TOTALITARIANISM — GENERAL

1989

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Gwala's papers seized at airport

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LISTED African National Congress leader Harry Gwala had ANC and South African Communist Party magazines confiscated by customs officials at Jan Smuts airport on his return from England where he received medical treatment.

Family members confirmed that the seized documents, including *Umsebenzi*, *African Communist* and *Sechaba*, have been sent to the Publication's Control Board for a decision.

Gwala's listed status prevents him from being quoted in this country but did but did not halt his talks with ANC president Oliver Tambo as recently as November 19.

Tambo limps while recovering from a bad infection in his right foot but is alert and receives regular political updates.

London doctors who predicted an 18-month hospital stay after the ANC president suffered a stroke, have slashed their estimate to six months, according to Gwala's son, Linda.

"Originally he was in a very bad shape and couldn't say anything. Now he enters into conversations and is able to take command."

Suspect in Webster, Lubowski cases

Police hold ex-sergeant after killings

EDYTH BULBRING and DANIEL SIMON

POLICE are believed to be holding former West Rand narcotics bureau detective Ferdinand Barnard under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with the killing of Wits academic David Webster and Swapo official Anton Lubowski.

Police spokesman Brig Leon Mellet declined to confirm the identity of the suspect, saying it would hamper investigations. Police hoped to make further arrests in connection with the murders.

Webster, 44, was gunned down outside his Troyeville home on May 1. A witness said at the time that a white car, with three occupants, drove past Webster before a "loud bang" went off.

Lubowski, 37, was killed with an AK-47 outside his Windhoek home on September 12. Witnesses said his assailant fled in a red Toyota Conquest with several other occupants.

Days later, Namibian police arrested Irishman Donald Acheson in connection with the shooting. Acheson is still in police custody.

Barnard is being held by the Brixton murder and robbery squad and has been questioned in connection with both murders.

In a police statement it was confirmed that a 31-year-old man was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with the murders.

The statement said the man had been a sergeant in the SAP's West Rand narcotics bureau but took his discharge in 1984 when he was sentenced on two counts of murder, attempted murder and three charges of theft.

Mellet said the secrecy surrounding the detention of the suspect was owing to the fear that publicity would jeopardise an investigation still to be launched.

The information was leaked when Barnard's father, retired police major Piet Barnard, made an application on Friday in the Pretoria Supreme Court to have his son released.

Mellet would not disclose when the suspect was detained.

The Brixton murder and robbery unit contested the application in a sworn affidavit, which was ruled privileged and not made public. Mellet said the application was withdrawn this week, but could not give further details.

Press clippings show Barnard was sentenced in the Rand Supreme Court on December 10 1984 to six years' imprisonment for murdering two people, attempting to murder another and for stealing three cars. The murders occurred in August 1982 and February 1983.

Mellet said the suspect joined the police force in 1976 and resigned in 1977. He rejoined in 1978, but his employment with the police ended when he was convicted of two murders, three charges of theft and one count of attempted murder.

A spokesman from the Prisons Service would not say when Barnard was released from prison. The department did not comment on individual cases.

KEVIN JACOBS reports from Windhoek that a senior Namibian policeman probing Lubowski's killing returned to Windhoek yesterday after questioning the former

☐ To Page 2

found in a ravine in northern Greece.

Suspect held

☐ From Page 1

policeman held as a second suspect.

Sources said Col Jumbo Smit had also asked for an interview with Michaela Clayton, the lawyer who had lived with Lubowski for a year.

Police investigators have insisted throughout the probe that more than one person had waited for the Swapo official to come home on the night of his killing.

Acheson was arrested in connection with the murder, and held under immigration law until November 6, when he was ordered released by a Supreme Court judge. Immediately afterwards, he was rearrested and taken before a magistrate to be told he faced a murder charge.

He is set to appear in court again on December 6.

☐ Three men — two South Africans and a German national — are scheduled to appear before a magistrate in Outjo next Wednesday for probable referral to Windhoek's Supreme Court on charges including murder. The men are being detained in connection with a gun and grenade attack on an Untag district office in the town on August 10 that killed a privately employed security guard.

rigadier Mostert did not want to discuss told who took the decision to arrest my so

Policeman acts against newspaper

Star 11/12/89

MBABANE — The former Swazi Commissioner of Police, Mr Titus Msibi, has instructed his lawyers to claim R600 000 from the Johannesburg-based *New Nation* newspaper for defamation damages.

He said yesterday the claim arose from an article published last week which implied he had collaborated with so-called SA Police hit squads in Swaziland.

Mr Msibi said he viewed the article as "extremely defamatory and damaging to my reputation and integrity".

The allegations had also caused his personal safety and that of his family and their property to be endangered.

Mr Mbisi said he held the *New Nation* editor, along with the newspaper's publishers — Catholic Bishops Publishing Co and Sekulo Press — jointly responsible for settling his claim.

Failing this, he would instruct his lawyer to institute action.

The other Swazi figure mentioned in the article, Mr Stanley Bhembe, who is a serving officer in the Swaziland Police, is believed to be consulting lawyers with a view to a claim for defamation over the same allegations. — Sapa.

Speak Out!

ON SATURDAY



What do you think about the so-called police "death squads"? Do you believe they exist within the SAP framework? And with President de Klerk's promise to "cut to the bone" to get to the truth, what kind of punishment do you think should be meted out if the allegations of murder prove to be true? Give your views to **Speak Out!** (011 834-7747 or 633-2560) this evening between 5.30 and 7 pm. Readers' opinions will appear tomorrow in the Saturday Star.

Ex-detective's arrest widely welcomed

Star 11/12/89

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By Sue Valentine

Friends and relatives of assassinated University of the Witwatersrand anthropologist David Webster have welcomed the announcement that police are holding a former narcotics bureau detective in connection with the murder.

Dr Webster's ex-wife, Mrs Glenda Webster, said it was a relief that there had been a breakthrough. "It would be such a relief for us all if all the truth finally boiled out."

She said she had telephoned Dr Webster's brother, Gavin, who lives in England, and he had expressed similar sentiments.

Dr Webster's lover, Ms Maggie Friedman, who was with him when he was killed, said: "It's difficult to come to terms with it all, not knowing who it was or why they did it.

"I feel a sort of disquiet that they might stop investigating now that they have got somebody. It sounds like a huge apparatus behind it all and I wonder if they will be allowed to investigate without someone higher up intervening."

The university has welcomed the news of progress in the investigation.

POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS

Deputy vice-chancellor Professor Peter Tyson said the university had always viewed Dr Webster's assassination in a very serious light and had been urging the police continually to investigate the matter.

"I'm delighted to hear of the possibility of progress in the investigation and hope there will be further progress," the professor said.

"We believe it is essential that the perpetrators of this action be brought to court."

An executive member of the Wits branch of the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations, Mr Derek Young, said Udusa welcomed the development.

"I think we would wish to remind people that the reward we are offering for the arrest and conviction of Dave Webster's assassin is more than R150 000. We would encourage people to come forward with any information they have."

The Five Freedoms Forum said it and other anti-apartheid organisations had long held the view that assassinations and physical attacks had been the work of police hit squads.

"The FFF believes that police hit squads have been active right up to the present day. President de Klerk has no alternative but to ask for a full, independent judicial inquiry."

ion-committal on St Lucia



Alexandra residents during one of three attempts to stage a protest march yesterday. Each time they were stopped by police.

Police thwart three Alexandra protest bids

Star 1/12/89

By Janet Heard and Kaiser Nyatsumba

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Three attempts by Alexandra residents to stage a protest march yesterday were thwarted by police using teargas and rubber bullets.

Four people, including three Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) members, were arrested, and police confirmed late yesterday that they were being held under the emergency regulations.

Security police took the names and details of photographers and reporters and in terms of the emergency regulations, ordered them to leave the township.

Tension has been building up in the township and thousands of residents stayed away from work yesterday in protest against the "intransigence" of the local authorities who refused to grant them permission to air their grievances by holding a peaceful march.

The first incident occurred at about noon when about 300 people gathered to march to the town council offices.

A few minutes later police arrived, told the people the gathering was illegal and gave them a few minutes to disperse. According to reporters and eyewitnesses, as the crowd was dispersing, police fired teargas at them.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman told The Star the people failed to disperse and police were forced to take action.

When protesters tried again to march, the police officer in charge declared Alexandra an unrest area and took the particulars of the team from The Star and followed it out of the township.

According to Captain Opperman, another incident occurred at about 3 pm at 12th Avenue and John Brand Street. He confirmed the previous two incidents and said that each time police were forced to fire teargas and rubber bullets after the crowd failed to disperse.

The four who are being held under the emergency regulations are Mr Mzwanele Mayekiso, Mr Richard Mdakane and Mr Paul Tshabalala, all AAC members, and Mr Sipho Khubeko, general secretary of the Print and Paper Allied Workers' Union.

5 000 will march through Kagiso

By Stan Hlophe

Five thousand residents of Kagiso near Krugersdorp will march through the streets of the township tomorrow to protest against poor services, alleged corruption and tariff increases.

The march has been organised by the Krugersdorp Interim Co-ordinating Committee (KICC), an affiliate of the Mass Democratic Movement.

The march was precipitated by recent tariff increase of up 150 percent. A KICC spokesman said representatives had approached the council to discuss the increases but it had refused to meet them.

THE EXTRAORDINARY TALE OF THE MAN WHO CLAIMED THIS WEEK TO BE MAGNUS MALAN'S COUSIN

Self-confessed criminal, killer, tough-guy and adventurer Mervyn Malan this week gave a jumbled — but evocative — insider's account of life in the roughest unit in Angola

My life as a killer



By MERVYN MALAN

THE FORMER COMMANDO WHO FLED SOUTH AFRICA THIS WEEK

I WAS born on the 18th of October, 1962, in Bloemfontein. When I was two years old I was adopted by the family Malan in Petrusburg, Orange Free State. They are very strict, very conservative people.

When my brother was called up for service in the South African Defence Force, he had to go to Pietersburg. The old folks wrote to Magnus Malan, the general. He is a cousin. He arranged for my brother to be placed on a base near home. The general never had to interfere for me. I just wanted to leave.

Once he came to visit us on the farm. It was just for Sunday, to have tea and cake.

It was heavy. He came with a hell of a big chopper while he was doing a visit to Bloemspruit-base near Petrusburg. They landed the chopper on the farm ... man, it was like ... he was a hero ... you know? People there look up to the army, like it's a big thing. I was about 10. They took me for a flight in the chopper.

I went into service in July 1982.

After three days on Ladysmith Infantry base, 1 Reconnaissance Commando from Durban came round; they were looking for volunteers to go into Special Forces. They were established or extended, at that stage.

We all gathered at the rugby stadium, all of 5 Infantry Ladysmith, and Major Dou Steyn spoke to us. He said: 'Listen, we are from Recce regiment, we work behind enemy lines ... it's heavy.' He glorified that. And he said: 'If you want to volunteer to join us, then go to that northern rugby post' ... and so I went.

The first three months were basics. During that period, a lot of people fell off. They weren't able physically to go on.

You have to work together, that's what they try to achieve. If you couldn't go on, the rest would turn against you.

For instance, when you were ill, you had to carry a white helmet — that meant you were a weakling and you were put on light duty. For example, during water training, you had to drink a litre of water, run, drink another litre, run again ... so you were vomiting all the time. The commanders would say: 'See the light duties? They are sitting on the ground, they don't have to work.' It's brainwashing ... they want you to develop a hatred against the guys that can't do it. It's logical, in a sense, that they get beaten.

You were trained to resist for 12 hours at least, so your team can escape before you start talking. It's very heavy. Most of the people that fall off, fall off during that training.

On Letaba Ranch MNR was trained. They had about 200 MNR when I was there. It was the end of 1983, beginning of 1984 ... the time wasn't right then, politically, for actions into Mozambique. I remember MNR had to be back in Mozambique before 12 o'clock on a certain day.

The Nkomati-agreement ... yes, I think it was then. They were parachuted back into Mozambique. They didn't know how to parachute.

By then I was already part of Recce 5.3, it was a new unit at that stage. We were based at Phalaborwa. Letaba Ranch is near there. We worked with Unita in Namibia and Angola. I chose that unit — you had the right to choose after finishing the course — because I heard people talk about it, that it was going to be real heavy, real heavy anti-ANC operations, anti-Swapo, anti-Angola.

Recce 1 is known as relatively easy ... they are on the beach in Durban, do sea-borne operations, blow up a refinery in Mozambique from the sea ... most of the other operations that they did weren't successful.

Because we worked with Unita in 5 Recce, they would talk about it as the 'kaffir unit'. They'd look down on it. We lead Unita operations. Unita was used for sh... ... let them carry the bombs, the ammunition. The idea was ... if they get blown up, we won't lose any people.

The first big operation was in the beginning of 1984. There would be a major offensive — Askari — into Angola. SADF with tanks and airforce would do it. So we did the softening. We would go behind Fapla-bases and cut them off. Make them paranoid with quick attacks. Ambush the roads, put mines all over the place ... whatever passed by we could destroy. It was near Quiteve.

Quiteve was destroyed in Askari. We cut off all the escape routes, gunned down people on the run, shot everything that moved.

Mulondo was also attacked, but it was too strong. They couldn't take Cahama either. They started bombing Cahama from first light in the morning, with Mirages and Impalas. They had tanks, infantry, but they couldn't. They withdrew and ran away, leaving vehicles behind. They were national servicemen, they don't have the mind to fight a war. The vehicles they left behind, we picked them up. South Africa doesn't like leaving things behind ...

Special Forces are of a mercenary type. Completely. You don't ask questions, you just do as you're told. If it's Angola, it doesn't matter. All the guys who went to the Seychelles for the coup attempt in 1981 were in 5.3 Command with me. Three of them were team leaders, just like me. They came from 32 Battalion.

Most of the team I worked with — I was made team leader immediately — were foreign. The blacks come from Zimbabwe or Mozambique ... there are Brits, Australians, New Zealanders. They have higher positions than the blacks most of the time. They had been Selous Scouts in Zimbabwe, or with 32 Battalion.

In Namibia we worked with 32 Battalion and with Koevoet. We did pseudo-operations. We would wear Swapo uniforms, my team would do it — they were all blacks, nine of them — and I would stand to the back, my face blackened.

We would go into the kraals and try to indentify Swapo informers. So if they would give us info ... thinking that we were Swapo ... those informers would be killed in the process. Once we prepared an operation against a Swapo base near Mulondo. We cut off roads, got information about the base from one guy we kidnapped ... and then the operation was cancelled.

I don't know why, politicians had decided the time wasn't right, it was just before the tricameral elections or something.

Our commander, he got p...ed off. He said bomb the f...ing base, take as many bombs as you can. We used phosphor. A lot of villagers were killed then ... the base was among villages, we just fired in the general direction. That happened just because the commander was angry.

There is a farm — Crece — about 20km from Naboomspruit. It is a top-secret base for anti-ANC operations. We once prepared an operation against ANC headquarters in Lusaka from there. At that farm the whole scenery of ANC-HQ was built of cardboard.

The plan was to get to Lusaka by truck, we would use civilian trucks and we would be inside with cars and weapons, just like a Trojan horse. Then we would jump out, do the targets, and exfiltrate the same way. We would have air support as well. The instruction was ... to kill. Destruction of the whole place. Kill everybody.

One operation 5.2 Command did into Mozambique went down in South African newspapers as the killing by Frelimo of a businessman, Dave Tippets. They said he was just a businessman in import-export business, and that he had a meeting at the border near Nkomati, and that Frelimo killed him. But he was a sergeant major with 5.3 Command, running an illegal operation into Mozambique, together with a sergeant major of our base, Jock Hutton, a Zimbabwean.

The anti-ANC operations inside South Africa were prepared by blacks. They would infiltrate in the townships, try to make friends with the local population and identify ANC targets. Later the operational group would get the targets.

I didn't want to do it anymore. There was an incident ... end of 1984. We had ambushed a truck. The drivers were Swapo. We hit the truck in the front with phosphor. It went off the road. Then we hit it from the sides. It burst open and we saw ... there were only women and children in the truck. Just women and children. They fell off, burning, still alive, screaming. They had been given a lift by that truck. About 40, 50 ... the driver was the only military.

I couldn't stop thinking about it. I kept seeing it. I felt very f...ing strange afterwards. I don't know why it was that incident. Because I had taken part in interrogations ... I had been present when they drowned a Swapo guy until he would give the information ... they got the information from him and then drowned him. The body was buried there, in the sand. There was a doctor present, he revived him every time, until he gave the information. Doctor Wassenaar, I remember him ...

I used to be able to handle it. But after that thing with the truck ... something snapped that very moment.

Maybe it was ... I started to think, these people have f... all to do with the war. They were ... just like the blacks on the farm, before ... they grow their crops, they f...ing don't want to do anything else, just live, be left alone ...

When my contract finished in April 1985, I had already decided to pull off. Not to renew it.

A year after that, I got called up again. You sign a contract with Special Forces when you enter. You promise to serve eternally. If you don't come when they call you, it's treason. For that you get the death penalty or 25 years in prison. So I left for Swaziland.

And I didn't think, when I saw Da Costa standing at the front door of the house where I lived in Swaziland, hey, he's coming to have a beer ... I ran through the back door, down the mountain, through the bush. I saw a car parked outside the house with another guy jumping out of it, coming after me. But I escaped.

Deserters from Special Forces were killed. Or if you don't function ... they send you away with a bomb, or cut your parachute lines. I was there when plans were made to kill people.

I know they are after me. My cousin can't offer protection. They interrogated friends of mine in Pretoria, to find out where I am.

I just want to do something constructive, go on with my f...ing life ... I have done terrible things, seen terrible things ... I thank God, changed my mind about life, and resigned ... because I cannot see myself ever doing anything like this again.

"Because we worked with Unita in Five Recce, they would talk about us as the 'kaffir unit'. We led Unita operations. Unita was used for shit ... let them carry the bombs, the ammunition. The idea was, if they get blown up, we won't lose any people ..."

Magnus denies it

DEFENCE minister Magnus Malan appeared stunned this week after Mervyn Malan's claims and denied Malan was related to him.

The minister instructed the head of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, to investigate the claims.

"This Mervyn Malan is unknown to me. I do not know of such a family member. Whoever he may be, I will not take part in his search for publicity," the minister said in a statement.

The minister also said even if Malan could prove to be a member of his family, Mervyn Malan was responsible for his activities.

However, the minister did say: "In any case I cannot choose my family."

Runaway Malan confident he can stay in Holland

Star 11/2/89

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The Star Bureau and Louise Burgers

LONDON — The Dutch lawyer acting for Mr Mervyn Malan, the former Recce commando seeking political asylum in Holland, says he is confident the South African will be given a residence permit.

This would allow Mr Malan, who claims to be related to Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, to live in the country. However lawyer Mr Carl Everaert said he was "not sure" if Mr Malan would be granted political asylum, which carries a different status.

"Quite apart from Mr Malan's whole story, the Dutch government has a policy of giving residence permits to South Africans who refuse to do military service," he said.

Mr Malan claimed he fled the country to Swaziland in August 1988, to avoid an army call-up. He then left for Holland when former Recce colleagues came "to get me" in Swaziland.

● Residents of the small Free State town of Petrusberg yesterday described Mr Mervyn Malan (27) as exemplary.

Police have accused Mr Malan of being a draft dodger with a criminal record dating back to 1982.

According to information received from The Star's Foreign News Service, Mr Mervyn Malan and his brother Mr Alvin Oertel Malan, were adopted by a Petrusberg couple, Mr Andre Francois Malan and his wife, Mrs Charlotte Mary Salome Oertel Malan.

Residents of the small town said the elderly couple took the two boys in after their mother died. The boys attended the local school and Alvin Malan works on his parents' farm.

A neighbour described the couple as pleasant people who gave the boys an excellent upbringing.

"I know Mervyn. He attended the local school and this is a small town. Everyone knows everyone else. The two boys were exemplary youngsters.

"I have heard of Mervyn's allegations overseas, but I don't know anything about that. As far as I know he was not in trouble with the police."

The Star has been unable to contact the Malans.

Release of Mandela will be on agenda

CNL Times 2/12/89

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE release of Mr Nelson Mandela is on the agenda of a special cabinet meeting in the Transvaal scheduled for Monday and Tuesday.

The cabinet will also hold its usual weekly meeting in Pretoria on Wednesday, the State President's office said yesterday in a statement.

It said that the main aim of the special working meeting, the second since Mr F W de Klerk became president in September, was to plan the implementation of the government's policy initiatives.

No statement would be released after the meeting, it added.

However, the cabinet will undoubtedly discuss the government's reform programme, particularly in regard to the phasing out of the Separate Amenities Act, reports of fears of incidents on open beaches during the holiday period and the growing pressure for the abolition of the Group Areas Act.

The government's strategies on negotiations are likely to be discussed in view of the meetings held with homeland leaders and others.

A core issue in the attempt to begin talks about talks before a negotiation structure is established, is the release of Mr Mandela, a major precondition for all black groups.

The scrapping of the media regulations, and possibly the state of emergency itself, is also likely to be discussed.

The government is paying considerable attention to economic issues, particularly in regard to reducing the state's share of the economy, privatising deregulation and reductions in the defence budget, as well as cutting down the civil service and reducing costs.

Its strategies on these economic issues will almost certainly be on the agenda next week.

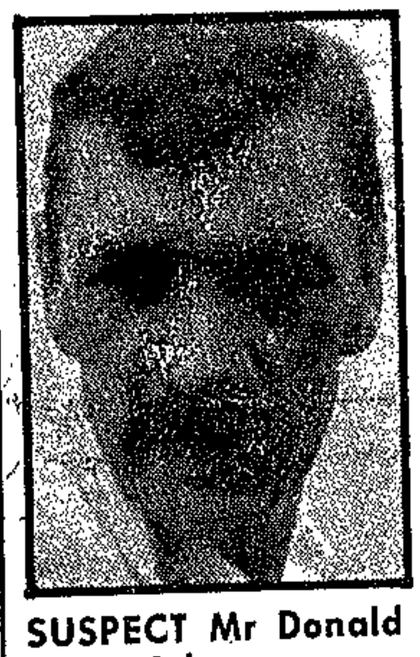
Another issue the government will be paying attention to is the McNally Commission's report on alleged police hit squads and a statement on this issue is expected from Mr De Klerk, probably only after the normal cabinet meeting on Wednesday.

Webster

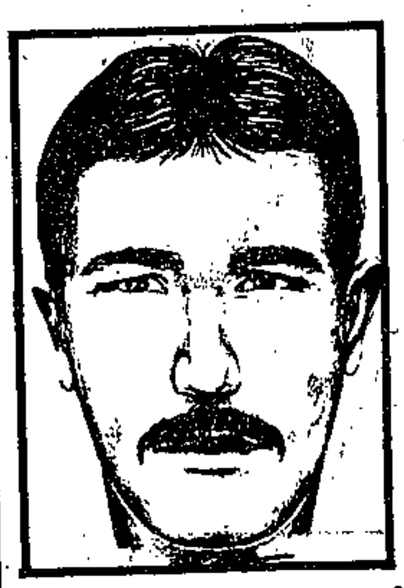
PATRICK LAURENCE, PAT DEVEREAUX, KAREN STANDER and SAPA

IN A new twist in the mystery surrounding the murder of Dr David Webster, it has been revealed that Mr Donald Acheson, the Irishman charged in Namibia with the murder of Swapo member Mr Anton Lubowski, is apparently co-operating fully with the SAP in their investigations.

He has just returned to Namibia after a second trip to South Africa, under police guard, this time for a solid fortnight.



SUSPECT Mr Donald Acheson.



IDENTIKIT of one of the wanted men.



EX-SERGEANT Ferdinand Barnard.

The Saturday Star can reveal that he, in fact, returned to Namibia on Tuesday, just two days before it became public knowledge that police were holding ex-police sergeant Ferdi Barnard as a suspect in the Webster case.

Mr Acheson's attorneys in Namibia told Saturday Star last night that Mr Acheson had been in South Africa from November 14 to 28.

It was the second time that the 52-year-old Irishman had been taken to South Africa since his arrest in Windhoek on September 13, the day after Mr Lubowski was murdered.

See PAGES 9 and 11

He was first taken to South Africa before he was formally charged with the murder of Mr Lubowski on November 6. Mr Acheson, a detainee at the time, was taken for interrogation at the Johannesburg's Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad headquarters.

During his second visit, Mr Acheson thought that he was somewhere on the West Rand, his attorneys said.

Barnard, the ex-police sergeant held by the SAP in connection with the murders of Dr Webster and Mr Lubowski, comes from Roodepoort on the West Rand.

This latest information provides corroboration for the deduction that Mr Acheson helped put police on the trail which led to the detention of Barnard.

And the names of Mamelodi doctor Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Florence, gunned down outside their home in December 1986, have been raised for the first time in connection with the alleged police "hit squad".

The brother of Sergeant Jeffrey Bosigo — named by former security policeman and Death Row prisoner Butana Nofomela and Captain Dirk Coetzee, alleged former leader of the "death squad", as a member of the Askaris — has claimed that Jeffrey Bosigo admitted to him that he had been involved in the murders of Dr Ribeiro and human rights lawyer Mrs Victoria Mxenge. The murder of Mrs Mxenge's husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, has also been linked to the alleged hit squad.

Mr Mmutle Bosigo, a wealthy businessman and farmer, said in an interview with the Afrikaans weekly *Vrye Weekblad* that his brother had given no details of the operations he claimed to have been involved in, but had sometimes mentioned the names of victims.

He "definitely" remembered the names of Ribeiro and Mxenge, although they meant nothing to him at the time, Mr Bosigo said.

The Ribeiros died in a hail of bullets outside their Mamelodi home on December 1 1986.

In an affidavit submitted to the Supreme Court in Windhoek last month, Mr Acheson, a slight man with a military-style moustache who was convicted in May last year of stealing a jersey in South Africa, described how he was taken by car from Namibia to

● TO PAGE 2.

● FROM PAGE 1.

Johannesburg, where he was detained in the cells of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad.

The commander of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, Brigadier Floris Mostert, is spearheading the investigation into the murder of Dr Webster, under the overall supervision of CID chief Major-General Jaap Joubert.

A fortnight ago General Joubert confirmed that police were probing a possible link between the murders of Dr Webster and Mr Lubowski.

At the time a photograph of Mr Acheson was published next to an identikit of one of three men sought in connection with the shotgun killing of Dr Webster.

There were several points of similarity between the photograph and the identikit; they included thick moustaches, bushy eyebrows and, to the layman, general headshapes.

Barnard, a convicted murderer who was out on parole, is being held under the Internal Security Act for questioning on the assassinations of Dr Webster on May 1 and Mr Lubowski on September 12.

In his affidavit to the Supreme Court Mr Acheson, who was born in Belfast and who reportedly served in the Grey Scouts during the Zimbabwean War, gave a detailed account of his four-day stay at the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad cells.

Mr Acheson referred the court to an accompanying affidavit from a medical doctor, Dr Ludwig Matthysen, who testified that Mr Acheson had scars on his left arm which were consistent with cigarette burns.

Mr Acheson charged further in his affidavit that when he tried to sleep someone would prod him awake with his foot and remind him that "they were going to f... me up bad."

He alleged he was offered inducements by Namibian police to confess to involvement in the assassination of Mr Lubowski and/or to tell them who was behind it. The alleged inducements included plastic surgery, a new identity and a flight out of the country.

It is understood police in Namibia are convinced that Mr Lubowski was murdered by more than one man.

Thursday's news that police had been holding a man for the past month in connection with the assassinations of her companion of five years, Dr David Webster, and the Namibian Human Rights attorney, Mr Anton Lubowski, came as a total shock to Ms Maggie Friedman.

Her legal representative, Ms Lauren Jacobsen, said yesterday: "Neither I nor my client — a witness to the assassination — were notified by the police despite the fact that a suspect has been detained for over a month."

"When David was shot the only thing I saw was part of a car. The shots were fired from the passenger side of a moving vehicle so there must have been more than one assassin because the car sped off very quickly." Ms Friedman recalled yesterday.

She said that the latest allegations of hit squad activities had perhaps forced the police to try harder to solve the murders of political activists.

Within two days of Webster's murder police released detailed identikits of the suspects. At the time investigating officer Colonel Floris Mostert said the identikits had been "compiled from an eye-witness report".

Anti-apartheid organisations expressed surprise that police had come up with such detailed descriptions of the supects so soon after the event.

While one of the identikits bears a resemblance to Mr Acheson none seem to resemble the now detained former policeman Barnard.

Asked about the identikits, Major Reg Crewe said yesterday witnesses had supplied them with the details but police did not want to disclose their identities. He added that he did not know how many witnesses had helped to compile the identikits.

The murder of certain political activists in recent years was a conspiracy to thwart the Government's reform plans, the commanding officer of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, Brigadier Mostert, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He told Sapa he made this statement in a sworn affidavit when an application for the release from Internal Security Act detention of former drug squad sergeant Barnard was heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Brigadier Mostert said that there had been no new developments in the investigations, but that they had reached "a sensitive stage".

But he believed there was a connection between the assassinations of Mr Lubowski and Dr Webster, as well as in the intimidation of leftwingers.

Opposing the application for the release of Barnard, Brigadier Mostert said the former police sergeant was withholding information from police.

The application, made by his father, Mr P J Barnard of Nylstroom, a retired police colonel, was withdrawn.

Police forensics chief Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling has declined to comment on new allegations against him by the newspaper he has threatened with a damages action of R500 000 for previous allegations it published concerning police hit squads.

Attack

The *Vrye Weekblad* returned to the attack yesterday in a front-page article with new claims by former policeman and alleged "hit squad" head Captain Dirk Coetzee against General Neethling, without the customary use of the word "alleged".

General Neethling this week threatened the newspaper with a lawsuit for defamation following allegations published two weeks ago.

He said the article had damaged his career and endangered his and his family's lives.

The newspaper claimed yesterday that General Neethling had personally provided Captain Coetzee with poison to be used on ANC suspects and sleeping drops for an ANC-member who was to be kidnapped from Swaziland.

278 251 wmail 15-20/12/89.

Bloody morning in Ermelo

●From PAGE 1

The police unrest report that day said only 12 people were injured — six policemen and six residents — and five of the residents were being held on charges of public violence.

According to the report, 10 000 people armed with "iron pipes, pangas, knokerries, stones, etc" attempted to march on the magistrate's court, despite an undertaking given by the Wesselton Action Committee (WAC) that the march would not take place.

Dozens of Wesselton residents I spoke to said they had not been armed when trying to march to court, and a WAC representative described the report as "lies".

He said WAC could not stop the thousands of residents marching to court: "They wanted to hear the court case, since many of them have been issued with these court summonses.

"Police told them to go back and when they refused, saying some had to go to court anyway. Police fired teargas and birdshot on the crowd, and sjambokked people."

Then came the real violence.

Albert Maphosa told me how how his wife and a child were shot: "A friend saw my wife, Beauty, doing her washing and a (five-year-old) child was standing in the doorway. A police van drove by and the next thing he knew my wife was covered in blood and screaming."

The mother was rushed to hospital with serious neck wounds. The child, also in hospital, was shot in the legs.

Though the hospital superintendent, Dr M Veltman, was not available for comment, nurses said 25 people were treated for injuries and 16 were admitted to hospital. Beauty Maphosa was in critical condition but her condition has since stabilised.

The unrest report says "no serious injuries were reported".

Nurses say nine people were discharged — some of whom were arrested — and the rest are under police guard in hospital.

'Barricades burnt at every intersection and thick palls of smoke billowed in the sky ...'

Lawyers for residents say they took statements from 52 injured people, or their families, none of whom had gone to hospital fearing they would be arrested.

On Wednesday morning I arrived in Ermelo — a Conservative Party-run town bordering on Wesselton — to report on the court appearance of 88 Wesselton residents who are boycotting rent. More than 700 have been issued with court summonses in the past two weeks.

The residents refuse to pay levies to a town council they consider inept and corrupt. Lawyers say a further 2 000 residents were expecting court summonses.

Ermelo was quiet, and businesses were operating with a skeleton white staff, since the entire Wesselton community was either staying away from work or had to go to court .

People outside the magistrate's court told me that about 400 township residents, who had been sitting on the court lawns waiting for the case to begin, had been sjambokked, attacked by police dogs and arrested. These were people who had gone to court early in the morning and had not been stopped by police.

Accompanied by a WAC member, I left the town and entered the location through a side road. The township looked like a war zone, with scores of police and South African Defence Force troops having sealed off entrances with razor wire. Hippos and Casspirs patrolled on the outskirts and riot police in minibuses drove around firing teargas cannisters.

Barricades, erected by the residents, burnt at almost every intersection. Thick palls of smoke and teargas billowed in the sky.

As I was driving along the township streets I heard the sounds of gun fire.

I then went back to the magistrate's court where lawyers of the residents and the town council were negotiating. They agreed to the following: outstanding court summonses would cease and a meeting between lawyers for the opposing sides and the Transvaal Provincial Administration would be held on January 10 to discuss residents' grievances with the town council. Lawyers agreed that if negotiations broke down, court proceedings would resume seven days later. The hearings of the 88 were postponed to January 11.

A lawyer for the residents, Haneef Valli, told me that a Captain Botha of the Ermelo police had requested that Valli's team and the WAC go back to the burning location to "calm" the community and inform them of the latest developments regarding their court appearances.

I went back with the lawyers to Wesselton where police and defence troops had left the area, but still manned the entrances. Thousands of angry, distressed residents crowded around, chanting "viva, viva", their fists held high. A huge meeting ensued outside the local disco, where lawyers communicated the latest developments.

Injured people who were not being nursed at home, or who had not been taken to hospital, came forward. Some were carried, others limped towards us. I saw scores of people, even tiny children, covered with birdshot wounds and dripping with blood.

One man was riddled with wounds on his legs, inner thighs and genitals. Another, barely conscious from loss of blood, had gaping dog-bite wounds on his arms and hands.

A shocked mother, Sophie Mtsweni, showed us the contents of a plastic bag she clung to: inside were the bullet-ridden, bloodsoaked clothes of her 21-year-old son Kenneth, who she said had been lying unconscious on the road, overcome with tear-smoke when police fired birdshot at him: "My son's one eye has come out and he is now lying in hospital coughing blood," she said.

A badly wounded Meshack Nkosi, who was taken to hospital soon after he spoke to me, was one of the 88. He describes how he was fired at while walking to the court: "We were walking there in a group. They turned us away by shooting. They did not utter a word of warning to us first."

Another man with birdshot wounds

ELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN

"THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN"

)RICAL PEOPLE'S CALENDAR HAS BEEN DUCED WITH VERY INFORMATIVE FEAES SUCH AS A MAGNIFICENT PICTURE RATHON 1956 TREASON TRIAL, AND THE EIGHT RECENTLY RELEASED LEADERS OF THE EXILED LEADERS

Carl Tech 7/12/88

Paper's appeal dismissed

BLOEMFONTEIN. — An appeal by the Catholic Bishops Publishing Company of Johannesburg — the publishers of "New Nation" — against the rejection of their application against the State President and Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, has been dismissed with costs by the Appeal Court here.

The application challenged the validity of certain emergency regulations, as well as the action taken in terms of the regulations after the minister published a warning in the Government Gazette of November 27, 1987, and told the company on December 5, 1987, that he had examined the New Nation of December 3, 1987, and was considering action.

Yesterday the Chief Justice upheld the application's dismissal and held that none of the grounds advanced to support the contention that portions of the regulation in question were invalid, were well-founded. — Sapa

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Assassinations Govt's last resort, wrote Webster

"ASSASSINATIONS have the effect of controlling government opposition when all other methods, such as detention or intimidation, have failed. It is very rare that such assassinations are solved."

These words come from the last paper written by David Webster, the Wits University lecturer who was himself assassinated outside his Johannesburg home on May 1 this year.

Completed only days before his death, the paper, entitled "Repression and the State of Emergency June 1987 — March 1989", was prepared for the *South African Review* and was written by Webster together with his lover, Maggie Friedman.

Addressing the issue of informal repression, Webster's paper said: "... informal repression is illegal, yet appears to enjoy, if not official sanction, then at least less-than-enthusiastic investigation.

"The activities detailed below are seldom brought to court, let alone successfully prosecuted. They are secretive, and often more violent than other forms of repression." They included at-

SUE OLSWANG

tacks on individuals and property, such as the blast which destroyed Khotso House in Johannesburg, a building housing anti-apartheid organisations.

Pointing to a "steady tempo of kidnappings and assassinations of anti-apartheid activists in the year 1988", Webster's paper said that the kidnappings and assassinations took place both within South Africa's borders and "in foreign countries".

"When cross-border raids are made, the perpetrators are often identifiable, since they are clearly SA military commandos, and the Government does not deny responsibility.

"There are, however, assassinations carried out by clandestine groups of death squads, referred to many years ago as the "Z" squad — though their name has probably changed. In a recent murder trial involving drug squad detectives, one line of defence was that one accused knew of policemen who were members of a political assassination squad operating in Swaziland, and portrayed his own activities as being in this vein.

"The Paris assassination of the ANC civilian emissary to Europe, Dulcie September, is another case where there has been speculation about South African security involvement."

At the time of Webster's death, his close friend and fellow anti-detention campaigner, Dr Max Coleman, said it was clear that Webster had been assassinated by a "highly professional hit squad".

Dr Coleman said instead of offering rewards and releasing identikits after the event the authorities "should be conducting intensive investigations into the activities of these squads".



Journalists march for press freedom

About 300 journalists and media workers yesterday marched from Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church to the Department of Home Affairs to hand over a petition protesting against the infringements on press freedom. The Southern African Society of Journalists asked journalists to support the march and petition, which was handed to a Department of Home Affairs official, "because indications are that since the warning issued to *New Nation* three weeks ago, harassment of the media has not ceased". The chief magistrate granted permission for the march. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.



THE Sunday Times has exclusive rights to publish extracts from rebel police lieutenant Gregory Rockman's controversial book: ROCKMAN — One man's crusade against apartheid. It is the story of Gregory Rockman as told to Sunday Times writer EUGENE ABRAHAMS (left). In this, the first extract, he reveals his suffering under "racist" attitudes within the SA Police, which culminated in his outburst against riot police action at Mitchell's Plain. The second and final extract appears next weekend.

BOOK



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THE PEOPLE'S COP ... Gregory Rockman — still a policeman — once believed he could serve his community while wearing apartheid's uniform

● From previous page

that was the type of policeman I wanted to be.

"That experience has helped me throughout my career because it gave me an understanding of what could be done by the police."

Rockman joined the police on August 10, 1977, and was almost immediately shocked by the extent of the racism in the force.

"For me, the biggest shock came when I realised that no matter what his rank, a black policeman was always inferior to a white cop."

Rockman says he witnessed daily how white policemen ordered around black superior officers because of their colour.

Conflict

"I found this repugnant, particularly because I knew that blacks were as much in the firing line as whites."

Rockman stresses that he is not anti-white. On the contrary, he believes in a non-racial South Africa and police force.

Many white policemen advised him and helped him in his career. He has the highest regard for them because they treated him as a colleague.

Unfortunately, other white policemen treated him as a "hotnot" (Hottentot) regardless of his rank.

"I suppose one finds this in every sphere. I could never accept that and it brought me into continuous conflict with some white policemen.

"I saw this naked 'Boer' attitude which said that if someone was white, he was superior. I was constantly having to stand up for my guys because I refused to allow them to be pushed around."

In 1980, when Rockman was still a constable, the police standing orders were changed, enforcing rank as a criterion, not colour.

"Some white policemen were so angered by the new rules that they left in disgust, but I saw this as an opportunity and decided I would study further for rank because it would now really mean something."

However, as he discovered, attitudes built up over many years did not end because "of a piece of paper" and racism and discrimination still continued on a wide scale.

In 1987, Rockman, who had already earned himself a reputation as a "troublemaker" because of his constant rows over the treatment of blacks and coloureds, was transferred to Mitchell's Plain.

"When I arrived I received very bad reports about the relationship between the police and the public we were meant to serve. As community officer I went among the people to tell them the police were there to help them and encouraged them to come to me with their problems.

"I believe we were really getting through to the people. We had managed to stop the gang warfare and were involved in work with the community.

Threat

"But the behaviour of the riot police during August, and particularly on the day before the September 6 general election, destroyed all that."

Today Rockman says he is forced to live with friends in safe houses around Cape Town when he is off duty because he fears that there could be an attempt to kill him, forcing him to live a way of life which put a serious strain on his marriage.

He has already received a frightening death threat from a man claiming to be a policeman and a member of the supposed white terrorist group, the Wit Wolwe (White Wolves).

"It left me shaken. But I spoke out for justice because of my Christian upbringing and I believe I achieved what I set out to do. They can do what they like to me now. They can lock me up or even kill me. I am prepared for anything.

"The full story must be told."

(C) ROCKMAN, One Man's Crusade against Apartheid Police. Published by Senior Publications, Johannesburg.

PUBLISH AND BE DAMNED, SAYS SUSPENDED OFFICER

ATTEMPTS were made to stop publication of Gregory Rockman's book.

The South African Police tried to serve an order on him, preventing publication of any material not screened and approved by them, says Rockman in his book.

He was also instructed to retrieve any material already made available for publication. He refused.

He was also called up for "border duty". This would place him out of reach of the media. Once again he refused.

It was then made clear he would be "disciplined" if the book came out. His publisher asked him if he wanted to reconsider.

"Please go ahead and publish," said Rockman, who is now under suspension from the force. ST Times 3/12/89

Sports chiefs arrested

By RENE DU PREEZ

POLICE arrested 18 people, including top sports officials, during a demonstration against next month's English rebel cricket tour.

Among those detained at the Avendale cricket ground in Cape Town were Mr Joe Ebrahim, president of the SA Council on Sport, Mr Abe Adams, chairman of the Western Province Cricket Board, and Mr Alex Abercrombie, vice-president of the SA Soccer Federation.

Mr C R Clarke, general secretary of the SA Council on Sport, said a police cordon was thrown around the field after players were surrounded while a match was in progress.

Police moved in when the protesters held aloft placards proclaiming their opposition to "racist sport".

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ROCKMAN

THE



THE PEOPLE'S HERO ... since defying the orders of his superior officers Rockman has become the anti-apartheid movement's best-loved policeman

His fans gear up for show of support

THOUSANDS of well-wishers are expected to converge on Mitchell's Plain's Harmony Centre near Cape Town — now known as Rockman Square — for the launch of controversial policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman's biography.

The book's launch, expected to be the biggest and most unusual of its kind in South Africa, will start at 9am on Saturday.

All shops in the centre are participating in the launch and will be giving discounts on several items.

Radio Plain will provide the music, there will be a Miss Rockman Square beauty competition and representatives from the local and overseas Press are expected to attend.

Lt Rockman, currently suspended by the SAP, will sign copies of the book.

The incident central to the book and to the investigation into Lt Rockman took place during an anti-election protest on September 5.

Riot police waded into a Mitchell's Plain crowd with batons and quirts. Lt Rockman tried to halt the riot police attack, accusing them of acting like "wild dogs".

Exclusive extracts from the book, printed in the Sunday Times today and next Sunday, give an insight into why Lt Rockman took such a strong stand.

Publisher Hans Strydom said: "It will be the biggest and most unusual book launch ever in South Africa.

"There has been an enormous amount of interest."

One man can make a difference — Tutu

IN a foreword to the Rockman book, Archbishop Desmond Tutu says:

Often when we are faced with massive problems, our tendency is to shrug our shoulders in imagined impotence exclaiming with perhaps some justified frustration "What can little I do against this colossus?"

And most of us will resign ourselves to doing nothing because we say it can surely not make any difference and the serious problem remains, untackled: the injustice goes unchallenged and the suffering is not lightened.

But Gregory Rockman illustrates the wonderful truth that each of us can make a difference. We can transcend our depressing upbringing and we can indeed get the ghetto out of our souls.

God be praised for such as Gregory Rockman. They give us a renewed faith in human nature.

Rebel lieutenant tells his story of defiance

THE policeman was hardened to most things — he couldn't be otherwise after 12 years in a force some say is one of the most brutal in the world.

But the day came last September when he had tears in his eyes.

Bitterness and anger welled up inside him, almost choking the policeman. He felt cheated, betrayed, double-crossed.

After years of putting up with attitudes in the South African Police which is the living, breathing reality of the hated policy of apartheid, this policeman had had enough.

Lieutenant Gregory Rockman, 30 years old, husband, father, Christian and, above all, a cop who loved his job, was at the crossroads.

On the morning of September 5, 1989, years of anger and frustration boiled over when he was forced to watch helplessly as white policemen beat and whipped people gathered peacefully in Cape Town's "coloured" township of Mitchell's Plain to protest against racially segregated parliamentary elections.

When the riot police turned up after he had spoken to the protesters, his assurances that he had the situation under control were ignored. His undertaking to give the demonstrators time to leave was overridden. He felt like a traitor.

History

When they waded into the young protesters and innocent bystanders "like a pack of wild dogs", something snapped inside him.

As he was to say afterwards: "I realised it was my duty to speak out against what I had witnessed over the past weeks, no matter what the consequences for myself or my career."

And speak out Gregory Rockman did, creating for himself a place as a hero in a vitally important chapter of South African history. He told his story the very next day to a journalist.

And such was Rockman's courage, he demanded first an assurance from the reporter that his story would be transmitted overseas "for the whole world to see what is happening".

His timing, although not of his own making, had profound implications.

No one accustomed to the heavy-handed actions of the South African authorities and its police in dealing with protest — peaceful or otherwise — could have guessed the consequences of what Rockman told the reporter.

In Mitchell's Plain itself, where there had never been anything but a sour relationship between the community and the police, Rockman became a hero overnight.

The shopping mall where the September 5 incident happened has been renamed Rockman Square by the locals.

Residents mob him wherever he goes, lauding him for his brave stand and shouting "Viva Rockman! Viva Rockman!"

Who is this man, Gregory Rockman, whose name became known around the world as his story made headlines from New York to Hong Kong?

He does not see himself as a hero.

"I am a Christian and I could not have lived with myself if I had stood by and said nothing at all. Now I am ready to face the consequences and I am prepared to die if necessary," he says.

To understand what finally made Rockman take on the might of the South African Police, it is necessary to go back many years to his childhood in Schauderville, one of Port Elizabeth's poorest "coloured" townships.

Rockman was the second oldest in a family of nine children. Life was a constant battle for the family.

"We were very poor. Life was a real struggle and there were often times when neither of my parents had a job."

Religion also played a major role in the Rockman family.

"It was this Christian upbringing and being taught the difference between right and wrong that made it so easy for me to speak up for justice now," he says.

"I was still at primary school when I began to realise that whites and blacks were treated differently.

"But my parents kept telling us that although white people felt superior, they were not better than us. 'You are their equal,' my parents kept on telling us."

Eventually, frustrated with the inferior school system, Rockman — a particularly bright pupil by all accounts — dropped out.

Gangsters

This was followed by months of confusion and aimlessness for the bitter young man. His dream was to become a teacher "and do something for my people", but because he had still not passed matric this door was closed to him. (He later passed his matric through a correspondence course.)

It was about this time that something happened which forever changed his life. One day in the township of Arcadia in Port Elizabeth, he watched as a group of gangsters harassed people.

"Suddenly a police van pulled up and a cop, a 'coloured' man, got out," Rockman recalls.

"I remember thinking how neat he looked in his uniform and how brave he was. He spoke to them for a few minutes and then they walked off. This was a side of the police I had never seen before and I was really impressed.

"To me, this was amazing. I thought of how terrified we as 'a community' were of these gangs — and yet one man could see them off. That day a seed was planted in my head and I decided I wanted to become a policeman.

"Until then I had always seen the police as 'the enemy' — but now I saw them in another role, as friends. I saw myself doing something for my community and realised

● To next page

Actor unable to see his movie

SJ Tues 3/12/84

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By SHARON CHETTY

CENSORSHIP and circumstance have prevented a South African actor starring in a movie set in South Africa from seeing the film in his own country.

Although the film, A Dry White Season, has been allowed several public screenings, Durban actor Charles Pillai has still not been able to see it.

At first banned by the Publications Control Board as "undesirable," the film was later allowed limited screenings at the Weekly Mail Film Festival in Johannesburg and Cape Town and the French Film Festival in Johannesburg.

The film's distributors are now awaiting the outcome of an appeal to allow its release on general circuit.

Democratic Party MP for Umbilo Carole Charlewood has also been given permission for a single fund-raising screening tonight in Durban — but Mr Pillai will still not be able to attend.

This weekend he is in Zimbabwe where he is busy working on another movie, Dark City, about the trial of the Sharpeville Six.

Detention

Before leaving for Harare this week Mr Pillai slammed the restrictions on A Dry White Season as a "senseless attempt at censorship".

"A Dry White Season is a movie about South Africa and people should be able to see it to make their own minds about what they think of the political message behind it.

A Dry White Season, based on the novel by Afrikaans author André Brink, tells the story of a white man whose gardener's son dies while in police detention.

Mr Pillai, a qualified lawyer, made his acting debut in the stage version of The Biko Inquest, produced and directed by his wife Saira Essa. He also played a leading role in The James Commission earlier this year.

In Dark City he plays Prakash Diar, the lawyer who won the reprieve for the Sharpeville Six whose sentences were commuted to life imprisonment after they had been sentenced to death for the mob killing of a town councillor.

Mandela, hit squads debated

Cabinet in indaba on new reforms

Star 4/12/89

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Several important policy decisions are expected to be made at an intense special work session the Cabinet is holding in the Transvaal countryside today and tomorrow.

Among the matters expected to be decided are the date for the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, what to do with the McNally report into alleged police hit squads, and also the constitutional package for next year's session of Parliament.

It is also possible that the Cabinet will decide on measures to replace the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act which President de Klerk announced recently that he would scrap.

Another major decision which has been looming for some time is a lifting or partial relaxation of the media emergency regulations — and possibly some of the other regulations of the state of emergency.

President de Klerk raised expectations that one or more of these issues could be resolved soon when he said last week that he would be making an important announcement before going on holiday — in other words probably before mid-December.

The release of Mr Mandela now seems to be a foregone conclusion and the only question is when.

The special Cabinet work session is also expected to deal with next year's legislation programme and this will entail tackling the crucial question of group rights.

Government sources have recently indicated that the Cabinet has accepted that it will have to clear away the obstacles to negotiation — the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

New approach

Now it is considering what sort of consitutional proposals it will place on the negotiation table and what it will do about contentious apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenites Act and Population Registration Act.

Mr de Klerk has already indicated that the last Act cannot simply be scrapped, because it underpins the Constitution, but clearly some substantial amendments are necessary to bring it in line with the Government's new approach to groups — which includes the acceptance of voluntary formation of groups and the existence of an open "South African" group.

Mr de Klerk has also announced the Government's intention to scrap the Separate Amenities Act — but that special measures would have to be negotiated to deal with "sensitive areas" — like hospitals and clinics, camping sights and caravan parks and community swimming pools.

The Government has not yet said what these measures will be, though it has indicated that privatisation — and reserving certain amenities for people of a community — are two options.

All indications are that the Government intends to go to the negotiating table with a revised group-based system, and that this will be the major issue of disagreement between it and its negotiating partners.



A language barrier did not prevent Soviet Presid
a translation headphone during th

Malta summit decl that Cold War is o

VALLETTA — Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, basking in the warmest superpower climate since World War 2, have set their sights on a treaty by next June to halve their arsenals of intercontinental nuclear weapons.

The Soviet and American leaders wrapped up their first summit yesterday pledging to work for a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) by the time they meet again in the United States in the last two weeks of June.

They played down differences over issues such as naval arms control and Central America, and said their discussions had been thorough despite a storm in the Mediterranean which forced them to cancel one round of talks as well as dinner.

"We are leaving one epoch of Cold War and are entering another epoch," Mr Gorbachev told a news conference aboard the Soviet liner Maxim Gorky, where he and Mr Bush met at the weekend in a sheltered bay off the island of Malta.

Mr Bush welcomed liberal political reforms in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and said: "He (Gorbachev) knows that not only the president but all the people of the United States would like to see

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Police stop city march

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S/News 3/12/84

By TERRY van der WALT

POLICE broke up a march in the centre of Durban yesterday morning, using dogs and batons to round up protesters.

An application by the Durban Housing Action Committee to hold the march had been turned down by the chief magistrate.

Buses were turned back at Emmanuel Cathedral where a prayer meeting was to have been held before the march. People arriving were prevented from entering and made off in groups to the city centre which was crammed with Christmas shoppers.

More than 600 toyi-toyi protesters had marched only a few hundred metres and were being joined by people streaming from all directions when they were charged from the front and behind by a large contingent of policemen, armed with batons.

People scattered in all directions, tripping and falling on the road and leaving a trail of shoes behind, and police with dogs chased after some.

A police spokesman confirmed that 42 people were detained and later released.

Lawyers pressing for Calla Botha's release

LAWYERS acting for Calla Botha said yesterday a court application to secure his release would be lodged this week.

Botha was detained by police last Thursday in connection with the investigation into the murders of Wits academic David Webster and Windhoek attorney Anton Lubowski.

His attorney Piet du Plessis said the SAP would be given "ample time" to respond to the application.

"Even if the trial is eventually heard in camera we will ask that it comes to evidence because we want to hear what the police have to say," he said.

Sapa reports Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in Pretoria yesterday further arrests were expected soon in connection with the police's "hit squad" investigation.

One other man has been detained. He is former policeman Ferdinand Barnard who was detained on October 31 for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Vlok said a team of detectives, led by CID chief Lt-Gen Alwyn Conradie and assisted by Maj-Gen Jaap Joubert and Maj-Gen Ronnie van der Westhuizen, was investigating all aspects flowing from the allegations. The matter would be taken to court as soon as possible.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) yesterday commended the breakthrough made by police in their investigation of the assassinations of Webster and Lubowski.

MANDY JEAN WOODS

LHR national director Brian Currin said police should use the opportunity to purge their ranks of thugs and political murderers. The suspects should be charged immediately and brought before the courts.

□ The SACC yesterday demanded it be allowed to inspect police training camps in which former ANC cadres were being held.

In response to Police Commissioner Gen Hennie de Witt's claim that the SACC was about to launch a smear campaign against the SAP, SACC communications director Saki Macozoma said police should give the SACC a list of all the captured cadres.

Captured

Macozoma said the training camps should be dismantled and the captured cadres brought to court.

"The SACC is in the process of consulting human rights and political organisations on what should be done to deal with the issue of cadres of the liberation movement that are captured by the security forces and then used in assassination squads as recent evidence suggests.

"If these people are being held voluntarily, the police have nothing to fear in this regard," he said.



Cuddling the family puppy, Mrs Eleftheria Gyltides and children, Ilias (11) and Mary (8), who were forced to flee the country in fear of their lives earlier this year after Mrs Gyltides wished to reveal the contents of a conversation which she claims she overheard between convicted ex-policeman Robert van der Merwe and a visitor at Pretoria Central Prison. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

More claims of police killings submitted to State President

Star 5/12/89 327

By Karen Stander, Janet Heard and Anna Louw

New claims of police killings have been sent to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, in an affidavit claiming convicted murderer and former detective Robert van der Merwe spoke about police slayings to a visitor at Pretoria Central Prison's Death Row.

According to the affidavit (more details on Page 15), an East Rand woman had to flee the country with her two children after receiving death threats when attempts were made to report the overheard conversation.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has ordered an investigation into allegations made in the affidavit, which was presented to the Minister in the form of a petition, The Star learnt last night. The petition claims:

● Van der Merwe told a woman visitor he had participated in seven murders in the Germiston area.

● He spoke of two other former policemen, including Mr Ferdie Barnard, now being held in connection with the assassinations of activist Dr David Webster and Swapo lawyer Mr Anton Lubowski. The second policeman, named in the petition as "Botha", is believed to be Mr Theunis Stephanus "Calla" Botha, also a former West Rand police sergeant, and Mr Barnard's co-accused in a murder trial.

Mr Barnard, the son of retired police Colonel P J Barnard, was

More details on Page 15

jailed and later released on parole after being convicted of the murder of two drug addicts.

Mr Botha was given a suspended sentence for attempted murder.

● Mrs Eleftheria Gyltides received death threats after allegedly overhearing a conversation while visiting a prisoner, and after attempts were made to persuade a prison warder, who was present at the time, to make a report.

According to the petition sent to the State President, Van der Merwe, speaking in English to a woman identified only as Sandra, said he had been involved in seven Germiston murders.

"He further stated that at no stage had these murders been exposed by police headquarters," said the petition.

Asked to comment, the head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, Brigadier Floris Mostert, said that the murders Van der Merwe was referring to related to a police trap which was set up to apprehend a gang of bank robbers. Five suspects and two others were shot dead.

Brigadier Mostert said Van der Merwe was not involved in the actual shooting but had guided the detectives from a roof-top by two-way radio.

"He had nothing to do with the shooting," Brigadier Mostert said.

In January 1987, the chief magistrate of Germiston found that no one was to blame for the deaths of five of the men shot dead outside the then Barclays Bank branch in February 1986. He made no finding on the deaths of two other men.

The incident was widely reported at the time and caused controversy when police insisted that all seven men killed were robbers. However, an investigation at the time by the Sunday Star established that the two other men were innocent bystanders.

The 5 366-page petition, sent to

● To Page 3.

P.T.O

Judge dismisses appeal for march

CAPE TOWN — The Supreme Court last night dismissed with costs an application to set aside a decision of the Crossroads Town Committee in refusing permission for a planned march by women this morning.

Mr Acting-Justice I Farlam said he would give reasons later.

The Old Crossroads Women's Peaceful March Planning Committee — Ms Nofumene Mqweba, Ms Nobandla Kula and Ms Buklewa Mfenyana — brought the application against the Town Committee, the Secretary, Crossroads Town Committee and the Chief Magistrate, Wynberg.

About 800 women had planned to march through the streets of Old Crossroads to the Nyanga Administration offices.

Police had said they were unable to give a guarantee that law and order would be maintained if the march went ahead. — Sapa.

Shotguns seized after five arrests claim

B/Day 7/12/89

(327)

AMONG the weapons seized shortly after the arrest on Tuesday of five men, allegedly linked to a right-wing group, were 12-bore shotguns, the same type of weapon used to assassinate Wits academic David Webster, a well-informed source said yesterday.

Police have declined to give details of the arms seized except to say they included firearms, ammunition and explosives. They also declined to identify the men.

Three of the men, aged 29, 38 and 24, were from Vereeniging and two, aged 40 and 28, were from Randburg, SAP Public Relations Directorate chief Maj-Gen Herman Stadler said yesterday.

He said the names of the men, detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, would not be released because of further police investigation.

There could, possibly, be further arrests, he said.

The men were detained for questioning in connection with a number of unsolved bombings and other violent incidents.

Two other men, Ferdinand Barnard and Calla Botha, were detained on October 31 and November 30 respectively in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for questioning in connection with the SAP investigation into the murders of Webster (on May 1 this year) and Windhoek lawyer Anton Lubowski (on September 12 this year).

MANDY JEAN WOODS

Another man, Irish national Donald Acheson, 52, was detained the day after Lubowski was killed and was arrested on November 6 and charged with Lubowski's murder.

Sapa reports that Acheson appeared briefly in the Windhoek Magistrate's Court yesterday and his case was postponed to January 10.

From Windhoek, KEVIN JACOBS reports that a police search for three escaped right-wingers accused of a terrorist attack was boosted yesterday by a reported sighting of the fugitives.

South Africans Darryl Stopforth and Leonard Veenendal, and German citizen Horst Klenz, were still on the run last night, evading a widespread police net and checkpoints on main roads.

Investigators believed they had parted from their two accomplices who aided their violent escape from police guards on Monday.

"We caught them initially, so there's no reason why we shouldn't catch them again. It is just a question of time ," said Inspector Nico Smit in Otjiwarongo.

A sighting of three men fitting the descriptions of the terrorism suspects triggered concern that they could be heading for the desolate Botswana border region in the east.

Smit said a witness reported seeing the three men late on Tuesday, about 30 hours after their escape, in a four-wheel-drive bakkie north-east of Windhoek and south-east of Okahandja. It was not known where they acquired the vehicle.

Police assaulted us, say squatters

By Montshiwa Moroke Star 7/12/89

At least nine people were arrested and several others were allegedly beaten up during a midnight police raid at the Mshenguville squatter camp in Mofolo, Soweto, on Monday.

A Johannesburg attorney representing those arrested said police had confirmed the arrests.

He said authorities had laid charges of trespassing against some people who had taken up places which had been vacated by people who had moved to the Orange Farm settlement.

Those allegedly assaulted were a founder member of the Masakhane Youth Committee, Mr Mandla Majola Nkuzo of Block 5, Mr Themba Ndawonde and Mr Sibusiso Ndawonde of Block 9.

Mr Nkuza's 18-year-old son, Xolani, said six municipal policemen forced their way into their shack at about midnight.

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THREATS

"I was nearest to the door and a black policeman asked why we were preventing other people from moving to Orange Farm.

"A white policeman asked me where the 'AK' was. Another policeman then pressed a firearm against my chest and asked me why we did not want to go to Orange Farm. I told him we could not go because a child had gone missing.

"The policemen then warned us to report at the Zondi office to arrange for our move to Orange Farm." He said they threatened to burn down their shack if they did not move.

He said the family had discovered that R1 800 was missing after the police raid.

A Soweto police spokesman said police were ssisting residents of the squatter camp who re moving to Orange Farm. "We are not aware uch an incident and we advise the people ined to lay a complaint so we can investigate."

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A Soweto police spokesman said police were assisting residents of the squatter camp who were moving to Orange Farm. "We are not aware of such an incident and we advise the people involved to lay a complaint so we can investigate."

issues as ne- gether.

Red minibus used for police work – claim

By CARMEL RICKARD

PIETERMARITZBURG police have admitted using a red minibus which has been at the centre of allegations of police assault and harassment.

The vehicle featured in an urgent supreme court application to stop the police from assaulting Pietermaritzburg resident Bonginkosi Zondi.

Zondi alleged four members of the police had repeated harassed and assaulted him. He said they operated out of a red minibus, cruising the township assaulting and harassing Imbali youth, in particular members of the Imbali Youth Organisation.

The police said they had a special section of the riot police which used the red vehicle. The unit was formed this year to help with the arrest of suspects in unrest-related crime.

Major Deon Terblanche, who is the officer commanding the riot police, said in his replying papers, that as the incidents of unrest decreased, there were fewer arrests and the section began to do other crime prevention work.

Referring to three incidents mentioned by Zondi, the police denied any knowledge of the first, claiming the second and third were carried out as part of their normal police duties and that there had been no unlawful police action against Zondi.

The case resumes on January 22.

WMAI 327 8-14/12/89.

Big show of black unity

327 ST Times 10/12/89

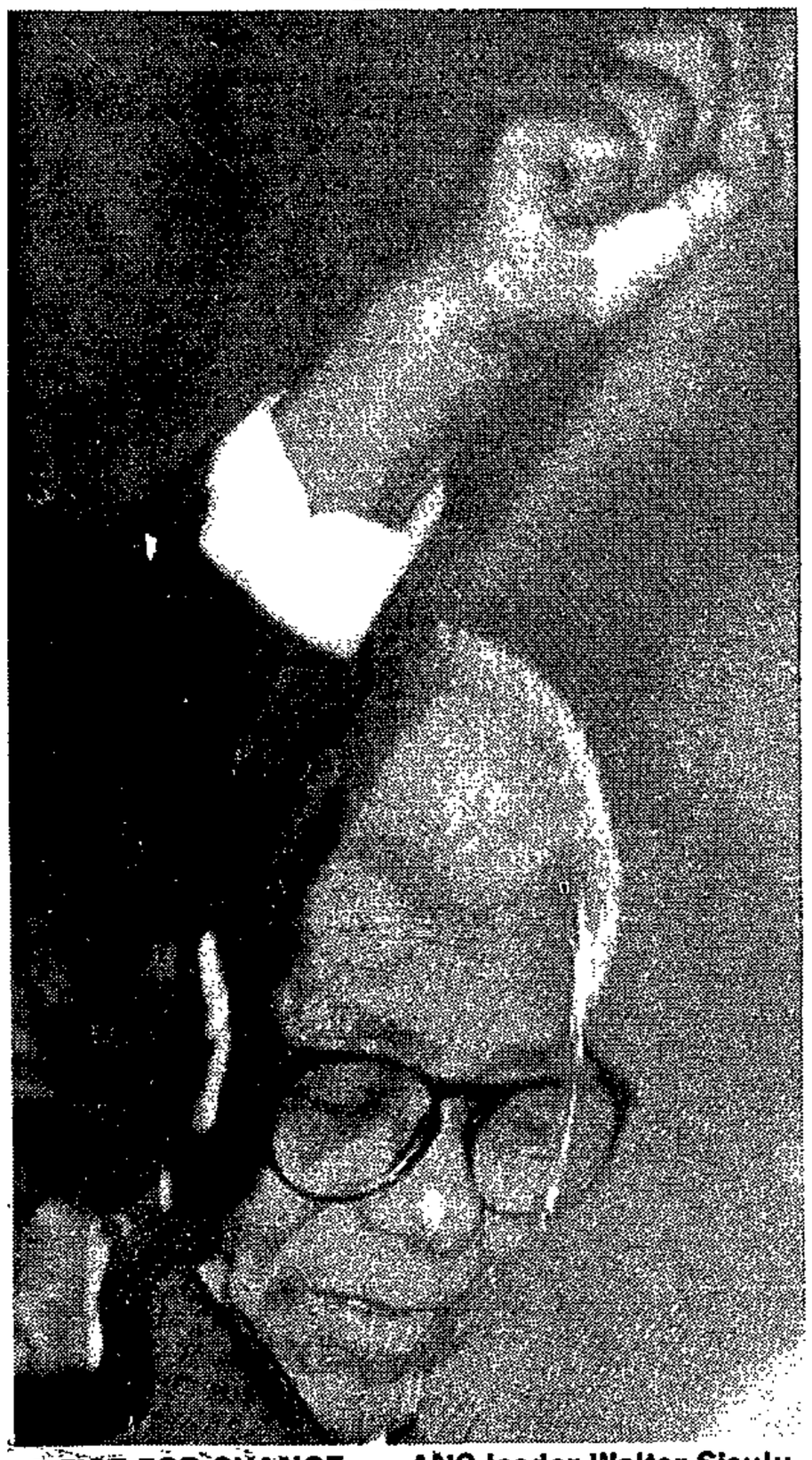
By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

MORE than 4 500 delegates yesterday attended a historic rally to mobilise black organistions for what they see as "the final push" against apartheid.

The Conference for a Democratic Future — held on the Wits campus in Johannesburg — was the biggest gathering of black leaders since the drafting of the ANC's Freedom Charter at Kliptown in 1955.

The delegates representing some 2 000 organisations spanning the great divide in liberation politics — from Black Consciousness to the ANC's Charterists — listened attentively to the keynote speech delivered by the recently released ANC leader, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Veterans in the resistance movement said yesterday the meeting was the most significant attempt yet to unify those engaged in the struggle for a democratic and non-racial South Africa.



A FIST FOR CHANGE . . . ANC leader Walter Sisulu, who told delegates to unite against oppression

Anti-apartheid groups overcome ideological divide

Salute

Speakers during the morning's open session urged the Government to abandon its "racist policies," scrap plans for a "Great Indaba" or a "black election" and urged State President F W de Klerk to "submit to a constituent assembly".

There were also repeated calls on "white compatriots" to join mass actions under the slogan "No Apartheid".

When Mr Sisulu rose to speak, the hall exploded into thunderous chanting of "ANC, ANC" while the thousands of black and white delegates clenched their fists in salute as the floor reverberated to toyi-toyi dancing.

Cries of "Viva" and "Amandla" greeted Mr Sisulu's call to join hands "in the struggle against Press censorship, death squads, political imprisonment and all other forms of oppression".

The conference, organised by the Mass Democratic Movement, also called on the warring factions in Natal "to extend the hand of peace and sheath the weapons of war" and on townships groups to end their rivalry and launch mass peace campaigns.

In the run-up to the conference a "unifying set of principles" was sent to delegates to ensure agreement on fundamental issues.

These principles included a political system of one man, one vote in a united, democratic country; the lifting of the state of emergency; the unconditional release of all political prisoners; the unbanning of all political organisations; freedom of association and expression; Press freedom and a living wage.

Conspicuous by its absence was the recently formed Pan Africanist Movement, which claims to be the ideological heir of the Pan Africanist Congress and which objected to the MDM's ties with homeland leaders like General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei and Mr Enos Mabuza of Kangwane.

However, some other delegates from organisations representing the Africanist tradition did attend, including Azapo and unions affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions. Azapo leader Mr Jerry Mosala was one of the main speakers.

Strategy

Outside the hall some delegates raised objections to the presence of Democratic Party members who attended the conference as observers.

However, it was understood these differences were regarded as "cosmetic" in the light of the significance of the conference and the common goals that bound delegates together.

Yesterday afternoon the conference went into closed session to discuss a detailed strategy on how to address President F W de Klerk's latest reform moves and his calls to all parties "committed to peaceful change" to come to the conference table.

Vivas and toyi-toyis bring hope for change

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE eye-catcher was the brightly coloured T-shirts.

They were yellow, black and green ... the unmistakable combination of the three visibly expressed the ANC connection.

Then came the thunderous voices: "End apartheid now!" — "Forward to a new South Africa" — "Release Mandela and all detainees." Then there were groups toyi-toying in the narrow alleys of the Wits campus.

Clenched fists were aloft and dancing was the forward-sideways-and-backwards shuffle that is fast becoming "protocol" for any supporter of the struggle for black political rights in SA.

The atmosphere was electric. A sense of history-in-the-making was in the air.

It was the most important gathering of anti-apartheid forces since the heady days of the '50s, when ordinary men and women came from far-flung regions to Kliptown with small scraps of paper in their hands, their contributions to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

The organisers expected 2 500 delegates. Almost twice as many pitched up. The huge gymnasium on the campus could not accommodate the crowd, which overflowed into a huge adjacent tent.

Roared

On stage, the power elite of the internal liberation struggle was visible.

The new guard was on a high — Murphy Morobe, Cyril Ramaphosa, Sydney Mufamadi, Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naude, Jerry Mosala of Azapo, father figure Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina.

The massive crowd needed little prompting when conference chairman Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa reached for the microphone and shouted: "AMANDLA!" The reply was roared: "AWETHU!"

"Viva! Viva ANC! Viva! Viva Cosatu! Viva Swapo! Viva SA Communist Party! Viva!"

And then the sonorous strains of the beautiful Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, softly at first, almost wistful, building up to a mighty crescendo.

Then: "Sechaba sa heso. Sechaba sa Africa". (Our nation, our African nation).

Uncertain how to be 'softer'

By BARRY STREEK

THERE had been frustration and uncertainty among police officers following the "softer" approach towards peaceful protest, according to Major-General Herman Stadler, head of the police liaison division.

Senior policemen were "busy reorientating the chaps; we give them guidelines", he said in an interview in the latest issue of the Suid-Afrikaan.

"But I do not want to actually call it confusion. Perhaps a person must just say there was uncertainty: When could you act and when could you not act?

"Discretion must now be used. But the instruction was still always: 'People, you must not be too rigid. Investigate the matter'."

General Stadler also said: "It is not the police who have become softer, or who allow certain things, it is the politicians. The police did not take the decision. Justice took the decision.".

He admitted that some of the police "went over the limits". "I do not offer it as an excuse, but you know, those poor blighters (blikskottels), they work for days on end. Sometimes day and night.

"They are absent from the house for long hours. The wife is cross with them. They never see their children ...

"Then they are sworn at and abused, petrol bombs are thrown at them."

Apartheid: Yet another debate in UN begins

Special Correspondent

NEW YORK — Foreign Ministers or their deputies from more than 30 member states will lead delegations at a special session of the UN General Assembly on the question of apartheid, which opens today.

Although several heads of state were said to have indicated their intention to attend, only President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe were named in a list of leading participants issued by the UN.

Western nations that have decided to send Foreign Ministers are Canada, Finland, France, Greece, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Ireland and Italy.

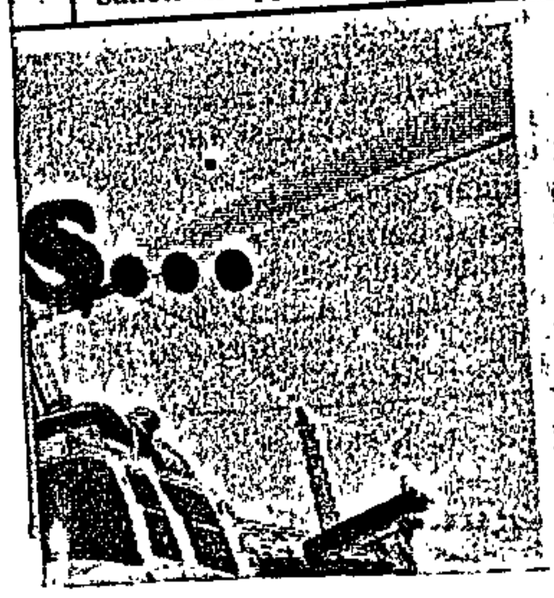
Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Naoki Tanaka, also is in the list. The Japanese have been targets of sharp criticism from African and other Third World members because of their emergence as South Africa's leading trading partner.

In speeches in the world body, Japanese delegates have often expressed opposition to apartheid, sometimes in harsh language, but their protestations have left many unconvinced.

The three-day special session comes towards the end of the regular session of the General Assembly and is a classic example of the UN's propensity for overkill, since apartheid has already been debated at length during the normal proceedings.

Nevertheless, delegates are already talking of the possibility of holding another special session in the New Year to review Pretoria's promised reforms.

If these are not as sweeping as members would wish, pressure for strong economic sanctions appears inevitable.



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Common-purpose criminal intent not proven, says judge

'Trojan Horse' 13 are acquitted

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The 13 security force members charged with murder in the "Trojan Horse" public prosecution were yesterday acquitted in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

Mr Justice D M Williamson said that an armed response to the "vicious and murderous" attack by stone throwers on the unmarked railways truck which contained armed security force members was justified, but he said the incident should be "a warning to those in authority to never again plan such an operation".

Judge Williamson found that a common-purpose criminal intent on the part of the officers who planned the operation and the men who "fired indiscriminately" into a crowd of people, killing three, had not been proven.

The judgment is the culmination of the first private prosecution for murder in South Africa.

The action was brought by the father of Shaun Magmoed (16), who died of his injuries on October 15, 1985 when security force personnel concealed in an unmarked truck and armed with sharp ammunition fired into a crowd in Athlone, after the truck was stoned.

A second prosecution, for the death of Michael Miranda (11), was initially postponed pending the outcome of the first.

Judge Williamson said from the video footage shown in court it had been obvious that the men had fired indiscriminately into a crowd for nearly 15 seconds without identifying themselves or issuing a warning.

They had "overreacted to a manifestly dangerous situation".

It was clear that a number of innocent bystanders formed part of the crowd and it was probable that Shaun Magmoed had not been involved in stone throwing.

The men fired 39 rounds which they must have known to be "obviously dangerous to life".

The accused had said that they felt their lives were in danger as well as the lives of others. There had been evidence that ordinary police methods to control unrest had been ineffective and the "Trojan Horse" operation was planned to effect the arrests of ringleaders involved in stone throwing and burning barricades.

It was reasonable to believe that this was the object of the operation but it had to be asked whether there was a more sinister, illegal purpose.

The whole intent of the operation was "so obviously to present would-be stone throwers with a soft target" and there had been "an immediate and concerted response" by the men on the back of the truck when it was stoned.

The men had to have anticipated that an armed response would be necessary to carry out the operation. The question was whether this was necessarily illegal or whether it had exceeded what was permissible.

The response to the stoning had been "blatantly excessive" — the men had continued to fire after the stoning had stopped and all danger had ceased.

However, it was clear that "a vicious and murderous attack" had been launched at the truck as evidenced by the brick which went right through the windscreen.

"An armed response, within limits, was justified," Judge Williamson said.

Although the men had said they had fired into the crowd, more people would have died if the intention had been to kill, Judge Williamson said.

He had given "careful consideration" to all the facts and taken into account the fact that none of the accused had testified.

Although there were "strong indications of a common purpose" it had not been proven beyond reasonable doubt.

The men charged were: Colonel Pieter Janse van Rensburg, Lt-Col Christian Loedolff, Commandant Salmon Pienaar, Captain Douw Vermeulen, Warrant Officer Andre Swart, Sergeant James Sayer, Sergeant Frank van Niekerk, Sergeant Jacobus Burger, Sergeant Albertus Smit, Constable Andre Smit, Constable Wilhelm Puchert, Constable Alexander Rossel and Constable Pieter du Toit.

MANDELA'S PEACE PLAN

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has submitted a 10-page document to the government, setting out his ideas for peace in South Africa, it was learnt this week.

It is believed he discussed the contents of the document at his first meeting with President FW de Klerk on Wednesday.

An ANC spokesman confirmed this week that the organisation in Lusaka had a copy of the document. Mandela was not acting in isolation from Lusaka or the democratic movement inside South Africa, he said.

Mandela has held regular meetings with government officials since 1986 and with representatives of the democratic movement since earlier this year.

In his document, Mandela encapsulated the discussions with government officials.

He also dealt with the preconditions for negotiations, spelling out the ANC's position on its alliance with the South African Communist Party and the armed struggle — "bogey" issues to the government.

Preconditions for negotiations

A conducive climate — which the ANC believes is a necessary precondition for negotiations — can be created if all political prisoners and detainees are released unconditionally, if the ban on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons is lifted, if all troops are removed from the townships, if the state of emergency is ended, if all repressive legislation is rescinded and if all political trials and executions cease.

The ANC has rejected the concept of "talks about talks" and insists the government creates the climate for negotiation immediately.

The ANC is concerned that Western governments, who are also in favour of a "run-up" to negotiations, will assist the South African government in delaying its inevitable talks with the organisation.

Mandela's views on the unitary nature of the ANC, its armed struggle and alliance with the SACP, conveyed to the government in discussions and contained in the document, have been repeatedly enunciated by his fellow Rivonia trialists re-

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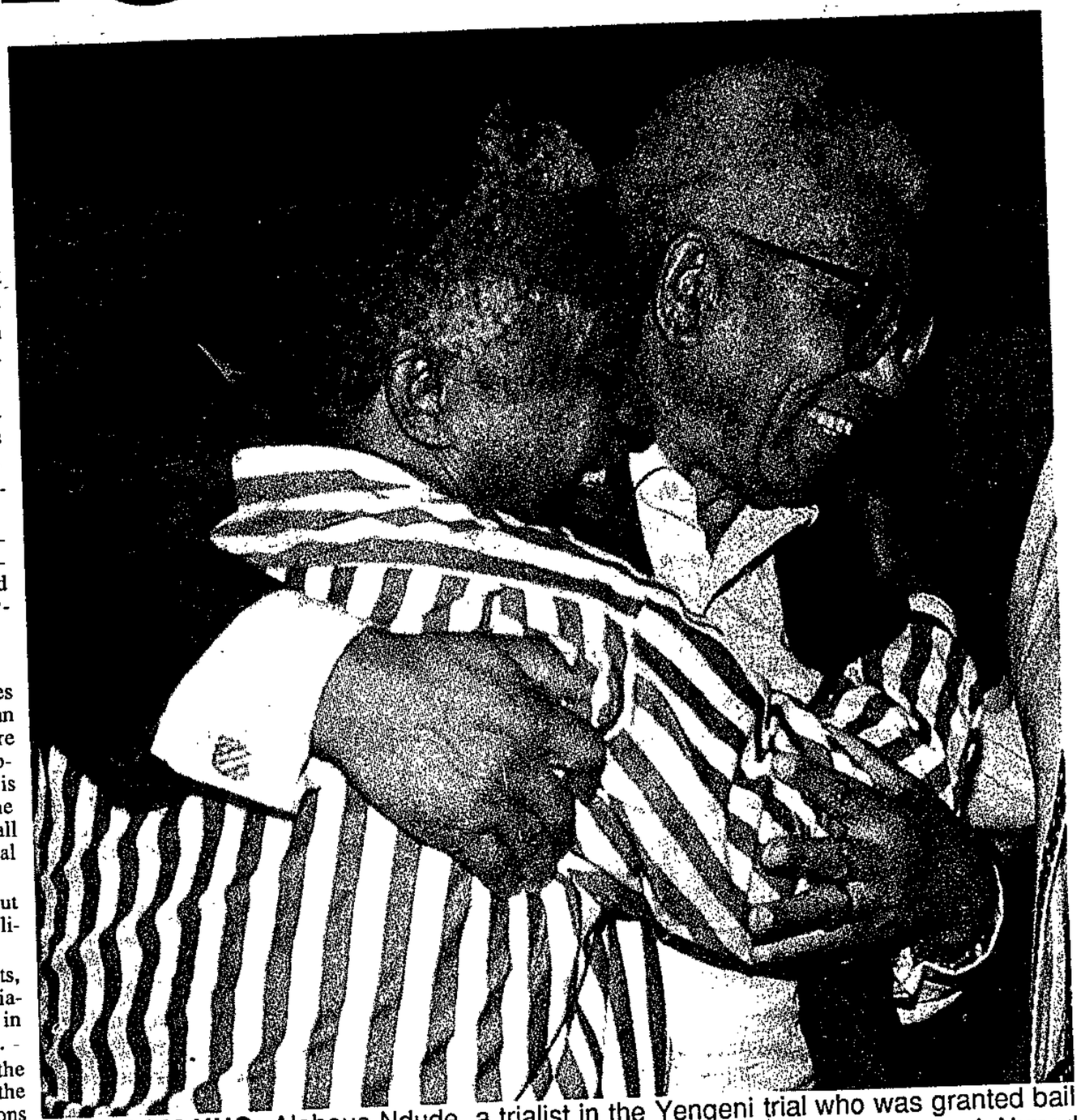

FREEDOM HUG: Alpheus Ndude, a trialist in the Yengeni trial who was granted bail last week after more than two years in jail, meets Walter Sisulu. Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada attended the Yengeni trial on Wednesday morning PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Mandela

● FROM PAGE ONE

cently.

An ANC spokesperson in Lusaka said the organisation had a clear understanding of Mandela's role in the discussions with De Klerk.

"He is not negotiating; he is facilitating the process for the government to sit down with the ANC," the spokesperson said.

In his discussions with the government officials, Mandela has continuously stated that he is a member of the ANC and subject to its discipline.

"There is only one ANC. It has been in existence since 1912 and still exists today," Ahmed Kathrada said on Tuesday.

And Walter Sisulu said recently: "If a climate conducive to negotiations is created, the ANC is prepared to discuss the suspension of hostilities on both sides.

"There can be no question of unilaterally abandoning the armed struggle," he said.

According to Govan Mbeki, "we in the ANC find it difficult to appreciate the concern of those in the 'Christian Western Civilisation' camp, who fought to destroy racism in Europe, about the ANC/SACP alliance which is today locked in a deadly struggle to eliminate racism in South Africa".

In the past few months, Mandela has met a wide range of representatives from different regions in the country, including the homelands. More meetings are scheduled.

Mandela has also met with political prisoners held on Robben Island. These meetings included recent ones with UDF general secretary, Patrick "Terro" Lekhota, and Cape Town activists Ashley Forbes and Cecil Esau.

Reporter sentenced

POLITICAL slogans were shouted by *Grassroots* newspaper reporter Veliswa Mhlauli and her co-accused, Linda Tsotsi, yesterday after they were given five-year suspended sentences by the Cape Town Regional Court for contravening the Internal Security Act.

Mhlauli (36) of Guguletu, previously confessed to harbouring and concealing Tsotsi (32) of the Eastern Cape, a known ANC member and three other alleged ANC members over a period of three years.

Tsotsi admitted on Tuesday she had worked for the ANC from August 1986 until September last year.

Passing sentence the magistrate, Mr J Lemmer, said there was no evidence the two women embarked on crimes of violence.

Mr Lemmer also said they had experienced hardship and political violence during their childhood.-Sapa

Bombers

THE South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (Sarwhu) has denied that the two men who were blown apart at the Johannesburg's station on Monday, belonged to their underground structures.

A spokesman for the union said Sarwhu had no underground network.

Electricity cut

THE KwaThema Town Council warns residents that electricity will be cut today from 8 am till lunch time for repairs.

Secret trials link to hit squads

Political Staff

WEEKLY MAIL reported today that two Official Secrets trials in 1980-81 revealed the existence of "special forces" within the police and the military.

A secret State Security Council document, part of the court record in the two in-camera trials, was believed to have been intercepted at the time on its way to a shredder in the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) psychology unit.

A soldier, Corporal Gerhard van der Werff, who worked in the unit, was tried and convicted for the interception.

In exchange for a comparatively light sentence, Mr Van der Werff gave evidence against his then lover, Mr Ben Greyling, a Wits University activist.

Mr Greyling was in custody at the time after being arrested with three other students for putting up South African Communist Party posters. Police then raided his home and found a copy of the DMI document.

Mr Greyling was tried in 1981 and acquitted on charges under the Official Secrets Act, but he and the other three students served 10 days for furthering the aims of the SACP.

Weekly Mail said it could not reveal details of the document because the trials were held in camera.

The state argued then that the document was so explosive that not even the defence lawyers should see it. After legal argument, however, they agreed to show parts of it to the defence lawyers to secure their agreement on an in-camera ruling.

Weekly Mail said it had made contact with Mr Greyling, who was granted political asylum by the United States and

To page 2

R.T.O.

linked to

Devon, has already instructed solicitors to act if the tapes are broadcast. — Daily Telegraph

From page 1

'Hit squad'

CAPE Times 15/12/89 327

now lives in San Francisco.

As far as he could recollect, the document taken from his home was entitled "Constitution and Functions of the Special Forces".

Mr Greyling told Weekly Mail that he had gathered information dealing with secret funding of the "special forces", who answered not to parliament but to the State Security Council.

He said "special force" staff were recruited from the ranks of the defence force, the police and other branches of the civil service and were tested by state-run psychological units for "aggression quotients".

These were made up of factors such as a history of instability, alcoholism or divorce in the candidate's family. The presence of such factors counted in the candidate's favour, Mr Greyling claimed.

He said the secret funds were used for destabilisation, running secret operations in neighbouring states, disinformation and propaganda to raise morale in the general armed forces.

Journalist jailed for 'silence'

Weekly Mail Reporter

A JOURNALIST was sentenced to 30 days imprisonment this week in Port Elizabeth for refusing to disclose the names of her sources in an article she wrote on illegal abortion.

Keri Harvey was supoenaed to reveal the names of the doctor and sister she quoted in an article published in the *Algoa Sun* on August 31, and was not given the option of a fine.

She refused to reveal the names of her sources on grounds of "the journalistic code of conduct", but added that she did not know the sister's name.

She has been granted R50 bail pending the outcome of an appeal against her sentence and conviction.

● An organiser for *Saamstaan*, the Oudtshoorn-based community newspaper, was acquitted last Friday of publishing a picture last year of jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

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wmail
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Freed five: 'We are not bitter'

THE five Delmas trialists released from Robben Island are not bitter about the four years they spent in prison.

Senior United Democratic Front leaders Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Mr Popo Molofe and Mr Moss Chikane, and SA Council of Churches official Mr Tom Manthata and member of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association Mr Gcina Malindi were released after the Appeal Court yesterday overturned their convictions for treason and ordered their release.

Speaking in the city before leaving for Johannesburg, a jubilant Mr Lekota said: "We understand that in the struggle some sacrifices had to be made. If some came our way we accepted them as unavoidable."

However, he and his four fellow trialists remained committed to the UDF's ideals.

For the future, Mr Lekota said the trialists had "nothing special on the agenda" and they would take their cue from the UDF.

He demanded the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela, saying: "Without the key man this country's questions cannot be solved."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu was among a crowd of about 100 who welcomed the five trialists, sentenced in November 1988 after what is believed to be the longest trial in South African history, lasting 37 months.

A strong press contingent and about 70 toyi-toying supporters were at first left disappointed in Cape Town harbour when the trialists failed to arrive on the expected Robben Island ferry around 4pm.

But within a short time news spread that the trialists had been dropped off elsewhere in the harbour. The crowd found them at the Western Province Council of Churches' Cowley House and the five were given a rousing welcome.

In an emotion-charged scene, the trialists embraced friends and relatives before being whisked off to D F Malan airport to fly to Johannesburg.

The group gathered in the departures hall at the airport and were accompanied by a singing and dancing crowd to the boarding gate.

The five arrived at Jan Smuts airport to an enthusiastic welcome from about 450 chanting and dancing supporters, who included SACC secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, UDF official Mr Yusuf Surtee and Dr Allan Boesak, who had just arrived from a New York flight.

While the group was leaving the departure hall minor scuffles broke out and a lawyer, Ms Caroline Nichols, was detained and film confiscated from international freelance photographer Mr Herbert Mabusa and Sunday Times photgrapher Mr Joe Sepale.

Police with dogs patrolled the driveway area outside Jan Smuts airport and a number of the welcoming committee members were bitten.

In reaction to the release yesterday, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) welcomed the Appellate Division's decision, but slammed the trial as "an abortive prosecution which took years of blundering incompetence to achieve nothing but red faces". — Staff Reporter and Sapa-Reuter-AP

P.T.O



FREE ... The five Delmas treason trialists, from left, former UDF executive member Mr Moses "Moss" Chikane, UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF general-secretary Mr Popo Molefe, SA Council of Churches senior field-worker Mr Tom Manthata and Mr Gcinu Muzi Malindi, a member of the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association. The five were photographed during an impromptu press conference at Cowley House soon after their release.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

w/t ARGUS 16/12/89

'Now Mandela can be freed'

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Community leaders and legal experts have reacted with euphoria to the release of five Delmas treason trialists, saying the last obstacle to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela has now been removed.

Hundreds of chanting, toyi-toying supporters thronged the departure hall of D F Malan Airport yesterday afternoon to welcome the five, who were freed from Robben Island prison after their convictions and sentences were set aside by the Appeal Court.

Longest trial

The five — Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary, Mr Moss Chikane, a former UDF executive member, Mr Tom Manthata, a field worker with the South African Council of Churches and Mr Gcinumzi Malindi, of the Vaal Civic Association — were sentenced to between five and 12 years after South Africa's longest treason trial, which lasted 37 months.

Professor John Dugard of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies said he was delighted but not surprised at the news that their appeal had succeeded.

"It seemed obvious to me that the judge in this case had acted irregularly in dismissing (assessor Dr W A) Joubert. Many lives have been wasted as a result of this and the taxpayer had to bear the burden of a long trial."

Professor Dugard said the Delmas trialsts would be able to play an important role in political events of the future.

"And," he said, "now that they are out, the last obstacle has been removed in the way of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela."

Mr Walter Sisulu, the ANC leader who was also released only recently, said the news was exciting. "I have been so depressed by the whole case of Delmas, but at last justice has been done. The reason they were kept so long was merely to punish them without sentencing them."

Welcome home

He said the Delmas trialists were held in high regard by many people. "These people will have the same welcome we had," he said, referring to his own release and that of seven fellow political prisoners.

The Canadian ambassador, Mr Ronald MacLean, said in a statement that the setting aside of the conviction had been one of the "best Christmas presents imaginable".

The legal team's success in having the convictions overturned was a milestone not only for human rights and the rule of law but for those "seeking a just, non-racial and democratic South Africa", he said.

The director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, said the Appeal Court's decision was an exciting victory for human rights in South Africa.

Trial costs

"This judgment will undoubtedly begin to restore the credibility of the South African judiciary. It destroys the perception which many have that judges are agents of the system.

"On the other hand, we call upon the State to inform the citizens of this country how much of our hard-earned money was spent on this abortive prosecution and many years of blundering incompetence."

A spokesman for the Mass Democratic Movement, Mr Murphy Morobe, said: "The United Democratic Front has always maintained this trial should never have taken place.

"It confirms our view that the State was acting in a vindictive manner and trying to find an excuse to stop the events of 1984."

Dressed in shabby blue jackets, black slacks, khaki shirts and boots, the men were taken from Robben Island yesterday afternoon to the airport, where they were to catch a flight to Johannesburg.

Principles the same

They were met by a huge crowd of chanting supporters, which included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, his wife Leah and members of the UDF and its affiliates in the Western Cape.

