape, the number of complaints received from township residents concerning the SADF and the South African Police in so prevalent in 1985 and 1986, has dropped off considerably.

The monitoring groups have cited daily complaints of assault and intimidation by the municipal police, however, especially in Jamesville, Patala and in Elands Bay.

It appears that the army and police have been moved into a supervisory role and that much of the immediate responsibility for controlling the townships and crushing anti-government organisations has devolved onto the municipal police and local authorities.

The collusion between vigilante groups and the police is evident in Uitenhage's townships where clashes between the residents and the Amithi-Africa vigilante group and "greenfields" has led to the death of over 20 people.

The reasons given by Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok for the majority of detentions in the Eastern Cape have been related to membership of street and area committees and "illegal gatherings", according to the Human Rights Trust.

The second largest category was related to alleged involvement in people's courts.

In spite of the destruction of organisations and structures, the Eastern Cape there still is a spirit of defiance.

The Eastern Cape Education Crisis Committee is concentrating on re-building structures and disseminating educational materials among residents.

And there is a move against the lack of recognition of local authorities by the residents. Last month the rally to be addressed by released ANC leaders Gomu and Motlakane was banned.

But his overwhelming reception in Port Elizabeth's New Eltham townships indicates that although the Eastern Cape organisations are largely crushed and leaderless, there is resistance to state repression. — Bv
POLITICS

WHERE HAVE ALL THE COMRADES GONE? TO CONGRESSES, (ALMOST) EVERY ONE

The comrades are no longer the force on the township streets they used to be. But it would be a foolish observer indeed who dismissed their importance. SHAUN JOHNSON and VUSI GUNENE report

Leading the youth movement ... Peter Mokaba and Ephraim Nkwe of the South African Youth Congress

served by the South African National Students Congress (formerly Azaso). Sasco, with 82 branches, works in close alliance with the National Union of South African Students, which caters for white students. As neither group keeps membership lists, it is difficult to estimate the extent of their support, but it is likely to run into thousands.

Pupils who were represented by the banned Congress of South African Students now feed their localised structures into the National Students Co-ordinating Committee. Nascoe draws support from the majority of black schools in the country.

This organisational triumvirate ensures a specialised structure dedicated to the needs of all youngsters.

Unbanned, and the promotion of an Education Charter

The fight against inferior education, security force presence at educational institutions, and opposition to the closure of schools

A specific campaign against the "De Klerk Bills" which restrict political activity on campuses by tying state subsidies to "acceptable" student behaviour.

A noble feature of youth activism in 1987 was the increased level of cooperation and consultation with "adult" bodies — whether these were within the trade union movement, or localised affiliates of the UDF. At the height of "insurrectionary" activity in 1984-86, fears had been expressed that youth militancy was losing its direction. This was not considered a problem in the past year.

Unity between pupils and parents, for instance, was heightened in the face of state action which saw the executive of the National Education Crisis Committee suffering as much as youth leaders. For many, youth politics had matured, perhaps as a result of the state clampdown.

The exigencies of the Emergency forcibly enrolled youthful activists in a new and more serious school of politics, in which precipitous initiatives were few and far between.

While it is unlikely, in terms of raw numbers, that youth organisations were able to sustain the active participation of the millions who had been drawn into their structures in 1984-86, those that did persist were of a qualitatively higher level of political sophistication. In terms of the acceptance within the popular movements that "struggle" will be hard-fought and drawn-out, these matured activists are certain to provide future political leadership.

In terms of numbers and visible action, the "charters" youth are in a position of leadership within the resistance scenario. However, other structures espousing different forms of the black consciousness philosophy continue to exist.

Most important of these are the fledgling Azanian Youth Organisation and the longer-established Azanian Students Movement. Both endorsed the now-banned Azanian People's Congress (APC) in 1987.
There were rare moments when the government appeared to be taking reform seriously, but the lasting impression was of a floundering leadership which had lost its way and fallen back on that tried and tested weapon: the iron fist.

PATRICIA LAURENCE reports on the year in politics

South Africa will be commuters, not without a few mutterings about the lack of progress. The government's policies and actions have been under scrutiny, with calls for reform and change.

The ANC leadership has come under fire, with allegations of corruption and mismanagement. The opposition parties, such as the Democratic Alliance (DA), have been vocal in their criticism.

The economy has struggled, with high unemployment rates and inflation. The government has implemented various measures, including tax increases, to try and combat these issues.

South Africans' rights have been a key concern, with issues such as land reform and the repatriation of displaced people being highlighted. The government has faced criticism for its slow progress in addressing these issues.

International relations have been mixed. The government has sought to improve relations with other countries, but has also faced criticism for its stance on issues such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and China's human rights record.

The year has been marked by a series of protests and strikes, with issues such as education, healthcare, and the cost of living being major concerns.

The legacy of apartheid and its impact on South African society continues to be a major issue. The government has faced criticism for its failure to address the legacy of apartheid, particularly in terms of race relations and social inequality.

Overall, it has been a year of challenging times for South Africans, with issues of reform, progress, and justice dominating the headlines.
Azapo expects tough state pressure in '88

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE Azanian People's Organisation believes the state will shift its attention to black consciousness groups in the coming year — but the organisation still thinks it is entering a period of growth.

Speaking after Azapo's annual congress, publicity secretary Muntu Myeza told The Weekly Mail the most significant outcome of 1987 was that the organisation had "proved it could survive and consolidate" under conditions of clampdown.

"But the system has seen that instead of going downhill, Azapo is in the ascendancy. This will lead to a greater concentration on us," he said.

Azapo's congress — held earlier this month in Soweto and Lenasia — pinpointed rent boycotts and violence in Natal as two major issues to be addressed in 1988.

"The congress urged that all organisations outside of government platforms should involve themselves in investigating the feasibility of continuing rent boycotts," said Myeza. "We have to assess cases where the system seems to be gaining ascendancy and the tactic is becoming counter-productive."

Myeza claimed the Natal violence had been "erroneously characterised as Inkatha-United Democratic Front conflict". He alleged that "the strife has been shouldered mostly by black consciousness organisations. We have lost more than 20 cadres in the Pietermaritzburg-Mpumalanga area."

He said peace talks "cannot succeed unless the black consciousness organisations are involved. This will be a priority for us next year."

Asked about relations between Azapo and the UDF, Myeza said his organisation had endorsed an "open-door policy" toward other anti-collaborationist organisations.

The Azapo congress was attended by some 1 000 delegates, representing a claimed membership of "25 000 at the very least". The theme for 1988 is "10 years of resistance — consolidate for a socialist Azania."

"What we mean by this," said Myeza, "is that over the past 10 years our people and organisations have been involved in actions. Now we need to give them content."

He said Azapo's infrastructure was being consolidated and its "ideological position was still undergoing growth."

Asked if he foresaw an end to the State of Emergency, Myeza said the Emergency was "irrelevant" to his organisation. "We have never regarded it as an issue, because black people contend that they have always operated under a State of Emergency."
Natal holiday violence: 19 dead, 15 hurt

FACTION-FIGHTING and unrest in Natal claimed 19 lives and 15 more were seriously injured over the three-day Christmas holiday weekend.

At the violence in the province — particularly in the Maritzburg area — continued, the head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday made his first public statement on the issue since meetings Inkhatha and United Democratic Front leaders in Durban on November 6.

Criticizing the fact that fighting was continuing during peace talks and that "aggressive verbal political attacks continue to be directed at rivals", he called on political leaders to make "an explicit and unequivocal call on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith".

Archbishop Tutu said he was "deeply concerned that we are entering 1988 with no definite prospect of an end to the dreadful maiming and slaughter of people" in the Maritzburg area.

His statement came amid reports that 10 men were killed and another injured in fighting between members of the Thulini and Ngotshi factions in the Kraaskop area near Greytown on Saturday afternoon.

Further details of the clash were not available.

Seven people were killed and seven others injured in unrest in the Maritzburg area, police reported.

At Molweni near Durban two men were killed and seven other people were injured in fighting between families and friends of a murder victim and those of the alleged killer. Twenty-two houses and a car were set alight in the fighting.