The men were hoisted shoulder-high amid shouts of "Viva ANC".

Mr Lekota said at a brief Press conference that though they were happy to be free, they had wasted four-and-a-half years of their lives in prison and were unrepentant.

"The impression should not be created that prison has changed those principles that led to our imprisonment.

"Those we held when we formed the UDF at Mitchell's Plain in 1983 still remain valid. Those principles have been highlighted by events in Namibia which make us more determined."

Archbishop Tutu said the release of the men was a sign "that we are winning the struggle".

"We knew justice would ultimately prevail. We know we are unstoppable and we are very proud of you," he said.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend

Hundreds of supporters — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu — ululated, hugged and kissed five Delmas treason trialists who were released from Robben Island yesterday. With the [illegible] are the five — from left, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr "Terror" Lekota, Mr Tom Manthata, Mr Gcinumzi Malindi and Mr Moss Chikane. In front is UDF Western Cape executive member Mr Trevor Manuel.

Drug No 2 gunned down

BOGOTA. — The Colombian government has scored its biggest victory in the four-month-old drug war by killing Jose Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, called the number two man in the powerful Medellin cocaine cartel.

Rodriguez Gacha, his 17-year-old son, Freddy, and 15 people believed to be bodyguards were killed in a shootout yesterday in a rural area near Tolu, a city on the Caribbean coast 600km north of the capital, Bogota, police said.

Rodriguez Gacha, 42, known as "the Mexican" for his love of popular Mexican culture, was considered by police to be one of the main organisers of the wave of terror attacks in Colombia since the drug war began, including a truck bomb attack last week which killed 63 people and wounded 653.

In Washington chief US drug-fighter William Bennett said he had spoken by telephone to Colombian President Virgilio Barco, who confirmed Rodriguez Gacha's death.

"President Barco told me that this operation is very important psychologically for the Colombian people. The Colombian effort against the cartel has been a difficult one; they have many hideouts and many people helping them.



Rodriguez Gacha

"But President Barco believes that doubts about the Colombian government's resolve and ability to defeat the cartel should now recede. Rodriguez Gacha, President Barco said, was a significant man — a man who had killed many innocent men, women and children," Mr Bennett said.

Rodriguez Gacha and Medellin cartel chief Pablo Escobar were the two most wanted men in Colombia. Rewards equalling about R700 000 were offered for information leading to their capture.

Key role

Rodriguez Gacha faced at least three US indictments and was among the "dozen most wanted" sought for extradition to stand trial in the United States.

General Miguel Angel Maza Marquez, head of the country's security and intelligence agency, told a news conference yesterday that Rodriguez Gacha was the number two leader of the Medellin cartel. "The country has different characteristics now than before," he said.

Maza Marquez, who blamed Rodriguez Gacha Escobar for organising truck bombing on D[illegible] as an attempt on his life, Rodriguez Gacha played a role in hiring foreign [illegible] naries to train private [illegible] for the cartels.

Frustration

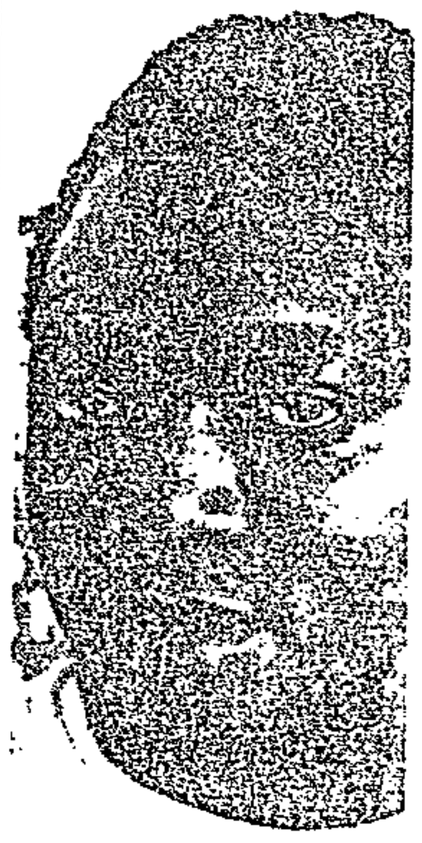
Rodriguez Gacha was first cartel leader to be [illegible] or captured since the [illegible] ment on August 18 laun[illegible] sweeping anti-drugs cam[illegible] and the cocaine barons in [illegible] declared "total war" on the [illegible] lombian establishment.

There was no immediate [illegible] planation about why Rodri[illegible] Gacha was not seized alive.

Police sources had des[illegible] their frustration after [illegible] ing another Medellin drug [illegible] on, Jorge Luis Ochoa on [illegible] vember 21, 1987, only to [illegible] him freed on a legal [illegible] ity a month later. The [illegible] was widely believed to [illegible] been intimidated or bribed. Sapa-AP.

15/12/89
Cape Times, Monday, Dece

Molefe sees changes



FREED TRIALIST ...
Mr Popo Molefe

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Former UDF general-secretary Mr Popo Molefe, released from Robben Island on Friday, said yesterday he perceived very dramatic changes in South Africa in the nearly five years since his arrest.

Mr Molefe was freed, together with Mr "Terror" Lekota, Mr Moss Chikane, Mr Tom Mathatha and Mr Gcinumuzi Malindi after the Appeal Court overturned the convictions and set aside sentences passed by Mr Justice van Dijkhorst in the lengthy Delmas treason trial.

The most striking change, Mr Molefe said, was the growing strength of "our movement", which had survived government attempts to smash it in the mid-1980s and had made tremendous advances.

The second change was the new regime of President F W de Klerk, who was far more sophisticated than his predecessor and more sensitive to local and international pressures.

Mr Molefe said he was looking forward to fully participating in the activities of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

His first priority, though, was to remedy his "disorganised" personal life, particularly re-establishing family relationships, including that with his daughter, born only a month before his arrest.

Mr Molefe said the most important part of the consolidation of the anti-apartheid organisation was the establishment of Cosatu and its alliance with the UDF.

Cosatu had been a very powerful unifying force and had contributed greatly to "enhancing the quality of the struggle and its leadership". The birth of youth and womens' organisations had also been important.

Mr Molefe said the released men had returned to a situation where government strategy had failed. It had now lost the initiative in defining the direction of change and was merely responding to pressures.

He said the actions and plans of the more sophisticated Mr De Klerk may buy time. But, he said, his limited understanding of the MDM/ANC suggested these organisations were capable of adopting a sufficiently flexible response to government's negotiation initiatives.

"Our organisations have set out, in the Harare Declaration, very reasonable preconditions for talks. They are likely to be flexible in this respect, but will not be flexible about our birthright — full participation in governing our country."

Army to stay in townships

PRETORIA — The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said that only once the security situation improves would the government pull the Defence Force out of the townships.

Mr Breytenbach said the activities of radical elements made it essential for the Defence Force to maintain a presence and uphold law and order, though the situation had stabilised in most townships.

Family Christmas for Mandela

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

AS rumours of Nelson Mandela's imminent release reach dramatic proportions, the jailed African National Congress leader's family is planning to lunch with him on Christmas Day.

It will be the first time the Mandelas have shared a Christmas meal since he was jailed in 1962.

"Previously when we visited him at Christmas we were unable to take him anything, so it was just like any other day," Mrs Winnie Mandela said today.

"We've never been able to share meals with him all these years."

Mrs Mandela plans to fly to Cape Town on Christmas Eve and will spend Christmas Day and the Day of Goodwill with her husband in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

The Argus Correspondent reports from Pretoria that British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher has not made a special appeal to President De Klerk to release Mr Mandela within the next five days.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the British Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick, discussed several issues, including Mr Mandela's release, during a meeting yesterday at the Union Buildings.

A spokesman for the British Embassy in Pretoria said the ambassador conveyed the British government's hope that Mr Mandela would be released soon, while Mr Botha explained the South African government's position.

Although the British government believes Mr Mandela should be released "sooner rather than later", yesterday's discussion formed part of a continuing message rather than a special appeal.



MANDELA VISITORS . . . The Cosatu delegation outside Victor Verster Prison (from left) Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Chris Dlamini and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. Picture: ADILE BRADLOW

Cape Times 20/12/89 397

Rumours grow of Mandela's Xmas release

By IAN HOBBS and BARRY STREEK

LONDON. — Speculation that the South African government is about to release Mr Nelson Mandela was rife here last night.

Senior British political sources and South African exiles close to the highest levels of the ANC and PAC said they were now certain that a major Christmas or New Year's announcement would be made.

Both ANC and PAC experts said they had been told "virtually from the horses' mouth" that Mr Mandela had told President F W de Klerk that he wanted his release to go ahead without further delay.

The go-ahead from Mr Mandela comes as pressure for the move mounts on the government from Britain and the Mass Democratic Movement.

According to five trade unionists who met with him yesterday, he is eager to be released.

Following Mrs Margaret Thatcher's approach to President de Klerk on the issue this week, British ambassador Sir Robin Renwick met Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday and urged the government to free Mr Mandela "sooner rather than later".

Government sources were anxious to downplay speculation of any release, and described yesterday's meeting between Mr Botha and Sir Robin as "routine".

Some political observers believe that it would be politically risky to release Mr Mandela when the entire cabinet is on leave and the public response to the ANC leader's new-found status consequently more difficult to manage.

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Seized Weekly Mail returned

AN astonished co-editor of the Weekly Mail, Anton Harber, was told yesterday by the police he could collect an edition of the newspaper which the security police had confiscated more than a year ago.

Harber said the security police telephoned the Weekly Mail from John Vorster Square, and informed him the newspaper could collect all the copies of the edition confiscated in August last year.

The police said they had investigated the matter and had decided not to prosecute.

Harber said the security police had confiscated the early August edition because they claimed it reported on security force action, denigrated the security force and undermined military conscription.

Fourteen months — during which the Weekly Mail took the case to court and lost — have passed since the edition was confiscated.

"It has cost us (the Weekly Mail), the State and the taxpayer a great deal of money in legal costs alone," Harber said.

"Now we are told we can collect the editions as they have decided not to prosecute.

"It amounts to an admission that the confiscation was not justified in the first place."

Asked what the Weekly Mail was going to do with the old newspapers being returned to them, Harber said he presumed they would be allowed to "do with them as we like".

"Maybe we will distribute them as memorabilia," he said.

The newspapers were collected by the Weekly Mail yesterday afternoon. — Sapa.

Panama

From Page 1

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SABC news teams on alert for Mandela

BY THANDEKA GQUBULE

ALL SABC news camera teams have been placed on alert for the possible release of Nelson Mandela before Christmas eve.

However, Mass Democratic Movement sources who have recently visited the ANC leader in Victor Verster Prison in Paarl say he is unlikely to be released in the next few weeks.

They point to visits he is due to have in the coming two weeks. They also say Mandela has a number of January engagements — in prison.

But, with a flurry of diplomatic activity and unusually generous SABC-TV coverage of the issue, the country's longest-serving political prisoner appears to be closer to release than ever.

Meanwhile, it has emerged that references to Mandela at this week's meeting between Sir Robin Renwick, British ambassador to South Africa, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, were not the result of any new specific request from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The rendezvous was just a normal scheduled meeting at which the issue of Mandela's release was raised.

The meeting did however raise hopes that the British — who have considerable clout over Pretoria — were asserting more strongly than ever their will to see Mandela free before this Christmas.

Speculation ran wild. Newspapers this week reported various dates for his release: Christmas Day, New Year's day, the day parliament opens in February.

When Thatcher announced in the British parliament that she would like to see Mandela free before Christmas and that she would make her wishes known to Pretoria, South Africans read it as a serious indication that it was a matter of days before Mandela walked out his prison home at Victor Verster in Paarl.

The British embassy said their Prime Minister had not directed any specific request to the South African government regarding Mandela's release, other than Britain's long-standing insistance that he be freed.

While the South Africans chat to their Western allies, Mandela has been speaking to MDM and trade union leaders.

Mandela met the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and expressed appreciation for the role played by the church in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Others who visited Mandela this week were Sydney Mufamadi, assistant general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Fawu president Chris Dlamini, Cosatu vice-president John Gomomo, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, and National Union of Metalworkers general secretary Moses Mayekiso.

Mufamadi, speaking on behalf of the delegation, said Mandela wished to be released now but would not beg for it.

Although the statement issued by the union leaders on their return from Victor Verster Prison said Mandela "is not a go-between, but is in a position to meet government officials and to convey their views to our movement", the prisoner and the ANC is playing a two-pronged diplomatic game.

Mandela is using his unique position to play what many believe is a sophisticated diplomatic game.

Mandela can facilitate and cover diplomatic ground that is crucial before the parties can begin talking to each other, while the ANC sticks to its guns and insists that the government create a "climate conducive" to negotiations".

Mandela has presented a 10-page document to the government setting out his ideas for peace. ANC sources have confirmed that they have in their possession a copy of the document.

The organisation approves of the document that encapsulates all Mandela's discussions with the government.

The document elaborates for the government ideas and discussions surrounding armed struggle and the ANC's relationship with the South African Communist Party.

Restriction lifted

THE government yesterday lifted the Emergency restriction order on United Democratic Front national treasurer and Johannesburg attorney Azhar Cachalia.

Cachalia has been restricted since February 1988. He was briefly house arrested last year, but that order was lifted within a few weeks.

CP lays charges against Soweto rally speakers

NRGU 2/11/89

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party has laid criminal charges against the organisers and speakers at the "Welcome Home" rally held for the seven released African National Congress leaders at the weekend.

The move comes amid growing dissatisfaction with the government's handling of the rally and rumours of police dissent about the government's blind eye approach to anti-apartheid acitivities.

Conservative Party deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, acting on behalf of the CP, yesterday laid formal criminal charges at the Pretoria Central branch against the National Reception Committee (NRC), the organisers of Sunday's rally, Soccer City and the speakers, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Andres Mlangeni for allegedly contravening the Internal Security Act.

FLAGS DISPLAYED

The ANC and the South African Communist Party, whose flags were openly displayed at the meeting, are banned, while some of the organisations' leaders who were quoted at the meeting are listed in terms of present legislation.

And in another development, the Commissioner of the SA Police, General Hennie de Witt, emphatically denied rumours of widespread dissent in police ranks.

In a statement General de Witt said rumours that members of the SAP were threatening to resign because of the way in which anti-apartheid gatherings were being permitted had not come to his notice or the notice of head office.

He dismissed such rumours as maliciious efforts to place the police in a bad light.

In his statement, Dr Hartzenberg alleged that the organisers and speakers at Sunday's rally, for which government permission had been obtained, had contravened the Internal Security Act.

Dr Hartzenberg said there was no doubt that the police would have been thoroughly informed about the rally and that they would have given the government a detailed account before the rally.

"I therefore have to accept that the Minister of Justice (Mr Kobie Coetsee) knew beforehand that it would be an ANC gathering and that he tacitly allowed it to take place."

South NEWS

Campaign to halt hangings

South 2-8/11/89

JOHANNESBURG. — A huge campaign to save South Africa's 290 death row prisoners from hanging has been launched here.

And in Cape Town, "mock executions" will be held at shopping centres throughout the Peninsula to highlight the week-long campaign.

The Anti-Death Penalty Campaign Awareness Week was launched by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel).

At present about 290 people are on death row at Pretoria Central Prison. Five were due to be hanged on Thursday this week.

National meeting

Nadel's national project director Amichand Soman said the campaign wanted to create an awareness for the abolition of the death penalty.

"It's hoped that by starting off with the campaign we will be able to mobilise organisations with the same aims to demand from the authorities that the death penalty be erased from the statute book."

The awareness week kicks off on Sunday and will end with a national protest meeting at Nasrec, near Soweto, on Sunday November 12.

Nadel's Cape Town branch will set up tables at shopping centres throughout the Peninsula on Saturday where they will encourage people to sign a petition calling for the end to the death penalty.



Mr Phillip Ivey with his mother, Mrs Elspeth Ivey.

Purple rain:

Cape Times 2/11/87

Man in court

Staff Reporter

A BOTANIST, Mr Phillip Ivey, appeared in court yesterday in connection with an incident involving the "purple rain" cannon in the city centre during a protest in September.

During the protest in Burg Street on September 2 a man climbed on to the roof of a police riot-control truck and directed the nozzle, which was spraying purple dye on protesters, away from the crowd.

To page 2

From page 1

Purple rain

Cape Times 2/11/87

Buildings in the street were splattered as police fought with the man for control of the nozzle.

Police instituted a wide search for the man after the incident.

Yesterday a 26-year-old botanist, Mr Phillip James Ivey, of Claremont, appeared in the Magistrate's Court.

He was not asked to plead to allegations of malicious damage to property, defeating the ends of justice and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Mr Ivey was arrested yesterday morning. He appeared in court later in the day and was granted bail of R200.

The hearing was adjourned to November 23.

Mr H Venter was the magistrate. Mrs S J Smith appeared for the state and Mr Michael Evans for Mr Ivey.

mibia as "exceptionally calm".

Surprise 'warning' for New Nation

By PHILIPPA GARSON

NEW NATION newspaper was yesterday warned that it faces a suspension order for the second time.

Despite recent speculation that the government was considering lifting the Emergency media regulations, the Catholic church-owned newspaper received a letter of warning from the new Minister of Home Affairs, Eugene Louw, accusing it of publishing "subversive propaganda". The letter sites 11 editions from August to October this year, in alleged contravention of the regulations.

New Nation has two weeks to make a representation to the minister, who may reject it and issue another warning. If a second representation in the following two weeks is also rejected *New Nation* could be suspended.

Because the publication has been suspended once before — for two months in mid-1988 — it has less time to argue its case.

●To PAGE 2

JOMO FACES

Surprise warning

●From PAGE 1

Five publications, including *Weekly Mail*, were suspended last year.

●Derick Jackson, editor of *Saamstaan*, a community-based Oudtshoorn newspaper, has been charged with contempt of court on charges relating to an article published in June this year. The article commented on the light sentences given to two policemen convicted of killing an activist.

Saamstaan offices were searched by police this month and documents were confiscated.

●Restricted activist and *Saamstaan* journalist Reggie Oliphant was arrested by police at Cape Town's DF Malan airport on Wednesday and driven home.

Police told *Weekly Mail* they are investigating possibly charging Oliphant with contravening his restriction order.

The order confines him to the Oudtshoorn magisterial district and, among other things, prevents him from speaking to journalists.

No link found between Asvat murder and 'football team'

Police investigators found no connection between the murder of a Soweto doctor and the 'Mandela football team'.

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

FEARS of a possible connection between Dr Abu Baker Asvat's death, Winnie Mandela's "football team" and the killing of Stompie Moeketsi Seipei were addressed this week in the Rand Supreme Court.

Zakhele Mbatha and Thulani Nicholas Dlamini are appearing on seven charges including the murder of Asvat and last year's robbery of a store in Natal. They have pleaded not guilty.

Speculation about a connection with the "football team" began soon after Asvat, the Azanian People's Organisation health secretariat member, was gunned down in his Soweto surgery on January 27 this year.

Seipei's body was found in January this year — he went missing in December. Nine men allegedly belonging to the "football team" have been charged with Seipei's murder.

This week evidence was led in court that the Mandela "football team" coach, Jerry Richardson, was at the surgery on the day Asvat was killed.

Investigating officer Major H Heslinga told the court that Richardson's name had appeared on the list of patients on January 27.

He said: "The possibility of a connection between this murder and the Seipei murder and the Mandela Football Club was investigated. No connection was found."

Mbatha denied "having any dealings with a person called Jerry Richardson" and said he had "never heard of the Mandela Football Team".

Dlamini admitted there was "such a person (as Jerry Richardson) in the prison cell" but "he did not know him before that".

A *Weekly Mail* report earlier this year alleged that Richardson had been moved to solitary confinement in the Johannesburg Prison following his assault of a man charged with Asvat's murder.

Jannie van der Merwe, for the state, said in his closing argument yesterday that Mbatha should be convicted on the basis of his direct participation in Asvat's murder.

Dlamini should be convicted on the basis of common purpose since the state had proved he was in the room at the time the shots were fired, Van der Merwe said.

Meanwhile judgement in the trial-within-a-trial, where defence counsel Wayne Hutchinson challenged the admissibility of Mbatha's statement claiming "it was given under duress", was passed this week.

Mr Justice Solomon ruled the statement admissible in evidence saying he did not accept Mbatha's allegations that police assaulted and electrocuted him.

In the statement made to Lieutenant FG Page on February 19 Mbatha said he and a friend, Johannes, went to rob Asvat's surgery. He said he shot Asvat twice and took R135.

Mbatha said that on the day of the killing he had gone to the doctor's rooms, given his particulars and then left to buy cigarettes. When he returned he was told the "doctor had been shot".

Mbatha admitted he had given Sisulu a false name and address.

Mbatha denied that "Johannes" was his co-accused, Dlamini. The name "Johannes" appears in Mbatha's statement to Page and is listed as Dlamini's first name on the indictment.

Dlamini said "the police assaulted me at Brixton police station and said I must say I was with Johannes".

Dlamini's statement has not been led before the court as evidence.

Govt acts against Nation

THE weekly newspaper New Nation yesterday received notice that it was being investigated under the media emergency regulations — the first step in a process which could lead to it being suspended from publication once again.

The move was immediately criticised by the Democratic Party's media spokesman, Mr David Dalling, MP for Sandton.

"It is sad that the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, who is a new boy to the cabinet, would appear to be following in the same steps in the oppression of the press as his predecessor, Mr Stoffel Botha," Mr Dalling said.

Yesterday's warning effectively scotches recent speculation that the government was considering lifting the media regulations.

New Nation, which has given extensive coverage to the recent release of eight political prisoners and openly supports the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), now has 14 days in which to make representations to Mr Louw.

It is understood notices to other publications are under consideration.

Mr Dalling said: "We had all hoped with the coming to power of President F W de Klerk that this malevolent attitude towards the press would abate, and in particular that the emergency regulations would be repealed, that the persecution of the press would stop and South Africans would be allowed a free flow of information.

"This action by Mr Louw is an ominous warning that this may not be the case."

Mr D du Toit Marais was the magistrate.

Nation probe 'a warning'

Political Staff

THE government's warning to the weekly newspaper New Nation was an ominous sign of further curbs on the press, Mr Bob Kernohan, Southern African Society of Journalists president, said yesterday.

The Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) described the threat against New Nation as "a schizophrenic act of a government without legitimacy, morality or honesty".

The government move was also condemned by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which said its one million members would be prepared to demonstrate their support for the paper, and by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel).

The Democratic Party's media spokesman, MP Mr David Dalling, said the action was an ominous warning that the government would not allow a free flow of information.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Eli Louw, informed the New Nation in a letter on Thursday that the government was examining several of its issues.

Court permits miners' march

By Cathy Stagg and Drew Forrest

A march by 10 000 miners will take place through Johannesburg on October 28.

This was a settlement reached in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The National Union of Mineworkers brought an urgent application against Johannesburg City Council because permission for a march tomorrow had been refused.

NUM general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said in papers that although he and the NUM president had been invited to one of the dinners organised for management of the mines, the workers had not been invited to take part in this year's Chamber of Mines centenary.

Most of NUM's members felt the contribution of the mineworkers themselves had not been sufficiently recognised and that many of their aspirations remained unfulfilled after all these years, he said.

The executive decided a march was a peaceful way to make its members' feelings known.

The settlement reached yesterday was made an order of the court.

● The reality behind the Chamber of Mines centenary festivities was the repression of black miners and poverty wages, Mr Ramaphosa said in a statement yesterday.

He criticised the "thousands of rands squandered on newspaper and TV advertisements to glorify the supposed economic wonder" performed by the Chamber.

For miners, he said, the Chamber was synonymous with mass retrenchments, bans on union meetings, assaults by mine security officials and other repressive measures.

Black miners' wages were among the lowest in South Africa. Whites earned on average six times as much as their black counterparts.

"This year the Chamber refused to pay miners a minimum monthly wage of R543, as it claimed it could not afford to," he said.

The Chamber said in a statement that while it did not agree with what the NUM said, it defended its right to say it.

"The Chamber welcomes the fact that it appears the NUM will be allowed to hold a protest march. We are, however, disappointed at the NUM attitude, especially on allegations of racism.

"These allegations have no credibility when tested against the successful record of action by the Chamber over the past decade, especially to eradicate discrimination in employment on the mines, and its continuing efforts.

"As recently as this week, the Industrial Court ruled in the Chamber's favour in an action brought by the Chamber against the Council of Mining Unions because of the council's refusal to admit skilled black, Asian and coloured employees as members of the Mine Employees' Pension Fund."

'Reluctant' Sapa editor's statement on Cosatu release

JOHANNESBURG. — The editor of the South African Press Association (Sapa), Mr Edwin Linington, made a statement "most reluctantly" before a magistrate yesterday in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Mr Linington, who had been subpoenaed to make a statement about the receipt and transmission of a press release from Cosatu in July this year, told the magistrate, Mr J F Zeelie, that he was making the statement "most reluctantly" and as a last resort "after thoroughly exploring and considering all other alternatives".

After hearing the statement under oath, prosecutor Mr A van Wyk told the court Mr Linington had satisfied Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, and no further information was required from him.

Mr Linington told the magistrate he had been visited by two members of the security branch of the SA Police on August 15 this year, and had been shown a copy of a press release issued by Cosatu through Sapa.

The statement contained resolutions by the National Union of Mineworkers, the Transport and General Workers' Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, none of which were unlawful or restricted organisations. Cosatu was partly restricted in terms of the Security Emergency Regulations.

He said the press release had been transmitted to Sapa's subscribers and members in the ordinary way on July 14 this year.

He said Cosatu was a contributor to the Sapa PR wire service which enabled it to provide Sapa with press releases for transmission to the media. The service was available to any person who paid the prescribed fee.

He said the the press release was transmitted to all Sapa's members and subscribers on July 14 this year, the same day it had been received from Cosatu. — Sapa

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Transkei lifts bannings, emergency

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The state of emergency in Transkei and banning orders on 15 organisations were lifted by the military government last night.

This was announced in a statement released by the liaison officer to the Military Council, Mr Gilbert Zwakala.

Included among the list of previously banned organisations now declared lawful in Transkei are Swapo, the UDF and Cosatu.

The ANC and the PAC were not on the list.

In announcing the steps, the military government said it was committed to "promoting dialogue aimed at the creation of a climate of change in Southern Africa".

"The government reviews, on a continual basis, the laws which stand in the way of this ideal."

It said that the state of emergency, declared on June 30 this year, would be "lifted forthwith".

New Nation to appeal to Louw

327 CAPE TIMES 9/11/89

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — New Nation is to make an urgent application to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, to discuss the threatened government closure of the newspaper within the next eight days.

The government has provided New Nation with a wad of articles and a five-page letter of complaint saying New Nation had breached five sub-regulations of the emergency regulations. The bulk of the allegations maintain that New Nation has promoted the public image of the banned African National Congress.

The offending articles include letters from readers making allegations of Swapo atrocities, welcoming the release of two detained activists and complaining about high rents in Daveyton.

One is from an Amnesty International member in West Germany alleging race discimination in the application of the death sentence — an allegation made in the 1970s by legal academic Professor Barend van Niekerk — and calling for a commission of inquiry into the application of the death sentence.

Other issues covered in articles include those revolving around negotiations, the defiance campaign, union protests against the Labour Relations Amendment Act and comments by prominent clergymen regarding forced removals and police action against protesters.

A prominent legal academic said that if regard was paid to what the minister is finding objectionable in New Nation, then every newspaper is at risk. "When the regulations leave everything to the opinion of the minister of home affairs, then even mainstream newspapers are at risk."

Mr Gabu Tugwana, acting editor of New Nation, said he believed the government was taking action against New Nation because it was under pressure from the right — "and unfortunately the press is a very visible and easy target".

He feared that in the intense media coverage being given to the Namibian elections, a potential banning of New Nation might go barely noticed.

The government has come under criticism this year for the high number of prosecutions of journalists, editors and newspapers under security legislation, the emergency regulations and the Criminal Procedures Act. Despite frequent rumours of government plans to partially lift media regulations on the local press, increased actions against the press have so far been manifested.

According to the Human Rights Commission, more than "100 laws now limit what may be reported about key areas of national life such as the conduct of the army and the police". It claimed there is self-censorship among members of the press.

New Nation was suspended for three months last year. The government last banned three newspapers, the World, the Weekend World and Pro Veritate of the Christian Insitute in their massive clampdown of October 1977.

Police probe Argus reports

THE editor of the Argus, Mr Andrew Drysdale, has been informed that police are investigating charges against the newspaper under the media emergency regulations.

A police sergeant called on Mr Drysdale on Tuesday to advise him of investigations into two reports, one on August 23 about events at a beach protest, the other about detainees on hunger strike which was published on September 2.

The editor was told the results of the investigation would be referred to the attorney-general for decision. — Sapa

Media threat a 'mockery'

JOHANNESBURG. — The hounding of editors Mr Edwin Linington of Sapa and Mr Harvey Tyson of the Star under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act for information which is freely available, makes a mockery of President F W de Klerk's "open door" policy, the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) said yesterday.

The spate of prosecutions against editors is a new process of harassment, ACAG said.

"There can be no 'open door' if only some views are permitted to be published," the group said. — Sapa

A hoax with a lot of local colour



ISSUES

Hugh Roberton

THOSE who have examined the finer details of last week's hoax about a Swapo "invasion" from southern Angola could not avoid the troubling suspicion that someone in the South African security establishment almost certainly must have known right from the start that the messages were fakes.

Let me cite some examples, proffered by an experienced and astute UN official, Mr Fred Eckhard, who has had sight of the "intercepted messages".

The central message which caused the furore began with two paragraphs of inconsequential data about everyday events in remote areas like Keetmanshoop, and only in the third paragraph did it mention that a massive Swapo "invasion" had begun in the north.

Surely somewhere in the extensive security establishment someone recognised the implausibility of a dispatch which first reported on trifling matters in far-flung corners of the territory and almost as an afterthought dealt with a massed "invasion", including tanks, which threatened the entire Namibian peace process?

But the plot thickens. The South African security establishment has the capacity to intercept sophisticated coded radio transmissions. Its military and other experts have been monitoring Untag's activities for more than half a year, and Swapo's activities for more than a quarter of a century.

Surely someone in those illustrious ranks must have known the most elementary fact about Untag radio communications in Namibia — namely, that they do not individually cover the whole territory. They cover only their own small pitch.

Thus it would have been impossible for a single dispatch from an Untag station to include reports of events in both the north and the south of the country, as did the key message of the "invasion".

It is also hard to believe that the experts did not know of the long-standing lines of UN military communication, whereby the Untag commander, General Prem Chand, had access to a radio net which links him only to infantry batallions. Yet a message which purported to come from him was addressed to "all stations" — in effect, another impossibility.

Anomalies

Pik Botha does not have the security background needed to identify the anomalies which, as Mr Eckhard points out, pointed to "a very amateurish fraud". Before he ventured onto the national airwaves with a theatrical flourish, he quite naturally would have accepted the assurance of the security establishment that the messages were authentic — assurances he has said he was given.

A question arises: Were the intelligence experts who "authenticated" this "very amateurish fraud" grossly, almost laughably, incompetent? Did they just check the radio frequency and codes (neither, I gather, a secret to members of the Joint Monitoring Commission) and then rush imprudently into the trap?

Or was there an element in the security establishment which was deviously wise to what was going on all the time and perpetuated the deception?

Here one needs to look at another detail which has emerged. While the "messages" were intercepted in South Africa, Untag itself knew nothing about them.

This would raise the obvious possibility that the messages could have had their genesis in South Africa.

The evidence, thus, points strongly to the possibility that there is an element in the South African security establishment (a hunch would lead me to believe that it would embrace a sizeable chunk of the military, police and other security components) which is hell bent on resisting political change.

The Untag hoax cannot be seen in isolation. Not long ago, when the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group was in the country at the invitation of Pik Botha, we saw the whole exercise wrecked by simultaneous SADF raids on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The justification provided by the security establishment was so threadbare as to be ridiculous. Clearly it was a crude political exercise deliberately aimed at ending the whole EPG initiative and embarrassing Pik Botha, the EPG's host and protagonist, while the EPG was here.

Mockery

Lately, we have had a spate of security crackdowns under the emergency regulations, which make a mockery of the "climate of trust" which purportedly President de Klerk is trying to create. It is almost as if someone has given the order to underlings to undo whatever good might have flowed from such gestures as the freeing of ANC prisoners and the permitting of mass marches and meetings.

Even the ANC "welcome back" meeting in Soweto, which was pronounced as "legal" at Cabinet level, has drawn security action aimed against those who organised and publicised the "legal" gathering. What is going on?

The evidence shows that the split in Afrikanerdom and the Broederbond did not stop at a split in the National Party, but went right the way through to the churches, and the bureaucracy. It would be naive to believe that it did not equally cleave the security establishment, which has such a burning commitment to protecting the status quo.

It is understandable that men who have spent 25 years fighting Swapo, and who have seen hundreds of their comrades die in the process, should feel frustrated at the pointlessness of their effort in the light of the Namibia peace process and the probability of a Swapo victory in this week's election.

Indulgent

It is likely, too, that people who have spent most of their professional lives fighting the ANC, and who have been pampered by the indulgent attention of leaders like Vorster and Botha, should not take kindly to the release of men like Walter Sisulu, the imminent release of Nelson Mandela, the holding of an undisguised ANC-Communist Party public meeting in Soweto, and an incipient national debate in the media, all amidst talk at the highest level of negotiating with the ANC.

No doubt there is a bout of pouting going on over lost influence, wasted effort, dashed visions.

Indeed, President de Klerk felt the need recently to give a public assurance that he was not hostile to the security establishment, or aiming to clip its wings, in itself a revealing admission of rumblings within.

But these people are not determining policy and running the country. Or are they?

327 wmail 10-16/11/89

On Menzi's 771st day on Death Row, there was a knock on the cell door ... and he was free

In the week that a campaign has been launched against the death sentence, IVOR POWELL talks to a man who spent two years on death row ... before being declared innocent this week.

LAST Friday, after 770 days awaiting execution on Pretoria Central Prison's death row, Menzi Tafene walked out a free man.

Acquitted along with Tafene was his co-accused Nico Ledube Mnyamana. However, Mnyamana was kept in prison to serve out an unrelated seven-year prison sentence.

In Friday's three-hour appeal hearing, Tafene was officially cleared of a 1986 necklace killing for which he was originally convicted. But it is doubtful that he will ever be the same again.

The overturning of the original decision — on grounds relating to contradictions on the part of state witnesses, and irregularities in their later *quid pro quo* releases — has given rise to intensified calls by abolitionists for the state to call a moratorium on executions.

"How many people have been hanged in this country for crimes they did not commit, merely because they had no access to proper legal representation?" the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in South Africa (SADPSA) asks in a statement.

After more than two years spent in constant illumination — the lights are never switched off on death row — Tafene gets panicky and disoriented in the darkness. He is forced to sleep with the lights on — when he can get to sleep that is; more than two years of constant anxiety have made sleep an elusive commodity, he says.

Eating is no easier. When he was released on Friday, friends and relatives bought a special celebration meal of Kentucky Fried chicken.

And Tafene tucked in: he had long been fantasising about the Colonel's special recipe in prison.

The results were disastrous. After 770 days of prison food, the chicken was too strong and Tafene became violently ill. He has still to find food in the outside world which his prison stomach can handle.

It seems likely that Tafene — though only 24 years old — has developed an ulcer.

While speaking to the *Weekly Mail*, he complained of stomach pains induced by the anxiety of having to relive his time on death row.

But the thing that worries the young, good-looking Tafene the most, now that girls are a possibility again, is what death row has done to his skin. Once smooth-skinned, with a glow of good health in photographs, his face is now scarred and covered with newly erupting pimples.

"I am happy to be out," he says. "But really I am not happy. I think of my fellows who are still inside that place. And I think they made me do so much time in that place, and it was all for nothing."

While on death row, Tafene watched his closest friend being executed. He and Jacobus Konze, who occupied an adjoining cell had become so close they were referred to as the "*tweeling*" (twins).

Then Konze, late last year, was taken away to the "pot" — the special awaiting-execution cells, which although they signify a different prisoner status, are actually part of the regular death row cell complex.

"I could hear him shouting (as "pot" prisoners traditionally do) '*sekunjalo*' (it's over). I could hear the singing and the talking all day and all night in the pot, the screaming."

Tafene vividly remembers Konze shouting out one morning that if God had saved biblical figures Shadrack, Meshack and Abednego from the fire, why would He not save him.

Then Konze was returned to his cell opposite Tafene. He had been granted a stay of execution pending clemency petititons.

But, says Tafene, his friend was not the same after his first spell of looking death in the face. He was withdrawn and uncommunicative, already dead, as Tafene puts it, in his heart.

Five months later Konze was taken to the pot for a second time, and this time he did not emerge. All that came out was a letter telling his friend to not lose heart.

According to Tafene, death row prisoners develop a kind of extra-sensory perception regarding executions. Konze, for example, woke screaming from a nightmare the day before his second notice of execution was served.

When such notices are served, Tafene says, "there is no peace from that moment on".

He describes the depression which falls over death row as the week-long wait begins for the executions to come.

"You think all the time about your own death while you listen to the screaming and the singing which comes out from the pot. There is no sleep in those days."

It is usually at these times that prisoners try to commit suicide. Suicide attempts, he claims, contrary to received wisdom, are relatively common on death row.

One prisoner successfully killed himself some years ago by gouging the veins in his arm with shoe nails. More common, though, is the attempted suicide by self immolation — starting a fire with the mattress in the cell and hoping you will burn to death before the warders reach you. So far, though many have tried, no prisoner has succeeded in this peculiarly grisly form of suicide.



Freed from death row this week, Menzi Tafene 'still thinks of those inside'

Disclosure threats on editors fade

JOHANNESBURG. — The threat of Section 205 subpoenas, to force the editors of The Star and The Sowetan to disclose information about advertisers in their newspapers, has been withdrawn.

During the court appearance of SA Press Association editor Mr Edwin Linington, who was forced to give evidence in camera this week about a normal press statement made to Sapa, newspaper lawyers were told informally that the authorities would not be taking any further their demand for information from Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste and Star editor-in-chief Mr Harvey Tyson.

The two had been asked to disclose the names of organisations or people who had placed and paid for advertisements about the "welcome" rally for Mr Walter Sisulu and six other released ANC prisoners.

The editors declined to make statements on the grounds that the rally had been declared legal — that no crime had been committed — and that they were not prepared to inform on legitimate advertisers or news sources.

Section 205 allows the authorities to subpoena any potential witness to appear at a secret court session to answer questions about an alleged crime. Failure to comply can lead to a jail sentence of up to five years. — Sapa



EMPTY SPACE ... ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu stands behind an empty chair bearing the name of his son Zwelakhe, editor of New Nation, unable to attend the conference because of a government gagging order.

ANC 5 pledge to back New Nation

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's campaign against the press over recent weeks "amounted to an all-out war", five of seven recently released African National Congress leaders said here yesterday.

In a pledge of support to the New Nation newspaper — which has been threatened with closure within a week for promoting the aims of the ANC — the five leaders said in a joint statement that freedom of expression was essential to create a climate conducive to meaningful negotiations.

The statement was read by Mr Andrew Mlangeni, while Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Wilton Mkwayi and Mr Elias Motsoaledi listened, at a press conference called by New Nation.

"If South Africa is going to be launched into an orbit that will ensure peace and prosperity for all its people, debate and discussion among South Africans must not only be tolerated but must be encouraged," it said.

Freedom of expression was so essential that it could not be put at the mercy of an individual government minister who, without accounting to anyone, could curtail it as he pleased.

New Nation's acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana said the government's action sharply contradicted recent political developments such as the meeting between former president Mr P W Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, protest marches, opening of facilities by some municipalities to all races, the realease of the ANC leaders and the Soweto rally to welcome them.

A chair bearing the name of New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu was left empty to emphasise that he was a restricted person and not allowed to work on the newspaper, let alone address a press conference. — Sapa

Regime's 'security blanket'?

Political Correspondent

PRESS harassment has raised serious doubts about Mr F W de Klerk's professed commitment to reform, Democratic Party media spokesperson Ms Dene Smuts said on Wednesday.

She said the public needed to be reassured that the government was "not intent on using the emergency regulations as a kind of security blanket".

"What purposes could conceivably be served by subjecting editors to Section 205 subpoenas on the welcome home rally advertisements when the rally itself took place with the government's blessing?

"What purpose is served now by an investigation into possible charges against The Argus ... and the Cape Times for its pictures of the 'purpling' of the city centre when the right to peaceful protest has since been affirmed by the government?"

Media curbs to be lifted 'soon'

CAR TIMES 14/11/89 327

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The lifting of media restrictions and an announcement on the amending of the Separate Amenities Act are imminent.

According to senior cabinet sources an announcement on both can be expected in the next month.

However, government officials said it was premature to speculate that President F W de Klerk would disclose plans to amend the act when he addresses the President's Council on Thursday.

Steps by the government to get negotiations going are being coordinated by a special cabinet committee headed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The committee met three times last week and a further meeting is scheduled for Saturday.

Other members of the committee are the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis; the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee; the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe; the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel; the Minister of State Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, and the deputy Constitutional Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer.

The committee is said to have asked Mr Kriel to investigate the Separate Amenities Act and to come up with something new.

He is reported to be investigating not just the scrapping of sections of the act, but the possibility of "privatising" certain amenities.

A spokesman for Mr Kriel said the Separate Amenities Act was receiving urgent attention and that an announcement will be made as soon as possible.

A cabinet source said an announcement on the act could be expected before ministers break for the Christmas holidays in mid-December.

The same source said the government was also reviewing the media regulations and it was highly likely they will be lifted before the break.

Senior ministers believe the restrictions have outlived their "usefulness". While some are said to favour retaining the ban on television coverage, others want the restrictions lifted in their entirety.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said two weeks ago that the media restrictions are being investigated at official level.

He was not available for comment yesterday.

Change to Separate Amenities Act due





TOP RIGHT: Lt Gregory Rockman with members of his union at Mitchells Plain yesterday morning.
ABOVE: Lt Rockman is hoisted aloft after his court appearance in Mitchells Plain yesterday.
Picture: ADIL BRADLOW

Cape Times 14/11/89

Rockman in court

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

REBEL policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman was released on warning after a brief appearance in the Mitchells Plain Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with attending an illegal gathering and defeating the ends of justice.

Lt Rockman, who was not asked to plead, faces charges under the Internal Security Act.

Immediately after his appearance, a policeman, three civilians and 11 prison warders appeared in connection with attending an illegal gathering.

Lt Rockman and the 15, most of whom are prison warders and members of the newly-formed Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru), were arrested yesterday morning after taking part in a demonstration on Freedom Square.

Lt Rockman led a march to the square in protest against his transfer from the Mitche police station to the pol termaster in Pinelands. arrested after addressing from a platform at the s

About 120 people cram court yesterday and w more than an hour be magistrate, Mr S Du T herbe, adjourned both m November 23.

People in the public clapped and shouted "A as the other men left soon after.

Two of these men were bail of R200 each and released on warning.

Miss J M Swart prosecuted. Mr M Parker Associates and Mr T Papier appeared for th

PRETORIA. — Lieutenant Gregory Rockman has been suspended following his arrest in Cape Town yesterday morning for allegedly staging an illegal protest, the Commissioner of the SA Police, General H G "Hennie" de Witt, announced here.

Grim UN report on SA 'destabilisation'

ARGUS 15/11/88 327

By DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington

THE magnitude of South Africa's destabilisation of its neighbours and their resulting needs calls for global support on a much larger scale, the United Nations Under Secretary General, Mr Adebayo Adedeji, says in the preface to a report on the economic cost of frontline resistance to apartheid.

APARTHEID

The report prepared by a UN inter-agency task force was released yesterday.

The report makes grim reading.

It blames South Africa's total strategy policy for the disaster which has beset the region, causing 1,5-million people to die since 1980 and costing the frontline states R150-billion, mainly in lost economic growth, over the same period.

The study found Mozambique's transport network, primarily because of its access to the sea, was key to the region's survival and to the reduction of regional economic dependence on South Africa.

This transport network — and the nation and people surrounding it — had been the target for a level of destruction that had reduced Mozambique's options for independent survival and vastly increased the region's defence costs, depleting resources available for development and frightening off outside investment, the UN task force said.

The task force estimates the total regional cost of South African destabilisation and aggression is now running at about R25-billion a year, or the order of 40 percent of achieved regional gross domestic product. Over the 1980-1988 period it has totalled broadly at R150-billion, which is twice present annual GDP and about three times the gross external resource inflows (grants, soft loans, export credits and commercial loans) of the last nine years.

The cost was unevenly distributed by country, with Angola bearing the largest absolute burden of R11,5-billion in 1988 and R69-billion to R75-billion between 1980 and 1988.

Mozambique is next with R6,3-billion to R7,6-billion in 1988 and R38,2-billion for the period.

No state escaped significant loss, according to the task force, with even Swaziland suffering a R76,5-million loss in 1988, and a R510-million loss during the 1980-1988 period. Over the period, six states had cumulative losses of R2,55-billion each.

The main elements in the losses have been excess defence costs, loss of merchandise exports, excess transport costs on external trade and loss of traffic revenue. Loss of rural production and remittances had lesser macroeconomic impact, although they were the most burdensome economic factors for poor households, especially in Mozambique and Angola.

The task forces said the losses suggest that in the absence of war the region's annual GDP growth trend would have been of the order of five percent as opposed to three percent actually achieved. In the case of Angola and Zimbabwe, healthy per capita growth of up to eight per cent a year could have been achieved, and in the cases of Mozambique, Tanzania, probably Malawi and perhaps Zambia, GDP growth could have been held at levels equal to or in excess of population growth.

The task force says that without an end to apartheid, there can be no lasting peace in the region.

Analysing the root cause of the disaster, South Africa's total strategy policy, the group said it was not South Africa's objective simply to militarily destabilise those states which had the geographical misfortune to share its borders, but rather to use destructive methods or disincentives as well as incentives to persuade them that their interests lie with Pretoria, rather than in opposition to apartheid.

It said that the incidents of this type of pressure were too numerous to record, but it said the following examples provided an insight:

☐ Destruction of regional transportation routes through Mozambique and Angola has forced five other SADCC states which are landlocked to use routes through South Africa, depriving the transit states of revenue and depositing it instead in Pretoria's coffers.

☐ This control of regional trade, particularly exports and imports of petroleum, has been used to exert pressure on neighbours which favour sanctions or are boisterous in their condemnation of apartheid, and it assists in the curcumvention of international sanctions, as does joint marketing of some commodities such as citrus, coal and diamonds.

☐ Joint economic projects, existing or planned, have been used to exert pressure for security agreements, successfully in some cases.

☐ Overt and covert warfare has been waged to bludgeon some neighbouring countries into "peaceful" coexistence with apartheid and to exert pressure for the expulsion of South African exiles who favour the removal of apartheid and creation of democracy in South Africa.

☐ Political pressure has been exerted through various means, so far unsuccessful, for recognition of the homelands, and thus separate development.

☐ Diplomatic forays into Europe or the region by the South African leader have been followed or preceded by the signing of agreements with some neighbouring countries in 1984 — which, the reports asserts, Pretoria violated — and in 1988.

Lugg not an SAP member, says Mellet

CHARLENE SMITH

HUGH Lugg, the ANC guerrilla who betrayed Damian de Lange, Susan Westcott and Ian Robertson, is not an SAP member and it was highly unlikely that he would be accepted as one, Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellett said yesterday.

At the weekend Lugg revealed his role as the man who betrayed the Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres who last week received sentences ranging from 18 to 25 years in jail.

Mellett said Lugg had helped police with highly valuable information, but they had no further contact with him and were not giving him protection. In return for his secret evidence, the Attorney General waived potential charges against him.

People close to the convicted three have scoffed at Lugg's allegations that the trio had planned to bomb the Durban Tattoo.

Lugg did not respond to requests this week for further interviews.

He has said he intends taking up a career as an artist. He has hired a private security firm to protect him.

Annegarn joins ANC trio in slamming ex-colleague

BDay 15/11/89 (327)

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Paul Annegarn, the ANC activist who escaped from SA before the Broederstroom guerrilla group was arrested, has joined the trio in condemning Hugh Lugg as a traitor and a liar.

Annegarn, who has married a doctor and now lives in London, is concerned that he could be a target of white extremists and avoids all publicity.

A spokesman for Annegarn, who remains faithful to the ANC, said on his behalf: "All he wants to say is that he endorses the statement that has been made in SA by the families of his friends who have been given harsh sentences, largely because of Hugh Lugg's fabrications for the state.

"Paul agrees with the families that Lugg has lied to try and justify the harsh sentences."

The spokesman said Lugg's claim that Annegarn had been threatened with execution and sent to an ANC punishment camp in Angola because he refused to attack soft targets was a "fabrication".

The ANC has refused to make any formal comment on the Broederstroom sentences or Lugg's claims that the group had been ordered to attack soft targets, including the Durban Tattoo.

Sources close to the ANC said they suspected Lugg was a double agent from the outset. If so, he succeeded brilliantly in beating all their security checks.

Emergency: ministers seek lifting

15/11/89

MIKE ROBERTSON

SENIOR government ministers have accepted the state of emergency is an obstacle to getting negotiations started and are pressing for it to be lifted.

While they are reluctant to say so in public, ministers are prepared to concede in private that the ending of the emergency and the release of remaining long-term political prisoners — in particular Nelson Mandela — are essential if government's negotiation effort is to have any chance of success.

Mandela's release is expected either at the end of January or on February 2 when President F W de Klerk opens Parliament.

The lifting of the emergency could come at the same time.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday continued his tour of self-governing territories to gauge opinion on government's plans to hold elections aimed at identifying blacks to serve on its proposed negotiating statutory body for a new constitution.

Viljoen has been suggesting that an election be held to identify leaders of urban blacks while the chief ministers of the six self-governing territories represent people living there.

The proposal ran into trouble on Friday when QwaQwa Chief Minister T K Mopeli called for a single, nationwide election to choose representatives.

Yesterday, however, the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele M J Mabena and his Cabinet accepted that they represent the people of the territory on the negotiating body.

Viljoen said at a Press conference after the meeting that the KwaNdebele Cabinet had chosen not to express an opinion as to how leaders of urban blacks should be identified.

Viljoen said that, given the opposition from some quarters, it might be necessary to include self-governing territories whose leaders favoured a nationwide elections, in any future poll to identify leaders.

He also said that he hoped to arrange talks "at the earliest opportunity" with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This follows an Inkatha central committee decision stating that the time for negotiating a new constitution had arrived.

Partial ban on ANC and PAC mooted

CHARLENE SMITH

GOVERNMENT may opt for unbanning the political wings of the ANC and PAC, while keeping their respective military wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo, and the SA Communist Party banned, RAU political scientist Prof Deon Geldenhuys believes.

Political observers said government increasingly appeared unable to cope with the dichotomous situation it has placed itself in.

They said government was relying on its "old strategy of reform and repression", allowing scepticism towards government reform and steps to meaningful negotiations.

Denied

Unbanning the political wings, Geldenhuys said, might "place some ANC members in a quandary about what to do, should they come back from exile and negotiate — do they take half a loaf instead of the full loaf.

"But it would also create diplomatic problems for the two organisations (ANC and PAC) because Western diplomats may be sympathetic to the government refusing to speak to the men with guns and the communists."

Deputy Constitutional Development and National Education Minister Roelf Meyer denied there were contradictions in government policy.

He said government was earnestly pursuing wide-ranging pre-negotiation talks with people across the SA political spectrum.

"It is not true to say that the government is walking a dual road."

Institute of International Affairs researcher Tony van Niekerk said he thought government incorrectly believed it could create an internal ANC wing with Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, with them sitting at the negotiating table without the external wing.

Sisulu, however, has said the organisation had made it clear there would be "no internal and external ANC, there is only one ANC".

Although government has had meetings with Mandela, released leading ANC and PAC leaders and allowed rallies to be addressed by ANC leaders, observers note a crackdown on the Press, the refusal of access for human rights lawyers to condemned prisoners they did not previously represent, and — although now at a low level — continuing detentions.

In the same week that Cape activist Cheryl Carolus was detained, restrictions on former ANC political prisoner Govan Mbeki were lifted. A mass democratic movement (MDM) executive member Cassim Saloojee said such contradictions undermined government's commitment to change.

"It makes people doubt that they are serious about general change and whether they are serious about negotiation.

"This is why we cannot accept at face value what the government says."

Geldenhuys said: "The government evidently does not have a clear programme as to how it is proceeding. There is a heck of a lot of confusion.

"It is falling back on the tried and tested NP track, favoured by P W Botha, of reform and repression.

Enemy

"There is not only a crisis of credibility on whether the government can deliver on the expectations of their own making, and of others, but they also have to deal with the profound differences in the police and security establishment who have existed on the notion of an internal and external threat."

SA embassy recruiting spies — claim

TORONTO. — South African embassy officials are recruiting Canadians to infiltrate anti-apartheid organisations, a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation news programme reported yesterday.

The Toronto Sun, reporting the CBC programme, said Canadian Mr Geoff Shaw of Winnipeg claimed he and a friend were initially recruited by the Friends of South Africa Association to help with a public relations campaign.

"It turned into an intelligence gathering operation. Other people would call it a spy operation, that is essentially what it was," Mr Shaw told the CBC.

Mr Ihor Wichacz, also quoted in the Toronto Sun report, said: "This was supposed to be a PR campaign but, unfortunately, it didn't work out that way."

Behind the network

Mr Shaw said he and Mr Wichacz went to the Canadian Intelligence Service for help when they were asked to infiltrate anti-apartheid organisations.

According to the article, a former pay consultant for the SA embassy in Ottawa, Mr Don Carter, was behind the network.

His task was to make new friends, influence Canadian opinion and get people to write letters in support of the South African position.

"I asked friends of mine to help us out with this particular thing and they were sympathetic to the cause," he told the CBC.

"The embassy put me on a retainer and I did what I thought was right," said Mr Carter, who is no longer on the embassy payroll.

Canada has numerous anti-apartheid organisations based mainly in Toronto and Ottawa. — Sapa

Mandela: Release within eight months

Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela, 71, expects to be released before July next year and is in superb physical and mental health, a top Johannesburg businessman who visited him this week said yesterday.

Speaking after spending four hours with his former lawyer and relative-by-marriage on Wednesday, Mr Richard Maponya said Mr Mandela told him that economic empowerment of black people was a top priority.

Mr Maponya's wife, Marina, a distant relative of the jailed ANC leader, accompanied him on the visit to the Victor Verster private home that serves as a luxurious prison cell.

Mr Maponya said he had received an excited welcome from the friend and laywer he had not seen for 27 years.

Mr Mandela had told him that he felt prospects for his release were very strong, adding that he thought this would be before July next year.

"He said he had insisted that his eight fellow political prisoners be released first because of age considerations," Mr Maponya said. He was referring to last month's release of Mr Mandela's fellow Rivonia trialists, trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha and the PAC's Mr Japhta Masemola.

Mr Maponya said there was no evidence of Mr Mandela being a prisoner during his visit, except for an escort to the house and a very brief visit by the Victor Verster prison commander.

"I almost felt like requesting the authorities to let me drive back with him," Mr Maponya said.

He added that Mr Mandela was regularly visited by a doctor who had prescribed a fitness and diet regimen.

● Mr Maponya is a director of a Transvaal supermarket chain and of car and liquor companies.

Missile spy ring: US arrest SA man

CPE Times 17/11/89

(327)

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — A South African businessman has been arrested and warrants have been issued for two others on charges that they attempted to procure missile guidance gyroscopes for Armscor from Northrop Corporation, a leading US defence contractor.

The arrested man is Mr Seymone Behrmann, described in court papers as a South African living in Canada. Taken into custody with him were two Americans, Mr Frank Randazzo and Ms Maryanne Callaghan.

Wanted are Mr George Talbot, who is said to run a trading company in Johannesburg, and Mr Guy Ferezou, reportedly of Maraisberg.

According to an affidavit sworn by a US customs agent and unsealed this week, Mr Behrmann and Ms Callaghan repeatedly told undercover agents that the gyroscopes were for Armscor.

Mr Behrmann is alleged to have said he was receiving instructions from "a very high level in the South African government".

Poison, bombs, bullets and kidnapping . . .

Investigations into the activities in South Africa of the alleged SAP hit squad may help to throw light on the mysterious death and attempted assassination of numbers of anti-apartheid activists in neighbouring countries.

JOAO SANTA RITA of the Argus Africa News Service reports that there have been a number of attacks in these countries for which no government or organisations has admitted responsibility.

POISON, bombs, bullets and kidnapping are some of the methods used in what appears to have been a secret war conducted against anti-apartheid activists in neighbouring countries over a period of years.

The attackers have been ruthless and in some cases have hit the wrong targets and killed the wrong people, as was the case in 1987 when a well-known Mozambican businessman was shot dead in his flat, which was near to an ANC house in Maputo.

The activities of the death squads in neighbouring countries have ranged from Angola — where parcel bombs have been the favourite method — to Swaziland and Maputo, where black and white groups have been seen kidnapping and shooting people.

Some of the attacks which have never been explained are:

MOZAMBIQUE:

● May 23 1980 — A vehicle packed with explosives found outside the Polana Hotel. The car, a Peugeot, had crossed from the border post of Ressano Garcia.

● August 17 1982 — South African activist Ruth First killed by a letter bomb at her office at Maputo University.

● December 7 1983 — Two South African refugees seriously injured when an explosion damaged a house in the Xipamanine suburb of Maputo.

● April 21 1986 — A car bomb badly damages twe blocks of flats, injuring 49 people. Mozambican police said they were convinced the bomb was intended for the ANC offices but was abandoned when the driver could not find the target.

● May 29 1987 — Unidentified attackers carried out a raid in the Polana area of Maputo, killing Antonio Pateguana, director of the Mozambican entertainment company, his wife, Suzana de Souza and a night watchman Joao Chavane.

It is believed the attackers wanted to strike at a nearby house used by South Africans but hit the wrong target.

A house used by the ANC to store clothes for refugees and the home of a Tanzanian businessman were also raided.

● April 5 1987 — South African journalist and ANC member Gibson Ncube died in hospital in Maputo after having been poisoned a week earlier.

● April 7 1988 — A car bomb maimed South African lawyer and ANC member Albie Sachs outside his Maputo flat, across the road from the South African trade mission.

● December 25 1988 — ANC offices in Maputo burgled. Several items and documents stolen.

SWAZILAND:

● In 1984 a police station at Bhunya was attacked and four ANC members being held there were freed.

The ANC denied that it had taken part in the raid and said the men had been kidnapped by South African agents posing as ANC members.

● June 1 1986 — The ANC said in Lusaka that one of its members, Thomas Shongwe, was kidnapped in Swaziland.

● June 2 1986 — Two men and a woman, said by Swazi police to be ANC members, found shot dead outside Mbabane in "a professional killing" in which armour-piercing ammunition was used. The three were identified as Pansu Smith, Sipho Dlamini and Busi Majola.

● August 3 1986 — Two people injured when unidentified raiders stole files about refugees from the offices of Ephesus House in Manzini.

The house of an administrator of a Canadian aid organisation which specialises in helping refugees was also burgled.



● August 1986 — A group of men raided a rural police station where an ANC activitist was being held by Swazi police and freed him. The ANC denied involvement and the ANC member has not been heard from since.

● October 6 1986 — Another raid on Ephesus House in Manzini. Security guards said they saw white and black men in two cars carrying files from the building.

The raiders fired at pursuing guards as they drove out of Manzini.

● December 7 1986 — Five people kidnapped in a bungled raid. A 15-year-old boy was shot dead, one of those abducted died later.

Two Swiss nationals and two Swazis released later and South Africa was forced to accept responsibility. Attackers identified as blacks and whites.

● December 1986 — Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim kidnapped from a house near Mbabane. He was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment by a Pretoria Court in January 1989 for treason.

● May 1987 — The ANC said from Lusaka that a Mrs Shella Nyanda was kidnapped from her home near Mbabane.

● May 10 1987 — Three people found shot dead in a car in a suburb of Mbabane.

Swazi police named them as Tutu Nkwanyane, a South African law student at the University of Swaziland, Mildred Msomi, a Swazi student and Theophilus Dlodlo also knwon as Viva, an ANC member.

● July 11 1987 — Three shot dead as they drove away from Swaziland's airport in a taxi. Two of the victims had arrived from Maputo and were met by a woman.

A car with Transvaal number plates pulled alongside the taxi and the driver was ordered to stop. The three taxi passengers were then shot dead but the driver was unhurt.

One of the victims was later identified as commander of the Transvaal section of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

● February 12 1989 — Two men and a woman found shot dead in their car in a remote forestry area in northwestern Swaziland.

The car was packed with automatic rifles, grenades and explosives, Swazi police said. The three were said to have South African passports. Their names were never disclosed by the police.

ZIMBABWE:

In Zimbabwe the mysterious attacks started immediately after independence in 1981. Some were aimed at Zimbabwean military installations, like the Thornhill air base, others at anti-apartheid activists.

● August 1981 — The ANC's representative in Harare, Joe Gqabi, shot dead in the driveway of his home in Harare.

● May 1987 — A booby-trapped TV set exploded in a Harare flat, killing the wife of an ANC activist. The TV had apparently been given to an ANC man in Maputo who did not use it and passed it on to Harare.

A South African man, Mr Lesley Letsie, is still being held in Zimbabwe in connection with the incident. According to the Zimbabwean authorities he has claimed to work for South African Military Intelligence.

● October 1987 — Anti-apartheid activist Jeremy Brickhill and his wife were injured when a bomb exploded in a car parked close to their own as they walked towards it at a shopping centre.

BOTSWANA:

In Botswana there have also been a number of unsolved attacks, some of them of a military nature:

● June 15 1986 — A house in Gaborone attacked and a 26 year old woman from Lobatse, Mrs Matsela Polokelo, a 12 year old boy and a man, Mr Paul Rantao, were injured. Attackers said to be wearing balaclavas.

● January 2 1987 — A house near the border attacked and a 72-year-old man killed. Attackers said to have entered the country from Bophuthatswana.

● April 9 1987 — Three people killed and two injured in an explosion in a house in Gaborone.

● May 22 1987 — A British citizen living in South Africa, Steve Brunett, arrested after trying to kill anti-apartheid activist Ronnie Watson. Brunett sentenced to five years in jail.

● December 14 1988 — Attack against the village of



Ditlaharapeng during which several houses were hit. One woman killed.

● December 28 1988 — A 14-year-old boy killed when a bomb exploded next to a house in Gaborone.

ANGOLA:

In Angola South African anti-apartheid activist Jeanette Schoon and her daughter were killed in 1984 by a letter bomb apparently addressed to her husband, Marius Schoon.

In Lesotho nine people were killed on December 20 1985 in a raid by unidentified men. Several of those killed were reported to be ANC members.

More recently a man who had been arrested by the Lesotho police after being injured was shot dead in his hospital bed.

He was reported to have been an ANC member.

Natal paper to face 4 charges

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Natal's fledgling newspaper the New African was informed by the police yesterday that it faces four charges in relation to articles published between June and August this year.

The newspaper is charged with allegedly contravening the Prison's Act, the Internal Security Act and the emergency regulations.

Justifiable killings 'merely make a mockery of the law'

When one man alone is 'permitted' to kill 34 people in 'self-defence' then the law must be questioned. CASSANDRA MOODLEY reports on a growing call for an inquiry

THE 34 burglary suspects shot dead by East London security guard Louis van Schoor over the past few years shows that the value of human life under South African law can amount to just a few rands, say lawyers.

"According to our law one could justifiably shoot at a child who was stealing an apple," said human rights lawyer Nicholas Haysom, who has researched the right of policemen and private citizens to shoot "fleeing felons".

Van Schoor's record of 34 killings — more than four times the toll of mass murderer Barend Hendrik Strydom — has sparked a public outcry.

Last week Cape Law Society president Tony Hardy called for an urgent review of the Criminal Procedures Act, which allows a person carrying out an arrest to shoot dead a fleeing suspect. The crimes could range from pilfering to robbery to murder.

Inquests were conducted into the deaths of 26 of Van Schoor's victims and in each case magistrates found that the security guard had acted within the law.

A lawyer involved in investigating the shootings said Van Schoor had claimed he was acting in self-defence in 18 of the 26 cases.

But Van Schoor now faces three charges of attempted murder, all involving people allegedly shot by him.

Eastern Cape attorney-general Dr J D Oliveira said this week that the records of the 26 inquests would be examined, but police dockets relating to the allegations of attempted murder have not yet been passed on to his office.

Hardy welcomed Oliviera's announcement of an investigation and described it as "encouraging".

But Haysom said the Van Schoor case was not the first instance in which a private citizen embarked on a series of "justifiable killings".

"The principle objection to these shootings is that they make a mockery of the legal system," he said.

He said the Criminal Procedures Act allowed a suspect to be killed withoult any test of his innocence or guilt, even in cases in which he would only have received a suspended sentence if arrested, charged, tried and convicted.

An well-known example was the Johannesburg café owner who shot dead eight people whom he alleged were attempting to break into his property, Haysom said.

No criminal charges were ever brought against the man but it was only after the eighth killing that his licence to own a firearm was revoked, Haysom said.

"It appears that the staff of the attorney-general are reluctant to prosecute a property owner who kills in defence of his property. There is no reason to believe that policemen who kill in defence of property would be treated more severely."

The attorney-general was reluctant to prosecute policemen — or security guards — for the use of firearms, he said, adding that the person killed or injured was the only one who could really give evidence.

"Many of the cases which come into the public eye are those resulting in a formal inquest, commissions of inquiry or civil suits," he said.

Haysom said that South African law allowed policemen to use deadly force on three grounds:

- When protecting life or property, which falls under common law.
- To arrest a fleeing suspect. In this case the policeman acts in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act.
- To disperse an unlawful gathering under the Internal Security Act.

"In South Africa property is regarded as more valuable than life," Haysom said.

"In the early 1970s, the Appellate Division ruled that people who acted outside the law should not claim its protection. Thus a person could deliberately kill or wound antoher to protect his property."

Referring to a call for a review of the law, Haysom said: "In the instance of the security guard, the attorney-general's role needs to be stressed.

"The courts also have a particular role in preventing the role of deadly force to protect property interests and the attorney-general and the police themselves should be bringing more prosecutions before the courts.

"At the heart of it we need a political system in which the police are accountable to the people, both locally and centrally."

Haysom adds: "Police use firearms and inflict deadly force too readily."

This was illustrated in "township policing" in recent years, he said, citing the examples of shootings in Mamelodi, Langa, Kabokweni, Athlone and Winterveld.

The most notorious township shooting is the "Trojan Horse" case, in which nine policemen are standing trial for shooting dead three youths from the back of a railways truck during the 1985 riots in Athlone. The youngest of the three, an 11-year-old, died of shotgun wounds to the head.

The policemen claimed their truck had been bombarded by stones thrown by rioters

A Cape Town magistrate ruled in an inquest last year that Lieutenant Douw Vermeulen and his task force had been negligent and responsible for the deaths of the three youths.

He found police had exaggerated the extent of the stoning of the truck by the crowd — international television crews found that only one brick and two or three stones had been thrown.

It was also found that 39 rounds of shotgun ammunition and buckshot had been fired into the crowd and that there was no evidence to show that the youths who were shot dead had thrown stones.

But Cape attorney-general Daniel Rossouw declined to prosecute and did not give reasons for his decision.

The family of two of the youths then privately prosecuted the policemen for murder, the first time such a case has been heard under South African law. Judgement in the case is expected soon.

Other cases of shooting by policemen include the Langa shooting in March 1985, where 20 were killed and 27 seriously injured when police shot at a group of mourners marching to a funeral in kwaNobuhle.

A year later Bophuthatswana police opened fire on the Winterveld squatter camp, killing 13 — almost half of them children.

Haysom said surveys carried out on such shootings showed that 50 percent of the victims were shot in the back or side of the body — suggesting that the shootings were not merely aimed at arresting agitators, since such wounds could result in death or serious injury.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

CLOSURE OF WHITE SCHOOLS

A TOTAL of 196 white primary and secondary schools have been closed over the past 10 years, according to the latest edition of the SA Institute of Race Relations publication *Update 8*. The report said that 21 of these schools were presently being let to the Indian and "coloured" education departments, 133 to other government departments or private interests and 42 were not in use.

Excluding the Cape schools among the 196, these schools had a combined capacity of 15 238 pupils.

BORDER FENCE

AT least 94 people have been killed on South Africa's electrified border fences, according to figures released by the South African Defence Force.

Colonel Hans Stempfle of the army said that nine people were killed between August and December 1986, 36 in 1987, 28 in 1988 and 16 in the first eight months of 1989. In this period five others were shot.

The northern fence was switched on in 1986 and the eastern one in 1987. According to the director of the Catholic Bureau for Refugees, Father Jeanne-Pierre le Scour, 52 people were killed on the fence between July and December last year — excluding those shot.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

JOHN VUSUMUZI NENE, 46, a member of the African National Congress, was detained under South Africa's security laws on November 30 1975 and sentenced to life imprisonment under the old Terrorism Act on July 25 1985.

He has spent a total of 25 years and three months behind bars, making him the country's second-longest serving political prisoner (after Nelson Mandela).

Since March 1963 he has spent only 16 months out of prison — all but 11 days of which were spent living under a banning order.

The son of a domestic worker and a policeman, Nene grew up in Pietermaritzburg. After he had completed Std 6 his father died and he left school to find work. He first became politically active in 1958 as a 15-year-old during the ANC's potato boycott campaign.

He joined the ANC and later Umkhonto weSizwe, leaving the country for military training in Februrary 1963. The following month, aged 19, he was detained in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and deported to South Africa where, on April 4, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for leaving the country without a passport. While still serving this sentence he was tried for leaving South Africa for military training, and on May 21 1965 was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

Nene was released on May 19 1973 but was soon afterwards served with a five-year banning order. Ten months later he was sentenced to an effective 12 months' imprisonment for contravening his banning order. He was released on March 23 1975 but eight months later was detained with six others. Twenty months later he was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island, together with Harry Gwala, Anthony Xaba, Msomi Mlylwa and Zakhele Mdlolose.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation:

No Easy Road .. Apartheid: What and Why is It? (Mahmoud El-Kati); Apartheid : South African Nazism (Sipe E Mzimela); Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution (Pathfinder, Australia); The Penis (Brian Richards, MD); The World's Greatest Nudist Videos — video; Pamflet, BVCC, Warmbaths); Buckskin Breed — Buckskin Special Edition (Kit Dalton); Illustrator's Reference Manual Nudes (Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd, London); Ninja in Action — film; Blood Tracks — film; Leom Popsicle — film; In Too Deep — film; Exterminator 2 (Review).

Restricted:

The Loving Touch (Dr Andrew Stanway — not for persons under 18, must be sealed in plastic wrapping and only distributed by bookshops, lending libraries and wholesale book distributors); Make Better Love (Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd, London — not for persons under 18, must be sealed in plastic wrapping).

Banned for possession:

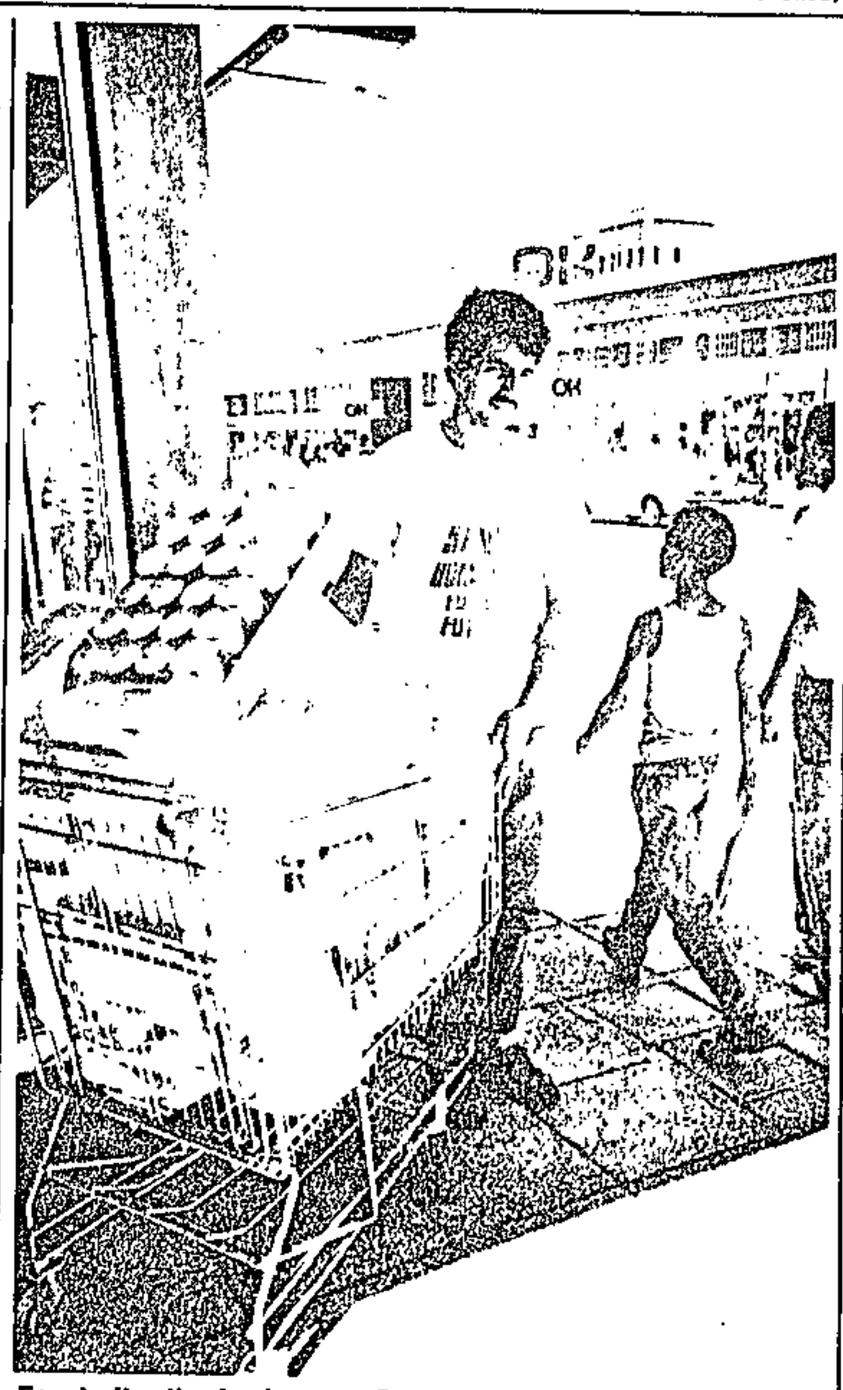
Sure Shot 1980 — greeting card (Sure Shot, Chicago); Bestell nos 00102, 00101, 00106, 00108 — greeting cards (Verlag Rosa Winkel, GMBH, Berlin); Playgirl vol 111 no 9 February 1976 (Playgirl Inc, California); Gay Life ... It used to be such fun — PN 409-90 — greeting card (Rockshots Inc, New York).

Unbanned for distribution and importation:

Forced Removal — the Division, Segregation and Control of the People of South Africa (Elaine Unterhalter).

Unbanned for possession:

Year of Fire, Year of Ash (Baruch Hirson).



Feast after the famine ... a Boksburg resident stocks up after months of boycotting the local shops. With the recent announcement by the State President FW de Klerk that the Separate Amenities Act would be lifted the consumer boycott came to an end

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN; Afrapix

The ESP is a non-profit education trust which provides supplementary education to Std 9 and 10 students. In 1990 we will be implementing a study group training and support programme in the East Rand. We need a:

STUDENT SUPPORT WORKER

Responsibilities will include:

- devising and implementing counselling and advice services for ESP students
- devising and implementing extension strategies for the formation and support of study groups
- taking responsibility for the development, implementation and evaluation of ESP's Life Planning Studies, Study Skills and Organisational Skills courses
- participating in the overall management of the project.

Applicants should have:

- a university degree
- experience in counselling students
- an interest in educational issues in the South African context

and an ability to work well in a team committed to democratic practices. Applications in writing together with CV and two references should be sent to: 108 Dunwell House, 35 Jorissen Street, Braamfontein 2001. Closing date: 7 December 1989. To start: January 1990 or as soon as possible.

Protesters poised to march

By VUSI GUNENE

TWO protest marches, one in Daveyton and another in Alexander, hang in the balance as organisers wait for magistrates' permission.

The decision to hold the Daveyton march was taken at a meeting attended by more than 500 residents.

The meeting also elected a delegation to visit the Transvaal Provincial Administration in Pretoria next week.

Besides the rent crisis in the township the delegation will discuss: the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the council's activities; the suspension of the July rent increase; an end to evictions; the suspension of the council, and the building of low-cost housing in the township.

"The aim of the march is to register the anger of the Daveyton community at the increased rentals and the R25 paid monthly to the council by shack-dwellers," organisers said.

Meanwhile, the Alexander Action Committee and other Mass Democratic Movement structures in the township have approached the Randburg magistrate and the government to seek permission for a mass meeting at the township's stadium.

Last week, a proposed meeting and march was banned.

AAC representative Obed Bapela said the Ministry of Justice asked for a letter from the council confirming that the meeting would take place on the Saturday, but that the council refused to submit such a letter.

The AAC intends to draw the following grievances to the council's attention: the lack of houses and poor living conditions; an expensive housing policy beyond the reach of most Alexandra residents; the threatened destruction of shacks and forced removals to Orange Farm; and the relocation of residents to parts of the township where they are accommodated in old buses and zinc shacks.

The AAC has threatened to seek a supreme court interdict if the march is not allowed.

24-30/11/89.

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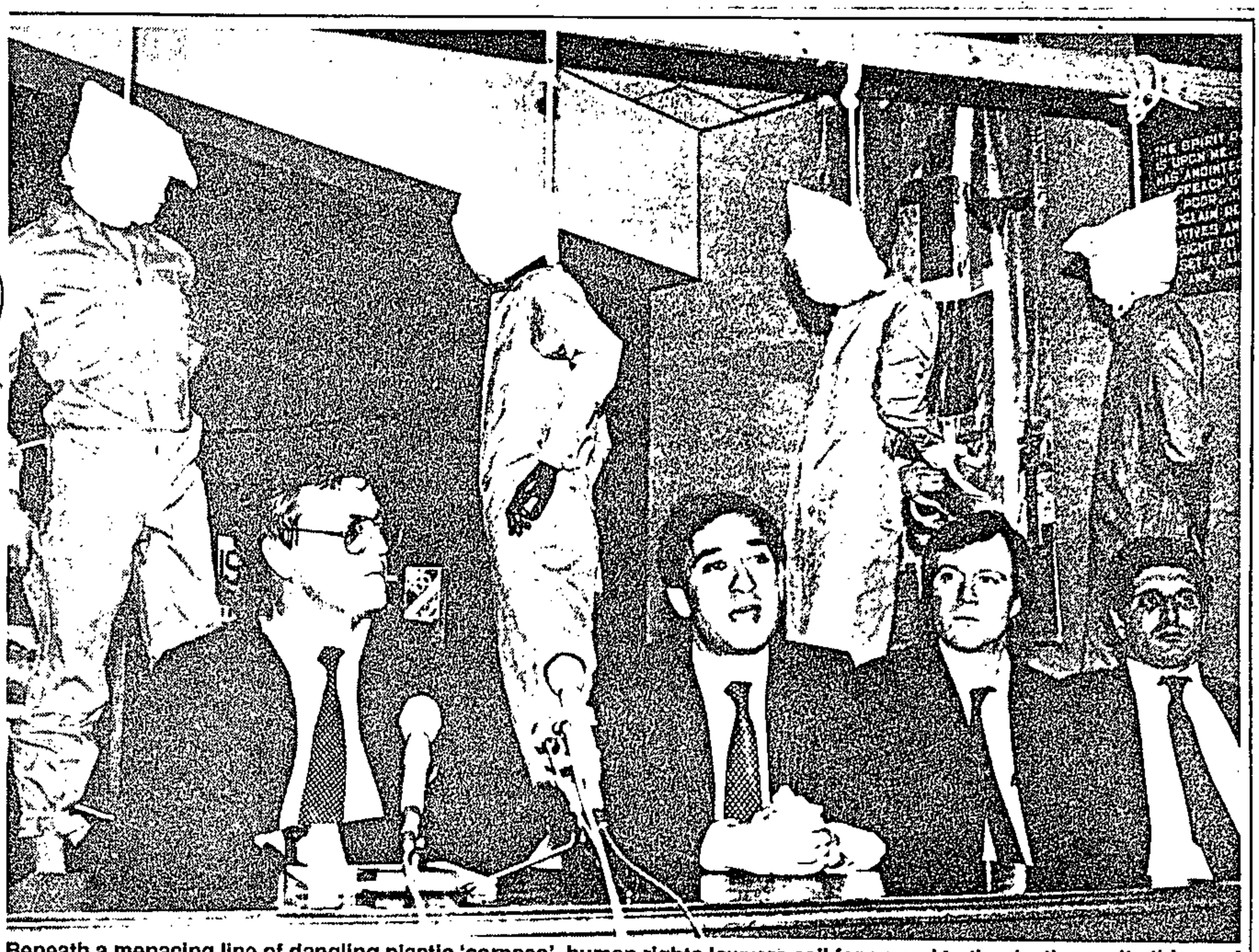

Beneath a menacing line of dangling plastic 'corpses', human rights lawyers call for an end to the death penalty this week
Picture: ULLI MICHEL, Reuter

From death row to light sentences for 6 convicts

BY IVOR POWELL & PHIL MOLEFE

SIX death row prisoners had their sentences overturned this week in two judgements that place serious question marks around the functioning of the legal system.

In the retrial — called on purely procedural grounds — of the "Queenstown 5", a different court and a different judge reduced five death sentences to terms of less than two years imprisonment.

A sixth accused died of TB while on death row.

In the second case Paulos Maseko was released from death row after the Appeal Court found that the original judge had acted in a seemingly prejudiced and partial manner.

Three Appeal Court judges found that Acting Justice WJ Human had acted in such a way as to make it seem he had rejected Maseko's evidence and closed his thoughts to the possible innocence of Maseko before the trial was concluded.

Justice Human is the same judge who convicted the Sharpeville 6 on a "necklacing" charge. Their death sentences have also been overturned.

In the original trial, Human had told Maseko, when the latter was giving evidence, to hurry up so the court could get the trial over and done with.

In the East London trial an important precedent was set — one which is expected to have important implications for next week's appeal in the "Delmas treason trial", which involves senior United Democratic Front leaders, and for "necklace" cases in general.

This arises from the decision of the judge to admit as extenuation the principle of deindividuation in relation to certain extreme forms of crowd behaviour.

In the deindividuated state, the individual becomes an anonymous — and therefore only partially responsible — part of a group.

Lawyers have pointed to the wide-ranging effects of the judgement — they believe it is likely to have legal implications for scores of people on death row convicted for their part in mob killings.

"The judgement has important implications for human rights law and it could indicate a change in attitude to 'political crime'. It bears directly on the current debate about capital punishment," said a human rights lawyer.

The "Queenstown trial" this week was the second time the men were tried for the murder of Noshipho Zamela in Mlungisi, near Queenstown.

The five were originally sentenced to death in 1987. However, their convictions and sentences were set aside by the appeal court on the ba-

●To PAGE 2

MURDEROUS POL POT'S FAIRY GODMOTHERS IN THE WES

P.T.O.

Six taken off death row

Wmail 24-30/11/89

From PAGE 1

sis that the dismissal of one of the assessors by the trial judge had been irregular.

The assessor in the trial had requested that he be granted leave because his daughter was ill.The judge had allowed him to go.

This, the defence claimed, was irregular, and it was on this ground that the retrial was ordered.

Passing sentence in the retrial on Tuesday, Mr Justice C Jansen said factors he considered were the concept of "deindividuation" and how this phenomenon might have influenced the behaviour of the accused in a crowd situation.

Judge Jansen said the subjective minds of the accused at the time was an important consideration as what had consciously or subconsciously driven them to act the way they did.

Legal Resource Centre director, Arthur Chaskalson SC, said: "The judgement is striking and demonstrates the danger of the death penalty because the difference between the death sentence and 20 months is so extreme."

He added: "This shows that if appropriate evidence is produced and it has appropriate consideration the difference may be between death and imprisonment.

"The decision requires government law advisers to reassess recommendations as to whether or not death penalties should be implemented."

The remaining five men were rearrested immediately after the Appeal Court's decision and again charged with the murder of Zamela.

At the start of their retrial early this year, the five pleaded guilty to murder and the defence led expert evidence in extenuation.

Justice Jansen sentenced the six to 60 months' imprisonment, of which 40 months were suspended for five years.

Justice Jansen remarked that his judgement, in particular the leniency, may come in for criticism in certain quarters — particularly among some politicians. But he said if he did err he would prefer to err on the side of the accused.

He accepted that the perception of the community, their sense of relative deprivation, their sense of alienation and frustration and their experience of police actions were all relevant in determining the subjective state of mind of the accused when they became part of the crowd which necklaced the deceased.

Mandela is talking regularly with the state, says Mbeki

NELSON MANDELA is meeting South African government ministers on a more or less continuous basis, according to African National Congress veteran Govan Mbeki.

Mbeki spent more than three hours with Mandela at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday.

He would not reveal the nature of Mandela's discussions with the government representatives and told reporters that Mandela would reveal their content when it suited the banned organisation.

"He is meeting government ministers on a more or less continuous basis," Mbeki said.

He said Mandela — at whose request the meeting took place — wanted to brief him "on developments between him and the government" since their last meeting, in June last year.

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

They discussed a range of topics, including plans for Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and the other released ANC leaders to vist ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

Mandela — who was well and in good spirits — had not discussed his release, however.

"His release is not in his hands," said Mbeki.

Mbeki said he would report back on the meeting to his ANC colleagues at this weekend's rally in Umtata.

He did not know when he would meet Mandela again.

"When it's necessary," he said.

Botswana: We have SA hit man

CVT Trial
24/11/87
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GABORONE. — A South African, whom Botswana security officers claim is a member of Pretoria's alleged police hit squad, is to appear in the Gaborone High Court on a number of charges, including one of attempted murder, the Botswana Press Agency reports.

The date of Mr Nalile Charles Mabu's appearance still has to be set.

The deputy head of Botswana's CID, Mr Timon Katlholo, said yesterday Mr Mabu was arrested in Gaborone last July after a shooting incident at a home in Broadhurst during the last week of June. A Botswana citizen was injured at the time.

Mr Katlholo disclosed Mr Mabu's arrest in an interview on the activities of an alleged SA hit squad in Botswana.

Mr Katlholo said Mr Mabu left Botswana for SA after the shooting incident. He came back to Botswana on July 1 — allegedly to continue his activities as an "SA agent".

He was arrested a day after his arrival.

Mr Katlholo said Mr Mabu was once arrested and convicted for unlawful possession of arms and sentenced to five years in prison. He was then deported from Botswana.

Mr Katlholo also mentioned the case of Theodore Hermanson and Johannes Basson as instances of alleged SA "hit squads" operating in Botswana.

It was said during their trial the two SA "commandos" had been sent to Botswana by their superiors in Pretoria to either kill or capture a SA national.

An SAP spokesman, approached for comment on the Botswana allegations, said he had no knowledge of the incident.

He added if the Botswana authorities had any information thay should forward it to the SAP. The authorities would then be able to act on it and pass it on to the McNally Commission of inquiry investigating allegations of a police death squad. — Sapa.

Evidence of death squad link — Page 3

How Webster saw 'hydra-headed' system

BDay 28/11/88

CHARLENE SMITH

(327)

THE "hydra-headed apparatus of repression assembled by the security system" had "given rise to ramshackle structures, clumsily executed, and embarrassing to their constructors". This was written by Witwatersrand University academic Dr David Webster in a report on repression and assassinations, shortly before he was murdered on May 1 this year.

Despite a R150 000 reward gathered by his friends and admirers, the killers of the anti-apartheid activist have not been found.

Webster, who predicted that repression and attacks against anti-apartheid activists and their organisations would increase, wrote that "assassinations have the effect of controlling government opposition when all other methods, such as detention or intimidation, have failed. It is very rare that such assassinations are solved."

Writing of people who "disappear", Webster noted: "One difficulty in solving these cases involves the secrecy of security police activities and the detention system. 'Disappeared' activists may be detained, in hiding, in exile, or dead.

"This confusion works to the benefit of those who would disrupt political organisations, and is particularly welcomed by members of death squads, who are able to take advantage of the confusion caused by secrecy."

Securocrat end 'just speculation'

CAPE 28/11/89
Times

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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THE State President's office yesterday described reports that the controversial National Security Management System was being dismantled as "just speculation".

The future of the shadow administration dominated by military and police figures has been unclear since Mr F W de Klerk took over as State President in September.

In the cabinet shuffle which followed, Mr De Klerk dispensed with the post of deputy minister of law and order, leaving the security network without a clear political head.

Last week Mr De Klerk's office undertook to look into a series of questions on the security system. No response had been received by late yesterday, but there has been speculation that an announcement might be made later this week.

A report in the Natal Witness on Friday speculated that the NSMS, with its joint management centres around the country, was being phased out under the De Klerk regime.

It quoted unidentified "senior members" of the government.

De Klerk scraps JMCs

CAPE TIMES 29/11/89

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday scrapped the controversial National Security Management System, with its 402 Joint Management Centres, and firmly placed control of the government under the cabinet.

The move, which decisively reduces the influence of securocrats on all levels of government except security, will be replaced by co-ordinated "goal-oriented" action based in the nine regions of South Africa.

Significantly, President De Klerk stressed that one of the advantages of the new system was that "it confirms the cabinet as the highest policy-making and co-ordinating authority".

The State Security Council, which was accused of being the "inner cabinet" under ex-President P W Botha, has been downgraded into cabinet-committee status except for its statutory functions, the council staff is to be "rationalised" and the JMCs, which were effectively under the control of the security forces, are to be abolished.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday that it was "welcome news" that the National Security Management System was to be "largely demilitarised".

Dr De Beer added: "It is being described as 'needs-oriented'. This is good in itself.

"But Mr De Klerk must realise that in South Africa, just as in Eastern Europe, people are looking to gain control of their own governments, instead of being managed by civil servants responsible to others.

"The government must understand that if parliamentary procedures are to work, they need to be based on democracy.

"The need for negotiation aimed at a more open and equal society is more urgent than ever," Dr De Beer said.

However, the Conservative Party's spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, strongly criticised the announcement.

He also said the announcement was partly a result of tension between Mr De Klerk and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Mr Van der Merwe claimed that, according to reports, General Malan preferred the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, above Mr De Klerk for the position of State President.

"The announcement is also a personal setback for General Malan and will lead to even greater tension," Mr Van der Merwe said.

But in his speech, delivered at the Police College in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the new system had "the full support of the command structure of the Defence Force and the police and the ministers concerned".

The powers acquired by the Joint Management Centres (JMCs) will now be restored to functional government departments.

A new form of co-ordination on regional and local levels would be created through special committees according to needs, while at central government level, co-ordination would take place within the cabinet and cabinet committees, between senior officials and, according to need, between interdepartmental task groups.

According to Sapa, top government sources said yesterday that the new system amounted to decisions no longer being "forced down from the top" and was more needs-oriented.

"This does not mean security is less important," the sources said.

Cabinet to control security B/Dan 29/11/89

Way cleared to lifting the emergency

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PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday gave the clearest indication yet that the state of emergency was on the way out by scrapping the controversial National Security Management System (NSMS) and downgrading the State Security Council (SSC).

Announcing the changes at a parade at the Police College in Pretoria yesterday, he stressed one of the main aims was to confirm the Cabinet as the "highest policy-making and co-ordinating power".

Senior Ministers involved in government's attempts to get negotiations going have already said they want the emergency dropped because it is a severe impediment.

The NSMS and SSC assumed greater significance than even the Cabinet after

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 10

the introduction of the emergency in 1985 and its reintroduction in 1986.

By scrapping one and downgrading the other, De Klerk has not only reinstated Cabinet control of national security, but given a firm indication that the emergency in nearing an end.

De Klerk said the NSMS had performed a valuable function, but changed circumstances necessitated specific adjustments.

A Cabinet committee consisting of De Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan will take ultimate control of national security away from the SSC.

The SSC's role will be reduced to its statutory function, which is to formulate national policy in relation to security and determine intelligence priorities.

MIKE ROBERTSON

The secreteriat of the SSC, headed by Lt-Gen J C Lloyd, will be rationalised.

GERALD REILLY reports that De Klerk announced a drastically rationalised, less costly mechanism to replace the national security management system.

The nine permanent Joint Management Centres (JMCs) chaired by military officers would be replaced by Regional Co-ordinating Centres that would meet when necessary.

The 82 sub-JMCs would fall away and the 320 mini-JMCs at local level would be replaced by Local Co-ordinating Centres, also meeting only when necessary.

Sapa reports that De Klerk said after a thorough investigation, the main aims of which had been better goal achievement, cost-efficiency, and the elimination of interference in departments' line functions and responsibilities, the Cabinet had decided the management system should be adapted from its present form.

De Klerk said the advantages of the new approach were:

- ☐ The Cabinet was confirmed as the highest policy-making and co-ordinating authority;
- ☐ Co-ordinated action and teamwork on all levels of state activity were still being promoted;
- ☐ Duplication was being eliminated;
- ☐ Several committees were being abolished;
- ☐ The line function authority of departments was being ensured;
- ☐ There were savings in costs; and
- ☐ Flexibility and adaptability were built in.

De Klerk said he wished to emphasise

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Emergency B/Pan 29/11/89

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these steps should in no way be seen as a breaking down of SA's security forces.

"What is now being done enjoys the full support of the command structure of the defence force and the police and the Ministers concerned."

DP co-leader Zach de Beer welcomed the news that the management system was to be largely demilitarised.

It was being described now as "needs-orientated", which was good in itself.

But De Klerk had to realise that just as in Eastern Europe, people were looking to gain control of their own government instead of being managed by civil servants responsible to others.

The CP's chief spokesman on defence and MP for Overvaal, J H van der Merwe, said in a statement in Pretoria shortly afterwards that the announcement was partly a result of tension between De Klerk and the Defence Minister.

'Control of national security firmly back in civilian hands'

By PETER FABRICIUS of the Political Staff

ANALYSIS

THE National Security Management System, which President F W De Klerk largely consigned to the scrapheap yesterday, grew into a vast alternative securocrat-dominated bureaucracy under his predecessor President Botha — so much so that one critic described it as a "sinister creeping military coup."

That was probably a bit of an exaggeration but it contained more than a grain of truth.

From the State Security Council — which assumed almost equal importance to the cabinet, some would say more — down through the nine Joint Management Centres (JMCs) the 82 sub-JMCs and the 320 "mini-Joint Management Centres, the NSMS was virtually a parallel bureaucracy.

In between was the National Joint Management Centre with its plethora of sub-committees which sat in Pretoria under the Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

The JMCs corresponded first to the SADF regional command areas — but later to the economic regions when the government became embarrassed about the too-military flavour of the system — the sub-JMCs roughly approximated the SAP divisons and the mini-JMCs mushroomed alongside or in place of local authorities — mostly in the townships.

The mini-JMCs were the most visible part of the structure because they operated at the grassroots level. In many cases they virtually replaced the township administrations which collapsed during the worst of the rioting and intimidation of 1984 to 1987.

Though the government always claimed that the JMCs and their spawn were merely designed to co-ordinate the functions of several departments, the military and security police influence was obvious. Apart from the command areas coinciding with the JMC areas, all of the JMCs and many of the sub and mini-JMCs were chaired by military or police officers.

The effect was to give a security slant to all administrative decisions and to subordinate all interests to the security priority.

And the whole idea of joint action on this scale was an embodiment of the "total strategy" philosophy — the answer to the perceived "total onslaught" by the revolutinary forces — which was conceived by military strategists.

The total strategy approach dictated that the revolution should be fought by a combination of material upgrading of black living conditions plus stern security action.

It was in effect a local application of the "hearts and minds" strategy of winning revolutionary wars which the military had applied on the Namibian border.

Groundwork

President Botha learnt it from his brighter generals while he was Minister of Defence and in fact the groundwork for it was laid then. But the system really only reached its full flowering when Mr Botha ws firmly in the saddle and seeking a response to the most intense rioting and unrest of the mid-80s.

That was when the State Security Council enjoyed something like parallel status with the cabinet and when the



Mr James Selfe

NSMS bureacracy bloomed. The military and the police nevertheless always denied that there was anything sinister about it and insisted it was reaping undeniable benefits by bringing military efficiency and discipline to the provision of essential services where civilian departments had failed. And the system did indeed notch up a few relative sucesses — such as the upgrading of Alexandra township in Johannesburg and in Mamelodi.

Even its critics conceded that in terms of its own goals it had succeeded and that it broke the back of the uprising of the mid-80s. As Mr James Selfe, the Democratic Party's expert on the system said, the security action took out the leaders of the UDF while the welfare action cut the ground from under their feet.

The real problem though was that more and more power was being vested in the security establishment, that power was being exercised in secret — without accountability to parliament or the public — and it was directed at the destruction of forces such as the UDF rather than their accommodation.

For the securocrats the alarm bells started ringing the moment Mr De Klerk took over as head of state — and scrapped the portfolio of Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Their influence declined even further when Mr De Klerk overrode their objections to allow mass protest marches and rallies and to release unrepentant ANC leaders like Walter Sisulu.

By putting the NSMS system to rest Mr De Klerk has clearly put the control of national security firmly back into civilian hands and has perhaps driven the final nail into the coffin of the militarist and security-oriented thinking which dominated the previous administration.

Mr Selfe welcomed Mr De Klerk's deicison of yesterday to overhaul the system. "I hope this means we are going to see a more genuine approach to reform and not just a strategy to counter the total onslaught," he said.

'Significant'

Dr Philip Frankel, Wits University expert on civil-/military relations, believes that Mr De Klerk may in fact have timed the announcement to move against the securcrats while they were in disarray over the widespread allegations of police murder squads.

"We will have to know a bit more about these co-odinating centres before passing final judgment but certainly I think it is signficant that Mr De Klerk has placed control of national security in the cabinet's hands."

Sources close to Mr De Klerk said the co-ordinating centres would largely retain the present personnel of the JMCs and mini-JMCs. But they would be asked to appoint new chairmen.

Police use birdshot on Jo'burg protesters

CHARLENE SMITH

A POLICEMAN was stabbed three times and at least 15 people injured when police and protesters clashed in central Johannesburg yesterday.

Police have not yet released the name of the injured policeman but said his condition was not serious.

Several hundred workers, marching in solidarity with striking Sats (Sarwhu) and SA Breweries (Fawu) workers, were involved in a clash with police that led to hundreds of people fleeing through central Johannesburg while police fired teargas and birdshot.

Police and worker versions of the incident differed. Police said they teargassed workers after they refused to disperse. Workers said police had begun teargassing and beating them with batons as singing workers gathered for the march in Wanderers Street.

Doctors who treated some of those injured said most injuries were minor, but three of those treated had extensive birdshot wounds.

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Protest clash

☐ From Page 1

The march was planned to protest at violence surrounding the strikes and as a gesture of solidarity with striking Sarwhu and Fawu workers. The Sarwhu strike is in its fourth week, while the SAB strike has dragged into its eighth week.

There have been numerous allegations from all sides of violence and intimidation, and at least 10 workers have died in strike-related incidents.

Sapa reports that police said an "unknown explosive device" was detonated next to the SA Breweries head office in Johannesburg early yesterday.

The blast, at the intersection of Jan Smuts Avenue and Ameshof Street, did only slight damage. No casualties were reported.

Fawu president Chris Dlamini said: "It is regrettable that an explosion, from whatever source, had to take place at the SAB head office at a time when the wage dispute negotiations between Fawu and SAB have made significant progress.

"These talks which have been in progress with Fawu, SAB and their respective lawayers since Thursday last week have reached a critical point."

Eleven assassinated in SA 'this year'

CHARLENE SMITH

ELEVEN people have been assassinated in SA this year and there have been attempts on the lives of 28 other political activists, according to a new Human Rights Commission (HRC) report.

Since 1984, there have been at least five disappearances, 45 assassinations, 160 attempted assasinations and 68 incidents of harassment. The HRC says these records are incomplete.

The report says the sheer volume and sophistication of hit-squad actions since 1984 "is a clear indication of the widespread existence and activity of well-organised units or hit squads".

It says: "A high degree of expertise is evident with skills in the use of explosives, weapons, incendiary materials, chemicals, lock-picking devices, etc. Abundant resources include equipment, materials and access to information not generally available to the public.

"Speculation as to the base for such an operation inevitably leads to state security structures, particularly the security police, which would also explain the virtually complete absence of success on the part of the police in solving these numerous mysteries."

The HRC report says hit squads apparently seek to intimidate or eliminate political activists or cripple their organisations. In addition to bricks, shots, petrol bombs and teargas canisters being thrown at the homes of activists, their organisations are either firebombed, bombed or burgled with records and office equipments and computers being stolen.

"Partial records show 79 attacks and 29 burglaries in the last five years (13 attacks and nine burglaries during 1989). In addition, nine places of worship have been attacked and four graves desecrated."

PAC rejects negotiations 'out of hand'

JOHANNESBURG. — The first formal consultative conference between the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and internal anti-apartheid structures has rejected out of hand negotiations with Pretoria at this stage.

A joint communique released here yesterday — but drawn up at the end of a conference in Harare at the weekend — said negotiations would begin only once the five "pillars" of apartheid were eradicated.

These were named as the Population Registration Act, the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the homeland system, the Bantu Education Act and the tricameral parliament.

"Unbanning the liberation movements, lifting the state of emergency and allowing exiles to return — these demands do not affect the basic structure of apartheid."

Conference delegate Mr Benny Alexander told journalists at a press briefing here yesterday: "The five pillars of apartheid are non-negotiable. Only when they are completely scrapped will those in Pan-Africanist circles see their way clear to going to the negotiation table."

According to the communique, delegates also agreed to campaign vigorously to end "sectarianism" in internationally funded organisations.

Asked to expand on that point, Mr Alexander said only certain projects received funding, and only if the participants belonged to a "particular strain" of the anti-apartheid movement.

"We note that when these organisations apply for money at international forums, they do so on behalf of all the oppressed. But when they disburse it, only a particular section of the internal liberation movement gets the funding." — Sapa

Ciskei to free two political prisoners

BISHO. — Two prominent political prisoners are to be released from jail on Saturday, the Ciskei authorities announced yesterday.

The two political prisoners are the Rev Arnold Stofile and Mr Samkuzi Somyo — both jailed more than a year ago for political offences under the territory's National Security Act.

Ciskei authorities said yesterday the men were being released on humanitarian grounds.

"The Ciskei government has been under no pressure in extending this gesture of goodwill. The release of the two political prisoners is a contribution towards a new dispensation in a broader Southern Africa," said the statement.

The position of the two men's co-accused would also be reviewed.

The releases should not be seen as a revocation of Ciskei's security measures, the authorities said. — Sapa

Objectors go international

SOUTH Africans who have gone into exile because of their refusal to serve in the South African Defence force this week launched an International Register of War Resisters.

The move follows the launch of a National Register of Conscientious Objectors in South Africa when 771 men took a stand against military service in September this year.

The London based organisers of the International Register say it has already been signed by resisters living in Western Europe and that resisters in Canada, the USA, Australia, New Zealand and the Frontline states are likely to follow suit.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who sponsored the international register, said: "Clearly the time has come for those conscripts who have left South Africa because of their refusal to serve to make clear their stand.

"At a time when young men are courageously rejecting (apartheid) military service we should seek all means to support them."

Sowa 30/11 - 6/12/82

Brig linked to Askaris unit

JOHANNESBURG. — A Brigadier Van Rensburg was named yesterday as the commander of the Pretoria police unit which "rehabilitated" the ANC members or "Askaris" used to identify ANC activists in South Africa.

The brigadier was named yesterday during the Piet Retief inquest into the death of four ANC members last year.

During cross-examination Warrant Officer Frederik Pienaar, second in command of the operation in which the four were killed, said Brigadier Van Rensburg succeeded Brigadier Willem Schoon as head of the Pretoria-based police unit.

The dead ANC members, one man and three women, were killed in a police ambush shortly after they entered South Africa from Swaziland on June 8, 1988.

Their names are Surendra "Lenny" Naidu, 23, Nontsikelelo Cotoza, 25, Makhosi Nyoka, 25, and Lindiwe Mthemba, 21.

The court has heard that Major Eugene de Kock — the alleged head of an SAP assassination squad — was the commander of the police ambush in 1988.

In an affidavit Lieutenant Silulami Mose, a former ANC member, said that acting on Major De Kock's instructions he drove the four ANC members across the border on June 8. The car was intercepted by Major De Kock, W/O Pienaar and other policemen outside Piet Retief.

Lt Mose leapt from the vehicle. Police witnesses have claimed shots were fired from the car and they returned the fire.

Two affidavits by Swazi ANC members have been handed to the court stating the deceased were unarmed.

Earlier inquest magistrate Mrs H Wilkens turned down an application by counsel for the families to have death-row prisoner Butana "Almond" Nofomela's affidavit admitted as part of the record. Nofomela alleged that Major De Kock headed the police "assassination squad".

The hearing continues.

Cops: Malan has record

THE only record police have of Mr Mervin Malan, who claims to have been a member of a South African "hit squad" and is seeking political asylum in Holland, is his criminal record.

Police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said Mr Malan had been convicted on two counts of fraud in 1982.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, meanwhile, denied he was a member of his family. Mr Malan had claimed he was General Malan's cousin.

Vrye Weekblad says: We'll fight

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Vrye Weekblad issued a statement here yesterday saying it would defend any action instituted against it.

The statement followed a notification from the deputy commisioner of police that he was contemplating suing the paper for R500 000.

Ex-police spy Major Craig Williamson has also sent a lawyer's letter to the newspaper notifying them that he is considering a defamation action.

Vrye Weekblad said it would "not be gagged by threats of litigation".

"We will continue to expose those responsible for the unlawful killings that have occurred in our country over the past decades. We believe it is in the interests of the entire SA public that we fulfil our journalistic duty."

● Our correspondent in Paris reports that Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez said yesterday there was a strong chance he would be leaving the indaba here early because of urgent developments over the R1 million lawsuit.

Death squad report done

THE McNally report into alleged police death squads is being studied by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The report will probably be handed to President F W de Klerk before the end of the week with comment from the two ministers.

The Anglican Bishops of Southern Africa yesterday called for the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry, saying the allegations had "a ring of truth" and were "consistent with" speeches by cabinet ministers saying that security forces would "eliminate terrorists".

UK denies SA intelligence leak

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Foreign Affairs spokesman Lord Brabozos yesterday denied allegations that British Intelligence passes information to South Africa.

He was responding to a question in the House of Lords from Labour peer Lord Hatch of Lusby, as to whether British Intelligence passed on information to South Africa on the movement of ANC members in Britain and elsewhere.

Lord Hatch said he had a very strong personal interest in the matter because "a very dear friend of mine was murdered by the hit squad now being investigated in South Africa".

From the opposition front bench, Lord Cledwyn asked about the series of articles in the Guardian newspaper which alleged that explosives used in the bombing of the ANC office in London in 1982 were smuggled into Britain in a diplomatic bag to the South African embassy..

Lord Brabozos replied that the bombing had been investigated at the time and the case remained open.

Newsmen recall Black Wednesday

Star 20/10/89

328

Yesterday, 12 years ago, two newspapers and nearly 20 Black Consciousness (BC) organisations were banned and scores of leading activists detained or banned on what has become an unforgettable day in South African political and newspaper history.

The shock decision by Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger to ban the popular black newspapers *The World* and *The Weekend World* was announced by The Star in a blaring front page headline: "Kruger closes 'World'".

Mr Kruger defended his actions: "I say without doubt I have done the right thing. I chose to try and stop the unrest in my country."

The World editor Percy Qoboza and assistant-editor Aggrey Klaaste (now editor of *Sowetan*) were detained and spent almost five months in jail without trial. Also detained were Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana and BC activist Mr Aubrey Mokoena.

Mr Donald Woods, then editor of the East London *Daily Despatch* — a close friend of BC leader Mr Steve Biko, who died in detention the previous year — was banned. So was Dr Beyers Naude, then director of the Christian Institute.

Among the organisations banned were the Union of Black Journalists, the Black People's Convention and the Soweto Students' Representative Council.



Percy Qoboza ... editor of The World when it was banned in 1977.



The Rev Beyers Naude ... banned in 1977 at the same time as newspapers.

National Press Day, commemorated yesterday, marked the Government clampdown on two widely-read black newspapers on October 19 1977. The banning of The World, at the time the second-largest daily paper in the country — only The Star was larger — and its Sunday stablemate The Weekend World, epitomises Government intolerance of criticism. **The Star's Political Reporter, ESMARE VAN DER MERWE,** reports.

Resistance grew

But the clampdown, sparked by the Soweto unrest of 1976, did not stifle resistance against apartheid.

Other organisations emerged, some of which today play a leading role in the struggle for freedom. Many of the people who on October 19 1977 fell prey to the Government ban of freedom of expression and political activity, today continue their opposition to the system of discrimination.

The Government motivated its decision to close down the two newspapers, read by about 2 million Sowetans, by claiming they incited the black community against the State. (In 1980, the Cillie Commission found that the press played no role in fanning the 1976 unrest.)

In an editorial at the time, The Star said: "There is nothing that can take its place. Yet its place must be preserved for the day when, under different circumstances, *The World* can return — free and unbowed."

Within two weeks of their banning, *Post* Transvaal and *Sunday Post* took their place with Qoboza as editor. They were banned four years later in a peculiar way.

The newspapers were hit by a workers' strike and did not appear on the streets for a month. Their registration thus lapsed.

Commented Joe Latagomo, now senior assistant editor of The Star, news editor of *The World* in 1977 and acting editor of *Post* at the time of its banning, on that day: "This is the second time I have had my newspaper closed."

The Sowetan, at the time a knock-and-drop, jumped into the slot vacated by *The World* and *Post*. Qoboza was the first editor, succeeded by Latagomo when the former died in 1988. Today it is Soweto's biggest daily newspaper.

Remembering the closing of *The World* and his detention on that day, Klaaste wrote in his newspaper yesterday: "As we remember that Black Wednesday, the editor of *The Sowetan* and other editors are going through the courts, facing charges ranging from quoting a banned person to breaking emergency regulations.

"A newspaperman's day is still a dangerous crawl through a minefield of laws that wait to explode in his face.

"On that fateful Black Wednesday, the Government had hoped to stifle black protest by banning (several organisations). But there is no way that a people can be silenced."



Closed 12 years ago . . . On October 19 1977 The World and The Weekend World, at the time read by 2 million people in Soweto, were banned in a Government crackdown designed to counter the effects of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

TOTALITARIANISM - GENERAL

1990

JANUARY — FEBRUARY

FREE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Shell urges Government to:

1. **End the State of Emergency**
2. **Release and unban all political leaders**
3. **Lift restrictions on democratic organisations**
4. **Allow and encourage freedom of expression**



CP demands govt act firmly on protesters

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party yesterday called on the government to instruct the police to take firm action against unlawful protesters.

A statement issued by the CP's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, sharply criticised the government's granting permission "on virtually a daily basis" for demonstrations by the MDM and "radical groups".

"The CP views these so-called peaceful protests — also at sports meetings — by the MDM and radical groups not simply as peaceful demonstrations but as a mobilisation of the masses and the creation of a climate for the final revolutionary takeover of the government by the ANC."

The government, by allowing these demonstrations, was giving in to the ANC and its communist allies.

The party said it would strongly oppose the government's "capitulation" both inside and outside parliament.

Sats officials give free rides after Cape march

ABOUT 3 500 people took part in a peaceful march yesterday through central Cape Town to Caledon Square police station to present a petition addressed to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The only confrontation came after the hour-long march ended, when police at the Cape Town railway station intervened as homeward-bound protesters without tickets tried to board trains for Khayelitsha and the Cape Flats.

SA Transport Services officials agreed to run the trains free of charge.

UDF Western Cape general secretary Trevor Manuel said the march had been a lesson to the world on "where the discipline lies".

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Cosas welcome rally

SPEAKERS from several organisations in the Vaal will address a rally this weekend to welcome 10 former Congress of South African Students members in the area who have been released from prison after serving jail terms. Sowetan 1/2/90 (327)

Speakers will include representatives from the Vaal Youth Congress, Vaal Students Congress, Vaal Civic Association, Congress of South African Students, South African National Students Congress and the South African Youth Congress.

The rally will be on Saturday at the Presbyterian Church in Zone 7 Sebokeng. It will start at 12 noon and everybody is welcome.

MDM sets pace with marches

By CHIARA CARTER

THE government faces a crisis as a week of marches heads towards a dramatic showdown at the gates of parliament.

The Mass Democratic Movement is determined to take centre stage as world attention focuses on South Africa with widespread expectations that state president FW de Klerk will announce further reforms when parliament opens on Friday.

The MDM has called on people to march in their thousands to demand that parliament be disbanded and Nelson Mandela released.

Anonymous

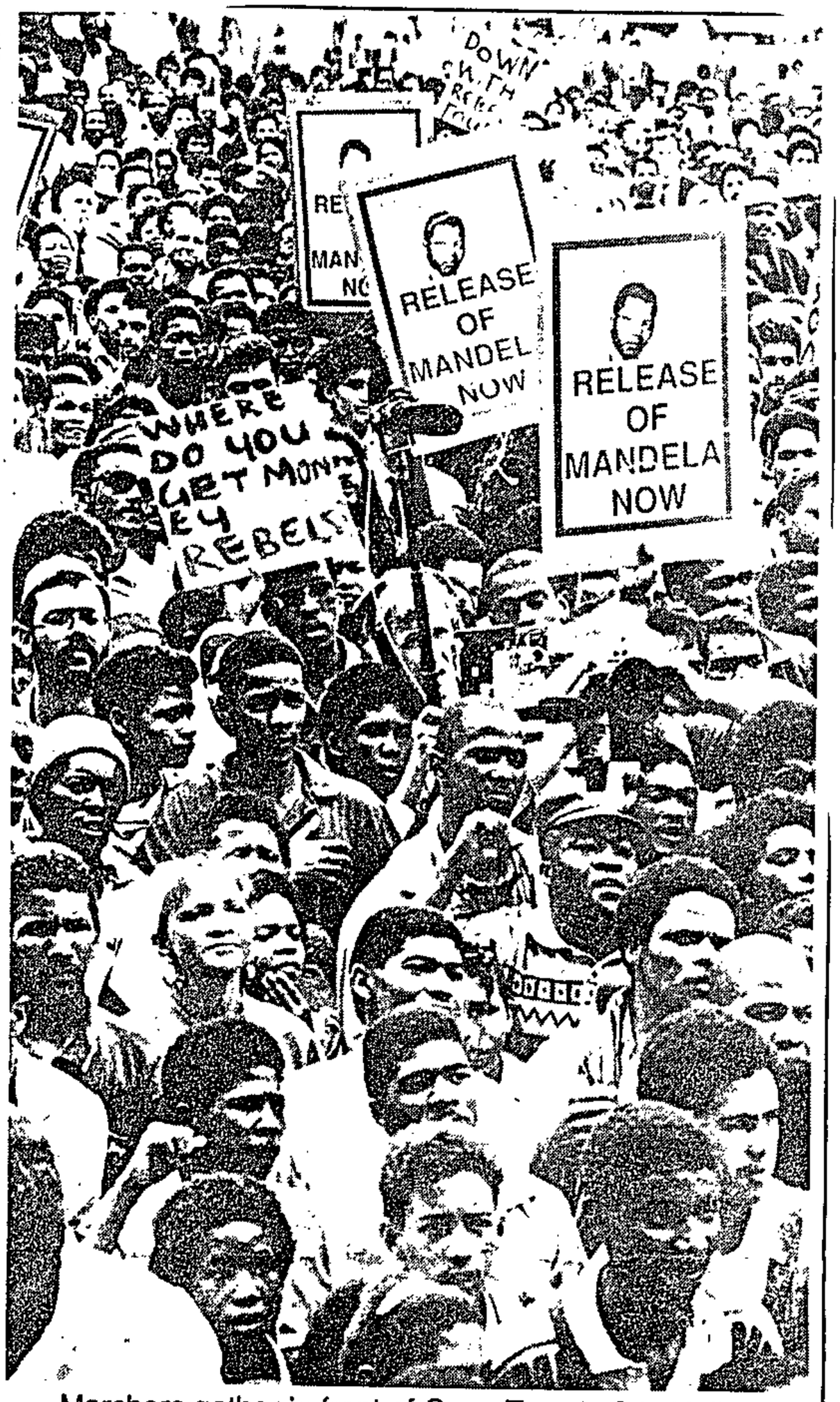
Faced with the MDM's refusal to seek magisterial permission for marches, the authorities may choose to allow a peaceful march to take place to avoid confrontation at the opening of parliament which could overshadow De Klerk's reform strategy.

Allowing Friday's march to proceed will be a retreat for the government, which insists marchers must first get magisterial permission. A crackdown on the protesters, however, would be a major blow for De Klerk's reform initiatives.

Police fired teargas at about 300 people who marched in support of squatters threatened with eviction from the Uitkyk settlement in Kraaifontein on Tuesday afternoon

The authorities, however, gave permission the next day for a march by about 4 000 people through central Cape Town to the police headquarters in Caledon Square. They said an anonymous individual had applied for permission.

The marchers handed a memorandum to a South African Police representative at Caledon Square.



Marchers gather in front of Cape Town's City Hall on Wednesday after a protest through the city centre

The memorandum demanded the right to peaceful protest and said the Defiance Campaign Committee protested against excessive police actions.

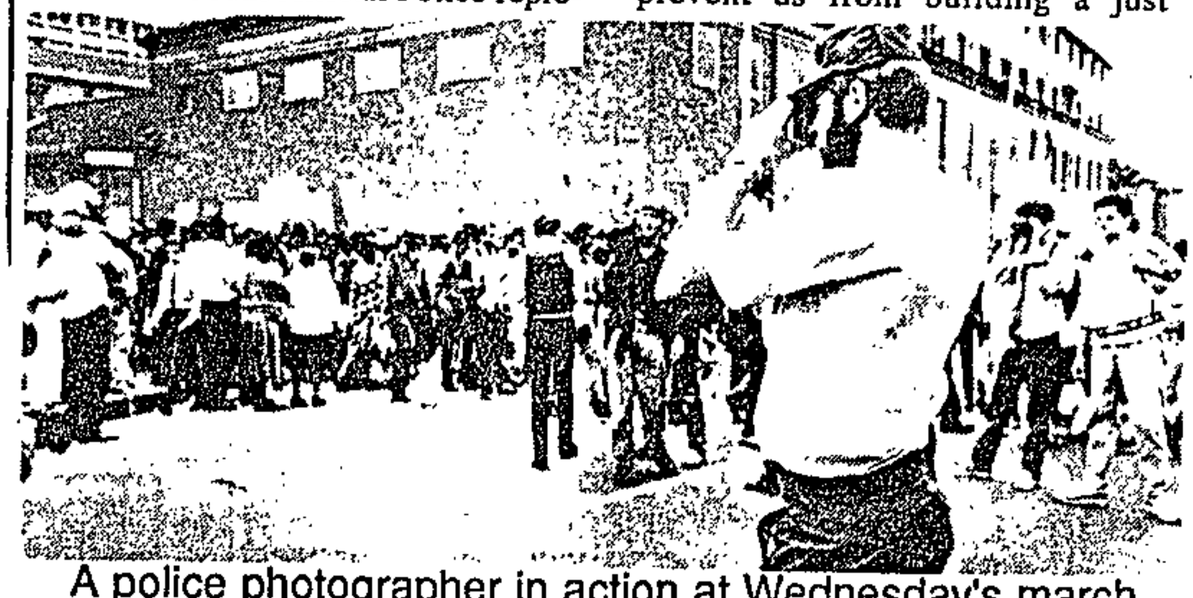
"In spite of what your police may do, we will continue to defy and resist without magisterial or police permission," the memorandum said.

The UDF publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Cheryl Carolus, this week said the MDM planned to step up its Defiance Campign.

"We will defy laws which seek to prevent us from building a just peace."

She said the MDM believed that freedom of association was a right and not a concession, and would "defy the ban on open-air gatherings to make our voice heard".

Carolus said the MDM, which represented the majority of South Africans, would set the pace for reform — not De Klerk.



A police photographer in action at Wednesday's march

STAR 1/2/90 (327)

Positive events pin-pricks, says report

Censorship 'in every aspect of daily life'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Whenever the Government took one step towards relaxing press restrictions and honouring the public's freedom of speech and right to know in 1989, it also took two giant steps backwards to retain the status quo, says the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag).

In its end-of-year report to be published soon, Acag says 1989 was a year in which the Government allowed, among other things, mass protest marches, while at the same time prosecuting the media for breaking the emergency regulations governing the media and quoting listed people.

Celebration

"The fact that such routine political events (such as protest marches) caused so much excitement is an indication of how serious the censorship situation had become.

"A single rally, when most others are still banned, and a few marches, when most others are broken up violently, became cause for real celebration," Acag writes.

'However, before, during and after these events there was so much censorship in every form — such as violent police suppression of protestors, the detention, restriction and even murder of resistance leaders, seizure and closure of publications and an ever-growing list of people who can't be quoted — that if one looks back over the year, the few positive events appear to be no more than pinpricks of light in a dark sky."

This, the anti-censorship watchdog says, did not mean things like the release of political prisoners and the protest marches were insignificant, but rather emphasised the fact that the vast bulk of censorship measures remained in place.

Acag said in its monthly reports during the past year 420 separate incidents of censorship serious enough to be recorded had been listed and, when taken collectively, they constituted "a depressing picture of how censorship crept into every aspect of daily life".

Songs

The Government was not the only culprit. The SABCfeatured regularly in Acag's monthly reports as a censor.

Acag reported the SABC had admitted there were about 1 000 songs it did not play, ranging from the soundtrack of the Richard Attenborough movie "Cry Freedom" to George Michael's "I want your sex".

End of emergency would bolster world confidence — expert

IF THE state of emergency was lifted, international confidence in SA's capacity to change peacefully would be restored, according to Institute for International Affairs research director Edgar du Pisani.

He said in an interview that sanctions would not be scrapped, but it could influence international legislators to withhold further measures, particularly if the lifting of the emergency was accompanied by other measures such as the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and unbanning the ANC.

Du Pisani and a wide range of political analysts polled by Business Day believed at least a partial lifting of the 42-month-old state of emergency was on the cards in Friday's opening of Parliament speech by President F W de Klerk.

The state of emergency was already being flouted, said other analysts such as DP law and order spokesman Denis Worrall and University of the Witwatersrand Centre of Applied Legal Studies director Prof John Dugard.

CHARLENE SMITH and PAN FELDMAN

Human Rights Commission member Max Coleman said he believed the state of emergency would be lifted to restore investor confidence.

"It would not cost a great deal to lift it as it is not working and, in terms of existing security legislation, the government still has the means to detain or restrict people, organisations and gatherings."

Restrictions

Coleman said the Internal Security Act and the Public Safety Amendment Act (PSAA) of 1986 would keep repressive laws in force.

"In terms of the PSAA it is possible to declare an unrest area, which effectively imposes a mini state of emergency without calling it that."

The lifting of the state of emergency would, among other things, free the few remaining detainees held in terms of its regulations, lift the restrictions on more than 540 individuals and 32 organisations and allow the media greater access to so-called unrest areas as well as remove a clause disallowing the publication of "subversive" matter.

Its removal was supported by all but members of the right wing who believed it was necessary to maintain "law and order," a Conservative Party spokesman said.

The existing state of emergency was declared on June 12 1986 and has been renewed every year since then in accordance with the Public Safety Act of 1953. It was preceded by a limited state of emergency from July 21 1985 to March 7 1986.

Du Pisani said the state of emergency was unwise at this point because it had become important that normal political activity commence and restraints on political debate and assembly be removed.

It was essential for executive dominance to decline.

Attacks

Unrest has been a reason for previous states of emergency. When former President P W Botha renewed the current emergency on June 9 1989 he said: "The safety of the public and the maintenance of public order could not be assured or maintained under the ordinary laws of the land."

University of Pretoria Institute for Strategic Studies head Prof Danie Hough said there were 198 ANC attacks last year compared with 284 in 1988.

This was the first time there had been a decrease in violence since 1985.

Women march in PE

WOMEN from community organisations in Port Elizabeth plan to march through the city today to protest against the imposition of the death penalty on political prisoners.

The march will also be in protest against continuing violence in the Uitenhage townships. The march starts at 10am after which a petition will be presented to police.

Unbanning of ANC won't be 'end in itself'

STAR 1/2/90 (327)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The unbanning of the ANC, one of the stumbling blocks to the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, would not be an end in itself, but would increase pressure for the dismantling of apartheid, a leading member of the organisation has indicated.

In an interview with the London-based periodical, *Southscan*, Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, further implied that the ANC was aware that its armed actions had failed to meet expectations.

This was the result of logistical problems occasioned by, among other things, the closure of Umkhonto we Sizwe's camps in Angola.

X Report Restricted

● *Parts of this report have been cut, because Mr Hani is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa.*

PUBLICATIONS

SACC defies Act

THE South African Council of Churches on Wednesday said it would resist the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Disclosure Act.

The Church-connected Wilgespruit Fellowship has been affected by the Act, which the SACC called "iniquitous legislation".

Sowetan 1/2-7/12/90

US author Walker reverses her SA boycott

W\Mail 2/2 – 8/2/90 (327)

BLACK American author Alice Walker, who withdrew her books from the South African market nearly four years ago, has now agreed to their distribution here — with royalties to be used to encourage writing by black women.

Walker's share of the proceeds of the sale of her books will go to the Congress of South African Writers. According to national co-ordinator Junaid Ahmed the money will probably be used by Cosaw's regional women's forums set up to "initiate, encourage and stimulate writing by women in South Africa".

Walker asked that her books be withdrawn at about the time the film of her best-known book, *The Color Purple*, came on circuit — although the film was never released in South Africa.

"She had decided she didn't want to profit from having her books sold here," said a representative of her local distributors, David Philip publishers, "and so she stopped it."

But last year the University of the Western Cape English Department wanted to prescribe *The Color Purple* for first-year students, and contacted the distributors, Walker's publishers

Weekly Mail Reporter

The Women's Press and Walker herself. The author agreed the book could be sold to UWC students only, said the representative.

During the year, according to The Women's Press, there was "discussion with representatives of the African National Congress and members of the Mass Democratic Movement", and now Walker "has agreed to allow her books to be distributed, subject to an arrangmenet whereby all her royalties will be donated to support black writing, especially writing by black women, in South Africa".

"We feel very happy indeed with this decision," David Philip co-director Marie Philip said this week. "We have felt strongly that her books have work to do here."

David Philip buys books outright from The Women's Press; the publisher, not the distributor, will pay royalties to Cosaw, which is planning a national workshop of women writers early next month to examine, among other things, precisely how the money will be used.

Walker's arrangement is not the first time such a deal has been made, according to an ANC representative. Miriam Makeba asked that the royalties from the sale of her autobiography be used for women's projects; a well-known British writer of children's books and several other writers have made similar requests.

"We had been campaigning for people not to have their books distributed and sold in South Africa before the ANC released its policy statement in May 1989, the first statement by the National Executive Committee on the cultural boycott." The statement notes, in part, that "the NLM (national liberation movement) and the MDM support the inflow of progressive cultural products, artefacts and ideas into our country..."

GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION · DOUGLAS GREEN VINTAGE COLLECTION · DOUGLAS GREEN VIN

(327) STAR 2/2/90

Protest march, rally to be held in Alexandra

By Montshiwa Moroke

A protest march preceded by a mass rally at the local stadium, which thousands are expected to attend, will be held in Alexandra township tomorrow.

The march organisers have been given the go-ahead by Randburg's chief magistrate, Mr B van der Merwe, who met five members of the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) in his office yesterday.

"We will be having about 200 marshalls to keep order at the mass rally and during the march. Our march is going to be disciplined and peaceful," the ACO said in a statement.

The rally, for which the Alexandra Town Council has granted permission, will commence at 1 pm and is scheduled to end at 2 pm.

Among the expected speakers are Mr Mayekiso, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Popo Molefe, UDF general secretary, and Mr Elijah Barayi, Cosatu president.

"We hope the police will keep a low profile, we want no provocation for this march is legal. Our people have been told about the discipline required and they will maintain it," the ACO said.

Alleged poaching on large scale by Untag members

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Nature conservation officials are reportedly investigating allegations that members of the Malaysian military contingent of Untag have been poaching large numbers of wild animals in the Damaraland and Kaokoland areas of northwestern Namibia.

Die Republikein newspaper reported today that the investigation had been confirmed by the office of the Attorney-General in Windhoek.

The newspaper said an interpreter working with Untag in [illegible] of the alleged poaching

2/2/90 STAR

Minister orders a new probe

By James Clarke

An independent investigation into the handling of toxic wastes in South Africa has been ordered by Mr Gert Kotze, Minister of Environment Affairs.

Mr Kotze announced last night that the Foundation for Research and Development of the CSIR had been commissioned to find out how dangerous wastes can be processed and disposed of without harming the environment — especially groundwater resources.

The "information gathered will be regarded as strictly confidential," says the statement.

TWO WORKSHOPS

Conservation organisations will be invited to take part in at least two workshops which will include "open communication sessions".

The scientific investigation is to establish a strategy and action plan for the disposal of hazardous wastes and to "help South Africa avoid the mistakes made elsewhere in the world."

The Minister spoke of the serious concern regarding malpractices in the international transport of hazardous waste.

THOROUGH STRATEGY

He said "The disposal of hazardous wastes is likely to become one of the major environmental issues world wide during the coming decade. We want to draw up a thorough strategy and action plan before it becomes a major problem for us.

The Minister's statement follows public concern about a suggestion that SA was ideally situated to process hazardous wastes from countries with no disposal sites of their own.

It is also a response to the recent Basle Convention calling for new standards regarding international movements of problem wastes.

Law enforcement and the skills and facilities within South Africa will be investigated.

WEEKLY MAIL, February 2 to February 8 1990

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FREE THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Shell urges Government to:

1. End the State of Emergency
2. Release and unban all political leaders
3. Lift restrictions on democratic organisations
4. Allow and encourage freedom of expression

NELSON MANDELA

'Confidential' permit for Cape march

327

By THEMBA MOLEFE

CAPE TOWN'S Chief Magistrate gave the nod to today's march on Parliament after a "mysterious" source applied to him for permission.

The chief magistrate, Mr. W P Theron, yesterday refused to reveal the name of the applicant saying it was confidential.

The Mass Democratic Movement said it had not sought permission for the march and was unaware that permission had been sought on its behalf.

A spokesman for the MDM in Cape Town said the march, which begins at 8am in the city centre, goes on as planned. He said the mysterious granting of permission was a ploy to defuse the intensity of a march.

Meanwhile, it is believed that Mass Democratic Movement leaders have agreed to change key elements of the plan for today's march on Parliament after consultation with Cape Town City Council and that details had been delivered to the magistrate's office.

Today's march, to coincide with the opening of Parliament and to protest against the tricameral institu-

● To page 2

Permit for Cape march

● From page 1

tion, was to have begun and ended at the top of Adderley Street.

Key figures of the United Democratic Front's national executive are expected to be in the demonstration.

Meanwhile, efforts to establish the venue for a meeting between State President Mr F W De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela in Cape Town yesterday failed.

Government sources kept mum on the issue and said De Klerk was not expected to make a statement.

The meeting leaked to the press on Wednesday night and it was rumoured that this was likely to jeopardise the meeting.

New group to fight censorship

(327)

Sowetan 2/2/90.

THE demand that the Government should lift media restrictions based on the state of emergency was misleading as more draconian Acts would still remain on the statute to impede the flow of information.

This was one of the principal points made at the University of the Witwatersrand launch this week of a new anti-censorship organisation to be known as the Campaign for Open Media (Com).

By MATHATHA TSEDU

Com, which started as the Save The Press campaign, was in the forefront of the battle to stop a Government attempt to create a register for journalists and small independent news agencies last year. It is the first formal structure, across media union lines, to wage campaigns against all forms of restrictions on the media.

The launch was attended by founding organisations, the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa), the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ), the Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG), Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ), Conference of Alternative Editors (CAE) and Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers Union (PPWAWU).

A four-person committee was elected consisting of Indicator editor Ameen Akhalwaya, New Nations' restricted editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber and radio personality John Mattison.

Com aims at fighting for the lifting of all censorship and restrictions on the media "in whatever form" and will strive for:

* The lifting of the state of emergency in its entirety.

* The repeal of all laws that impinge on the freedom of expression.

* The removal of Government control on radio and television.

* A moratorium on all prosecutions and the setting aside of all convictions of journalists and media workers for actions taken in the course of their lawful duties, and

* The opening of official, commercial and political sources of information.

The organisation adopted several campaign ideas. These include:

* Inviting journalists from countries such as Chile, Nicaragua, Nigeria and Zimbabwe on fact-finding missions, and

* the production of literature in simple language for distribution among the public to heighten awareness of the media restrictions.

The organisation also accepted October 19 as Press Day.

Alex 'yes' to march

THE Alexandra City Council has given the thumbs up to the Alexandra Civic Organisation's peaceful protest march in the township tomorrow.

In a statement released after the march was approved at Tuesday night's meeting, mayor Mrs Agnes Pooe said: "We as a council have no objection to a peaceful protest march in Alexandra."

"We uphold the principle that people are free to express their point of view as long as that is done in a peaceful and disciplined manner".

March open

THE planned protest march against the high incidence of rape in Soweto on Saturday, is open to all women and concerned people in the community, Mrs Masechaba Mabaso of the Interdenominational Prayer Women League said yesterday.

"I appeal to all women not to be fearful," she said, "let us clean our house and make this township a better place."

W/Mail 2/2 – 8/2/90

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United campaign for a free press

UNITED attempts to campaign for a free press are now underway, begun at this week's launch of the Campaign for an Open Media (Com).

Formerly called the Save the Press Campaign, the new Transvaal-based, umbrella body will pressure for the lifting of Emergency regulations and other legislation such as the Police Act and Internal Security Act, which effectively muzzle the press.

The new body will have well over 1 500 members, including representatives from organisations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Black Sash.

A committee was elected at the launch, consisting of representatives from the founding organisations: the Anti-Censorship Action Group, Southern African Society of Journalists, Media Workers Association of South Africa, Association of Democratic Journalists, Conference of Alternative Editors, Printing Paper and Allied workers Union.

The committee also includes four individuals: Zwelakhe Sisulu, restricted editor of *New Nation*, Anton Harber, *Weekly Mail* co-editor, Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of *The Indicator*, and John Matisonn, the South African representative of National Public Radio, an American radio network.

Matisonn chaired the launch, which was attended by representatives from more than 20 organisations and publications.

Com resolved to campaign for:

- the repeal of all laws that impinge on freedom of expression
- a moratorium on all prosecutions and the setting aside of all convictions of journalists and media workers for actions "which could reasonably be considered to have been taken in the course of their duties"
- the transfer of control of television and radio from the government to the public, and
- the opening up of official, commercial and political sources of information.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

CENSORSHIP (327) W/Mail 2/2 - 8/2/90

At least 471 books, publications, films, plays and objects were banned for distribution and importation by committees of the Directorate of Publications last year while about 68 were also banned for possession, according to the *Weekly Mail's* calculations.

The total may be considerably higher because not all banned items are recorded. These figures also do not reflect the official publications of banned organisations such as the African National Congress, South African Communist Party, and the Pan Africanist Congress, although it does reflect pamphlets by such groups.

Of the items banned for distribution and importation 136 were political publications, 270 were apparently banned for "immorality" and 65 for religious or other reasons. Those banned for possession included 32 political items and 36 apparently viewed as immoral.

Of the 168 items banned for possession and/or importation and distribution on political grounds five were published by groups to the right of the government and 163 by groups to the left of the government.

Organisations which had two or more publications banned included: Swapo (29); ANC (6); United Democratic Front and affiliates (5); Marxist Workers Tendency (4); International Defence and Aid Fund (2); Azanian Students Movement (2); Learn and Teach (2) and Blanke Bevrydingsheidsbeweging (2).

In 1988 a total of 824 books, publications, films, plays and objects were banned for distribution and importation, former Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said in parliament last year. This figure included 728 publications and objects and 96 films.

According to the *Weekly Mail's* calculations, more than 2 700 books, publications, objects, films and plays have been banned for distribution and importation since June 1985 while at least 450 have been banned for possession. Of items banned for distribution and importation, about 1 400 were apparently banned for political reasons, 1 050 for reasons of immorality and about 250 for other reasons. Of the politically-banned items about 20 were published by groups to the right of the government and 1 380 by groups to the left of the government.

Of the 450 items banned for possession about 280 were banned for political reasons, 155 for reasons of immorality and 15 for other reasons. Only four of these were published by right-wing groups.

South African and Namibian organisations most affected by the distribution and importation bans have been the following: Swapo/Plan (132); ANC/Sactu (78); SACP (24); UDF and affiliates (89); Anti-Apartheid Movements (37); Azapo and other National Forum affiliates (30); Committee of South African War Resisters (17); End Conscription Campaign (11); South African Council of Churches (14); Namibian National Students Organisation (11); Namibian trade unions (11); Marxist Workers Tendency/Inqaba ya ba Sebenzi (11); Qibla (9); Blanke Bevrydingsheidsbeweging (6); Pan Africanist Congress (5).

The following organisations were most affected by possession bannings: Swapo (61); ANC/Sactu (25); SACP (13); UDF (13); Cosawr (5); PAC (5); Marxist Workers Tendency (4).

First funding act victim: Wilgespruit

W|Mail 2|2 – 8|2|90

327

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

THE government's decision to declare the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre a "reporting organisation" has been slammed by the South African Council of Churches as an attack on the churches and as a trial run for a similar onslaught against the SACC.

The centre, which has survived many earlier state attempts to close it down, was warned last year along with other organisations that it was in line to be declared a reporting organisation in terms of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act.

It has become the first to be affected in this way, a move which had caused little stir until this week's meeting of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the church leaders' meeting of the SACC. Both condemned the action taken against Wilgespruit.

Last year, before the Foreign Funding Bill became law, the SACBC threatened if it were enacted, they would not comply with the provisions. They claimed it could disrupt the work of the church and that the state would be able to dictate to the church what it could or could not do.

The synods and decision making bodies of other churches have taken a similar stand.

The SACC said the Act enabled the state to exercise surveillance over the churches and related organisations and control their activities. With its implementation against Wilgespruit it had been used "against an arm of the church" and now threatened the curtailment of the work of the centre.

The heads of the SACC member churches added that the state had no right to interfere in the life, witness and legitimate work of the church. When it did so, it placed itself "on the side of the forces of the anti-Christ".

The churches said they would do all in their power to resist it and appealed to their members and other organisations, inside and outside South Africa, to do the same until the Act was repealed.

The overt aims of the Act are to "regulate the disclosure of the receipt of money from outside the Republic by or for certain organisations and persons; and to provide for matters connected therewith".

However, it met deep suspicion as it was common knowledge the Act was intended to replace the Orderly Internal Politics Bill, withdrawn after local and international pressure, which was designed to control foreign funds coming into the country.

Once organisations or individuals are declared "reporting organisations", they have to notify the registrar when they receive foreign money and this has to be deposited into a separate bank account.

The registrar must be given extensive information about the funds, their origin and purpose, and may then require any other information "deemed necessary or expedient".

The funds have to be used for the purpose for which they were provided, and the registrar is entitled to enter any premises without notice and seize any document if this is considered necessary.

Those who have threatened not to comply face stiff penalties if convicted: the law provides for a fine of R40 000 and/or 10 years in jail.

One of the provisions which has drawn most anger is the clause allowing the registrar to "freeze" funds after initiating a prosecution against a reporting organisation.

Wilgespruit executive director Griffiths Zabalala called the move against the centre a "damning indictment" of the state president's reform initiatives.

Peaceful protest in PE

STAR 2/2/90 (327)

PORT ELIZABETH — After handing a petition yesterday to Port Elizabeth chief magistrate Mr J Venter protesting against the death penalty, feuds in Natal and Uitenhage, and calling for clemency for two women on Death Row, a rally was held to wind up a women's peace march.

The rally was addressed by speakers from women's and religious organisations.

It included members of the Black Sash and Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

Calls were made for the improvement of working conditions for domestic workers, release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, negotiations with the ANC, and the return of political exiles.

There were no incidents. MDM marshals exercised strict control.

Police kept a low profile during the march.

It began when hundreds of people in buses, cars and taxis arrived at 10 am singing freedom songs and chanting slogans at an open space near the offices of the SABC.

It ended at 12.30 pm with the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. — Sapa.

Township residents march for lower rents

W/Mail 2/2 — 8/2/90 (Weekend) (327)

By MZIMKULU MALUNGA

THOUSANDS of Alexandra and Pretoria residents are expected to participate in two protest marches this weekend to demand lower rents and better living conditions.

Permission for both marches has been granted by the chief magistrates of Randburg and Pretoria respectively.

The Alexandra march is scheduled for tomorrow, while the Atteridgeville/Saulsville one will take place on Sunday.

According to the publicity secretary of the Alexandra Civic Organisation, Obed Bapela, residents will first gather at the Alexandra Stadium at 1pm before marching to the local town council offices as well as the Alex police station an hour later.

"We will be having about 200 marshals at the mass rally and during the march. The action is going to be peaceful that has been our intention even in the past," he said.

Last year the ACO failed on two occasions to obtain permission to march. Four executive committee were detained when they led an illegal march in November last year.

Among those who will speak at the rally will be Popo Molefe, general secretary of the United Democratic Front, Elijah Barayi, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Bapela said various community, church and student organisations had been invited to march.

Meanwhile, in Pretoria, several representatives from foreign embassies, members of the Mass Democratric Movement and representatives of church organisations are expected to be at the march.

The spokesman of the Atteridgeville Residents Organisation, Reeves Mabitsi, said residents will gather at the Roman Catholic Church next to Kalafong Hospital at 1pm for a brief meeting and thereafter the procession will proceed to the local town council offices — where officials of the town council will receive memoranda on education and rent crisis.

"This will be the biggest march in the township since the declaration of the State of Emergency and we are appealing to our people to restrain from any actions that shall disrupt the peaceful protest," said Mabitsi.

A rash of Border boycotts

SEVERAL small Border towns are clashing with local authorities over the right to protest.

In Tarkastad, west of Queenstown, the town council is desperately trying to end a consumer boycott which started about 10 days ago.

The boycott was launched by the residents of Zola township outside Tarkastad. The Zola Residents' Association (ZRA) had planned to hold the march on January 19 but had to call it off after the town council demanded a R10 000 deposit first "to cover potential damages and losses".

ZRA said they couldn't raise the money and refused to pay.

The march was to protest against local problems, including the December eviction of several residents, alleged wrongful arrests by police, unaffordable housing prices and the reservation of Tarkastad recreational facilities for whites only. Residents are also demanding the resignation of the unpopular township council in favour of their own residents' association.

By LOUISE FLANAGAN, East London

Since the boycott started the council has unsuccessfully tried to negotiate its ending with the ZRA.

Meanwhile, a consumer boycott has started in nearby Jamestown, to the north of Queenstown, after a protest march was prevented there.

In Indwe, just to the east of Queenstown, residents of Mavuya township are planning to hold a protest march on Friday. Marchers have applied for and been granted permission by the local magistrate. Again, the march is to protest against township conditions.

In 1988 Indwe was hit by a consumer boycott for several months when the township protested against increased charges for lodgers' permits. Although there were no organised structures in the town, a boycott committee was formed and most of its members were detained at the time. — Elnews

FW has taken my breath away — Tutu

STAR 3/3/90 (327)

"PRESIDENT de Klerk's sweeping initiatives in the unbanning of the ANC and various other organisations and his unconditional release of Nelson Mandela "has taken my breath away", Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at a press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu said he had expected Mr de Klerk "might deliver something" but the extent of the initiatives "shows he is on the right path".

"We are seeing history in the making and credit must go to our friends and to our people who have persisted in going on against all odds.

"President de Klerk has not met all the conditions, but has gone a long way along the road.

"This is an incredible country and when all the people are able to participate in its politics we will have the greatest country on the African continent."

But the bishop criticised British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, saying: "Mrs Thatcher cannot claim that when Nelson Mandela is released it is because of her." He said, however, that she was welcome to visit South Africa.

On sanctions, he said an "irreversible process" had not been reached whereby sanctions would fall away.

CAT Trib 3/2/90

Bannings lifted by decree

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — No Acts have to be repealed for the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and SA Communist Party to be unbanned, for political prisoners to be released and for certain emergency restrictions to be lifted.

All these powers reside with the State President who can impose or lift them by decree.

The incorporation of the Unlawful Organisations and the Suppression of Communism Acts into the Internal Security Act gave the State President, among other things, the power to ban

...ate moving". — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter and Sapa

...and unban people and organisations, and the emergency regulations also gave him the power to impose banning orders and media restrictions by executive action.

The only Act to be repealed by Parliament will be the Separate Amenities Act. However, Professor John Dugard — who yesterday expressed delight at the measures announced — said it might be necessary to pass legislation indemnifying exiles who return to South Africa.

So yesterday's historic speech will not be translated into a thick dossier of Government Gazettes.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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PROKLAMASIES

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 18, 1990

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953:

VEILIGHEIDSNOODREGULASIES, 1989.
WYSIGING

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet No. 3 van 1953), vaardig ek hierby die regulasies vervat in die Bylae uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Tweede dag van Februarie Eenduisend Negehonderd en Negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

A. J. VLOK,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Wysiging van regulasie 3 van Proklamasie No. R. 86 van 1989

1. Regulasie 3 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, word hierby gewysig—

(a) deur in subregulasie (3) die woorde "of vir solank hierdie regulasies van krag bly" te skrap;

(b) deur in subregulasie (3) na die woord "tydperk" die woorde ", nie vyf maande te bowe gaan nie," in te voeg;

(c) deur na subregulasie (3) die volgende subregulasie in te voeg:

"(3A) Wanneer die Minister kragtens subregulasie (3) die aanhouding van 'n persoon gelas wat 'n vorige tydperk van aanhouding ondergaan het hetsy kragtens daardie subregulasie hetsy kragtens 'n ooreenstemmende bepaling in 'n regulasie wat te eniger tyd sedert 12 Junie 1986 kragtens die Wet van krag was, kan hy in die kennisgewing in genoemde subregulasie (3)

PROCLAMATIONS

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 18, 1990

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953:

SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS,
1989.—AMENDMENT

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No. 3 of 1953), I hereby make the regulations contained in the Schedule.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Second day of February, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

A. J. VLOK,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Amendment of regulation 3 of Proclamation No. R. 86 of 1989

1. Regulation 3 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1989, is hereby amended—

(a) by the deletion in subregulation (3) of the words "or for as long as these regulations remain in force";

(b) by the insertion in subregulation (3) after the word "period" of the words ", not exceeding five months,";

(c) by the insertion after subregulation (3) of the following subregulation:

"(3A) Whenever the Minister under subregulation (3) orders the detention of a person who has undergone a previous period of detention either under that subregulation or under a corresponding provision in a regulation which was in force under the Act at any time since 12 June 1986, he may specify in the notice referred to in

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WALTER SISULU . . .
ANC leader



DONALD WOODS . . .
Ex-editor in exile



ALFRED NZO . . .ANC
secretary-general



OLIVER TAMBO . . .
ANC president



ALBIE SACHS . . .
Cape Town activist

Unbanned leaders can now be heard

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff and IAN HOBBS

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and other exiled leaders can now be heard and read, legally, in their own country.

Not only were the ANC and PAC unbanned yesterday, but the system of "listing" anti-apartheid activists — effectively banning them from being quoted in the media — is to be ended.

The Minister of Education and Training, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said at a press briefing yesterday that the end of the "consolidated list" was "a logical consequence" of the unbanning of the organisations. "There are no further grounds for listing people," he explained.

Among those listed was Mr Tambo who till yesterday could not be quoted in the South African media.

Other prominent ANC leaders who were listed include Mr Chris Hani, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing; Mr Thabo Mbeki, a senior member of the ANC executive; Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general, and Mr Tom Sibina, the ANC's official spokesman.

Long-time anti-apartheid activist Mrs Helen Joseph and a former communist and adviser to Inkatha, Mr Rowley Arenstein, both of whom were house-arrested for long periods, may also now be quoted.

A number of former Cape Town activists have been unlisted, including lawyer Mr Albie Sachs, former trade unionist Mr Ray Alexander, former University of Cape Town academic Mr Harold Simons, former MPC Mr Ben Turok, former Western Cape director of the Christian Institute Mr Theo Kotze, former Native Representative MP Mr Leonard Leo-Warden and architect Mr Jack Barnett.

Since 1950, when the Communist Party of South Africa became the first unlawful organisation, the government has banned 56 organisations.

The unbannings mean that organisations as the UDF, Cosatu and the End Conscription Campaign, National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), the Cape Youth Congress (Cayco), the Western Cape Civic Association and the SA National Students Congress (Sansco) can operate freely again and that the editor of New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, the son of ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu, will be able to resume his position.

Exiled former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch Mr Donald Woods will be able to write in newspapers here again.

In his first quotable speech in 12 years, Mr Woods said: "President De Klerk has astonished me. He has gone further than I thought."

Mr Woods said he, his wife Wendy and their five children "couldn't wait" to visit South Africa.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation: (327) WMcM 2/2/ – 8/2/90

Battle for South Africa — film; Song of the Spear — film; Danger USA — film; Spring Fever USA — film; Star Virgins — film; Frank and I (not stated); Black woman covering her pubic area with towel — poster (not stated); Naked woman kneeling on a striped couch with one breast visible in profile — poster (not stated); Nude couple — head and shoulder view — photograph (Verkerke GMBH, Netherlands); Bunny Girl, Christmas 1989 (Sonskyn Uitgewers); The Penhouse Letters (Edward Springer); Glass with photograph of naked man — object (not stated); Deluxe Lipstick — object (Diane — Paris); Blockbuster — for the boob collector.

PAT DEVEREAUX and
JOVIAL RANTAO

THIRTY years ago in April 1960 at the height of the Sharpeville crisis, the Government banned the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and declared a state of emergency.

However, yesterday's surprise unbanning of the PAC, the ANC and the SACP by F W de Klerk's Government indicates that the Government has changed its tactics and will not be repeating the mistakes of the 1950s when dealing with political opposition.

The 1960 banning of these organisations resulted in a dramatic move away from non-violent resistance by the black population and the adoption of a more militant approach.

Over the next six months over 11 000 political activists were detained and ANC and PAC leaders were forced into exile. The South African Communist Party (SACP) had been outlawed much earlier — soon after the National Party came to power in 1948.

Still reeling from the bannings, the ANC and PAC attempted to construct underground organisations. Representatives from a broad range of black groups met in December 1960 and again in March 1961.

These conferences saw the launch of a campaign for a national convention — the first phase was to begin with a three-day stayaway to coincide with South Africa's becoming a Republic on May 31.

Under the leadership of a national action council headed by Mr Nelson Mandela, the 1961 stayaway call created massive impact. Its success was accredited to mass support by members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The State responded with nightly township searches by police and over 10 000 people were arrested. Armoured vehicles began patrolling townships.

Confronted by the State, the ANC leaders joined members of the SACP in plans for guerilla warfare.

Mr Mandela left the country in 1962 to gain external support. He returned in July after training in Algeria.

December 16 heralded the start of guerilla warfare. Explosions backed by the armed wing of the ANC and the SACP, Umkhonto we Sizwe, rocked South Africa's four main cities.

At the same time Poqo — a movement loyal to the PAC said to be more militant than the Umkhonto — led a revolt in Paarl in November 1962 and planned an uprising for April 1963.

The planned uprising was stopped in its tracks however and 3 000 people were arrested — leading to the collapse of the movement.

Soon after that, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and other leaders of the Umkhonto we Sizwe high command were arrested. Their arrests led to the lengthy Rivonia trial in which most of them were jailed.

The imprisonment or exile of leaders of the ANC, the PAC and the SACP and Sactu led to a lull in black resistance and the backbone of the struggle appeared to be broken.

However, the 1960s saw the birth of a new philosophy which emphasised black leadership, values, and traditions. The emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement was a cornerstone to the revival of national resistance in this country.

By 1976 conflict had reached a crisis point which culminated in the students' rebellion against Black Education. Their protests were met by police bullets.

Conflict continued to flare and subside throughout the next two decades with the Government's policies coming under fire from the international community.

In the 1980s the political climate once more reached a stage which echoed that of the 1950s with the UDF and MDM's mass civil disobedience campaigns as well as large scale political protest.

But this time it appears history won't be repeated and the Government's dramatic unbanning of organisations and the lifting of restrictions means a move toward a new political climate in this country.



THE WAITING IS OVER: A joyous Mrs Winnie Mandela captures the excitment of the moment as she addresses crowds in Greenmarket Square in Cape Town yesterday.

The oldest South African resistance organisation is the ANC which was formed on January 12 1912.

Initially, it had a conservative leadership with a gradualist approach to political reform. After the National Party was elected this leadership was supplanted by a younger generation of radical nationalists.

A year after its formation, the ANC organised a protest against the proposed introduction of passes for black women in the Free State.

In 1919 it sent delegates to the first Pan Africanist Congress in Paris. In the same year a passive resistance movement against passes was waged, which led to disturbances in Johannesburg and elsewhere on March 21. As a result, 700 blacks were arrested.

In 1920, when large numbers of blacks on the mines organised a strike, the ANC supported the workers.

In 1927 the movement was represented by Mr J T Gumede and Mr J A la Guma at the World Congress against Imperialism which was organised by the Communist International in tern in Brussels.

In 1930 ANC meetings were prohibited in rural areas of the Western Province under the amended Riotous Assemblies Act.

On Dingaan's Day (December 16) 1935, a union-wide "Congress of the People" was held in Bloemfontein to oppose the proposed Hertzog Bills, which removed blacks from the voter's roll, prohibited them from purchasing land in areas outside black reserves and restricted the movement of blacks to urban areas and locations.

In 1940, under the influence of the Stalinist faction of the Communist Party, an attempt was made to infuse fresh life into the ANC by appointing Dr A B Xuma as chairman, and a new policy was proposed which would limit the ANC to the constitutional and political interests of the black people.

In 1943 the ANC crystalised its aims: to protect the rights of black people; to fight discriminatory measures; and to promote unity among blacks.

In 1943, the ANC also agitated against the pass laws and 540 delegates attended a national convention in 1944. A petition was circulated, but the hope of attaining a million signatures was not fulfilled.

When the acting Prime Minister refused to personally receive the petition, delegates marched to the Houses of Parliament. Clashes with the police occurred and leaders were arrested.

On June 26 1952 the Defiance Campaign began when 250 leaders of the ANC and South African Indian Congress — later followed by 8 000 specially trained volunteers — infringed regulations governing blacks.

This followed a refusal by the Prime Minister to consider granting administrative, executive or legislative powers to blacks over whites or within the white community.

The ANC made it clear that the Government's refusal left no other way than to prepare people for a passive defiance campaign.

During this period membership of the ANC grew from 20 000 to 100 000. Many of the participants were arrested and sentenced and the campaign gradually petered out.

In 1956 the "Congress of the Democrats" was held in Kliptown, Johannesburg, where the Freedom Charter was adopted.

In 1958/9 a rift between those supporting the Freedom Charter and the Africanists resulted in a split. The Africanists broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Both the PAC and ANC were banned on April 8 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre, which left 67 people dead and many injured.

The ban ended 48 years of peaceful struggle against oppression and in the second half of 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed. A recent London-based journal estimates the ANC has 10 000 guerillas.

On July 11 1963, security police hid in bakery vans and laundry vans and raided Lilliesleaf farm, Rivonia.

They found nine people in the house and open on a table lay "Operation Mayibuye", a blueprint for guerilla warfare in South Africa. It had been drawn up by Mr Arthur Goldreich, formerly a commander in the Israeli guerilla army.

On October 9 1963 one of the most monumental trials ever to take place in South African history began — the Rivonia Trial. Eleven men, including Mr Nelson Mandela, stood in the dock at the Palace of Justice in Pretoria and were charged with sabotage, plotting bloody revolution and the overthrow of the Government.

It was here that Mr Mandela, the president of the ANC's Transvaal division and a member of the High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe established himself as South Africa's most famous political leader.

Eight men, including Mr Mandela, were found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. Six of those found guilty were arrested at Rivonia.

Two others, Mr Arthur Goldreich and Mr Harold Wolpe, were also arrested but escaped from the Johannesburg Fort after bribing a young warden with R4 000. Mr Bob Hepple turned state witness, but was released on bail and fled the country.

Mr Denis Golberg was conditionally released from prison in 1985 and Mr Govan Mbeki was released unconditionally from Robben Island in December 1988.

In October last year, Rivonia trialists Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were unconditionally released from prison, leaving Mr Mandela as the only accused from the Rivonia trial in jail.

All the ANC's men

THE ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

President General — Oliver Tambo.
Secretary General — Alfred Nzo.
Treasurer General — Thomas Nkobi.
President of the Congress of South African Trade Unions — Steve Dhlamini.
Chief of Staff Mkhonto we Sizwe — Chris Hani.
ANC Research Department — Pallo Jordan.
— Mac Maharaj.
— Simon Makana.
Head of International Department — Position vacant.
Director of Education — Henry Makgothi.
Publicity Secretary — Thabo Mbeki.
External Information Director: Editor of *Sechaba* — Francis Meli.
Commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe — Joe Modise.
Chairman of Political Committee and General Secretary of SACTU — John Nkadimeng.
Special Aide to the President General — Mazwai Piliso.
Head of Women Section — Getrude Shope.
General Secretary of the SA Communist Party — Joe Slovo.
Chairman of the SACP, Deputy Treasurer General, and Deputy Secretary General — Dan Tloome.

INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES:

German Democratic Party — Anthony Mongalo.
United Kingdom — Solly Smith.
Sweden — Lindiwe Mabuza.
Zimbabwe — Reddy Mazimba.
Tanzania — Stanley Mazimba.

3/3/90

(327)

Star

3/3/90

(327)

Star

the future

parting of the ways in 1912

Back to

Unbanning of ANC takes old foes back to

(6) Die bepalings van hierdie regulasie kan toegepas word ongeag of enige persoon na aanleiding van die publisering van 'n publikasie of 'n televisie- of rolprentopname in stryd met regulasie 6A, vervolg word of nie.".

Wysiging van regulasie 12 van Proklamasie No. R. 86 van 1989

6. Regulasie 12 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, word hierby gewysig—

(a) deur in paragraaf (b) die uitdrukking "3(8)," te skrap; en

(b) deur in paragraaf (c) na die uitdrukking "regulasie 4" die uitdrukking ",6A" in te voeg.

Invoeging van regulasie 14A in Proklamasie No. R. 86 van 1989

7. Die volgende regulasie word hierby in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, na regulasie 14 ingevoeg:

"Bewys van sekere feite

14A. Indien by enige verrigtinge voor 'n geregshof die vraag ontstaan of die Minister, ten opsigte van stappe wat deur hom kragtens regulasie 3 (3), 7 (1), 8 (1) of 9 (1) gedoen is of heet te wees, van oordeel was, ooreenkomstig die bedoeling van daardie regulasie, dat daardie stappe nodig was vir die veiligheid van die publiek, die handhawing van die openbare orde of die beëindiging van die noodtoestand, word 'n geskrif wat 'n beëdigde verklaring is of heet te wees van 'n persoon wat in daardie geskrif beweer dat hy die Minister van Wet en Orde was op die tydstip toe die stappe gedoen is en dat hy die stappe gedoen het nadat hy van oordeel was dat daardie stappe nodig was vir die veiligheid van die publiek, die handhawing van die openbare orde of die beëindiging van die noodtoestand, na gelang van die geval, by blote voorlegging daarvan by bedoelde verrigtinge deur enige persoon, as afdoende bewys van die feite daarin vermeld, aanvaar.".

Kort titel

8. Hierdie regulasies heet die Veiligheidswysigingsnoodregulasies, 1990.

No. R. 19, 1990

INTREKKING VAN PROKLAMASIE INGEVOLGE DIE WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet No. 3 van 1953), trek ek hierby Proklamasie No. R. 88 van 9 Junie 1989 in.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Tweede dag van Februarie Eenduisend Negehonderd-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

E. VAN DER M. LOUW,
Minister van die Kabinet.

(6) The provisions of this regulation may be applied irrespective of whether any person is prosecuted in consequence of the publishing of a publication or a television or film recording in contravention of regulation 6A.".

Amendment of regulation 12 of Proclamation No. R. 86 of 1989

6. Regulation 12 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1989, is hereby amended—

(a) by the deletion in paragraph (b) of the expression "3(8),"; and

(b) by the insertion in paragraph (c) after the expression "regulation 4" of the expression ", 6A".

Insertion of regulation 14A in Proclamation No. R. 86 of 1989

7. The following regulation is hereby inserted in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1989, after regulation 14:

"Proof of certain facts

14A. If in any proceedings before a court of law the question arises whether the Minister, in respect of steps taken or purported to have been taken by him under regulation 3 (3), 7 (1), 8 (1) or 9 (1), was of the opinion, within the meaning of that regulation, that such steps were necessary for the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency, a document being or purporting to be an affidavit made by a person who in that document alleges that he was the Minister of Law and Order at the time when such steps were taken and that he had taken such steps after he was of the opinion that such steps were necessary for the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the termination of the state of emergency, as the case may be, shall, on its mere production at the said proceedings by any person, be accepted as conclusive proof of the facts stated therein.".

Short title

8. These regulations shall be called the Security Amendment Emergency Regulations, 1990.

No. R. 19, 1990

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WITHDRAWAL OF PROCLAMATION IN TERMS OF THE PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No. 3 of 1953), I hereby withdraw Proclamation No. R. 88 of 9 June 1989.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Second day of February, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

E. VAN DER M. LOUW,
Minister of the Cabinet.

No. R. 20, 1990

INTREKKING VAN PROKLAMASIE No. R. 89 VAN 9 JUNIE 1989 INGEVOLGE DIE WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 3 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet No. 3 van 1953), trek ek hierby Proklamasie No. R. 89 van 9 Junie 1989 in.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Tweede dag van Februarie Eenduisend Negehonderd-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

C. J. VAN DER MERWE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

No. R. 21, 1990

WYSIGING VAN BYLAE 4 VAN DIE WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 69 (7) (b) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet No. 74 van 1982), skrap ek hierby die name van die volgende onwettige organisasies uit Bylae 4 van genoemde Wet:

1. Die African National Congress, ook bekend as die ANC, met inbegrip van Umkhonto we Sizwe.
2. Die Pan African Congress, ook bekend as die PAC of Poqo.
3. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party, ook bekend as die Kommunistiese Party van Suid-Afrika of KPSA.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Tweede dag van Februarie Eenduisend Negehonderd-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN JUSTISIE

No. R. 229 **3 Februarie 1990**

KENNISGEWING KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 4 (3) VAN DIE WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 4 (3) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet No. 74 van 1982), trek ek hierby die proklamasies en kennisgewing vermeld in die Bylae in.

Geteken te Kaapstad op die 2de dag van Februarie 1990.

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van Justisie.

No. R. 20, 1990 327

WITHDRAWAL OF PROCLAMATION No. R. 89 OF 9 JUNE 1989 IN TERMS OF THE PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

Under the powers vested in me by section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No. 3 of 1953), I hereby withdraw Proclamation No. R. 89 of 9 June 1989.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Second day of February, One thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

C. J. VAN DER MERWE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

No. R. 21, 1990

AMENDMENT OF SCHEDULE 4 OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982 327

Under the powers vested in me by section 69 (7) (b) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act No. 74 of 1982), I hereby remove the names of the following unlawful organizations from Schedule 4 of the said Act:

1. The African National Congress, also known as the ANC, including Umkhonto we Sizwe.
2. The Pan African Congress, also known as the PAC or Poqo.
3. The South African Communist Party, also known as the Communist Party of South Africa or SACP.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Second day of February, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in Cabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE 327

No. R. 229 **3 February 1990**

NOTICE UNDER SECTION 4 (3) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982

Under the powers vested in me by section 4 (3) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act No. 74 of 1982), I hereby withdraw the proclamations and notice set out in the Schedule.

Signed at Cape Town this 2nd day of February 1990.

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of Justice.

BYLAE

Proklamasie No. 119 van 8 April 1960.
Proklamasie No. R. 218 van 7 September 1962.
Proklamasie No. 91 van 10 Mei 1963.
Proklamasie No. 92 van 10 Mei 1963.
Proklamasie No. 93 van 10 Mei 1963.
Proklamasie No. 94 van 10 Mei 1963.
Proklamasie No. 183 van 12 Julie 1963.
Proklamasie No. 184 van 12 Julie 1963.
Proklamasie No. 185 van 12 Julie 1963.
Proklamasie No. 242 van 25 September 1964.
Proklamasie No. R. 305 van 13 November 1964.
Proklamasie No. R. 38 van 4 Februarie 1966.
Proklamasie No. R. 77 van 18 Maart 1966.
Proklamasie No. R. 282 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 283 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 284 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 285 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 286 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 287 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 288 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 289 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 290 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 291 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 292 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 293 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 294 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 295 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 296 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 297 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 298 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 299 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 1977 van 28 Augustus 1985.

No. R. 230 **3 Februarie 1990**

KENNISGEWING KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 5 (2) VAN DIE WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 5 (2) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet No. 74 van 1982), trek ek hierby die proklamasies vermeld in die Bylae in.

Geteken te Kaapstad op die 2de dag van Februarie 1990.

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van Justisie.

BYLAE

Proklamasie No. 103 van 23 Mei 1952.
Proklamasie No. 195 van 22 Oktober 1954.
Proklamasie No. R. 309 van 30 November 1962.
Proklamasie No. R. 35 van 1 Maart 1963.
Proklamasie No. R. 179 van 7 Augustus 1964.
Proklamasie No. R. 300 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 301 van 19 Oktober 1977.
Proklamasie No. R. 302 van 19 Oktober 1977.

No. R. 231 **3 Februarie 1990**

KENNISGEWING KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 23 (2) VAN DIE WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 23 (2) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet No. 74 van 1982), trek ek hierby die kennisgewings vermeld in die Bylae in.

SCHEDULE

Proclamation No. 119 of 8 April 1960.
Proclamation No. R. 218 of 7 September 1962.
Proclamation No. 91 of 10 May 1963.
Proclamation No. 92 of 10 May 1963.
Proclamation No. 93 of 10 May 1963.
Proclamation No. 94 of 10 May 1963.
Proclamation No. 183 of 12 July 1963.
Proclamation No. 184 of 12 July 1963.
Proclamation No. 185 of 12 July 1963.
Proclamation No. 242 of 25 September 1964.
Proclamation No. R. 305 of 13 November 1964.
Proclamation No. R. 38 of 4 February 1966.
Proclamation No. R. 77 of 18 March 1966.
Proclamation No. R. 282 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 283 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 284 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 285 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 286 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 287 of 19 October 1977.
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Proclamation No. R. 294 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 295 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 296 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 297 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 298 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 299 of 19 October 1977.
Government Notice No. R. 1977 of 28 August 1985.

No. R. 230 **3 February 1990**

NOTICE UNDER SECTION 5 (2) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982

327

Under the powers vested in me by section 5 (2) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act No. 74 of 1982), I hereby withdraw the proclamations set out in the Schedule.

Signed at Cape Town this 2nd day of February 1990.

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of Justice.

SCHEDULE

Proclamation No. 103 of 23 May 1952.
Proclamation No. 195 of 22 October 1954.
Proclamation No. R. 309 of 30 November 1962.
Proclamation No. R. 35 of 1 March 1963.
Proclamation No. R. 179 of 7 August 1964.
Proclamation No. R. 300 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 301 of 19 October 1977.
Proclamation No. R. 302 of 19 October 1977.

No. R. 231 **3 February 1990**

NOTICE UNDER SECTION 23 (2) OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982

327

Under the powers vested in me by section 23 (2) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act No. 74 of 1982), I hereby withdraw the notices set out in the Schedule.

Star will continue to fight curbs

THE Saturday Star is no longer operating under the media regulations.

We are able to report without having to resort to devices to get round the restrictions, though still having to watch carefully the security laws.

Photographs of demonstrators and police actions in "unrest" are still banned, but we shall continue to challenge the regulations and keep readers aware of events and informed of censorship.

ANC: It's a victory, but not enough

ROBIN DREW and SAPA-REUTER

STOCKHOLM — ANC leaders visiting Sweden welcomed South Africa lifting the ban on political organisations, saying "victory is in sight".

Former ANC Secretary-General Mr Walter Sisulu told a news conference that President de Klerk had done a great deal by lifting a 30-year-old ban on the organisation.

"But he has not yet gone far enough," and added that economic sanctions must be maintained.

The ANC would have liked to have seen Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners set free immediately and soldiers removed from townships.

Mr Sisulu said Mr de Klerk had shown "he is a man the ANC can, and will, talk to.

"But this is merely a beginning. We want the ending of apartheid and the regime to be committed to that. That's what we are aiming at and what the world is committed to now."

ANC leaders in Stockholm issued a statement saying the removal of the ban "goes a long way towards creating a climate conducive to negotiations".

But the ANC was concerned that not all political prisoners would be released and demanded that the state of emergency be lifted.

ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo and SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo were due to travel to Sweden yesterday from Lusaka.

The two organisations will hold a meeting to review the political situation after yesterday's announcement by President de Klerk.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni, one of the ANC leaders released last October, said he was surprised at Mr de Klerk's lifting the ban on the SACP. "We did not expect that."

Swedish Prime Minister Mr Ingvar Carlsson and Foreign Minister Mr Sten Andersson welcomed President de Klerk's announcement.

Mr Andersson said the international economic

TO PAGE 2.

Right slates F W's 'black day'

STAR 3/3/90 (327)

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE and ALAN DUNN

RIGHTWING extra-parliamentary organisations have slated State President F W de Klerk's decision to unban organisations such as the ANC and the SACP.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, vowed that the AWB would defend its people and property "with violence" to restore law and order.

"With this step the Government succumbed to leftist extra-parliamentary organisations. Right-wing politics have been made powerless."

He said the AWB would take up the State President's invitation to the leaders of "all groups and nations" to participate in negotiations.

Yesterday's announcements signified the "total collapse" of the National Party and the Government, said the AWB leader.

Professor Johann Schabort, leader of the now unrestricted Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), said: "It is a black day for South Africa when terrorist and communist organisations are legalised."

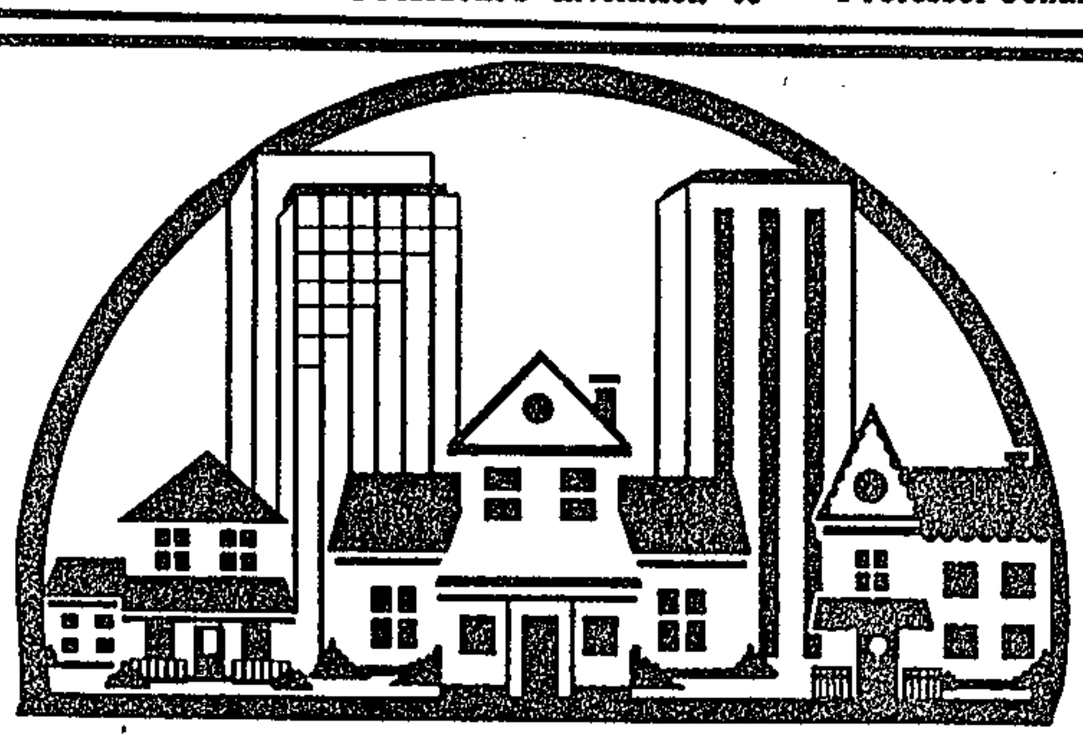
The BBB would immediately resume its role of "assisting the Conservative Party by creating the right climate on the ground".

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said it was unwise to unban political organisations "if the outcome will be a unitary state".

If Mr de Klerk's reference to universal franchise meant a one man, one vote system, it would mean the end of white democracy in South Africa.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party and official opposition, said yesterday that President de Klerk had no mandate to make the changes he did.

Dr Treurnicht described the speech as "most revolutionary", and spoke of "shocking announcements".



COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY

A SPECIAL SURVEY ON THIS TOPIC
WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE STAR
ON WEDNESDAY 7 MARCH 1990

'About 77' will be released

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Prisons Department yesterday announced that about 77 prisoners would benefit by President De Klerk's announcement yesterday and people entitled to release would be attended to within days.

But while the news of the dispensation was greeted with jubilation by the families of prisoners, debate over the definition of a political prisoner continued.

Mr De Klerk's definition, as put forward in his address, was of people serving prison sentences merely because they were members of the ANC, PAC or South African Communist Party, or because they committed an offence which was merely illegal because of the ban on one of the organisations.

He emphasised that prisoners sentenced for crimes such as murder, arson and terrorism would not be freed.

The ANC view is that any action performed with a political motive should fall into the category of a political offence.

A founding member of the Human Rights Commission, Dr Max Coleman, estimated that about half of about 350 political prisoners — excluding unrest-related detainees — would be released.

Lawyers for Human Rights National Director Mr Brian Currin, who praised Mr De Klerk's initiatives, said thousands of people were incarcerated for political reasons, but he did not know how many would be released.

Community Resource and Information Centre spokesman Mr Pumlani Xaba said the majority of Robben Island prisoners were ANC military wing members but as most were imprisoned for violence-related charges, he doubted they would be released.

Mr De Klerk's announcement authorised the Prisons Service to arrange for research into the warrants of prisoners at 205 prisons throughout South Africa.



People demonstrate their joy in spontaneous rallies in Johannesburg.

Protest rally became a march of triumph

C/Pron 4/2/90

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THE MDM-organised protest march in Cape Town against the tricameral political system in South Africa changed into victory celebrations at the historic Grand Parade when the unbanning of the ANC by President FW de Klerk was announced.

But in Greenmarket Square, Winnie Mandela, sharing a platform with Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said "we warn De Klerk we will not be prepared to accept a bone with no meat".

Tutu told the marchers: "We are not anybody's doormat. We are marching as part of our struggle for justice and peace. We are walking so you will be able to give the police real police work – so that they will arrest murderers and criminals and hit squads."

Pausing outside the House of Assembly, the crowd broke into loud chants of "Viva ANC" and spokesmen called over loud-hailers for the dissolution of Parliament.

An ANC flag was draped over the head of the nearby statue of General Jan Smuts.

Most shop-owners in Adderley Street closed their doors as the marchers walked past but reopened for business again as soon as the road was clear.

At the end of the march on the Grand Parade leaders spoke to the crowd. Among those present at the rally were UDF national vice-president Archie Gumede, UDF treasurer Mohammed Valli Moosa and recently-released treason trialists Terror Lekota and Popo Molefe.



National Union of Metalworkers general secretary Moses Mayekiso said "we want De Klerk to announce the dissolution of Parliament today".

However, he said it would be unreasonable if the people failed to acknowledge De Klerk's "bold and courageous concessions".

Capt. Attie Laubscher

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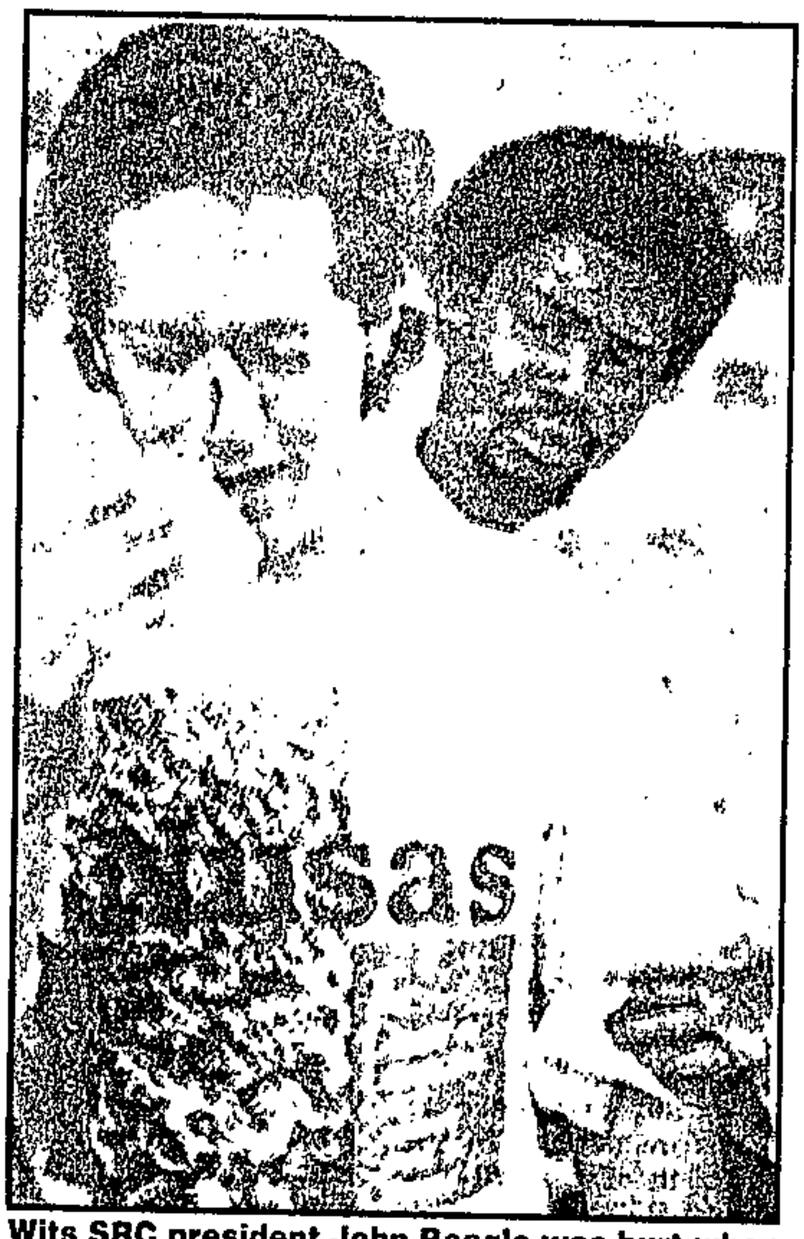

Wits SRC president John Beagle was hurt when police broke up a demonstration on campus.

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Capt Attie Laubscher of the local police liaison department said police were satisfied that the march went off peacefully, but that incidents of stonethrowing were reported from four railway stations when the marchers returned home.

Two policemen and one member of the public were slightly injured, he said. – Sapa.



Demonstrators march past the Parliament building in Cape Town and down Adderley Street to Grand Parade.

IN what is widely regarded as a far-reaching speech at Friday's opening of Parliament, State President FW de Klerk announced, among others, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP. On this page we carry excerpts from the speech.



Part of the jubilant crowd near the House of Assembly in Cape Town on Friday. They came to protest and left rejoicing – guardedly – at President FW de Klerk's important new moves.

TIMELINE

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years:

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Separate Amenities to go

THE Separate Amenities Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament.

Various ministers would be making important announcements on socio-economic matters during the course of the session.

A changed dispensation implied far more than political and constitutional issues, De Klerk said. It could not be pursued successfully in isolation from problems in other spheres of life which demanded practical solutions.

"Poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, health needs and numerous other problems still stand in the way of progress and prosperity and an improved quality of life."

The conservation of the physical and human environment was of cardinal importance to the quality of existence and for this reason the government was developing a strategy with the aid of an investigation by the President's Council.

"All these challenges are being dealt with urgently and comprehensively. The capability for this has to be created in an economically accountable manner.

"Consequently, existing strategies and aims are undergoing a comprehensive revision," he said.

"From this will emanate important policy announcements in the socio-economic sphere by the responsible ministers during the course of the session.

"One matter about which it is possible to make a concrete announcement is on the Separate Amenities Act of 1953. After my speech before the President's Council late last year, I announced that this Act will be repealed during this session of Parliament."

He said the State alone could not possibly deal with all the advancement South Africa's circumstances demanded.

The community at large and especially the private sector also had a major responsibility towards the welfare of our country and its people. – Sapa.

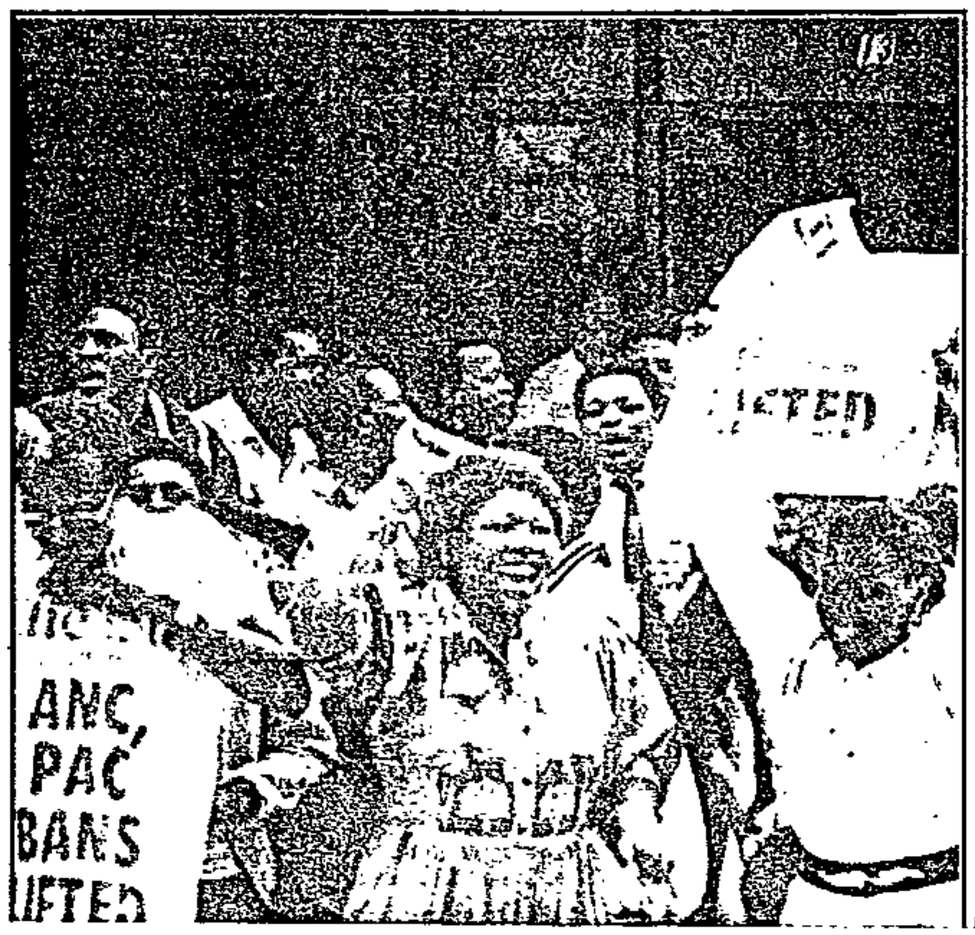
National states could rejoin SA

THE re-incorporation of the independent national states into South Africa is one of many possibilities for the future of the territories.