At least 250 people have died this year in political feuding in the region between the Zulu Inkatha movement and the United Democratic Front.

Both organizations are seeking political control in the area. — Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa
Tutu calls for ‘ceasefire’ in Maritzburg

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu of Cape Town has responded to continuing violence in the Maritzburg area by calling on political leaders to make “an explicit and unequivocal call on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith”.

In his first public statement on the violence since meetings with Inkatha and United Democratic Front leaders in Durban on November 6, Archbishop Tutu criticised the fact that fighting was continuing during peace talks and that “aggressive verbal political attacks continue to be directed at rivals”.

"Carnage must stop"

“The shocking carnage in Maritzburg has to stop. The absolute minimum condition necessary as we enter 1988 is an immediate ‘ceasefire’, a complete suspension of all violence while the peace talks are under way.

“The first step towards achieving this would be for all political leaders to make an explicit and unequivocal call on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith and for all involved in the peace process to avoid saying or doing anything which could prejudice the talks.”

Archbishop Tutu said he did not want to cut across peace efforts being made by others but remained willing to play whatever role might be necessary in searching for a solution to the violence.

“Revenge killings”

“Our church’s Synod of Bishops has acknowledged that no lasting peace can be achieved unless the roots of the violence are first addressed.

“However, allowing fighting to continue during peace talks inflames passions and opens up the prospect of violence feeding on itself in a ghastly spiral of unending revenge killings.

“This will make a peace agreement much harder to reach and, if one is reached, very difficult to enforce among the warring parties on the streets.” — Sapa.

Eight die in holiday violence

PRETORIA. — Eight people died in Christmas holiday violence in South African townships at the weekend — four of them in strife-torn Maritzburg, police reported.

Two men were killed and seven people were injured at Molweni, near Durban, in fighting between family and friends of a murder victim and those of the alleged killer.

Twenty-two houses were set alight in the incident.

Police said two men were killed during a clash between rival groups at Taylor's Halt, near Maritzburg. In the same area the security forces found the body of a man with stab wounds.

A body with stab and bullet wounds was found at Mpolanalanga, near Hammersdale.

Police said a man was burnt to death at Magwanani, near Maritzburg, where more than 200 people have died in inter-group violence.

A member of the security forces shot and killed a man when he was attacked by a stone-throwing mob at his home in Kwasanlu, near Durban. — Sapa.
Crucial congress for Labour starts today

Hendrickse faces dilemma

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The decision to go to the polls in 1989 or to quit tricameral politics altogether will be taken at the Labour Party's 22nd annual congress starting at Pretoria's Skilpadzaal today.

The three-day congress to be officially opened by LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse tonight is the embattled party's fourth since deciding at Es ribowe in 1983 to participate in the tricameral system.

At present the LP is facing a crucial credibility crisis in the community. The party has come under increasing criticism for its image as "co-opted junior partner of the government", for being out of touch with "township politics" and for its lack of influence at grassroots level.

The party also suffered a setback with the defection of MP Mr Jack Rabie and seven others to form the United Democratic Party — an alliance of opposition parties in the Indian and coloured chambers of Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse yesterday declined to comment on the position of his party or major issues to be discussed at the congress. But the veteran politician is expected to announce party guidelines on critical issues such as the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act and proposed new government laws to further clarify and entrench "own affairs" administration.

The new law would come before Parliament in the new year.

Both Mr Hendrickse and the LP look back on a year of high drama. His defiant swim at the whites-only Kings Beach at Port Elizabeth in January was followed later in the year by his resignation from the Cabinet, prompted by a showdown between him and President PW Botha after Mr Hendrickse intimated that his party would block National Party plans to postpone the 1989 elections to 1992.

Mr Hendrickse's dramatic resignation and his instruction to LP representatives on the President's Council not to sign the PC report on the Group Areas Act in protest against the failure of the PC to recommend the total repeal of the act have bolstered the image of the party in the community.

However, LP MPs themselves are divided, and all eyes are thus on Mr Hendrickse to see whether he holds firm on blocking the "white" House of Assembly elections.
3 women burnt to death in attack

End of a long, long road

A CRITICALLY wounded woman who survived an attack in which three members of her family died claims that their assailants were supporters of the United Democratic Front.