There had recently been some debate about whether or not the TBVC countries should be re-incorporated into South Africa but it was only one of many possibilities, said De Klerk.

These countries are constitutionally independent and any return to South Africa would have to be dealt with not only by means of legislation in their parliaments, but also through legislation in the South African Parliament.

THE UNBANNINGS



Crowds sing freedom songs in city streets

By SOPHIE TEMA and SELLO SERIPE

PEOPLE took to Johannesburg's streets dancing and singing freedom songs after President FW de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and PAC on Friday.

Groups of excited people shouted at every street corner "Viva ANC, Viva PAC" as they moved down the streets with clenched fists raised.

"Release Mandela and bring back our brothers and sisters who are in exile to a free Azania," they shouted.

Sanna Twala, 72, from Soweto stood for almost 30 minutes at the corner of Eloff and Commissioner streets singing *Siyabonga Baba, Siyabonga Jesu* – "We thank you Father, we thank you Jesus" with tears streaming down her cheeks.

As she sang some people joined her in the chorus. She then stopped and said: "I am singing with joy in my heart because this is the day that I have always prayed for.

"I am grateful to God because little did I realise that people like Mandela would be released during my lifetime. I remember when I last saw Mandela. He had appeared in court on charges of treason. He was a young and handsome lawyer and showed qualities of a good leader."

She said: "*Buya Madiba, buya uzosikhulula* – come back Madiba, come and set us free." Madiba is Mandela's clan name.

Eva Sidumo said she was shocked when she suddenly saw a group of youths moving down Eloff Street carrying a Russian flag and singing freedom songs.

"I inquired from other people what was going on and was told that the ANC and PAC had been unbanned," she said.

"I thought that I heard them wrong. I then asked a white man who was standing in the doorway of a shop who confirmed that what I had heard was true. I have a brother in exile. And when I thought of his possible return to South Africa I got into a state of hysteria and loudly called out the name of De Klerk.

"I could not help but praise President de Klerk for the announcement and felt that if he was close to me I would shake his hand."

Ezrom Dube, a bank messenger, said: "Let our brothers and sisters come home. Let our leaders come out of exile then we can solve our problems together as a nation."

"This is a good Friday," declared Welcome Mokoena, 27, of Mapetla. "Perhaps the Nobel Prize will go to FW de Klerk this year."

Adding that the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and the PAC was long overdue, Mokoena said he hoped the next step would be to halt the bloody Natal violence.

Petrus Phadi, 22, of Thokoza, said: "February 2 will go down in history as a very important day in South Africa. I hope it will be declared a public holiday."

De Klerk had earned the respect of the black masses, said Nicholas Mohare, 30, of Diepkloof Zone 4.

"However, as long as the exiles are not allowed to return home, the black masses will continue to pester the government."

"Eugene Terre'Blanche can eat his heart out," said motor mechanic Peter Mokoatsi, 28, of Central Western Jabavu.

"His threats of carrying out violent acts against the black community will be met with resistance. Gone are the days when they (AWB) used to push us around in our country."



The ANC flag draped from a Hillbrow building.

(327)

Foundations laid for future – FW



President FW de Klerk ... historic initatives.

Banned organisations are now in the clear

THE immediate abolition of bannings of the ANC, PAC and SACP and emergency regulation restrictions was announced by President FW De Klerk at the opening of Parliament on Friday, when he claimed the government had now laid the foundations for sensible leaders to start talking.

The government had also taken "a firm decision to unconditionally release Nelson Mandela". The date would be decided soon.

De Klerk announced that:

- The prohibition of the ANC, PAC, SACP and their subsidiary organisations had been rescinded;
- All prisoners held due to their membership, or acts flowing from their membership, of these organisations, excluding crimes of violence, would be identified and released;
- All death sentences would be suspended until further decisions by Parliament;
- The media and education emergency regulations were abolished entirely;
- The State of Emergency restrictions on 33 organisations, including the UDF, NECC and Cosatu, were rescinded;
- The conditions imposed on 374 released security detainees were rescinded and the regulations making provision for such restrictions abolished;
- The period of detention in terms of the security emergency regulations to be limited to six months with detainees acquiring the right to legal represenation and own medical practioner; and
- The scrapping of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act during this session of Parliament.

De Klerk said the emergency regulations would be amended to retain effective control over visual material pertaining to scenes of unrest.

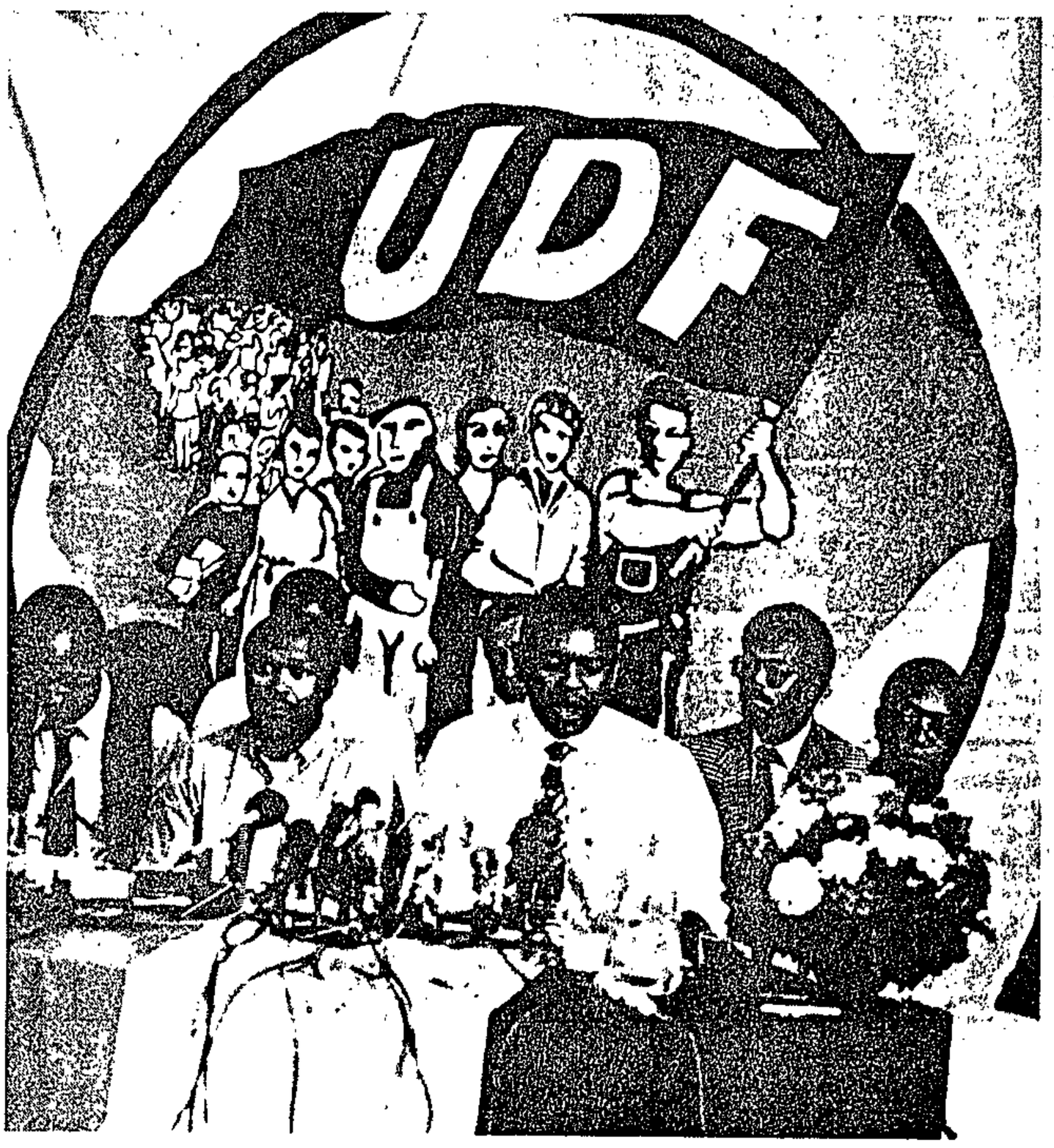
The Minister of Education and Development Aid, Stoffel van der Merwe, said the speech signified the setting of the sun over the old South Africa and its rising over an entirely new one today.

Most of the preconditions to talks had been met. The outstanding issues such as the scrapping of apartheid legislation were matters that could not be done overnight.

In his address to Parliament De Klerk said the lifting of the prohibition on organisations in no way signified the least measure of approval or condonation of violence committed under their banner or which might be perpetrated in future.

He had been advised that an emergency situation which justified the emergency regulations still existed. There was still conflict – mainly in Natal – which stemmed from a country-wide political power struggle and there were still indications that radicals were trying to disrupt the possibilities of negotiation by means of mass violence.

"It is my intention to terminate the state of emergency completely as soon as circumstances justify it," De Klerk said. – Sapa.



UDF leaders address Friday's historic Press conference in Cape Town. From the left they are: Archie Gumede, Murphy Morobe, Terror Lekota, Moses Mayekiso, and Popo Molefe.

Joseph: A costly, people's victory

By CONNIE MOLUSI

THE red tape that silenced Congress of Democrats stalwart Helen Joseph for 36 years was peeled off on Friday.

The ailing anti-apartheid activist hailed the drastic reforms as representing a "great day of joy for South Africa".

"I had given up all hope of ever being allowed to continue the fight for a just and democratic society in our beautiful land," said the 84-year-old Joseph.

Though welcoming the dramatic changes, she attributed them to pressure exerted on the government.

"These changes were not a change of heart on the part of the Nationalist government, but rather the result of pressure as the government was terrified of sanctions.

"The country is already bankrupt so the government was forced to accept the reality that the struggle for freedom is growing stronger every day," said Joseph.

The veteran activist was moved by the moratorium on hangings and the pledge to review the death penalty in South Africa.

"It has been a day of joy and sadness for those mothers and wives who have lost sons and husbands who died in the struggle. Although they did not die in vain, the fact remains they are dead.

"It is a people's victory, but it has been costly," she said.

SUPERSPY WILLIAMSON PREACHES PEACE

By HAMISH McINDOE

BARELY hours after President F W de Klerk unbanned the ANC, former superspy Craig Williamson appealed to the three men he betrayed in the movement to "play a new role".

In an emotion-charged letter to "Mac, Aziz and Ronnie" — the ANC operatives with whom he worked closely during an extraordinary three-year spying mission in Europe — Mr Williamson said: ST Times 4/2/90

"I wonder what on earth our country is going to do with us, the hard men, the warriors?

"We have all seen too much bloodshed and suffering . . . people such as you and I need to reflect deeply about our political work and our war."

Lusaka-based Mr Ronnie Kasrils is now intelligence chief of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Aziz Pahad are executive members of the movement, based in London and Lusaka. However, Mr Maharaj, 55, is seriously ill in a Moscow hospital where he is receiving treatment for a liver ailment. (327)

"It was Ronnie who trained me in explosives," Mr Williamson told the Sunday Times after revealing the contents of the letter.

"Ironically, he and I went on to occupy similar positions at opposite ends of the political pole . . . Ronnie with the ANC and I with the SAP."

After stoking up student politics as an SAP plant in Nusas, Mr Williamson — codenamed Newman — was sent to Europe in 1977 to infiltrate the ANC from a Geneva spy base.

He came in from the cold three years later and returned to South Africa in a blaze of publicity.

"There is no glamour or romance in a dirty war. We have buried too many of our friends for that," writes Mr Williamson to his former comrades.

"But we need to rise above the evil done by us all, on both sides, in the name of our different definitions of freedom."

And he ends the letter: "Yours in hope and peace."

● Mr Williamson is a National Party member of the President's Council.

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Apartheid's pillars remain

By DJ McQUOID-MASON

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's opening address to parliament on February 2 1990 is a direct challenge to the liberation movements to engage in negotiations with the government and others towards the establishment of a new South Africa.

Although De Klerk made several major concessions to the demands of the democratic movement in South Africa, many of these concessions will still operate against the background of the existing security and apartheid legislation in this country.

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP means that these organisations can once again operate legally and establish offices, recruit members and hold meetings. Likewise, exiled members should be able to return if they satisfy the necessary immigration formalities.

Members of MK could also return if they returned to South Africa as civilian members and laid down their arms. They would be subject to the existing laws regarding the carrying of arms, and could be charged with "murder", "treason" or "terrorism" for unlawful acts that resulted in the death of individuals or destruction of property.

Despite the unbanning of these organisations it should be borne in mind that the current security legislation is still in force and it would be possible to subject the leadership and members of these organisations to the same form of harassment by the state authorities as has happened with other anti-apartheid organisations in the country.

Hopefully, however, in the spirit of negotiation, such "dirty tricks" will not be used.

The lifting of the media and education emergency regulations means that the newspapers and media will be able to publish full reports on so-called "unrest activities" and education bodies will be able to pursue their plans for a "people's education" programme.

The media will, however, be restricted in terms of "visual material" and will still be subject to the host of other laws that inhibit the freedom of the press.

The lifting of restrictions on 33 organisations including the NECC, Sansco, UDF and Cosatu means that these organisations will once again be able to operate freely. It should, however, be remembered that when these organisations were not restricted, their leaders and members were often subjected to harassment and intimidation by the authorities.

Unless the police and other authorities are told to cooperate in establishing a proper climate for negotiation, there is a danger that such harassment and intimidation could reoccur.

The same applies to the 374 people restricted in terms of the emergency regulations who will have their restriction orders lifted, and the political prisoners who have been sentenced for ANC, PAC and SACP activities who will be freed.

The latter, however, do not include those sentenced for murder, "terrorism" or arson as these have been regarded as crimes rather than political offences, even though they might have been politically motivated.

Until such time as cadres operating as the military wing of the liberation movement are given the status of prisoners of war, it is likely that they will continue to be treated as ordinary criminals irrespective of their motives.

The detention without trial of persons under the state of emergency will be limited to six months and they will have the right to legal representation and access to their own private medical practitioners.

This provision will only be meaningful, however, if it is also extended to the Internal Security Act instead of the emergency regulations to detain people.

This mechanism was used extensively prior to the introduction of the emergency regulations.

The suspension of executions of death row prisoners until such time as parliament has decided on how to reform the death penalty will be welcomed by organisations campaigning for the abolition of capital punishment.

The government is considering introducing a discretion for judges when imposing the death penalty for murder, whereas in the past the sentence has been mandatory where there are no extenuating circumstances.

The government is also likely to introduce an automatic right of appeal against the death penalty to enable all cases to be brought before the Appellate Division. In the past such an appeal could only take place with the leave of the judge who sentenced the accused to death.

Abolitionists will not be satisfied until the death penalty has been abolished but will regard this as a useful first step towards abolition.

It seems that the government is tentatively preparing for the return of the TCVB countries, although De Klerk made it clear that even if the "national states" legislated to be reunited with South Africa it would also be necessary for the South African parliament to pass the necessary legislation.

This is a short step along the way to meet the demand by the democratic movement that post-apartheid South Africa should be a unitary state.

De Klerk mentioned that the Separate Amenities Act would be repealed during the coming parliamentary session but made no mention of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

Essentially, therefore, the two main statutory pillars of apartheid remain intact. Until they are repealed South Africa will never be free of apartheid.

If the Separate Amenities Act is repealed it will be necessary for the courts to review the principle that has been incorporated into our common law that the discredited "separate but equal" doctrine should be applied when dealing with the question of facilities provided for people of different races.

Unless a new constitution incorporating the protection of human rights is negotiated with people representing the majority of South Africans, it will lack credibility.

Concessions

Although De Klerk did not satisfy the final demand of the democratic movement that the state of emergency should be completely lifted, he has made some significant concessions in his bid to create a "climate for negotiation".

In the eyes of the outside world De Klerk will be seen to have seized the initiative and the ball will be now in the democratic movement's court.

There is a desperate need to rebuild the structures on the ground of the previously banned and restricted organisations and to provide leadership and direction for people, particularly the youth, in the strife-torn "killing fields" of Natal.

Although Nelson Mandela has still not been released it is clear that he has played a crucial role in facilitating the concessions made by De Klerk.

His release will enable him to operate freely with the present leadership of the democratic movement to shape South Africa into a united democratic country that can take its place in the community of nations.

(Prof D J McQuoid-Mason is Dean of the School of Law at the University of Natal in Durban.)

UNBANNING

'Wonderful' response to unbanning of ANC, SACP

THE singing, the dancing and the waving of hundreds of tiny black, green and gold flags in the Cape Town city centre on Friday aptly summed up how the majority of people felt about the unbanning of the ANC.

"Wonderful!" said Cape Technikon student Antoinette Pedro. "It's about time the government unbanned the ANC. But on the other hand, I don't think De Klerk has gone far enough. More changes are needed."

She added: "It's significant that we, the young generation, are creating a non-racial South Africa of tomorrow."

Mrs Patricia Sixishe, of Tarkastad, said she was happy about the unbanning of the ANC because the organisation was fighting for everyone. "Now for a new South Africa," she added.

A woman who refused to give her name said: "I'm not interested in talking about the ANC."

Mitchell's Plain pensioner Carl Ebrahim said: "I can't read and I don't know anything about FW de Klerk and the ANC."

Window-dressing

Mr A Khan of Hanover Park was not impressed by De Klerk's announcement: "The unbanning of the ANC means nothing — it's just window-dressing," he said. "Violence will continue until repressive laws such as the Group Areas Act and the Labour Relations Act are repealed."

"The unbanning of the ANC is good for money," said a newspaper vendor in Adderly Street. "I've never seen so many smiling faces in Cape Town".

Said a flower seller: "I don't know anything about the ANC. I don't read about politics in the newspapers"

National serviceman Mr NR Swart of Bothasig felt that the unbanning of the South African Communist Party was a "bad move".

"It will open the doors to Soviet socialism and all kinds of terrorism," he said. But he added: "I don't mind the unbanning of the ANC, because all it wants is for Mandela to be released.

Mr R Aickman of Sea Point said the unbanning was a step in the right direction. "The government must now stop talking and start implementing all its manifestos."

Nora Tshuka, a teacher from Strandfontein, said: "I'm pleased about the unbanning. It gives us a hope for a brighter tomorrow. We are eagerly waiting for our brothers and sisters in exile to come back home".



Mrs Patricia Sixishe: Now for a new South Africa



Mr NR Swart: A bad move



Mr A Khan: Just window-dressing



Antoinette Pedro: About time government unbanned ANC

Tragedy mars 'victory' celebrations

South 5/2-14/2/90

By LECHESA TSENOLI

A CELEBRATORY toyi-toyi by Lamontville youth following the announcement of the unbanning of the ANC ended in tragedy when a 14-year-old boy was shot dead by police.

Bafo Malinga — a pupil who could not find a place in a local high school this year because of overcrowding — was among a group of about 50 youths who were waving ANC flags and chanting slogans on their way to a meeting.

As the group passed the police station a policeman opened fire, critically injuring Malinga who fell to the ground about 10 metres from the police station.

Malinga was taken by ambulance to the King Edward Hospital where he died just over an hour later.

His brother, Jabavu Malinga, said the family was considering legal action.

"I am very unhappy about what happened. Why did they have to shoot an unarmed child?" Malinga said.

The police unrest report confirmed that a youth was "wounded" in the township when a police vehicle was fired on.

• A man was shot dead and a youth injured when they were attacked by a group at Imbali near Pietermaritzburg, the police public relations department said in its daily unrest report on Saturday.

According to the report, "a group of blacks, waving ANC flags, threw stones and fired at a police base at Lamontville near Durban at 8.35pm on Saturday.

"In the incident a vehicle returning to the base was shot at. While removing the vehicle to safety the driver was fired at by four blacks

The driver returned the fire, wounding a youth. Two others were arrested in the incident.

"The group were displaying ANC flags and shouted that the SAP should withdraw from the townships as the ANC was in charge of Lamontville," the report said.

ANC JOY

South 5/2 – 14/12/90 (327)

Now the hard work begins

A SOBER assessment of FW de Klerk's announcements in Parliament last Friday is necessary now that the dust has settled.

Friend and foe must concede that De Klerk's measures, including the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, SACP and several subsidiary organisations, are a shift away from the fixed National Party position since 1948.

The suspension of the death penalty has been widely welcomed.

Journalists countrywide are relieved that there's at least one less landmine in the minefield of legislation that proscribed their work.

De Klerk's measures, however, are most notable for what they fail to address. No mention is made of scrapping fundamental laws underpinning apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act. The state's battery of repressive laws such as the Internal Security Act and Public Safety Act are still intact.

Foolhardy

They fall far short of the vision of a future South Africa outlined by the ANC in its FreedomCharter and constitutional guidelines, the OAU's declaration (fast becoming an internationally accepted document) and the resolutions adopted recently at the Conference for a Democratic Future.

De Klerk's measures must be interpreted as merely strategic and not a principled advance to real democracy in South Africa.

They are designed to soften or reverse the country's diplomatic, economic, cultural (and sports) isolation and based on the realisation that more than five years of emergency rule failed to stop the majority's march to freedom.

Under these conditions, it will be foolhardy to "relax the noose around apartheid's neck", as Tanzania's foreign minister Benjamin Mkapa puts it.

Anti-apartheid forces, however, are now compelled to respond to De Klerk's measures. They need to seize the initiative in a way that mobilises people around the material conditions in our besieged communities.

Support for the ANC should not be assumed. Now is the time for activists to shed the rhetoric and go to the people.

We need to catch up on a 30-year backlog!

— The Editor

ABC of the ANC

No 'emergency' freedom for Mandela - Page 3 * Mandela's behind-the-scenes role - Page 7 * A longing for South Africa - Page 8 * The ABC of the ANC - Page 9 * The ANC's new generation - Page 10 * MK chief speaks out - Page 11 * ANC's history of endurance - Page 14 & 15 * Afrikaners at crossroads - Page 21 * Nats most hated enemy - Page 19 * Dancing in the streets - Page 24



FREEDOM RIDE: ANC supporters take to the streets to express their joy at the movement's unbanning after 30 years

PIC: ADIL BRADLOW

South 5/2 – 14/12/90 (327)

UNBANNING SPECIAL

Hani on MK's future

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff CHRIS HANI, recently spoke to JENNY CARGILL on negotiations, the armed struggle and the possible unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC).

At the time, the ANC was still banned and he could not be quoted in the South African press.

On the unbanning of the ANC:

"I think the unbanning of the ANC will cause more troubles for De Klerk.

He will have unleashed an avalanche in the sense that the ANC will have at its disposal most of its experienced leaders at a number of levels — national and regional.

"And the regime can't just unban the ANC and mark time and think this is the end of it. It will be expected to do something more.

"The unbanning of the ANC does not bring about a democratic South Africa. The regime will have to sit down and give consideration to MK, which is the military wing of the ANC.

"So, I am sure the ANC won't call off the armed struggle because it has been unbanned. MK is not merely there because the ANC is a banned organisation. It is an answer to the violence of the regime.

"The regime will still have to answer a state of armed conflict between itself and the ANC. And that state of conflict won't disappear because the ANC is legalised.

"Do you think overnight the regime will stop beating up workers, shooting workers, dispersing demonstrations?"

On future strategic and tactical options:

"We say nothing should be relaxed until there is a democratic transformation in South Africa. You can't stop halfway.

"In fact this is the time for more serious sacrifices. And I believe seriously that we as the ANC should continue all forms of struggle, even when we are unbanned.

"We must be firm in principle and flexible in tactics.

"For instance, one would say — although there is no position on this — why should we attack a man like (General Bantu) Holomisa of the Transkei, when he is actually articulating good positions?

"Is there need to conduct military operations in the Transkei? We have to ask ourselves that sort of question.

"Where there is a growing sympathy from the black police, we would need to consider if it is correct to continue harassing black police.

"Our leadership might say if the ANC is unbanned, look you guys in the army, let us wait for De Klerk for a month or two and see what the next step is.

"I am not saying they will do that. But lets remember that MK remains under the political leadership of the ANC."



Chris Hani

On negotiations:

"I think it is realistic for the ANC to prepare for negotiations, given the international climate.

"The people must know that negotiations are an arena of struggle. They must know that negotiations are not going to be possible offers from the ruling class. The National Party can't preside over serious changes in the country. Certainly, it can't preside over democratic changes because the National Party is responding to pressures of the struggle.

"People need to realise that the struggle should force the ruling class to accept that it is futile to continue suppression, and that if they don't agree to negotiate, there is the inevitability of collapse.

"Rational and sensible people don't want everything to end up in collapse.

"I think the moment the regime accepts the package of preconditions (to create a climate for negotiations) it is going to be important for the regime to meet the ANC.

"We demand the whole package (of preconditions before talks begin) because the regime will have to demonstrate a lot of goodwill. We don't want the enemy to choose within that package issues it prefers.

"In the event of negotiations, our biggest drawcard is going to be the unity of the oppressed and the unity of all those people who are opposed to racism, including progressive whites.

In other words, we feel that in this period we are creating and building a new South Africa.

On the return of exiles:

"The leadership will decide how to send its cadres back in an organised and systematic manner so that when those cadres go back, they are already deployed and have tasks from our movement.

"We are not returning as refugees.

"We are not going to enter into arrangements with De Klerk on how we go back."

On the role of the armed struggle and its difficulties:

"The armed struggle has made significant contributions to the present political chemistry in our country. Our armed struggle has been a great mobiliser and inspirer of the youth. It has given pride to the oppressed.

"Thousands of young people were influenced by the example of defiance, and the readiness to pay the supreme sacrifice.

"If the armed struggle was ineffective, South Africa would not have militarised itself in the way it has done.

"Now there is a feeling that the level of MK capacity is going down because it has risen to expectations. People forget that MK has achieved against a background of considerable difficulties, enjoying, in fact, no rear base one can speak of.

"And MK has been affected by developments in Southern Africa, the negotiations leading to the independence of Namibia, the abandonment of camps in Angola and the need to establish camps elsewhere.

"But despite all that, we are an army which has had a steady growth."

(327) 5/2 -14/2/90.

The Congress of South African Writers (COSAW) celebrates the unbanning of the liberation organisations and salutes the people's victory.

We welcome the release of some detainees and demand that comrade Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners be released immediately.

We further demand that the government fulfil the requirements of the Harare Declaration in order to create the climate for a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

'Exiles must decide' about home-coming

327 ALAN FINE

EXILED members of banned organisations will have to decide for themselves whether they had been involved in activities which would make them liable for prosecution should they return home, Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

He would not comment on the possible prosecution of prominent individuals, including ANC president Oliver Tambo, whom Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen has been reported as saying was welcome to return to SA.

Political prisoners affected by President F W de Klerk's announcement on Friday would be freed within a week, Justice Department official Maj Elsa Jones said yesterday. B/Day 5/2/90

De Klerk announced that people serving prison sentences merely because they were members of banned organisations, or whose actions constituted an offence because of the organisations' banned status, would be released.

Jones said initial research showed 77 people would benefit from this decision. Some would be freed while others, whose sentences were based on other offences too, would have their sentences reduced.

Van der Merwe said all that had changed was that activities related purely to the banned status of the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations were no longer considered criminal.

"From a police point of view, people against whom we can bring cases of terrorism, subversion and sabotage will — unless amnesty is granted — still face prosecution," he said. Conspiracy also remained a crime, he confirmed.

He declined to answer queries on the status of particular individuals.

Law and Order spokesman Brig Leon Mellet said yesterday he could not answer questions about individuals, saying these were "little things that have to be ironed out".

Van der Merwe said police would have to look at each case to determine whether it would be possible to prosecute.

He said previous public allegations by policemen or politicians against particular individuals "do not suffice" as grounds for prosecution.

He warned there may be individuals against whom evidence may be collected in future after their return. In such cases, prosecutions would be brought.

Disbanding of groups expected

STAR 5/2/90 (...) (327) (...)

Several organisations are expected to disappear following the unbanning of ANC, PAC and SACP, reports **SEFAKO NYAKA**.

The "struggle" was not about the unbanning of organisations but about political power, Release Mandela Committee publicity secretary Mr Dali Mpofu said at the weekend.

The concessions were not a result of Mr de Klerk's goodwill but the result of pressure by internal and external organisations, he added.

Mr Mpofu conceded that Mr de Klerk's announcements, especially the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations, had caught the Mass Democratic Movement off guard.

The unbanning of the ANC and SACP would certainly result in a drastic realignment of forces in extra-parliamentary politics.

The United Democratic Front was likely to cease to exist and its members would probably operate under the banner of the ANC, while the SA Youth Congress would probably be absorbed by the ANC Youth League, Mr Mpofu said.

A number of UDF affiliates — especially civic, sports, cultural and women's organisations — were expected to operate formally as extensions of the ANC once consultations had been made.

But one contentious issue might be the status of Cosatu and its relationship with the self-exiled South African Congress of Trade Unions, Mr Mpofu said.

Sactu had a historic link and longstanding alliance with the ANC, and although it was not officially banned, it went into exile when the ANC was outlawed in the 1960s because most of its office-bearers had been SACP or ANC members.

Some elements in Cosatu, especially those who propounded the idea of a workers' party, would most likely resist efforts to make Cosatu a labour wing of the ANC.

Several single-issue organisations, such as the Release Mandela Committee, would fold when their demands had been met.

Mr Mpofu said Mr de Klerk's speech would pose a major headache to homeland leaders. His announcement that the issue of the re-incorporation of homelands into South Africa was open for negotiation would meet with some resistance from people long regarded as puppets of the Government.

The suspension of the death penalty, although welcomed, was bound to pose problems, especially regarding crimes committed by right-wing elements.

The scrapping of the Separate Amenities Act would certainly be opposed by the CP, he said.

STAFF 5/2/90 (327)

Security regulations on detainees amended

163 can now be legally quoted

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

A total of 163 men and women — some of whom have been dead for years — can now be legally quoted in South Africa as a result of the unbanning of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the SA Communist Party.

The removal of their gags was announced in a special *Government Gazette* published in Pretoria on Saturday.

It also spelt out the rights of detainees, and that 41 proclamations and a large number of government notices — all affecting security legislation — had been withdrawn.

It did not, as expected, include the names of more than 300 political prisoners whom President de Klerk said, during his speech to Parliament on Friday, would be released.

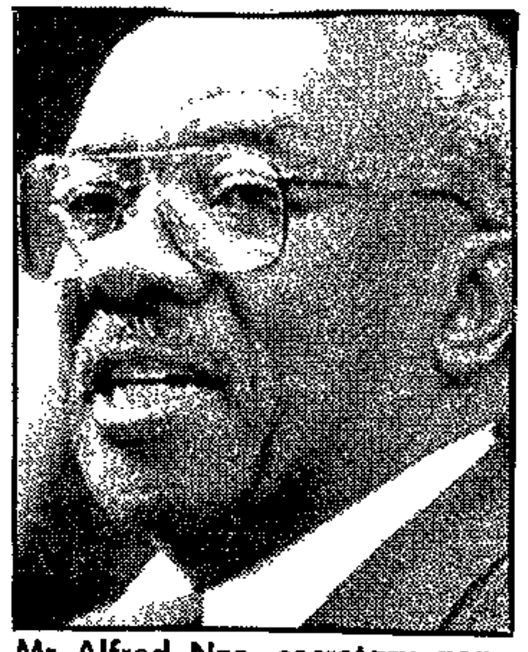
He indicated at the time that a *Gazette* would be published carrying the names of the affected people.

A Prisons Department spokesman said at the weekend it was not policy to announce which prisoners were being released. No further comment could be obtained.

The *Government Gazette* includes the names of 110 leading activists, some of whom have earned the Government's displeasure since 1950. They now no longer appear on the Consolidated List which has contained the names of people who may not be quoted in South Africa.



Mr Thabo Mbeki . . his name not in the special Gazette but can now be quoted.



Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary general of the ANC . . . in exile but can be freely quoted.



Mr Oliver Tambo . . officially ungagged now that the ANC is unbanned.

Died 15 years ago

Another group — whose names do not appear in the *Gazette* but who are affected by repealed proclamations — have also been "de-listed".

They include the external leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, and former East London *Daily Dispatch* editor, Mr Donald Woods.

Others are Mr Joe Slovo, Mrs Helen Joseph, Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Tom Sebina (listed as Mr Thomas Letlalo), Mr Marius Schoon, Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Archie Sibeko, the late Mrs Ruth Slovo (formerly First), the late Mr J B Marks, Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Brian Bunting, Mr Joe Matthews, Mr Harold Wolpe, Mrs Jean Strachan and Mr Rowley Arenstein.

Also removed, according to a notice signed by Mr J J du Plessis, Director of Security Legislation, is the name of Mr Bram Fischer, who was the defence advocate at the Rivonia trial, and who died in Bloemfontein 15 years ago.

All appear under sections 27 and 28 of the Internal Security Acts of 1950 and 1982. People listed under section 27 were considered threats to the State, and those under section 28 to be office-bearers of banned organisations.

The last Consolidated List was published on August 4 last year.

There are still 369 people on the list, the majority in terms of section 8, which covers terrorism, murder and sabotage.

The *Government Gazette* includes a wide range of legislation which has been amended or revoked.

In terms of the Public Safety Act, security emergency regulations have been amended so that detainees may be held without trial for a maximum of six months and may be visited by a doctor of their choice.

In addition, a new proviso has been added to the security emergency regulations.

This calls for the appointment of "special advisers" to the Minister of Law and Order who may visit detainees to "satisfy himself that the circumstances of, and the treatment in, detention of such a person are in accordance with the applicable statutory and other requirements".

The adviser has to be satisfied about the treatment of detainees, and tell the Minister of Law and Order, in writing, of his viewpoint.

Discussions between special advisers and detainees "shall, if requested, take place out of earshot of third parties or particular third parties", says the amendment.

The adviser will also have the right to report to the Minister and to the Attorney-General of the area involved, whether or not physical or psychological damage has been done to a detainee.

Permission

Another key aspect of the regulations — officially known as the Security Amendment Emergency Regulations 1990 — is that no one may publish a photograph, drawing, television or film recording of unrest or security action unless permission has been obtained from a police officer above the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

● See Pages 13 and 14.

(A) (327)

Groups have 'never recognised Govt'

Intensify struggle, urge Pan-Africanists

By Jovial Rantao

Pan-Africanist organisations say the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP has no meaning to them and they have called for the struggle to be intensified on all fronts.

Spokesman Mr Cutter Seleka said at the weekend that five organisations which belong to the Pan-Africanist structure had never recognised the legitimacy of the South African Government.

The organisations are the Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian Youth Unity, the Pan Africanist Movement, the Pan African Students Organisation and the Africanist Women's Organisation.

"We have not, for the past 30 years, recognised the banning of our organisations and therefore Friday's announcements mean nothing to us."

As far as the Pan-Africanist organisations were concerned, political changes, such as those announced on Friday, did not affect their political programmes, Mr Seleka said.

"We make a clarion call to our people to intensify the struggle on all fronts. We also urge members of the international community to be always vigilant to President de Klerk, George Bush and Margaret Thatcher's manipulations, so as not to withdraw the weapon of sanctions."

He said the organisations demanded "the return of the land to its rightful owners and the establishment of a socialist order".

Don't become complacent, blacks warned

PIETERSBURG — The announcements on Friday by President de Klerk merely restored the position of the oppressed to that which prevailed prior to the bannings in 1960, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) said in Harare at the weekend.

The organisation said Mr de Klerk's announcements fell short of even that position because political prisoners and other "combatants of the liberation movement" were still regarded as criminals.

The BCMA cautioned black people against complacency and said developments around Friday's historic announcements had the potential of "making our dispossession and impoverishment permanent".

It said the agenda for negotiations had already been limited in order to protect white privilege under the term "minority group rights".

This would probably mean that the Government would retain the Land Act, the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, which were "the pillars of the system".

"The oppressed and exploited people of Azania need to watch closely the developments around this process. Arrangements made under it could make our dispossession and impoverishment permanent."

● At a meeting of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) held in Pietersburg on Saturday, it was resolved that all efforts to free "the oppressed" should continue as before.

The meeting also resolved that sanctions were one tool in the hands of the oppressed black majority which had been used to bring freedom to the country.

It was emphasised that sanctions had not been applied to bring the Government to the negotiating table but to achieve freedom.

The meeting endorsed the position of the exiled BCMA that the unbanning of political organisations was not sufficient action by the Government in order to have sanctions lifted.

Mr de Klerk's announcement on Friday fell far short of creating that situation and was therefore no cause for jubilation, Azapo said. — Sapa.

Press can now play rightful role

By Peter Reynolds and Paul Jenkins (Lawyers for the Sowetan)

FOLLOWING the State President's opening speech in Parliament last Friday, many people in this country - indeed, the entire civilized world, will have experienced a feeling of shocked relief and stupefied amazement!

Although it may be too soon to speculate on the effects which the change in government policy will have on the course of history, it appears that the end of the political logjam which has plagued and stifled our country's growth and development, is in sight.

We venture to suggest, with tongue-in-cheek, that although many will think that the most significant announcement by the State President on Friday was the unbanning of the African (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) and other unlawful organisations, the media knows better. It is undeniably the announcement of the lifting of the emergency media regulations which was the most significant of all of the announcements, as it lifted part of the veil of Press censorship which had been drawn over the land.

Hell

For the uninitiated, the life of the media lawyer and the journalist in the last few years has been unmitigated hell, as they have battled their way through a maze of complex legal restrictions on the free flow of information. It became an everyday occurrence to try and make sense out of meaningless legislation and play with semantics, so that what could not legally be reported, would find its way into the domain of public knowledge in other, creative ways.

The repeal of the media regulations is a milestone in the struggle of this country to shrug off the impediments of a free, peaceful and democratic future where freedom of speech and assembly are undeniable human rights. In the last five years (and one can scarcely believe that five years have passed since the first announcement of Press restrictions in the form of emergency regulations), the relentless onslaught by the authorities on the Press has been waged without restraint.

Journalists have been imprisoned, newspapers closed down or restricted, newspapers confiscated, prosecutions brought for publishing restricted matter and perhaps, worst of all, for a short time, a total blackout enforced on news of detentions, police action in quelling unrest, and on boycotts, strikes, stayaways, gatherings and other protest action.

It is difficult to remember what life was without the emergency regulations and their demise will not cause any sorrow. Obviously,the general euphoria on the lifting of the emergency regulations does not extend to all areas of press freedom because there still remain on the statute books, vast numbers of restrictions on the free flow of information - and freedom of the Press is indivisible. It is however inarguable that Friday's events represent a giant step towards a society where individual rights are protected against excesses of government.

Courage

Although we have seen some relaxation on the strict enforcement of the provisions of the emergency media regulations in the last few months, as witnessed by the courageous reporting by newspapers of police action, the publication of photographs of Nelson Mandela and the quoting of banned persons, these are now legally permissible.

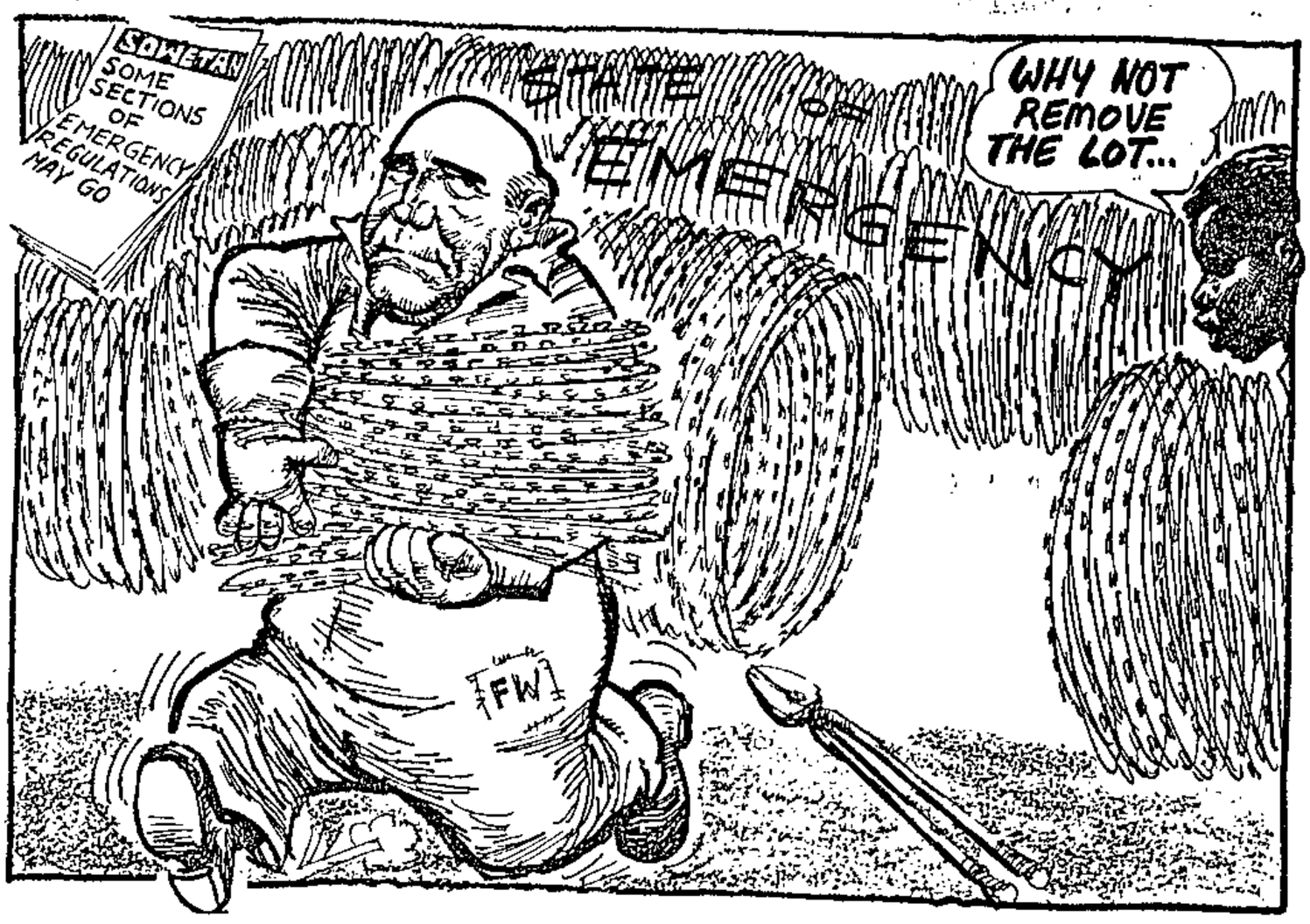
Freedom of association and freedom of speech are again real and tangible concepts, with the unbanning of political organisations, the prohibition on quoting banned persons falling away and the Press now free to report and publish the views of even the most outspoken and vehement of the government's critics. We shall finally hear,legally, what the ANC has to say and hopefully those South Africans who have feared for this day will learn that their opponents, who have so long been silenced,are mostly people of integrity and the fears are but paper tigers.

Warning

For this is what freedom of speech is all about. What the State President has now made possible is the gradual death of mistrust, disinformation, political dirty tricks and suspicion. Instead the Press will be able to perform its recognised task and duty of promoting peace and freedom by upholding the fundamental right of the public to be informed.

A word of warning should be sounded and Mr FW de Klerk and his Ministers would do well to heed it, namely that to the extent that they consider it necessary to maintain restrictions on photographing scenes of violence and the publication of such pictures, such a continued restriction is unacceptable. With such a grand gesture, the State President should not now be seen to go backwards, but rather to banish this type of negative restriction with contempt.

And as for the media lawyers, they will hopefully be able to sleep well at night and be secure in the knowledge that those dreaded midnight calls about whether it is possible to publish details of the latest police action to break up a demonstration and effect mass arrest, or a host of other night-mare matters, are now ghosts of a stormy evening past.



How *Sowetan* cartoonist Len Sak last week anticipated President FW de Klerk's historic speech to Parliament.

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FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter





Emergency blocks release — tense Winnie

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela would never accept being freed into a state of emergency, a tense and depressed Mrs Winnie Mandela said after visiting her husband.

At an impromptu Press conference outside Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday she said there were still obstacles to his release.

The state of emergency was a non-negotiable demand. It was "out of the question" that Mr Mandela would accept freedom under emergency rule, she said.

His release did not depend on him.

"The onus is on Mr De Klerk. We are back to where we have to put pressure on the government."

Mr Mandela was preparing a statement in response to President De Klerk's unbanning of the ANC, South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress as announced when he opened parliament on Friday, she said.

"STILL A PRISONER"

However she did not know when it would be made public because "he is still a prisoner."

Yesterday's visit was supposed to have been a "short family visit".

However Mrs Mandela, who looked tense when she arrived in Cape Town, spent more than five hours at the prison where Mr Mandela lives in a warder's home.

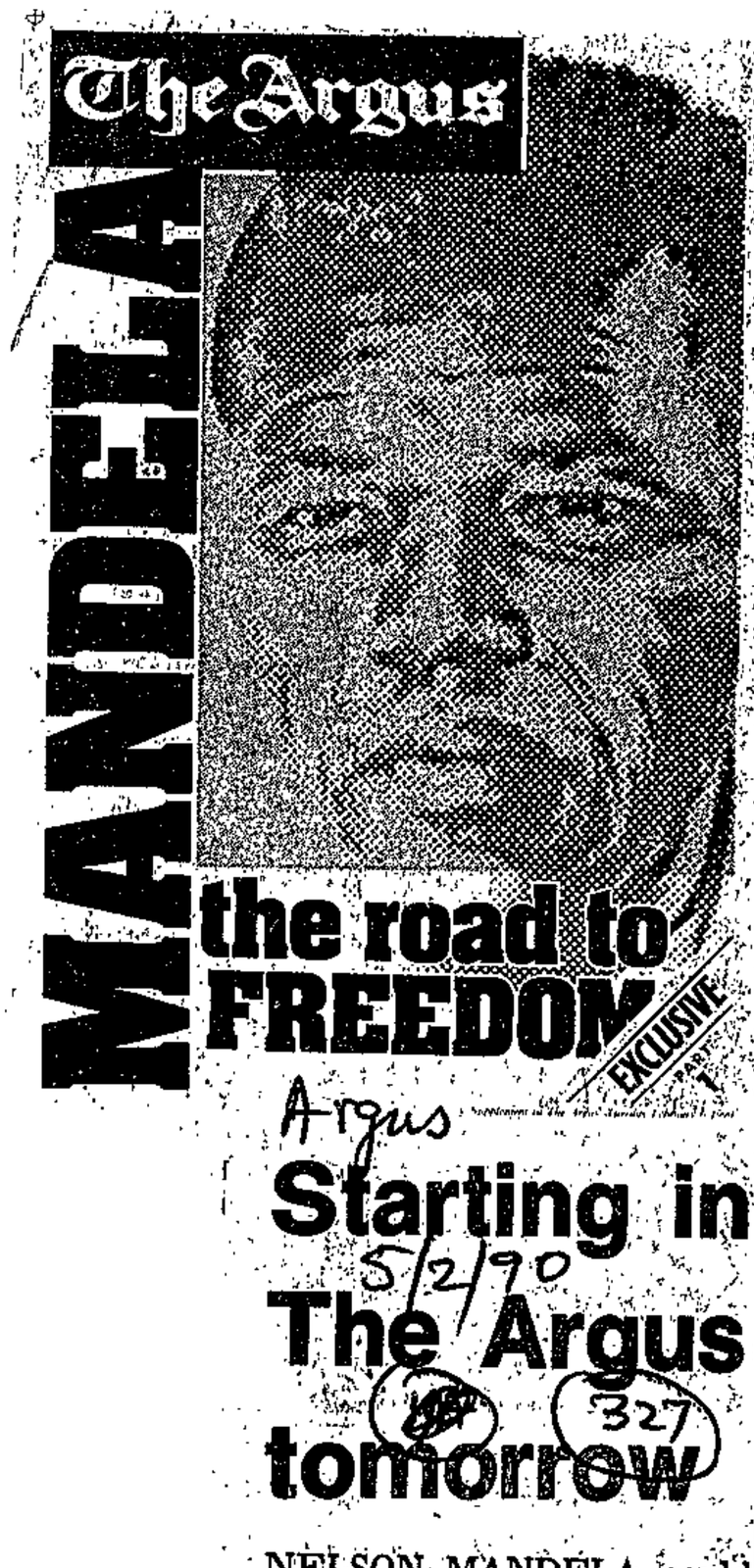
● Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu said from Sweden today that he would telephone Mr Mandela on his return tomorrow.

"I'll find out if I should report back on my overseas trip to him."

He said the return of exiles was a "complicated" matter which had to be worked out thoroughly.

He would have no message for Mr De Klerk.

"It's all in the ANC statement released at the weekend."



Argus

Starting in The Argus tomorrow

5/2/90

327

NELSON MANDELA could be released any day now.

President F W de Klerk has told parliament and the nation that "the government has taken a firm decision to release Mr Mandela unconditionally" and that it will decide soon on the date.

TOMORROW *The Argus* starts an exclusive four-part series **Mandela ... The Road to Freedom** in a special eight-page tabloid.

Months were spent researching and preparing this story on the dramatic events surrounding Nelson Mandela, the world's most famous prisoner.

Drawn from interviews with those close to Nelson Mandela, and from other sources, **Mandela ... The Road to Freedom** sets out to reconstruct an overview of 25 years and more of political and personal drama, passion and poignancy.

It starts in *The Argus* tomorrow ... don't miss it!

Picture: DION TROMP, The Argus.

PRISON VISIT: Almost hidden by a battery of microphones, Mrs Winnie Mandela talks to reporters outside Victor Verster Prison after visiting her husband.

'Obstacles' block Mandela release

PROSPECTS for Mr Nelson Mandela's early release faded yesterday after his wife Winnie visited him and said he would refuse to accept freedom under the three-year-old state of emergency.

Speaking after her first visit to Victor Verster Prison outside Paarl since President F W de Klerk promised on Friday that he would soon release the internationally famous prisoner, Mrs Mandela said there were still "certain obstacles" in the way of his release.

Mr Mandela would issue a statement on the matter soon.

She said her husband seemed to be "very optimistic" about the sweeping reforms announced by Mr De Klerk on Friday.

As she emerged from the prison after the visit she was swamped by a large contingent of local and international media — including about ten foreign TV crews — who had waited almost five hours in the sweltering Paarl sun for her to come out.

When asked before her departure from D F Malan Air-

From page 1

port about a possible date for Mr Mandela's release, she said "Mr De Klerk is the man who could answer that".

"It is out of the question that he will be released under the state of emergency," she said.

A family source said Mr Mandela had drawn up a list of people he regarded as political prisoners he wanted freed before leaving prison himself.

"He wants a firm commitment to the release of all political prisoners including people convicted of terrorism, sabotage and treason, which are offences De Klerk excluded in his amnesty," the source said.

Government sources yesterday declined to comment on the new turn in arrangements for Mr Mandela's release, referring queries to Mr De Klerk, whose office declined to take questions.

Government sources have disclosed that Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen met Mr Mandela and discussed Mr De Klerk's speech with him in advance of its delivery.

Education Minister Mr Stoffel van der Merwe said after that meeting that "you could almost say that for practical purposes he (Mandela) has been set free. He must just reside (in prison) a little longer".

● In a biography by his friend sociologist Mrs Fatima Meer, published in Britain this week, Mr Mandela was quoted as saying that he had come close to breaking point during his 27 years in various prisons.

"The worst part of imprisonment is being locked up by yourself," he said in the authorised biography "Higher than Hope".

"You come face to face with time and there is nothing more terrifying than to be alone with sheer time." — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Winnie and MDM clash

LONDON. — Intense infighting is going on between Mrs Winnie Mandela and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) for control of Mr Nelson Mandela and his story, worth many millions of rands, when he finally walks free.

Official arrangements for Mr Mandela's release are being handled by the MDM's specially appointed National Reception Committee which has rented offices in central Johannesburg for the use of the veteran ANC leader and the staff who will help him.

But the Weekly Mail, a newspaper with good sources inside the ANC and MDM, reported that a mysterious French businessman, Dr Alain Guenon, is involved with separate arrangements on behalf of Mrs Mandela to handle her husband's release.

Mr Guenon, a former professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, who hunts with South African Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and was a close friend of the assassinated Swapo activist Mr Anton Lubowski, was approached by the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) to assist with the "rival" Mandela reception arrangements. — Daily Telegraph

Mr Tambo is the mastermind of the ANC's Harare Declaration of 1989, the ANC standpoint and key-stone for constitutional negotiation.

Cape Times 5/2/90 327

Political prisoners out by next week

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Political prisoners affected by President F W de Klerk's announcement on Friday would be free within a week, Justice Department official Major Elsa Jones said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk announced that people serving prison sentences merely because they were members of banned organisations, or whose actions constituted an offence because of the organisations' banned status, would be released.

Major Jones said initial research had shown that 77 people would benefit from this policy. Some would be freed while others, whose sentences were based on other offences too, would have their sentences reduced.

The Prisons Department was still trying to identify other people among those being held in SA's 205 prisons who may be eligible in terms of the announcement.

She declined to supply the planned release dates of any individuals, saying that their families would be informed first.

Geteken te Kaapstad op die 2de dag van Februarie 1990.

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van Justisie.

BYLAE

Kennisgewings Nos. R. 510 van 1 April 1966; R. 484 van 29 Maart 1968; R. 1683 van 20 September 1968; R. 372 van 14 Maart 1969; R. 1261 van 7 Augustus 1970; 2403 van 5 November 1982; 246 van 31 Januarie 1983; 1365 van 1 Julie 1983; 1366 van 1 Julie 1983; 1367 van 1 Julie 1983; 1371 van 1 Julie 1983; R. 336 van 20 Februarie 1987; 118 van 29 Januarie 1988; 241 van 19 Februarie 1988; 242 van 19 Februarie 1988; 853 van 29 April 1988; 1336 van 8 Julie 1988; 1429 van 15 Julie 1988.

No. R. 232 **3 Februarie 1990**

WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982

SKRAPPING VAN NAME UIT DIE GEKONSOLIDEERDE LYS

Kennis word hierby ingevolge artikel 16 (6) (b) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet No. 74 van 1982), gegee dat die name vermeld in die Bylae ingevolge artikel 16 (4) van genoemde Wet uit die gekonsolideerde lys geskrap is.

J. J. DU PLESSIS,
Direkteur van Veiligheidswetgewing.

Signed at Cape Town this 2nd day of February 1990.

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of Justice.

SCHEDULE

Notices Nos. R. 510 of 1 April 1966; R. 484 of 29 March 1968; R. 1683 of 20 September 1968; R. 372 of 14 March 1969; R. 1261 of 7 August 1970; 2403 of 5 November 1982; 246 of 31 January 1983; 1365 of 1 July 1983; 1366 of 1 July 1983; 1367 of 1 July 1983; 1371 of 1 July 1983; R. 336 of 20 February 1987; 118 of 29 January 1988; 241 of 19 February 1988; 242 of 19 February 1988; 853 of 29 April 1988; 1336 of 8 July 1988; 1429 of 15 July 1988.

No. R. 232 **3 February 1990**

INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1982

REMOVAL OF NAMES FROM THE CONSOLIDATED LIST

Notice is hereby given in terms of section 16 (6) (b) of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act No. 74 of 1982), that the names set out in the Schedule have in terms of section 16 (4) of the said Act been removed from the consolidated list.

J. J. DU PLESSIS,
Director of Security Legislation.

BYLAE/SCHEDULE

Arenstein, Jacqueline, alias Jackie.
Barenblatt, Yettah (*née* Melamed).
Barsel, Esther (*née* Levin).
Berman, Myrtle, alias Myrtle Canin.

Bernstein, Lionel, alias Rusty.
Bopape, David W.
Brown, Babette (*née* Kotkin).
Bujela, Richard Herbert.
Bunting, Sonia Beryl.
Carneson, Fred.
Chele, Abner Thabiso, alias Ambrose.
Dhlamini, Stephen, alias Joseph.
Dingake, Kitso Michael.
Dube, Abel Sgubhu.
Du Toit, Elizabeth Sophia, alias Betty.
Fischer, Abraham, alias Bram.
Francis, Joseph Michael, alias Mickey.
Goniwe, Matewu Matthew.
Gounden, Swaminathan Karuppa.
Gwala, T. H.
Hall, Martin Anthony, alias Tony.
Hepple, Bob Alexander.
Heymann, Isaac alias Isif, alias Issy.
Hodgson, Rica.
Jacobs, Madoda Fezile.
Joseph, Paul alias Joseph Paul Moonsamy, alias John Verasammy.
Kodesh, Wolf alias Wolfie.
Kunene, Andries alias Andrew.
La Guma, Justin Alexander, alias Alex.
Levy, Norman.
Maele, Raymond Oageng.
Mahlangu, Alfred.
Malindi, Zollie.
Marks, John Joseph, alias J. B. Marks.
Matthews, John Edward.

Mbeki, Govan Archibald.
Mofutsanyana, Edwin Thabo.

Arenstein, Rowley Israel.
Barnett, Jack Judah.
Berman, Montague David.
Bernstein, Hilda Lilian, alias Hilda Watts, alias Hilda Schwartz.
Bernstein (Strasburg), Toni.
Brooks, Alan Keith.
Brown, Emanuel, alias Manny.
Bunting, Brian Percy.
Calata, Fort Daniel.
Carneson, Sarah.
Dadoo, Yusuf Mohammed.
Dick, Nancy Graham.
Doyle, Molly Irene (*née* Anderson).
Duncan, Florence Lucella.
Fineberg, Anne (*née* Nicholson).
Fischer, Ilse (tans/nou Wilson).
Gangat, Ismail Essack.
Goniwe, Mbulelo Terence.
Govinder, Soobramoney, alias Jack Govinder.
Hall, Eve Diane Elize (*née* Steinhardt).
Harmel, Ray, alias Ray Adler.
Heymann, Anne.
Hodgson, Percy John, alias Jack.
Huna, Bernard Mandla.
Joseph, Helen Beatrice May.
Khan, Sam.

Kotane, Moses.
La Guma, Blanche.
Lee-Warden, Leonard Bert.
Lewitton, Isaac, alias Archie, alias H. Oberholzer.
Madide, Aaron.
Malele, Elman.
Manzi, John Dube.
Maseko, Isaiah, alias MacDonald.
Matthews, Vincent Joseph, alias Joseph Gaobakwe, alias Joe.
Meer, Ismail Chota, alias Ismail Cassim Meer.
Mtobela, David.

'Business as usual' for Sechaba editor

South 5/2 - 14/2/90

(327)

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — It is business as usual for ANC National Executive Committee member Dr Francis Meli who is going ahead with his long-standing plans to move to ANC headquarters in Lusaka after 13 years working in London as editor of the movement's journal Sechaba.

"I am fully at the disposal of the ANC. The NEC will decide who goes home first and who goes second, and I am answerable to the discipline of the ANC," he told SOUTH.

Francis Meli left South Africa in June 1963. He fled across the border to Botswana (then Bechuanaland.). It was in Francistown, en route to Dar es Salaam, that he heard of the Rivonia arrests.

He still remembers hearing Walter Sisulu's last Radio Freedom broadcast in South African a few days earlier.

The ANC sent him to the German Democratic Republic to study. Ten years later, armed with a doctorate in history, he returned to southern Africa, but instead of pursuing the quiet life of an academic he joined the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

He says: "MK is not just an organisation for the uneducated. It is not just interested in shooting. In its ranks are intellectuals, literary people, poets."

Impatient

He was reluctant to give details of life in the camps.

"Just because we have been unbanned doesn't mean we must now get undressed," he said.

Meli was in Angola at the time of the Soweto uprising.

"We received those young people. They wanted guns to go back and shoot the Boers. We told them they still had to learn about the Freedom Charter, the history of the ANC and Sactu, the union movement. At first they were angry and impatient, then they came to agree.

"It is not so much the gun, but the person behind the gun that MK and the ANC emphasises."

How did he move from being an armed guerilla in MK camps in Angola to being a writer and author of a recent ANC history "The Land belongs to US"?

"Writing has always been an interest of mine, even in the camps. We had little time and very few books, but we made do with what we had."

When he inherited the editorship of Sechaba in 1977, the publication was in some flux. And the later emergence of Cosatu and the UDF raised questions about trade union struggle and unity between worker and community organisations. Sechaba shifted its focus in response.

"The situation changed Sechaba. That and the changing social components of the ANC. Now there was a large group of young people who were wanting answers to questions."

Logistics

Meli sees more changes ahead for Sechaba. He spoke of the possibility of the publication, for the 22 years of its existence, covertly distributed through underground networks, being produced and published inside South Africa — "but there are the questions of logistics to do with training, distribution, production."

Moreover, it is likely to play a crucial role in the years ahead as a forum to debate the development of the ANC as an above-ground organisation.

"We have to look at questions of broadening unity. Our focus will perhaps be less on the international community, and more on the readers at home."

Sechaba, which has served to disseminate the position of the ANC to an international readership, could increasingly address itself to South Africa's miners, labourers, and ordinary working people in the trade unions and MDM organisations, Meli said.

Mandela rejects FW's measures

South 5/2/ – 14/2/90

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By CHIARA CARTER

NELSON MANDELA has rejected the measures announced by State President FW de Klerk at the opening of parliament last Friday as "not enough" and has said that there remain "considerable obstacles" to his release.

Advocate Dullah Omar, who accompanied Mrs Winnie Mandela on a visit to Victor Verster Prison on Sunday, confirmed that unless the government removed these "obstacles", Mandela would not go free even though the government had said it intended releasing him as soon as possible.

"Mr Mandela has said that his freedom rests in De Klerk's hands and that he cannot leave prison until certain conditions are met," Omar said.

Cadres

Mrs Mandela said she was "very disappointed" that her husband's release was still not imminent.

She said that Mandela demanded that the government lift the state of emergency entirely.

She said he also wanted the definition of political prisoners to be widened to include people presently imprisoned for "terrorism".

In terms of Friday's announcement, only those convicted of being a member of a banned organisation will be released from prison.

And although De Klerk said that exiles who had not committed any crime were welcome to return home, there is uncertainty about the status of cadres abroad as well as that of conscientious objectors.

After the initial euphoria wore off, a range of organisations echoed Mandela's view that the announcements had not gone far enough.

'Go further'

They pointed out that the state of emergency remained, detention without trial had merely been "upgraded" and apartheid legislation including the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act remained on the statute books.

An NEC member of the ANC, Mr Aziz Pahad, said that while De Klerk had made a "qualitative leap, he needed to go further".

Another NEC member, Mr Pallo Jordan, said the organisation would not shift its headquarters to South Africa or abandon its military campaign.



Mrs Winnie Mandela led a march of thousands of Alexandra township residents to the local town council offices and police station on Saturday

'Cautious optimism' over ANC unbanning

South 5/2/-14/2/90

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Sam Nujoma

LEADERS of the Frontline states reacted to the news that the ANC had been unbanned with cautious optimism.

Mozambican foreign minister Pascoal Mocumbi said that President FW de Klerk's announcement could open the way for dialogue "to bring an end to apartheid and to create a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa".

"I consider the measures announced by President De Klerk as an important step in the positive direction," Mocumbi said.

Swapo president Sam Nujoma said De Klerk's announcement coincided with the conclusion of the drafting of Namibia's constitution and he was encouraged that the Southern African region was moving towards complete liberation and could place its vast natural resources at the service of Africa's socio-economic transformation and progress.

Nujoma said his country, due to become independent on March 21, was looking forward to playing a role as a meeting ground for leaders to discuss further steps towards resolving remaining conflicts in the region.

Friday's developments meant better propects for good relations between an independent Namibia and South Africa.

"Namibia wishes to maintain and consolidate good relations with a non-racial and democratic South Africa," Nujoma said.

He hoped the people of South Africa might learn some useful lessons from the Namibian experience in their difficult road to negotiations, and called on De Klerk to take all other necessary steps towards eliminating apartheid.

The Zimbabwean government said the reforms announced by De Klerk on Friday were a step in the right direction but did not go far enough.

"The statement (by De Klerk) is silent on the question of abolishing apartheid through the repeal of such iniquitous legislation as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act," the Zimbabwean statement said.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, where the ANC headquarters is based, offered "hearty congratulations for a job well started".

He said he accepted De Klerk's explanation for not freeing Nelson Mandela immediately.



Kenneth Kaunda

erty Lane, race 3. Best eachway — Lindross, race 6.

cisions announc
Police are inv

Police plea on ANC weapons

Star 5/2/90

By Craig Kotze

Police have urged all members of the ANC's armed wing inside South Africa to hand over their weapons and explosives — but warned that perpetrators of terrorism and other crimes would be hunted down relentlessly.

President F W de Klerk on Friday unbanned the ANC, PAC and the SA Communist Party. The unbanning of the ANC includes members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said members of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside the country could hand over their weapons to police, or contact police anonymously and say where the weapons could be found. (327)

"But we must stress — the SAP will not cease its vigilance in combating terror and other crimes. Everyone will have to accept that we will hunt down relentlessly all perpetrators of violence and terrorism," Brigadier Mellet said.

Police would continue to investigate crimes already committed, such as murders, explosions and acts of terror.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and United Democratic Front secretary Mr Patrick Lekota are greeted by Ms Zenani Mandela-Dlamini upon their arrival in Boston on Saturday.

STAR 5/2/90 (327)

It's still too early for celebrations, says Tutu

BOSTON — Jubilation over the pending release of Nelson Mandela must be tempered with the realisation that apartheid is far from ended, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said at the weekend.

The archbishop, who is visiting Boston, urged continued political and economic pressure on South Africa.

"We have not yet the complete dismantling of apartheid and this is the pinpoint of the sanctions programme. We want apartheid totally dismantled," he said.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's promise to free Mr Mandela in the near future, Archbishop Tutu said his initial reaction was joy, but that soon faded.

"Of course, you see apartheid is still in place," he said.

The archbishop said he was looking forward to relinquishing his position as South Africa's pre-eminent opponent of apartheid now that Mr Mandela was to be released from prison.

"I said long ago that I was just an interim leader until he comes out," he said. "He's been making us work too hard."

THINK-TANK

Archbishop Tutu was accompanied by UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota. They were met at Logan International Airport by Mr Themba Vilakazi, head of the Boston-based Fund for a Free South Africa. Mr Vilakazi had just returned from Zambia.

The group was met by Ms Zenani Mandela Dlamini (30), eldest daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela and a political science student at Boston University.

Archbishop Tutu, a member of Harvard University's board of overseers, was in Boston to attend a meeting at the school.

Mr Lekota said he planned to attend a meeting of the Albert Einstein Institute, a Cambridge think-tank which advocates the use of non-violent sanctions to solve political unrest.

Mr Mandela's daughter, greeted fondly by the archbishop, told reporters she was sceptical of the recent changes in South Africa, despite the news that her father would be released soon.

"This has been going on for 300 years," she said. "What happened on Friday, I'm not overly excited about it. Release some political prisoners? To me, that's nothing. We want total majority voting in South Africa. Until that happens, I will not be satisfied." — Associated Press.

What you couldn't read - but now can!

South 5/2-14/2790

IT is now legal to possess ANC publications. 327
SOUTH summarises parts of a recent issue of "Sechaba," the ANC monthly magazine, to indicate what South Africans until now were not allowed to read.

By NOEL BRUYNS

The editorial says the struggle has had its successes and should be continued.

"The defiance campaign must continue .... The struggle of the working class must go on, organised in militant and united trade unions. The armed struggle is a method of resistance which we cannot relinquish yet. The campaign for sanctions must continue."

"Sechaba" also published statements to the welcome-back rally for the seven ANC prisoners released in October last year from the president, Mr Oliver Tambo; one of the released prisoners, Mr Walter Sisulu; from the SA Communist Party (SACP), and from the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

The SACP said "our people" had been unbanning the ANC and the SACP in recent months in mass defiance.

"It is with pride that we have seen our Party's red flag flying side by side with the black, green and gold of the national liberation movement.

"This symbol expresses the indestructibility of our historic alliance."

The ANC International page was devoted to a speech by Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC international department, to the Southern African Coalition in London on the sanctions campaign, and part of his address to anti-apartheid activists in Switzerland on the Harare Document.

The magazine included a message from those on Death Row, and a story entitled "End apartheid executions!" There was a profile on trade unionist Vuyisile Mini, one of the first ANC patriots to be hanged by the apartheid regime 25 years ago.

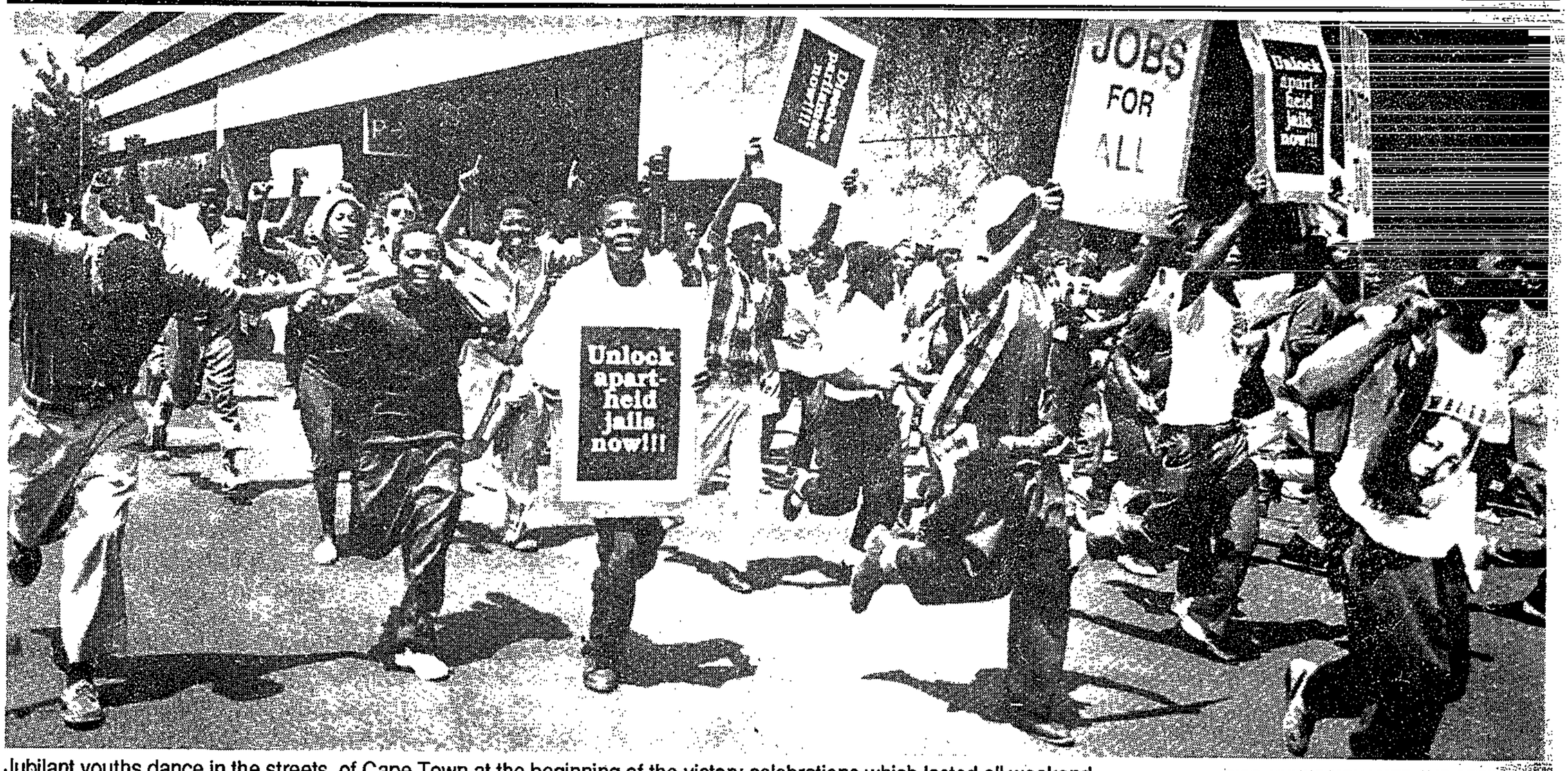
"Sechaba" featured an interview with Sue Dobson, the undercover ANC activist who worked as a press officer at the Bureau for Information in Pretoria. Dobson spoke of "disinformation and dirty tricks in Namibia" to promote Pretoria and discredit Swapo.

Dobson's husband, Peter, spoke to "Sechaba" about sanctions-busting strategies used by Pretoria to acquire computer technology and the use of computers in the SA Defence Force.

The magazine featured extracts of a paper by exiled South African lawyer Kader Asmal on "The illegitimacy of the apartheid regime in international law."

The fact that the ANC is now unbanned and one may possess its literature will mean that ordinary South Africans will have access to more information on what Pretoria does not want them to know.

We should be in for much more interesting reading from now on .....

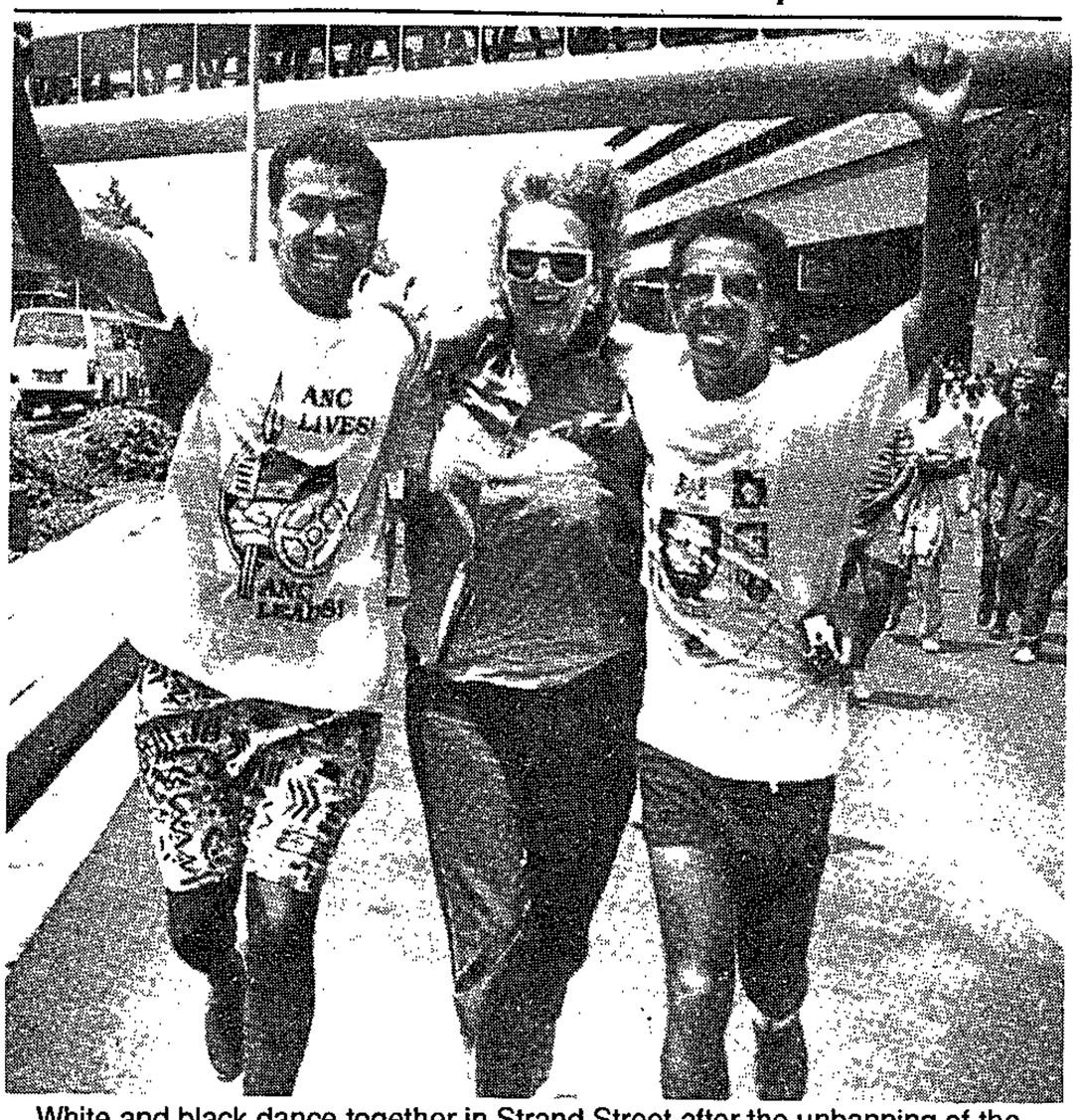


Jubilant youths dance in the streets of Cape Town at the beginning of the victory celebrations which lasted all weekend

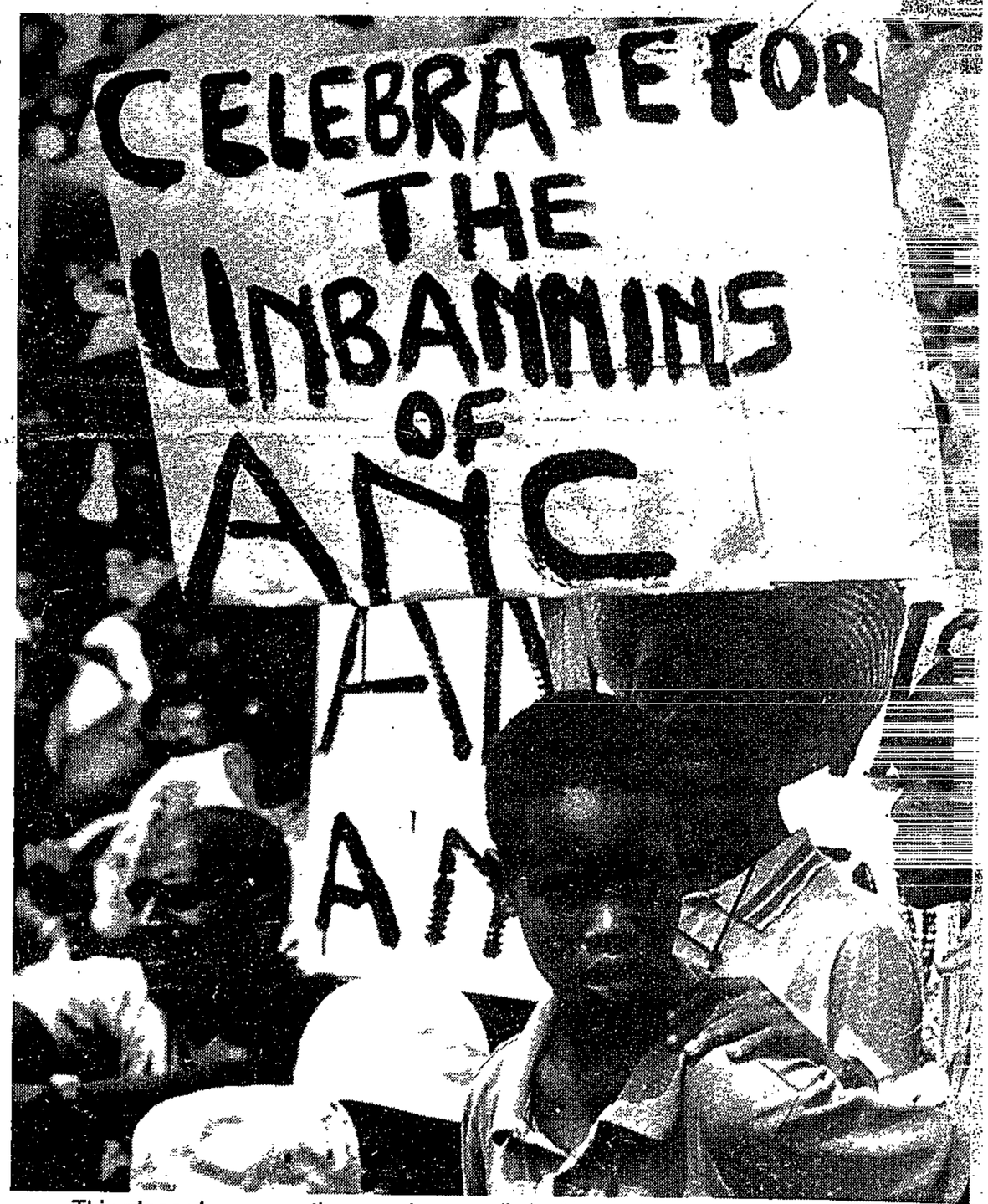
PICS: YUNUS MOHAMED AND CECIL SOLS

Dancing In the streets

Dancing in the streets, victory marches, and a sea of black, green and gold left no doubt about the response to the unbanning of the ANC. SOUTH captures the mood this weekend in pictures:



White and black dance together in Strand Street after the unbanning of the ANC was announced at the rally on the Parade



This placard sums up the mood at a rally in Alexandra township on Saturday



SATS trains, which for weeks have been a target for demonstrators became a vehicle of celebration on Friday, with ANC flags hanging from the windows

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WESTERN PROVINCE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The Western Province Council of Churches welcomes the unbanning and unrestricting of the organisations of the people.

It represents a triumph for peoples power and brings closer the day when truth and justice will prevail in this part of God's creation.

Let us continue to stand for the truth.

British Embassy

The Congress of South ...as our people do not have

Test case for pardon

De Klerk's speech to be used as mitigating evidence in case

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A COPY of President FW de Klerk's opening speech to Parliament on Friday, in which he declared the ANC unbanned, is to be handed to the Pretoria Regional Court in mitigation of sentence of a man convicted of being an ANC member and of terrorism.

Defence counsel for Sipho Solly Mokwena, G J van der Riet, yesterday told magistrate Mr W J van den Bergh De Klerk's speech would be handed to the court as soon as copies had been made.

Last year Mokwena (29) was convicted of being a member of the then-banned ANC since 1982.

SAPA

Mokwena was also convicted on a charge of terrorism, in that he received military training from the ANC, and was in possession of hand-grenades and a Makarov pistol on the date of his arrest in 1988.

Mokwena is in custody.

Meanwhile a Soweto man was convicted yesterday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court of being a member of the African National Congress and of possession of weaponry, including a Makarov pistol, hand-grenades and ammunition.

Simon Modise (25), who was a "commander" of the ANC, refused to participate in the trial, saying as a black man he did not believe he would be given a fair trial in an "apartheid court".

He was acquitted on a charge of terrorism.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, attended yesterday's hearing.

Defence counsel Ms Caroline Nichols said Modise was apparently the first member of the ANC convicted of membership of the organisation since President F W de Klerk unbanned the ANC last week.

Nichols, however, said she hoped the sentence would reflect the current political developments.

Modise, who left the country in 1976, was arrested in Soweto in September 1988 and wounded.

He will be sentenced on April 12.-

ANC's external wing may fight on

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and South African Communist Party could lead to a situation similar to that in which the exiled external wing of Swapo fought in the field while its internal wing operated quite legally inside Namibia. CRAIG KOTZE reports.

When the dust settles on State President F W de Klerk's historic and generally applauded announcement in Parliament last week, little of practical significance in the war between the security forces and their former enemies may have changed.

The PAC and the ANC have, at least for the time being, pledged to continue their "armed struggle", while the South African security forces have said they will still combat terrorism and maintain the law as its stands.

In practical terms, this means that any hand grenade attack, AK-47 rifle volley or limpet mine and bomb explosion still fall outside the law and will be countered. Police may still, in terms of the law, take preventive action to stop the commission of what is still seen as a crime — still making armed members of the PAC or ANC "legitimate targets".

Police have already indicated that the problem of maintaining law and order in this regard will be covered by the Terrorism Act, Explosives Act and the Firearms Act. An appeal has been made to members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, to hand over their arms and explosives.

Treason

Significantly, acts of treason — which had lead to the banning of the ANC in the first place — will also still be illegal and will directly affect the approach towards the "armed struggle".

Although security sources say the unbanning of the PAC and ANC will affect their approach towards the organisations, they still perceive a threat from them.

"Our emphasis will shift from the political side to Umkhonto we Sizwe. We will now have to be even more alert to prevent its members from entering the country under the auspices of legitimate political activity," said one source.

According to University of Pretoria strategist Professor Mike Hough, the issue will present an important policy challenge to the organisation — the choice between continuing international goodwill and great authority and the risk of alienating thousands of ANC members and fighters who still believe in the violent overthrow of the South African Government.

Confronted with these choices, the situation could well develop into the ANC maintaining its internal underground network and continuing its attacks while it mobilises openly and legally.

"The unbanning will not be sufficient for the ANC to suspend its armed struggle or to cease it. Much depends on whether they decide to implement the Harare Declaration option. In any case, it will be important to them to maintain the armed wing. Should there be a negotiating deadlock, they will still have it available as an option.

Pressures

"A precedent already exists in the form of what happened in Namibia for them to be legal inside the country and still fight from the outside. Much will depend on the Frontline states," Professor Hough said.

The ANC would find itself being pulled apart by opposite pressures in deciding on the issue — that from its own members and that from the international community.

"They will try to avoid a repetition of all the attacks on soft targets in recent years — certainly the United States will take a dim view of this. The latest attacks have not enjoyed much publicity anyway.

"But the ANC cannot afford to cease the armed struggle — that could precipitate friction which is already said to exist within the organisation.

"The ideal situation for them would be one in which the armed struggle continued, they operated legally within South Africa and sanctions were still in place. That way they would have the best of both worlds," said Professor Hough.

Exiled Desai heads home

CAPE TIMES 6/7/90 Own Correspondent 327

HARARE. — Mr Barney Desai, 57, till recently listed as a "dangerous communist", leaves here in the next few days after 27 years in exile, one of the first veteran anti-apartheid activists to return home.

When Mr Desai left South Africa in 1963, smuggled on board an Indian cargo liner in Durban, he was president of the now dissolved South African Coloured People's Congress, as well as a statutory communist, a banned person and on bail on charges of breaking the conditions of his ban.

Lawyers call for inquiry into two 'custody' deaths (329)

STAR 6/2/90

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Human rights lawyers and Detainees Aid Centres have called for an investigation into the deaths of two young men who allegedly died in police custody in recent weeks.

While welcoming the appointment last week of a judicial commission of inquiry into the death of Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole (20), who was found hanged at John Vorster Square on January 30 — four days after his detention — they called for two other deaths to be included in the investigation.

The men were Mr Mbuyiselo Nicholas Phiri (16) of the Sonderwater squatter camp near Khutsong, Carletonville, and Mr Michael Zungu (20) of Mtubatuba outside Durban.

According to police, Mr Phiri died at Welverdiend Police Station on January 16, hours after his detention.

VIOLENT CLASHES

He was arrested in the wake of violent clashes between youths and a vigilante group known as the "Russians" who activists claim are working with the police.

Mr Phiri's family say he was among a group picked up by police after marching on the Carletonville police station to demand the release of fellow students.

According to Durban lawyer Miss Linda Zama, Mr Zungu died on January 29 after being brutally assaulted by police and detained that day.

Miss Zama said Mr Zungu went to the Masibonisane Junior Secondary School in the township to claim back his registration fees paid earlier.

After an exchange of words with the principal, who did not believe Mr Zungu had his family's approval to claim the funds, police were called in.

He was allegedly handcuffed and assaulted. He was allegedly unconscious when put in a police van. When family members later that day took him food, they were informed that he was found hanged with his shoelaces," Miss Zama said.

Suspect sent for observation

Own Correspondent

KLERKSDORP — Mr Pieter John van der Merwe (19), of the farm Kransfontein, Leeudoringstad in the Western Transvaal, was yesterday referred to the Sterkfontein mental hospital for observation.

His appearance before magistrate Mr Dirk Redelinghuys on three charges of murder was a sequel to the deaths of Mr Jakob Morake, Mr Petrus Singo and Mrs Paulina Seakwela last Tuesday evening.

Their bodies, each with a bullet wound in the head, were found next to the Ventersdorp road outside Klerksdorp on Wednesday morning.

At yesterday's hearing Mr van der Merwe was not charged or asked to plead. He told the court he felt he had a problem and asked to be referred for observation.

Political prisoners out today

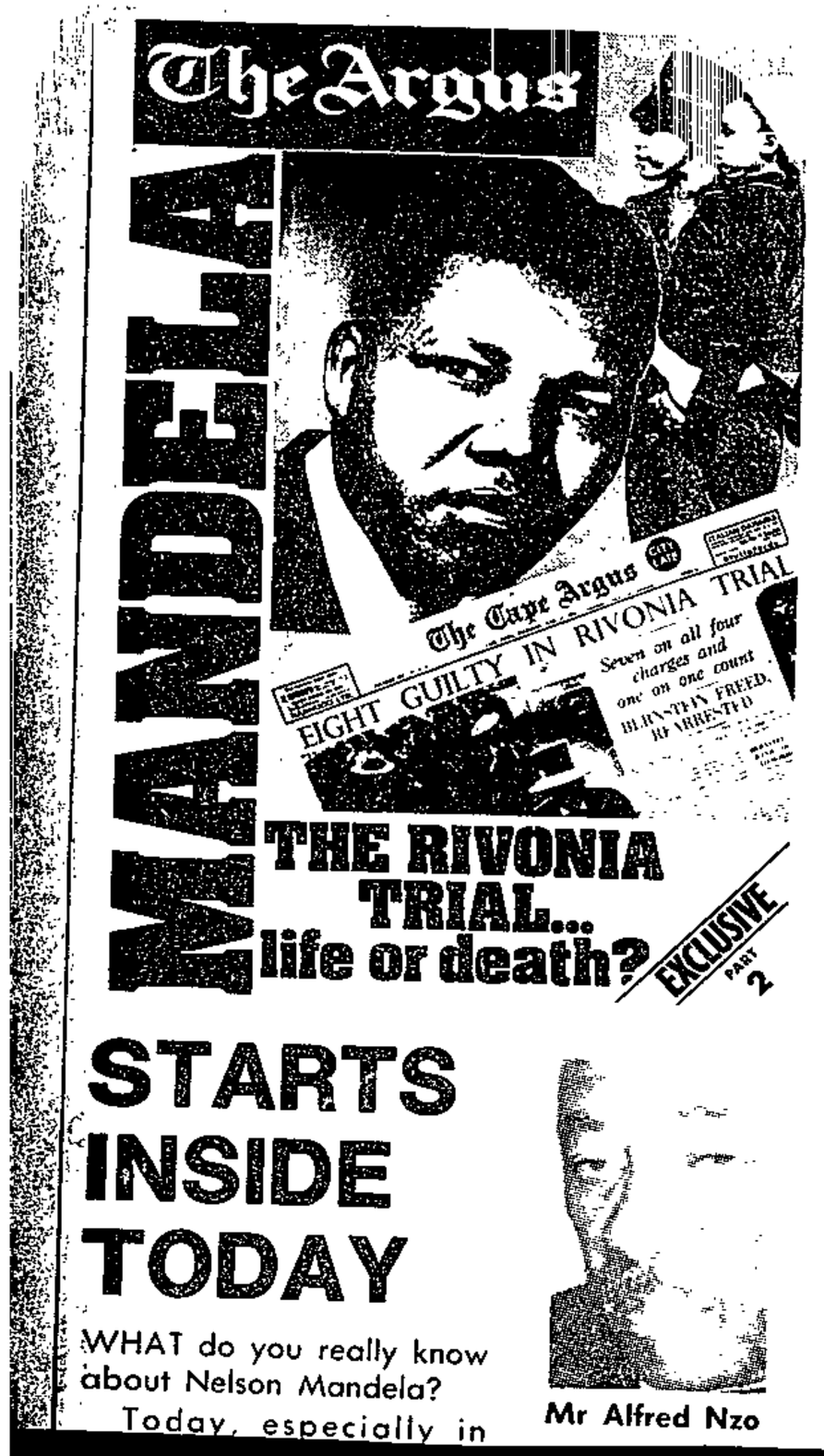
CAPE TIMES 6/7/90 327

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Some of the first prisoners to benefit from President F W de Klerk's decision to free political prisoners not involved in acts of violence will be freed today, according to Major Dave Smit of the SA Prisons Service.

However, Human Rights Commission member Dr Max Coleman said he believed fewer than 5% of the 3 000 political prisoners serving sentences would be eligible for release.

Major Smit said more prisoners would be released later in the week. The prisons service had contacted 205 prisons to identify which prisoners would qualify for release or a reduction in sentence.



Mr Alfred Nzo

Mandela 'ready to leave jail now'

327

ARGUS 6/2/90

From KARL MAIER of The Independent

STOCKHOLM. — Nelson Mandela is ready to leave prison immediately and has not made the lifting of the state of emergency a condition of his release, says a senior official of the African National Congress.

"As far as he (Mr Mandela) is concerned, he should have come out long ago," said Mr Thabo Mbeki, head of the ANC's international affairs department, in an interview here.

Mr Mbeki was responding to a question about press reports yesterday quoting Mrs Winnie Man-

"Work has already begun to bring about a disciplined and ordered restructuring of the ANC, taking into account the new conditions.

"Until a new organisational structure has been finalised, we call upon all ANC structures to remain intact and to maintain vigilance. We also call upon the Mass Democratic Movement to remain intact and to continue to mobilise their respective constituencies," said Mr Nzo.

South Africa, he is more myth and mystery, than man. After spending more than a quarter of a century in jail the government says it is about ready to release him.

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Mr Joe Slovo



Mr Hernus Kriel

dela, after her five-hour meeting with her husband on Sunday at Victor Verster prison.

She said that Mr Mandela had insisted that his release was dependent on the lifting of the state of emergency.

"I am sure that Winnie misunderstood him," said Mr Mbeki.

Mr Mandela has demanded that the government should end the state of emergency and release all political prisoners, including those convicted of violent crimes, to create a climate favourable to negotiations on ending white minority rule.

"He is saying that, to begin the process of negotiations, this climate must be created," Mr Mbeki said. "He has not made the demand that he will only come out once these conditions are met."

Mr Mbeki, considered by many to be heir apparent to the ANC's presidency, was speaking at the end of two days of talks here with senior anti-apartheid leaders.

Mr Mbeki and other senior opposition figures, such as Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party general secretary, described the reforms as positive but insufficient to entice exiled leaders to return home to begin negotiations.

The ANC's 34-member national executive committee will meet next week at its headquarters in Lusaka, Mr Mbeki said.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that the ANC has begun the task of restructuring itself to deal with the unfolding political situation, says its general secretary, Mr Alfred Nzo.

In a statement after the meeting in Stockholm, Mr Nzo said that final decisions on issues discussed would be made at the Lusaka meeting after further consultations with "leaders at home".

● From Washington The Argus Foreign Service reports that Mr Slovo said that President De Klerk would have to normalise political life before political opponents could return from exile.

Interviewed by the New York Times in Stockholm, Mr Slovo said he and other exiles would not be able to return until Mr De Klerk, among other things, lifted the state of emergency and released all political prisoners.

Mr Slovo said it would have been "utter suicide" for Mr De Klerk to have done nothing. But if he did not go further, he would be in a worse situation than he was before last week's announcements.

Asked to describe the political situation, Mr Slovo said: "In a word, volatile, from every side".

Mr Slovo said Mr De Klerk's announcements had left many ambiguities and an uncertain situation.

"We have been engaged in a political struggle in which armed activity played a role. We can't look at our membership and leadersip as consisting of two segments, those who committed political offences and those who committed so-called terrorist offences.

"If De Klerk is serious about preparing the ground for dialogue, he must address this question," Mr Slovo said.

● Debate on FW's speech, page 4.

ace 11 Letters 12 Racing 14 S

Man dies: 8 freed on R500 bail

STAR 6490 (327)

Own Correspondent

KLERKSDORP — Bail of R500 each was granted to eight men in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday, following their appearance in connection with the death of an unknown black man over the weekend.

The man died after allegedly being assaulted outside the town near the Yzerspruit road late on Friday evening.

The eight men are Mr Jacob Benjamin van Heerden (27) of 23 Combrinck Street, Klerksdorp; Mr Keith Craig Siebert (18) of 7 Siddle Street, Klerksdorp; Mr Willem Johannes Harmzen (37) of 8 Ray Street, Klerksdorp; Mr Dean Crafford and Mr Riaan Nico Steyn, (both aged 20) and both of 210 Tebani Flats, Klerksdorp; Mr Adriaan Roets; Mr Jacob Johannes du Plooy and Mr Nico Wessels, no ages or addresses given.

No charges were put to the men and they were not asked to plead.

Bail granted to Messrs Crafford and Steyn at a special sitting of the magistrate's court on Sunday was extended. The other men were granted bail yesterday.

The hearing was postponed to February 19 for further investigation.

Mr C HSteenkamp appeared on behalf of Mr Crafford and Mr S J de Beer on behalf of Messrs van Heerden, Siebert, Harmzen and Steyn.

Unbannings could cause shifts in the unions - Innes

Sowetan 7/2/90

PRESIDEN F W de Klerk's watershed February 2 announcement will lead to intensified political pressures on the black trade union movement, believes labour analyst and Wits University sociologist Professor Duncan Innes.

Innes says an ANC-Cosatu alliance is a distinct prospect. But unionists suspicious of the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) can be expected to seek independent political bases, perhaps through the creation of a Labour Party, he adds.

"Some say the unbanning of the ANC will enable Cosatu to redirect its attention to the shop-floor - I don't agree," said Innes, editor of the *Innes Labour Brief*.

By DREW FORREST

"Returning political organisations have no formal structures here. They know they have black union backing and will try to mobilise them to support their aims."

Labour sources say Government moves have thrust two issues to centre stage: the future of the ANC's labour wing, the 40-year-old SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), and the role of the SACP.

Although never-banned, Sactu was forced into exile when its leaders, mostly ANC members, were jailed, banished or died in detention in the 1960s.

It is known to have told activists to organise workers into Cosatu, and now enjoys largely symbolic support - notably among Cosatu's "populists". With Cosatu it shares the principles of non-racialism, political unionism and shop-floor mobilisation.

Sactu president Mr Stephen Dlamini said this week from Lusaka he expected Sactu and Cosatu to merge, but clearly viewed his organisation as the senior partner. Any amalgamation would have to bear Sactu's name, he said.

Some local unionists fear a repeat of recent developments in Namibia, where former exile John ya Otto, installed as general secretary of National Union of Namibian Workers at a controversial AGM last year, has enforced policy favouring Swapo over the labour movement.

Sactu's role has been intensely debated within the MDM, unionists say. One argument, that the movement could be useful on the international front, had been weakened by the discrediting of its Eastern European government contacts.

Within Cosatu, the majority view was that it had no further role and should disband, with Sactu members being absorbed into local unions, the sources said.

What of the SACP, unbanned after 40 years? "Many unionists who look to a socialist future see the need for a strong SACP to promote workers' interests," was one union man's comment.

FW had no mandate to unban ANC, says prof

Star 7/2/90 · 327

The Government should have consulted the white electorate before announcing Friday's sweeping changes, says a political scientist. White voters had given a mandate for the Separate Amenities Act and for the banning of the ANC, but not their reversal, says the expert.

President de Klerk did not have a mandate to unban the ANC and scrap apartheid laws, a political scientist has claimed in Pretoria.

Retired political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said this week that he disagreed with Mr de Klerk that he had a mandate from voters to carry out the measures announced on Friday.

He said Mr de Klerk, in a television interview, had tried to justify the unbanning of the ANC by claiming that voters in last year's general election had voted for negotiation.

Voters' endorsement of negotiations could not be interpreted as a mandate to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and unban prohibited organisations, Professor Kleynhans said.

"If you say you have a mandate, it means you have spelt out your intentions specifically," he said.

"Negotiation is a general term and nowhere in the National Party's 1989 election manifesto was the electorate asked to give the Government the authority to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and to legalise the ANC, SACP or PAC."

Professor Kleynhans stressed he was not commenting on the merits of the Government's decisions, but on Mr de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate.

"President de Klerk's interpretation of a mandate is wrong and he cannot claim that a mandate to negotiate includes the things he did on Friday." — Own Correspondent.

Woods' views in print again

EAST LONDON — The self-exiled former editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, Mr Donald Woods, will have his first article published in the newspaper today since being silenced by the Government in October 1977.

Opening with the words: "It feels good to be able to communicate with people at home again after 12 years, and to begin to hope it might not be too long before I could return to South Africa if democracy is really on the way," Mr Woods writes of his hopes for the future — for himself and all South Africans.

Mr Woods was editor from 1965 until he was served with a banning order in October 1977 by the then Minister of Justice and Police, Mr J T Kruger, following the death in custody of his friend, black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko. — Sapa.

Labour slams reporters' expulsion

The Star Bureau STAR 7/2/90 (48)

LONDON — Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock said the expulsion of two British journalists from South Africa was "a mark of shame on the South African Government", showing that "apartheid's rulers have only changed their words, not their minds".

He went on to condemn Mrs Thatcher's actions in repeating South Africa's alleged reasons for expelling the journalists as "helping and defending the South African Government".

Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Gerald Kaufmann, also criticised Mrs Thatcher for "acting as an apologist for the South African expulsion" of the journalists. (327)

He added: "What she did this afternoon was to act as mouthpiece for the De Klerk regime, echoing their accusations against the journalists and accepting those accusations as gospel."

Malan, Vlok back ANC unbanning

Capt Tvl H 7/12/90 327

Political Staff

THE security forces were quite happy about the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the President's opening speech to Parliament, they fully backed the steps announced by Mr F W de Klerk.

General Malan said claims in leftist circles that the "securocrats" had had their wings clipped, and claims in the right wing that the security forces had capitulated, could not be further from the truth.

Later he said that now the political exiles could return to the country, it was time the ANC opened its detention camps in Africa so that people it was holding could also go home.

"Those people also have families here and we must not forget about them. I challenge the ANC to follow the government's example," he said.

He assured the country that the Defence Force and Armscor accepted the new challenges and wanted to turn them into opportunities.

Mr Vlok said Mr De Klerk could rely on the unequivocal support of the police force, which urged him to continue what he was doing.

Now that the ANC had been unbanned it did not mean that the security forces supported Marxism or communism.

"We reject their policies in the strongest possible terms," said Mr Vlok.

"If we can beat the communists in the hearts and minds of our people we have defeated them permanently."

We can still bar press from unrest situations, says SAP

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Police yesterday still maintained that they had a right in terms of the emergency regulations to order journalists from unrest situations.

This was despite the fact that President de Klerk announced on Friday that these regulations had been abolished and that this was gazetted on Saturday.

On Monday a number of jounalists, among them a Radio 702 reporter and foreign pressmen, were ordered away from violent clashes in Tembisa on the East Rand.

Media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds said that according to Mr de Klerk's speech, almost all of the media emergency regulations had been scrapped in their entirety.

The only restriction which was still applicable related to visual material of "unrest situations".

"There appears to be no basis for the police to have ordered the reporters from the scene.

"I think the police have acted hastily in this instance," said Mr Reynolds.

A Pretoria police spokesman, Captain Ruben Bloomberg, said: "In terms of the emergency regulations a number of foreign journalists were ordered out of the area. I have no knowledge of the 702 reporter.

"But it does not matter. All journalists should not have been in the area, in terms of the emergency regulations."

Asked about the recent scrapping of some of the media emergency regulations, Captain Bloomberg repeated that journalists had been asked to leave in terms of the emergency regulations. He did not elaborate.



FRONT PAGES . . . How London newspapers covered the release

CAPE TIMES 13/2/90 (C) (DP) Ca

'Blessed day' — Boigny

JOHANNESBURG. — President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast has sent congratulatory messages to Mr Nelson Mandela and to President F W de Klerk on the release of the ANC leader.

Mr Houphouet-Boigny said the Ivory Coast rejoiced with Mr Mandela on what he called "this blessed day of 11 February". He said the efforts of all men of good faith and peace-loving people the world over had been fruitful.

The Ivorian leader said the whole world counted on Mr Mandela to work for the triumph of the noble cause of peace through dialogue, equality and brotherhood in South Africa.

In his message to Mr De Klerk, Mr Houphouet-Boigny said the decision showed a high level of political and humanitarian consideration. — Sapa

British invitation stands

Cape Times 13/2/90 Own Correspondent (DP) (DP)

LONDON. — Despite Mr Nelson Mandela's support for the armed struggle and sanctions, an invitation extended 10 days ago for him to meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher still stands.

This was confirmed by a Downing Street spokesman yesterday, amid speculation in the British press that Mrs Thatcher was fuming at the contents of Mr Mandela's speech in Cape Town on Sunday.

The spokesman said the formal invitation would be sent to Mr Mandela "soon".

Although President F W De Klerk had publicly accepted an invitation, no formal response had yet been received.

He said it was hoped that both Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk would be able to meet Mrs Thatcher before her visit to South Africa later in the year.

Kohl wants Bonn meeting

Cape Times 13/2/90 (DP) (DP)

BONN. — West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has invited Mr Nelson Mandela to Bonn for "political talks", a government spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman, Mr Norbert Schaeffer, said the invitation was aimed at encouraging "the black and coloured opposition in South Africa to engage in dialogue and to use peaceful means".

"The federal chancellor considers it urgent that the opportunity presented by the release of Mr Mandela should be used to start negotiations aimed at working out a new, just and democratic constitution for South Africa," Mr Schaeffer said.



PIK BOTHA

'Words put into Nelson's mouth'

THE public should not put too much trust in people who visited the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and put words in his mouth, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

He briefed the local and international press on issues affecting his portfolio and said it was important to understand that the decision to release Mr Mandela did not rest with the Government alone.

Questioned about further conditions attached to Mr Mandela's release Mr Botha said: "President De Klerk has said the release is unconditional and I appeal to you to accept that."

Important parts of the state of emergency had been withdrawn and it was the Governmment's urgent wish to withdraw the rest as soon as possible.

"We wish the ANC will help us now because what is left of it is not aimed at any particular party."

Mr Walter Sisulu's statement, if it was accurately, was helpful in this regard. "It means they are prepared to apply discipline."

"If we withdraw all the regulations and we are suddenly faced with an upheaval and disorder and have to reintroduce the state of emergency, the perception will be that things have got out of hand in South Africa.

"Then we will pay a far heavier price than testing the water step by step as we are doing," he said.

- Sapa

Putco passengers in fight over high fares

Sowetan 8/2/90

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

IRATE Soweto bus commuters have threatened to take action against Putco if their demands for improved transport are not met within two weeks.

At a meeting called by the Putco Daily Passengers Committee in Pimville, Soweto this week, members decided that Putco be given an ultimatum to reply to grievances which they delivered to the company on January 22.

Their demands include:

* An 18 percent drop in the fares and that charges must be adjusted on some routes.

* Additional buses on all routes and vehicles to be kept clean.

* Training of bus drivers in the wake of a soaring accident rate.

* Weekly and monthly coupons must work when used, and

* the committee be recognised as the mouthpiece of the residents and the transport committee to be dissolved.

A spokesman for the company yesterday acknowledged receipt of the letter and said that the committee's delegation was scheduled to meet Putco executives on February 20 at 5.30pm.

"We believe that in modern times we need a modern transport system," said committee secretary Ms Adelaide Monana. "Putco has done nothing to improve its standards during its 50 years of existence."

She said that the committee had asked taxi associations to help them in the likely event of negotiations with Putco reaching deadlock.

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LOOK OUT FOR CHARLIE PARKERS' PRIZE BUSTERS STARTING FEBRUARY 12, 1990

S 3931

Soweto visit

SOWETO will today be visited by 30 Junior Mayors from all over South Africa.

The tour will start at the Oppenheimer Tower in Central Western Jabavu at 9.30am.

The tour will end at noon at the same venue.

Scramble legacy of apartheid

327

By MOEKETSI MPHAKI

THE rush by whites to buy guns following the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP was a sickening war psychosis which indicates that a lot of work remained to be done in correcting people's attitudes in South Africa.

This was the reaction of several leaders yesterday after reports that arms dealers were inundated with inquiries for guns after the unbanning of the liberation movements.

A spokesman for the Black Consciousness Movement, Mr Muntu Myeza, said this was a reflection on how apartheid and racism have damaged people's thinking. Sowetan 8/2/90

"This aberration is reminiscent of the mistrust and distrust that the BCM has been warning against during its entire existence. Intergration and non-racialism can only be effective in a situation of equality," he said.

Mr Krish Naidoo of the National Sports Council, said this was a natural reaction by whites resulting from the black fear syndrome created by the Nats.

Mr Azhar Cachalia of the MDM, said this was a result of a propaganda wr waged by the regime.

Protesters to march despite prohibition

THE Transvaal Anti-Tour Committee will go ahead with protest action at the Wanderers ground today in defiance of an order prohibiting the demonstration. (327)

The decision, which promises a showdown between anti-tour protesters and the authorities, was taken at a meeting last night, Sapa reports.

The Committee had "decided to continue with peaceful but effective protest action at the Wanderers", said committee spokesman Moss Mashishi. BIDay 8/2/90

By banning the demonstration, he said, government "has clearly taken centre stage in this rebel cricket tour and has exposed the fallacy of the SA Cricket Union's (statement on the) so-called right to protest and President F W de Klerk's purported offer of reconciliation".

The National Sports Congress (NSC) asked Johannesburg Town Clerk Manie Venter on behalf of the protesters for permission to hold demonstrations outside Wanderers on the three days of the match.

Earlier yesterday, Venter also turned down an application by the pro-tour organisation, Freedom in Sport, to hold a demonstration at the Wanderers stadium.

A spokesman for the town clerk's office, Gerhardt van der Merwe, said the applications were refused on the grounds that there was restricted space at the Wanderers' entrance and because of the anticipated congestion in Corlett Drive outside the grounds.

NSC secretary general Krish Naidoo

☐ To Page 2

Protesters

☐ From Page 1

said if there was no space outside, they would protest inside the grounds.

Meanwhile, US civil rights leader Rev Jesse Jackson, who arrived in SA yesterday, will meet the NSC to discuss the rebel tour. But he will not join the proposed march from Rosebank to the Wanderers.

However, NSC secretary-general Krish Naidoo said he had received confirmation from Jackson's hosts that he intended attending the planned demonstration.

☐ Lik Nosarka, a leading Transvaal Cricket Council board member, has resigned from the TCC in opposition to the rebel tour.

TCC executive director Albie During confirmed Nosarka's resignation.

Nosarka said he had to resign "because of the big rift this tour has caused between the different people in SA".

BIDay 8/2/90

NEIL YORKE SMITH reports that about 200 Sandton Sun Hotel staff members yesterday attended a meeting to protest against the tour.

The protest, organised by the SA Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (Saccawu), was held at the hotel's main entrance at 1pm.

Some staff members seemed reluctant to join the protest. Many waited on the fringes until they were physically pushed into the crowd by protest organisers.

The organisers said the meeting had been legal and was part of a strictly enforced agreement with hotel management.

Police kept a low profile throughout.

Yesterday 14 policemen guarded the Wanderers cricket field after hearing anti-tour demonstrators planned to stop today's game by damaging the pitch.

(101) 327



Hundreds of marchers took to the streets in Garankuwa and Mabopane near Pretoria yesterday to protest against the homeland system. (101)



Hundreds of marchers took to the streets in Garankuwa and Mabopane near Pretoria yesterday to protest against the homeland system.

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THE LONGEST-BANNED PARTY COMES OUT OF THE SHADOWS ...

SACP not yet ready to come up for air

By GAVIN EVANS

FORTY years after it was banned, the South African Communist Party is legal again — but for the time being most of its members will remain underground.

Leading SACP member Govan Mbeki said he expected the party to have a strong legal component, but that it would be necessary to maintain the underground arm, at least until negotiations were concluded.

"Although the government has been pressured to introduce the reforms of the past week, it is uncertain whether this process will continue to its ultimate conclusion.

"Given the current conditions, and while there continues to be such uncertainty, it will be necessary for the party to operate at two levels — both above and underground, but always under the same single discipline."

Mbeki, who returned from Lusaka on Tuesday, said he expected the SACP to continue to operate as a vanguard party, but with a far larger membership, particularly among workers.

"The SACP has never been a mass party and I'm sure it will still be selective in choosing members. But at the same time it's going to be less conservative in its recruitment than was the case when it was in conditions of illegality.



Out of mothballs, the communist flag flies again ... legally. Walter Sisulu, left and Govan Mbeki at a press conference this week

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

"I expect we are going to have a much larger party than ever before because it will be able to operate relatively openly and recruit membership on a more concerted basis."

The 79-year-old former African National Congress national chairman said the unbanning was "very, very good news" and he expected the SACP to have a "major impact on political thinking in South Africa".

He said the party would continue to have a strong focus on the working class.

"The SACP already has tremendous prestige among workers and the oppressed people generally, and I'm sure this will grow in the more favourable climate which now exists."

Over the past four years party banners and slogans have become commonplace at United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions events. Internally produced copies of the party's magazine *Umsebenzi* have been widely distributed.

This suggests the presence of an internal underground organisation and a substantial support base.

But at the very time when the party's prestige at home is higher than ever before, socialism is facing its greatest crisis in over 70 years.

From Tiananmen Square to the Berlin Wall, from Bucharest to Azerbaijan, "existing socialism" has either had to initiate drastic renewal or has been thoroughly discredited.

Given the importance for the ANC of maintaining western support, this creates major difficulties for the party, and makes it unlikely that large numbers of SACP members will reveal themselves.

It is common cause that a significant proportion of ANC members are also active in the SACP. But the number of public faces do not go far beyond party chairman Dan Tloome, general secretary Joe Slovo and veterans like Ray Alexander.

Within the country the release of known members like Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Ahmed Kathrada and Elias Motsoaledi has eased this situation, but it is likely that some other ANC members will emerge.

New Era editor Tony Karon, who recently completed doctoral research on the party's role in the 1940s, said it was clear that the entire leadership was not going to reveal their colours.

"Even when they were legal in the 1940s some party members were deliberately concealed. This situation was varied according to the party's estimate of the danger they faced from the state at the time.

"Given the fact that the state and right wing today are likely to continue to regard the party as its key enemy, and that party members do not exactly go down well in much of the West, it would be unwise for too many members to be exposed too soon."

Karon said there had been a marked shift in the response of the government to the party.

"A year ago National Party representatives were insisting that a precondition for unbanning the ANC was that they sever all links with the party, yet on Friday the SACP itself was unbanned."

He said there were no easy parallels between the party's role in the 1940s and that expected in the 1990s.

"South Africa, the world and the party have changed enormously.

"In the first half of the 1940s they were organising for the war effort against Hitler, while in the latter half they were engaged in a largely defensive struggle against Nationalist rule.

"Today the party is having to deal with questions of political power with all the problems and prospects that presents, at a time when the Nats are making important concessions.

"They will be wanting to lead the workers in a period when the interests of the working class have to be asserted, while at the same time socialists everywhere have had to learn hard lessons about themselves and the world."

Karon said that while the SACP would maintain its vanguard character, it was likely the party would go on a recruitment drive among workers, "but not necessarily everyone else within the broad ANC-MDM fold".

Meanwhile, the party has officially welcomed De Klerk's concessions, but warned the democratic movement to "remain vigilant and alert for provocations by those in our country, including in high places, who will stop at nothing to preserve minority racial privileges."

An official statement by the International Committe of the SACP Central Committee says the moves announced by De Klerk are "positive steps taken towards creating a climate for negotiations", and calls them "a great victory for the masses of our country".

Learning to talk again — without whispering

W/Mail 9/2-15/2/190

FOR the first time since 1950, South African communists at home can speak openly about their allegiances.

At least in the short term most South African Communist Party members will remain out of sight, but for a small group of Party veterans the lifting of their "listing" orders has provided the first opportunity to talk to the press since the fifties.

"I'm not used to the idea yet, but it's just great," said Esther Barsel, who joined the Party Youth League in the early 1940s. She has been jailed, banned and listed for 26 years.

"For me personally it means I can join political organisations again and can get a passport. It's going to be very exciting to see old friends like Joe Slovo and also Jean Middleton, who was tried with me."

Barsel was one of those who helped reform the old Communist Party of South Africa as the SACP in 1953. She served as a member of the Party's underground Johannesburg area committee before being detained on July 3 1964.

In April 1965 she was sentenced to three years imprisonment under the Suppression of Communism Act.

After her release in 1968 she was house-arrested for five years and then listed — until last Friday.

"I still support the party. That hasn't changed," she said yesterday.

In the early 1960s, most of the active SACP members were either jailed for long periods or went into exile.

Many of those who remained, and were listed, were older white members who had been active since the days when the Party was legal. Over the past few years, several have died.

Three years ago Barsel's husband, Hymie, a former leader of the Friends of the Soviet Union society and one of the accused in the 1956 treason trial, died at the age of 66.

Last year Willie Kalk, a member since the party's formation in 1921, and of the Socialist League before that, died aged 88.

And in the week of the SACP's unbanning Issy and Anne Heyman, both veterans of the 1930s and 1940s, died.

Issy Heyman, 79, died on Tuesday, four days after the party he served was legalised. He had been a listed person since 1952.

Four days earlier Anne Heyman, who joined the Party in the 1940s, died suddenly at the age of 66.

After Issy was released in 1970 he and Anne played a central role in keeping the communist community together. Every Old Year's night hundreds of old communists and supporters would converge on their house to see the new year in.

One of the friends mourning his death is John Matthews, 77, who first became active in the Party 50 years ago.

But he was detained on June 25 1964; he refused to give evidence against his comrades, and on December 17 that year was jailed for 15 years in the "mini-Rivonia" trial for his role in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

NUMSA

members welcome the unbanning of the SACP, ANC, PAC and the lifting of restrictions from COSATU and other organisations.

This is a victory for the working class in particular, and all people of South Africa generally who have unceasingly fought for this day.

The unbanning of the SACP in particular, has great significance for the working class in South Africa, a victory towards the struggle for socialism in South Africa.

We welcome the lifting of the emergency restrictions but demand the complete scrapping of the regulations.

We are extremely dissatisfied that de Klerk fell short of releasing comrade Nelson Mandela, and we demand his immediate release! Long live socialism!

(Issued by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA)

W/Mail 9/2-15/2/190

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Laws fortify emergency

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SOWETAN Correspondent

LESS than 5 percent of the estimated 3000 political prisoners currently in jail would appear to be eligible for release following the legalisation of more than 30 organisations last week, according to the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

All "unrest" political prisoners were excluded, as were probably three quarters of the "security" political prisoners because of convictions of violence. Sowetan 9/2/90

In an update on repression in South Africa released yesterday, the HRC noted that although organisations such as the UDF and Cosatu had been legalised, both Nusas and the UDF remained affected in terms of the Affected Organisations Act, and the UDF was still legally prohibited from receiving foreign funds.

Three youths had died in detention recently.

With the withdrawal of the media and education emergency regulations, the definition of "subversive" statements had fallen away. However, the wide powers of the Internal Security Act still existed which "placed a question mark over what political actions such as boycotts, campaigns and creation of alternative structures will be permitted".

The blanket ban on all outdoor political gatherings without permission continued.

"Powers under the state of emergency and the Internal Security Act to break up such gatherings continue to be exercised on an almost daily basis, frequently involving a high level of force. Funeral restrictions in over 70 townships are still in effect," the HRC said.

They added that 67 people were currently being held under the emergency regulations, 63 of them in Natal.

Although the media regulations had been scrapped - except for publication or broadcasting of visual material of unrest situations - restrictions on the media continued under the Internal Security Act, the Police Act, the Prisons Acts and many others.

Liaison officer for Soweto Police Captain Joseph Ngobeni confirmed that police conducted a search on Tuesday.

"Divers have not been to the scene since then but have promised to continue with the search today. An inquest docket has been opened," he said.

RSC's finance

The East Rand Regional Services Council has spent about R282 million in the past three years to upgrade services in the area. (~~Sowetan~~)

The chairman of the ERRSC, Mr Leon Ferreira, said the money was spent on 176 projects including the planning, design and construction of community projects.

He was speaking at the official opening of the Wattville Day Care Centre for the Aged.

Sowetan 9/2/90

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Newsmen hit out at cops

THE continued harassment of the media showed that not much had changed in spite of the scrapping of the media emergency regulations by the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, a spokesman for the South African Society of Journalists said yesterday.

The SASJ condemned action taken against local and foreign pressmen in Alexandra and the Johannesburg city centre yesterday.

Several photographers and television cameramen in Alexandra were grabbed and loaded into police vans and removed from the township. Some

SOWETAN Reporter

were allegedly manhandled.

In the city centre, a *Star* photographer, Stephen Davimes was arrested and held in an armoured personnel carrier while other journalists were allowed to continue taking pictures of an anti-tour protest outside the British Consulate in Commissioner Street.

Abused

Davimes said he was pushed around and verbally abused by three riot policemen.

"I was standing to one side of the protesters, when suddenly three riot policemen grabbed me and started shoving me around. They demanded to know why I was taking pictures.

"They then physically threw me into the back of an armoured personnel carrier. They got in with me and pushed me around some more, all the while shouting at me, demanding to know why I was there. I showed them my press card and told they why I was there.

Fifteen minutes later another policeman came up and told Davimes to go.

Trouble erupted in Alexandra at about noon yesterday as journalists converged on the township to cover a protest march to the Wanderers Cricket Stadium.

Earlier, hundreds of people, mainly pupils, had gathered at the local township stadium but were prevented from marching by a large contingent of police.

Several police vehicles, loaded with uniformed policemen followed the crowd and kept them under surveillance. A police helicopter hovered above, pointing out gathering groups of demonstrators.

Police ordered some journalists to accompany them to the Wynberg police station. A reporter from Radio 702 was allegedly escorted to a police station by two riot police carrying shotguns.

Two members of CBS Television, Roger Harris and Grant Wells, were arrested but released shortly afterwards.

CBS cameraman, Siphiwo Ralo, said they were taking pictures of children walking towards the taxi rank in Alexandra when the police swooped.

"I remonstrated with the police and said I was merely taking pictures. After some time they released me and told me to go".

The SASJ says "stringent" emergency measures curtailing the media obviously still existed.

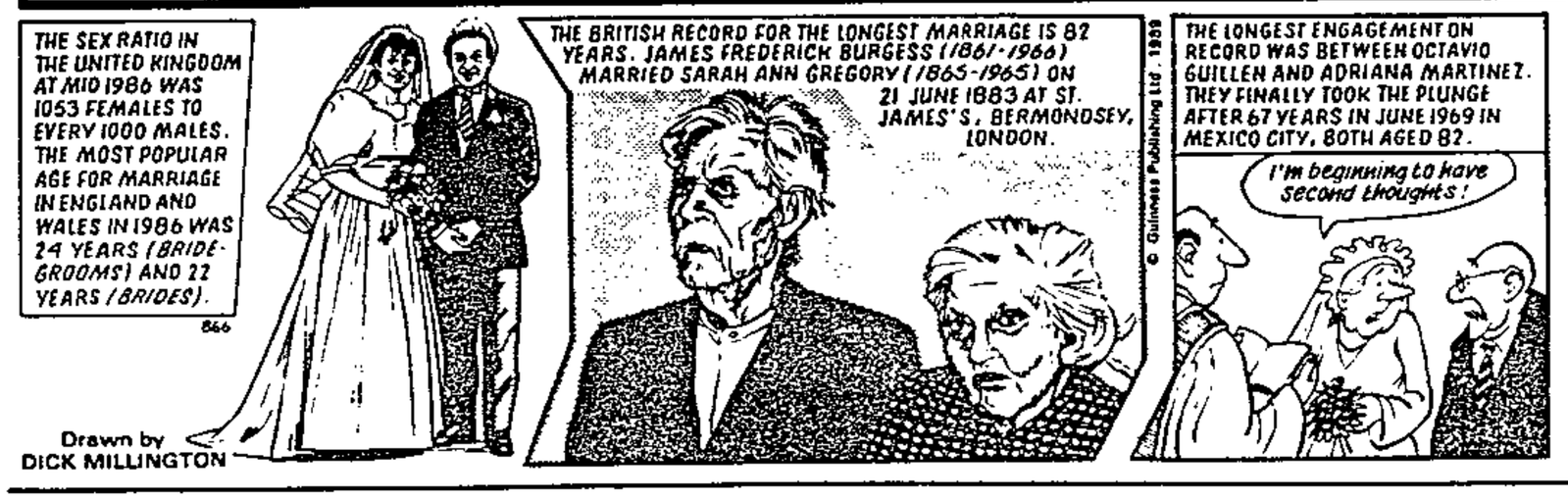
"The arrests show that not much has changed for the media, despite the lifing of the media regulations. As of old, journalists doing their jobs are bundled into police vans ...

"The actions of the police yesterday and earlier this week are going to discredit President de Klerk's media reforms announced last Friday. After the moral high of Friday it would appear for the media that the worms are now crawling out of the woodwork".



An armed cop stops a taxi full of pupils in Alexandra yesterday.

FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter



Teachers to stage march

MORE than 1 500 Soweto teachers yesterday resolved to march on the Department of Education and Training's Braamfontein offices, Johannesburg, next Wednesday to deliver a petition containing their grievances.

The march will start at the Johannesburg City Library at 10am.

Sowetan 9/2/90

The decision was taken at an emotion-charged meeting at Funda Centre in Soweto called by the Progressive Teachers Committee, an affiliate of the National Education Union of South Africa.

Vlok tells of threats to Mandela

Emergency could end 'in weeks'

Cape Times 9/2/90

Political Staff

THREATS to Mr Nelson Mandela — and a strong indication that the state of emergency will be lifted within a matter of weeks — were revealed yesterday by two cabinet ministers.

And it now appears that the end of the English rebel cricket tour could be the signal for an end to the 3½-year emergency.

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok told a press briefing that there had been threats on Mr Mandela's life from radicals on both sides and there were real concerns about his safety.

And Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen confirmed in a TV interview with Ted Koppel on the American ABC Nightline programme that he expected the emergency to be lifted completely within weeks.

Mr Vlok said the threats to Mr Mandela came both from the right and from factions within his own organisation.

The government wanted Mr Mandela to be free and to be able to live freely, he said.

In his Nightline interview, Dr Viljoen, the government's chief negotiator, said it was recognised that the state of emergency inhibited the normalisation of the political process.

He added that one of the government's problems in assessing the political situation was the degree of confusion among ANC leaders in different parts of the world and the inconsistencies in their views.

"I believe we should patiently await the considered reaction of the ANC national executive," he said.

There was no "informal agreement" with Mr Mandela on when the emergency would be ended, the minister stressed, adding: "I would say it is a question of weeks, a few weeks."

Asked for his assessment of Mr Mandela, he said: "He's certainly an impressive man."

It was untrue to say Mr Mandela and the government were negotiating the terms of his release. "What we've been doing is to react to his suggestion that he is prepared to act as a mediator, as a facilitator, between the government and the ANC."

Asked for his vision of a new South Africa, Dr Viljoen said: "One of the main features would be that we would move away from an over-emphasis on differences . . . to a new emphasis on nation-building."

The National Party's days in power were numbered, and with them, Dr Viljoen appeared to hope, the era of racially-based political organisations.

He said: "Whether you call it a coalition, or an alliance or whatever, South Africans will have to work together politically in the future."

Mr Vlok said yesterday the imposition of the emergency was reexamined regularly — almost on a daily basis — and it would be looked at again seriously after Mr Mandela had been released.

Government thinking now seems to be that consideraton will be given to lifting the emergency once he is released — and the English cricketers are safely home.

Media clamps loosen, but journalists still squeezed

W/Mail 9/2/ - 15/2/90

By PHILIPPA GARSON

AS JOURNALISTS were celebrating the lifting of most of the Emergency media regulations, *Vrye Weekblad* journalist Charles Leonard was being brutally beaten by riot squad police while reporting on student celebrations.

A few days later, local and foreign journalists were ordered away from a scene of "unrest" in Tembisa.

And on Tuesday, two foreign correspondents covering the rebel English cricket tour, Paul Weaver of *Today* newspaper and Gareth Furby of *Independent Radio News*, were expelled from the country.

These events cast a pall over State President F W de Klerk's announcement last Friday that almost all of the Emergency media regulations would be lifted.

Journalists, media organisations and lawyers, welcomed the lifting of these regulations, but fear that police will rely on existing Emergency and other security legislation to stifle the media.

Media lawyers say the repeal of most of the regulations will have a "significant effect" on what can and cannot be reported, but caution that police can still use other regulations to order journalists off a scene of unrest.

It is now legal to publish written reports or sound recordings of unrest or police action, though the publication of visual material is still prohibited.

Lawyers stress, however, that it is no longer an offence to take pictures of security action, even though they may not be published. Film or video footage may not be confiscated until it has been screened, and seizure of material or a publication no longer rests on the subjective decision of the minister of home affairs or commissioner of police. Instead, confiscation rests on an "objective test" as to whether Emergency regulations have been contravened.

A vast amount of news — falling under the official "unrest" category — can now be reported on. This includes so-called people's courts, street committees, illegal strikes and boycotts. Says one media lawyer: "Whereas before, one could not write a story reflecting the success of one of these events, one can now call for people to participate in a boycott."

She adds that most publications were barely complying with the media regulations before De Klerk's announcements, so the change may not be that noticeable. For example illegal strikes, calls for the release of detainees and African National Congress policy, were extensively publicised beforehand.

But there is growing concern that the change most journalists welcome — the go-ahead to cover unrest situations — will be counteracted by police who still have the power to order people off a scene in terms of the security regulations.

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) this week issued a statement saying: "The repeal of the media regulations is of little significance if police are able to invoke the security Emergency Regulations to justify ordering journalists to leave a particular area."

In the shaking coach, the word is 'keep on fighting'

After the speech, **MZIMKULU MALUNGA** *takes a train ride to Soweto*

WMail 9/2/ -15/2/90

"TAMBO *nthekele AK47 lenna ke thuse chaba sa heso* (Tambo buy me an AK47 so that I can help our people)" chanted a tightly-packed coach load of workers on a train to Germiston this week.

Most were loudly expressing their scepticism about last Friday's declaration by State President FW de Klerk.

"We are not yet satisfied," commented Marks Makgalemele while his comrades shook the train with *toyi-toyi* dancing and freedom songs.

He said that following De Klerk's pronouncements, the train committees (structures formed to organise workers on the trains) had held a meeting on Saturday. "We noted the developments, but decided that the struggle must continue until our leaders tell us that it is over."

The committees were originally launched by workers on strike to boost and maintain morale during the course of an industrial action and also to educate workers to get more involved in work and community issues.



Not yet satisfied ... Freedom songs on the Germiston train follow FW de Klerk's announcement

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

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According to Makgalemele, "the people" themselves had effectively unbanned both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party last year, rendering the announcement meaningless in practical terms.

He said many people remained unconvinced that the "new-look" government was really pro-change.

"Only our leaders are going to tell us when the fighting is over, not De Klerk. We won't take instructions from him," added Makgalemele with sweat streaming down his broad face.

By contrast, some workers, like Walter Ndlovu, were sceptical, but felt the state president should be given a chance.

"We must not rush him. However, he must not delay by thinking that we will let him move at his own pace.

"Ever since he took over, we have seen some positive movement. That qualifies him for 18 months, then afterwards we can assess whether he has moved far enough," said the man who believes that the day Nelson Mandela is released should be declared a paid public holiday.

"My brother, I am telling you that day, it is going to be a holiday. Who would come to work on such a day?"

Most workers who spoke to the *Weekly Mail* said they were not yet ready to comment, but said they would rather wait and see what would happen next.



American civil rights leader the Rev Jesse Jackson holds a baby during his tour to Soweto yesterday. A large crowd followed him throughout the day.

STAR 6/2/90

SA's brightest days are here – Jesse

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Rev Jesse Jackson yesterday called on black political organisations to "find each other" and work towards making unity a political reality.

Addressing a joint press conference after a meeting with the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) in Johannesburg, Mr Jackson said it was very important that black political organisations, whose common goal was to see apartheid eradicated, had to work towards some for of "operational unity".

The unbanning by President F W de Klerk of political organisations last week had been a significant step in the right direction, but these organisations must now agree to disagree and have a common commitment to end violence and to choose negotiations over confrontation.

"I am constantly amazed at the sense of optimism and hope, and the lack of bitterness among black people in the country. It is now the responsibility of the Government to relieve the whites of their unfounded fears.

"South Africa's brightest days are here. Once apartheid has been dismantled, South Africa will proudly take its place in the world community," Mr Jackson said.

Speaking at the same press conference, PAM general secretary Mr Benny Alexander praised Mr Jackson's "incisive knowledge of the situation" in this country,which they found impressive.

"Mr Jackson advised us very strongly to work for unity among the oppressed. We explained our position to Mr Jackson, but we found him much more informed than we had thought," said Mr Alexander.

He further told the media that PAM had thanked Mr Jackson for his role in the sanctions campaign and asked him to "push for more sanctions" back in the US.

Speaking to the press after this meeting, Mr Jackson said President de Klerk's major announcement last Friday had made it even more necessary for black unity to be attained.

Mr Jackson leaves for Cape Town this afternoon where he hopes to meet President de Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, other Cabinet Ministers and Mr Mandela.

STAR 9/2/90

It makes mockery of FW's media reforms, say journalists

Police push pressmen into vans

By Louise Burgers and Montshiwa Moroke

The continued harassment of the media showed that not much had changed in spite of the scrapping of the media emergency regulations by President de Klerk, a spokesman for the Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) said yesterday.

The SASJ condemned action taken yesterday against local and foreign pressmen while they were covering anti-cricket-tour incidents in Alexandra and the Johannesburg city centre.

Several photographers and television cameramen in Alexandra were grabbed and loaded into police vans and removed from the township. Some were allegedly manhandled.

In the city centre, a photographer from The Star, Stephen Davimes, was arrested and held in an armoured personnel carrier while other journalists were allowed to continue taking pictures of an anti-tour protest outside the British Consulate in Commissioner Street.

Pushed around

Davimes said he was pushed around and verbally abused by three riot policemen.

"I was standing to one side of the protestors, when suddenly three riot policemen grabbed me and started shoving me around. They demanded to know why I was taking pictures.

"They then physically threw me into the back of an armoured personnel carrier. They got in with me and pushed me around some more, all the while shouting at me, demanding to know why I was there. I showed them my press card and told them why I was there."

Fifteen minutes later another policeman came up and told Davimes to go.

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Earlier, hundreds of people, mainly pupils, had gathered at the local township stadium but were prevented from marching by a large contingent of police.

Several police vehicles, loaded with uniformed policemen, followed the crowd and kept them under surveillance. A police helicopter hovered above, pointing out gathering groups of demonstrators.

Police ordered some journalists to accompany them to the Wynberg police station. A reporter from Radio 702 was allegedly escorted to a police station by two riot police.

Two members of CBS Television, Roger Harris and Grant Wells, were arrested but released shortly afterwards.

CBS cameraman Siphiwo Ralo said he and others were taking pictures of children walking towards the taxi rank in Alexandra when the police swooped.

The SASJ said stringent emergency measures curtailing the media obviously still existed. "The arrests show that not much has changed for the media, despite the lifting of the media regulations."



Police manhandle Columbia Broadcasting Services cameraman Siphiwo Ralo in Alexandra township. Mr Ralo, covering yesterday's attempted protest march from the township to the Wanderers, was pulled to a police van, shoved in the back and released after about 10 minutes.

● Picture by Herbert Mab[illegible]

ANATOMY OF REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

Following FW de Klerk's parliamentary opening speech on February 2 several repressive measures continue to exist:

Internal Security Act

This is unaltered by De Klerk's changes and therefore retains all its powers of detention without trial, banning of persons, organisations, gatherings and publications.

Emergency Regulations

The State of Emergency, declared under the Public Safety Act, continues. Of the four sets of Emergency regulations two have been withdrawn (media and education), one is unaltered (prison regulations) and the fourth (security regulations) have been amended to provide for slight changes in detention conditions as well as to provide for restrictions on visual reporting of unrest situations.

Detention without trial continues unchanged under the Internal Security Act and in each of the first three categories below is potentially indefinite.

- Section 29 provides for the detention of persons for purposes of interrogation
- Section 28 provides for "preventative detention"
- Section 30 provides for the detention of potential state witnesses
- Section 50 provides for detention without trial for a 48 hour period
- Section 50 (a) provides for detention of up to 180 days

Detention without trial also continues under the State of Emergency, but under slightly amended conditions. The time limit is restricted to six months (but redetention is still possible), there is a right of access to a legal representative and access to external medical services is provided, but only on the recommendation of the prison medial officer.

The Internal Security Act, State of Emergency and other repressive measures also provide for the following:

- The banning of persons (an ISA provision which has not been used in several years) and the restriction of persons (there are now no longer any restricted persons in terms of the Emergency regulations)
- The banning and restriction of organisations (following De Klerk's announcement there are no banned organisations in South Africa under the ISA or restricted organisations under the Emergency regulations but the power to ban and restrict organisations still exists)
- The Consolidated List of Persons who may not be quoted (A number of names have been removed following De Klerk's speech, but about two-thirds remain)
- A range of offences which restrict freedom of political action. In terms of the ISA many of these arise out of membership and furthering the aims of banned organisations or possessing their publications. Not affected are provisions prohibiting causing political or economic disruption and other offences (According to the HRC over 300 political trials are still in progress, but some of these are likely to be abandoned due to the unbanning of previously banned organisations. Less than five percent of the approximately 2 000 political prisoners currently serving sentences would appear to be eligible for release as a result of De Klerk's measures, according to the HRC. All "unrest" political prisoners are excluded as are most of the "security" political prisoners because of the violence element in their convictions)
- Prohibition of gatherings (These Emergency and ISA powers continue to be exercised and have not been affected by De Klerk's changes. Funeral restrictions in over 70 townships are still in effect.)
- Restrictive powers on publications (These continue to apply under the ISA, Publications Act, Police Act and Prisons Act.)
- Financial repression (Here there is no change. Nusas is still affected and may not raise funds overseas. The Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act still exists and Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre has been declared a reporting organisation.)

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ALL AFTERNOON AND INTO THE NIGHT, CAPE TOWN WAS IN CELEBRATION ...

For a few blissful hours, euphoria on the streets

By SHAUN JOHNSON, Cape Town



After the news broke of the unbanning of the African National Congress and other organisations, Cape Town streets were filled with celebrating crowds

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

THE Mercedes, moving down the cobbled side streets of Greenmarket Square, found its path suddenly blocked by several hundred ululating youths. They were leaping into the air, waving imaginary sticks, and pressing forward in a solid phalanx. The young white driver braked sharply, nose to nose with the crowd, and for an instant the menacing scene was frozen in the bright morning sunlight.

Then, smiling, a youth broke ranks and removed the black, green and gold bandana from around his forehead. He tied it carefully to the car's radio aerial. The Mercedes' four occupants began to laugh, and a young woman in the back seat lifted her hands through the sunroof, brandishing a copy of the just-published *Argus*, whose banner headline read, simply: "ANC UNBANNED".

The crowd surged around her good-humouredly, shaking hands and singing. Bemused policemen looked on as the car drove off with the African National Congress colours fluttering gaily above its bonnet.

Cape Town on Friday, February 2 1990, was an extraordinary place to be. By just before midday much of the citizenry seemed to have heard that State President FW de Klerk had taken a step no one thought he was capable of.

The demonstrators at Greenmarket Square were just one of many groups which had hived off from a protest meeting on the Grand Parade: they weren't heading anywhere in particular, they were giving vent to their delight at the legalisation of their liberation movement after three decades. Their chance encounter with the wealthy young whites was among numberless vignettes symbolising the impulsive, unconditional goodwill of the day.

Throughout the afternoon and into the night celebrations erupted in the townships and in the city. With only the most minor of exceptions police held back, and those white bystanders who were not swept up in the mood kept their feelings about this oddly benign revolutionary activity to themselves.

At St George's Cathedral, Archbishop Desmond Tutu giggled with wild optimism. "Just wait till De Klerk sits down with Tambo," he bubbled. "They will be surprised to find how South African they both are. It's going to be nice!"

So enthusiastic were the participants in one chaotic cavalcade which snaked out of the city that when they reached Guguletu — several miles distant — they turned around and did the whole thing again. On the return journey they simply flagged down and piled into any vehicles which happened to be driving along the Klipfontein Road.

By Sunday, unsurprisingly, the euphoria was losing its edge as the implications of what had not changed in South Africa began to dawn. The city reverted to its familiar summertime torpor.

It was beginning to be realised that the week's historic events constituted the introduction, not the conclusion, to the slow saga of "negotiating a political settlement". De Klerk had changed irrevocably the country's political culture, activists conceded, but the system remained intact.

A United Democratic Front official laughed when I suggested that the piles of unused placards on the Grand Parade, each bearing the legend "Unban the ANC", could now safely be thrown away.

"But we'll still be needing these," she said, handing me a pocket-sized pamphlet entitled *Guidelines for demonstrators*. "There's a long way to go yet."

B Day 9/2/90

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Townships are not under siege — govt

CAPE TOWN — There were fewer than 800 troops acting in support of police in black townships, the deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach told an international press briefing yesterday.

Sapa reports Breytenbach said that in the Durban-Pietermaritzburg area troops were sustaining a limited presence in support of police. The perception of these townships being under siege was totally wrong. The situation there was completely different to that in the rest of the country.

Civic leaders had asked him to increase the number of troops, Breytenbach said.

The presence of SA Defence Force troops in black townships had, for some reason, been presented in some media as totally out of perspective.

Troops deployed in townships had left a fantastic track record of success in stabilising, normalising and creating good relations and winning the trust of the people, Breytenbach said.

The majority of black people did not want the troops to leave and he thought troops were most probably a "thorn in the flesh" of a small percentage of radicals.

Our Political Staff reports that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has rejected the growing calls to totally lift the state of emergency, saying the country cannot do without it "at this stage".

"We need it to control the still continuing violence, particularly in Natal, but also elsewhere in the country," he said during the Parliamentary debate on the State President's opening address.

Earlier yesterday, at a press briefing, he said the government was considering appointing a commission of inquiry into the Natal conflict which has claimed the lives of more than 3 000 people.

"We are not causing the violence — we are trying to prevent it. This applies to violence by anyone and it will not be tolerated under any circumstances," Vlok said.

There had been 8 072 unrest incidents in the country last year and 852 in January this year along with 21 cases of terrorism in the same month.

"The fact, therefore, is that there is still too much unrest related violence on too large a scale," he said.

"In addition, the revolutionary climate is still unnaturally high. In the extremely explosive situation in the country, there are too many irresponsible people who are only too keen to exploit points of friction."

Vlok said the government was not responsible for the situation and De Klerk had removed all excuses for violence. If there were things which concerned people they could now be addressed and solved peacefully. This applied to the AWB and the ANC — and all those in between.

Earlier, Vlok said a new spirit of hope and cautious optimism had taken hold of the country since De Klerk's speech which had been generally welcomed.

Virtually the only sour note during the debate had been the CP's openly provocative and confrontational threats.

They had made it clear they were not interested in reconciliation and were deliberatley out to provoke confrontation with the government and other groups.

The melody's changed, but the exiles linger



Miriam Makeba ... 'Nothing has been said about the safe return of exiles'

Hugh Masekela ... 'We are not coming home yet' Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

Some of the country's most famous musicians, writers and artists have lived in exile for decades. Has the FW De Klerk speech of last week meant they'll be coming home? The answer is 'not yet', reports PHIL MOLEFE

SOUTH AFRICA'S most famous musicians, some in exile for more than 30 years, have greeted State President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the African National Congress with a distinct lack of enthusiasm.

"We are not coming home now," says singer Miriam Makeba, composer and trumpeter Hugh Masekela and composer Caiphus Semenya.

In interviews with the *Weekly Mail* this week, the legendary three said the government still needed to do much before they could consider coming home.

The artists said that apartheid was still in place, the State of Emergency had not been lifted, Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were still in jail and the question of the exiles' homecoming had not been properly addressed.

"How could you expect us to return home when De Klerk said nothing about the safe return of exiles. We might fall into a trap and get detained under the State of Emergency because they still have many laws in force," said Makeba.

She said there were still many obstacles that needed to be cleared by the government before they could start thinking of coming home.

"Our people at home and the liberation movement will tell us when things are ready and we will certainly come back then.

"Everybody wants to come — after all, it is our land. My umbilical cord is buried in that land."

Masekela said coming home at this stage was not attractive for him.

"In the first place I do not recognise the South African government because I did not put them there, and so permission to come home cannot come from them.

"The issue at this stage is the people and the announcement did not give the people anything. They cannot vote, there is still the State of Emergency and a lot of other things before we can talk about coming home.

"My coming home is not an issue; I am more concerned with the safety and welfare of our people. I am part of the 32 million disenfranchised people, so coming home is not important."

He said the safe return of exiles could not be guaranteed at this stage. "There is still that element of Afrikaners who are vitriolic, who cannot be trusted and De Klerk has no control over them."

He said the question of exiles was confusing, with the government saying ordinary exiles could come back, but not "terrorists".

"Who can come home and who should not?" he asked.

"That is the character of the Nationalist government. You do not know what is right and what is wrong. They wait for you to do it and then they tell you it is wrong.

"*Ek meen, ons is nie moegoes nie*" (I mean, we are not fools)," he chuckled. "You come, you do not know the traps.

"Freedom of our people is what is needed most. My coming home is not important," he said. "What De Klerk offered is a bone without meat. However, as some people have said, it is a step in the right direction."

He said the developments in the country are like a song which goes through many stages.

"A song has an introduction, verse, bridge, chorus and if it is sweet enough you put a tag on to it. So far, in South Africa, we are at the beginning of a verse and we are very far from the bridge and the chorus. The tag, which makes a song sweet enough, is still a dream.

●To PAGE 22

'We'd be walking into a trap'

Exiled artists in the US were toyi-toying between the skyscrapers last Friday, but most are biding their time before deciding whether to come home, reports MARK GEVISSER in New York

THE exiled poet who wrote that *"Wailings fill the chambers of my heartland my headIbehind my quiet eyesII hear the cries and sirens"* is applying for a visa to come home. But Dennis Brutus still wails, he still hears the cries and sirens, for "apartheid still exists, (State President FW) de Klerk certainly hasn't satisfied the Harare Declaration's preconditions for negotiation, and I don't even know if my exit permit's been revoked".

Like Brutus, dozens of exiled South African artists in North America are playing with the possibility of returning to the place of their creative inspiration. Unlike Brutus, however, most state quite bluntly that they will not go back as a result of De Klerk's speech last week.

"Has anything changed?" Peter Abrahams asks combatively from his home in Kingston, Jamaica. Born in the decade that the African National Congress was founded, the grandfather of black South African letters (he wrote *Mine Boy* in 1946) has heard it all too many times before.

Lindiwe Mabuza, a published poet who is also the ANC's chief representative in the United States, asks: "What guarantee do we have that we will not be put right into jail upon arrival? If we all flocked into Jan Smuts tomorrow, it would be walking into a trap."

And so while some exiles were toyi-toying between Manhattan's skycrapers last Friday, and others are rumoured to be making their

●To PAGE 22

P.T.O.

Exiles wait for real change

• From PAGE 21

Freedom is like music."

Composer Semenya, who wrote the music for *Roots*, said: "I won't go back until I know I can enter Soweto without seeing hundreds of soldiers and until I know that everyone can come with me.

"The announcement is one step in the right direction but I cannot say that means we should pack and go back home, because most fundamental issues have not been addressed."

He said these issues were the State of Emergency, the occupation of townships by the SA Defence Force and the release of all political prisoners, including those jailed for murder and arson.

"The government should stop saying some are criminals, murderers, terrorists and arsonists. What is a terrorist? We see them as revolutionaries, freedom fighters."

He said De Klerk should declare that all exiles could come home unconditionally.

"He must make a declaration and make it a law that is binding because Nationalists back down on what they say."

Makeba, Masekela and Semenya have become South Africa's most famous musicians since they left the country almost 30 years ago.

Makeba left in August 1959 to represent the film cast of *Come Back Africa* at an international film festival in Venice.

"The Queen of African Jazz" was lead vocalist for a number of bands in the country during the 1950s, including the Quebec Brothers and the Manhattans.

But it was teaming up with Nathan Mdledle and Sy Mogotsi of the Manhattan Brothers that made her famous.

"I owe my fame to the Manhattans," she said.

Makeba, who later settled in New York, has been in the forefront of the international campaign against apartheid.

"As early as 1963 I was singing songs like *Bahleli bonke Etilongweni* (The leaders are languishing in jail). In the same year I spoke at the United Nations highlighting the suffering of our people under apartheid. No artists then sang about Mandela and Tata Sisuslu.

"In 1964 I pleaded for the release of women prisoners, O Mama-Ngoyi and Mama Sisulu.

"I left home physically but not spiritually."

The exodus of other artists followed in 1960 with Masekela leaving on May 25 1960, "exactly two months after Sharpeville".

"I received a scholarship from Father Trevor Huddleston, who was already banished from South Africa, and studied music in England at the Guildhall School of Music."

Masekela did not stay long in England and after three months he crossed to New York with the help of Makeba.

There he attended the Manhattan School of Music and came into contact with great jazz trumpeters like Dizzy Gillespie, Louis Armstrong and Miles Davis.

"I always wanted to go the United States because one would certainly meet people like Miles, Harry Belafonte and others."

While at the Manhattan school, where he graduated in music, he worked professionally as a musician and produced three albums by the time he completed his studies.

Semenya left the country in 1964 with the *Sponono* cast for performances in New York.

After the show flopped three months later he decided to stay in the United States.

He studied music privately because he could not be admitted to American universities.

"The schools here do not admit you if you cannot read or write music so I became the victim of the deprivation at home.

"I struggled on my own, sometimes getting assistance from Masekela, Makeba and Jonas Gwangwa until I made it."

Semenya is now based in Los Angeles and is married to South African music star Letta Mbuli.

country, the country to which it has title.

"The march of freedom begins next week on Thursday in Church Square in Pretoria, and it will get slowly

Minister justifies emergency

The instruments of the emergency regulations were still needed to control the continuing violence, particularly in Natal, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday. Sr 9/2/90

Speaking in debate on the State President's opening-of-Parliament address, Mr Vlok said the facts showed that violence was still taking place on a large scale. A situation of emergency still existed which could best be controlled by the emergency measures.

"On top of that, the revolutionary climate is still unnaturally high. (327

"The State President has removed all their excuses for propagating violence. If there are still matters which worry, they can now be solved in a peaceful way — and this goes for everyone from the AWB through to the PAC and everyone in-between.

"In reality, it is these people who are responsible for the state of emergency still being in operation.

"I blame them directly and I challenge them to stop the violence and prove to the country that they want peace and are responsible citizens who deserve to be fellow rulers of the country. Anarchists will not be permitted to rule us," Mr Vlok said. — Sapa.

CAPE Times 9/2/90

800 SADF troops in townships

Political Staff

THERE were 800 Defence Force troops still in the black townships, deputy Defence Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach told a press briefing yesterday.

Most of them were in Natal, he said.

The SADF was only in the townships "in support of the SAP" and had a "fantastic" record of success in winning the trust of the people.

The majority of people in the black residential areas, he said, did not want the troops to leave.

Civic leaders and MPs from parties other than the National Party had requested the SADF to remain in the townships to ensure people's safety, he said.

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Wives join cheating stakes

WOMAN

By SIZA KOOMA

OLD fashioned puritanism is slowly waning among women as they successfully compete with their husbands in the cheating stakes.

When familiarity and the frustrations of married life start souring the relationship, most women no longer seek solace in priestly or parental advise. They go out and have affairs hoping to rekindle the spark that has disappeared from their marriages.

Mr Godfrey Pitje, a lawyer who specialises in divorce cases, and Reverend John Tau, a Soweto marriage counsellor, said the incidence of infidelity among women has sharply gone up. They rated them against their male counterparts on a scale of 50-50.

Pitje said it was no longer uncommon to have a man suing his wife for divorce on the grounds of infidelity. He said women's economic independence and the changed social circumstances were some of the reasons.

More independent

"Women's economic independence and changed social circumstances are some of the reasons for the increasing tendency of women cheating on their husbands," he said.

"Society no longer frowns on women who have extra marital affairs. The women do not feel ashamed of their actions either. On the contrary, they lend to boast about them. To them having an affair shows that you are a woman, you are desirable. They talk about it freely and will advise each other on what to do if they have problems."

He said cheating had nothing to do with whether either spouse was doing it.

"A woman does not cheat because her husband is doing the same or vice versa. She cheats because she wants to.

"She could be doing it purely out of sexual lust or because of sexual frustration in the marriage. The saying that "variety is the spice of life" must also not be ignored. Although she can get her husband any time a woman might want to go out and taste something different, which in her mind could be something nicer."



Mr Godfrey Pitje and his wife Molly

He denied that cheating had anything to do with Women's Liberation. He said most women who were outspoken about their rights and were at the forefront of the women's struggle were very conservative. They wanted to break up with the past but still wanted to retain the same family structures, he said.

'Elite' tolerance

There was a high rate of tolerance of infidelity among both men and women in "elite" circles. Pitje said a husband would rather make a wife's lover pay him a fee as punishment, if he caught them together than sue for divorce.

"There is too much at stake for people at the top. In their vulnerability, they have found ways of keeping their marriages together, even if they are a sham," he said.

Tau blamed society's loss of values and morals for the soaring rate of infidelity among women.

"Blacks are going through a transition which makes them uncertain of their values and norms. When it suits us we are white, when it doesn't we want to be black," Tau said.

Desire for pleasure

He cited single-parenthood, step-parenting, overcrowding, lack of pisitive problem-solving techniques and love of entertainment as contributory factors to infidelity.

"Laxity and desire for pleasure encourages people to develop extra mariral affairs. When a woman goes to a shebeen and gets drunk, what is it that she will not bow to," he said.

He said the seriousness of the problem of infidelity among both sexes could only be realised if people would notice what effects it would have on society in the future.



The Rev John Tau

Hit-squad suspect linked to SADF, says wife

CAPE Times 10/2/90

JOHANNESBURG. — The wife of the third former police officer detained in connection with an organisation said to be linked to the murders of Dr David Webster and Mr Anton Lubowski, claimed in papers before the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he was secretly linked to the Defence Force.

Mrs Brenda Yvonne van Zyl lodged an application for the release of her husband, Mr Abram "Slang" van Zyl, 29, who was this week detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with a right-wing organisation said to be linked to the murders.

Mrs Van Zyl maintains in her application, which is expected to be heard next week, that her husband's detention was unlawful.

She said her husband served about 10 years with the SA Police, the last three of which were spent with the Brixton unit.

He was promoted to lieutenant in June 1987, but resigned from the force in May 1988.

From that time, to October or November last year, her husband was connected with the SADF, she said.

It is not known to which unit he was attached.

He later established a private detective agency called Incom Investigations, based in Sandton.

Mr Ferdie Barnard, also being held under the Internal Security Act in connection with the same cases, has confessed to being a serving member of the military intelligence arm of the SADF, but military authorities have denied this. — Sapa

Govt's glasnost is not on screen

GARALT MacLIAM

JUDGMENT has been reserved in UIP's appeal against the banning of the film "A Dry White Season", based on Andre Brink's 1979 novel of the same title, and the Publications Appeal Board will probably make known its final decision next week.

It's ironic, at a time when reform is a key word in South African politics and when the Government is asking, demanding that we open our minds to change, that the thrust of the banned Brink film describes the birth pangs of an individual's mind as it opens to the realisation that apartheid is truly evil.

The film is a visual experience of the very growth the Government is asking of us and yet the Publication Control Board treats it like political dynamite.

It's also ironic that the film was given a special screening for members of the United States Senate in October last year so that they might get an "accurate" picture of life in South Africa.

A thousand speeches

Senator Edward Kennedy said then that "if it was true a picture was worth a thousand words then 'A Dry White Season' was worth a thousand speeches on apartheid". South African expatriates Zakes Mokae and Janet Suzman star in the film. Donald Sutherland and Marlon Brando, Winston Ntshona and John Kani also have key roles in the movie, and through the hands-on experience of our indigenous and expatriate performers, the audience is allowed a strong measure of realism.

It matters little that the film is a story of fiction, there is much in it that can instantly be recognised as based on truth. So much so that a sense of shame descends on one with the recognition that violent, inhuman torture has been practised in the guise of protecting the people of South Africa and through our inaction we have permitted evil to be carried out in our name.

The film's importance for South Africans is not in its artistic merit or lack of it; Marlon Brando is reported to have hated it, while Andre Brink has praised of the production. Its importance is that it provides a mirror image of aspects of our lives that are undeniably accurate.

In an appreciation of the work in the *New York Times*, Samuel Freedman said: "In ... the recognition of an Afrikaner being educated by an African in the brutal realities of the land they uneasily share, lies the thematic heart of 'A Dry White Season'." It is absolutely so.

Audiences attending the five special perfomances of the film last year were thunderstruck by its impact and they sometimes commented aloud as a particular scene touched a nerve point. But the reactions were generally because of naivete. Because we have not been permitted to see films which are critical of the Republic, we are unused to the hurt and shame they induce — but the people of most other countries in the free world have the right to make and to see films which criticise the immoralities of the ruling political party. Shouldn't this be part of our *glasnost?*

First prisoners freed

Cape Times 10/2/90

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

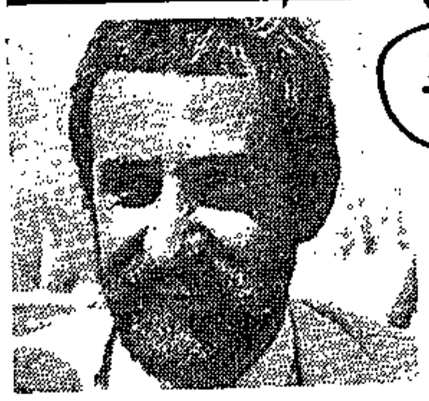
TWO ANC members were released from prison yesterday following President F W de Klerk's announcement last week that certain categories of political prisoner would be freed.

The first white woman convicted of treason in South Africa, Ms Barbara Ann Hogan, 38, and fellow ANC member Mr Rob Adam, 34, were released two years before the end of their sentences.

They are the first of at least 77 political prisoners expected to be released because of the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other political organisations.

Both were jailed for 10 years in 1982. Ms Hogan was sentenced in September for high treason for carrying out the activities of the ANC in the labour field and for establishing a communications network with a secret code.

Mr Adam was sentenced for "conspiring with the ANC and with members of the ANC" to blow up the Brixton Tower in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, and destroy radio and television transmitters with limpet mines.



Breyten calls on ANC to return

— PAGE 2

ANC and culture

What is the ANC's idea of South African culture and nationhood? Former Cape Town advocate **ALBIE SACHS**, a member of the legal and constitutional department of the ANC, offers some insights in a series of three extracts from an ANC paper "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom." The first extract will be published in the Cape Times on Monday.

Along with Mr Mandla Tembisa, who was sentenced to five years, he was also found to have endangered "the maintenance of law and order in SA".

Both Ms Hogan, who had been held at Kroonstad Prison, and Mr Adam, held at Pretoria Central security prison, were "totally surprised" at their release and were with family and friends having a "wild celebration" last night.

Ms Hogan said she had been called to the office of the head of the prison yesterday and was told "you are going home".

"I was wonderfully happy, beyond belief," she said, adding that "feelings among political prisoners are very, very good".

She saw her release as an "absolute victory because I was sentenced for being an ANC member. I still remain a member".

Ms Hogan was busy on a B Comm, Economic Honours degree when she was released.

Mr Adam said last night that he had also been "suddenly" told of his release yesterday morning after jogging in the exercise yard.

He attained a first-class honours and master's degree in theoretical physics while in prison.

Breyten calls on ANC to return home

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — It was imperative for the exiled leadership of the African National Congress to return home immediately to "fill the space" opened last week by President F W de Klerk and prepare for negotiations, exiled poet Mr Breyten Breytenbach said yesterday.

In an article published in the London Guardian newspaper, he said: "... I am concerned that we may miss the boat.

"We have at our fingertips the chance of an historical compromise."

He also called for the immediate release of Mr Nelson Mandela. The ANC would then have to act as an ordinary political party and consolidate its position through "democratic alliances with other parties".

The shift announced by Mr De Klerk meant that the ANC could no longer rely on sanctions, said Mr Breytenbach.

The exiled poet, who spent seven years in prison for "terrorism", effectively dismissed pure socialism as an option for South Africa.

Mr Breytenbach, who now lives in Paris, is particularly concerned about the inertia induced by living in exile. Speaking for himself, he said he was apprehensive of returning home because this would mean no more "aura of martyrdom", no more "easy sympathy and tolerance of incompetence" and no more "international handouts".

Mr Breytenbach said the "gap" announced last week was a result of the majority's campaigning. "But De Klerk is not on the run. It is a restricted and treacherous space, to be sure — it is now of no use to expect miracles or belatedly shift the goalposts — but it can only be enlarged by opposition and resistance parties."

He said that by "seizing the moment, grasping the initiative ... we can get to the negotiations of putting together a constituent assembly that may lead to the coming to power of a democratically elected representative government. Only then can there be the freedom to start dismantling apartheid, the vicious feudal system of privilege and exploitation through racism."

However, such liberty, he said, was "not De Klerk's to give, but ours to take". "If we now dither and quibble because of irresoluteness and the complacency and moral corruptness of being the eternal victims, we shall find time seeping through our fingers. And we may run out of sanctuaries as well.

"The world no longer owes us a living."

He added: "Indeed, as an African I am convinced that the world will forget us as soon as the dust settles over the last cameraman trampled underfoot at Mandela's liberation.

"Africa, as far as the rest of the world is concerned, is a bottomless black hole. The continent is falling apart, and it knows that it needs a healthy South Africa if it is to survive, be that under De Klerk or Mandela. If we are not vigilant and agile, apartheid may yet save and justify itself through Africa."

Mr Breytenbach said it would be illogical to demand that President De Klerk "liquidate apartheid before we deign to take on the task of facing all the contradictions on the ground, and of explaining same to those who apparently think they can dance their way to liberation".

In an apparent questioning of the current sanctions clamour, he asked: "What if he (Mr De Klerk) does do it in such a way as to retain the essential power?

"Global and mandatory sanctions are not going to bury apartheid. Not only will our incantatory wish for such policies further entrench inequality, but we shall soon need all the relief we can get if we want to start breaking apartheid down."

He said the fact had to be faced that "the ANC is now no longer a liberation movement. It will hence- which had the historical responsibility of entering upon democratic alliances with other parties".

Clearly influenced by recent events in Eastern Europe, he added: "There is now no way to the implementation of a socialist state — except over the debris of a ruined land perhaps — and yet there is going to be the need for an extent of socialist trans formation of the economy, if only to redistribute resources."

President De Klerk, he said, needed Mr Mandela t "save his skin from the violent right — includin significant sectors of his security forces — just a Mandela will tomorrow need the De Klerks of th day to stave off the Pol Pots ..."

Mandela asks release from Paarl

Cape Times 10/2/90

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Staff Reporter

MR Nelson Mandela wants to be released immediately and from Paarl, the ANC leader told a 22-member UDF National Executive Committee delegation who visited him at Victor Verster Prison yesterday.

Mr Mandela was reported to have said "how much he would like to come with us" when the delegation ended the marathon five-and-a-half-hour meeting singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

The meeting with the world's most famous prisoner was convened to evaluate the announcements by President F W de Klerk in his recent address at the opening of Parliament.

On their return to Cape Town, one of the two buses escorting the delegation broke down and those stranded were transported the rest of the way by members of the press.

The delegation then held a press conference, attended by a large media corps, at Community House in Salt River, where UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe reported that Mr Mandela had brought the NEC up to date on his discussions with government officials.

Various delegates, in reply to questions, said Mr Mandela did not know when he would be released but "the government's delay in this is totally unacceptable".

He had not set any pre-conditions for his release, for which adequate preparations were being made, but there was concern for his safety.

"There could be a threat on his life, especially from the right wing. From our side Comrade Mandela has nothing to fear, the people are waiting for him."

While it was the government's decision on where he would be released, "Mr Mandela wishes to be released in Paarl", the conference was told.

Mr Mandela's response to Mr De Klerk's speech would be released soon.

Mr Mandela would not be accepting security from the government — "he has made it clear that his security lies in the support of the people".

The role Mr Mandela would play after his release would be determined by the ANC, but had not been discussed at yesterday's meeting.

Sapa reports that in the statement Mr Morobe also insisted there was "no question of the UDF disbanding at this stage", and that the UDF needed to "challenge President De Klerk on where he stands on the question of group rights and full democracy for all South Africans".

He added that the UDF felt there was no "in-principle objection to talking to the government".

First prisoners freed

Cape Times 10/2/90

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By ANDRE KOOPMAN

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They are the first of at least 77 political prisoners expected to be released because of the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and other political organisations.

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— PAGE 2

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Freed

FROM PAGE 1.

is a lot of people together at one time."

She said she got news of her impending release about three weeks ago, but the unbanning of the ANC overshadowed that.

"What we stood for is becoming a reality," she said. "The unbanning was a triumph for the movement and we both feel vindicated for our involvement.

"I am naturally very happy to be out, but my happiness is also tempered by a feeling of sadness, because there are people left inside who did the same thing."

Mr Adam said his sudden freedom had left him with a feeling of unreality.

"I had hopes for an early release, but I did not believe I fell into the President's category of prisoners who would be let out."

Questioned about the response of former fellow prisoners when news of their release spread through prison, Ms Hogan and Mr Adam said: "Their mood is expectant and almost joyful and triumphant. Everyone is hopeful that times are changing."

Ms Hogan was welcomed home yesterday by her father Paul, stepmother Hester, sister Sally, brother-in-law Mr Jonathan Cook, and nephews Martin and Paul.

Close friends of the two released prisoners were also present at yesterday's celebrations.

Mr Adams's father, who lives in Cape Town, was not present — but he was told the news by his son, who phoned him shortly after being let out of prison.

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Taste of freedom sweet and bitter

DAWN BARKHUIZEN and SUE OLSWANG

THE FIRST woman convicted of treason in South Africa, Ms Barbara Ann Hogan, and fellow ANC member Mr Rob Adams were released from prison yesterday — two years before the end of their sentences.

They are the first of at least 77 political prisoners expected to be released because of the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other political organisations.

Both were jailed in 1982 on charges relating to activities in the ANC. They were serving 10 years' jail.

They faced the press a few hours after release, clearly overwhelmed by their sudden freedom and the mass of foreign and local media representatives who invaded the home of a friend in Bellevue, Johannesburg, for a hastily arranged conference.

Ms Hogan said: "After eight years in prison, this

TO PAGE 2.

Photographer steps in to defuse conflict

Star 10/2/90 (327)

A COOL-HEADED Pretoria newspaper photographer this week played the role of mediator in helping to defuse a potentially explosive situation.

Faced with more than 80 000 marching Ga-Rankuwa residents, chief photograher of *The Pretoria News* Peter Morey became the link between armed Bophuthatswana security forces and protest march leaders.

DEON LAMPRECHT

For almost two hours — laden with photographic equipment — Mr Morey trotted up and down the street negotiating, pleading and pacifying while marchers shouted their defiance and soldiers fidgeted with their firearms.

"When I rounded a corner into Kgotla Street ahead of the crowd and saw heavily armed police barring the way to the court building, I knew there could be trouble," said Mr Morey.

A file of police and soldiers stood back-to-back while thousands of singing and dancing marchers converged on the court building from two sides.

"I turned to the organisers and urged them to to halt the advance of the march. After some discussion they agreed and marshalls got the people to sit down on the road.

"The organisers asked me what they should do next and I offered to act as mediator. They agreed."

Mr Morey walked 200 m down the road and introduced himself to the officer in charge.

"He was suspicious but he reluctantly agreed to allow a delegation of five protesters to approach."

During the negotiations that folowed, both the police and protesters asked Mr Morey for guidance as he repeatedly crossed "no-man's land".

When it seemed a confrontation was inevitable, according to reporters at the scene, Mr Morey persuaded the police to withdraw in order to allow the crowd to disperse. All ended happily ever after.

"Normally a press photographer would stay on the sidelines, but I feel good about having helped to avoid possible bloodshed," said Mr Morey.

It's a personal choice

CHRIS MOERDYK

TO be involved or not to be involved is a dilemma that faces journalists and TV news camera crews almost daily.

In Nothern Ireland, in Lebanon and here in South Africa newsmen have been accused on countless occasions of standing by while people are beaten up, necklaced, shot at or lie dying in the streets. Many journalists might argue that their job is to observe and record and not to become involved or take sides.

But, on the other hand, the incident in Ga-Rankuwa this week where a press photographer stepped in to avoid bloody confrontation, is not unique. There are numerous cases on file where newsmen have put aside their notebooks and cameras and responded to humanitarian instinct.

And the reason why it has not happened as often as perhaps it should, is a question of putting one's life at risk. A question that faces not only journalists but any innocent bystander who is witness to an atrocity. It has nothing to do with the job but is an entirely personal decision.



MEDIA MEDIATOR: Chief photographer of The Pretoria News Peter Morey negotiates with Colonel H Sita of the Bophuthatswana police as protest marchers and security forces confront each other.

Speedreading. Thou shalt read a newspaper on Sundays
mail days for the benefit

Police out in full force for today's march on Wanderers

LOUISE BURGERS and MICHAEL SHAFTO

POLICE will be out in full force today to deal with the planned anti-tour march from Rosebank to the Wanderers cricket ground and have warned that the organisers will be liable for any damage caused to private property.

Witwatersrand media liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman emphasised that police were not looking for confrontation, but had to enforce the laws of the country.

Earlier this week the Johannesburg City Council refused the National Sports Congress (NSC) permission to hold the march or any other protests at the Wanderers.

Regarding the march, which would pass through mainly residential areas if it was allowed to go ahead, Captain Opperman said: "We will have sufficient manpower to handle any situation."

Responsible

He warned that the organisers or bodies which arranged such marches and gatherings would definitely be responsible for any damage caused to property during their protest action.

He said he knew of businessmen who were seriously considering legal action after their property was damaged during recent protest action in Johannesburg.

"Organisers of rallies and gatherings must realise that they must take full responsibility for their actions when they plan such things as gatherings and demonstrations."

Yesterday the National Sports Congress accused the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, of faint-heartedness in dealing with the English cricket tour.

In a letter addressed to Mrs Thatcher and presented to the British Consulate-General at the Johannesburg city centre offices, NSC secretary-general Mr Krish Naidoo said that Mrs Thatcher's best response so far to demands that the team be recalled had been "a faint-hearted appeal to the English cricketers not to come to South Africa".

After a meeting of more than an hour with senior consular official Mr Norman Ling, the head of the Anti-Tour Committee, Mr Moss Mashishi, told a press conference that, if Mrs Thatcher could not herself recall the team, the NSC wanted her as a matter of urgency to call on President de Klerk to declare it was not in the national interest and withdraw the rebels' work permits.

Referring to today's planned march, Mr Mashishi said: "We have done everything possible to emphasise our right to legitimate protest and that the opposition of our people to the tour must be allowed to be expressed."

On Thursday, the first day of the Test, police cut off any threat of protest by moving into action against some 2 000 would-be demonstrators with batons, quirts and teargas.

Taste of freedom sweet and bitter

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THE FIRST woman convicted of treason in South Africa, Ms Barbara Ann Hogan, and fellow ANC member Mr Rob Adams were released from prison yesterday — two years before the end of their sentences.

They are the first of at least 77 political prisoners expected to be released because of the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other political organisations.

Both were jailed in 1982 on charges relating to activities in the ANC. They were serving 10 years' jail.

They faced the press a few hours after release, clearly overwhelmed by their sudden freedom and the mass of foreign and local media representatives who invaded the home of a friend in Bellevue, Johannesburg, for a hastily arranged conference.

Ms Hogan said: "After eight years in prison, this

● TO PAGE 2.

STAR 10/2/90 (327)

Emergency regulations still in force, say police

THE emergency regulations which apply to the media are still in force and will continue to be upheld by police, Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said this week.

He told a news conference the media was under the illusion that emergency regulations had been scrapped following President de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech.

Particularly, Security Emergency Regulations 2.1, 2.2 and 3 still applied.

These give members of the security forces the authority to remove any person from a scene if they had reason to believe the person attending the meeting, protest or demonstration is "inciting people", Captain Opperman said.

A job to do

"If the scene is of such a nature that lawlessness has started, security forces can ask that persons remove themselves out of sight. If that person does not adhere to the order, he can be taken off the scene," he said.

"We realise the press have a job to do, but they must bear in mind people are being incited by their presence. It has been proven over and over."

He added attitudes changed the moment the press arrived at scenes with cameras and videos.

He cited as an example an incident at the opening of Parliament last Friday where, he said, "people were in town already.

"They were okay until the press arrived on the scene. This cannot be tolerated."

It was obvious cameras incited people, he said. — Sapa.

The removal of this tiny item affects us all

BY ZB MOLEFE

LAST Sunday a small but significant item which has touched the lives of thousands of South Africans for almost three years was missing from the front pages of newspapers.

All South African newspapers had placed a cautionary item about the emergency regulations somewhere on their front pages. To readers it became a staple, like the weather report.

This newspaper's warning read: "*City Press* is produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations."

Other Sunday newspapers simply said: "The contents of this issue of the (name of newspaper) have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations."

It was introduced in September 1987, after then-Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha announced new Press control regulations.

Last Friday President FW de Klerk changed this. His lifting of the media emergency regulations, among other things, allowed reporting of unrest. But an array of restrictions on the Press still remain.

The Star this week said: "Sweeping changes announced by President de Klerk, especially the unbanning of major political organisations, means that the South African Press – though by no means free – appears at this moment to be 'more free' to report events than the media in at least half the countries of the world."

Media lawyers have pointed out that De Klerk's announcement means that restrictions under such laws as the Internal Security Act, the Defence Act and the Protection of Information Act will continue to hamper journalists in their work.

Journalists, media workers and community organisations focused on this problem at a recent "Save the Press" conference at Wits University, at which the Campaign for Open Media was born.

The central concern of the conference was that the average South African was not informed because of Press censorship.

This has grave implications for freedom and human rights, now and in post-apartheid South Africa.

Top UDF official Azhar Cachalia described the implications thus: "The struggle against censorship and for free speech is not, in my view, just a tactical issue to broaden our base and therefore, the struggle against apartheid.

"It is much more than this. It is a question of a struggle for a fundamental human right, which in any democratic society must be guaranteed by law.

"This is a freedom that must be guaranteed irrespective of which government is in power. It is up to us now to create the conditions which will make it impossible for any future government to retreat from this commitment."

Former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Raymond Louw told the conference that the fight for a free Press was not something new. What was new, he said, was that "we are giving form and substance on what is going on for the ordinary people".

"To continue to deny South Africans this right (the right to know) is wrong."

Louw also reminded the conference that the media regulations had been enforced for almost three years. This had led to a vast abuse of a decree which was made to prevent people from making intelligent decisions.

"We can't have honest dialogue if we don't know what others are saying. The challenge is to let people speak," added Louw, as he highlighted the connection between a free Press and good government.

Journalist Gabu Tugwana told the conference what it was like when his newspaper, which contravened the media regulations, was suspended for three months last year.

Journalist Anton Harber said: "In reality the situation is serious. Even if government lifts the state of emergency, censorship will remain."

Delegates suggested ways and means for the Press to inform South Africans faced by censorship. Journalist John Mattison warned that the South African Press had to go "beyond statements" in its fight against censorship.

"That sort of staff has been seen many times," said Mattison. He suggested inviting prominent foreign delegations to visit South Africa to speak against censorship.

Alternatively he suggested telephone hook-ups with people like actor Marlon Brando – who won world acclaim for a brief appearance in the recently-released *A Dry White Season*, which South Africans are prevented from seeing – to make their voices heard about censorship.

Another idea was to get journalists from countries with heavy Press censorship – like Chile, Israel and Nicaragua – to talk about such restrictions, suggested Harber.

"In South Africa we could get bodies like Cosatu, whose members have their stories about censorship, to talk in forums. We should, as priority, get organisations to draw attention to South African Press censorship," he added.

At the end of the conference, words written by DH Lawrence many years ago seemed relevant: "The greatest of all lies in the modern world is the lie of purity and the dirty little secret. The grey ones left over from the 19th Century are the embodiment of this lie.

"They dominate in society, in the Press, in literature, everywhere. Naturally, they lead the vast mob of the general public along with them."

Maties allowed to demonstrate

By JANICE HILLIER

PROTEST marches will be allowed at the University of Stellenbosch — if prior permission is given.

The university banned demonstrations and outdoor protest marches on campus in September 1985.

Permission for a meeting, march or protest must now be obtained at least 48 hours before the event from the Director of Student Affairs who will decide on the matter with the SRC.

Information on the nature and theme of a meeting, the number of people expected and the presence of persons who are not students will have to be submitted in advance.

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Let's k

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMEN

BIRTHS

DENNILL
To Allan, Sandy, Tarryn and Ricky a lovely daughter and sister born on February 9, 1990 in Toronto.

FLAX
To Colin and Robyn (neé Sindelman), a son and brother for Daniella, on February 8, 1990. Grateful thanks to doctors and staff at Park

SIRKIN - HUMMEL
It is with great pleasure that we announce the engagement of Athene, daughter of Leah and the late Morris Sirkin and Jonathan, son of Fay and the late Abe Hummel. Phone Athene 442-7214, Jonathan 786-9081.

VAN RENSBURG - BAKER
John and Sheilann Van Rensburg are delighted to

GAMSU
Bernard. Will be sadly missed. Deepest sympathy to Sonia, Freida, Sam, Benita and family. Tony, Beverley, John and Debbie Lutrin.

GAMSU
Bernard, passed away suddenly February 5. Deeply mourned by his beloved mother-in-law Sally. M.H.D.S.R.I.P.

PEDERSEN
Raoula, (neé Holt), died suddenly on February 6, 1990 in Victoria, British Columbia. Rest in peace. Love Dad.

PETTEY
Eric Harry passed away suddenly January 29 at the age of 81 years. Very dearly loved husband of Stephanie father of Brenda, Peter, Brian and Enid. Grandfather of Beverley, Frank, Shelagh, Steve, Andrew, Alistair, Felicity and Michael. Great - grandfather of Duncan, Craig and Lindsay. Adored by all his family.

RYAN
Edward John, beloved brother and uncle, passed away February 8, 1990. A very special person. Lovingly remembered by Margaret and family.

RYAN
John, dearly loved brother and uncle. We will miss you more and more as time goes by. Rest in peace Mate. Mick, Muriel, Hilton, Barry, Malcolm, Colleen and families.

RYAN
Edward John, Grample you were my best friend, I wish you could come down from Jesus and play golf with me. I love you. Be happy with Jesus. Love Darren.

RYAN
Edward John. To our Father and Gramps. We love you and always will, words cannot express what we feel, but God knows. Peace be with you Daddy, you will be with us forever. God bless you. Your son Terrence and grand-daughter Jen.

RYAN
Edward John, beloved brother-in-law and uncle, passed away suddenly February 8, 1990. In silence he suffered, with patience he bore, till God called him home to suffer no more. Deeply mourned and sadly missed. Fred, Mavis, Kelvin, Glenda and Robert.

RYAN
Edward John. To our darling

COOPER
The unveiling a consecration of t tombstone in loving mem of Annie Cooper, mothe Leslie and Alec, Hazel Ricky, will take place Sunday February 18, 199 10.40am at West P. cemetery. Grave no: TT1 Family and friends kir accept this intimation.

DIAMOND
Unveiling of late Solon Diamond, beloved husb of Hilda, father of Juan Cookie and Terry, will t place February 18, 199 9-30am at West Park cen ery. Will relatives and frie kindly accept this intimatic

EDELSTEIN
The consecration of tombstone in loving mem of the late Fanny, mothe Harry, Beatty and Pinny Rale, will take place Sunday February 18 10.20am at West P cemetery. Grave no: U1 Will relatives and frie kindly accept this intimatic

GOLOMBICK
The unveiling of tombstone in loving mem of Israel (Ike), belo husband of Ella will t place at West Park ceme on Sunday February 1 10-40am. Grave no: U2 Will relatives and frie kindly accept this intimatic

HERSCH
Ethel. The unveiling of tombstone of the late E Hersch, will take place Sunday February 11, 199 11am at West Park Cemet Will relatives and frie please accept this intimati

HIRSCH
The unveiling of tombstone in memory Becky, wife of Arnold Hir will take place at West cemetery on Sund February 18th at 10am.

ROBINSON
Herman. The unveiling of tombstone will take pl at West Park cemetery Sunday the 18th at 10.3 Grave V2564.

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by Donald Woods

former editor of the Daily Dispatch, who went into self-imposed exile in Britain after he was banned in 1977. This article appeared this week in his old newspaper



AS I was saying when I was interrupted on October 19 1977, the killers of Steve Biko must be prosecuted, and there will be no lasting peace in South Africa until real democracy is established.

The interruption was a banning order signed by the then Minister of Justice and Police, Mr J T Kruger, in the days when governments could still get away with such things in places like Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rhodesia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Russia, the Philippines, Paraguay, Chile and South Africa.

A lot has happened since then. Today, totalitarian systems all over the world are in tatters, for two main reasons.

One is that majorities are no longer prepared to be pushed around by minorities, and the other is that the international community is no longer prepared to finance oppression.

Hardships

Tyrants find the financial taps turned off and their state treasuries going broke.

Economic sanctions helped to smash communism in Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe: economic sanctions helped to undermine dictatorships in Pakistan, Paraguay, Brazil and Chile and even the limited sanctions initiated by America have been instrumental in encouraging reforms in countries like Mozambique, Hungary and South Africa.

Because of the real hardships involved, the governments in each of these countries were able at first to represent these measures as attacks on the people rather than against their systems, and few commentators inside these societies suggested that asking whether sanctions hurt or helped might be rather like asking whether the dentist's drill hurt or helped to cure toothache.

Be that as it may, the ball is now in the court of each of these countries and one of them, South Africa, now has the chance to rejoin the free world by instituting real democracy, while the international community directs its ire against China, Albania and North Korea.

The next to fall foul of international opinion will be those countries that have moved towards freedom but have not yet shed notions of one-party rule — Zimbabwe and Zambia, for instance — on the obvious basis that there can be no such thing as a one-party democracy. But if democracy is to come to South Africa there is one vital ingredient South Africans must demand — complete freedom of information.

It took me a year of living outside South Africa to realise the extent to which all South Africans — myself included — have for so long been deprived of real radio, real television, real national debate and real discussion of real issues in the public domain.

Not long ago, Peter Hain paid a controversial visit to South Africa to make a short television film. If South Africa had had a proper, independent television service the Hain film would have been shown on South African television, with Hain himself in the studio being challenged by Ali Bacher or Danie Craven.

Then the South African people could have judged for themselves what was right or wrong. Instead, there was the same old hysteria I remember from a dozen years ago, with all sorts of talk about a film

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Jail gates open on a legend

By Helen Grange

Mr Nelson Mandela walked as a free man through the gates of Victor Verster prison yesterday — amid the jubilant cries of a crowd that had waited all afternoon for this historic moment.

Dressed in a neat grey suit, the world's best known prisoner walked hand in hand with his wife, Winnie, through the prison gates at 4.16pm — more than an hour after the scheduled time of his release.

The thronging crowd — waving ANC flags, singing and shouting ANC slogans — was greeted by a smiling Mr Mandela giving the "black power" salute as he walked down the street through the prison gate.

A heavy police contingent along the street leaving the prison entrance managed to keep the singing, dancing crowd at bay only for moments before the couple were swamped by ANC supporters. After only a few steps, the couple returned to the car awaiting them just inside the prison gates.

As the car slowly left the prison — preceded by a convoy of policemen on motorcyles — ANC supporters broke through the police barriers to touch the vehicle as it passed.