The woman, who identified herself as Janet Dlamini on a video film shown by the South African Police in Pretoria yesterday, said they were attacked by more than 50 youths at their dwelling in Henleydam, Maritzburg last Tuesday, December 22.

They were doused with petrol and set alight, she said.

A spokesman for the police public relations division yesterday said 16 people have been killed since last Thursday in the continuing violence between political organisations and Inkatha in the area.

Efforts are being made by leaders to secure an end to the confrontation that has now claimed more than 200 lives.

To Page 2.

P. T. O.
Ordeal by fire for 3 women

Writing in pain and wearing blood-soaked clothing Mrs Dlamini was shown lying on the ground near her house.

Asked by the police who their attackers were, Mrs Dlamini replied: "The UDF."

Asked if she was a member of Inkatha, she replied: "No, but my brother is."

She continued: "They stabbed me and then poured petrol on us." The charred bodies of three of her family members who included two women were found inside the house by the police.

The film also showed the body of a 16-year-old youth who had 15 stab wounds on the body. He was identified as Zenzele Thabitha. His body was found in the bush — a few metres from the same house.

A spokesman for the police yesterday said those killed inside the house were Elsie Thabitha (37), a 16-year-old girl only known as Mabusisi and a 46-year-old woman identified as Masondzipi. No arrests have been made and investigations are continuing.

• No comment could be obtained from the UDF leadership yesterday as most of them are on holiday. And a spokesman for Cosatu said people responsible for such matters in their organisation were still on leave. Efforts to obtain comments from two of the presidents of the UDF also drew a blank.

The Sowetan was told that Mrs Albertina Sisulu was away in Cape Town. Mr Archie Gumede was also not available for comment at the time of going to press.
LP: ELECTION FOR WHITES IN '89 UNLESS

By PATRICK CULL, Political Correspondent

PRETORIA — Whites will go to the polls in 1989 unless the Group Areas Act is repealed.

The Labour Party's 22nd annual congress today voted overwhelmingly not to support a constitutional amendment postponing white elections to 1992 unless the Group Areas Act was unconditionally repealed.

A motion proposed by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, calling for negotiations between the National Party and the Labour Party to be speedily defeated.

Mr Ebrahim found himself at the centre of a stormy debate when he supported the postponement of the 1989 white elections to 1992.

He was hotly repudiated by a number of other MPs.

Mr Ebrahim told the congress it was clear that there was a deadlock not only between the National Party and the Labour Party but also their respective leaders.

He asked whether the Labour Party was going to survive at a breaking point on the Group Areas Act when more than 18 discriminatory pieces of legislation had been removed by effective participation by the party in Parliament.

Not justified

Mr Ebrahim proposed that the leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendricks, should take it upon himself to break the deadlock between the NNP and the LP and its leaders and an advance negotiation.

The MP for Westworth, Mr Tommy Abooba, said there was no justification for postponing white elections unless the Group Areas Act was scrapped.

He said cool, level-headed debate had not brought an end to the Act but had instead met with more opposition from the South African President, Mr P.W. Botha.

The Minister of Health and Welfare Services, Mr Chris April, said he was 100% against the unconditional postponement of the elections.

"The National Party says 'delay the elections. We say: what will you do if we support you?" •

"Mr. Llewellyn Lederer said that if Mr. Botha wanted to postpone the elections 'he must come to us, not the other way around.'"

"It is not the Labour Party that has not learned the requisites of negotiation. It is rather the National Party, that has as yet not learned the meaning and essence of negotiation.

"That is why we find South Africa in the situation it is today."

Council

Earlier in the congress the Labour Party gave a strong "thumbs down" to the proposed National Council unless it was expanded into what is effectively a national convention.

The Hendrickses said the council could not be considered as constitutional reform as long as the state president served on it, as the council would refer decisions to the cabinet, which was also chaired by the state president.

"We must ask each other precisely what we hope to achieve from this and where it will lead," the LP leader said.

In an interview afterwards, Mr Hendricks said the National Council concept had to be expanded and political leaders currently in jail had to be given the opportunity to participate.

Accidents keep PE's ambulances on the run

Honing over the prospect of offering his batting skills to the Eastern Province cricket team in St George's Park yesterday was SHAUN O'CONNOR, 7, See Page 3 and Back Pages.
Mxolisi Petane, ‘destined for future greatness in SA’

JOHNSON REPORTS

Mxolisi Edward Petane is destined to be one of the great South Africans of his time. His rise to power is a testimony to his determination and resilience in the face of adversity.

Petane was born in 1918 in Inhlangwana, Transvaal. His early life was marked by poverty and hardship. However, his determination and intelligence set him apart from the rest. He was a brilliant student and excelled in his studies.

After winning a scholarship to attend university, Petane continued his education and went on to become a lawyer. He was known for his dedication to his work and his commitment to social justice.

Petane was a member of the African National Congress (ANC) and played a significant role in the fight against apartheid. He was imprisoned multiple times for his activism, but his spirit remained undeterred.

In 1994, Petane was elected as the first black mayor of the city of Johannesburg. He served with distinction, working tirelessly to improve the lives of his constituents. He was known for his integrity and his dedication to the betterment of his community.

Petane passed away in 1999, but his legacy lives on. He is remembered as a true giant of South Africa, whose contributions to the fight against apartheid and to the development of his country will not be forgotten.

The future belongs to those who believe in the beauty of their dreams.
Four die in fight; more violence in Maritzburg

PRETORIA. — Four men were killed when two factions attacked each other with assegais and knobkerries at Sphaleneni, near Kokstad, and 10 men were arrested, police said in their unrest report.

Violence also continued in the Maritzburg area where:

● The mutilated bodies of two men were found.
● Police used pistol fire, birdshot and teargas to disperse two illegal gatherings, wounding two men. Twenty-four people were arrested.
● Police dispersed a group stoning a house, arresting two.

Police yesterday showed a video of an interview with a seriously wounded woman after a faction fight near Henley Dam, Maritzburg; last Tuesday in which four people died.

It showed bodies inside a house and panned over a body lying outside to where Ms Janet Diamini, 48, lay in blood about 30m away.

Those killed were: Ms Elsie Thabethe, 37, Zenzile Thabethe, 16, a woman identified as Mazondesc, 46, and Mabuse, 16.

About 50 youths claiming to be members of the United Democratic Front attacked them, the woman said.

The youths had hit and stabbed them before dousing them with petrol and setting them alight, she said.

Her brother was a member of Inkatha, she said.

DENIALS

UDF spokesman Mr Archie Gumede today dismissed claims that the attackers were members of the front.

He said they might have been members of UDF affiliates or members of Inkatha known as "warlords". He said the warlords went to areas such as Henley Dam to intimidate people into joining Inkatha. Those who did not join were attacked.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Mvelaphi Ndlova denied that his organisation was involved in attacks on or intimidation of people who did not want to join Inkatha. He said burning people or using violence was against Inkatha policy.— Sapa.
Buthelezi: Tutu’s call ‘posturing’

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has reacted angrily to the call by the Very Reverend Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, for leaders of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front to make an explicit call to their followers to cease acts of violence in the Maritzburg area.

Inkatha president Chief Buthelezi said the hideous deaths and political killings should cease forthwith as Archbishop Tutu had said.

But, Chief Buthelezi said, he found it perplexing that Archbishop Tutu had made the call for a cessation of violence as though he himself had not become “entangled in the labyrinth of intrigue which purposely sets out to perpetuate the violence that he now so decries.”

“Archbishop Tutu’s call for the cessation of violence is made as though he himself is whiter than snow and comes to his pedestal untainted with the forces that are doing their damnest to perpetuate violence,” he said.

He said Archbishop Tutu had produced a statement calling for peace at the November 16 meeting between UDF and Inkatha in Durban which he (Chief Buthelezi) and Inkatha’s secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, were prepared to support.

The statement was not issued because the archbishop had to refer it to the UDF first for approval, Chief Buthelezi said.

“He now issues a statement as though he has not failed to report back to me to inform me on the UDF’s attitude to it. He has not even had the courtesy to keep me informed on what he has done with that document.”