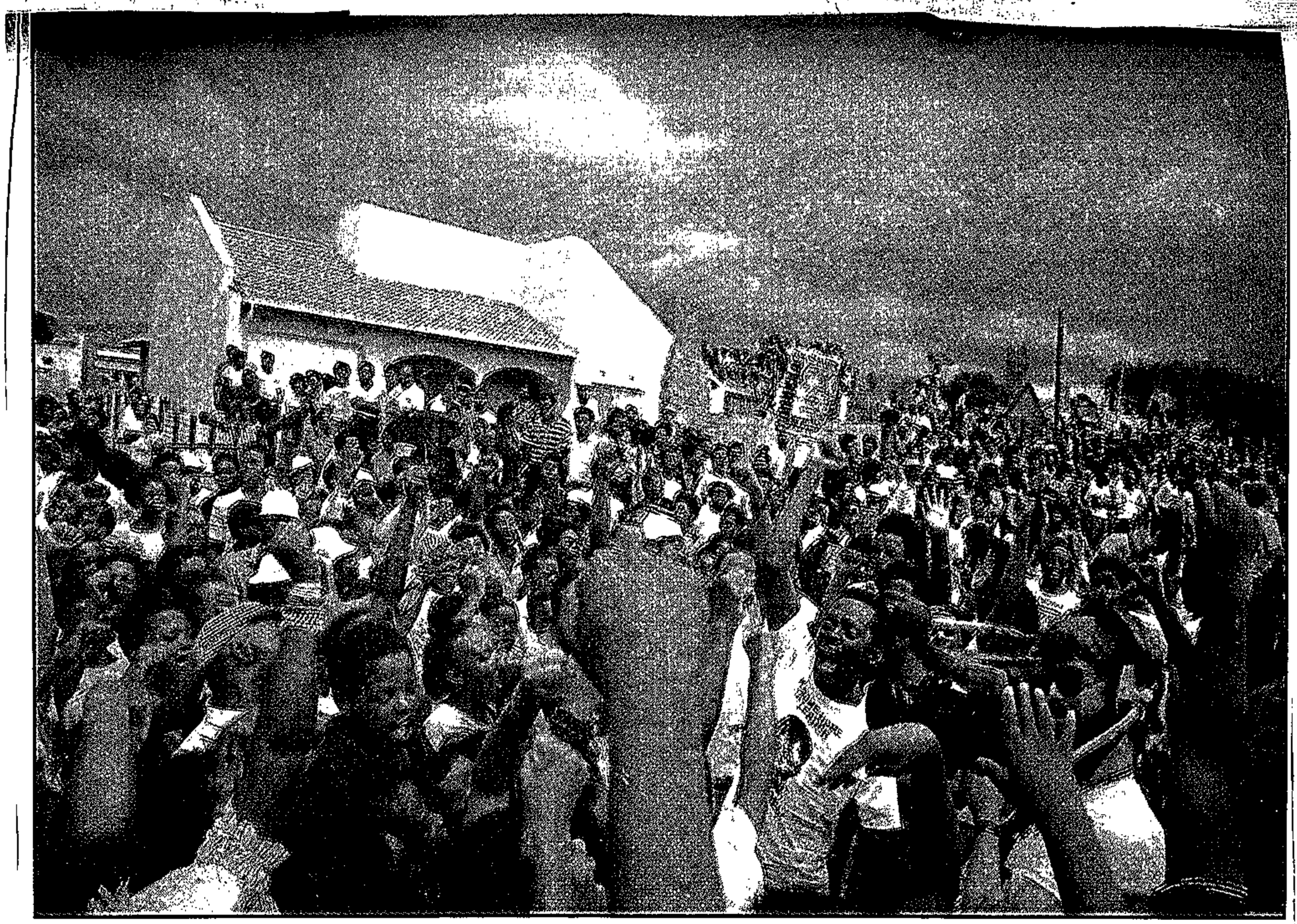
Mr and Mrs Mandela continued saluting and smiling at the crowd behind the closed windows of the car.

The crowd and scores of foreign media representatives waited patiently in the sun for the release, occasionally bursting into song and cheers.

At exactly 3pm, Mr Mandela's family and close friends, including Mr Walter Sisulu, arrived at the prison.

While Mr Mandela greeted his wife and friends, the anxious wait continued. A supporter, wearing traditional tribal dress, entertained the crowd by singing and dancing in the street.

After his symbolic steps on free South African soil, Mr Mandela and his wife were driven to Cape Town.



An excited crowd gathers opposite the Mandelas' home in Vilakazi Street, Orlando West, Soweto, yesterday as Soweto celebrated the release of the African National Congress leader. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek

STAR 12/2/90 (3274)

Vilakazi Street erupts in toyi toying, singing

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Soweto exploded into unbridled joy as Nelson Mandela took his first steps to freedom.

After his release yesterday afternoon, young and old burst on to the streets, dancing, whistling, singing and waving ANC and SACP flags.

Driving rain did nothing to damp the excitement outside Mr Mandela's house in Vilakazi Street, Orlando West.

Thousands poured into the street. Numbers were impossible to estimate as the masses were constantly on the move, circling the block and toyi-toying down the street.

Children were hoisted shoulder-high, as were pictures and posters of Mr Mandela.

Outside Mr Mandela's house the ANC flag flew and ANC colours were emblazoned on the garage door above a sign saying: "We celebrate your release. Welcome home Dr Mandela. You are a genuine people's leader. Long live ANC!"

At the rally in Jabulani stadium, which was packed to capacity, with thousands more outside, the mood was one of jubilation and excitement, reports Sapa.

The stadium was draped in the black, green and gold colours of the ANC, and an SACP flag and other banners lent a festive atmosphere.

The only sign of police presence was a helicopter which buzzed the stadium a few times.

● Shebeens in Hillbrow ran dry yesterday as hundreds of patrons flooded the liquor venues to toast Mr Mandela's release.

Teargas and rainstorm fail to quell jubilation

Thousands sweep through city centre

By Karen Stander and Janet Heard

Tens of thousands of revellers celebrating the release of Mr Nelson Mandela thronged the streets of central Johannesburg yesterday in a number of spontaneous marches.

Neither a dose of teargas nor a sudden thunderstorm were enough to deter one crowd.

Followed by a cavalcade of cars and minibuses with ANC flags fluttering from windows and a large contingent of police vehicles, one march, which later swelled to more than 10 000-strong, began in the city centre before 2 pm.

The crowd toyi-toyied through Joubert Park, Hillbrow and Berea, up Harrow Road, down Louis Botha Avenue and back through Hillbrow.

In Hillbrow, a pedestrian was knocked down by a vehicle during the celebrations.

A witness told Sapa that a group of Mandela supporters had gathered in Pretoria Street and were wending their way towards Claim Street when a small vehicle accelerated into the crowd.

"Three people in the car just drove into the crowd. I saw one person fall down, and the car sped away. Paramedics arrived and took the injured person away," the witness claimed.

Injured reveller

She added police arrived shortly afterwards and redirected the crowd away from oncoming traffic.

In Berea, an elderly white woman waved cheerfully from a third-floor balcony while a middle-aged man was heard to say: "They should all be shot."

At the corner of Edith Cavell and Pretoria Streets in Hillbrow thousands of people scattered when police fired teargas in an attempt to disperse the crowd. Undeterred and shouting ANC slogans, they immediately regrouped on the same spot.

To the accompaniment of car hooters, the march returned to Joubert Park, around the city and back to Hillbrow where the joyous atmosphere was reminiscent of New Year's Eve. Hundreds of people watched from the balconies of flats and waitresses in black dresses and frilly aprons cheered from the pavements outside restaurants.

An ice-cream vendor on a bicycle followed all the way. Although he was not seen dispensing any wares, he lifted several women who perched on his ice-box as he struggled to pedal up hills.

The numbers swelled as pedestrians joined in the spontaneous marches which swept through the city.

As one crowd dispersed, another was formed in a different street.

The crowds circled several Hillbrow blocks a number of times before returning to the city centre at about 6 pm.

While most people, black and white, were well-behaved, a handful of blacks taunted whites, yelling "Freedom is coming. Whites get out". A few furious whites lashed out, hurling bottles and insults at the blacks.

At the Carlton shopping centre, three young black men surrounded a young white couple, spitting on the frightened pair and shaking fists at them. Other blacks intervened and chased the men away.

Release opens 'new possibilities' – ANC

Star 14/4/90 (327)

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The release of Nelson Mandela had opened up new possibilities for the resolution of the apartheid problem by political means, the secretary-general and acting president of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, said yesterday.

A statement issued here yesterday in the name of the national executive committee and signed by Mr Nzo said that the release of Mr Mandela was "a direct result of the struggles and sacrifices of the masses of our country and the international community".

The statement noted that the release of Mr Mandela followed the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations and the introduction of other measures "which constitute important steps towards the creation of an atmosphere of free political activity within South Africa".

Britain gives release top treatment

STAR 12/2/90 (327)

By Alan Robinson,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela Day ran from long before dawn broke on a cold and wintry Sunday in Britain until well into the early hours of a warm Monday in South Africa.

Millions of people watched the leader's release from jail after 27 years, on television, and his speech in Cape Town City Hall.

The momentous events at the southern tip of Africa reached a fascinated world in sound and picture. The happenings of February 11 1990 sank in slowly.

In homes, streets, churches, pubs, and gathering places throughout Britain, freedom for Mr Mandela dominated all else.

Many celebrated openly. Some downed a quiet toast to his liberty; others prayed quietly for peace. Undoubtedly, many with kin in South Africa worried about the future of sons, daughters, grandchildren and friends.

And no doubt there were those who would rather that this day had never come.

Early morning news bulletins brought live reports on the start of proceedings in Cape Town, and of the grim violence in Tokoza township the night before.

Optimism and tragedy ... it was the same mix as so often before in South Africa. The dawn of hope, and the horror of death.

At church services, priests and bishops alike led the people in prayers for peace and thanksgiving for Mr Mandela's freedom. He is openly hailed here by many in the church, academic life and media as a latter-day Messiah — a saviour of his people after 42 years of oppression.

Politicians, as is their wont, gathered like hyenas in search of a feast. Any expectations that just for once they would spurn party political profit and unite in praise of President de Klerk's courage were at once dashed.

Labour and Conservatives squabbled over sanctions, and the Liberal Democrats joined the unseemly scramble for leftovers.

Mr Paul Boateng's eyes positively sparkled with anticipation of a black franchise to come as he talked really toughly on behalf of Labour, and dumped all the party's eggs in the ANC basket.

Mr George Waldron did his best to look totally satisfied with the day's developments, while seeking all the time to reassure the true-blue Conservative electorate that nothing has actually changed.

The long delay before Mr Mandela walked to liberty caused havoc in the media circus assembled under the burning Cape sun and in the centrally-heated, sound-proofed studios in London.

Already condemned by decree to using SABC TV pictures of the release, the BBC, to its undoubted discomfort, also had to rely on the SABC's Clarence Keyter for sound commentary of the crucial moments.

Even more discomforted was Independent Television. As if having to break off at pre-arranged times to bring viewers commercials on anything from soup to kitchen towels was not embarrassing enough, inflexible schedules brought the television howler of the century.

While Mr Mandela was striding back to freedom and showing his face to the world for the first time since 1963, ITV viewers were condemned to a pre-recorded interview with former politician Mr Edward Heath. While countless millions saw history being made outside Victor Verster Prison, ITV screened Mr Heath's views on the Channel Tunnel.

Later, the scenes and events outside the prison, and the address from the City Hall virtually hijacked television and radio newscasts.

And the BBC was still depicting and analysing what it called "this new and historic dawn for South Africa" after midnight came to Soweto and toyi-toyi dancers greeted the day with exuberance.

Freedom joy is marred

327

Sowetan 21/2/90

PORT ELIZABETH - Four people were killed and 17 others injured in Kwazakhele, near Port Elizabeth, yesterday when a car ploughed into a group of people celebrating the announcement of Mr Nelson Mandela's release, SABC radio news reports.

Ten of the injured were in a serious condition in hospital.

Meanwhile a black man, rejoicing over Mandela's release, was shot in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, early yesterday, an eye-witness said.

Mr Peter Stewart said the gunman escaped round a street corner after shooting the unidentified man in the head.

It was unclear whether the victim had died.

The report had not been confirmed with the police at the time of going to press.

Meanwhile, hundreds of black people took to the streets of Hillbrow yesterday morning, continuing to celebrate Mandela's release after 26 years in prison.

Thousands had spilled on to the streets of the flatland on Saturday night, dancing and singing till the early hours of Sunday. - Sapa.

Soccer fans join ANC festivity in Maritzburg

STAR 12/2/90 (327)

MARITZBURG — Everyday life came to a standstill in Edendale near Maritzburg yesterday as crowds took to the streets, singing, dancing and toyi-toying to celebrate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

A soccer match between top national soccer teams, Jomo Comos and AmaZulu, had to be abandoned 20 minutes before the end of play when thousands of chanting people with ANC flags invaded the pitch.

As the news spread that Mr Mandela was free, women ululated and people took to the streets on foot or piling into and on top of hooting cars and taxis.

Traffic was stopped in Edendale Road in front of the township's hospital as the crowds moved towards the Qokolo Soccer Stadium where the two teams were playing a friendly match.

Soon after the match was abandoned and the soccer spectators joined the celebration crowd of about 10 000, which then toyi-toyed up and down Edendale Road.

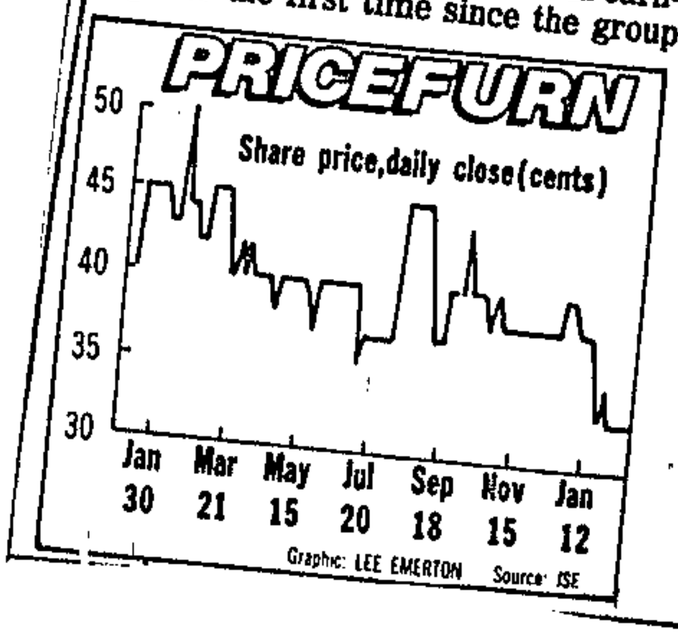
"Is he going to be on television", several members of the crowd asked journalists. They were overjoyed to hear that he had already been on television and one emotional man said: "South Africa is back now. The future is here."

Others in the crowd also said Mandela's release had given them hope the violence in Natal could end. — Sapa.

Pricefurn lists its first decline in profits since JSE debut

SYLVIA DU PLESSIS

DIRECTORS of Durban-based Pricefurn are forecasting negative growth in full-year income after a decline in earnings for the first time since the group was listed in 1987.



Attributable income for the six months to December has dropped to R481 000, from R774 000 during the six months to December.

This translates into weighted earnings of 4,01c a share — compared to 6,45c a share in the previous period, and puts the 10c a share for the previous financial year well out of reach.

The group, a retailer of appliances, furniture and other consumer durables, increased turnover to R44,3m (R31,5m).

But operating income fell to R1,4m (R1,6), and the interest bill rose more than fourfold to R483 000.

In a statement accompanying the results, directors say: "Trading conditions remain difficult and it is anticipated that income for the year will remain below that of the previous year."

Pricefurn MD Sid Trickett was not available for comment yesterday, but industry sources said the group had expanded at a time when interest rates were increasing and consumer demand was tapering off. Like its competitors, it has also been hard hit by import surcharges and HP restrictions.

The group posted a 67% rise in turnover to R60,3m in the year to end-June after expanding from 11 to 18 stores in Natal and the Transvaal. However, the cost of establishing these stores trimmed growth in attributable income to R1,2m, from which dividends of 4,5c were declared.

Thousands of revellers throng Jo'burg streets

(327)

THOUSANDS of revellers thronged Johannesburg's streets yesterday after Nelson Mandela's release.

The crowd, starting off in its hundreds, grew as people "toyi-toyied" up Eloff Street and wound through the streets of Hillbrow.

They were met by another group of revellers in Hillbrow. Police tried in vain to stay in front of the crowd.

To shouts of "Viva Mandela", "Viva ANC" and "Amandla", the crowd danced back to the city centre in light rain with the help of a traffic and police escort.

Banners supporting the ANC, SACP and calling for the abolition of apartheid could be seen among the crowd of about 4 000.

Another crowd of about 500, singing and chanting "Viva Nelson Mandela, Viva ANC", was led through the streets of cen-

Business Day Reporters

tral Johannesburg by Actstop members yesterday afternoon.

Marchers were led by Actstop members carrying a banner bearing the words "Stop apartheid. We are here to stay".

When the crowd reached the congested station area taxi drivers stopped their vehicles to give way to the marchers.

The crowd ended the march by circling the fountain in the centre of the park, where marshalls led the singing and chants in celebration of the ANC leader's release.

Sapa reports one person was knocked down by a vehicle in Hillbrow last night as hundreds of people danced in the streets.

A witness said a group of revellers had gathered in Pretoria Street and were winding their way towards Claim Street when a small vehicle allegedly accelerated into the crowd.

"Three people in the car just drove into the crowd. I saw one person fall down, and the car sped away. Paramedics arrived and took the injured person away," claimed the witness.

In Soweto more than 35 000 people congregated at the Jabulani amphitheatre. There appeared to be no police present at the rally which was organised by the Soweto Youth Congress, except a police helicopter which flew over the stadium at regular intervals. B Day 12/2/90

National Reception Committee member Dan Motsisi told the jubilant crowd the stadium was full and many people who wanted to enter the stadium, could not.

☐ To Page 2

Jo'burg 01/04/12/1990

(327)

☐ From Page 1

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Andrew Mlangeni said the ANC applauded President F W de Klerk's recent intiatives, such as releasing Mandela and unbanning the ANC, but this did not necessarily mean freedom for black people.

Mlangeni said he recently met ANC leader Oliver Tambo who told him to tell youths they should continue the struggle.

Tambo was recovering well and would resume his position at the head of the ANC very soon, he said.

Mlangeni stressed the ANC was prepared to come to the round table to negotiate with government. He said government was still a powerful force even though it was divided by different political parties.

He condemned the views of some who said white people should be driven into the sea. The Freedom Charter stated that SA belonged to all within it, he said.

Mlangeni urged children to go back to school and cease street violence.

He said no person could be a future leader of SA if he did not go to school. He urged people to continue with the struggle in a disciplined manner.

The rally ended peacefully when the people left the stadium to sing and toyi-toyi down the streets of Soweto.

Sapa reports Soweto erupted in celebration later last night as hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets to celebrate Mandela's release.

At the south-eastern entrance near Baragwanath Hospital, thousands of people ran along the highway singing, dancing and chanting "Viva", while nearby, bridges were packed with people thrusting clenched fists into the air.

About 200 000 people in Katlehong near Germiston left home and took to the streets, dancing and singing, minutes after Mandela was shown on TV leaving prison.

At Vosloorus near Boksburg about 20 000 people were celebrating in the streets while ANC and SACP flags were waved and carried by dancing people.

At Thokoza near Alberton, where five people died in unrest last week, a huge celebration was underway with about 20 000 people thronging the streets.

Four people were killed and 17 injured in Kwazakhele, near Port Elizabeth, yesterday when a car ploughed into a group of revellers.

Ten of the injured were in a serious condition in hospital.

In Grahamstown thousands of people took to the streets of Joza township to celebrate Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC.

Cape Times 12/2/90 327

Secret SADF squad 'spied on radical groups'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Defence Force has disclosed the existence of an organisation that, among other things, infiltrated networks of organisations opposed to the government.

The disclosure comes soon after a third former police officer was detained last week in connection with an organisation said to be linked to the murders of Dr David Webster and Mr Anton Lubowski.

The policeman was former Lieutenant Abram "Slang" van Zyl, 29. His wife, Mrs Brenda van Zyl, claimed in the Rand Supreme Court that her husband was secretly linked to the Defence Force.

At the weekend a Defence Force spokesman revealed the existence of the organisation, the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), in reply to questions from the media about a court application in Johannesburg for the release of Mr Van Zyl, who is being held in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Van Zyl is a former member of the Brixton Murder and Robbery squad.

Special forces

Allegations have been made in the court case about a secret organisation connected to the defence force.

The spokesman said the CCB was a covert organisation of special forces in the Defence Force.

He said special forces were an integral part of defence forces worldwide, performing extremely important functions in the interests of state security.

He said the activities of special forces was a subject on which no defence force spoke freely.

South Africa's standpoint on the issue had been set out by the government last year — special forces were a support element of the Defence Force with the aim of collecting information on aggressors and suspected aggressors against South Africa.

It involved the reconnoitering of and execution of orders against aggressors.

The aims of the CCB included acting against such aggressors and infiltrating such networks.

The spokesman said the CCB was a covert organisation among special forces that with similar powers were operating continuously in South Africa's interests. — Sapa

Government finds positive aspects in tough speech

Jo'burg stands by to greet Mandela

Cape Town

Freed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela makes a triumphal return to Johannesburg later today — after an absence of 27 years — following the tumultuous reception he was given at a massive rally in central Cape Town yesterday.

Before leaving for Johannesburg, he was addressing an international press conference in Cape Town — delayed from yesterday because of the late start and chaotic conditions at yesterday's rally.

Mr Mandela's arrival time in Johannesburg later today had not been disclosed this morning.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Civil rights lawyer and United Democratic Front national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said that while flight arrangements for the Mandelas were still being made, he was "fairly certain" the ANC leader and his wife would arrive in Johannesburg early this afternoon.

The Government reacted tentatively today to Mr Nelson Mandela's first public speech, since his release from jail yesterday, in which he took a tough ANC line by calling for the armed struggle to continue.

'Positive aspects'

Senior Government sources said the speech was "largely predictable" and that Mr Mandela clearly needed to position himself within the ANC at this moment.

They found the speech positive in many respects, especially the reference to peace and the remarks about Mr de Klerk being a man of "integrity".

A spokesman for the State President said Mr de Klerk would probably react to Mr Mandela's speech at an international press conference some time this week. No date for the conference has yet been set.

One National Party senior MP said it was very much an "election speech" to re-establish himself with his own people and consolidate his support in the ANC. The NP could not agree with Mr Mandela's insistence on universal suffrage on a common voters' roll, but this could be sorted out in negotiations.

MDM spokesman Mr Dullah Omar has conceded that the organisers' security arrangements were not satisfactory at yesterday's welcoming rally for Mr Mandela. He was not prepared to blame the police for their action in controlling looting and violence.

A National Party source, commenting on the violence, said that one could find similar or worse at soccer matches.

"There is an inherent risk in bringing a large crowd together. One cannot escape that situation. There is always a danger of looting and disturbance so I do not attach too much importance to this."

Democratic Party veteran MP Mr Colin Eglin, who attended the rally, said the speech was tough and gave nothing away. But underlying, he saw a door to some kind of negotiation being left open for President de Klerk.

He said it was clear Mr Mandela felt he could not make any conciliatory moves until he had consulted the ANC leadership. Until then, he could not move from the ANC line.

"The last thing he could do was to give the impression that he as an individual had usurped the collective leadership of the ANC."

Making his first public address after 27 years in jail, Mr Mandela made it clear to a crowd estimated at more than 80 000 on the Grand Parade that the struggle against apartheid would still have to include the armed struggle and increased international pressure.

'No option'

"We have no option but to continue," he said to



The return of Mandela ... Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, salute the huge crowd waiting for him as he steps out of Paarl's Victor Verster prison yesterday.

TOP OF THE NEWS

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Disillusioned Wessels withdraws from Boks

Springbok top order batsman Kepler Wessels has quit the national side just days before the second test with Mike Gatting's English XI and has already returned home to Port Elizabeth.

National selection panel convener Peter van der Merwe says Wessels withdrew from the side because he was mentally drained and disillusioned after the "Clive Rice Affair" where his eligibility in the Bok side was severely questioned after he had played for the official and rebel Australian sides.

Schools to open?

White government schools may be opened to all following a projected policy review which would consider the attitude of parents.

● See Page 2

The Bookie's

One dead as violence mars welcom

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — One man died and more than 50 people were taken to various Peninsula hopitals when Mr Nelson Mandela's triumphant return to his people deteriorated into chaos in Cape Town's centre where about 80 000 people had gathered to welcome him.

Trouble flared at about 4 pm in Corporation Street when a window in Cape Union Mart was smashed. Police arrived with dogs and shotguns, and marshals battled to control a small group who taunted police.

Youths then smashed windows of a shoe shop and the Ackermans store.

More bottles were thrown and again opened fire.

Teargas was also fired.

The situation was defused by Mandela's arrival on the podium.

At the end of the momentous ... helicopters throbbed in the night and soldiers armed with R4 rifles guard over buildings in Cape Town

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'No option'

"We have no option but to continue," he said to loud cheers.

"But we express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement will be created soon, so that there may no longer be any need for the armed struggle to continue."

Mr Mandela added that "to lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process of eradicating apartheid".

Mr Mandela made it clear he was a "servant of the ANC", but praised President de Klerk as a man of integrity who was aware of the dangers of a public figure not honouring undertakings.

Mr de Klerk had gone further than any other National Party leader to normalise the situation.

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STAR 12/2/90 (327) 8

The world goes wild as Mandela is freed



Viva ... Jubilant ANC supporters rejoice at yesterday's rally at Soweto's Jabulani Stadium.

WASHINGTON — Nelson Mandela is to be invited to address a joint session of the US Congress when he visits America at the personal invitation of President Bush.

The Congressional Black Caucus is to ask the Senate and the House of Representatives to invite the freed ANC leader to address a joint sitting of the two Houses, Congressman Walter Fauntroy said at the weekend.

He told a celebration gathering of the ANC and its supporters in Washington that Mr Mandela would be asked to brief US lawmakers on his vision for a future South Africa and what the US government should do to assist to achieve it.

Meanwhile President Bush has again issued his invitation to Mr Mandela and President de Klerk to meet him separately at the White House.

British Premier Margaret Thatcher yesterday ruled out an immediate visit to South Africa.

Speaking to newsmen, she said a "huge task" of preparing the way for negotiations now lay ahead in South Africa. Mrs Thatcher is expected to visit South Africa later this year after President de Klerk has taken up her invitation to come to Britain during the next few months.

British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd said there had been a "surge of hope" all over the world at Mr Mandela's release.

Echoing Mrs Thatcher's statement on immediately lifting some of the sanctions on Pretoria, Mr Hurd said the European Community had agreed that certain measures, particularly the ban on new investment in SA, "are no longer logical". He would be raising the matter with his EC counterparts.

Yesterday in London's Trafalgar Square, thousands of anti-apartheid supporters and onlookers gathered to celebrate Mr Mandela's release.

Although he had not yet been freed, as expected, by 1 pm London time, the cheering, chanting, dancing and ANC flag-waving crowd spilt over pavements and forced police to close Trafalgar Square outside the SA Embassy as the 1 pm bells rang out from St Martins in the Field next door.

Reports came in of church bells in many towns in Britain joining in a premature celebration at 1 pm.

Japanese Foreign Minister Mr Taro Nakayama yesterday said Mr Mandela's release was one of the essential factors for negotiation to begin and for the eradication of apartheid.

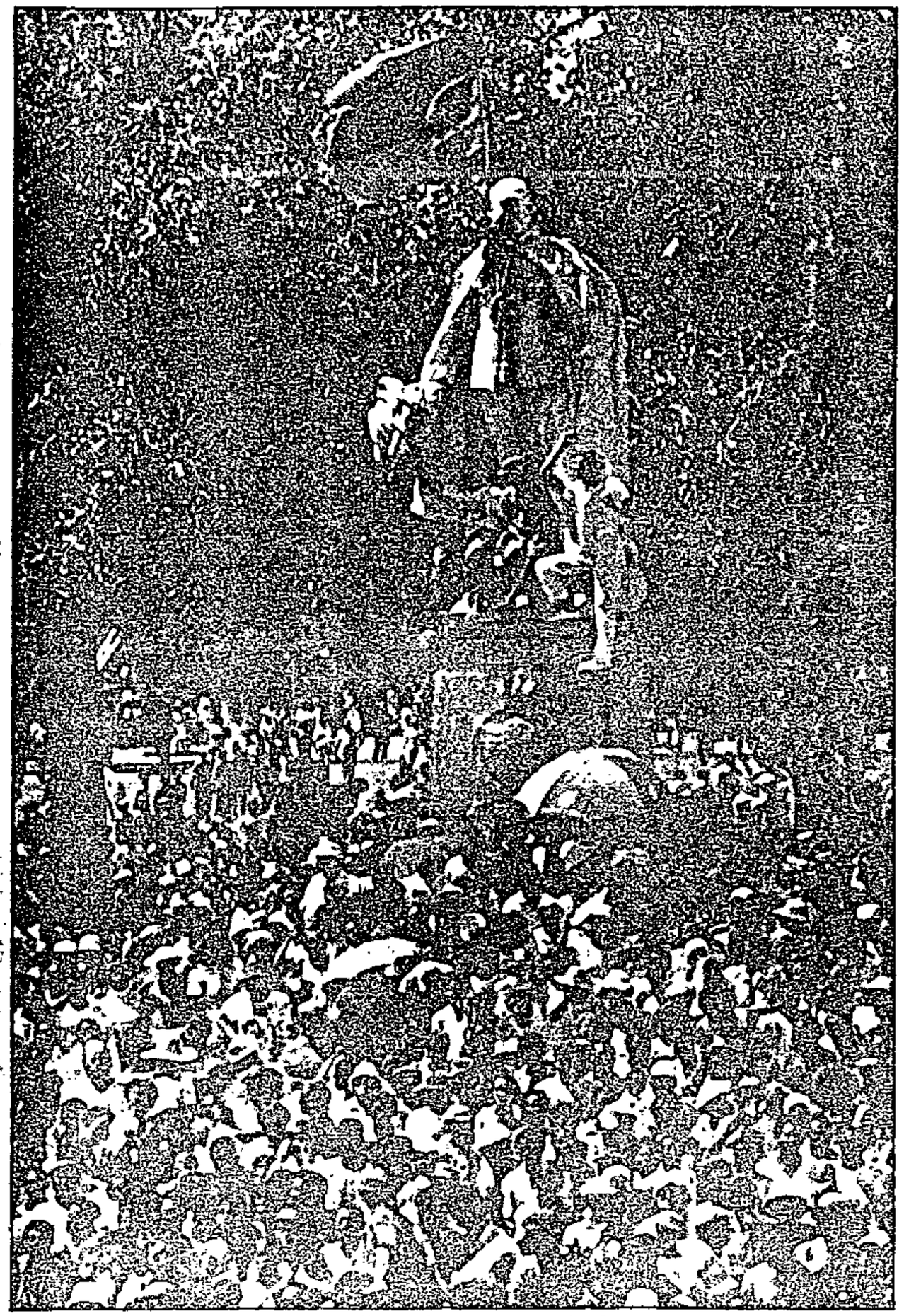
In Brussels, the EC executive commission expressed delight at the release and said it hoped South Africa would move peacefully towards a multiracial democracy.

Norway said it had sent a message of congratulations to Mr Mandela and invited him and his wife Winnie to visit Oslo.

Canadian Prime Minister Mr Brian Mulroney said the announcement of the ANC leader's release was a time of tremendous joy for South Africa, Canada and the people of the world.

French President Mr Francois Mitterrand on Saturday welcomed Mr Mandela's imminent release and urged SA to press on towards full democracy.

Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke yesterday said the release was the most positive sign the world had seen that "the walls of the abhorrent apartheid system may soon be breached". — The Star Bureau in Washington, Associated Press and



In Cape Town ... an ANC banner flaps above a statue in Cape Town's parade square as

[illegible] an ANC supporters re o ce at yesterday's ra y at Soweto's Jabu ani Stadium. [illegible] ar Bureau in Washington, Associated Press and [illegible] Capa-Reuter.

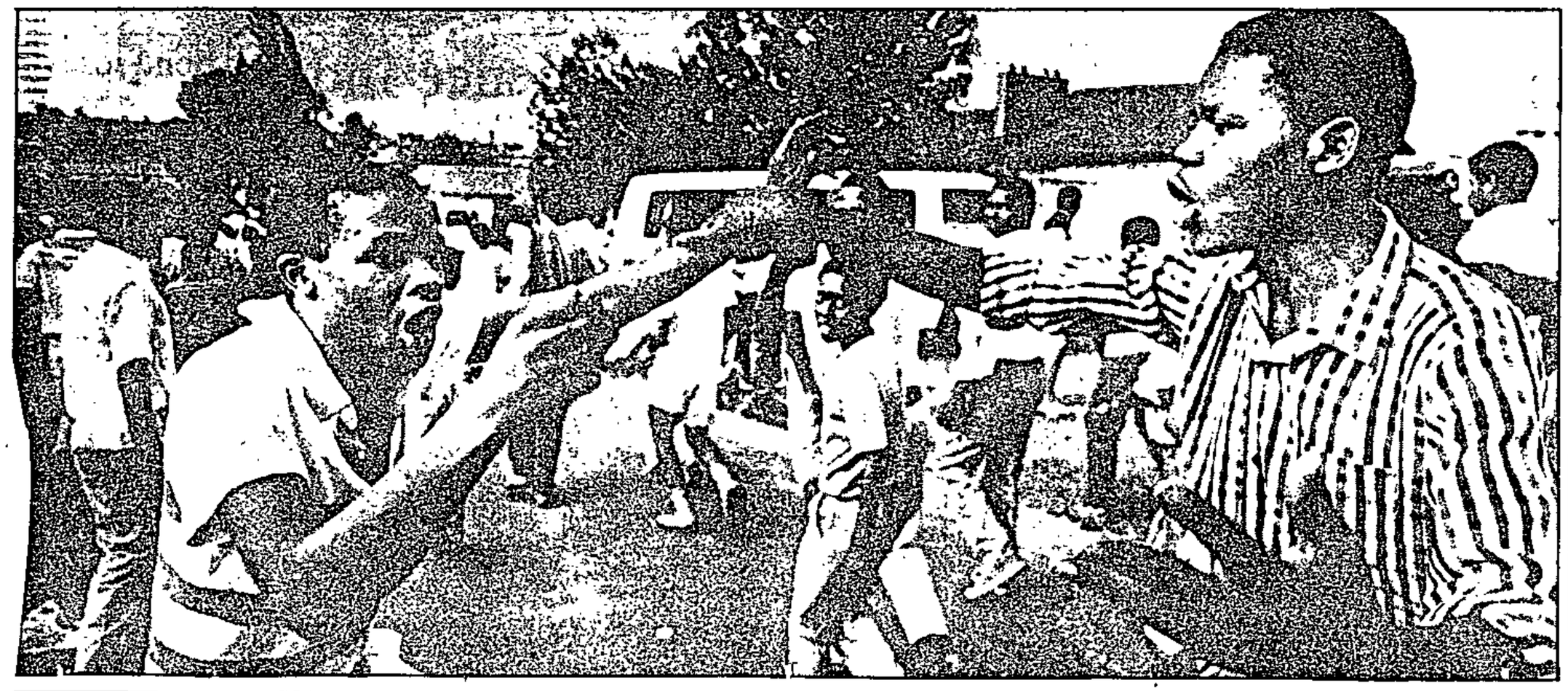
● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

In Cape Town [illegible] an ANC banner [illegible] aps above a statue in Cape Town's parade square as thousands await the arrival of Mr Mandela.



Above . . . yesterday's mass rally at Jabulani Stadium, Soweto, was held to celebrate the unbanning of the ANC. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Below: . . . youths dance with joy in the streets near the Orlando West home of Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday afternoon. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.





In Paris . . . crowds holding Mandela posters gather outside the South African Embassy to celebrate his release yesterday.

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STAR 12/2/90

3 bombs explode in Cape

Crime Reporter

Three bombs exploded in the Cape overnight, including one at the Newlands cricket ground.

No one was injured in the blasts, police said.

A Soviet-made mini-limpet mine exploded at the Newlands cricket offices at 1.30 am today. Serious damage was caused.

At 3.05 am, a mini-limpet mine exploded outside the Parow Civic Centre, damaging windows and doors.

An unidentified device exploded at the Paarl East municipal housing offices at 11.35 pm last night.

Police on alert following release

(327)

Crime Reporter

Police were on the alert throughout the country last night to guard against the looting and violence which marred ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison in the Cape yesterday.

Police said they were also on the alert for any threat to Mr Mandela's safety.

"Mr Mandela is a free man and he is responsible for his own safety. If, however, anything of a threatening nature comes to our attention, we will inform him," a police spokesman said.

A young looter was shot dead by police and up to 100 people were reportedly injured in police action against mostly drunk youths who rampaged in Cape Town's city centre yesterday. Police last night appealed to those celebrating Mr Mandela's release to remain calm and maintain civilised standards.

Major-General Herman Stadler said police had also taken special precautions in Soweto, where Mr Mandela is expected to live, but refused to elaborate on police measures.

triumphal return to Johannesburg ... Freed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela makes a

Mandela called for the immediate end to the State of Emergency. He

US viewers

AMERICAN viewers watched live TV coverage of Nelson Mandela's release from the Victor Verster prison in Paarl for more than four hours - while the historic occasion was screened on SABC's TV1 for barely an hour yesterday afternoon. (337)

Phoning from Boston, an ecstatic Mrs Sarah Wilson Cianbrone said the ABC and CBS channells started beaming the event as early as 7.30am (1.30pm SA time) yesterday. Sowetan 12/2/90

Song and dance at Jan Smuts

Sowetan 12/2/90 337

By SY MAKARINGE and PHANGISILE MTSHALI

JAN Smuts Airport yesterday vibrated with song and dance as a huge enthusiastic crowd of African National Congress supporters waited for the arrival from Cape Town of their leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Watched closely by a contingent of police in riot gear, the crowd chanted slogans and sang freedom songs a few paces from the main concourse as minutes to Mandela's freedom ticked by.

The crowd started gathering at the airport as early as 11am.

As it started to swell to more than 800, more police reinforcements, some with dogs, were brought in to prevent the people from moving into the main concourse.

All entrances were sealed off.

At about 4.30pm, black policemen announced through a loudhailer that "the person you are waiting for will not be coming today".

He was ignored and the people continued doing the toyi-toyi dance.



COMPUTER COURSES AT 1989 PRICES - HURRY!
ONLY DURING FEBRUARY

De Klerk 'didn't go far enough'

WHILE the ANC has welcomed its unbanning, it has stated President FW de Klerk did not go far enough in meeting the demands of the Harare Document.



President FW de Klerk



Kobie Coetsee

The Harare Document was drawn up after consultation with groups such as the UDF, the trade unions and the churches. The ANC was involved in the discussion. In the end a document was produced which was placed before, and passed by, the ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on August 21, 1989.

The main feature of the declaration revolved around the question of negotiations. It says the government should create a climate for negotiations by, "at the very least";

- Releasing all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally (De Klerk has promised to do this);
- Lifting all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons. (There are conflicting reports, some saying the Internal Security Act consolidated list has been scrapped, others that the names of some ANC members have not been removed from the list);
- Removing all troops from the township. (De Klerk did not mention this in his speech last Friday);
- Ending the state of emergency and repealing all legislation, including the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity. (This basic condition has also not been fulfilled).
- Ceasing all political trials and political executions.(This point is also not clarified through De Klerk's statement).

De Klerk in his speech to open parliament made much play of the fact that through his concessions, the armed struggle was no longer justified.

The Harare Declaration, however, states that only *after* these conditions to create a climate for conditions are met, discussions should take place between the ANC and Pretoria to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.

Overseas investors take fright over Mandela's statements

STAR 13/2/90 (327)

By Magnus Heystek
Finance Editor

The brief honeymoon of local financial markets with a freed Nelson Mandela came to an abrupt end yesterday when both the JSE and the financial rand went into a nosedive.

This followed the comments of the released ANC leader on nationalisation of mines, which caused widespread selling by the same overseas investors who just last week were clamouring to get into the local market.

Both gold and industrial shares came under heavy selling pressure, with all major indices closing sharply down.

Local analysts say the selling pressure mainly emanated from abroad, but was further exacerbated by intense jobbing on the local market.

The financial rand's performance was the most telling of all, since the sharp upward movement of this artificial currency demonstrated the sudden turnabout in overseas investment sentiment.

Yesterday morning the financial rand strengthened to R3,12 against the dollar after closing at R3,20 on Friday.

But the pronouncements of Mr Mandela on sanctions and an unchanged ANC view on the nationalisation of major assets, including gold mines, resulted in a heavy sell-off of the currency.

Heavy selling of gold shares was particularly evident in the afternoon session, despite the fact that the gold price continued to firm during the day.

At the close it was trading at around $419. One analyst said the upward surge was indirectly linked to Mr Mandela's statements on the proposed nationalisation of gold mines, while the weakness of Wall Street contributed to a more bullish mood.

Yesterday afternoon the financial rand closed at R3,60 to the dollar.

Gold shares were also depressed on international markets.

In New York, ASA, an investment company that holds SA shares dropped $4,50 to $64,35.

Traders in London at James Capel said that they did not experience widespread selling because investors were awaiting moves towards negotiations in South Africa.

Industrial shares, which suddenly came into vogue on international stock markets after President FW de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and the Communist Party, also came under selling pressure from overseas investors, who took fright at the latest developments surrounding Mr Mandela's release.

The images of crowd unrest in Cape Town, which were broadcast worldwide, contributed further to the sudden turnaround in sentiment.

Overseas analysts said the world financial community welcomed Mr Mandela's release as a significant pointer towards change in South Africa, but that it would wait and see if it heralded power-sharing.

"Nobody will pump money into South Africa until they hear what Mr Mandela has to say and see what he does," said Christopher Johnson, chief economic adviser to Lloyds Bank in London.

Analysts said, however, that more long-term signs of business confidence would be muted.

Some analysts said Mr Mandela's freedom could even increase business worries about South Africa.

"The internal political uncertainties have actually increased," said David Kern, chief economist at National Westminster Bank in London.

"The release of Mr Mandela does not make that much real difference."

The JSE overall index closed down 68 points lower at 3273, while the gold index closed 82 points lower at 2090 after being as low as 2060 at one stage, despite the weakening of the financial rand.

The industrial index was down 28 points at 3150 after showing significant strength last week.

However, in late trade in London and early trade in New York, gold shares started recovering as buyers emerged at the lower levels.

Analysts took the view that Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC were positioning themselves ahead of the talks and would in the end abandon the idea of nationalisation.

SOWETAN Tuesday F

Many books set to be unbanned

(327)

Sowetan 13/2/90

SOWETAN Correspondent

SCORES of banned books and films are expected to be made public following State President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives.

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SA Communist Party and the lifting of media restrictions preventing certain individuals from being quoted have resulted in the overturning of prohibitions on thousands of books, magazines and other publications.

However, although prohibitions on publications in terms of the Internal Security Act have been lifted, publications which were prohibited in terms of the Publications Act have not been affected by De Klerk's announcement, say Government spokesmen.

But these publications can be submitted again to the Directorate of Publications for review.

In a *Government Gazette* on February 3, eight periodicals which were affected by security legislation were declared unbanned.

These included *The Guardian, Advance, New Age, Fighting Talk, The African Communist, Pro Veritate, The World and Weekend World.*

All books previously affected by the Internal Security Act would also now be legally available, a Department of Justice spokesman said.

Cry Freedom, the controversial film about the life of Steve Biko, which was seized last year by police in terms of the Emergency Regulations, has been handed back to the owners after restrictions on it were reviewed, police said.

Another previously banned film, *Dry White Season*, by best-selling Afrikaans author Andre Brink, is currently under review by the Directorate of Publications and a decision on its release is expected this week.

A World Apart, a movie about the evils of apartheid, can in terms of the Publications Act, be submitted for review in July this year.

It was banned two years ago by the Publications Board.

A Publications Board spokesman said any person could submit a publication banned in terms of the Publications Act for review after two years - a condition of the Act which remains unchanged.

The spokesman warned that, should a publication still contravene existing clauses of the Emergency Regulations or another Act such as the Prisons Act, it will still be banned.

It was reported last week that the Publication Directorate is to review its policy on the banning of publications of the of the ANC, PAC and SA Communist Party and subsidiary organisations.

Dr A Coetzee, director of the Publications Directorate, said: "I foresee a lifting of the Section 9.1 banning on these publications, which would bring it into line with the same regulations used on normal newspapers and magazines."

STAR 13/2/90 (327)

Thousands of banned publications to be legal

By Helen Grange

Scores of books and films previously banned are expected to be made public in the wake of State President F W De Klerk's new reform initiatives.

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SA Communist Party as well as the complete lifting of media restrictions preventing certain individuals from being quoted have resulted in the overturning of prohibitions on thousands of books, magazines and other publications.

Although prohibitions on publications which existed in terms of the Internal Security Act have been lifted — publications which were prohibited in terms of the Publications Act have not been affected, according to government spokesmen.

These publications could be submitted again to the Directorate of Publications for review.

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REVIEW

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STAR 13/2/90 (327)

'ANC aware of fears of domination'

Mandela's olive branch to whites

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday held aloft the olive branch to white South Africans and promised that the ANC would decide on guarantees for white security.

He also said that he expected President F W de Klerk to remove the remaining obstacles to negotiations "very soon".

Taking a far more conciliatory line than his tough rally speech on Sunday night, a statesman-like Mr Mandela told a news conference that the ANC regarded white fears of domination as extremely important.

Armed struggle

"We understand this fear and the ANC is concerned to address that problem and to find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country."

He said normalisation of South Africa could only take place once the state of emergency had been lifted entirely and political prisoners freed.

Asked whether he had in fact proposed to the Government a power-sharing transitional formula before full majority rule, Mr Mandela said he did not want to go into specifics:

"Except to say this is a problem we are fully aware of and one of the most important duties is to address this problem."

Turning to apparent contradictions in his policy on the armed struggle, he said there was no conflict in his statements.

"The armed struggle is merely defensive. Its defensive action against the violence of apartheid. But we remain committed to peace, and if the Government gives us the opportunity and if they normalise the situation, we are ready to make a positive contribution towards the peaceful solution of the problems of this country."

Other points Mr Mandela raised in 50 minutes of questions and answers under a tree in the gardens of Bishops Court, the official resident of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, were:

- On communism, he was a member of no other party but the ANC.
- On homelands, he invited them to join the struggle.
- Any bitterness he might have felt had been wiped away by his treatment in prison.
- He would visit Lusaka as soon as possible for instructions on his role and policy directions.
- Mr de Klerk was a man of integrity who had been very flexible in his discussions — "that is very promising".
- But the ANC was not concerned so much with the personal virtues of individuals and the struggle was determined by the harsh realities of National Party policy.
- On Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said that though he disagreed on some policies, Dr Buthelezi had a following and it seemed correct to try to settle the problem amicably.

Mr Mandela also diclosed he had had "countless" encounters with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, about four with Constitutional Development Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen, as well as his publicised meetings with former President P W Botha and two with Mr de Klerk.

A meeting had been planned between him and Mr de Klerk on February 1, the eve of the opening of Parliament and Mr de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC. It had been called off because of leaks to the press.

Facilitator

He said he had held talks with the Government on two separate but related questions.

Firstly he negotiated for the release of Mr Walter Sisulu and others.

"The second issue was a meeting between the ANC and the Government. There I have been acting purely as a facilitator to bring these two major political organisations to the negotiation table."

On whether he would accept an invitation to visit British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, he said: "An invitation from a British prime minister is something very important ... but I will have to be advised by the ANC."

Mr Mandela fully endorsed the ANC policy of nationalising mines and "similar sectors of the community". It was fundamental policy, he said.

He noted he would live in Johannesburg, but would return to Transkei, his birthplace, for "certain rites I have to perform".

Claims against Winnie – ban on publication

STAIL 13/2/90 (2) (327)

By Karen Stander

The publication of "serious allegations of criminal conduct" on the part of Mrs Winnie Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, has been prohibited by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

The commission was appointed to inquire into the death in police detention of Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole, who was found hanged in a shower room in John Vorster Square police station on January 30.

Mr Sithole was the father of Miss Mandela's child and had a close relationship with her at the time of his arrest and death, the commission heard.

During proceedings yesterday, Mr Justice R J Goldstone, chairman and sole member of the commission, referred to "serious allegations of criminal conduct" on the part of Mrs Mandela and Miss Mandela allegedly made by Mr Sithole and contained in notes taken by a police officer who interrogated Mr Sithole on the day of his death.

The judge said the parties had agreed that these untested allegations would not be made public and he made this an order of the commission.

FURTHER EVIDENCE

Immediately afterwards, the officer who had made the notes, Sergeant Jan Augustine, was recalled to give further evidence.

He said he had not discussed the allegations made by Mr Sithole against the Mandelas with anyone "because I did not think it necessary".

He agreed that it was important information, but said Mr Sithole was not the first person to allege, under interrogation, the "same sort of thing".

He had not noticed any signs of depression or anxiety in Mr Sithole after he made the allegations.

Land situation 'has to be addressed'

Nationalisation no holy cow – Slovo

The Star's Africa News Service

South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo says the question of nationalisation of sectors of the South African economy is something to be negotiated and discussed by all parties.

And, in a surprise statement, he said although economic inbalances would have to be redressed he did not believe nationalisation necessarily changed anything.

Mr Slovo's statements were made two weeks after Mr Nelson Mandela said in a statement from jail that key sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised.

Mr Slovo, also a leading member of the ANC, said in a long BBC interview, monitored in Johannesburg, that the exiled leadership would not accept any kind of future based on group political rights but indicated that minority rights could be negotiated.

Majority rule

"Our bottom line when we get to that table is that there must be an acceptance of the principle of moving towards majority rule and moving quickly. Apart for that there's lots of things that can be tossed about.

"The question of constitutionally guaranteeing language rights, cultural rights, religious rights, guaranteeing the existance of a multi-party system, are things that can be discussed and are up for negotiation,' he said.

"What isn't up for negotiation is entrenching community group political rights and giving each group a veto over what can be done in the future," Mr Slovo added.

He said the land situation in South Africa had to be addressed as blacks were only allowed to own 13 percent of the land in South Africa.

"This does not mean necessarily that every piece of land that a white man owns will be confiscated or that there will be no compensation if the process of redistribution takes place.

"These are issues that have to be worked out, but there is no way where people will move towards a situation where all they have is a right to put a cross in a ballot paper every five years."

Thus, Mr Slovo said, the whole question of redistribution of land and industry was something that eventually would have to be attended to, althtough this did not necessarily mean sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised.

"In South Africa for a long time you had State ownership of basic sectors of the economy and that did not mean advantage for the people or socialism.

"So the whole question of how we move towards generating resources so that injustices of the past are addressed is something that has to be worked out.

"The pace and approach on this question is something which can be discussed."

STAR 13/2/90 (329)

Inquiry into Sithole hanging

Detainee rules can't be kept, says general

By Karen Stander

Regulations on the conditions of detention for Section 29 detainees were not obeyed at John Vorster Square security cells because they were impossible to implement, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry has heard.

General Gert Erasmus, regional commissioner of police for the Witwatersrand, was giving evidence yesterday before the commission, appointed to inquire into the death in detention of Mr Clayton Sizwe Sithole. Mr Sithole was found hanged in a shower room in John Vorster Square on January 30. He had been detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for indefinite detention.

'Facilities not sufficient'

General Erasmus said he believed the regulations, which the commission heard had the status of "delegated legislation", ought to be regarded as 'orders-stroke-guidelines". He said it was practically not possible to keep to them.

The commission heard that in terms of the regulations, detainees had to be allowed to exercise in the open air for two half-hour periods each day. General Erasmus said all new police stations had exercise areas, but John Vorster Square did not have sufficient facilities for this regulation to be enforced.

Mr Chris Loxton, for Mr Sithole's family, said evidence had been that detainees were locked in a shower room for about an hour, during which time they could do as they pleased. They could exercise, wash clothes or shower and were not watched in this time.

General Erasmus said if this was the practice, then these were the circumstances.

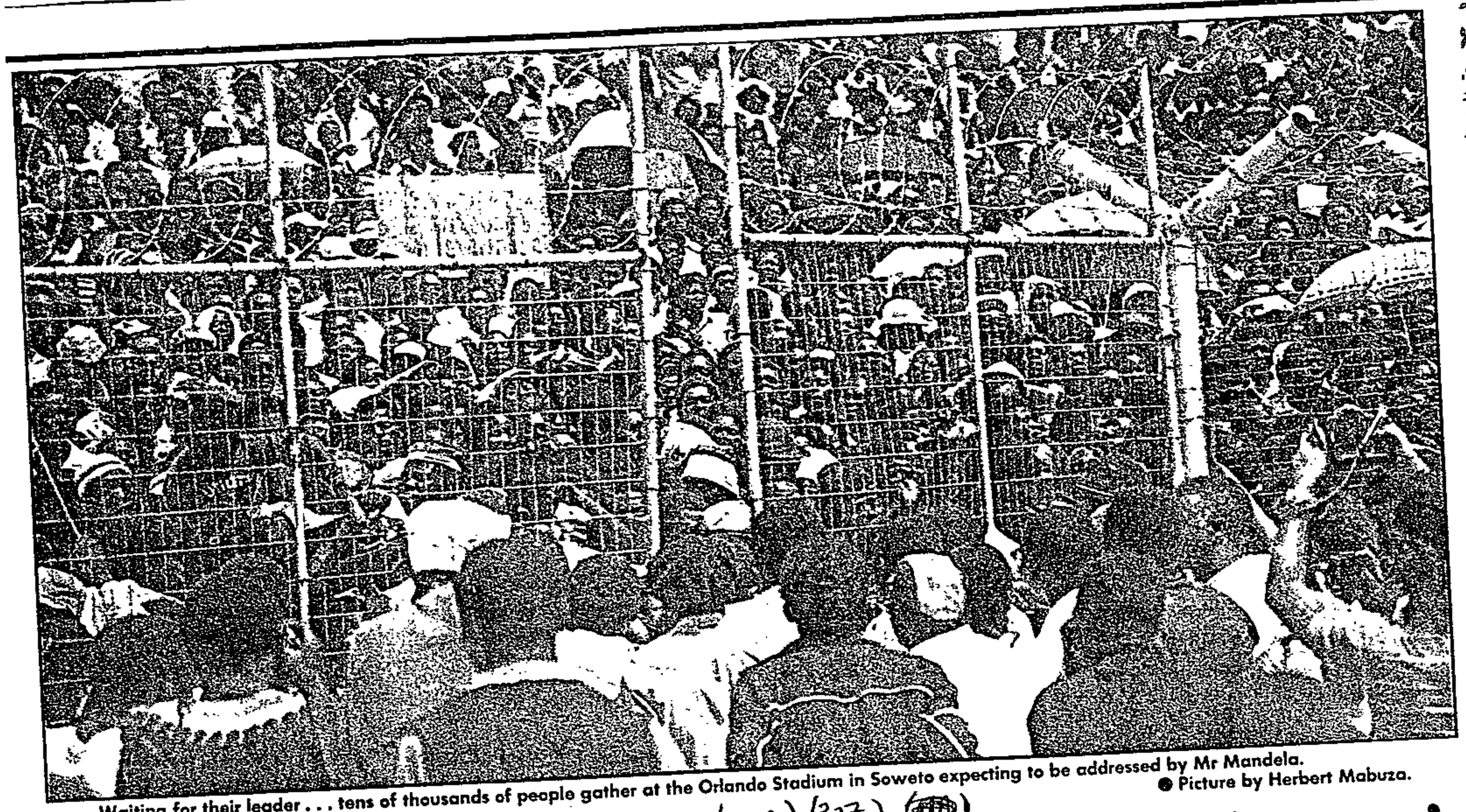
"If the detainee is taken to what you call a shower room and can exercise there, I can't see much wrong with this," he said.

Asked about the regulation that no superfluous clothing was to be left in the cell and police were to take away anything which could be used by the prisoner to commit suicide or inflict injury, he said the "ideal" was to take away these items, but it was a matter for discretion.

Mr Loxton said he accepted that Mr Sithole's death was by his own hand. But he criticised the system, which had failed to prevent the suicide.

Evidence before the commission had shown that the authority of the regulations had been completely eroded at John Vorster Square.

The provisions of Section 29 were there to facilitate the interrogation of detainees and gave greater than normal powers to the police, depriving the detainee of normal rights.



Waiting for their leader . . . tens of thousands of people gather at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto expecting to be addressed by Mr Mandela. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

CP charges Mandela, Sisulu with 'treason'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has laid charges of treason against ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu and against PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng at the start of its "Action One Million To Save SA" campaign.

Announcing this at a packed rally of about 3 000 people in Parow last night, party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the meeting was part of a campaign to gain more CP seats, found a supportive newspaper, and put the CP's case to "leaders of other peoples".

He quoted extracts from speeches by Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, and Mr Mothopeng that were allegedly treasonous.

"We demand urgent investigation of criminal charges we laid this afternoon," Dr Treurnicht said.

Speaking on the CP "Action One Million" plan, Dr Treurnicht said to cheers: "We will form an almighty front of conservatives." A national rally of mobilised Afrikaners would be held in Pretoria on May 26.

"We will give President F W de Klerk a friendly but firm message — your days are numbered," he said.

"We are simple people, but will not be oppressed and we refuse to accept Mandela. Who would think we live in a Christian country when F W de Klerk chose a Sunday to free Mandela?" he asked.

Mr de Klerk had allowed a communist flag to fly on a Sunday, over chaos and plundering.

"F W de Klerk talks of Mandela as a friendly old man — a man who talks of armed struggle and smiles as if he is already ruling the country," Dr Treurnicht said.

Since Mr Mandela had been released, there had been a marked increase in ideological and ethnic conflict. There had been "Mandela fever and an orgy of capitulation".

He accused the National Party of trying to sell a "policy of suicide" to whites.

Reforms to date had been a part of a softening process before the Group Areas Act would be scrapped.

"I am not proclaiming an armed struggle tonight, but if a Government does not protect the rights of its people, what can be expected but that the volk will protect itself," he said.

Hansard 327

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Permission for protest marches

1. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Who or what organisations arranged the various protest marches held in Cape Town during the period 29 January up to and including 2 February 1990;

(2) whether permission was requested to hold these marches; if so, by whom, in each case?

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*The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, I want to sketch the following as background to the reply to the question under discussion.

It is understandable that people cannot be permitted to hold marches through the streets of cities, towns and other regional authority areas at will. They may not do this unless prior approval has been granted by a town or city council. In this regard one need only think of the disruption which can be caused by large gatherings and marches in urban areas.

A local authority should be granted adequate time to make the necessary traffic and other arrangements to prevent chaos in the streets. Obviously this does not apply in the case of gatherings which we know as fun runs, rag processions, marathons and so on. There is no fault to be found with such gatherings. Nevertheless this also applies in the case of such gatherings, specifically because their very nature may be disruptive.

Whereas the right to peaceful protest is the democratic right of every citizen, it is a fact that that right is not unlimited. The rights of all other people have to be taken into account so that they may go their way unhindered. Their physical immunity, their safety, their assets and their property must also be protected. The legal requirements mentioned serve not only for the sake of order and safety but also to protect the rights of participants in such gatherings as well as those of spectators and others present. Businesses also have the right to continue trading under normal conditions. This will serve as background.

Two people, Cheryl Carolus and the Rev Sydney Luckett, organised the protest marches which took place on 31 January and 2 February this year on behalf of the so-called Defiance Campaign Committee. The marches mentioned were the only ones which took place in Cape Town during the period of 29 January to 2 February 1990. An unauthorised, and therefore illegal, march took place on 23 January 1990 in Cape Town. It is common knowledge that police action did take place as regards this gathering.

Normally marches in the city centre of Cape Town require permission from the Cape Town City Council and/or a magistrate, in terms of provisions of section 53 of the Internal Security Act, whereas under specific circumstances section 46 of the Act mentioned may also apply. Nevertheless there is a further very important provision. The chief magistrate of Cape Town is obliged, in terms of provisions of section 2 of the Gatherings and Demonstrations Act, 1973, to safeguard a specific area surrounding Cape Town.

No specific permission was requested by the organisers from a magistrate or chief magistrate for holding the marches of 31 January and 2 February 1990. Not one of these relevant legal provisions to which I have referred requires that a formal application be made by organisers. [Time expired.]

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, it was certainly the case that the hon the Minister spoke for three minutes. He knew that he had three minutes at his disposal, yet he did not reply to any of the questions which were put to him. [Interjections.]

We want to know what the hon the Minister's policy is. We want to know who made these applications and on behalf of which association this was done because the MDM claims that it did not apply.

PTO

*Mr A GERBER: The Minister of Law and Order applied.

*Mr C D DE JAGER: I submit that a march cannot be approved if application has not been made. If an application for a rag procession was approved, surely the MDM cannot hold a march without approval. A responsible organisation should make the application. Moderate people should arrange the march and request that permission on behalf of the organisation responsible. [Interjections.] This may be any body whatsoever. There must be someone who can be held responsible if the windows of a person's motorcar are shattered or damaged is caused. Surely this is the object. There are two segments to the application; one concerns the city council where application is made so that traffic arrangements may be made. The other concerns the magistrate. The magistrate says that he will not disclose who applied because it is confidential information. It is particularly in the interests of the public that they know who applied so that they may hold that person responsible for the damage. This person should have foreseen that there would be damage arising from these marches.

The police are blamed for interfering in such marches. The DP suggests that the police remain in the background. The police remain in the background and then liquor stores or the Golden Acre is looted. Does the DP still want the police not to be there at all? I wonder what would really have happened if the police had not been there and all these places had been destroyed. Obviously the police would also have been blamed for that.

Unfortunately I can make no further comment because I do not know who applied and which body was involved because the hon the Minister did not furnish us with that information to enable us to react to it. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

Dr D J WORRALL: Mr Speaker, the DP played a role in the discussions relating to the permission which was granted to the organisers to hold the marches we are talking about.

I want to agree with the hon member for Bethal that there has to be a set of rules which applies to everybody, whether it be the AWB or the MDM or whatever the case. For that reason we have a specific proposal. The problem arises because of the requirement in terms of the law that organisers of marches must get approval from the State or some public authority.

They have difficulty in doing that. In the first place they say that the State is a minority-governed State which they do not recognise. Secondly they say that the right to hold a peaceful march is a right, and does not therefore require prior approval.

We therefore want to make a suggestion. While we recognise the right of the State to say no to organisers of marches, or to prescribe to them how the march should occur—under what circumstances, what route, what time, what date etc—we would like to suggest that organisers of marches give timeous notice to the appropriate authority—the magistrate or whatever the case may be—of the fact that they wish to have a march and provide such details as may be required such as, for instance, the route that is taken, the time, the date, the number of marchers who are likely to participate, the speakers, the purpose of the march etc. Notice should be given timeously and the organisers of the march also have a responsibility as far as this is practically possible to see that it goes off peacefully.

The right of the State is recognised under certain circumstances to prohibit the exercise of the protest. [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, I interpret the hon member's speech as support for the elimination of a shortcoming in the relative situation which we will have to attend to. I thank him for his support. We will definitely come to this House and Parliament to amplify the legislation that lacks clarity on this issue. I thank the DP for their support.

*I told the hon member—he did not listen carefully because he was probably nervous and in a hurry to rise—that nobody was given any specific permission. I said that not one of the relevant legal provisions required that a formal application be made by the organisers. Neither is there any doubt that the magistrate has tacit power, if he has information of a specific situation—whether he has obtained this from the city council or the police—and he considers it to be in the interests of public order, to give his permission. In such a case he has not exceeded his powers. That is the test.

*An HON MEMBER: Without any disaster?

Continued

*The MINISTER: Oh, please! The hon member should study the ABC of law.

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Listen to who is speaking!

*The MINISTER: The magistrate has such powers. [Interjections.] This is not to be found anywhere in the Act. He may take note of facts and act accordingly if he judges it to be in the best interests of the neighbourhood to handle this matter in such a way.

The magistrate of Cape Town acted in absolute good faith because under the circumstances—as I mentioned—he refused another one. He turned down the one of 1 February as a result of insufficient details.

*Mr C D DE JAGER: When an application is made, you refuse and, when no application is made, you grant it!

*The MINISTER: In another case he took note of the arrangements but said that he would not permit it. [Time expired.]

*Dr C P MULDER: Mr Speaker, we have still had no reply from the hon the Minister. We now know who organised the marches. We have the names but we do not know specifically who applied for permission.

The first march which took place after the election was on 14 September. On that occasion the hon the State President issued a statement in which he said:

> Die benadering is dat vreedsame protes toegelaat sal word mits (i) binne die raamwerk van die wet gebly word, en (ii) lewens en eiendom nie in gevaar gestel word nie.

"Within the framework of the law" entails that permission will be requested. Permission must be obtained before such a march may take place. This did not happen here. The hon the Minister conceded this. In other words, we are dealing with a situation in which the chief magistrate apparently requested permission for himself and then granted it as well. It is clear that no permission was requested here.

*Dr P W A MULDER: He lied to the media!

*Dr C P MULDER: He apparently lied to the media because he said no one had requested permission. This is according to his statement in the newspapers.

From the nature of the case the ANC reacted to this protest. They referred to it as their "victorious march". They continued:

> From here we look forward to new battlegrounds.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Pik's brothers!

*Dr C P MULDER: The irony of the case is that the hon the Minister told us that one of the people who had organised the march was the Rev Syd Luckett. He said *inter alia*:

> This makes the whole thing a mockery that anyone can apply for permission for anyone else anywhere in the country.

This is what happened here. They laid down the rules and said that permission had to be requested. The ANC challenged them and refused to request permission. They were so afraid that an incident would take place that they arranged, for their own part for permission to prevent an incident from taking place at all costs. [Interjections.]

Prof Arenheim of Wits said the following:

> Die groot denkfout wat liberaliste maak, is dat hulle dink toegewings en hervormings sal lei tot groot dankbaarheid daarvoor. Die teenoorgestelde is egter waar. Dit lei altyd na verdere en meer radikale eise.

The hon the Minister is not playing cowboys and crooks. He is supposed to be governing the country.

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, we then have the situation that there was no application. As I understand it, there has to be an application before the magistrate can act on it, because it is stated that a person may apply for permission. It is true that it does not state who is applying but there is an instruction on such an application form that one has to furnish the name and address of the applicant and the organisation as well as the nature and object of the march.

The situation further is that permission was granted without an application. Nobody can be held responsible for the damage which was caused on this march. The windows of 150 motorcars were broken. Shop windows were broken too, but nobody can be held responsible for this. Security cannot even be requested of these people because nobody knows who they are and who will be held responsible. I want to

PTO

suggest that it is extremely irresponsible to grant permission merely because one is afraid that incidents will take place. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, the magistrate is responsible for protecting the public of Cape Town and, as it is, matters took their course in an orderly to reasonably orderly manner. [Interjections.] The fact is that the magistrate is responsible for exercising judgment and I said that he had the tacit power to deduce an application from the information at his disposal. [Interjections.] This is what happened. Hon members can look up the legal provisions.

I also told the DP that there was a shortcoming in the Act and thanked them for their proposal and their support in order to rectify this shortcoming. It comes down to the following. There should be a proper prescription in a legal measure for a requirement, a time limit and authorisation to demand insurance and other forms of security because this does not exist at present.

The question is what authority it should be. At present the city council is empowered to decide on this in terms of a provincial ordinance. It could end there but now section 53 of the Internal Security Act is in question, which provides that it will remain an authorisation unless the magistrate decides otherwise. How is he to decide otherwise? It is not stated anywhere that it has to happen when application is made. He has to act on the grounds of information which he receives. This is what section 53 provides—on the grounds of information which he receives. There is no application and nobody has to submit anything to him. That is why I say, and I regret having teased the hon member about the ABC of the law, that he knows what this means after all. He was a good advocate in his day. He certainly knows what a tacit provision means. A tacit provision is what one requires to exercise all the powers which are expected of one. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Crisis in nursing profession

2. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether, in the light of the current crisis facing the nursing profession, she has taken any steps to alleviate this crisis?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT: Mr Speaker, the Government sees the nursing profession as the cornerstone of health care in South Africa. The nursing problem did not develop overnight, neither is it unique to South Africa. To alleviate the problems facing the nursing profession we have to deal with three issues. Firstly, there is the salaries of nurses; secondly, their working conditions, and thirdly, the manpower problem.

At the end of last year, after discussions with the President and members of the Nursing Association, I stated that adjustments to nurses' salaries were necessary. The salaries of nurses are at present being investigated and will be included in the Budget.

It is obvious that a salary adjustment will not solve all the problems of the profession. The Nursing Association has brought many other problems to my attention, for example, policy matters, regulations, training requirements, the demand for specialised manpower, the high attrition rate at training institutions, relationships in the present situation with the different health disciplines and the handling of grievances.

Therefore I have asked the Health Matters Advisory Committee to investigate the problems surrounding the nursing profession. A private firm of consultants has been contracted by the department to make an objective investigation. I would like to stress the fact that it will be objective.

Furthermore it is quite clear that the annual growth in the number of registered nurses is insufficient to meet the future needs of our health services. A second investigation into nursing manpower is also being undertaken at present. This investigation will present us with realistic national norms for the development of nursing manpower.

These reports will be discussed by the Department of National Health and Population Development with the Nursing Council and the Nursing Association in order to compile final recommendations on which I will act. The Government acknowledges the seriousness of the present situation and has taken these steps to deal with the problem in the short, medium and long term.

I believe that this is the correct manner in which to deal with these problems. I will not be pressurised into making hasty decisions which will not be in the long-term interests of the nursing profession and health care in South Africa.

Mr M J ELLIS: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister has said some responsible things—I am sure that in some respects nurses will be glad about what she said—but I would like to take her to task on some of the matters she raised. Despite what the hon the Minister said, I feel I still have to stress the urgency of the matter.

The hon the Minister has at times indicated that she would like to develop an overall strategy to deal with the various aspects of our ailing health services and not treat any single matter in isolation, but I want to warn her and the Government that unless she treats the crisis which has developed in the nursing profession as a matter of absolute urgency, health services in South Africa will be in danger of collapsing.

I need to emphasise that the crisis has not developed overnight. The hon the Minister seems to be aware of this. I am sure she also knows that as long as a decade ago, doctors, medical superintendents, politicians and others were warning of the collapse of health services in this country because of the poor working conditions that nurses were labouring under and their inadequate salaries. The ranks of their profession were, in fact, becoming badly depleted.

With the introduction of own-affairs health and the fact that apartheid is being practised in the provision of health services, the situation has deteriorated further, and that is a fact. [Interjections.]

It is appalling that exactly the same cries for better salaries and other improvements are being heard ten years later, while nurses continue to resign at an accelerating rate and competent recruits to the profession are dwindling rapidly.

This in turn has led, as the hon the Minister is well aware, to hospitals having to close wards, which in itself is, of course, a shocking situation. It has led to nurses having to work many hours of overtime at very poor rates, to shocking nurse-patient ratios in many hospitals and—this is a very important point too—to a general lowering of morale within the nursing profession. Ultimately this must lead to a deterioration in the provision of health services in the country.

It is only thanks to the dedication and devotion to duty of those nurses who have remained in the profession that our hospitals continue to function and provide the standard of health services that they do. I believe, however, that the Government is taking advantage of their dedication and devotion to duty and is presuming that the nurses will continue to play the game no matter how poorly they are paid or how inadequate their conditions of service remain. That is wrong.

I have every reason to believe that the investigation into nurses' conditions of service that the hon the Minister has called for now, which requires nurses to fill in questionnaires, is simply a further attempt to buy time. Why is such an investigation necessary when, for the past ten years, many people and organisations have made it abundantly clear just what the causes of the crisis are? [Time expired.]

*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, it is a tragedy that the problems surrounding nursing services only came into the spotlight after the recent events at the H F Verwoerd Hospital. According to newspapers, for example, a confidential document had come into their possession in which the systematic deterioration over the past 12 years of the cardiothoracic service at the hospital was elucidated.

I want to allege today that this deterioration could prejudice the pregraduate and postgraduate training of medical practitioners quite seriously, which in turn will seriously prejudice the standard of community life and the health requirements of the so-called new South Africa.

One of the most important reasons for this situation furnished by these professors is the shortage of nurses. This had led to untenable working conditions. According to the SA Nursing Association a general backlog has arisen as a result of a dwindling number of students and inadequate training facilities. There was a tremendous decrease in students and shortages at training hospitals of between 23% and 30%.

One of the most important implications, says the Nursing Association, is the inability of nurses to subsist on their incomes. How much are these incomes? We were told that a nurse with 10 years' experience, after deductions, takes home less than R1 000. If we compare that to the

SA's Big Event puts Queen, earthquake in back seat

By Therese Anders

STAR 13/2/90 (327)

WELLINGTON — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday pushed visiting Queen Elizabeth and a powerful earthquake off New Zealand's front pages.

The country's newspapers, television and radio stations gave saturation coverage to the ANC leader's release and hour-by-hour coverage of his first day of freedom.

Queen Elizabeth's visit to a New Zealand military base was relegated to the inside pages, while an earthquake, which many throughout the land felt but caused no injuries, was totally ignored by the evening television bulletin.

The country's main evening television bulletin commemorated Mr Mandela's freedom by ending with a moving rendition of Nkosi Sikhilele iAfrika as dramatic stills of Mr Mandela flashed across the screen.

The sequence ended with the shot of an ecstatic Cape Town township woman holding up a piece of cardboard with the scribbled message: "Free at last".

Following on from the day's television bulletins, was a documentary on the elderly South African political leader, then a live crossing to a New Zealand television crew outside the Mandela Soweto home.

Throughout the day New Zealand journalists sought out South African exiles, some of whom who were too overcome with emotion to describe their happiness.

All said their homecoming was now in sight.

One of the most jubilant men in New Zealand was the New Zealand government's first scholarship holder, Mr Gcinile Mabulu.

He said there had been so many false alarms about the ANC leader's release that he was still struggling to believe that it had finally happened.



These girls display high spirits on their way to the Soccer City stadium, where a welcome-home rally for Mr Mandela was to have been held. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Intensify struggle – Nactu

The National Council of Trade Unions yesterday welcomed the release of Mr Nelson Mandela but said his release should not be used as the pretext to lift sanctions and that "the struggle" should be intensified on all fronts.

Nactu acting general-secretary, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana said in a statement it should not be forgotten that while President F W de Klerk had taken certain steps to ease repression, he had not addressed the fundamental issues that had given rise to conflict.

"While we rejoice on his (Mr Mandela's) release, it should be remembered that hundreds of political prisoners still remain in jail and the regime is dubbing them 'criminals' and therefore the call for the release of political prisoners continues," said the statement.

"We hope Mandela will play a positive role within the liberation movement in finding consensus on the strategic political question of negotiations and that he will commit the remaining years of his life in building unity amongst the organisations of the oppressed and exploited." — Sapa.

(327) STAR 13/2/90

Madagascar urges summit

ANTANANARIVO — Madagascar has called for a special summit of the OAU to help speed the reform process in SA after the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

President Didier Ratsiraka said in a telegram to Organisation of African Unity chairman Mr Hosni Mubarak of Egypt that if the 50-member organisation could not be called into session immediately, its annual summit should be advanced from July to early May.

The aim should be to "help President (FW) De Klerk and the anti-apartheid nationalists move forward peacefully and efficiently towards the total abolition of the iniquitous system of apartheid."

In a separate message to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, the Malagasy leader praised Mr Mandela's tenacity and courage.

He said the summit should also discuss implications for Africa of the retreat from communism in Eastern Europe. — Sapa-Reuter.

Slovo urges decisive action

STAR 13/2/90 (327)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A jubilant South African Communist Party (SACP) has greeted the release of Nelson Mandela as "a great popular victory".

SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo paid tribute to the world's most famous former prisoner: "For 27 years you have confounded your captors by remaining in the very front ranks of our struggle.

"You have outlasted, outpaced, and now completely out-manoeuvred those who believed themselves to be your jailers. As South African communists we are immensely proud that our country and our people have nurtured, that our struggle has forged, such an outstanding patriot."

Mr Slovo said the Government had not released Mr Mandela out of compassion nor from a position of political strength, but because "they can no longer conceal their deep-seated crisis. The heroic struggle of our people, the solidarity of freedom-loving people throughout the world, and your own refusal ever to buckle have opened your prison door."

The liberation movement, he said, now had to move "rapidly and decisively" towards "our common strategic objective — the eradication of apartheid and the building of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa".

Committee congratulated

The World Assembly of Muslim Youth and its 450 associate organisations world-wide have sent a cable from Saudi Arabia to congratulate the "freedom fighter" Nelson Mandela's reception committee on his release from "unjustified detention".

"We also share your jubilation at this historic event and wish you success in winning equal rights for all citizens of South Africa without discrimination of any sort on the basis of race or colour," says the letter from WAMY secretary-general Dr Maneh Al-Johani.

"Equality of all mankind — because of their being the children of the same parents, Adam and Eve — is among the basic principles of Islam and it rejects differentiation among human beings except on the grounds of piety and good deeds."

The letter asks the committee to convey heartfelt greetings to Mrs Winnie Mandela, her family and all justice-loving people of South Africa. — Sapa.

Scene set for Africa to open her doors

South Africa may find diplomatic and trade doors being opened in black Africa by Nelson Mandela's release. But in deciding their future moves, many African governments are likely to take their cue from the ANC, **GERALD L'ANGE**, editor of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.

The release of Nelson Mandela has opened up new prospects for diplomatic advances by South Africa in black Africa and these could be followed by improved trade relations.

A meeting between leaders of the Frontline states and President F W de Klerk has become a stronger possibility.

Such a meeting was promised last year by the chairman of the Frontline group, President Kenneth Kaunda, if South Africa kept faith on Namibia and allowed it to reach independence. With Namibia preparing to become independent next month this condition has already been fulfilled.

President Kaunda cannot single-handedly arrange such a meeting without the agreement of the other Frontline leaders and what he promised last year was to try to arrange the summit. But his ability to get the consent of his colleagues has obviously been strengthened by the reformist steps President de Klerk has made in recent weeks, notably the release of Mr Mandela.

Some of the Frontline presidents, including Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, who has already had talks with Mr de Klerk, would have little difficulty in accepting the summit.

Summit possible

The Angolan government for its part has had continuing dealings with South Africa arising from the Namibian independence agreement of 1988. Last December Mr Roberto de Almeida, the number two man in the Angolan hierarchy, said in an interview with the Star Africa News Service in Luanda that it was premature then to talk about a Frontline summit with Mr de Klerk. He added, however, that Mr Mandela'srelease would make it possible.

Zimbabwe's president Mr Robert Mugabe, who has refused to allow his government to have contact with South Africa at ministerial level, took a firm stand against a summit at a news conference the day after Mr Mandela's release. He said no useful purpose would be served by a meeting with Mr de Klerk while apartheid still existed in South Africa.

President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania might have similar reservations.

But if President Kaunda, President Chissano, President Quett Masire of Botswana and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola were willing, the others might be persuaded to go along with them.

This in turn would make it easier for other African leaders who have had open contacts with South Africa, such as presidents Mobutu of Zaire and Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory And it could encourage those African governments that have been dealing secretly with South Africa to come out in the open.

Many African governments are expected, however, to take their cue from the African National Congress, which is still refusing to negotiate with Pretoria unless further conditions are met.

In fact, in some diplomatic quarters there is the feeling that the release of Mr Mandela may hamper Pretoria's dealings with black Africa in that African governments will now be reluctant to take any steps without first consulting with Mr Mandela.

Trade effects

However, Mr Mandela has made it clear that he will be guided in his actions by the policy decisions of the ANC leadership, which is currently directed by its Secretary-General, Mr Alfred Nzo. The ANC's National Executive Committee is due to start a meeting in Lusaka tomorrow at which it is expected to formulate a stance in response to the de Klerk initiatives. According to an ANC spokesman, Mr Mandela will not attend the meeting but will be kept informed of its decisions.

Although South Africa's trade with black Africa is much more widespread than its diplomatic contacts, expert analysts say they do not expect Mr de Klerk's reforms to have an immediate effect on the trade situation.

However, any political benefits that might accrue to Pretoria could have a trade spin-off.

"The old saying about the flag following trade does not apply to the relationship between South Africa and black Africa; in this case the trade follows the flag," said Miss Sally Gallagher, head of Business Development Africa, a trade promotion concern with wide contacts in Africa.

Miss Gallagher said the euphoria surrounding Mr Mandela's release would be misplaced if related to trade relations with black Africa. Substantial trade already exists, she said and the limiting factor was lack of foreign exchange rather than political considerations.

Miss Gallagher's views were echoed by Mrs Ann Moore, general manager of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation.

"One mustn't assume that because the political moves have been made that trade is automatically going to increase," she said. Mr Mandela's release was nevertheless a major step towards creating a more favourable climate for

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"I was tight" . . . ANC member Ms Barbara Hogan, released from prison last week after serving eight years of a 10-year term, described recent political changes in the country as electric. ● Picture By Karen Fletcher.

Former prisoner, exile have mixed emotions

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

A recently released political prisoner and a returning exile have expressed mixed emotions of euphoria and apprehension at the changing political climate in the country.

Political activist Ms Barbara Hogan, who was released from Pretoria Central Prison last week after serving eight of her 10-year sentence for security offences, described the recent changes in the country as "electric".

"Coming out of jail into this environment is exceptional for any political prisoner. I am very excited about the unbanning of the ANC and SACP and I'm equally delighted about Nelson's release. It's as though South Africans are celebrating an early Christmas," said an elated Ms Hogan in Johannesburg yesterday.

PRESSURE

She added: "I was not surprised by these changes. There was no way the Government could avoid acting in this manner. It would be ludicrous for the Government to have banned the ANC and freed Walter Sisulu and the others as recognised ANC leaders.

"Besides there was too much international and local pressure on the Government to take strides to change the country."

She said far from feeling as though she stepped into a time-warp she was "clued up" and "all my predictions have come true".

Asked about the future of SA, Ms Hogan said she was uncertain. "I don't believe that the Government or the democratic forces are in control of the situation. It's up for grabs and the democratic movement has to seize this historic moment."

A former exile and ANC member, Mrs Mary Turok, who has just visited the country after being away for nearly three decades, said yesterday. "I'm so excited about the legal presence of the ANC in South Africa. But I must add, I'm also afraid that the Government may change its attitude".

Mrs Turok, a key member of the ANC woman's committee in London, returned to SA on an eight-day visit with her husband, Mr Ben Turok, a member of the ANC's regional political committee. She returned to London yesterday.

The couple plan to resettle in SA permanently. "We have to continue the struggle for liberation," said Mrs Turok.

She was "stunned" at the changes which had taken place in 30 years. "When we left there was no hint of the presence of the democratic forces."

A former SACP member, Mrs Turok left the country in 1966.

'Super recce's' — SADF staying mum

CAT Times 13/2/90

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THE Defence Force has refused to disclose any further information on a secret unit, the existence of which was revealed in a court application on Friday.

The unit, known officially as the Civil Co-operation Bureau but dubbed "super recce's" by newspapers, was alleged to have infiltrated the press and even the police.

A Nationalist morning newspaper claimed yesterday that it had been told on good authority that members of the CCB "have infiltrated at all levels, including the newspaper press and possibly even the police. They use a wide variety of business undertakings as a front".

The existence of the CCB, which is said to be commanded by a general, was revealed on Friday in court documents relating to the arrest of former police lieutenant Mr A "Slang" van Zyl, who is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Van Zyl was detained after an explosion at a youth centre in Athlone, and another former policeman, Mr Ferdi Barnard, is under arrest as police investigate the murders of South African political activist Dr David Webster and Swapo member Mr Anton Lubowski.

The SAP and South West African Police are seeking two other former policemen — former Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad commander Colonel Staal Burger and one of his ex-squad members, Warrant-Officer Chappie Maree — for questioning in regard to their CCB activities.

Three rallies possible to cope with massive, restless crowds

Thousands gather as Mandela comes home

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Crowds began gathering from early today for a massive "welcome home" rally for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at Soccer City, outside Soweto this afternoon.

Schools in the township were again closed today and early signs were that some workers would stay away from work to attend the Mandela rally. But the stayaway action was not expected to be extensive.

There is still some doubt concerning the holding of two other rallies, also suggested for today — at the Orlando Stadium and a venue on the East Rand — to help cope with the huge crowds expected to be larger than those in Cape Town which caused chaos in their enthusiasm to see the freed leader.

Staff Reporters

Mr Mandela arrived by executive jet at Lanseria Airport late yesterday and stayed overnight at a private home belonging to Mr Ron Cohen at North Riding, Randburg. His expected departure to Soweto was being awaited by journalists outside the house from early morning.

Light rain did not dampen the spirit of a small crowd of people awaiting the homecoming of Mr Mandela outside his Orlando West home.

The crowd, who arrived in buses and minibuses, stood in small groups and spoke softly.

ANC flags and banners were draped at the entrance.

Red carpet laid

Youths were tidying the yard and the street preparing to lay a red carpet for the man they have dubbed "a genuine people's leader".

Foreign television crews who have camped outside the Mandela house for the past two weeks had their video cameras ready for the big moment.

Outside the North Riding house journalists were this morning patiently waiting for Mr Mandela to appear. Guards in cars and on foot occasionally circled the property.

A Falcon executive jet — of the type used by State President Mr F W de Klerk — flew Mr Nelson Mandela from Cape Town's D F Malan Airport to Lanseria Airport, outside Randburg, late yesterday.

The United States-registered aircraft offers charter flights in the R10 million eight-seat airliner.

After yesterday's unprecedented scenes, when tens of thousands thronged the streets of Soweto, and thousands more flocked from neighbouring black areas, plans are afoot for the ANC leader to address three rallies today.

Last night only the Soccer City rally, starting at 1 pm, had been confirmed.

The national secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Popo Molefe, said it was hoped that rallies could be arranged at the Orlando Stadium and at a yet to be decided venue on the East Rand.

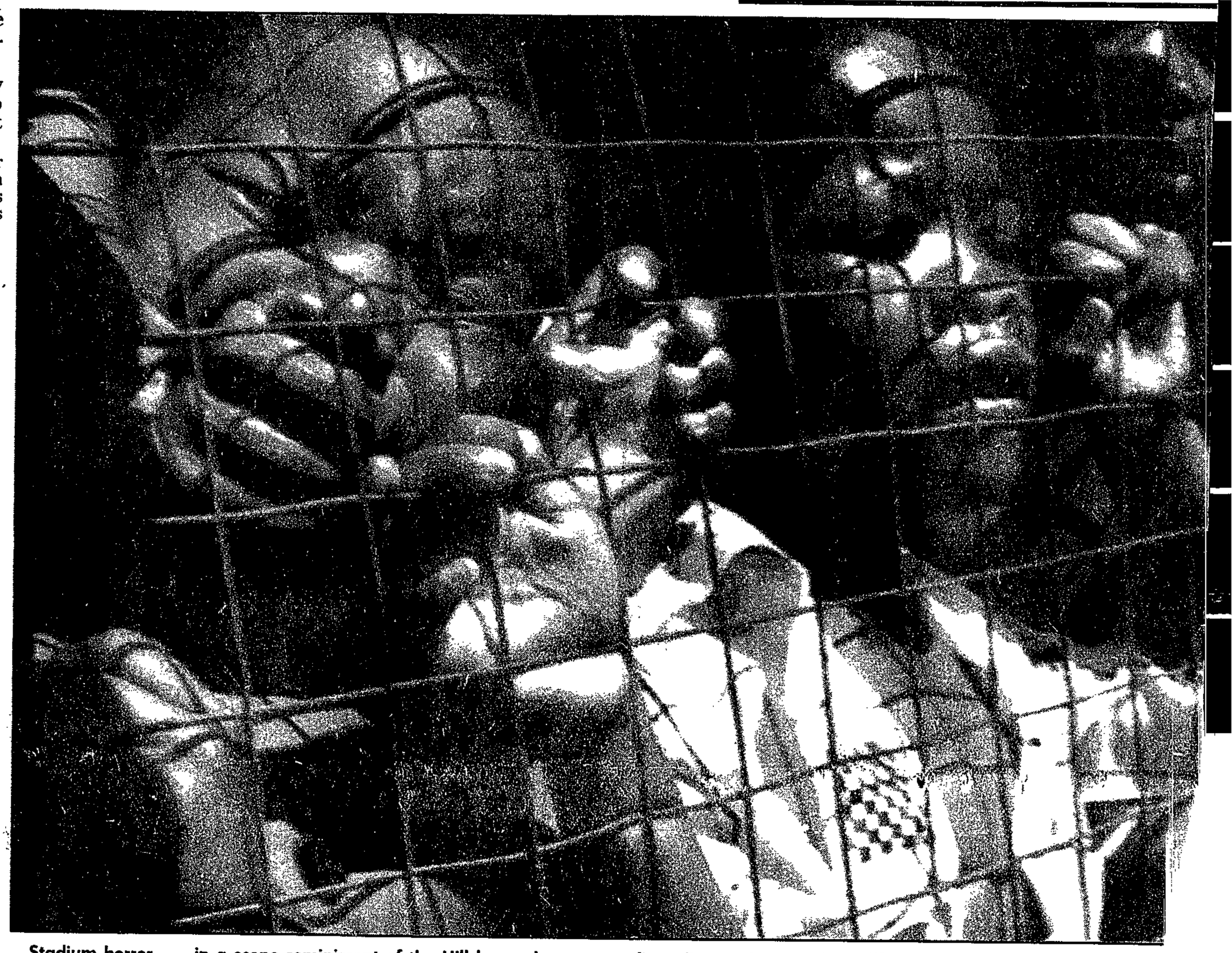
Mr Mandela would first address the Soccer City rally — expected to attract more than 100 000 people — and then the Orlando gathering, before moving to the East Rand.

Events in Soweto yesterday — where people were crushed when well-wishers flocked in their thousands to Orlando Stadium expecting Mr Mandela to arrive from Cape Town to address them — led to organisers trying to arrange the "triple rally".

Organisers said that even Soccer City, with a capacity of about 100 000, would be swamped if it were the only venue where Mr Mandela was to speak today.

Mr Molefe, who is also spokesman for the National Reception Committee, said organisers had been taken by surprise by the timing of Mr Mandela's release.

They had been given only a day's notice, and arrange[illegible]



Stadium horror . . . in a scene reminiscent of the Hillsborough soccer stadium disaster last April, a child grimaces in pain as he is squashed against the fence at Orlando [illegible]um, Soweto, yesterday. *Thousands arrived hoping to see Mr Nelson Mandela. A child [illegible]d in the crush.*

Second Test cancelled

By Trevor Chesterfield

The second unofficial cricket Test at Newlands in Cape Town between South African and Mike Gatting's English XI has been cancelled, as have two of the limited-overs internationals highly placed informed sources said today.

An official statement is expected to be released at a special news conference here later today outlining reasons for the cancellation of the three matches.

The sensational move is believed to be tied in with the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A senior police source said today that if the news of the cancellation of the tour matches was true "then the police force is surprised as it is quite capable, and ready, to supply whatever security is necessary".

Dr Ali Bacher, managing director of the South African Cricket Union, is expected to address the press conference.

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"The extent of the popularity of Comrade Mandela is simply overwhelming," said Mr Molefe.

While not expecting violence, he was concerned about "criminal elements" who in Cape Town took advantage of the massive welcome for Mr Mandela to loot stores.

He appealed to all, including the police, to act with restraint.

In spite of evident plans to slip Mr Mandela into Johannesburg unnoticed yesterday, hundreds of media representatives, airport staff and ANC supporters kept a vigil all afternoon on the airport terrace.

When the jet finally touched down, minutes passed before Mrs Winnie Mandela emerged in a long white kaftan, giving the black power salute.

Spotting the singing, cheering crowd on the terrace metres away, Mr Mandela smiled and saluted — before getting into a waiting burgundy BMW.

Black airport staffers, including cooks in their white uniforms, ran out into the street at the airport. They toyi-toyied and sprinted alongside the Mandela car as it left the airport grounds.

Moments after the touchdown, the skies burst open and rain poured relentlessly down on the line of cars leaving Lanseria.

But four helicopters — including one chartered by The Star — flew over the roadblock and followed Mr Mandela through Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

Mr Mandela was whisked away from the Cape at 4.05 pm yesterday apparently because crowds in Johannesburg were anxious to see him. The reason given for his sudden departure, which came as a surprise to the majority of the media corps, was the restlessness of crowds in Johannesburg.

Mr Trevor Manuel of the national reception committee said crowds in Soweto were growing increasingly anxious, and the committee believed it would have a calming effect if it was known that Mr Mandela was in Johannesburg last night.

Youths free 13 prisoners from truck

Hundreds of youths returning from a Soweto rally, where they had hoped to see Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, forced a police truck to slow down and freed 13 awaiting trial prisoners, police said.

The prisoners were being transported to Diepkloof prison when the youths surrounded the truck, said police spokesman Major-General Herman Stadler.

Youths were seen hanging from the back and the padlocks were smashed. The prisoners were awaiting trial on charges ranging from robbery and rape to housebreaking.