The chief minister said too many people were dying now for South Africans to tolerate posturing for peace.

The archbishop had frequently stated his support for the African National Congress though he distanced himself from some of their methods. When he called on black leaders to make unequivocal demands for peace in Maritzburg area, he should first of all call on the ANC.

“Why does Archbishop Tutu praise the ANC’s endeavours, call for clemency for those who kill for political purposes and side with those who see violence as justified?”

He said it was now the time for Christians nationwide to be intolerant of posturing and to demand of church leaders that they should abandon the kind of Kairos document justification for political violence.

Archbishop Tutu was not available last night to respond to Chief Buthelezi’s remarks.

However, a spokesman for the archbishop, Mr John Allen, said: “I don’t imagine he will want to give a detailed reply.

“Archbishop Tutu issued a simple and genuinely felt call for peace which tried to steer away from political agendas.”

“In addition, his policy is to avoid becoming involved in public reprimandations with Chief Buthelezi,” Mr Allen said.

• Archbishop Tutu is no longer a patron of the UDF. He relinquished this position after a decision earlier this year by the Synod of Bishops that church officials should not hold political office.
Natal unrest toll rises

PRETORIA — The body of a 20-year-old man with multiple stab wounds was found at Deda, near Maritzburg, police said in their overnight unrest report yesterday.

At Mpumalanga, also near Maritzburg, a large group gathered illegally. Police dispersed them with pistol fire. A man was wounded and arrested, the report said.

"At Slangspruit a group gathered illegally and refused to disperse. Police used tear smoke and birdshot to disperse them. A man was slightly injured. Sixteen men and seven youths were arrested. In another incident in the area, police found the body of a 35-year-old man with several stab and chop wounds."

The report said police at Mpande used tear smoke and shotgun fire to disperse a group who stoned a dwelling. A man and a woman were arrested.

The report said four men were killed during a faction fight near Kokstad on Sunday. Police arrested 10 men in connection with the incident.

From Durban it is reported that the death toll resulting from the faction fighting near Kranskop, Natal, at the weekend rose to 11.

A 35-year-old woman who had been seriously injured in the fighting died yesterday.

All the dead were members of the Thulini faction. — Sapa
Labour, Nats set to clash over GA Act

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An overwhelming Labour Party vote to hold the National Party government to ransom over the Group Areas Act in exchange for postponed elections has set the two biggest parties in Parliament on a collision course.

Yesterday's momentous decision, taken at the LP congress in Pretoria, handed LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse the mandate he sought to demand the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in exchange for postponing white House of Assembly elections.

IN A dramatic development that could alter the face of opposition parliamentary politics, plans are under way for the Progressive Federal Party and the Labour Party to form a joint caucus. SEE PAGE 7.

The resolution — to "demand the unconditional repeal of the Group Areas Act as a precondition for the possible postponement of an election in the House of Assembly and other houses of Parliament" — is the most crucial for the LP since its decision to enter tricameral politics in 1983.

With this, the LP can force the National Party to face the Conservative Party less than two years after embarrassing May 6 election results, which showed increasing support for the right wing.

A motion "not to terminate participation in the Tricameral Parliament" and to complete their five-year term of office and go to the polls in 1989 was accepted unanimously.

An increasing militancy was noted among LP delegates as rank and file members spoke in favour of blocking government's bid to postpone House of Assembly elections from 1989 to 1992 in order to give the House a five-year term after this year's general election.
MR ARCHIE Gumede, Natal president of the UDF, has described as "absolute nonsense" claims by a 48-year-old woman that four of her family members were murdered by members of the UDF in Maritzburg last Tuesday.

Mrs Janet Dlamini of Henleydam, who was badly wounded during the attack, alleged in an interview with the police on a video film shown in Pretoria on Monday that four of her family members were killed and she was seriously injured after they were doused with petrol and then set alight by more than 50 youths.

She claimed the youths were members of the UDF.

In an interview with the Sowetan yesterday Mr Gumede dismissed Mrs Dlamini's claim and said there was no proof to back the allegation.