He said the policemen involved had acted with utmost restraint.

People with information on the prisoners are asked to contact the police media centre at Soweto on telephone number (011) 986-2165. — Sapa.

Child dies after crush at stadium

By Dawn Barkhuizen and Monica Nicholson

A child died and many were hurt after crowds stampeded yesterday at Orlando Stadium in Soweto while waiting for Mr Nelson Mandela.

The child died a few hours after being admitted to Baragwanath Hospital, a hospital spokesman said. A further 27 seriously injured people had been taken to the hospital's casualty section for treatment.

Tens of thousands of people, mostly youngsters, had flocked to the stadium in the expectation of hearing Mr Mandela speak.

In the crush, children had their arms and legs broken, one man's shoulder was dislocated and hundreds had minor injuries.

Marshals were forced to open the gates.

Children fainted and were carried shoulder high to the first aid tent, where the injured sat shocked and weeping.

One man said he had been swept along on a human wave and was forced to run over children who "fell under my feet like a carpet".

At 3 pm, Mr Andrew Mhlangeni appealed for calm, telling the crowd Mr Mandela would address them at Soccer City today. He read a message from Mr Mandela which said: "Let us not delay our struggle by acting in an undisciplined manner".



Back in the Transvaal . . . Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie arrived by chartered jet at Lanseria Airport at 6 pm yesterday. The Mandelas were whisked away to a secret venue. ● Picture by David Sandison.

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And now comes the challenge

By JOE LATAKGOMO

As the dark clouds gathered over the reef on Sunday, a sage looked up at the skies and declared that the gods of Africa were smiling upon the son of the soil, and it all boded well for the future of this country. For, while Mr Nelson Mandela took his small leap from the confines of Victor Vester Prison grounds to freedom just outside the gate, the the sun beat upon the thousands who had made their way there to be part of the history, and to be able to say to all "I was there".

But that was the moment. The day before, the townships broke into jubilation and celebration as soon as the news of his release was flashed to the world. Soccer games were broken up. Stokvel meetings were interrupted. And the streets suddenly came alive, with youngesters breaking into impromptu toyi-toying, and the street and area committees putting "Plan A" into operation by organising all-night celebration vigils.

For many of those youngsters, "release Mandela" had been just a slogan. Now, the reality dawned on them. Almost all of them had been born long after Mr Mandela made his historic trip from Pretoria to Robben Island 27 years ago. But the name had been a symbol of the struggle for liberation. They had embraced what Mr Mandela had said when the struggle moved from the conciliatory stage to the armed struggle, following the banning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960.

The atmosphere was charged on Saturday night. It was, many believed, the beginning of a great new era. But that was only the beginning.

On Sunday morning, the wait started. Three o'clock seemed so far away. And when the SABC announced that there would be a special broadcast of the release of Mr Mandela, there was a scramble for positions in front of TV sets. Many simply wanted to have a glimpse of the man. At the same time, rallies were organised. In Soweto, many gathered around the Mandela's Orlando West home, the home he left before he went underground.

When 3 o'clock came, and TV switched over to Paarl, the atmosphere became electric. From most homes, one could hear the shouts of "viva", even when there was distinct inactivity outside the prison. But the delay did not dampen spirits. The arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela's motorcade, escorted by traffic police on motorbikes with flashing lights, was indeed ironic. But it stirred up some action, and one could hear the extent of this as the cheers went up.

But when the moment came, it was the dignity with which Mr Mandela emerged from the leading car and stepped from the prison yard to freedom — freedom, at least, in the sense of not being in jail — that struck. The subdued initial response almost suggested that the significance had not been properly grasped yet when, hand-in-hand, Mr Mandela took the historic step and saluted. And then, not only did the thousands outside the prison show their joy, but even those watching on television sets. And when the broadcast ended, it was time to get out into the streets.

The streets in Atteridgeville came alive. So did those in Mamelodi. And in Soweto. And in Katlehong, Natals pruit, and, I would expect, every other township. The symbol had become a man. But a man of stature so immense, South Africa is set undoubtedly on an irreversible course.

In Soweto, light rain became a downpour. But the dancing and toyi toying continued. To many, Mr Mandela was the hope for not only black reconciliation, but also white understanding. He is the final hope for black unity, a man on whose shoulders will rest the challenge of rising above party-political interests to emerge as the statesman who paved the way for peace in South Africa.

The man dancing in the rain outside the Diepkloof Hostel perhaps summed it all up when he declared that Mr Mandela would bring peace to Natal "where we have been killing each other for too long". When the welcome rallies are all over, the real challenge for Mr Mandela will begin.

Release turned into 'near disaster'



Trevor Manuel . . . senseless looting and violence condemned.

smark 13/12/90 (327)

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — Concern for the safety of Mr Nelson Mandela and the inability to cope with an "uncontrollable" crowd caused the delays that nearly culminated in mass tragedy at Sunday's welcome rally, according to the organisers.

And a "criminal element" that indulged in "senseless looting and violence" has been condemned "in the strongest terms".

The sequence of hold-ups and bungling was spelt out by Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF Western Cape secretary and member of the Mandela Reception Committee.

The delays began with Mrs Winnie Mandela's late arrival at Victor Verster prison, he said.

"It would only have made sense for the family and the reception committee to talk to Mr Mandela for a short while before leaving the prison."

Driving out of the prison presented its own problems.

"The road from the prison to the N1 could not be used at all," he said.

"Traffic police estimated it would take three minutes a kilometre."

A "much longer" route had to be chosen for reasons of safety and convenience.

When the entourage reached Cape Town, they were told by the rally organisers to take responsibility for handling the crowd.

Even though people had begun gathering on the Grand Parade from about 11.30 am, the rally was meant to start at 5 pm, he said. Posters throughout the city advertising the start as 3 pm had been incorrect.

It had been decided earlier that the crowd would not be allowed to get near to the city hall itself.

An area in front of the hall was to have been cordoned off for safety and to provide the media with a vantage point. However, the crowds had overrun this area.

"The crowd had grown to such an extent that the situation was uncontrollable.

"We needed time to assess the situation first," he said.

The police had given the rally organisers the task of maintaining security.

Criminal element

"We were trying to keep all kinds of people at bay. At the same time we were trying to relax the old man but he was always keen."

He condemned the later "senseless looting and violence in the strongest terms".

There was "no question" that a criminal element saw the rally as an opportunity to be capitalised on.

"Many people would have left there with a bad taste in the mouth . . . feeling that these were our activists behaving like this. I don't believe that many of our people would behave in that way."

He said he was concerned that innocent people, including marshals, had been shot.



Standing room only . . . a part of the huge crowd at yesterday's "welcome home" rally for Nelson Mandela. More than 100 000 people packed into the First National Bank Stadium to hear him speak. ● Picture by Sean Woods.

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Back to 'matchbox' after 27 years in jail

By Stan Hlophe

Freed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela returned in grand style to his "matchbox" Soweto house last night after 27 years of separation from his family.

He was chauffer-driven in a chocolate-coloured BMW owned by businessman Mr Richard Maponya, who had visited him at Victor Verster Prison.

An 800-strong crowd waited for him at his old Orlando West home.

A large ANC flag and banners were draped in front of the house and there was a huge sign on the green, black and gold garage door: "Amandla Awethu", "We celebrate your release", "Welcome home Dr Mandela" and "You are a genuine people's leader".

Five helicopters circled overhead as Mr Mandela stood on the lawn and addressed the crowd.

The foreign television crew which had camped opposite Mr Mandela's home for the past two weeks joined the crowd perched on top of neighbouring roofs and trees. Vilakazi Street, which teemed with young and old wearing ANC colours, was cordoned off. Marshals kept journalists at a distance.

Flanked by colleagues and members of his family, Mr Mandela urged the youth to return to school today to show responsibility as future leaders.

He said education was the weapon used world-wide and urged the pupils to study hard in spite of the difficulties they encountered.

"I know the quality of education is inferior and teachers who want to improve their qualifications like their white counterparts have no facilities to do so.

"I want to make it clear to you that you should go back to school as the best way of welcoming me."

The organisers appealed to the crowd to disperse in an orderly fashion and avoid Monday's chaos in which several children went missing. They also urged youths to refrain from hijacking vehicles.

It was not until Mr Mandela had addressed the people for the second time that the crowd finally dispersed.

Scores hurt as fence collapses in stampede

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia
and Montshiwa Moroke

Scores of people were hurt, 34 of them seriously, when a security fence collapsed from crowd pressure as thousands of people poured out of the Soccer City stadium in Soweto yesterday.

A number of the more seriously injured were children. A dozen ambulances were summoned to take the injured to Baragwanath Hospital, while Red Cross and SA Health Workers Congress (Sahwco) assistants treated the injured.

"Many people were treated for minor injuries and sent home. Most of the 34 injured sustained fractures and bruises and had to be taken to hospital," a Sahwco spokesman said.

The incident, at Gate B, occurred when scores of people rushed out of the stadium after Mr Nelson Mandela's speech. An eyewitness, Mr Sipho Ndlovu, of Soweto, described the scene as "horrific".

"A large crowd rushed out and the gates were too small. People just pushed and shoved and one of the fences gave in. People were screaming as some got entangled in the fence and others fell and were trampled by the crowd," he said.

The area resembled a battleground as the injured lay sprawled all over the place, writhing in pain.

A child screamed in agony as ambulance attendants tried to lift him into the vehicle.

A Red Cross worker said 20 people were treated for minor injuries in a separate incident during the rally, one youth was treated for body injuries after he fell out of a moving taxi on his way to the stadium and a person was treated for cuts after he had scaled a high security fence.

A National Reception Committee (NRC) spokesman said: "The NRC is concerned about the number of people injured in the stampede and other incidents. It's unfortunate that this had to occur during such an occasion. We sympathise with all those injured and their families."

He said steps would be taken to ensure that there were proper facilities to cater for such large crowds in future.

"There will be other Mandela rallies and the NRC hopes to have learnt from this tragic experience to avoid such accidents," he added.

● Those injured and taken to hospital were:

Ms Sisi Zwane, Diepkloof; Mr Simon Zwane, Mofolo; Ms Cynthia White; Mr Moses Lamola, Mofolo; Ms Portia Mlangeni, Emdeni; Ms Claudia Mashinini, Katlehong; Mr David Mahlahloba, Evaton; Mr Patrick Dlamini, Meadowlands; Mr Bernard Monakoa, White City Jabavu; Ms Ida Mdimande, Evaton; Mr Steven Ramahloko, Diepkloof; Ms Salome Sekhaolelo, Jabulani; Ms Lucy Masekwameng, Diepkloof; Mr Bennett Mnokwe, White City Jabavu; Mr Simon Dlamini, Mshenguville; Mr Joseph Serero, Orlando East; Mr Mjedi Kau, Vergenoeg (Brakpan); Mr Johannes Oganne, Stilfontein; Ms Ellen Shabangu, Dube; Ms Seipati Motaung, Naledi; Ms Cynthia Genge, Zola 2; Ms Busisiwe Dlamini, Meadowlands; Ms Elisa Morake, Meadowlands; Ms Agnes Tsekelo, Molapo; Ms Nonhlanhla Nkosi, Meadowlands; Mr Ephraim Mabuya, Mofolo; Ms Maria Mlangeni, Dlamini; Mr Simon Dlamini, Mshenguville; Mr Hannes Mashilo, Potgietersrus; and four men, known only as Goodwin, Mardi and Dumisana — all from Meadowlands and Peter from Chiawelo; and a woman know as Mama of Medunsa.

Hero's welcome from jubilant crowd

Staff Reporters

Mr Nelson Mandela made a triumphant return to Soweto yesterday when about 130 000 people gave him a hero's welcome at the First National Bank stadium.

The crowd surged into a jam-packed stadium determined to hear the freed ANC leader speak in his home town for the first time in 27 years.

Minutes before Mr Mandela walked on to the podium, the exuberant crowd became frenzied as thousands outside the stadium bulldozed marshals, scaled gates, smashed a wooden door and climbed on to roofs, demanding they be allowed into VIP boxes.

The stadium was not big enough for the thousands wanting to catch a glimpse of Mr Mandela and there were moments of near chaos when people were injured at the stadium entrance.

In an effort to get into the already crammed media rooms, crowds banged at the doors. Journalists barricaded themselves in to avoid being crushed. A baby had to be lifted over the heads of the heaving mass to safety.

Every one of the 80 000 seats was taken and crowds filled the aisles, stood on walls and climbed up the 10-storey-high scaffolding supporting spotlights.

UNISON

In spite of repeated calls for the audience to remain calm and disperse in an orderly fashion, scores of people were injured in a stam pede at one exit.

As Mr Mandela stood to speak, a roar went up and the crowd rose in unison, raising clenched fists.

Mr Daniel Magubane (25), one of 130 diamond miners who came by bus from Kimberley, said: "This is a great day for South Africans. I would have walked across Africa to see this man."

People started making their way towards the FNB stadium hours before Mr Mandela was due to speak. Wave upon wave of dancing groups took over the Soweto highway. Human traffic stretching several kilometres virtually closed the road.

An hour before Mr Mandela was due to arrive the stadium was packed.

As Mr Walter Sisulu appealed for the crowd to listen to what Mr Mandela had to say, a huge balloon, which read "Welcome Mandela", hovered above.

When Mr Mandela stood up to speak, the pushing outside the stadium intensified, while silence fell over the crowd inside. The moment they had been waiting for for years had finally arrived.

Mandela gives the press a masterful performance

SOWL 14/2/90 (327) (203)

When Mr Nelson Mandela stepped forward to meet the international press in Cape Town among the hydrangeas of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's opulent suburban garden on Monday, he moved stiffly and descended the garden stairs with some difficulty.

But any image of frailty was soon dispelled. For the African National Congress leader's first press conference in 27 years and only his second encounter ever with a television camera revealed a mind of extraordinary agility and subtlety, and a diplomatic skill which will be much needed in the weeks to come.

Faced with a solid wall of photographers and cameramen, and with about 100 print reporters sitting cross-legged at his feet, the 71-year-old leader answered questions with poise and confidence, dodging pitfalls without appearing evasive, and always remaining succinct.

It was a masterful performance, the first sign that black South Africa's reverence for Mr Mandela and faith in him as a leader may not be misplaced.

Unfortunately for Mr Mandela's international image, however, he chose to deliver that performance a day too late.

For on Sunday, his first day of freedom, Mr Mandela had the chance to address tens of millions worldwide, and the crucial white constituency in South Africa, through live television transmissions arranged for his release.

Yet, when the ANC leader stood before tens of thousands in Cape Town, he chose to speak only to his party political constituency, stressing the importance of the armed struggle and making no real bid for racial reconciliation.

His speech was uncompromising and uninspiring, and the spectacle of young activists rampaging on the fringes of the rally will have confirmed the worst fears of many whites.

PATTI WALDMEIR and MICHAEL HOLMAN of the Financial Times discuss ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's performance at his first press conference in Cape Town on Monday.

Mr Mandela is unlikely ever again to have such a sterling opportunity to put across his message. But the press conference on Monday went a fair way to redressing the damage done on Sunday.

On several occasions the ANC leader reached out to white South Africa, stressing that he sympathised with white fears at the prospect of black domination.

"Whites are fellow South Africans and we want them to feel safe and that we appreciate the contribution they have made to the development of this country," Mr Mandela said.

Asked if the ANC was prepared to consider guarantees for minority (ie white) rights, a possiblity which radical black activists rule out absolutely, Mr Mandela was concilia tory. Whites, he said, were insisting on what he called structural guarantees.

"We understand these feelings and the ANC is concerned to ... find a solution which will suit both the blacks and the whites of this country."

Delighted

Later he went even further, appearing to suggest that it was a question not of whether there would be guarantees, but of what form they would take. And he seemed genuinely delighted that so many whites had turned out to greet him on Sunday.

The ANC leader also reached out to a constituency which is potentially as important as white South Africa: the six million Zulu people,



Mr Nelson Mandela at the press conference on Monday at Bishops Court, Cape Town residence of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

many of whom are represented by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the kwaZulu homeland.

Mr Buthelezi is rejected as a collaborator by much of the black opposition, and is blamed by the ANC for exacerbating violence in Natal, which has left 2 500 people dead in the past three years.

ANC leaders regularly issue vituperative statements about the kwaZulu leader which inflame relations between the two largest black groupings in the country. But Mr Mandela was not taking any cheap shots at him on Monday. He acknowledged Mr Buthelezi as an important political fact of life, and made clear that he recognises the importance of the constituency which the chief represents.

Mr Mandela also resisted another common ANC practice: verbal bashings for Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, who is far from popular among activists because of her opposition to sanctions against South Africa.

The ANC leader made clear that he was taking her invitation to visit Britain seriously — his response showed an appreciation of diplomatic niceties which comes naturally to few of his ANC colleagues in exile.

Mr Mandela took every opportunity to stress his loyalty to the exiled leadership of the ANC, refusing to make unilateral statements about ANC policy and insisting on collective decision-making.

Given current tensions within the movement and suspicion of the role played by Mr Mandela during negotiations with Pretoria before his release, the ANC leader was no doubt wise to stress that he is a party man.

Strong leadership

He carefully skirted the issue of whether he would take over the formal leadership of the organisation from its ailing president, Mr Oliver Tambo. And he would not be drawn on an alternative proposal: that he should rise above party politics and attempt to act as a mediator in the talks.

But if Mr Mandela came across yesterday as a dignified leader of considerable vision, he also charmed the international press, which was in less than welcoming mood following incidents on Sunday in which journalists had passports and cameras stolen and confusion reigned.

He was clearly pleased to be able to put faces to the bylines he had been reading in newspapers for many years and the voices he had heard on radio. Asked, inevitably, to describe his feelings on his release, he gave an answer which was disarmingly candid: "I must confess that I am unable to describe my emotions ... It was breathtaking, that's all I can say." — Financial Times.

Orlando West home 'unsuitable'

By John Miller STAR 14/2/90 (327)

Mr Nelson Mandela's Orlando West home should be kept as a national monument because the only way he could be protected if he lived there would be to cordon off surrounding roads, Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association said yesterday.

Dr Motlana said it would be wrong for Mr Mandela to set up home in Soweto again. "He is not a Sowetan, but a South African" and should therefore live in the best site to cater for his needs.

He said the only way he felt Mr Mandela's "matchbox" township house could be made secure would be if the roads around it were cordoned off.

Dr Motlana also questioned the ability of the National Reception Committee (NRC) to organise and control the overwhelming response from crowds attending Mr Mandela's homecoming rallies.

He admitted and agreed with the NRC that they had not been given much time to organise the rallies but hoped that things would improve.

Dr Motlana said that during the launch of the UDF in 1983, marshals wore bright yellow armbands and other items which could identify them from far away. "At some spots you would find more marshals than people. Marshals should be properly trained and easy identifiable."

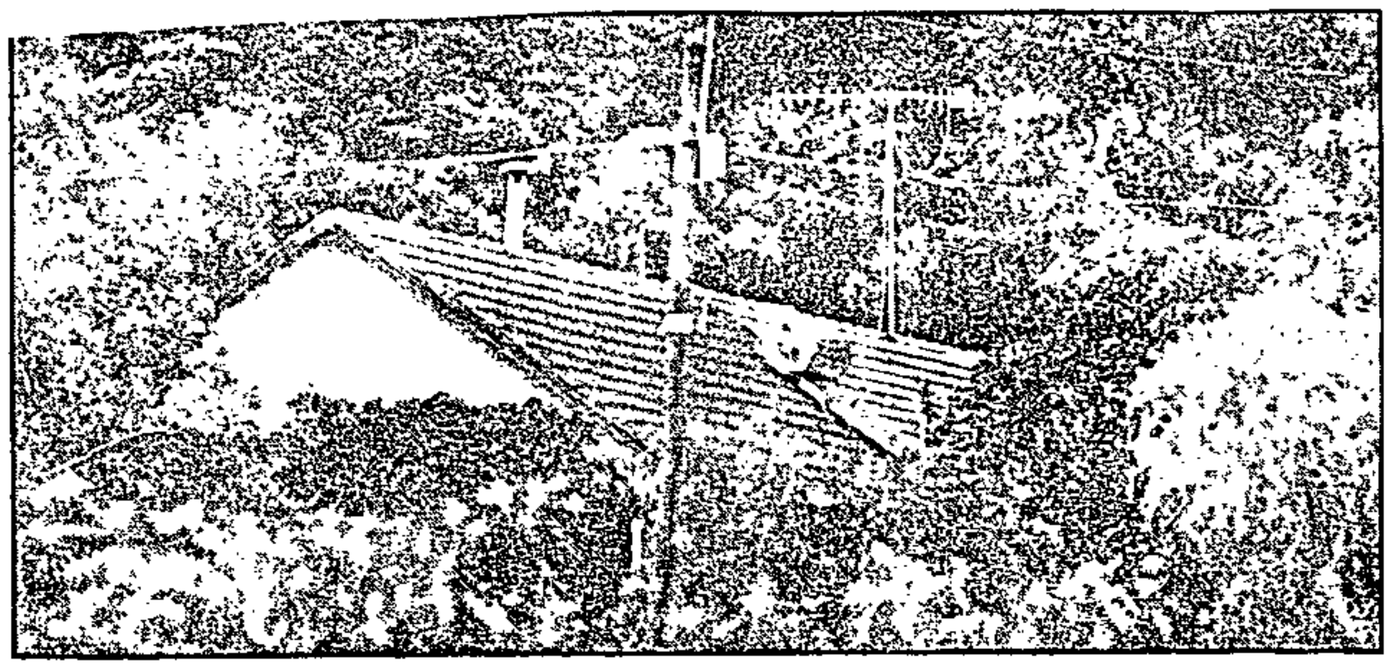
'HELICOPTER SHOULD HAVE BEEN USED'

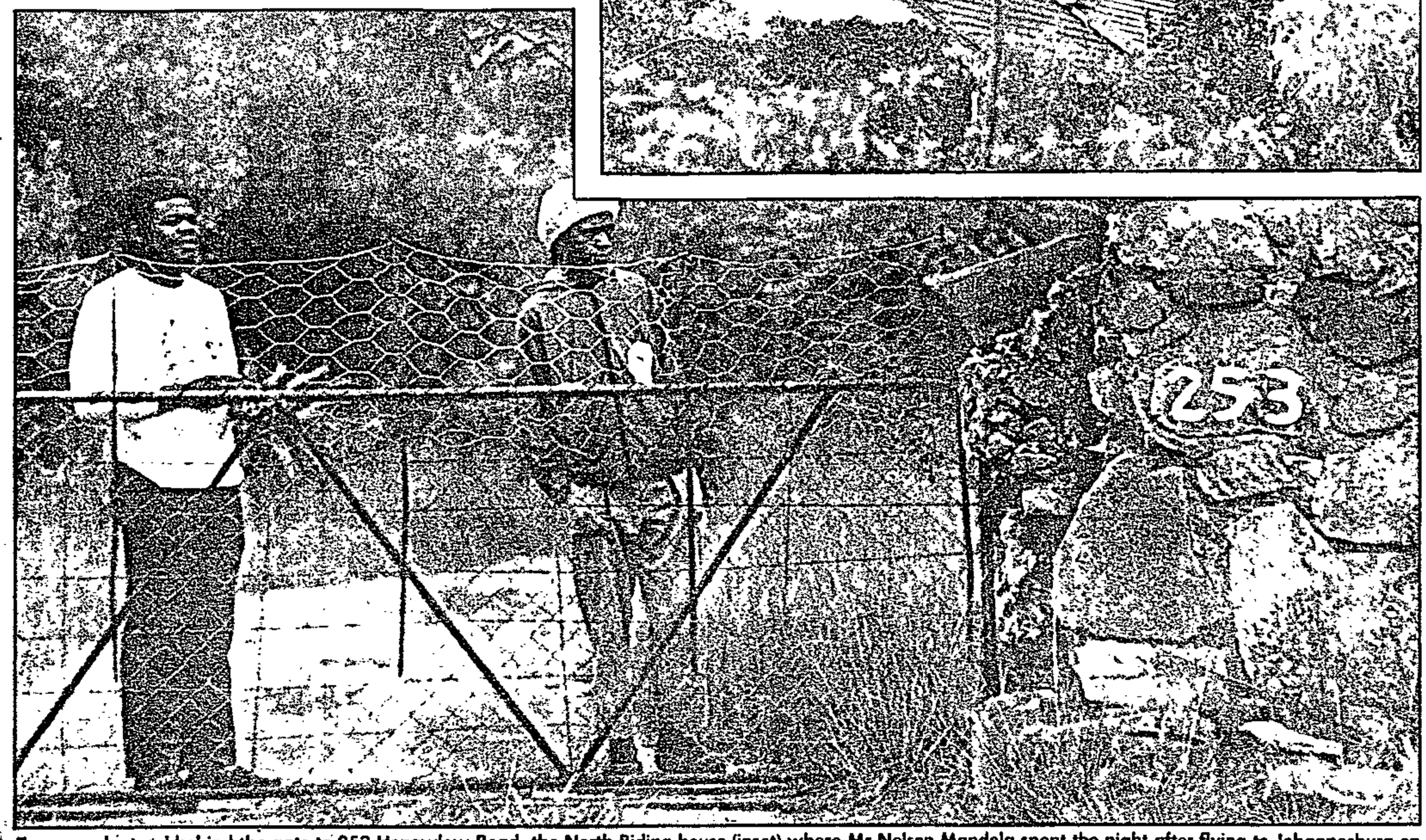
He could not believe that the organisers of Sunday's Cape Town rally had used a car instead of a helicopter to get Mr Mandela to the City Hall — "it was perfect stupidity". He said one needed professionals, as amateurs simply could not do the job.

Referring to the manner in which Mr Mandela had to try and page through his speech on Sunday, Dr Motlana said this was uncalled for.

The ANC leader should not have been subjected to that kind of indignity.

'Heroic struggle' in search of freedom





Two guards stand behind the gate to 253 Honeydew Road, the North Riding house (inset) where Mr Nelson Mandela spent the night after flying to Johannesburg on Monday. ● Pictures by David Sandison.

Comrades, friends and the people of Soweto at large, I greet you in the name of the heroic struggle of our people to establish justice and freedom for all in our country.

I salute our president, Comrade Oliver Tambo, for his leadership of the ANC that has put our organisation and the hopes of the people it represents on the political centre-stage in South Africa.

I salute our rank-and-file members, and combatants of the ANC, who have sacrificed all for the love of their country and their people.

I salute the South African Communist Party for its consistent and determined contribution to the struggle for a democratic government in South Africa. Our alliance is built on the unshakeable foundation of our united struggle for a nonracial democracy.

I salute the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the National Education Crisis Committee, and many other formations of the MDM.

The work of the UDF has ensured that none of the reformist strategies of the Government have succeeded.

Organised strength

I salute the working class of our country. Our movement would not be where it is without your organised strength. You are an indispensable force in the struggle to end exploitation and oppression in South Africa.

We salute the victory of Swapo, with whom we shared trenches of battle against colonialism and apartheid.

You have established your right to self-determination, and your victory is our victory.

I pay tribute to the many religious communities and religious leaders who carried the struggle for justice forward and held our banner high during the most brutal periods of repression against our people.

I salute the courage and the heroism of the youth of South Africa, organised under the South African Youth Congress.

At this point I wish to pay tribute to Comrade Hector Peterson, who together with hundreds of young activists were mowed down by apartheid bullets in 1976. We gained inspiration by your courage and conviction during our lonely years on the island.

Today, my return to Soweto fills my heart with joy. At the same time, I also return with a deep sense of sadness. Sadness to learn that you are still suffering under an inhuman system: the housing shortage, the schools crisis, unemployment and the crime rate still remain.

I am even more proud to be a member of this community because of the pioneering role it has played in the struggle for the democratisation of local government.

You have built democratic structures of local government in Soweto, such as street committees and civic organisations, that give practical import to

This is the text of the speech by Mr Nelson Mandela at his rally at the First National Bank Stadium yesterday.

our people have no vote, and therefore cannot make the government of the day responsive to their needs.

Apartheid education is inferior and a crime against humanity.

Education is an area that needs the attention of all our people, students, parents, teachers, workers, and other organised sectors of our community.

Let us build disciplined structures, SRCs, a ... teachers' organisation, parent structures and parent-teacher-student associations, and the National Education Crisis Committee.

It has been the policy of the ANC that though the school and the entire education system is a

apartheid continues.

Our armed combatants act under the political leadership of the ANC. Cadres of our People's Army are skilled, not only in military affairs, but act as the political commissars of our movement.

We are therefore disturbed that there are certain elements among those who claim to support the liberation struggle who use violence against our people.

The hijacking and setting alight of vehicles, and the ha-

tween the parties concerned must call for restraint.

The security forces must be compelled to act with absolute impartiality and to arrest those offenders who continue with violence.

We are disturbed that attempts are being made to disrupt the unity of the oppressed by stirring tensions between African and Indian communities of Natal. Let us build on the proud tradition of unity in action, as embodied in the

tionalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

We believe that apartheid has created a heinous system of exploitation in which a racist minority monopolises economic wealth while the vast majority of oppressed black people are condemned to poverty.

South Africa is a wealthy country. It is the labour of black workers that has built the cities, roads and factories we see. They cannot be excluded from sharing this wealth.

based on strong foundations of respect for each other, achieved through bona fide negotiations.

In particular, we call for genuine negotiations to achieve a fair Labour Relations Act and mechanisms to resolve conflict. Employers can play their role in shaping the new South Africa by acknowledging these rights.

We call on workers, black and white, to join industrial trade unions organised under the banner of our non-racial

We call on those, who out of ignorance, have collaborated with apartheid in the past, to join our liberation struggle. No man or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a nonracial united and democratic South Africa based on one person one vote on a common voters roll.

Our primary task remains to unite our people across the length and breadth of our country. Our democratic organisations must be consolidated in

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I am even more proud to be a member of this community because of the pioneering role it has played in the struggle for the democratisation of local government.

You have built democratic structures of local government in Soweto, such as street committees and civic organisations, that give practical import to our desire to let the people govern.

I fully support the call made by our people for democratic systems of local government that will have a single tax base. In this regard, I believe that the campaigns for open cities must receive our active support.

As proud as I am to be part of the Soweto community, I have been greatly disturbed by the statistics of crime that I have read in the newspapers. Although I understand the deprivations our people suffer, I must make it clear that the level of crime in our township is unhealthy and must be eliminated as a matter of urgency.

It is through the creation of democratic and accountable structures that we can achieve this. I salute the anti-crime campaigns conducted by our organisations.

The crisis in education that exists in South Africa demands special attention. The education crisis in black schools is a political crisis.

It arises out of the fact that our people have no vote, and therefore cannot make the government of the day responsive to their needs.

This is the text of the speech by Mr Nelson Mandela at his rally at the First National Bank Stadium yesterday.

Apartheid education is inferior and a crime against humanity.

Education is an area that needs the attention of all our people, students, parents, teachers, workers, and other organised sectors of our community.

Let us build disciplined structures, SRCs, a ... teachers' organisation, parent structures and parent-teacher-student associations, and the National Education Crisis Committee.

It has been the policy of the ANC that though the school and the entire education system is a site of struggle, the actual process of learning must take place in the schools.

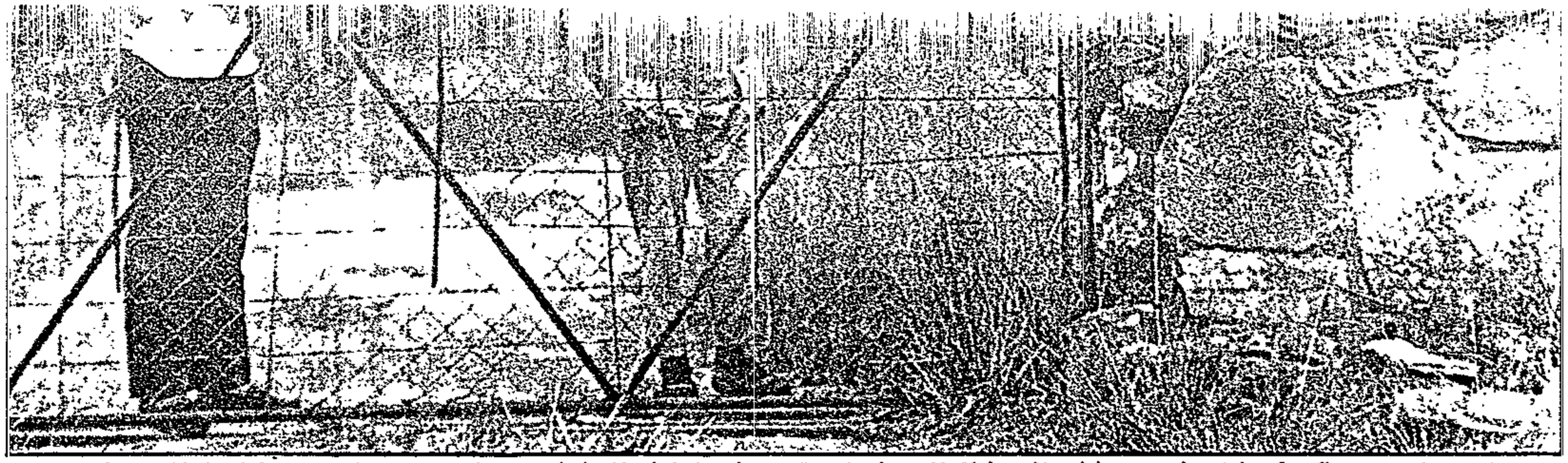
Achieve goals

I want to add my voice, therefore, to the call made at the beginning of the year that all students must return to school and learn. We must continue our struggle for people's education within the school system, and utilise its resources to achieve our goals.

I call on the Government to build more schools, to train and employ more teachers, and to abandon its policy of forcing our children out of the schools system by use of various measures such as the age restrictions and refusal to admit those who fail their classes.

We have consistently called for a unitary non-racial education system that develops the potential of all our youth.

As I said when I stood on the dock in the Rivonia Trial 27 years ago, and said on the day of my release in Cape Town, the ANC will pursue the armed struggle against the Government as long as the violence of apartheid continues.



Two guards stand behind the gate to 253 Honeydew Road, the North Riding house (inset) where Mr Nelson Mandela spent the night after flying to Johannesburg on Monday. ● Pictures by David Sandison.

Our armed combatants act under the political leadership of the ANC. Cadres of our People's Army are skilled, not only in military affairs, but act as the political commissars of our movement.

We are therefore disturbed that there are certain elements among those who claim to support the liberation struggle who use violence against our people.

The hijacking and setting alight of vehicles, and the harassment of innocent people are criminal acts that have no place in our struggle. We condemn that.

Our major weapon of struggle against apartheid oppression and exploitation is our people, organised into mass formations of the democratic movement.

This is achieved by politically organising our people; not through the use of violence against our people.

I call, in the strongest possible way, for us to act with the dignity and discipline that our just struggle for freedom deserves.

Our victories must be celebrated in peace and joy. In particular, I call on our people in Natal to unite against the perpetrators of violence.

I call on the leadership of the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha to take decisive steps to revive the peace initiative and end the scourge on our proud history. Let us act with political foresight and develop bold steps to end this mindless violence.

Joint initiatives at local, regional and national levels between the parties concerned must call for restraint.

The security forces must be compelled to act with absolute impartiality and to arrest those offenders who continue with violence.

We are disturbed that attempts are being made to disrupt the unity of the oppressed by stirring tensions between African and Indian communities of Natal. Let us build on the proud tradition of unity in action, as embodied in the Dadoo/Xuma/Naicker Pact, which was fully endorsed by our great hero, Chief Luthuli.

Peaceful marches

I am also concerned by the ongoing violence perpetrated by certain sections of the security forces against our peaceful marches and demonstrations. We condemn this.

I understand that implementing apartheid laws has made it extremely difficult for many honest policemen to fulfil their role as servants of the public. You are seen in the eyes of many of our people as an instrument of repression and injustice.

We call on the police to abandon apartheid and to serve the interests of the people. Join our march to a new South Africa, where you also have a place.

We note with appreciation that there are certain areas where policemen are acting with restraint and fulfilling the real role of protecting all our people, irrespective of their race.

Much debate has been sparked off by the ANC policies on the economy relating to nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

We believe that apartheid has created a heinous system of exploitation in which a racist minority monopolises economic wealth while the vast majority of oppressed black people are condemned to poverty.

South Africa is a wealthy country. It is the labour of black workers that has built the cities, roads and factories we see. They cannot be excluded from sharing this wealth.

The ANC is just as committed to economic growth and productivity as the present employers claim to be. Yet we are also committed to ensure that a democratic government has the resources to address the inequalities caused by apartheid.

Our people need proper housing, not ghettos like Soweto. Workers need a living wage, and the right to join unions of their own choice, and to participate in determining policies that affect their lives.

Our history has shown that apartheid has stifled growth, created mass unemployment and led to spiralling inflation that has undermined the standards of living of the majority of our people, both black and white.

Only a participatory democracy involving our people in the structures of decision-making at all levels of society can ensure that this is corrected. We will certainly introduce policies that address the economic problems that we face.

We call on employers to recognise the fundamental rights of workers in our country. We are marching to a new future based on strong foundations of respect for each other, achieved through bona fide negotiations.

In particular, we call for genuine negotiations to achieve a fair Labour Relations Act and mechanisms to resolve conflict. Employers can play their role in shaping the new South Africa by acknowledging these rights.

We call on workers, black and white, to join industrial trade unions organised under the banner of our non-racial progressive federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, which has played an indispensable role in our struggle against apartheid.

A number of obstacles to the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa remain and need to be tackled. The fears of whites about their rights and place in a South Africa they do not control exclusively are an obstacle we must understand and address.

I stated in 1964 that I and the ANC are as opposed to black domination, as we are to white domination. We must accept, however, that our statements and declarations alone will not be sufficient to allay the fears of white South Africans.

We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots and convince them by our conduct and arguments that a South Africa without apartheid will be a better home for all.

A new South Africa has to eliminate the racial hatred and suspicion caused by apartheid and offer guarantees to all its citizens of peace, security and prosperity.

We call on those, who out of ignorance, have collaborated with apartheid in the past, to join our liberation struggle. No man or woman who has abandoned apartheid will be excluded from our movement towards a nonracial united and democratic South Africa based on one person one vote on a common voters roll.

Our primary task remains to unite our people across the length and breadth of our country. Our democratic organisations must be consolidated in all our sectors. Democratic political practice and accountable leadership must be strengthened on all fronts.

Our struggle against apartheid, though seemingly uncertain, must be intensified on all fronts. Let each one of you, and all of our people, give the enemies of peace and liberty no space to take us back to the dark hell of apartheid. It is only disciplined mass action that assures us of the victory we seek.

Go back to your schools, factories, mines and communities. Build on the massive energies that recent events in our country have unleashed by strengthening disciplined mass organisations.

We are going forward. The march towards freedom and justice is irreversible. I have spoken about freedom in my lifetime. Your struggles, your commitment and your discipline have released me to stand here before you today.

These basic principles will propel us to a free nonracial democratic united South Africa that we have struggled and died for.

CHH 327

Change sought in protest laws

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party is to propose a number of amendments to security laws to guarantee the right to peaceful protest marches but at the same time give the authorities the right to prohibit or limit them.

If the DP amendments are accepted, the authorities concerned will have to give "clear and specific reasons when it prohibits such a march or limits the right, as, for example, when it prescribes the time, route or the numbers involved".

In a statement, the party's co-leader and law and order spokesman, Dr Denis Worrall, said its proposals were aimed at a practical arrangement which avoided the kind of deadlock which had occurred recently.

The problems surrounding the protest marches centered on the insistence of the state that permission had to be sought, and the unwillingness of march organizers to request permission.

"Their refusal to seek permission is based on their view that the state has a minority-elected government which they do not recognize; and, in any event, they say that peaceful protest is a right, and therefore does not imply prior approval."

The DP said it was not the intention to argue the correctness or otherwise of this point of view but to suggest a practical arrangement which avoided the kind of deadlock that occurred.

The right to organise peaceful marches would be granted but organisers would be required to given timeous notice of the event to a designated official, such as a magistrate.

The DP would propose amendments to the Internal Security Act, the Riotous Assembly Act and other legislation to bring them into line with the new reality, the statement said.

a bid to stir up fighting. — Sapa.

Police welcome Mandela plea

STAR 14/2/90 (325) (327)

Crime Reporter

Soweto police chief Major-General Johan Swart has welcomed Mr Nelson Mandela's condemnation of crime in the township, saying he hoped the call would reduce the crime rate.

"We welcome Mr Mandela's condemnation of crime and I feel it could contribute to greater calm in Soweto.

"I hope his call will also contribute to the lessening of crime," said General Swart.

Police reported 13 hijackings, including a luxury bus, in Soweto yesterday, but no unrest incidents were reported.

All the vehicles hijacked were recovered, many around Mr Mandela's home.

STAR 14/2/90 (327)

Govt to propose rules for demos

The Government would come to Parliament with proposals to legally clarify the requirements for peaceful protest marches, the Minister of Justice, **Mr Kobie Coetsee**, said yesterday in the House of Assembly.

Speaking during an interpellation debate proposed by **Mr Chris de Jager** (CP, Bethal) as to who had arranged various protest marches in Cape Town between January 29 and February 2 this year, and whether permission had been sought for them, he said he welcomed the speech in the debate by Dr Denis Worrall, DP spokesman on Law and Order, who had pointed out certain shortcomings and suggested improvements.

Dr Worrall suggested that while the right to organise peaceful protests was granted, the organisers should be required to give timeous notice of the event to a designated official, such as a magistrate.

The notice would include such details as the prupose of the march, route, date and time, expected numbers and speakers.

An onus would also rest on the organisers to ensure, as far as practically possible, that the protest would be peaceful.

Mr Coetsee said that although no permission had been asked for the marches — organised by Ms Cheryl Carolus and the Rev Syd Luckett — it remained the responsibility of the Chief Magistrate to ensure the safety of the people of Cape Town, and he had at all times acted in good faith.

ORGANISE

Mr De Jager said the people responsible for organising the march had to ask for permission.

The situation existed where organisers did not ask for permission.

Without this, no one could be asked for security for any damages which may arise.

Mr Coetsee said this would have to be embodied in the proposed legislative requirements.

Dr Corne Mulder (CP, Randfontein) said the Chief Magistrate himself had applied for permission, and granted it.

The ANC had said that it would not ask for permission and the Government had just given it. — Sapa.

After 27 years, a night to cherish

STAR 14/2/90 (1) (327)

Staff Reporters

Mr Nelson Mandela spent his first night on the Reef for 27 years relaxing in a rambling ranch-style house on a 2,5 ha smallholding in North Riding, on the outskirts of Randburg.

The R550 000 house is registered in the name of Mr R F Cohen but it appears he is divorced from his school teacher wife, Sally.

Mrs Cohen is a remedial teacher who joined the staff of Parkhurst Primary School this year.

She lives at the North Riding home with her triplets aged four, her mother and possibly two other children.

The large windows of the T-shaped building are well protected by stout, vertical security bars and the entrance to the property was tightly guarded by a group of ANC security marshals.

Yesterday at least two men were posted at the wire gate opening to a winding sand track to the main house at 253 Honeydew Road.

The grey-tiled, single-storey house is set well back from Honeydew Road, completely hidden by dense, well established trees.

Halfway up the driveway is Mrs Cohen's pottery studio, its windows closed and barred.

Extensive well-tended lawns surround the main house. Its T-shaped layout appears to fan from the bedrooms at the base to the lounge on the left and the kitchen and double garage on the right.

Pathways circle below the main bedroom where the Mandelas spent the night on Monday, and lead to a swimming pool off the lounge.

Most of the plots in the area are demarcated for shops and offices in the Randburg Development Plan.

Yesterday morning Soweto businessman Mr Richard Maponya, who drove Mr Mandela from Lanseria Airport to 253 Honeydew Road after he and his entourage arrived by private jet on Monday, said his old friend Mr Mandela was in very high spirits.

"He was amazed at the growth which had taken place since he last saw that part of the Reef 27 years ago and he was looking forward to addressing the people," said Mr Maponya, who lives in Melville Road, Hyde Park.

Neighbours braved the chilly weather to catch a glimpse of the ANC leader.

Miss Sandy Venter said: "It is so exciting to live in these historic times. This is a fearful thing in a way but there is also a sense of excitement."

Mrs Glenys van Halter, who got married in the Cohen home in 1977 and lived there for three years up until the time of her marriage said: "This is fantastic. To think we are so close to such an incredible man."

Neighbours said one family in the area included AWB members who recently interrupted a party to listen to broadcasts of speeches by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche.

Mrs Cohen, Mr Mandela's hostess in Honeydew on Monday night, had seemed very happy yesterday morning when she told a colleague at school that the ANC leader had spent the night at her home.

Mrs Elizabeth Mathebula (37), who works for Mrs Cohen, said Mr Mandela made up his own bed after waking up at the unusually late hour of 8.30 am. (Visitors to Mr Mandela in Victor Verster prison said he was a fitness fanatic and woke at 3 am every morning to exercise for two hours.)

Mrs Mathebula said Mr Mandela enjoyed a breakfast of cereal, eggs, bacon and toast. He was served the meal by Mrs Mathebula, who said the man who used to be the world's most famous prisoner was very friendly.

"I had no warning that he was coming, but recognised him as soon as he arrived."

Blacks urged: demonstrate goodwill towards whites

Mandela condemns 'mindless violence'

Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday invited all South Africans to join forces against the "dark hell of apartheid" and work together towards a non-racial democracy.

He strongly condemned "mindless violence", urged black pupils to return to school, and called for disciplined action during the "irreversible march towards freedom".

A huge crowd of people packed into Soccer City, the First National Bank Stadium at Crown Mines, Johannesburg, to welcome Mr Mandela back to the Transvaal and to Soweto, the home he last saw almost three decades ago.

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Marshals occasionally lost the battle to control the crowds as an estimated 130 000 people struggled to catch a glimpse of the African National Congress leader on his return to the township which, he said, had played a pioneering role in the struggle for democracy.

Mr Mandela's 26-minute address met with roars of approval from an ecstatic crowd

He said the struggle against apartheid should be intensified on all fronts.

"The ANC will pursue the armed struggle against the Government as long as the violence of apartheid continues," he said.

Salute to Tambo

As organisers battled to control the crowds, Mr Mandela warned he would not complete his speech if people were "unable to listen".

The rally was cut short to prevent chaotic scenes such as those which marred his first public address in Cape Town on Sunday.

The only other speaker was Mr Walter Sisulu, who pleaded with the crowd to give a dignified welcome to "the man who has led a struggle for nearly 50 years".

Mr Mandela announced that he would soon travel to Lusaka to consult the ANC's external leadership.

Thereafter, he would fly to Sweden to meet ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo — "to shake hands and congratulate the man who has led this movement" and who had placed the ANC at the country's political centre-stage.

He said although the ANC was as opposed to black domination as it was to white domination, many whites feared majority rule.

"We must clearly demonstrate our goodwill to our white compatriots and convince them that a South Africa without apartheid will be a better home for all.

"We call on those who, out of ignorance, have collaborated with apartheid, to join our liberation struggle."

Mr Mandela presented three clear demands to the Government:

- Security forces should act with absolute impartiality in strife-torn Natal and arrest people who continued with violence;
- The Government should "respond constructively" to demands that all political prisoners be freed; and
- It should alleviate the black education crisis by expanding the infrastructure and "abandon its policy of forcing our children out of the schools".

Referring to the heated debate on the ANC's economic policy of nationalisation and wealth redistribution, Mr Mandela said black workers could not be excluded from the country's wealth.

"The ANC is just as committed to economic growth and productivity as present employers claim to be. Yet we are also committed to ensure that a democratic government has the resources to address inequalities caused by apartheid."

His return to Soweto filled his heart with joy, yet with a deep sense of sadness, he said.

"Sadness to learn that you are still suffering under an inhuman system.

"The housing shortage, the schools crisis, unemployment and the crime rate still remain.

"As proud as I am to be part of the Soweto community, I have been greatly disturbed by the statistics of crime that I have read in the newspapers.

"Although I understand the deprivations our people suffer, I must make it clear that the level of crime in our township is unhealthy and it must be eliminated."



Mr Nelson Mandela shares a joke with Mrs June Mlangeni and Mrs Albertina Sisulu (right) at yesterday's rally. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

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A sea of joy . . . part of the huge crowd in honour of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mande comes h





Welcome home . . . the hours of waiting give way to joy for Mandela supporters as the ANC leader arrives at yesterday's mass rally. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

Star 14/2/90 (327) (44)



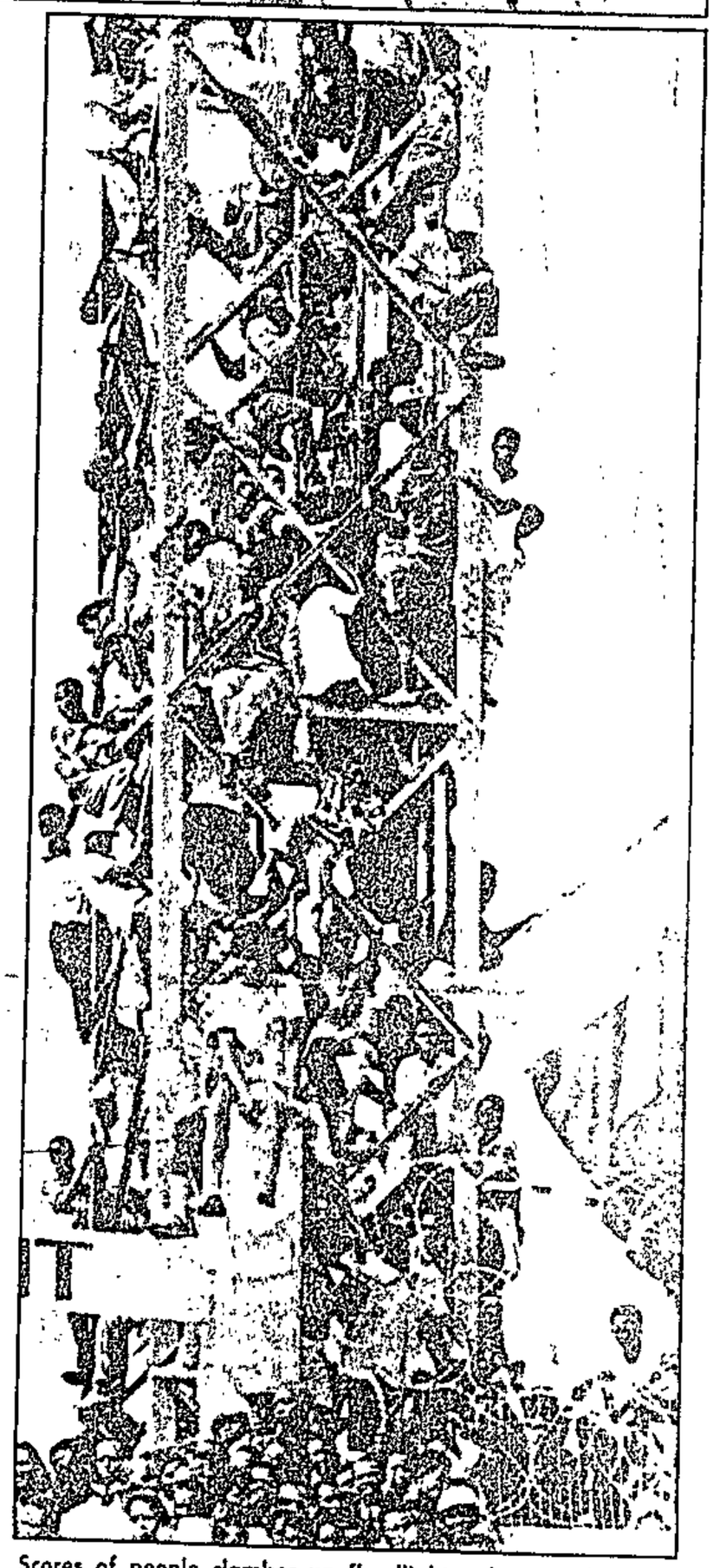
A sea of joy . . . part of the huge crowd which yesterday celebrated at the mass rally in honour of Mr Nelson Mandela. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

STAR 14/2/90 (327) (44)

Mandela comes home



the ANC leader Herbert Mabuza.





Emergency services personnel remove injured people from the parking lot. At least 34 people were seriously hurt when a security fence collapsed. They were taken to Baragwanath Hospital.

● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Scores of people clamber up floodlight pylons at the First National Bank stadium yesterday in the hope of getting a better view of Nelson Mandela. ● Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.



ABOVE: While tens of thousands of people sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika at yesterday's Soccer City rally, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela (third from right) is flanked by close friends. From the left are Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Andrew Mlangeni. Mr Sisulu, Mr Kathrada and Mr Mlangeni, all of whom were imprisoned with Mr Mandela, were freed last year in what was seen to be a 'test of the water' before the release on Sunday of Mr Mandela himself.

● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

(327)

the NELSON MANDELA
INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE

International Reception Committee, on behalf of its patrons and 35 affiliate national reception committees, sends warmest greetings to Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, on the occasion of his release. We salute his courage and integrity which have inspired all opponents of apartheid throughout the 27 long years of of his imprisonment.

We realise that the release of Nelson Mandela and other recent developments in South Africa are the result of internal and external pressures, and support his call for these to be sustained until apartheid has been ended.

We are greatly concerned that despite recent changes, the pillars of apartheid remain intact and we therefore reaffirm our support for the people of South Africa in their struggle to end apartheid and to create a nonracial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

Furthermore, in order to help bring about a climate conducive to genuine negotiations aimed at ending apartheid, we call upon on the South African regime to release immediately and uncondionally all political prisoners, end all forms of apartheid repression, and implement fully the measures called for by by the Organisation of African Unity and the UN General Assembly special session on apartheid.

Patrons:
Archbishop Trevor Huddleston CR - convener (IRC)
Chief Emeka Anyaoku - Commonwealth secretary-general designate
General Ebrahim Babangida - President of Nigeria
Dr Willy Brandt - Former Chancellor of West Germany
Mr Jimmy Carter - 39th President of the USA
Mr Jerry Dammers - Musician Britain
Fr Miqual D' Escoto - Foreign Minister of Nicaragua
Cardinal O'Fiach - Primate of All Ireland, Archbishop of Armagh
Rt Hon. Malcolm Fraser - Former Prime Minister of Australia
Mr Ruud Gullit European Footballer of Year 1987, Netherlands
Mr Charles Haughey - Prime Minister of Ireland
Rt. Hon. Bob Hawke - Prime Minister of Australia
Rt. Hon. Dennis Healey - Former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, Britain
Rev Jesse Jackson - Founder and President of Rainbow Coalition, USA
Dr Kenneth Kaunda - President of Zambia
Mr Michael Manley - Prime Minister of Jamaica
Madame Danielle Mitterand - Danielle Mitterand Foundation, France
Mwalimu Julius Nyerere - Former President of Tanzania
Mrs Lisbet Palme - First Vice-President of Unicef, Sweden
Mr Cyril Ramaphosa - General-Secretary, NUM, Chairperson NRC (SA)

THE NORWEGIAN COUNCIL FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(327)

The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa salutes comrade Nelson Mandela, the leader to the African National Congress after his release from more than 27 years in prison.

The release of the true leader of the South African people's struggle for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

We demand that the white minority regime immediately:

* **release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally**
* **end the state of emergency**
* **remove all troops from the townships**
* **lift all regulations on the media**
* **remove the internal security act**

ONE PERSON - ONE VOTE - ONE NATION!

A LUTA CONTINUA!

Sjurad Tveit
Chairperson

Sjur til 15/2-21/2 1990

Trends

Helping you keep up with the future

Driving around a car park looking for a space is a frustrating waste of time. A Swiss firm has developed an electronic system to guide drivers to the nearest empty bay. — The Financial Times.



President George Bush is to launch a programme to plant a billion trees a year in the US — four for every citizen. The 10-year plan is aimed at cleaning polluted air and slowing the Greenhouse effect. — The Daily Mail.

Career women do better at work after divorce or separation while their male rivals go into a steep decline, it is claimed. — The Daily Mail.

LIFESTYLE

6/2/90 Star (327)

Nelson, Winnie face marriage and love hurdle

The danger point for recently released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela could come about a month after his release, says a British expert on post-traumatic stress syndrome. Mr Mandela's real difficulties will be re-negotiating personal and working relationships and getting back to the pace that is demanded of him because of his inevitable saviour role.

British psychologists have predicted problems for newly released ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, both in their political and their private lives.

According to Dr James Thompson, a psychology lecturer at Middlsex Hospital and an expert in post-traumatic stress syndrome, the danger point for Mr Mandela could come about a month after his release.

"That is when the pace will become very, very hard, and he won't have the time for reflection that he's used to," Dr Thompson said.

"His real difficulties will be re-negotiating his working relationships and getting back to the hectic pace we now live in and the pace that is demanded of him because of his inevitable saviour role."

Getting to know each other again is another problem Mr and Mrs Mandela will have to confront after more than 20 years apart.

Dr Thompson said: "I think they will have to accept that they have been penfriends who are now possibly starting a relationship, after a tremendous separation."

Another leading British psychologist, Dr David Lewis, also expects the reunion to be fraught with problems.

He claims the couple did not have time to establish an emotional bond in the early stages of marriage.

Despite having produced two daughters, "they will now feel as though they are living with a complete stranger. They will probably discover there is no emotional bonding between them and that intimacy is no longer a part of their emotional life.

"They have lived separate lives. Their relationship is based very much on shared beliefs and mutual respect. The love which may have sparked between them when they were first married will be long dead by now."

Dr Lewis suggests that Mrs Mandela's love now "will most probably be one of reverence, not passion or desire — the kind of love one feels for a saint or martyr".

He believes one pitfall could be Mrs Mandela's reaction to the change in their respective statuses — he no longer a faceless mystery, and she probably toppled from her long-held position as an international celebrity.

But Professor Fatima Meer, his authorised biographer, believes Mr Mandela will have no trouble making the transition back to public life.

He continued to play an important, organised and integrated role even while in detention. "He remained a leader even in prison," she said.

THE STAR BUREAU



Walking together in freedom . . . Archbishop Desmond Tutu (right) leads the way for Nelson and Winnie Mandela in the garden at his Cape Town residence on Monday. Mr Mandela was released on Sunday after 27 years in prison.

'Window dressing', say six released islanders

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Staff Reporter

SIX political prisoners have been released from Robben Island after serving terms ranging from three to 10 years for African National Congress activities.

They said after their release yesterday they were the first political prisoners to be released from the island since President De Klerk's announcement a week ago.

The six, some of whose relatives were in Cape Town to visit them not knowing that they would be released, are: Mr Norman Yengeni of Cape Town, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Mohau Mmoledi, Mr Nelson Qobeka, all of Johannesburg and Mr Bushy Maape of Kuruman.

Mr Yengeni, Mr Bundu and Mr Khumalo served 10 years of a 12-year term. Mr Qobeka completed his three-year term last Tuesday and Mr Mmoledi and Mr Maape's four-year terms would have expired next year.

The men addressed a Press conference at Cowley House, Woodstock and said they had "mixed feelings" about 347 other political prisoners they left behind. They called for their immediate release.

Mr Mmoledi said they were unrepentant and they would continue with the armed struggle "just as comrade Madiba (Mr Mandela) had spelt out as none of the conditions set out by the ANC in the Harare Declaration have been met".

Their release was due to pressure exerted by the masses and the international community and "mere window dressing" because they were about to be released anyway.

They were "bitter" that they had been told only at 10am yesterday that they were to be freed and "were not even afforded the courtesy of bidding our co-accused good-bye," said Mr Mmoledi.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) has described as "ridiculous" the manner in which the government is releasing political prisoners.

In a statement today, Mr Dullah Omar, regional leader of Nadel, called on the State to free all political prisoners immediately.

Time to set aside those rose-tinted spectacles

Many people, particularly whites, have been disappointed by some of Nelson Mandela's uncompromising comments since his release. **JOHN RYAN** of The Star's Africa News Service explains why the ANC leader is bound to follow his party's line.

White South Africans who were expecting rather more for their comfort from Nelson Mandela's statements since his release on Sunday need to put aside their rose-tinted spectacles and accept the reality of the probable movement to a new order in this country.

To begin with, they should remember that Mr Mandela is a member of a fundamentalist organisation fighting for radical reforms such as full franchise for all citizens of South Africa in a unitary system.

And, as Mr Mandela himself has been careful to point out, he is at present only an ordinary member of the African National Congress. Despite his past credentials and a reverence that will probably make him the ANC's supreme leader very soon, Mr Mandela holds no formal office now.

So, while his unofficial authority within the organisation is not doubted, he can issue statements only as one part of a collective leadership.

Conciliatory

At the same time, there was a good deal that seemed conciliatory about the tone of Mr Mandela's speeches at the Grand Parade on Sunday and in Soweto on Tuesday. He called the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, "a man of integrity who had gone further than any of his predecessors to try to normalise the situation in South Africa".

He expressed the hope that there would soon be a climate conducive to a settlement.

And at his press conference on Monday, Mr Mandela said the ANC was concerned about white fears of black domination in any future political system and would seek a solution that would suit both blacks and whites.

But he spoke, too, of the need to redistribute wealth and nationalise certain sectors of the economy.

He also called for an intensification of the ANC's struggle on all fronts — including the military one — and an increase of international sanctions against South Africa.



Since Nelson Mandela is at present just an ordinary member of the ANC, his hardline stance on the armed struggle and sanctions is governed by the organisation's national executive.

These last sentiments are straight down the party line. They have been stressed by various officials in the ANC hierarchy since the first of their leaders were released from jail in October.

In Lusaka last month, acting president Mr Alfred Nzo said frankly he doubted that the ANC had the capacity to intensify the armed struggle within the country. But there could be no question, he added later, that there was an urgent need to try.

The organisation's corporate attitude is that there cannot be a unilateral ceasefire. It claims apartheid is the real source of the violence in South Africa and so violence must be suspended on both sides.

On the question of sanctions, the ANC leaders fear the initiatives now being taken by Mr de Klerk may persuade the international community to release the economic noose prematurely, before the process of reform has run what they believe to be its proper course.

They feel this could be happening already, which is why they stress at every opportunity that a fistful of conditions contained in last August's Harare Declaration remain to be settled.

These include the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the abolition of all political trials and executions, the scrapping of the Internal Security Act and all laws inhibiting free political activity, and the removal of the troops from the townships.

Even then, the ANC leadership insists, the meeting of these conditions would not automatically create the right climate for negotiations.

The director of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said in a recent interview: "It is sometimes suggested these are preconditions for negotiations.

"We don't think they are preconditions for negotiations. These are things that need to be done to create equal opportunities for all the political forces which are to participate in the process of negotiations.

Equal terms

"It cannot be that it's okay for the National Party, with all its leadership out of prison and capable of holding any meeting, to consult its own constituency without fear of its meetings being banned under the state of emergency, while the ANC must continue to have some of its leaders in prison, some of its meetings threatened."

Before negotiations could start, Mr Mbeki said, all political forces should have an equal opportunity to take part, on equal terms.

Parties about to enter a bargaining situation are always likely to exaggerate their expectations, and the ANC may yet agree to go to the negotiating table before its full package of demands has been met — as long as it is reasonably satisfied that they eventually will be.

Mr Mandela suggested this at the press conference when he said he was confident the negotiating mechanism would get under way soon.

Meanwhile, the man who could wield the most influence in those talks is bound to follow the consensus of the ANC's national executive and play the bullish game.

6 Robben Island prisoners go free

CHI-TIMES 15/2/90

Staff Reporter (A) 327

SIX political prisoners, some of whom had served nine years on Robben Island, were released yesterday afternoon following a Prisons Service indication that 77 political prisoners would benefit from President F W De Klerk's announcement on February 2.

They are Capetonian Mr Norman Yengeni — brother of Mr Tony Yengeni who is currently on trial in the Supreme Court, Mr Bushy Maape of Kuruman, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Mohau Mmoledi and Mr Nelson Qobeka, all of Johannesburg.

Soon after their release from Robben Island the men arrived at Cowley House in Cape Town and were greeted by about 30 dancing and singing women.

At a press conference, Mr Maape read out a statement saying they were the first of 350 prisoners on Robben Island to be released. They had been informed of their release only yesterday morning. He said they were "happy and sad. We have left 347 behind, but we are happy to return to our friends".

He described their release as a "window-dressing as we were going to be released anyway. We call for the release of all political prisoners".

Man barred from the Island

Courier 15/2/90

A PORT Elizabeth man who wanted to visit a political prisoner on Robben Island was prevented from travelling on the ferry to the island on Tuesday because he wore an ANC T-shirt.

Mr Zolandile Ntlokwana wanted to visit a friend, Mr H Hlopo, who is serving a sentence on the island on terrorism charges, but a prison warder refused to let him go through the gates to board the ferry because he wore a T-shirt with the words: "ANC lives, ANC reigns".

Ntlokwana said he told the warder that the State President had unbanned the ANC but was told the ANC was still banned on the island.

He then borrowed a jacket and covered his T-shirt but the warder turned him away and said he was a "terrorist and terrorists can't visit other terrorists".

The SA Prison Service confirmed the incident and said it was an "unfortunate error of judgment on the part of the warder". The inconvenience was regretted.

Arrangements have now been made for the visit to take place on Wednesday, the Prison Service said. - Sapa.

(46) (327) SPARK 15/2/90

I earned respect by fighting back — Mandela

OWETO — Mr Nelson Mandela ays he earned the respect of his ailers by fighting back during is 27 years in prison, but he refers not to remember bitter xperiences now that he is free.

"Enemies appreciate a man ho fights for his ideas," Mr landela said, sitting in his gar-en giving interviews to TV sta-ons from around the world.

"If a man fights back, he is kely to get more respect than would if he capitulated," said e 71-year-old lawyer who was ld he would be in prison for e rest of his life when he land-on Robben Island in 1964.

"We have had very harsh experiences; some of them could have broken many good men," he said. "But we were fortunate in that we went (into) the prison feeling that we had achieved a great deal."

Mr Mandela told US television network CBS News he had read novels and biographies and had later been allowed to see films. "I did not concentrate on commercial pictures. I was more interested to see educational pictures."

But, he recalled: "When I was a young man I became very fond of actors such as Tyrone Power, Cesar Romero, Don Ameche, Carmen Miranda. Those were my heroes."

Talking about the Rivonia trial, he said: "We had adopted an agressive approach in the course of our trial and, although we were sentenced and convicted, we felt that ... our cause was supported not only locally but by practically everybody.

"We received messages of support from heads of government, from governments, Prime Ministers, influential organisations ... and these messages of support and inspiration continued to reach us in prison and therefore we never felt despair," he said.

The lounge of his red-brick, tin-roofed, four-roomed home was filled with telegrams of congratulations

By 1966, a picture taken by a visitor showed that Mr Mandela, who had gone to prison robust and dark-haired, was already heavily grey, and thinner.

He was ordered to break rocks and gather seaweed. Like other black prisoners, he was denied meat for many years, and was forced to wear summer clothing through most of the cold, windy winter. He contracted tuberculosis in late 1988.

Mr Mandela said he had not been beaten in prison.

"I have not concentrated on the harsh experiences which we had. I have concentrated more on those things which were constructive, positive," he said "When you are in that frame of mind, you forget the past."

In spite of the harshness of the experience, Mr Mandela said he and his colleagues valued the time to think, review strategy and examine policies.

When study and reading privileges were finally extended, Mr Mandela said he read a lot of novels and biographies, especially of freedom fighters. He said he found biographies of Martin Luther King jun and Mahatma Gandhi "very rewarding". — AP.

Release not 'free pass' to violence

STAR 15/2/90 (327) (30[illegible])

Political Correspondent

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has warned that he will not hesitate to use emergency regulations to stop any violence accompanying the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

He told Parliament yesterday the release of Mr Mandela was not a "free pass" to violence and chaos. Excitement over the release of Mr Mandela was understandable, but unbridled murder and destruction of property were completely unacceptable.

Mr Vlok said the number of unrest incidents from February 1 (the day before the ANC was unbanned) until February 13 was 656, which was "far too high". During the past two weeks, 101 people had been killed and 135 hurt. Most of the violence had taken place in Natal.

Mr Vlok said the unbanning of organisations and the release of Mr. Mandela had already brought visible advantages.

FRIGHTENING

"We must carry through with the steps we have taken. We dare not take fright and recoil.

"This will have unacceptable and frightening consequences for our country."

Mr Vlok said the Government had made its decisions after carefully considering all available facts.

It had carefully weighed up the advantages and dangers.

It took into account that South Africa had been the target of a revolutionary threat for many years and had considered where the road of confrontation and isolation with the world might end.

"We noted with concern the increasing impoverishment of our people and of a continuing wave of unrest and violence . . ."

This had to be brought to an end. Strong security action to maintain law and order and stability was now needed more than ever.

B/Day 15/4/90 327

CP's march against ANC

EDYTH BULBRING

A CP-organised march to protest against the release of Nelson Mandela and the ANC's unbanning is to be held in Pretoria tonight.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his deputy Ferdi Hartzenberg would address the gathering, a CP spokesman said.

More than 3 000 people attended a meeting addressed by Treurnicht in Parow on Monday and thousands were expected tonight, the spokesman said.

Permission for the march had been granted by the chief magistrate, he said.

A special Pretoria City Council meeting will take place this afternoon in which the CP caucus will ask the NP to rescind its decision to open Pretoria's amenities to all races on the basis that the NP did not seek this mandate in the September election.

White workers oppose unbannings

STAR 15/2/90

Labour Reporter

SA's largest white worker grouping, the 100 000-member SA Confederation of Labour, has expressed disgust at the Government's "capitulation to communist-inspired movements".

Reacting in a statement to the unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, Sacol secretary Mr Nic Celliers said more strikes and violence could be expected this year.

Attacking the Government for recognising May 1 as a holiday, he said "leftist elements with communist encouragement" could misuse Workers' Day to sow chaos and violence.

US papers question Mandela's views

STAR 15/2/90 (327)

DAVID BRAUN and RAMSAY MILNE of The Star's Foreign Service in the United States report on American doubts on the tone of Mr Nelson Mandela's first utterances since being freed.

The African National Congress's embrace of communism, nationalisation and the continued armed struggle is making heavy weather in the US, where there is some consternation among even the movement's friends as to why outdated policies are being proposed for post-apartheid South Africa.

The *Washington Post* said in its top editorial on Tuesday that South African supporters of the ANC and its friends elsewhere would want to know that the destiny of the South African freedom movement, an inspiration to people all over the world, was not to create another of the cruel, undemocratic and inefficient state-centred regimes that were collapsing in other parts of the world.

And the *Wall Street Journal* broke new ground this week by questioning Mr Mandela's leadership.

It noted that Mr Mandela in his Grand Parade speech lavishly praised the South African Communist Party and that more communist flags were displayed at the rally than those of the ANC.

"When he said he still favours a nationalisation policy, it drove down the rand and South African stocks. Whites aren't the only ones with something to lose from a South Africa in economic ruin. Instead, a fragile consensus exists that there is now something to build on in South Africa."

The newspaper concluded: "The ANC has always acted as if negotiations would be conducted around a square table with two chairs, one for the ANC and one for the whites.

Realise

The sooner both sides realise a round table with chairs representing many interests will be needed, the more smoothly a transition to a post-apartheid South Africa is likely to go."

ANC representatives in the US and the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota, who is visiting the US, have been repeatedly questioned in the media and at meetings as to the meaning of the ANC's policies on nationalisation, the armed struggle and endorsement of the SA Communist Party.

President Bush was also questioned at length earlier this week as to what he thought about Mr Nelson Mandela's "effusive embrace of the SA Communist Party" in his Cape Town speech and the ANC leader's support for nationalisation of South African industries.

Mr Bush made it clear he would not endorse every position of the ANC. Communist parties were going downhill in most parts of the world, he said, while nationalisation and state control of industries was a policy being rejected in favour of Western free enterprise.

The *Washington Post* said: "We think we were not the only listeners who found it passing uncomfortable to hear Nelson Mandela, in his first public words upon release from prison, salute the SA Communist Party "for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy", and go on to hail some of the party faithful by name, including a current general secretary Joe Slovo and suggest the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa continued to have a strong working bond.

"No one wishes to be or even to appear anything less than fully committed to black aspirations at this sunny moment. But how can a party that now stands revealed almost everywhere else in the world as repressive, corrupt and bankrupt win top billing at one of the century's great celebrations of freedom?



UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota . . . questioned at length by the US media on ANC policy.

"The short answer is that Nelson Mandela is caught in something of a time warp on this. At the time he was sent away 27 years ago, the help of the South African communists, the concept of revolution and the fact of Soviet military aid and encouragement to guerilla action had won the party a following in the anti-apartheid movement.

"It could claim to be indigenous, not created and imposed by Moscow, and not much other support was coming from Western sources or other political entities in South Africa. Mr Mandela could be understood on Sunday as paying old debts.

"But of course that does not entirely explain why Communist Party members still dominate the executive council of the until-now externally based ANC and why they evidently also have a strong position in the ANC-oriented internal Mass Democratic Movement.

"Nor does it explain why the ANC's lumpily Marxist formulation of 1955, known as the Freedom Charter, remains the organisation's ideological beacon."

Confirmed

The *Post* said the threshold effort of whoever is confirmed at the helm of the ANC must be to ensure that the black leadership of the country is not captured or influenced by a party that was a relic of the conspiratorial past.

Mr Lekota told a television interviewer some sectors of the South African economy had to be nationalised so that the black people could feel the benefits of freedom.

He stressed "vast sectors" of the economy would remain in the hands of free enterprise and said the one advantage of South Africa getting its freedom so late was that it could learn from the experience of the rest of Africa.

Mr Lekota has also stressed the peaceful nature of the ANC and the intention of the organisation to operate peacefully. The armed struggle would remain ANC policy until such time as the Government released all political prisoners and rescinded the state of emergency.

B|Dw 15|2|90

POLITICS

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Venter 'was bombastic'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Health Minister Dr Rina Venter's response to the nursing crisis was bitterly disappointing, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He had received letters from 47 nurses showing dignity and restraint. "But they depict a crisis of frightening proportions in which these invaluable women are being forced by financial need" to seek jobs elsewhere.

Meanwhile, hundreds of hospital beds stood empty and patients suffered and sometimes died for lack of treatment, he said.

Venter's speech in the House of Assembly had "lapsed into bombast ('I shall not be pressured') and abuse ('The opposition parties are playing politics'). No wonder the nurses who had come to listen to her were distressed. The government must act now, and stop wriggling."

DP warning against dune mining 'barter'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There would be cause for serious concern if dune mining was allowed at St Lucia in return for the establishment of the new conservation area in Zululand, DP environmental spokesman Rob Haswell said yesterday.

Welcoming the creation of a large new conservation area in Natal, which will link St Lucia and Mkuze, Haswell said: "If this good news for conservation is to be tempered by approval of the dune mining at St Lucia, then there is real cause for concern.

'Environmental gems such as St Lucia are priceless and should be sacrosanct. They should never be part of any barter.

"The creation of this new park will only strengthen the conviction that mining in close proximity to it should not be permitted."

He said the DP fully supported this view and would continue to raise its voice on the St Lucia mining issue.

Sapa reports from Durban that when he announced the new conservation area, Kotze said too many of the country's ecologically sensitive areas had been lost.

Thus, the creation of the 275 000ha greater St Lucia conservation area would enhance the resilience of the belt, stretching from the Lebombo mountains in the west to the coast and into the marine reserve.

The scheme will involve linking existing conservation areas by aquiring the land in-between.

The areas to be linked will include the Mkuze game reserve, the St Lucia game and marine reserves, False Bay park, Sodwana Bay national park and the Sodwana Bay, Cape Vidal and Eastern Shores state forests.

Referring to the contentious proposal to mine dunes along the eastern shore state forest, Kotze said if the environmental impact study currently in progress indicated that mining would cause unacceptable disturbances, he would do everything in his power to prevent any such activities.

If the mining were allowed, however, it would be subject to stringent conditions that would ensure that the natural environment would be improved once the mining was completed. Less than 1,5% of the consolidated area would be affected at any one time. — Sapa.

CP's march against ANC

EDYTH BULBRING

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March drama

(327)

CAPE Town saw a dramatic week of marches which started on Tuesday with several hundred people, including world church leader Dr Allan Boesak, left, being teargassed by police as they marched through Kraaifontein to protest against eviction notices served on squatters from the Uitkyk settlement.

The next day, in sharp contrast, police kept their distance as 4 000 marchers, protesting against police brutality at a similar march a week ago, peacefully made their way through the city centre to deliver a memorandum to police. Sowl 1/2 – 7/2/90

"In spite of what your police may do, we will continue to defy and resist without magisterial or police permission," the memorandum read.

The week of marches culminates in a march to coincide with the opening of parliament on Friday to demand that it be disbanded and that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela be freed.

● See Page 3

Calls for assessment after rally

(327)

South 15/2 - 21/2/90

By REHANA ROSSOUW

WIDESPREAD criticism and a call for an assessment of the rally in Cape Town celebrating Nelson Mandela's release have followed the violence which broke out at the event on Sunday.

"The rally was unprecedented. It happened in spite of our efforts — not because of them," said Mr Trevor Manuel, one of the Western Cape representatives of the National Reception Committee.

Thousands of disgruntled supporters left the city before Mandela began addressing the crowd — which by then had shrunk to less than half its initial size.

Manuel said estimates of the size of the crowd varied from 500 000 to 80 000. He said if the number of people along the route from Paarl to Cape Town were included, then one in every four people in Cape Town turned out to see Mandela.

"Thousands were joyful and dignified. If 100 gangsters went on the rampage, it could not give that dignified occasion a bad taste," he said.

Manuel said he did not want to pre-empt an assessment of Sunday's events which will be held shortly, but the two major problems were the short notice given to the Reception Committee and the lack of a suitable venue in Cape Town.

"No venue in Cape Town would have accommodated the numbers who were on the Parade. We wanted the reception to be in Cape Town because this is where Comrade Mandela was released," he said.

"If we had been given additional notice we would have had the space to see to a few more details, such as the marshalling."

Manuel said there was little forward-planning of the reception. On Friday afternoon, when the UDF National Executive Committee met Mandela at Victor Verster, they were still attempting to paint a scenario of his release.

"Comrade Mandela said to us on more than one occasion that he would have advance notice of his release and would communicate it to us," Manuel said.

He said the delay in the speech was caused by several factors. Flights bringing the Mandela family and other dignitaries from Johannesburg were delayed. They arrived at the prison only just before 3pm.

The convoy transporting Mandela from the prison to the Grand Parade had taken a longer route because of the crowds all along the N1. Despite this, enthusiastic crowds still blocked the convoy.

Security

"When we drove into the city with Comrade Mandela, the number of people who had given up and were driving out of town made the roads look like it was peak hour," Manuel said.

"The one factor we could not overlook was security. Several of our arrangements came apart because of the size of the crowd.

"We did not want people inside the City Hall nor in front in Darling Street. Whatever barriers we might have used would have been insufficient to withstand the surge of the crowd.

"We had Comrade Mandela's life in our hands and the situation needed to be checked out."

Manuel said there was a typographical error on the posters advertising the rally. The posters should have informed people that Mandela would address them at 5pm.

Manuel admitted that rumours that Mandela would be speaking at another venue or would address the nation on television were spread deliberately to lure people out of Cape Town. UDF president Zollie Malindi and Archbishop Tutu had taken a group of people to St Mark's Church in District Six in such an attempt.

'We want whites to feel safe'

STAR 15/2/90 (327) (327)

Mr Nelson Mandela's first speech when he left prison was fully reported in almost every country on Earth. But it was addressed to his local constituency, and the ANC rhetoric told little of the man.

Though Mr Mandela's next pronouncements were addressed to the world they received far less attention. Yet his words on this second occasion, in response to questions from pressmen representing most international viewpoints, revealed a great deal; not least the direction in which he may influence South Africa's future.

The question-and-answer session also reveals the calibre of the man; his talents; his thought processes; his style. Every word is worth reading.

Q: Can you tell us how you feel on your first morning as a free man?

A: Before I respond to that question, I think it proper for us to apologise for the failure of the press conference yesterday. Our marshals certainly did good work, but the crowd was too big and it became impossible for us to keep up with our programmes. We very much regret that we could not fulfill that engagement.

Having said that, I want to assure you that I'm absolutely excited to be out. I'm also excited to have the opportunity of addressing you, because throughout these difficult years in prison the press — both locally and foreign — have been a brick to us.

I think it was originally the intention of the government that we should be forgotten and that their leaders — leaders of the homelands, bantustans and all those who work within government structures — should be built up and that we should be forgotten.

It was the press that had the memory of those who had been in prison for offences which they committed in the course of their political activity. It was the press who never forgot us. We are therefore indebted to you and I'm happy to be at this interview this morning.

Q: Mr Mandela, in the light of your reference to your speech yesterday and the fact that leaders must be elected by the national conference of the ANC, do you envisage for yourself a different kind of role before the next conference and could you tell us about what sort of role you envisage yourself playing in the coming months?

A: No person has the right in our organisation to determine what his role is in the course of the struggle. We are loyal and disciplined members of the organisation. It is the organisation that will determine what role we should play. It is my intention to go to Lusaka at my earliest possible convenience. They will tell me what role I should play.

Q: Mr Mandela, could you tell us why, in your understanding, the state has decided to release you back to your people at this point in time, in history?

A: Well, I think it is a normal thing for the government to decide at some stage of release a prisoner. They had already released Comrade Walter and others and my release was a matter of development.

Q: When President de Klerk announced your release on Saturday afternoon, he said that after two meetings with you he had come to the conclusion that you were committed to peace. Last night you committed yourself to the intensification of the armed struggle. Would you care to comment?

A: There is no conflict between those two statements. I have committed myself to the promotion of peace in the country, but I've done so as part and parcel of the decisions and campaigns which have been taken and launched by the ANC. There is no conflict whatsoever.

There is not a single political organisation in this

created since you were in prison, what is their future on the prospectus of the ANC?

A: Well, the ANC has called upon them to join the struggle and I think that is the correct policy. You must remember that some of them, although disagreeing with their policies, are quite innocent and they are men who have served the community in one way or the other. Nothing would please us more than that they should join us.

Q: What do you plan to enhance black unity?

A: No single person can undertake such an enormous task. It is the duty of the political organisations, in particular the ANC, to determine in what way we can increase the momentum of unity among black organisations and then give instructions.

Q: What is your view on sanctions? And do you intend to take up Mrs Thatcher's invitation?

A: Everything that we have set out to achieve through sanctions is still the same. Nothing has changed. You must remember that the demand in this country is for a non-racial society. We are very far from that, and it is too early for anybody to expect us to call for the lifting of sanctions. But having said that, I would like to add that there is nothing that worries us as much that we should be involved in politics of confrontation and we will seize the earliest opportunity of settling our problems through peaceful means.

Q: Will you take up Mrs Thatcher's invitation to visit?

A: Well, an invitation from a British prime minister is something very important and we cannot treat it very lightly. But on this question, I will have to be advised by the ANC.

Q: Mr Mandela, you have told us of parts of your life in prison ...

A: I have lost a great deal over these 27 years. My wife has been under all sorts of pressure and it is not a nice feeling for a man to see his family struggling, without security, without the dignity of the head of the family around. But despite the hard times that we had in prison we have also had the opportunity to think about programmes, and it is an opportunity which is also very rewarding in that regard.

You learn to get used to your circumstances, and in prison there have been men who are very good in the sense that they understand our point of view, and they do everything to try to make you as happy as possible. That has wiped out any bitterness which a man could have.

Q: Could you tell, on the basis of your talks so far, how close you feel you are to having a meeting between the ANC and the government?

A: Well, I am very confident that day is not very far off. One thing I have been able to assess is that Mr de Klerk is a man of integrity and, as I said yesterday, he seems to be fully aware of the danger to a public figure of making undertakings which he



Mr Nelson Mandela: "I think that very soon obstacles to negotiation will be removed."

they will consider India as one of the very first countries which I should visit.

Q: Mr Mandela, you used the word "normalising" quite freely in your address last night and you used the word against just now, and you said that Mr de Klerk also had spoken of normalising. Would you say that your views and Mr de Klerk's views are the same as far as normalising is concerned?

A: Well, I have no doubt that we are talking about the same thing, but if he regards the steps that he has taken so far as being sufficient for the normalisation of the political situation in the country, then I differ with him, because the state of emergency has to be lifted in its entirety and also political prisoners have to be released. Once we have removed these obstacles we will be entitled to say that the situation has been normalised.

Q: You have spoken a couple of times this morning of your sensitivity to the concerns of the white population. Have you modified in any way your views on the redistribution of wealth?

A: No. My views are identical to those of the ANC. The question of the nationalisation of the mines and similar sectors of the community is a fundamental policy of the ANC and I believe that the ANC is quite correct in this attitude and that we should support it.

Q: Mr Mandela, do you intend returning to the Transkei to visit or to stay?

A: My home is in Johannesburg but I was born in the Transkei and it is proper for me to visit the area of my birth and there are certain rites which I have

Q: And your first impressions of the South Africa that you found?

A: Well, it's a totally different South Africa. Along the route I was surprised to see the number of whites who seemed to identify themselves with what is happening in the country today among blacks. I was absolutely surprised. I expected that response from blacks, but the number of whites who seemed to feel that a change is absolutely imperative surprised me.

Q: You said yesterday: "Our economy lies in ruins". Now if we compare it to other countries in Africa it's actually not that bad. Could you elaborate on what you meant when you said this?

A: Well, there are three important aspects we must consider when we are discussing the economy of a country. The question of full employment, the question of productivity and the question of social responsibility. Once we can guarantee that there is progress in these three aspects, then the economy of the country is performing very well. But it is my impression that it not performing well in the sense of these aspecs which I've mentioned and that is why I say that it is in ruins.

Q: (Inaudible. Sound of helicopters.)

A: ... We must assume that the initial steps which he (Mr de Klerk) has taken are indicative that he is able to take the NP with him, but we still want more evidence. If he is able to remove the last obstacles to a negotiation then I will have a better chance of assessing what new ideas are in the NP. But for the time being there is not much evidence that the NP

Q: In view of the chaos and struggle on the perimeter of last night's rally — you will know the details now — how would you answer those on the far right who will now tell President de Klerk: "We told you so. You cannot control this once Mr Mandela is out?"

A: That would be totally wrong. Given the circumstances under which that meeting was held, our people controlled the crowds very well. You must remember we just had one day to organise that meeting. There would have been trouble, no matter who had organised that.

The point is that the people are disciplined. The protest marches that have taken place in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and elsewhere have shown that we can control crowds.

Q: Mr Mandela, there have been some important policy shifts on the government's side over the past few years. Tell us to what extent your in-depth discussions and consultations with the government in the past few years have contributed to their train of thinking.

A: Well, it would be most presumptuous for me to imagine that I've had any effect on influencing government policy. I have already told you that my impression is that for some time there have been men inside the NP who felt a change was absolutely necessary. I may have contributed in some small way, because for the first time the government had the opportunity of getting our point of view from us directly. But otherwise I couldn't claim I've had any effect on the attitude of the government.

Q: You may not ... (inaudible) ... but you had an effect.

A: Well, it is for others to say that. Mr de Klerk would have been in a better position to say so.

Q: I have two questions. The one is: If you could have your life all over again, would you change things so that you wouldn't be in prison? Secondly, I think most people are very surprised, even shocked, to find the ANC being unbanned. We expected you to be released, but not the ANC to be unbanned. Why do you think the government took that step? Also, it seems that many people seem to feel that the ANC was unprepared and has been caught off-guard. Do you agree with that?

A: Starting with the last question. The ANC was never caught off-guard. I have been giving regular reports to them and they have been responding to me. They have actually been instructing me what to do, what views to put forward. They have been getting feedbacks from me. They were never caught unawares. You must remember that the government and the NP had been discussing specific moves that they should take for some time. We had no such an opportunity because we were banned, but the ANC — given the circumstances under which they operated — had a positive response and a well-considered response ...

Q: On the SABC this morning there was a report saying that you were involved in the Communist Party, while (earlier you) said that you were not a communist.

A: Well, I have explained my relationship with the Communist Party. I have been working with them. Their immediate objective is similar and it is natural for us to work closely together. What my personal stand on this is of no importance.

Q: You are not a communist?

A: Let me make it clear: I do not belong to any party apart from the ANC.

compare with the ANC in its total commitment ace. The armed struggle is merely defensive. a defence act against the violence of apartheid, we remain committed to peace.

the government gives us the opportunity, if they malise the situation, we are ready to make a itive contribution towards the peaceful settle- it of the problems of this country.

: Mandela, the government's new battle cry ms to be protection for minority rights and a new otiated constitution. Do you detect a shift here ay from group rights maybe, and do you see any m for accommodation here between the ANC and government?

A: The ANC is very much concerned to address question of the concerns of whites over the de- nd of one person, one vote. They insist on struc- al guarantees, that is the whites, to ensure that realisation of this demand does not result in the mination of whites by blacks. We understand those elings and the ANC is concerned to address that oblem and to find a solution which will suit both blacks and the whites of this country.

Q: Could you tell us something about the meetings u had with South African Cabinet Ministers? hich Cabinet Ministers did you meet and could you ll us something about the content of your discus- ons?

A: Well, that is a very good question, because here has been a lot of misunderstanding about it. I ave been having discussions with the government ver the last three years on two separately related uestions.

The first one in which I had been negotiating with he government, was the release of my comrades, Ir Sisulu and others. As far as that is concerned, I ave been negotiating.

But the second issue has been one of a meeting etween the ANC and the government. There I have been acting surely as a facilitator to bring these two major political organisations to the negotiating able. In the course of my attempt to secure results f these groups, I met a number of Cabinet Minis- ers. The first, of course, was Mr Kobie Coetsee. I had countless meetings with him. The second has been Dr Gerrit Viljoen, whom I have met about four times since he took over his new portfolio.

As you know, I had met the former State President, Mr P W Botha. That meeting has been misunderstood. There is a submission that this was a propaganda ploy on the part of the President at the time. It is not so. That meeting was requested by me and the former SP merely reponded to my request for him to see me. Secondly, it has been suggested that this was an attempt on the part of the former SP to do something that would embarrass Mr de Klerk, and that is not so. Minister de Klerk was involved right at the outset in the arrangement for this meeting. He was kept informed and he himself was in line with the fact that this discussion should take place.

Q: The government has indicated that you are willing to act as mediator. Do you agree with the use of that term?

A: Well, in a sense I have been acting as a mediator, because I believe that the first step towards a solution of our problems is a meeting between the ANC and the government. So I have been playing that role, but now that I am released, it is for the ANC to determine what role I should play.

Q: Mr Mandela, could you give us some insight into the events before President de Klerk addressed Parliament? It is our understanding that you were to meet him or one of the Cabinet Ministers?

A: Well, it is correct to say that I was supposed to meet the SP, but that meeting did not take place, because you people knew about it and you made it impossible for us to meet.

Q: Mr Mandela, the bantustans that have been

sign.

In my discussions with him he has been very flexible, but as an organisation, of course, we are concerned not so much with the personal virtues of an individual. Our policy and strategies are determined by the harsh reality of the fact that the National Party has a policy which is not progressive and that is what determines our attitude. But I am confident that if Mr de Klerk is able to carry the National Party with him in the new line that he has taken that he himself wants to normalise the situation as soon as possible. Therefore I think that very soon obstacles to negotiation will be removed and it will be possible for us to sit down and talk.

Q: Of deep concern in Natal has been Chief Buthelezi's insistence that he has a very personal relationship with you. He has been publicising a letter that you allegedly wrote to him and has been using that to try to whip up support for himself. What will your public attitude now be towards Chief Buthelezi?

A: That should be a matter of no concern. We have differences with Dr Buthelezi. Firstly, on the question of violence. Secondly, on the attitude towards government structures. And thirdly, on questions of sanctions. These are fundamental differences, but nevertheless, he is a figure with a following.

It may not be as big as and may not command as many resources as we command, but he has a following and it seems to me correct to try to settle problems in which he is involved amicably, and I wrote to him because I did not think it was correct that Africans, the blacks, should be killing one another, and that situation we must try to solve.