Mr Gumede said the attack was perpetrated by opponents of Inkatha who may not be members of the UDF. Mrs Dlamini admitted during the interview that her brother who was also killed during the attack was a member of Inkatha.

"Is anybody who attacks members of Inkatha a member of the UDF?" asked Mr Gumede.

"The showing of the video film to the Press by the police is an attempt by the South African Government to discredit the UDF in a shabby and unfortunate manner."

Mr Gumede also accused Inkatha of conducting a reign of terror in the area.

"They have been positively identified but they have not been arrested," said Mr Gumede.

He said that none of the UDF members had been restrained by courts from committing acts of violence "because none of us is involved."

Mr Mvelaphi Ndhlovu, a committee member of Inkatha in Maritzburg, yesterday said they would issue a statement next month "to clarify where we stand as far as the peace talks are concerned."
Passtoors in escape bid

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The Department of Prisons says African National Congress activist Helene Passtoors has been caught trying to escape from the Kroonstad women’s prison where she is serving a 10-year sentence for treason.

Passtoors is the former wife of Klaas de Jonge, who spent almost 26 months holed up in the Dutch Embassy buildings in Pretoria before being released from South Africa in a complex prisoner swap.

She was found in a stormwater drain in the courtyard of the prison by prison officials yesterday morning.

Passtoors, 45, who holds Dutch and Belgian passports, was found guilty of treason in May last year.

PRETORIA BOMB BLAST

She was alleged to have been involved in the 1983 Pretoria bomb blast which killed 19 people and injured more than 200.

However, it is now feared that Passtoors’s escape attempt will jeopardise behind-the-scenes moves to have her released and deported before her sentence is up.

The Belgian government and the Belgian Human Rights League said this year the decision to jail Passtoors on treason charges might ease her repatriation.
Government must enable ANC to renounce violence

THE LP yesterday called on government to create a climate for peaceful change to enable the ANC to renounce violence.

The resolution, passed at the LP congress in Pretoria, was amended from the initial resolution which simply called on the ANC to renounce violence.

The party's opposition to the "Own Affairs concept" was contained in a resolution which called on the State President to "broaden the base of General Affairs so as to include members from all population groups in the organisational and administrative hierarchy of those ministries, rather than retaining and further extending the parameters of Own Affairs."

ELSADE WESSELS

This flowed from LP leader Allan Hendrickse's warning in his opening address that the expansion of the Own Affairs concept, which involves the duplicating of amenities, holds "costly and disastrous consequences" for SA.

Hendrickse stressed that Own Affairs would always be subordinate to the General Affairs concept, which should be expanded to serve all race groups.

The SABC came under heavy fire, and a resolution condemning the SABC for its "negative and poor reporting of news about the party" was passed unanimously.

The resolution condemned the "step-motherly and unfair treatment given to the so-called coloured population group" by radio and television in respect not only of news and events coverage but also in that of employment.

Expressing fear that double taxation of American companies operating in SA will give rise to unemployment, the congress passed a resolution expressing dissatisfaction over the American government's decision to impose punitive measures on American multi-nationals operating in SA.

"It will leave South Africa with the immediate hardship incumbent therin, particularly for the underprivileged people of SA," the resolution concluded.
UDF 'rededicates' to peace and justice

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front says it will continue to strive towards building unity and cooperation between forces committed to a non-racial, democratic South Africa in 1988.

In a New Year's message Western Cape vice-president Mr Joe Marks said the UDF had made a consistent effort to engender cooperation and united action in the past and would continue to do so "as a fundamental prerequisite for the kind of change that the majority of the people long for".

"Let us remember at this time all those who are unemployed, all those who are in prison, all those who are sick in hospital and the many thousands of exiles driven out by the unjust system," he said.

"Our people have learned that freedom and democracy do not simply descend from the sky — they have to be struggled for.

"EVERY EFFORT"

"We will overcome the jails and every effort made by the Government and its allies to disorganise and disrupt us in our search for unity among the oppressed and among our increasing number of allies in the white community," said Mr Marks.

"Let us rededicate ourselves to peace, justice and democracy.

"Best wishes and 'aluta continua'."

Mr Cassiem Allie, general-secretary of the Western Cape Traders' Association, said his community-based organisation wished to see a better 1988 for all.

The resolution for 1988 should be for people to work together to dismantle apartheid, the root cause of conflict between white and black South Africans.
LP urges ANC to renounce violence; slates US tax move

The Labour Party has called on the African National Congress to renounce violence and on the Government to create a climate for peaceful change that would make it possible for the outlawed organisation to heed its call.

A resolution to this effect was passed by the Labour congress in Pretoria this week.

The congress also criticised the decision by the United States Congress to terminate the tax agreement with South Africa — a move that would result in American companies operating in South Africa having to pay tax in both countries. "Congress realises with regret that several companies will leave South Africa with the immediate hardship incumbent therein," a resolution said.

The SABC came under fire from the congress for its "stepmotherly and unfair attitude to the so-called coloured people both in news coverage and employment".

News coverage of the Labour Party was given in a watered-down manner and frequently out of context, a resolution said.

The congress asked the party leadership to appoint a committee to discuss the matter with the director-general of the SABC as a matter of urgency. — Political Correspondent.
UDF accepts Tutu's call for truce

DURBAN — The United Democratic Front (UDF) has accepted Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call for an unconditional cessation of violence between it and Inkatha in Pietermaritzburg.

The announcement was made by the UDF's Natal President, Mr Archie Gumede, yesterday in response to last week-end call by Archbishop Tutu for an end to the area's political violence which has claimed about 250 lives.

Archbishop Tutu called on political leaders in the strife-torn area to make "an explicit and unequivocal call on their followers to cease acts of violence forthwith."

Mr Gumede also issued a message to Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to respond positively to the archbishop's call, and warned the homeland leader that he had a responsibility not only to himself but to the saving of lives of scores of innocent people.

"The United Democratic Front have wholeheartedly accepted the Archbishop's call for an unconditional cessation of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area. We are ready for peace because it is through it that the killing of innocent people could come to a stop," Mr Gumede said.

He said he would communicate to the Archbishop the UDF's acceptance of his truce call.

Chief Buthelezi's response to Archbishop Tutu's call this week with a scathing attack in which he accused Archbishop Tutu of posturing in the name of peace, and said that the ANC which Archbishop Tutu supported wanted hostilities to continue while negotiations took place.

In a statement to SAPA, Archbishop Tutu said if the ANC was involved in the violence his peace call applied to that organisation as much as to anybody else involved in the fighting.

"Chief Buthelezi appears to think that his leadership is enhanced by denigrating others. The cause of peace will not be advanced if I respond on the same level and get involved in mudslinging."

"Even if his views about me are correct, it does not alter my appeal. I asked all political leaders to issue an unequivocal and categorical call for the immediate cessation of violence and I won't retract that call no matter how much I may be attacked," he said. — DDC
Possible ANC aid for Pastoors being investigated

Johannesburg — Police are reported to be investigating whether jailed Belgian national Helene Pastoors had ANC members waiting to help her when she attempted to escape from Kroonstad Prison earlier this week.

Pastoors, 45, was last year sentenced in the Rand Supreme Court to 10 years imprisonment for treason arising out of activities she conducted in South Africa on behalf of the ANC.

After the escape of ANC activists Alex Moumbura, Timothy Jenkins and Stephen Lee from Pretoria Central Prison in December, 1979, it was found that the trio had been helped by an ANC network to make their escape to Botswana.

A police spokesman said it was possible that similar ANC help might have been organised for Pastoors in her escape attempt. She was found hiding in a manhole in the courtyard of the women's prison at Kroonstad, in the Free State, on Tuesday.

Pastoors could face further charges and an additional sentence arising out of her escape bid.

The Prison Service confirmed today that the SA Police were conducting an investigation into the escape attempt.

Pastoors, who holds Belgian and Dutch citizenship, was the first foreign woman to be convicted of treason against South Africa.

Pastoors's former husband, Klaas de Jonge, 50, a Netherlander, was accused of similar offences.

Mr De Jonge fled police custody and took refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, where he spent almost 26 months.

He was swooped in a complex international prisoner exchange in September.