Q: You spoke yesterday of objectives of majority rule in this country. You also spoke again this morning of the need to address the concerns of whites in this country. Do you feel, and would you be advising your colleagues to feel, that there should be a period of power-sharing before the ultimate objective of majority rule is reached?

A: Well, I do not think it would be proper for me to go into any specifics here, except just to stress that this is a problem we are fully aware of and it is one of our most important duties to address this problem. Whites are fellow-South Africans and we want them to feel safe and that we appreciate the contribution they have made towards the development of this country.

Q: Mr Mandela, President de Klerk has already met several African leaders and he is going to meet more African leaders this year. What do you think of the African countries that have links with South Africa?

A: Well, South Africa is a very important country and if there is an internal solution South Africa will play a major role in promoting developments in various fields, which today require immediate attention in the sense that some of the problems are beyond the resources of the African states around South Africa and therefore, if an internal settlement is reached, I would urge that the relations between our country and Africa should be improved and I would encourage such meetings.

Q: Comrade Mandela, now that you have been released, a number of leaders in the West are extending invitations to you. Are you going to accept the invitations of these people first or the invitations of those countries that have always supported the struggle of the people of this country?

A: If I had to decide the matter I probably would feel that those countries which have supported us very strongly, like India, should get first preference. You must remember that India was the very first country at the United Nations to call for action against South Africa, because of its racial policies. But all these things are in the hands of the ANC. They will plan whatever trips I take as a result of these invitations, but I have no doubt that

ong to see the streets on which I played as a child, the little rivers where I swam and I will go down, but I am stationed in Johannesburg.

Q: You have mentioned the lifting of the state of emergency. Before you came out there was talk that you would disobey the emergency laws until you were re-arrested if you were released into a state of emergency. Could you tell us your views on that and how soon do you think the state of emergency will be lifted?

A: There has also been a great deal of misunderstanding on that question. My position was a simple one: that the question of my release could be approached from two angles.

The first from the relationship between a jailer and a prisoner. If the government released me under those conditions, then I would have no obligation whatsoever. There would be no continuity between the work I was doing inside prison and the work that the ANC might give me outside. But if they want to release me with my consent and on the basis that they do not want to release me into a vacuum, then they must normalise fully. In other words the state of emergency should be lifted and political prisoners should be released. That is my argument.

Q: Yes, but how soon should it be lifted?

A: Well, I cannot specify a time. It can be lifted this morning or it can be lifted tomorrow, but we want it lifted before we can regard the situation as being normal.

Q: Comrade Nelson, we now see people taking to the streets, with or without the permission of the government. How do you feel about that and how does that relate to your release now?

A: Well, It think these developments are breathtaking and they are very inspiring. It is clear now that the masses of the people who want to free themselves are no longer prepared to wait for the government to free them. That is a clear lesson that emerges from the demonstrations that have taken place.

Q: Do you believe that sanctions played an important role in creating a climate for your release? What other important forces do you think were at play?

A: Well, the release is the result of the accumulative effect of many factors. There is the question of the internal mass struggle which has reached a new level of intensity. There is the pressure which comes externally. Then, of course, even the government are not themselves unanimous in some of these things. There have been many who have been insisting that change is absolutely necessary. I think that their numbers within the government, the NP, are increasing and I think all these factors have contributed to my release.

Q: Mr Mandela, you have been talking a lot about the assurances that you'd like to give whites. Does that mean you would be prepared to compromise on the system of one man, one vote, maybe by having separate voters' rolls, things like that?

A: No, I have said that I would not like to go into any specifics at this time. This is, however, a matter which is regarded as extremely important by the ANC. When we decide the actual structure of the guarantees, that might be developed at the time when we are addressing this question.

Q: Can you describe your emotions as you came out of prison yesterday and also your first impressions of the South African you saw, particularly the rally and the violence?

A: I must confess that I am unable to describe my emotions. I was completely overwhelmed by the enthusiasm. It is something I did not expect. I would be merely rationalising if I told you that I am able to describe my own feelings. It was breathtaking, that's all I can say.

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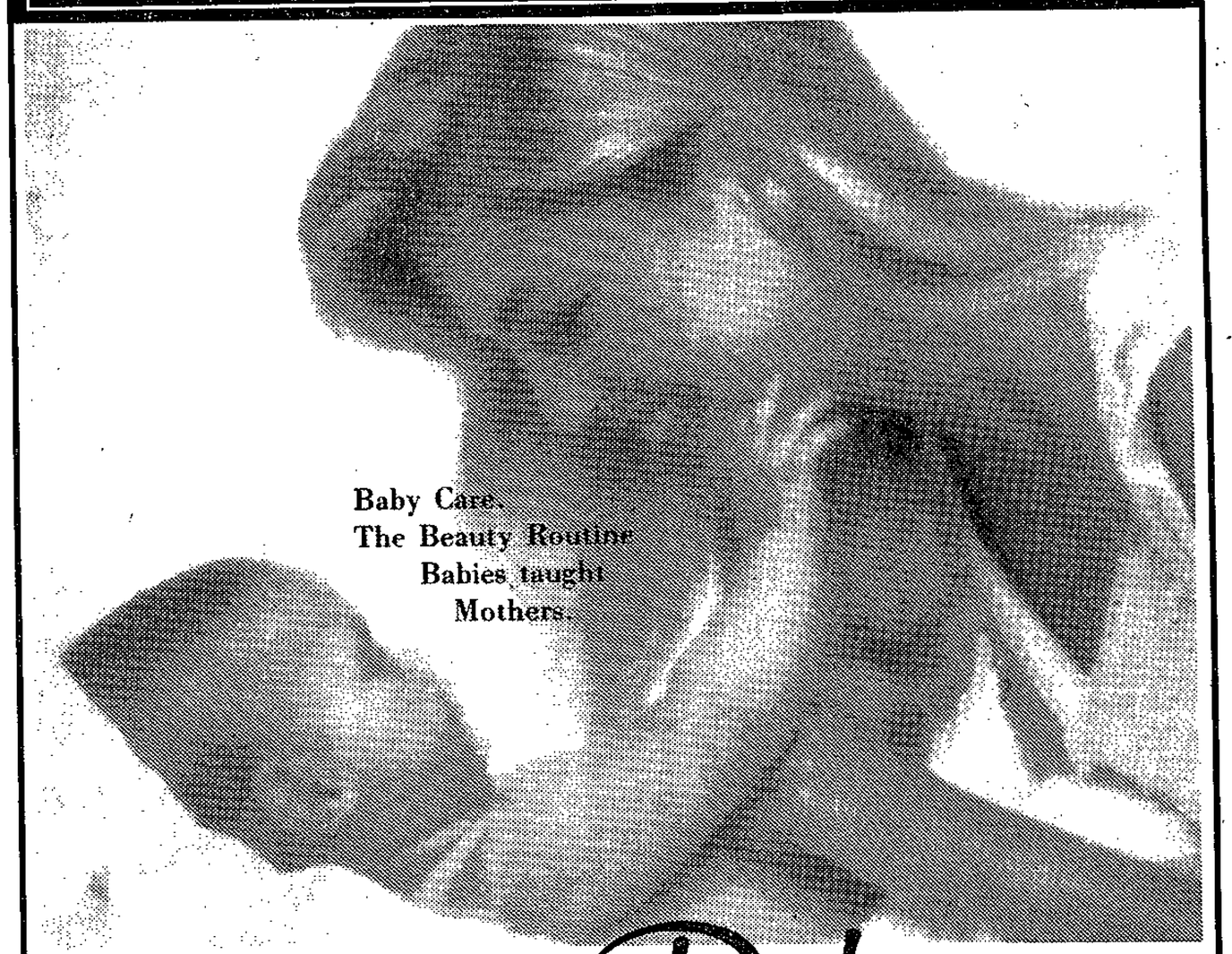

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THE BARNETT COLLECTION VOLUME II
This book contains historical photographs of South Africa and Johannesburg at the turn of the century. All photographs are supplied by The Star's Barnett Collection.
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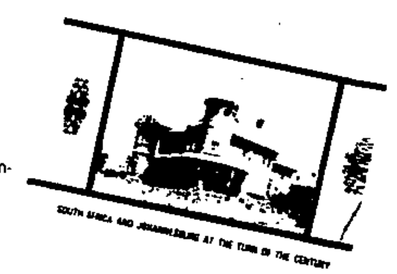
SOUTH AFRICA AND JOHANNESBURG AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Late gold

London: $416,00 ($418,05)
Frankfurt: $416,45 ($419,50)
Zurich: $415,50 ($419,75)
Hong Kong: $414,80 ($416,45)
New York: $416,50 ($417,75)

The Star
Finance

Commodities

Copper: £1366,0 (£1339,0)
Platinum: $514,00 ($518,25)
Sugar: £211,90 (£215,40)

FTSE 100 close: 2298,3 (2293,2)
DOW close: 2624,32 (2624,10)

Sunday Star
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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
ASHLEY on 633-2793 or
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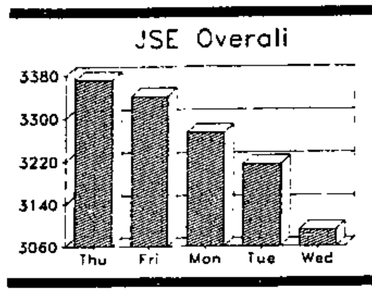

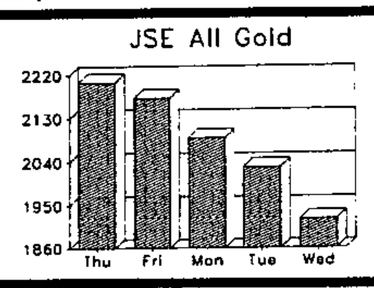

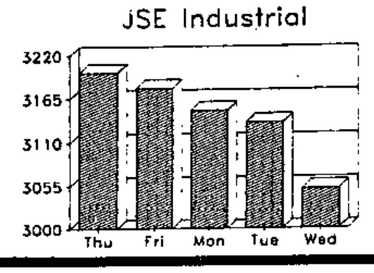

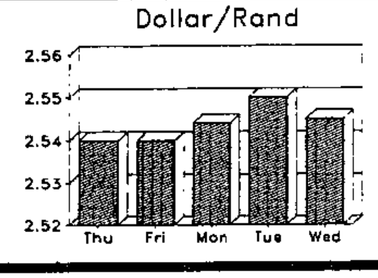

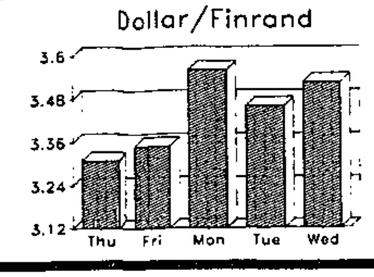

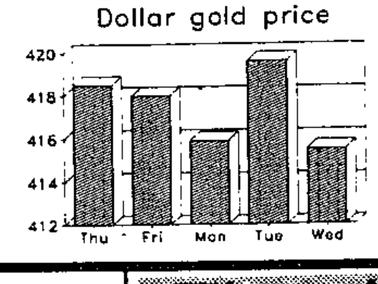

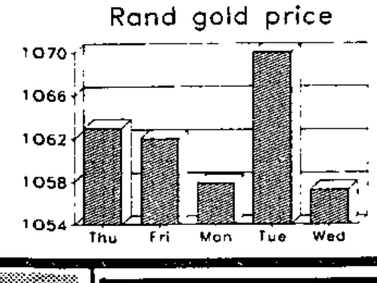

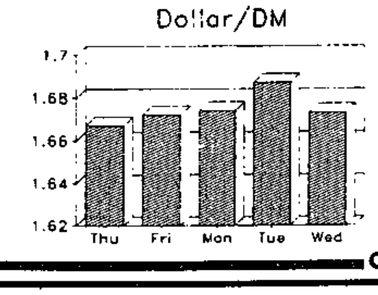

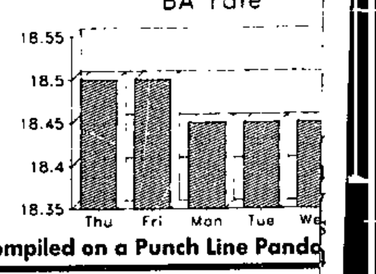

Compiled on a Punch Line Pando

TOP OF FINANCE

Dr Stals cautions

The Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Chris Stals, says the move away from traditional financing of home loans is unhealthy. Delivering the first Gerhard de Kock memorial leacture at the University of Pretoria Wednesday evening, Dr Stals said there had been an increasing shift towards financial institutions using short-term funds to finance home loans.

He said this had been allowed by the authorities because of the shortage of money in fixed deposit savings and the social importance of housing, but made it more difficult to carry out a successful monetary policy.

Perrier insider probe

France launched an inquiry yesterday into possible insider trading in Perrier shares as they continued to tumble because of a contamination scare. The group said it would immediately withdraw and destroy its entire world stocks of 160 million bottles following the discovery of minute traces of benzene.

Drexel lay-offs

At least 3 500 of Drexel Burnham Lambert's total of 5 400 employees are to be laid off by the end of the week, a spokesman said in New York, increasing speculation that stockmarkets are about to see one of their biggest recent cutbacks.

Bank drops £53,3-m

Natwest Investment Bank is taking a £53,3 million loss with the sale of its 9,16 percent stake in Blue Arrow to an unnamed US institution.

Currency trading

Trading in foreign currencies worldwide is 32 times greater than world trade, according to the Bank for International Settlements.

Reports by Sapa-Reuter-AP and the Financial Times.

Share prices crash on overseas sell-off

STAR 15/2/90

By Magnus Heystek, Finance Editor

Overseas selling of South African equities, evident since Monday morning after the release on Sunday of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, turned into an avalanche yesterday, resulting in sharp falls in share prices across the board.

Gold shares were particularly heavily marked down, with the gold index shedding 108 points to close at 1921.

The overall index lost 123 points to close at 3091.

Even industrial shares, which barely ten days ago went into orbit on news of Mr Mandela's release, came in for heavy profit-taking. The index closed 84 points lower at 3051.

Mr Mandela's statements on the nationalisation of mines went down like a lead balloon among international investors.

Since Monday the gold index has shed 250 points, with fears of widespread nationalisation of state and private sector assets by an ANC government taking hold in London and New York.

While local financial markets have been showing distinct signs of nervousness since Monday morning, yesterday's panic selling in the afternoon session caught most brokers and analysts by surprise.

The market was flooded with selling orders from London and New York.

The failure of the gold price to breach the $420 level served convincingly to undermine further the already shaky sentiment towards gold shares, although a measure of support was noticeable during the last half-hour's trading.

Gold was fixed at $416 in the morning session in London but dropped back further to an afternoon fix of $414,60. At the close gold was trading in London at $416,50.

On other finanacial markets the reaction to Mr Mandela's position was the same.

The financial rand gyrated around R3,50 to R3,60 for most of the day, while the bellwether capital market rate of the Eskom L168 rose by another 25 points for the second day in succession to close at 15,75 percent.

The market was described as extremely nervous, with dealers unwilling to take any positions.

Sensible explanation

Analysts were last night trying to put together some sensible explanation for the reaction by overseas investors.

"For years overseas investors have been pressuring the Government to release Mr Mandela. Now that he's released, they're getting rid of our shares at any price," said James Cross of broking firm Fergusson Bros, Hall Steward and Co. He called it "a naive over-reaction".

Most analysts agreed that Mr Mandela's statements on nationalisation should not be taken literally, saying they were bound to be part of the ANC's strategy in the run-up to negotiations.

Ron Klipin, an analyst at brokers Frankel, Kruger Vinderine, was particularly perplexed by the sudden turnaround in sentiment on the part of overseas investors.

"Last week they were clamouring to buy a stake in SA Inc at any cost; this week they are sellers of SA Inc on a massive scale.

"This reaction indicates an enormous amount of naivety on the part of overseas brokers. They are focusing on the negative statements made by Nelson Mandela and are totally ignoring the conciliatory noises he is making."

Local institutions were virtually absent from the market yesterday and Tuesday. But according to some dealers some "nibbling" at selected shares was noticeable later in the day.

But all were unanimous that the market would continue to be uncertain for an indefinite time, particularly with a non-performing gold price.

Tiger in sweet deal

STAR 15/2/90

By Ann Crotty

The giant Tiger group is moving into the R1 billion a year confectionery market with the purchase of a 50 percent stake in Beacon sweets and chocolate manufacturer, Durban Confectionery Works.

Beacon has an annual turnover of over R300 million and is estimated to hold a 34 percent share of the SA confectionery market.

The agreement between the Zulman family — owners of the Beacon operations in SA — and Tiger is subject to several conditions, all of which are expected to be fulfilled before February 28, 1990.

Although the deal fits well into the Tiger food basket it will not have a material effect on Tiger's earnings for the year to end-September or on its net tangible asset value.

No details of the price have been disclosed but industry sources indicate that based on the annual turnover figure and on similar deals that have been struck within the industry, Tiger could be paying as much as R50 million to get this stake in what is regarded as a fast growing market.

The joint venture deal between Tiger and Beacon should combine the former's resources (including its distribution expertise in the black market) with the latter's knowledge of the industry to maximise the benefits offered by market's growth potential.

Genrec acquisitions bear fruit

STAR 15/2/90

By Ann Crotty

Genrec, which is involved in the construction, engineering and manufacturing industries, has reaped considerable benefit from the previous year's acquisitions and reported a 93 percent surge in turnover to R252,7 million (R130,6 million) for the six months to end-December.

Operating profit surged to R8,3 million f)rom R2,9 million and attributable profit was up from R2,9 million to R7,5 million, equivalent to earnings per share of 65c (28) a share.

An interim dividend of 12,5c a share has been declared.

The directors are confident that earnings in the second half will be higher than those achieved in the first.

This optimistic outlook is based on the fact that the tank container export market remains buoyant.

"This, together with the recent award of the Marion draglines and our share of the Hook-up contract for the Mossgas offshore platform, has added in excess of R100 million to the forward order book," they say.

Tycon deal slows Consol

Diagonal Street
ANN CROTTY



Interim results from Consol look a bit disappointing and suggest that investors who pushed up the share from around R10 last June to its current level of R20 may have gone a bit over the top in terms of short-term prospects for the group.

Earnings per share for the six months to end-December were up just 12 percent from 50,4c to 56,3c.

The share price took off last year after the announcement of the acquisition of Tycon (formerly Goodyear) as investors believed this would provide a major and counter-cyclical earnings boost for Consol.

Certainly the latest figures from Consol do highlight the impact of the slower economy on the group's traditional packaging activities. Indications are that the turnover increase from the packaging activities was only in the region of 10 percent. Bringing on the Tycon turnover boosted this to a 61 percent increase.

According to Consol sources, Tycon made only a small contribution to operating profit. This was due to the massive disruption and expense resulting from the 11-week strike and a two-week go-slow at Tycon following the US disinvestment.

But given that there was a 43 percent hike in group operating profit it would seem that margins in the packaging divisions showed some improvement.

Going further down the income statement, the impact of the Tycon acquisition takes an increasing toll on group performance.

Net financing costs were a massive R10,7 million compared with finance income of R1,2 million at the previous interim — a turnaround of R12 million. This reflects the fact that more than R120 million of the group's cash balances were used to pay for Tycon (in addition to R50 million of redeemable preference shares) which meant that capex and working capital requirements had to be funded with borrowings.

Therefore, much of the R12 million turnaround can be regarded as part of the cost of acquiring Tycon.

The swing in finance costs reduce the taxed profit increase to only 22 pe cent — up from R32,2 million t R39,3 million.

Preference dividends, related entir ly to the purchase of Tycon, too R3,3 million leaving earnings R36 million — up 12 percent fro R32,2 million.

If Tycon is stripped out of Cons and a 10 percent turnover growth with operating margins of around percent — is assumed for the packagi activities then the increase in earnin could have been around 16,5 percent up to over R37 million.

The good news is that those figur are historical and that if Tycon produ tion runs normally during all of the se ond half, it will be able to make a re sonably significant contribution to f year earnings.

Analysts expect Consol's earnings p share for the 12 months to June 1990 be up by around 25-30 percent — estimate that Consol management b lieves is reasonable. (Eps of 151c p the share on a prospective P/E of massive 13,7 times).

In the following year (to June 19 the contribution from Tycon — assu ing 12 months normal production a good operating performance — sho match investors' expectations as ca generation helps to reduce the imp of finance costs. The pref dividends remain on the books for three and half years which means that there be another earnings kick-up in financ 1993.

In addition the link-up with Tred should enhance Tycon's earnings in longer-term.

Investors who bought at around can't be too happy at the prospect waiting so long for the benefits. But those who got in at R10 and below looks like a good long-term buy.

Star 15/2/90 (327)



The six ANC prisoners released from Robben Island yesterday after spending between three and 10 years are, from left, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Nelson Qobeka, Mr Mohau Mmoledi, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Bushy Maape and Mr Norman Yengeni (far right). Second from right is Mr Trevor Manuel, a member of the National Reception Committee.

FW's moves meaningless, say freed Island men

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Six people were released this week from Robben Island after serving terms ranging from three to 10 years for ANC activities.

They said they were the first batch of political prisoners to be released from the island since the State President announced the release of certain political prisoners a week ago.

The six, some of whose relatives were in Cape Town to visit them, not knowing that they would be released, are Mr Norman Yengeni of Cape Town, Mr Eddie Khumalo, Mr Vuyisile Mbundu, Mr Mohau Mmoledi, Mr Nelson Qobeka, all of Johannesburg and Mr Bushy Maape of Kuruman.

The men stressed that President De Klerk's "so-called negotiations meant nothing" as long as he did not accede to ANC demands.

Mssrs Yengeni, Bundu and Khumalo had served 10 years of a 12-year term for terrorism and furthering the aims of the ANC. Their release was due in September next year.

Mr Qobeka completed his three-year term last Tuesday and Mr Mohau and Mr Maape's four-year terms would also expire next year.

The men were released from jail on Tuesday.

Mr Maape said they had "mixed feelings" about 347 other political prisoners they left behind and called for their immediate release.

He said they were unrepentant and they would continue with the armed struggle "just as comrade Madiba (Mr Mandela) had spelt out, because none of the conditions as set out by our organisation in the Harare Declaration have been met."

A member of the National Reception Committee said the way prisoners were being released showed that "De Klerk has no respect for our comrades".

Dutton trial told of R55-m duplicate deal

By Anna Louw,
East Rand Bureau

An auditor told a Germiston magistrate yesterday that Interboard Limited made a duplicate payment of R55 million to an overseas company via the International Bank of Johannesburg.

Mr Casper Venter, a chartered accountant from the firm Ernest & Young, was giving evidence in a bail application by Mr Edward Isaac Dutton (34), former managing director of Interboard.

Mr Venter said Ligneus, a Guernsey-based company, bought a plant from Spano, a reputable Belgian company for DM 2,5 million (about R3,9 million). The same plant was sold by Partic (a Jersey registered company) to Ed Dutton Holdings for R62 million.

Mr Venter said the payments made to Partic by Ed Dutton Holdings, Interboard and a firm referred to as IBMM totalled about R61,9 million.

The money was remitted via First National Bank in South Africa to Partic between June 1987 and December 1988. The court heard that no payment was made by Partic to the suppliers.

Under cross-examination Mr Venter admitted he had not been able to scrutinise Partic's books.

He said when he went to Britain to continue his investigation he discovered that both Partic and Ligneus had been liquidated. The hearing continues.

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Ice breaks as Mandela meets Indian envoy

STAR 15/2/90 (327)

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met a top official of the government of India — the first country to sever diplomatic relations with South Africa and impose sanctions.

The visit of ambassador Mr Prakash Shah, head of India's international foreign relations committee in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is understood to be the first official contact with South Africa in 40 years.

Mr Mandela received Mr Shah for 45 minutes at his Soweto home. Arrangements were made by the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and the National Reception Committee.

TIC president Mr Cassim Saloojee described the meeting as "highly significant" and said Mr Shah had been sent to invite Mr Mandela to visit India.

He said India's President, Mr Ramaswamy Venkataraman, was the chairman of a newly-formed National Reception Committee for Mr Mandela.

Mr Mandela was pleased to meet Mr Shah and the two spoke of India's involvement "in our liberation struggle".

Mr Shah would meet Mass Democratic Movement leaders during his three-day visit to South Africa, but would not meet Government officials "or any apartheid collaborators", Mr Saloojee said.

15/2/90 STAR (327) (~~328~~)

New law on marches mooted

Permits may be unnecessary

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The law on protest marches is expected to be changed to make it unnecessary for organisers of protests to apply for permission from a magistate.

Instead, organisers will merely have to "give notice" of the protest to an official — who could be a magistrate.

It is hoped this will get around the State's insistence that permission should be sought — and the refusal by most organisers to ask permission to protest because they feel this is a right.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee told Parliament this week that there were shortcomings in the protest legislation which would be addressed.

Though he gave no detail it is understood that the need to apply for permission will be done away with.

Sources said the proposed changes would be similiar to proposals made in Parliament this week by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall suggested a practical compromise to solve the deadlock that had occurred between police and protestors recently.

Protest organisers would have to give "timeous notice" of the event to a desginated official.

Onus on organisers

The notice would include details such as the purpose of the march, route, date, time, projected numbers, speakers, etc.

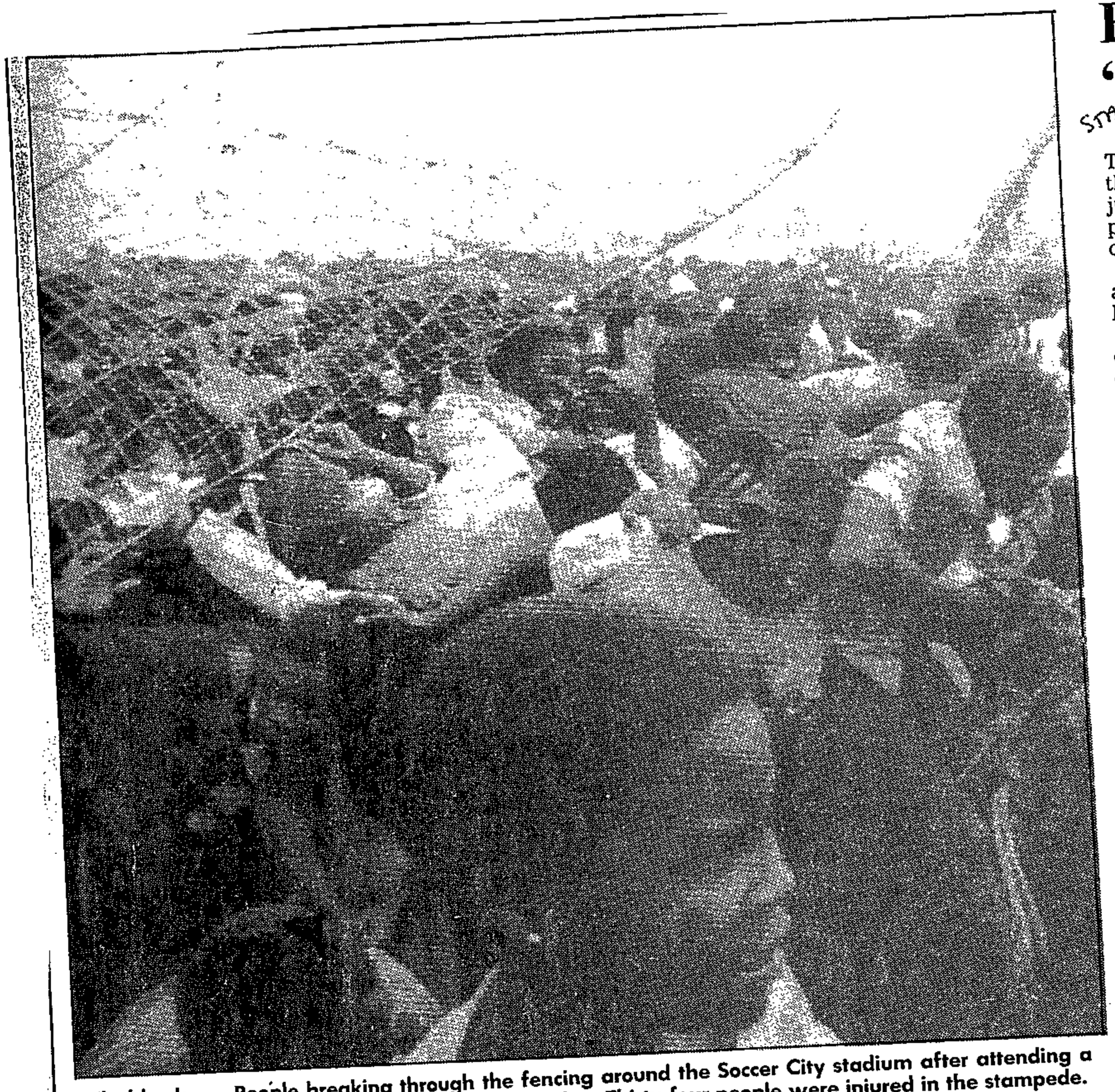
The onus would rest on the organisers to ensure the protest would be peaceful as far as possible.

The State would still have the authority to prohibit or limit a protest.

But the onus rested on it to give clear and specific reasons for doing so.

"We therefore propose amendments to the Internal Security Act, Riotious Assemby Act and other legislation to bring them into line with the new reality," he said.

Mr Coetsee welcomed his suggestions and sources said the changes to the law would be similar to Dr Worrall's ideas.



Flashback . . . People breaking through the fencing around the Soccer City stadium after attending a rally addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela on Tuesday. Thirty-four people were injured in the stampede.

Fence at stadium 'designed to collapse'

STAR 15/2/90 (32) (46)

Staff Reporters

The fence that collapsed at Soweto's FNB stadium at the massive Mandela rally on Tuesday seriously injuring 34 people, was designed to give way under pressure from a large crowd, the managing director of the stadium, Mr Aziz Loonat said yesterday.

Mr Loonat inspected the stadium to assess damage after the mass rally to welcome home ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Several thousand rands worth of damage was caused to fixtures in the stadium. Mr Loonat said he could not put an exact figure on the damage yet, as building contractors were still on the scene. Discussions would also have to be held with the National Reception Committee which organised the rally and the insurance company to decide who was responsible for repairs.

He emphasised that all damage to doors, toilets, roof sheeting and fencing was due to overcrowding. He said damage was "minimal" compared to the number of people present.

DOORS KICKED IN

"I was at the rally. There was no malicious damage. Some doors in the suites were kicked in so people could get through to see Mr Mandela, but there was no looting or any other damage to suites.

"As managing director of the stadium I can say I am glad the fence collapsed because otherwise we would have had more deaths.

"When we were building the stadium we made provision for situations where overcrowding could result in injury. The fence was designed to collapse if a certain amount of force was exerted."

The stadium is designed to hold a maximum of 75 000 people. Mr Loonat said he became concerned at noon on Tuesday when the flow of people continued although the stadium was already filled to capacity. He estimated there were 135 000 people inside the stadium and another 65 000 outside trying to get in.

People crammed into every open space in the stadium, climbing on to rooftops, and spotlight supports.

● A child died at Orlando Stadium on Monday after being caught in the crush of people hoping to see Mr Mandela.

BANNED BOOKS, (327) PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for possession:
Journal of the Socialist Workers Party of South Africa (Socialist Workers Party of South Africa, London); Racial Loyalty no 48 March 1989, and no 50 May 1989 (Church of the Creator, North Carolina).
Banned for distribution and importation:
Kingway Language College — London Correspondence Courses 1989/90 Book 1 Course 2 (Workers Revolution, London); badge with dagga leaf and wording "Legalize it"; badge with dagga leaf and word "pothead"; badge with dagga leaf and words "don't waif on it, smoke it" (all three not stated); Graveyard Shift — film; Adventures in Oral Sex (Jane Gillies); Gek no 59 and Prank no 158 (both by Sonskyn Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Jeppestown); Laughs in the Loo (Eric Bent); A Night in a Moorish Harem (not stated); A Bite of the Apple (Molly Parkin); The Girls of Gent vol 13 1989 (Dugent Publishing Corporation, Coral Gables); Bounce no 38 (Tozenworkd Ltd, London); Truly Tasteless Jokes (Blanche Knott). u/n nil
Restricted: 16/2 – 22/2/90
Sensual Massage — An Intimate and Practical Guide to the Art of Touch (Nitya Lacroix — not for persons under 18, not be be displayed with pages open, only to be distributed by bookshops, libraries and wholesale book distributors); Portrait of a Chinese Paradise (not for persons under 18, only to be displayed in a sealed wrapping).
Unbanned:
Staffrider vol 1 no 1 March 1978 and vol 4 no 2 July/August 1981 (Ravan Press, Johannesburg).

Medical ethics 'are in force during conflict'

CM THS 16/2/90

Staff Reporter

MEDICAL ethics, specifically confidentiality, are unchanged in periods of conflict, says Dr Leslie London, secretary of the Western Cape branch of the National Medical and Dental Association.

Speaking at a meeting of the Academy of Family Practice, Dr London said on Monday that confidentiality was a central tenet and any infringement of this must be ethically justifiable.

He said it was impossible for a doctor to remain politically neutral when considering the abuse of ethical and human rights, especially in the context of civil unrest where large numbers of people were involved in changing the social order.

"The many ethical codes in medicine create a point of conflict with the laws and political policies of this country — the clearest being the question of racism in the health services interfering with the quality of care given to a patient," he said.

...February 20. | ...they had not responded to this opportunity. | ...ry for the song "Somethi...

14 political prisoners freed

STAR 16/2/90 (327)

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia and Mckeed Kotlolo

A total of 14 political prisoners are known to have been released in the two weeks since State President Mr F W de Klerk's speech, repression monitoring groups said yesterday.

Most of the 14 were released shortly before their sentences expired, they said.

Less than five percent of the estimated 3 000 political prisoners currently serving sentences appear to be eligible for release, according to the Detainees Aid Centre (Dac) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC).

They defined a political prisoner as: "Anyone who finds himself/herself in prison for opposing apartheid. This definition referred to people who were jailed for peaceful protest, unrest situations or taking up the armed struggle."

However, the groups said President de Klerk's definition excluded a large number of prisoners that they considered should be classified as "political prisoners".

A DAC spokesman said six political prisoners jailed on Robben Island were released on Tuesday and another three political prisoners jailed there were released on Wednesday. A further three political prisoners were released from Johannesburg Prison, also on Wednesday.

The six who were released on Tuesday include Mr Bushi Mape, who was sentenced to five years, of which one year was suspended, for furthering the aims of a banned organisation and terrorism. He was released five days before his sentence expired.

Mr Norman Yengeni and Mr Eddie Khumalo, who were sentenced to 10 years for furthering the aims of a banned organisation and terrorism were due to be released next year.

Mr Vuyisile Mavundla, Mr Nelson Qubeka and Mr Mohau Moledi were sentenced to three years for furthering the aims of banned organisations and were also due to be released next year.

POLICEMEN

The three political prisoners released from Robben Island on Wednesday are: Mr Daniel Matshwenyego Mokgabudi, Mr Cederick Tshifhango Rapudi and Mr Lucas Mabe.

Mr Mokgabudi and Mr Rapudi, both former security branch policemen, were sentenced to 14 years' jail for spying for the ANC. They were arrested in 1986 and each sentenced to a total of 14 years in 1987.

Their sentences were reduced to six years each on appeal.

Mr Mabe was sentenced to five years in 1988 for furthering the aims of the ANC. Three years of the sentence were suspended for five years.

The three men who were released from Johannesburg Prison on Wednesday are: Mr Andries Nkabinde, Mr Amos Rammego and Mr Nicholas Kgasi of kwaThema. They were arrested on November 20 1987 and sentenced for futhering the aims of banned organisations on June 28 1988. They were sentenced to two years' jail and two years suspended.

Two political prisoners released last week were Ms Barbara Hogan and Mr Rob Adams. Ms Hogan served eight of a 10-year sentence, and Mr Adams served 7½ years of a 10-year sentence.

Regarding their estimate that only five percent of political prisoners were eligible for release, the HRC spokesman said: "Mr F W de Klerk's opening speech in Parliament this month with regard to political prisoners limited the expected numbers of political prisoners eligible for release.

"In terms of the legislation all 'unrest' political prisoners are excluded, as are probably three quarters of the 'security' political prisoners because of the violence element in their convictions."

She added that the Government had not yet published a list of those who would be considered for release or have their sentences shortened.

Strikers stab 2 | ...

The time's come to dust out the banned list

FW de Klerk has unbanned organisations. Will the censors take his lead and unban their publications? CHARLOTTE BAUER reports

WHILE political pundits argue about whether FW de Klerk has crossed the Rubicon, got stuck in the middle of it ... or simply taken an aeroplane instead, state institutions — among them the powerful Directorate of Publications — are trying to work out their next move.

The South African censors, arbiters of all we see, hear and read, have always been led in their tastes by the prevailing (official) socio-political climate; even while claiming, in much the same spirit as the judiciary, that all decisions are independently contrived.

Now that this climate is likely to become somewhat more clement, the question of how the Directorate will respond is uppermost in the minds of many authors and filmmakers whose work has been left to rot on the great South African trash heap of "undesirability".

One media lawyer says that since De Klerk announced the unbanning of several political organisations a fortnight ago, she has been "inundated" with queries from clients wanting to know whether their material is still banned.

The position is murky. In a statement last week, the Cape Town-based head of the Directorate, Dr A Coetzee, said that in the light of the legitimisation of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, among others, an immediate review of policy was clearly called for.

For instance, Coetzee said, the first step would be to lift the relevant section of the Publications Act which had been used to ban in perpetuity publications like the ANC mouthpiece, *Sechaba*, and the SACP's official journal, *The African Communist*.

This means that such publications would, in future, be subject to the "normal scrutiny" that casts its eye over the content of all newspapers and magazines.

However, it is unclear whether all such material will have to grind through the censorship machine yet again in order to achieve this status, or whether the Directorate intends reassessing every currently banned work of a political nature itself.

What the Directorate's decision does not mean is taking off the heat. The ANC may have been unbanned, but it is still committed to armed struggle. When this position is reflected in an edition of *Sechaba*, there is nothing to stop the state-attorney making a case out of it for the imposition of an outright ban.

Nothing in Coetzee's statement suggests that the rules of censorship will change and one of those rules says that anything felt to endanger the security and good order of the state, is "undesirable".

Equally, nothing suggests a spring-cleaning of the membership of either the secret censorship committees or of the Publications Appeal Board. The nameless, faceless people whose attitudes set the moral tone, are the same people they were yesterday and they will still be setting the moral tone.

We don't know who sits on the committees responsible for dishing out bans in the first place. We do know that the most (arguably the only) liberal voice on the Appeal Board, resigned in disgust last year. She was Linda Gilfillan, an English academic from the University of Pretoria, who was chairman Professor Cobus van Rooyen's strongest ally in efforts to lessen the stiffling impact of censorship in its more sinister guises.

Van Rooyen, whose influence has undoubtedly inched the Appeal Board towards progress during the 1980s, was not prepared to comment on the possible shape of things to come. He explained he did not want to be seen as "pre-judging issues that are likely to come up before the board in the future".

One reason for Van Rooyen's reticence is probably the fact that his chairmanship comes up for review next month and he is playing safe, being anxious to hold onto the job. But going by his track record, it is fair to predict that Van Rooyen, if he keeps his job, will not let the momentous political changes affecting South Africa slide by unnoticed.



Cry Freedom's Denzil Washington and Kevin Kline ... police are going to hand the movie back to the distributors

Meanwhile, the ironies of censorship continue to abound.

Just four days after the state president's historic plea for a new, more tolerant, multi-party South Africa, a censorship committee refused a group of film festival organisers at Wits University permission to screen a number of films (both local and foreign) which had already been screened at other festivals around the country.

No Easy Road to Freedom, a film by Kevin Harris about the political transition of Namibia, was banned by a committee three months before the elections for, among other things, its "sympathetic portrayal of the enemy (Swapo)". Presumably, now that the war is over, the South African government no longer regards Swapo as "the enemy". No one does. But the film, despite the pointing out of such technical niceties, remains banned.

The film *Cry Freedom* was passed by the Appeal Board, only to be seized on its first day out by police acting under the Emergency regulations blanket. Now the police, having bypassed the authority of the censors (who, in police terms, were clearly thought to have acted too leniently) have decided to release the film back in to the care of its distributors.

The confusing messages thrown out by the fact the State of Emergency still exists, exerting massive control over everyone — even the censors — is liable to further frustrate renewed attempts at liberalising censorship from within.

Media lawyer Gilbert Marcus has pointed out until laws embraced by the State of Emergency and the Internal Security Act are amended, there can be little hope for dramatic changes within the Directorate.

However, this does not discount a shift in attitudes of a more philosophical nature.

For this to happen, the Appeal Board's vast armoury of existing criteria by which "desirability" is measured, could stretch the censors' imagination in almost any direction.

Says Marcus: "The criteria are sufficiently elastic to embrace an enormous discretionary component ... they are so protean as to be able to generate either incredible suppression or considerable freedom."

One lawyer believes that the changing political climate may have the effect of polarising the Directorate's censorship committees and the Appeal Board still further. In crude terms, the committees are widely perceived as being a lot more archaic and conservative than the Board.

Censorship-watchers will be paying close attention to Appeal Board decisions over the next couple of months in an effort to establish which way it's going to swing.

Of particular interest will be the Board's judgement concerning the film, *A Dry White Season*, which is being considered for general release. As the application revolves around permission for *Season* to be shown uncut at popular cinemas, rather than for a specified number of screenings at a largely inaccessible "art house" or festival, much rests upon the outcome.

Harare Declaration is the linchpin for peace

STAR 16/2/90 (327)

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The ANC would not enter into negotiations before the Government had met all the preconditions as spelt out in the Harare Declaration, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In his first interview with local journalists since his return to Soweto, the ANC leader said the preconditions were the ANC's mandate from its supporters under the difficult circumstances where many leaders were either in exile or in jail. The organisation could not deviate from that mandate.

COMMON ROLL

He held the interview in the small lounge of his home in Orlando West, Soweto.

He said there had been definite progress towards reaching a political settlement. He believed from discussions with Government representatives that progress would continue until political life had been completely normalised.

The ANC was prepared to compromise on its views to reach a settlement.

But Western democracies were based on a system of one person, one vote. Universal franchise on a common voters roll was the only system acceptable to most South Africans.

Mr Mandela lashed out at the Government and whites in big corporations for being "agitated" about the ANC's policy on nationalisation.

Many sectors of the economy were already nationalised.

"For the Government now to be agitated over our policy of nationalisation shows they are not yet ready for either negotiations or a completely democratic system.

"Where do we get the capital to tackle the national issues facing us, such as housing, education and health, if we don't nationalise?"

Asked if the spate of violence countrywide would retard the lifting of the state of emergency, Mr Mandela said: "The Government has had three states of emergency. Violence' is still there. It has not helped the Government at all.

"The only power it has given the Government is the right to abuse its position by detaining innocent people without trial."

He would be prepared to play a facilitating role towards peace in Natal if instructed to do so by the ANC.

IMPARTIAL ROLE

The 71-year-old politician strongly condemned Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok for stating publicly that the UDF and its affiliates were the instigators of violence in Natal's townships.

"Any impartial individual would have listened to both parties before making a decision."

He called for a commission of inquiry into the causes and aggravating conditions of the violence.

The police should play an impartial role in Natal. This would be difficult because many blacks regarded the police as "the enemy of blacks".

Mr Mandela said the impatience of black youth was not extraordinary, as had been illustrated by the National Party youths' actions years ago of breaking up political meetings when the United Party had been a threat.

"And the Afrikaner youth had the vote. The black youth has no such opportunities."

Following his urgent return-to-school call two days ago, Mr Mandela said:

"It is the responsibility of the Government to create conditions whereby we can make an appeal to the youth to discipline themselves and to go back to school.

"In the present political set-up it is difficult to do."

The Government had banned the Congress of South African Students, which had had a moderating effect on black pupils, and had detained youth leaders.

Asked to comment on events in Eastern Europe, Mr Mandela said the West forgot that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was the only international figure who had had the courage and honesty to confess about the shortcomings of socialism.

No comparable leader in the West had confessed about the mistakes of colonialisation and imperialism which had oppressed masses of people.

"If you remember that, you will be restrained in your assessment of the extent of the repercussions that might arise all over the world as the result of the turmoil in Eastern Europe."

OPPRESSION ISSUE

Asked to comment on President Kenneth Kaunda's call for an end to the armed struggle, Mr Mandela said it was understandable that the Zambian leader would hold that view, since he was a non-violent and peaceful man.

"But the issue here is not one of the armed struggle, it is a question of apartheid. The issue is not one of sanctions, but one of oppression."

FOOTS.SPR

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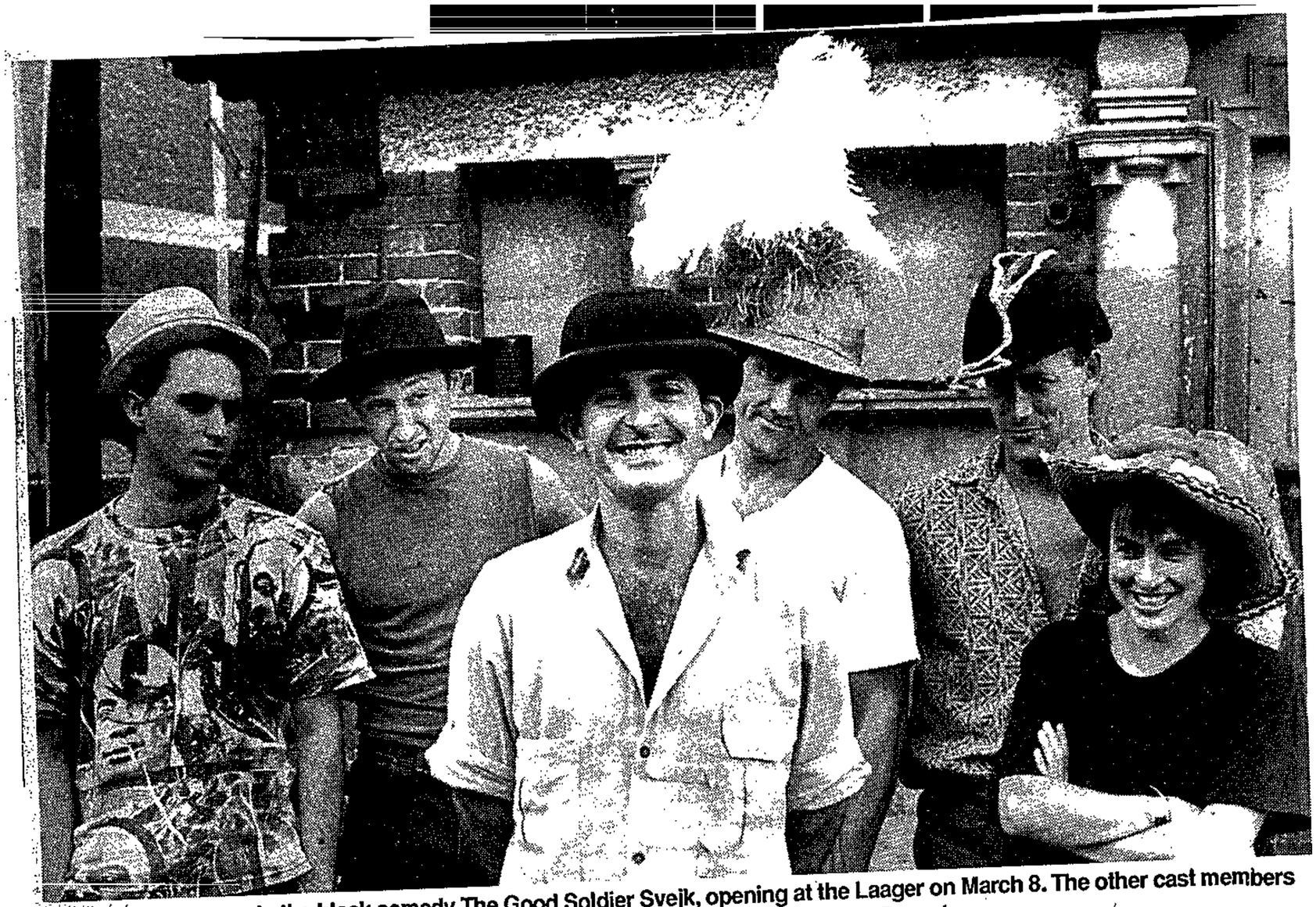

Nicky Rebelo returns in the black comedy The Good Soldier Svejk, opening at the Laager on March 8. The other cast members are, from left, Barry Burke, Li Newman, Andrew Buckland, Gys de Villiers and Jennie Reznek

Posters with perfect timing — they're history

w/Mail 16/2 – 22/2/90

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'Struggle' posters on exhibition at the Gertrude Posel gallery underwent an unexpected change of status on opening day when the news of Nelson Mandela's release turned some of them into instant relics. IVOR POWELL reports

IT was probably not intended that way but the timing of the one-day exhibition, *Posters in the Struggle Against Apartheid*, organised as part of the Wits History Workshop Open Day last Saturday, was perfect.

The posters on show — for the most part protest posters produced by trade unions and cultural collectives with roots in the democratic movement — were collected and shown at almost the same moment that they ceased to be living propaganda and entered the more reflective if less vocal realms of history.

The release of Nelson Mandela was announced that day and would happen on the following day. The African National Congress, technically unbanned for more than a week, was about to emerge decisively into the light of South African day.

In that historically overwhelming moment not only the posters calling for Mandela's release and the unbanning of the liberation movement turned overnight into relics of the struggle. The particular use of the poster medium was also changed into something belonging to a remembered past more than to the living present.

South African realities have changed more dramatically and more suddenly than anybody could have imagined. Where formerly the struggle for democracy was guided by relatively abstract issues relating to morality and justice, now we are entering a new era in which the issues are practical and increasingly complex. In the past the struggle was to get to the point where the problems of South African life — which now need to be worked through — were merely acknowledged and addressed.

In terms of information and publicity in the liberation movement — of which poster making formed a central part — this meant that issues and events needed to be located within a moral dimension. The rights and wrongs of what was happening in the country were what guided poster making as much as they did anti-apartheid media practice in general.

But now, the white heat of indignation is cooling. And new and different functions need to be developed for the information and propaganda machinery of the liberation movement.

The posters on show were for the most part unashamedly propagandist. They were made in order to persuade and to mobilise, and their appeal was thus to a mass audience.

Given this kind of purpose, "art" hardly comes into it — though of course the hand and eye skills which make for art do. Propaganda posters are successful insofar as they distil and dramatically persuade their viewer. Conversely, they fail insofar as they contain within themselves doubts or ambiguities.

In the propaganda sense, many of the finest posters on show are those which were produced under the auspices of the trade union movement. Often employing photographic imagery and coupling this with hard sloganising, they offer direct and immediately emotive argu-

●To PAGE 26

Posters now lie in a heap of history

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●From PAGE 25

ments in favour of their cause. By avoiding any obvious and personal style in their communication, they argue for their message as a self-evident and collective truth, subordinated only to universals like morality and justice.

An example is the poster commemorating the 1976 uprisings based on the famous Sam Nzima photograph which shows the limp body of Hector Peterson borne by grieving comrades. Little room is left for doubt about what really happened in 1976, or what its meaning was. Nor is there any question about the appropriate response to the image on the part of the viewer.

Similarly posters promoting living wage campaigns and built around images of dire poverty both appeal to the emotions and justify the need for that appeal; no room is left for ambiguity on the part of the viewer.

Ironically, it is when the posters approach the condition of art — when they employ an identifiable style — that they are least effective as posters. Stylistically what is conveyed is not the sense of incontrovertible truth, but a particular and conditional response to it. The message is that there could be other ways of understanding the situation.

But of course it is precisely doubt and ambiguity, that more complex awareness of layers of meaning, which defines the traditions of art and which makes art into the humanist discipline that it is.

The real significance of the events of recent weeks in terms of the arts is that much of the justification for making propaganda has disappeared, and correspondingly there is far more reason to be exploring the more comprehensively human dimensions that are represented by art.

Parliament and Politics

HRC: '14 political prisoners released'

CAM. Times 17/12/90 327

JOHANNESBURG. — Fourteen political prisoners are believed to have been released following State President F W de Klerk's parliamentary address, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) confirmed yesterday.

"Confusion reigns over exactly who is eligible for release because of the marked discrepancy between Mr de Klerk's and the repression monitoring groups' definition of a political prisoner," said Mrs Audrey Coleman for the Detainees Aid Centre (DAC).

The HRC and DAC define a political prisoner as:

"Anyone in prison for opposing apartheid. This definition referred to people who were jailed for peaceful protest, unrest situations or taking up the armed struggle."

This working definition conflicts with that of Mr De Klerk's which prevents a large number of prisoners from being classified as "political prisoners".

"Less than 5% of the estimated 3 000 political prisoners currently serving sentences appear to be eligible for release as a result of the 'legalisation'.

"The problem in compiling a list of prisoners eligible for release under Mr De Klerk's announcement is the difficulty in obtaining information and the different classifications of 'political prisoner'.

"All 'unrest' political prisoners are excluded, as are probably three quarters of the 'security' political prisoners, because of the violence element in their convictions," a HRC spokesman said.

Among the 14 political prisoners recently released, are six from Robben Island who were released on Tuesday and another three political prisoners who were jailed there were released on Wednesday. A further three political prisoners were released on Wednesday from Johannesburg Prison.

● A spokesman from the SA Council of Churches confirmed the names of the three released from Johannesburg Prison on Wednesday. They are: Mr Andries Nkabinde, Mr Amos Rammego and Mr Nicholas Kgasi of KwaThema.

Govt frees ANC spies

CAPE Times 17/2/90 307

JOHANNESBURG. — Two former security policemen who were sentenced to 14 years imprisonment each for spying for the ANC three years ago, were released this week in terms of the government's pledge to release political prisoners.

Mr Matshwenyego Daniel Makgubodi of Atteridgeville and Mr Tshifhangu Cedric Rabuli of Soshanguwe were released with five other political prisoners from the Johannesburg prison on Wednesday afternoon.

"I was stunned by the news and could not believe it. Although we are happy to be out we feel bad about the comrades we left behind," Mr Mokgabudi said.

The two were convicted on charges of being members of the ANC, furthering its aims and of disclosing sensitive security information to the ANC. — Sapa

Released leader is a 'mediocre mascot'

Star 17/4/90 (p) 327

FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — Nelson Mandela is not a leader, but a mascot — despite his "dignified appearance and gift for benevolent-sounding waffle", according to *Evening Standard* columnist Jonathan Guinness.

Guinness, an avowed rightwinger and Monday Club member, says Mandela "cannot transcend the ANC and its support base, consisting of the Xhosa tribe of which he is a hereditary chief, the black proletariat in the cities and odd members of the urban middle class.

"This is because he failed to do two things. First, he should have called for an end to the 'armed struggle', not permanently, but provisionally, pending negotiations.

"Secondly, he should have called for all sanctions to be lifted. Again, he could have made it clear that if the talks went badly he would call for their reimposition."

Such a move, writes Guinness, would have "ensured him a great avalanche of popular support, a wave of relief among businessmen, farmers and unemployed workers. Those are the categories he needs to appeal to".

But, concludes Guinness, "Mandela's mediocrity is probably a blessing. If he was able to mobilise support outside the normal constituencies of the ANC he might have temporarily united a sufficient number of South Africans to gain him control of the organs of state.

"In that event, though, the divisions in the country would soon have reasserted themselves.

Federalism hope

"The result would have been a vicious series of civil wars, ruining the economy and leaving just another dismal and impoverished Third World dictatorship.

"As it is, with Mandela so obviously incapable of uniting the country, there is a hope of the loose tribal-based federalism that might enable all South Africans to go forward in peace and progress."

HRC confirms release of 14 prisoners

Star 17/2/90 (327)

FOURTEEN political prisoners are believed to have been released after State President F W de Klerk's recent parliamentary address, a spokesman for the Human Rights Commission (HRC) confirmed yesterday.

Confusion

Confusion apparently reigns over exactly who is eligibe for release.

"Ths is because of the marked discrepancy between Mr de Klerk's and the repression monitoring groups' definition of a political prisoner," said Mrs Audrey Coleman, a spokesman for the Detainees Aid Centre (Dac).

The HRC and Dac defined a political prisoner as:

"Anyone who finds himself/herself in prison for opposing apartheid. This definition referred to people who were jailed for peaceful protest, unrest situations or taking (part in) the armed struggle," Mrs Coleman said.

This working definition conflicts with that of Mr de Klerk's which prevents a large number of prisoners from being classified as "political prisoners".

"Less than 5 percent of the estimated 3 000 political prisoners currently serving sentences appear to be eligible for release as a result of the 'legalisation'," a HRC spokesman said.

"The problem in compiling a list of prisoners eligible for release under Mr de Klerk's announcement is the difficulty in obtaining information and the different classifications of "political prisoner".

"All 'unrest' political prisoners are excluded, as are probably three quarters of the 'security' political prisoners, because of the violence element in their convictions," a HRC spokesman said.

Among the 14 political prisoners recently released, are six from Robben Island who were released on Tuesday.

Another three political prisoners who were jailed there were released on Wednesday.

Three

A further three political prisoners had been released from Johannesburg Prison on Wednesday.

A Dac spokesman said that most of the 14 political prisoners were released shortly before their sentences had been due to expire. — Sapa

Duduza residents take to streets

Fears of CP prevent march to Nigel

By LULAMA LUTI and SELLO SERIPE

ABOUT 6 000 Duduza residents took to the streets of the dusty East Rand township yesterday to present a memorandum to Nigel National Party MP Piet Vermaak.

He was asked to foward the demands to the relevant ministers.

The march was organised by the Duduza Civic Association (DCA).

Police escorted the marchers from the bus terminus to Servaas railway station just outside the township, where the delegation handed the memorandum to Vermaak.

DCA chairman Alex Montoedi said residents were to march to the Conservative Party-controlled town of Nigel, but changed the plan when told it was feared that CP members would try to stop the march.

Montoedi said organisers conceded to meeting Vermaak outside the township.

Montoedi said top on the list of grievances was the demand for more teachers because there were classrooms standing empty in schools where principals claimed the DET did not want to supply teachers.

They also demand the building of more houses for the thousands of squatter families and suspension of the R13 rent increases by the local council pending a meeting with the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

Endorsing the nationwide call for the scrapping of all apartheid laws, they also demanded the release of DCA members Ben Tlatsi and Veli Mazibuko who are currently on trial for terrorism and furthering the aims of the now unbanned ANC.

C/Press 18/2/90

(327)



Carrying banners and shouting, the protesters set off to hand over their demands. **Pics: EVANS MBOWENI**

Exiles' hearts are where their home is

5/Times 18/2/90

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

SONS and daughters last seen nearly 30 years ago, the graves of long dead parents — these are the thoughts uppermost in the minds of thousands of exiles waiting for the magic words: "Go home".

For some, the instruction from the ANC — when it comes — will be just too late.

John Hoogendyk, the 1956 treason trialist who left South Africa in the 60s after being banned six times, died of cancer in London on Wednesday.

Friends said the 78-year-old communist had been in some pain until he watched the release of Nelson Mandela on Sunday.

"We sat around his bed as he cried. They were tears of joy, not sadness," one said.

Shortly afterwards Mr Hoogendyk "became peaceful" and lapsed into a coma. A non-religious memorial service, addressed by ANC executive Dennis Goldberg, is to be held on Wednesday.

■■■

For other exiles it is clear that long years have not dimmed a desperate longing to step once again on to South African soil.

Jonas Gwanga, the New York-based composer of the music for Cry Freedom, left in 1961 during the state of emergency imposed after Sharpeville.

Gatherings of more than five blacks had been banned. There were already six members in his band — one of them the famous trumpeter Hugh Masekela. Unable to even rehearse, they trickled, one by one, over to London.

Princess Patience arrived in 1960 as a member of the King Kong musical.

When it finished its run, after Sharpeville, she stayed and found work as a model, becoming the toast of swinging 60s London.

Travelling to parties in a Rolls Royce, she was on first-name terms with each of the Beatles as well as Rolling Stone Mick Jagger.

Today, aged nearly 50 and forgotten — but still with stunning good looks — she sits in her tiny Brixton flat dreaming of the money she once earned.

■■■

The fabulous silk and sequinned dresses she wore decorate the walls. Princess talks of an aching desire to return to her Xhosa people and continue the career mapped out for her by her parents — as a sangoma, a "healer".

Waiting for her is the daughter she left with her parents, now both dead. The girl is now a woman of 29. They met once, in 1981.

"I want to see my parents' graveyard and to talk to my family. The thought of them being so far away is very painful.

"If I had listened to my father I wouldn't be here — I would be at home growing old in the traditional way. I feel it has all been a waste of time . . . it wasn't worth it."

Jonas Gwanga and Princess appeared this week in a BBC TV documentary called SA Blues which looked at the life of South Africa's artistic community in exile.

■■■

Jonas said: "Even with the success of Cry Freedom, I'm still wandering the world, knocking on doors.

"There's always that temporary feeling. You never settle. You can't even hang pictures on the wall.

"Adjusting to different cultures is not an easy thing. Some people just break down, others end up as alcoholics or suicides.

"Trying to adjust to this sort of life when you're an adult is not easy.

"Sometimes you see someone who is going over the brink but you can't help them — the change is just too heavy."

The rate of suicides and alcoholism among exiles is well known to the ANC which has a fully-fledged welfare wing staffed by counsellors.

A few months after the 1976 Soweto riots, Sonti Mndebele crossed the border to Botswana at night, on the run from the police. Behind her she left a two-year-old son.

"I'm his mother, but he has never lived with me. He's nearly 17 now and we'll never be able to communicate.

"I blame myself. I had to leave — I had no choice. But I still have the guilt with me."

■■■

Sonti has sung with Miriam Makeba and Paul Simon on the Gracelands tour. She is busy cutting her solo album.

Jonas Gwanga saw his mother for the first time in 15 years in 1976 when he flew from New York to Botswana. His mother had never been on a plane before in her life but met him in Gaborone.

"She was all over me, calling me her chubby little son," he said.

"Then she disappeared to the bathroom and I knew she was going there to cry and pray by herself.

"I couldn't laugh. I couldn't cry. I was just confused . . . I had that silly feeling when you want to do everything at the same time.

"And there was the guilt, the big sense of responsibility surrounded by so much love."

Princess Patience best sums up the emotions of thousands of men and women like her.

"I must go home and feel better," she says simply.



Duduza residents listen to protest organisers. Open 18/2/90 (327).

City plans to march for peace

Sunday Times Reporter

A BROAD cross-section of Johannesburg citizens plan to march through the city centre at lunchtime on Friday in support of "peace, hope and democracy".

Seen as a counter to the Conservative Party's massive Pretoria demonstration in support of partition, the initiative for the Johannesburg march comes from the Democratic Party, but it will have the support of a host of other organisations.

Business leaders, churchmen, academics and many other prominent — but politically unattached — citizens of all races are expected to take part.

The march is planned to begin at Johannesburg station and will move to the City Hall where a short meeting will be held on the steps.

Permission to hold the march will be sought by organisers tomorrow.

20 000 at Alex rally remember 'war' dead

Star 19/2/90 (328) By Thabo Leshilo (327)

About 20 000 people yesterday gathered in the Alexandra Stadium to commemorate victims of Alexandra's "six-day war" of 1986.

The "war" refers to the unrest that swept the township from February 13 to February 18 1986, claiming more than 30 lives. The victims allegedly died at the hands of police and vigilantes.

Speaker after speaker called for the revival of community organisations and the intensification of the "struggle".

Mr Jay Naidoo, Congress of SA Trade Unions general secretary, told the crowd that the day when the factories would be controlled by workers and the wealth of the country by "the people" was at hand.

"The winds of change and freedom are blowing in our country," declared Mr Naidoo.

United Democratic Front secretary Mr Popo Molefe compared National Party supporters to the proverbial "nation without vision", and said they were destined to perish.

LEADERS CRITICISED

A speaker from the South African Youth Congress, Mr Ephraim Mogale, attacked American president Mr George Bush and British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher for their stand against the ANC's armed struggle. He said that the time was not yet ripe to abandon the armed struggle.

Banners with the words, "To hell With CP and AWB racists", "History won't forget F W and Mandela", and many others were held high at the service. Shouts of "Viva", "Comrade Jesus viva" and "Long live ANC and SACP, long live" reverberated through the crowd during a church service held before the rally.

Candles symbolic of the spirits of the victims were lit and each victim's name was read out.

There was no sign of police at the meeting.

● On Saturday, more than 50 000 residents of Tembisa on the East Rand marched to the town council offices to demand the resignation of the council.

And in Johannesburg, lunch hour traffic came to a standstill when about 1 000 public sector workers took to the streets to protest against privatisation.

The number of marchers swelled to 2 000 as bystanders joined the protest which began at St Mary's Cathedral and ended at the Jeppe Street Post Office.

Call for end to press restrictions

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US-based Committee to Protect Journalists has appealed to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, to lift all remaining state of emergency restrictions on the press.

In a recent letter to Mr de Klerk, the committee said it was gratified by his announcement on February 2 that some of the state of emergency regulations affecting the media would be abolished.

"We view this as a meaningful step toward full freedom of expression in South Africa," said the committee.

It wanted to use the occasion, however, to register its objections to the press restrictions that remained.

"The committee respectfully urges you to follow through on your stated commitment to democracy and freedom of expression in South Africa by dropping these emergency restrictions.

"We also call on you to take all other necessary steps to see that journalists in your country are no longer prosecuted for their reporting.

"Many of the court cases filed against journalists recently have been based on laws that are unrelated to the emergency regulations and still on the books," the letter said.

Sixteen more people may now be quoted

Pretoria Bureau

The names of 16 more people, including top activists Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Popo Molefe, have been removed from the Consolidated List.

The list, issued in terms of the Internal Security Act, includes names of people whom the Government barred from being quoted in the media. More than 160 names were taken off the list two weeks ago.

The 16 delisted, according to the latest edition of the Government Gazette are: Mr Moses Mabokela Chikane, Mr Michael Masana Gqamana, Mr Serame Jacob Hlanyane, Mr Elby July, Mr Mlandeli Morris Khetye.

Mr Mosiuoa Gerard Patrick, Mr Gcinumuzi Petrus Malindi, Mr Thoms Madikwe Manthata, Mr Hlabeng Sam Matlole, Mr Sekwati John Mokoena, Mr Popo Simon Molefe.

Mr Tsietsi David Mphuthi, Mr Bonise Raymond Nkabinde, Mr Naphtali Mbuti Nkopane, Mr Tebello Ephraim Ramakgula and Mr Jan Tshoba.

Security police have 'critical role'

By DALE KNEEN
Crime Reporter

SECURITY police operatives had a "critical" role to play even though President De Klerk had unbanned the ANC.

This was said by Major-General Herman Stadler, the senior deputy commissioner of police public relations.

There was a possibility of a "slight decrease" in the work load of the security branch, but the entire staff would be retained, General Stadler said in a written response to questions posed by The Argus.

The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP did not appear to have ended the armed struggle and associated crimes like terrorism, sabotage and treason, General Stadler said.

The security branch and all policemen would therefore continue to combat terrorism.

Although the unbanning of the ANC may lead to a change in the emphasis of security branch work, General Stadler was not prepared to comment on whether the activities of political groups such as the AWB would now be monitored.

Asked if security policemen would have to be retrained to adapt to the changing political circumstances in South Africa, General Stadler said the police force was apolitical and its members were disciplined and could easily adapt to change.

Mossgas project: cost estimate

*23. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises:

(1) (a) What was the originally budgeted cost estimate for the Mossgas project and (b)(i) what is the latest estimate for the final total cost of the project and (ii) in respect of what date is this estimate furnished;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the viability of the project?

B132E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(1) (a) The originally budgeted fixed capital cost for the FA gas reserve development phase and the onshore facility was R6 520 million before contingencies or R6 895 million with contingencies in escalated terms.

(b) (i) R8 000 million in escalated terms for the mentioned development. The extent of additional capital investment for the development of further gas reserves will depend on the extent of reserves in the existing FA gas field. Should such investment be necessary, indications are that it could be long deferred and financed from the cash flow of the project itself.

(ii) December 1989.

(2) I have already issued a full statement on Tuesday, 13 February 1990.

Lead level: urban locations

*24. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether, with reference to the statistics on Cape Town given in the replies to Question No 528 on 23 February 1987, Question No 1218 on 14 June 1988 and Question No 506 on 26 May 1989, the average recorded lead level in all major urban locations has similarly increased;

(2) whether she intends taking any action to ensure that such levels do not exceed the stated maximum permissible concentrations for lead in the atmosphere; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

B133E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Yes for inland, no for coastal areas;

(2) although an increase in the concentration of lead levels in air was found for inland regions, the levels to which the public is exposed to, remain well below accepted maximum allowable concentrations. It may however be expected that the trend will now be downwards after the lead content in petrol was further reduced from 0,6 to 0,4 gram per liter in 1989,

(a) and (b) fall away.

Pietermaritzburg area: toxic waste dump

*25. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

Whether his Department has taken any action as a result of the discovery of toxic waste dumps in the Pietermaritzburg area in (a) September 1989 and (b) January 1990; if so, (i) what action, and (ii) when, in each case; if not, why not?

B134E

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

(a) Yes.

(i) and (ii) The Department of Environment Affairs, which has a co-ordinating function regarding pollution control, and the Department of Water Affairs, which has executive powers regarding water pollution and waste disposal control, both followed up the matter. The Department of Environment Affairs brought the matter to the attention of the Town Clerk of Pietermaritzburg. The Department of Water Affairs called a meeting for 21 September 1989 with ISP Recyclers. It was stipulated that the company must report back by 6 October 1989 on the method for the removal of the drums and any contaminated soil and the treatment of the waste. On 6 October 1989 it was agreed that the drums would be removed from the Table Mountain, Mattison and

continues to p85 →

continued from p84

Rainy Days sites. The Department of Water Affairs requested that this latter site be fenced in and that a two weekly report on progress be submitted.

(b) Yes.

(i) and (ii) With the discovery of a further dumping site at Copes Folly as well as the delay in meeting the full requirements of the Department of Water Affairs in removing all the drums from the Table Mountain, Mattison and Rainy Days sites, another meeting was called on 2 February 1990. That Department instructed the company to completely remove all drums and contaminated soil from Copes Folly, before 16 February 1990. (Officials of the Department of Water Affairs have confirmed that this has been done). It was further stipulated that all drums from the Rainy Days site be removed by 22 February 1990 and from the Mattison site by 28 February 1990. It addition it was stipulated that all the sites should be rehabilitated to the satisfaction of the Department.

It has now been established that all drums have been removed from all the sites and that rehabilitation measures are about to commence. The situation has therefore been 95% remedied. After in depth investigation by officials of the Department of Water Affairs it was concluded that no legal action could be taken in terms of the Water Act, 1956 (Act 54 of 1956) as no water was polluted. The proposed regulations on solid waste disposal should address matters such as these in the near future.

PE: Group Areas Act

*26. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

Whether he or his predecessor received an application by the Port Elizabeth City Council for the provisions of section 19 of the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, to be made applicable to the entire municipal area; if so, (a) when was this application received, (b) what was the response thereto and (c) what action has been taken as a result of the application?

B135E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) 26 July 1985.

(b) and (c) A smaller area was advertised and investigated by the Group Areas Board. Seven areas were proclaimed free trading areas by Proclamation 207 of 1986.

Tembisa scene of unrest: press

*27. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any members of the South African Police ordered members of the Press to leave a scene of unrest in Tembisa on or about 5 February 1990; if so, (a) why, (b) on whose instructions and (c) in terms of what statutory provisions or regulations?

B141E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

(a) to (c) As far as could be ascertained only one television cameraman was warned, in terms of Regulation 2(3) of the Security Emergency Regulations, to leave the area.

This cameraman continually attempted to take close up photographs of the commander of a riot unit which was already deployed and busy dispersing a riotous crowd. On the one hand these actions hindered the officer in his attempt to maintain the public order and on the other hand, for that very reason, had the effect that the crowd who observed it, acted more sensationally and in so doing further disturbed the public order.

The officer warned the cameraman several times to cease his conduct. However, the cameraman did not heed these warnings. As a last resort, instructions were given for him to be taken to the Tembisa police station and warned to leave the area. He did not return to the scene of the unrest.

Protest march: free trains

*28 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to the protest march held in Cape Town on 31 January 1990, the South African Police were in-

continued from p87 →

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Protest march: free trains (327)

*28 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order: Hansard 20/2/90

(1) Whether, with reference to the protest march held in Cape Town on 31 January 1990, the South African Police were in-

continue p87 →

formed by the South African Transport Services that free trains would be made available to take participants in the protest home after the march;

(2) whether any members of the Police prevented protesters from boarding these trains at Cape Town station; if so, (a) why and (b) what was the rank of the policeman in charge? B143E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No.

(2) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Cape Peninsula high schools: textbooks

*29. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education:

Whether high schools in the Cape Peninsula had received all the textbooks required to supply their full quota of pupils by the end of the third week of the 1990 school year; if not, (a) why not, (b) which schools had not received all their textbooks and (c) how many (i) pupils and (ii) textbooks were involved? B144E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

Yes.

In explanation it is mentioned that shortages of text books do exist at some schools due to over-registration of pupils above approved *quotas*. Books have been provided according to projections of pupil numbers made by principals in February 1989.

In the Cape Peninsula books have been provided for approximately 300 pupils above the projected number.

Arrangements have been made to have this surplus stock placed at schools where shortages occur. All registered pupils in the Cape Peninsula can therefore be provided with textbooks, except those pupils who have lost their books. New books are not issued to these pupils. They will be able to purchase them from bookshops.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

Certain person: offences

*30. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, was at any time convicted of any offences; if so, (a) of which offences, (b) when was each conviction handed down, (c) what sentences were handed down in respect of each such conviction and (d) what is the name of this person? B146E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The following information was obtained from the record of previous convictions (SAP 69) of the person concerned.

(a), (b) and (c).

(i) Theft of a motor vehicle; 8.11.54; 8 cuts with a cane and placed under the supervision of a probation officer.

(ii) Tamper with a motor vehicle without permission of owner; 10.11.54; Imposition of sentence postponed for 3 years on condition that accused is not found guilty of a similar offence or any offence of which dishonesty is an element.

(iii) Theft of a motor vehicle and theft of a rifle; 27.6.55; Sent to a reform school. Charges taken together for purpose of sentence.

(iv) Theft of a motor vehicle; 27.6.55; Sent to a reform school.

(v) Theft of a motor vehicle and attempted theft of a motor vehicle; 27.6.55; Sent to a reform school. Charges taken together for purpose of sentence.

(vi) Theft of a motor vehicle; 27.6.55; Sent to a reform school.

(vii) Theft of motor spares and theft of a suitcase with clothing; 28.11.60; Imprisonment for corrective training. Charges taken together for purpose of sentence.

(viii) Indecent assault (2 charges); 13.2.79; On each count sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment of which 1 year's imprisonment on each count is suspended for 5 years on condition that the accused is not convicted of indecent assault or an attempt thereto committed during the period of suspension.

(d) Cornelius Gerhardus van Rooyen.

continued p 89-D

Hillbrow: facilities for aged

*31. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether his Department is responsible for any (a) accommodation, (b) feeding, (c) health and (d) recreation facilities for the aged in Hillbrow; if so, what facilities in each case; if not, why not? B148E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(a) to (d) No,

the Department of National Health and Population Development is responsible for the planning, co-ordination and monitoring of national policy regarding health matters, population development and social welfare. Rendering of actual services to the public is not within the line function responsibilities of this Department.

Hillbrow: facilities for street children

*32. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether her Department is responsible for any (a) accommodation, (b) feeding, (c) health and (d) recreational facilities for street children in Hillbrow; if so, what facilities in each case; if not, why not? B149E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(a) to (d) No,

the Department of National Health and Population Development is responsible for the planning, co-ordination and monitoring of national policy regarding health matters, population development and social welfare. Rendering of actual services to the public is not within the line function responsibilities of this Department.

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:

Black teachers in White schools

Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether his Department is giving consideration to allowing White State schools to employ Black teachers to teach African languages; if so, (a) what consideration and (b) when is a decision in this regard to be made; if not, why not? B208E.INT

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the question is whether the Minister of Education and Culture is giving consideration to allowing White State schools to employ Black people to teach African languages.

In the first instance, Sir, I wish to inform the hon member that State schools do not employ teachers. The department employs teachers on the recommendation of the management council, and I have no intention of changing this policy to allow schools themselves to employ teachers. If the hon member wishes to enquire whether my department is contemplating the employment of Black teachers for the purpose of teaching African languages at schools under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Culture, my response is that every responsible department of State is continually assessing scenarios for the future and considering different options.

In assessing possible scenarios for educational provision my department is currently seeking to devise models which will take cognisance of the various educational needs as they arise. Obviously, any model relating to the provision of education must be all-embracing and include facets such as curriculum development, teacher training, financing, staffing and the provision of physical facilities, among other factors.

The options regarding the provision and utilisation of staff for various subjects also have to be considered. A decision in this regard will be made only when all options have been care-

P TO -D

Biko film for release in SA

Star 20/2/90 (327)

The United International Pictures film-distributing company said yesterday it would re-release the anti-apartheid film "Cry Freedom", which was confiscated on the day it opened in South Africa almost 19 months ago.

UIP said police had returned the copies of "Cry Freedom" seized on July 29 1988, when the authorities said the film was a danger to public safety.

The company said a new nationwide release was planned for April 27.

The film, directed by Sir Richard Attenborough, focuses on activist Steve Biko, who died in police custody in 1977, and Donald Woods, the white newspaper editor who befriended him.

The Publications Appeal Board said in July 1988 that the film could be shown uncut, and it immediately opened in more than 30 cinemas nationwide.

But less than nine hours later police, using state of emergency regulations, confiscated copies of the film, saying it contributed to the "revolutionary climate" in the country.

Police said two weeks ago they would return all the seized copies of the film to the distributing company, after being given the go-ahead to do so by lawyers acting for them.

during the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available;

(2) whether this base is manned by (a) the Krugersdorp Commando and (b) other Defence Force units; if so, by which other units?

Hansard 20/2/90 B105E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) R136 049 for the period 1 February 1989 until 31 January 1990.

(2) (a) and (b)

Particulars about the utilization and deployment of SA Defence Force units can, due to security implications, not be supplied.

Henry R Pike: prohibited publication

*8. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:† (327)

Whether a certain book by the author Henry R Pike, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purposes of his reply, is a prohibited publication in the Republic of South Africa; if so, (a) for what reasons and (b) what is the name of this book?

Hansard 20/2/90 B106E

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

No.

(a) and (b) fall away.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: signing

*9. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether the Government intends to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; if so, why;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 20/2/90 B117E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) The Government's position is broadly still the same as set out in a statement by the previous State President dated 21 September 1987 which reads as follows:

"Na aanleiding van persberigte oor Suid-Afrika se moontlike ondertekening van die Kernsperverdrag het die Staatspresident vandag in Kaapstad gesê dat die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering reeds jarelank met die IAEA asook met sekere individuele lande onderhandel oor voorwaardes vir waarborge op Suid-Afrikaanse installasies. Hansard 20/2/90

Suid-Afrika se standpunt hieromtrent is gedurende die afgelope week soos volg aan die Regerings van 'n aantal lande oorgedra:

'The Republic of South Africa is prepared to commence negotiations with each of the nuclear weapon states on the possibility of signing the non-proliferation treaty. At the same time the RSA will consider including in these negotiations safeguards on its installations subject to the NPT conditions. The nature of these negotiations will depend on the outcome of the 31st General Conference of the IAEA to be held in Vienna as from 22 September.'

'South Africa hopes that it will soon be able to sign the NPT and has decided to open discussions with others to this end. Any safeguards agreement which might subsequently be negotiated with the IAEA would naturally be along the same lines as, and in conformity with, agreements with other NPT signatories.'"

(2) No, not at this stage.

Fishing vessels with gill nets

*10. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Environment Affairs: Hansard 20/2/90

(1) Whether he has had any discussions with the Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of China on the subject of fishing vessels equipped with gill nets; if so, when did these discussions take place;

(2) whether the said Minister gave him any assurances in this regard; if so, what assurances? B119E

†The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes, on 22 January 1990.

(2) Yes.

(a) Assurance was given that the Government of the Republic of China will do everything in it's power to prevent a repeat of the incident.

(b) the Government of the Republic of China is presently busy revising their own regulations with regard to gill nets in order to phase out the use thereof.

Tunny landed

*11. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Environment Affairs: Hansard 20/2/90

What was the quantity of tunny landed at South African ports by (a) South African and (b) foreign boats during the latest specified period of 12 months for which statistics are available?

B121E

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS:

The figures for 1989 are as follows:

(a) 4 000 tons landed.

(b) Statistics of this nature are kept by the customs authorities and will only be available in a few months time.

Mr R J LORIMER: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, are tunny subject to quota controls as are other white fish in the Republic.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, tunny are not subject to quota control.

Mr R J LORIMER: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, could I ask him whether or not he will give consideration to introducing control over the quantity of tunny landed off our coast?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, tunny is one of the species which, as far as I am aware, is not under quota control anywhere in the world because it is considered as a sort of international fish which moves from one ocean to another. It would be very difficult to introduce tunny control quotas into this country but I will consider the suggestion of the hon member and perhaps report back on it later.

Cycads: illegal export

*12. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

(1) Whether the commission of inquiry into the possible illegal export of cycads has presented its report; if so, what were its findings; if not, when is it anticipated that the report will be presented;

(2) whether the report will be published; if not, why not; if so, when?

B122E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2).

It is anticipated that the report will be ready for submission to the State President approximately April 1990. Government will then study the report and decide on further steps.

Mr R J LORIMER: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, when he talks about further steps, do these involve whether or not the report will be published?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I suggest that the hon member has a bit of patience unless he wants to prescribe what must happen before the report is even dealt with. I think the Government will study the report and then steps will be considered. [Interjections.]

Eskom: second nuclear power station

*13. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises: Hansard 20/2/90

Whether Eskom intends erecting a second nuclear power station in South Africa; if so, (a) where is it anticipated that this power station will be erected, (b) what is the anticipated life span of the station and (c) when is it anticipated that construction will begin?

B123E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

No decision has as yet been taken by the Government in connection with the erection of a second Nuclear Power Station.

(a) Fall away.

(b) Fall away.

(c) Fall away.

SANA: conditions of service

*14. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister for Administration and Privatisation: Hansard 20/2/90

Hain sparks debate on sneak entries

The Government would try to prevent people from illegally entering South Africa as anti-apartheid activist, Mr Peter Hain, had done recently, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate during question time, he said the entry of Mr Hain represented 0,0001 percent of all entries into South Africa.

A new computerised system, which should be operational by April this year, could be used to help prevent illegal entries.

Mr Hain, who was prevented from entering South Africa in 1969, recently slipped into the country under the name of Peter Gerald Weston-Hain.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (DP, Green Point) said if there was a way not to get South Africa back into international sport, it was to vilify people like Mr Hain. One had to be "bold and honest enough" to ask who had caused South Africa's isolation.

Dr Verwoerd and Mr Vorster and the rest of the NP and CP had to take the blame.

Mr Louw said a protest had been lodged with the British embassy, but Mr Frank le Roux (CP, Brakpan) said no result had yet been forthcoming. — Sapa.

'Marshall plan needed'

Black education crisis debated

Education was paramount to the future of South Africa and the Government had to accept that there was a crisis in black education, Mr Ken Andrew (DP, Gardens) said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in an interpellation debate, he said that not only was crisis funding required, it was also necessary to remove the alienation of the community from education.

The Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the department had planned within its means to provide the necessary facilities.

The number of black pupils had grown over the past 40 years by an average of 6 percent a year.

Mr Schalk Pienaar (CP, Potgietersrus) said the fact remained that the CP policy of separate education for the different population groups was the best.

Dr Van der Merwe said the problem of the alienation of the community was being addressed.

Mr Jan van Eck (DP, Claremont) said that if the same chaos had existed in white schools, white parents would long ago have been on the warpath.

A Marshall plan was needed for black education, he said.

In the first reading debate on the Own Affairs Part Appropriation Mr Harry Schwarz (DP, Yeoville) said that whites had to ask themselves if they could continue to accept the disparities between black and white education.

He said that schools administered by the white own affairs education department had a "very attractive" pupil-teacher ratio of 17,2 to one.

In DET schools, however, the ratio was 37,6 to 1.

"The question we must ask ourselves is if we can continue on the basis of this disparity."

Mr Schwarz also said he hoped the funding formula for own affairs education departments would now finally be revealed.

It was almost a year since it had been finalised and five years since the opposition had begun asking about it. — Sapa

...ne Zaire summit demonstrates that South Africa is moving out of the era when it was forced to seek entry into the countries of Africa through the back door and when it had to grab any relationship it could get, no matter how distasteful. This was the era when Pretoria found itself befriending the monstrous Bokassa, secretly trying to overthrow the Seychelles government to get a friendlier government in its place and indirectly supporting the mercenaries running the Comoros.

African Republic and Zaire are enough to form the nucleus of a snowball remains to be seen. It may be that the snowball will start rolling only if it picks up one or more of the states that have been more openly hostile to Pretoria.

Snowball or not, the summit represents a major and perhaps historic advance towards what the politicians in Cape Town would describe as the normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the continent.

Airbus already has its hands full with the 16-week strike at British Aerospace's Chester plant which is threatening to bring assembly of the aircraft in France to a standstill.

It is inevitable that the crash of an A-320 at Habsheim in northern France last year during a demonstration flight at...

...tional mechanical cables to activate the control surfaces in the wings and the tail of the aircraft, contributed to the accident. But the official accident report blamed the pilot for flying too low and too slowly.

The Indian authorities have so far not given any indications of the possible causes of the

A ray of hope but the floodgates are not about to open

Although tourism officials, economists and politicians yesterday welcomed moves by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to scrap voluntary bans on promoting tourism and making new investments in South Africa, they agreed that such a development was unlikely to open the floodgates to a deluge of tourists and would-be investors. (327) (✓)

Indications that Britain will lift voluntary bans on tourism and new investment in South Africa are likely to have a limited effect — the major impact being to smash psychological hurdles. DAWN BARKHUIZEN reports.

The greatest boost to South Africa was likely to be to an already improved tourist industry, while British industrialists and businessmen adopted a "wait-and-see" stance. Star 21/2/90

It was highly unlikely that the 60-plus big businesses (roughly 25 percent of the British-controlled concerns in South Africa that disinvested after 1985/86) would return for at least five years, if at all, a British Embassy spokesman said.

A further deterrent to potential investors was the ANC's commitment to the nationalisation of some major industries, the senior economist for the South African Chamber of Business, Mr Bill Lacey, said.

"Mrs Thatcher's intended move is a ray of light on the horizon and should be welcomed by all South Africans. But businessmen do not invest for altruistic reasons. Some might respond, but until there is political stablility I do not see a flood of investments," Mr Marius de Jager, chief executive of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said.

Mr Harry Schwarz, Democratic Party spokesman on Finance, said: "The moves by Mrs Thatcher are symbolic more than anything else and will have a limited effect at the moment ... Some new investors might come, but we are certainly not going to see streams of them."

The effect on tourism was also likely to be marginal, Mr Dale Pretorius, director (international) of the South African Tourism Board, said.

"Quite frankly the ban was a voluntary one and never enforced. I see it as positive, but doubt it will open the floodgates.

"The biggest advantage will be from a promotional point of view — we will be able to take part in trade fairs and advertise more easily. Travel agents and tour operators are also less likely to be hestitant about promoting South Africa," he said.

"Moral and psychological pressure might be eased, although many tourists, particularly those with friends and family in South Africa, ignored that aspect anyway."

The number of tourists coming from Britain to South Africa was already on the incline — having increased by 20 percent within the last year — and travel agents were expecting a record year, he said.

Mrs Thatcher's intention is the second signal of approval given to South Africa this month. Following Mr de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations on February 2, she announced that scientific, academic and cultural links with South Africa would no longer be discouraged.

A British Embassy spokesman said, however, that all the bans being scrapped at present were purely voluntary and that sanctions on arms trading, military contacts, nuclear collaboration, imports of iron, steel, Krugerrands and limits on numerous other links remained intact and illegal.

Sansco sets aside 2 days for protests

Star 21/2/90

Staff Reporter

The SA National Student Congress (Sansco) will hold a two-day national protest next week as part of their "Back to School Campaign".

Sharing a platform with recently released ANC and SACP member, Mr Ahmed Kathrada at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, Sansco spokesman Mr Mogomotsi Mogodiri said a day of national action in which pupils boycotted classes and held rallies was planned for February 27.

The following day there would be marches on DET offices throughout SA in which demands which included the formation of a single non-racial education department would be presented.

Mr Mogodiri called for the radical transformation of the education system, saying it was unfair for universities to evaluate black students by white standards.

Unlike the University of the Western Cape, Witwatersrand was doing little to transform itself into a people's university, he said.

ANC T-shirt at centre of dismissal row

By Monica Nicolson

A Soweto shampooist claims she was fired last week for wearing a Mandela T-shirt. The hairdressing salon maintains she was fired for always causing trouble with her employees and co-workers.

Mrs Grace Ncongwane says:

She arrived at work at Cut 'n Blow in Westgate, Johannesburg, last Thursday wearing a Mandela T-shirt under her overall.

"The manager called me into the kitchen and demanded I unbutton my overall because she believed I was wearing a radical T-shirt. She started screaming and demanded I take it off. I refused since I had nothing else to wear — so I was fired."

When she reported to the hairdressers' head office in Northcliff to pick up her cheque the next day, she asked why her monthly salary had been decreasing — from over R500 in December to R355 in February.

"They told me to wait, then called the police and said I was threatening them and causing trouble."

She received no severance pay.

A Cut'n Blow spokesman says:

Mrs Ncongwane was not fired for wearing a Mandela T-shirt only.

"She was a trouble-maker, always inciting the other shampooists. She received two verbal warnings and three written warnings so we had no choice but to dismiss her.

"Refusing to take off or cover up her T-shirt was just the last straw," the spokesman said.

She said the Industrial Court had advised the company that it was within its rights to fire her.



Mrs Grace Nglongwane claims she was fired for wearing this T-shirt to work.

Star
21/4/90

DP peace march allowed

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Democratic Party has been granted permission by the Johannesburg City Council and the Chief Magistrate to hold a march in the city on Friday.

The DP's Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Peter Soal, said yesterday the march — to demonstrate support for democracy, peace and negotiations — would start at 1 pm at the Harrison Street Bridge.

Church and political groups, educationists and business leaders of all population groups are expected to take part.

Mr Soal stressed that it would be a peace march and that no destructive behaviour would be tolerated.

Participants should park their vehicles at the Kazerne parking garage between Simmonds and Harrison Streets, or the Harry Hofmeyer parking garage at the city library between President and Market Streets, said Mr Soal.

MEETING

The march would start at the Harrison Street Bridge, down Harrison Street, into President Street and would end at the City Hall, where a public meeting would be addressed by DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Mr Soal declined to name prominent people who would be joining the march, but singled out the Jewish community as one group which would be represented.

● A spokesman for a group of Jewish professionals said they would combine a march, scheduled for tomorrow, to protest against last week's open display of Nazism at a right-wing march, with the DP's march.

Reacting yesterday, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging called on the Jewish Board of Deputies to state its allegiance to South Africa and the South African flag.

"Why did they not show the same zeal to protest against the burning of the South African flag by students at the Witwatersrand University?"

Slabbert denies he is to play mediation role

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday dismissed suggestions that he would be playing a mediating role between the SA Government and the ANC.

He was speaking after an hour-long meeting with President de Klerk

"It doesn't really arise. If the Government is dealing directly with the ANC they can facilitate themselves."

Dr Slabbert said he had merely met Mr de Klerk to discuss the magnitude of events between February 2 and 12 and to congratulate Mr de Klerk on his "bold and courageous moves".

"I think we have been pulled into a new political orbit in South Africa. Obviously the whole style of politics is going to change."

He said he had no hidden agenda for the meeting and there was no question of him playing a pivotal role.

One of his reasons for coming out to South Africa now from Oxford University where he is on a sabbatical was to attend meetings this week of Idasa — the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Idasa's board would meet on Friday and its directors tomorrow. The main issue would be Idasa's future role in South Africa's changed political circumstances.

Idasa had been created to get the ANC and the Government talking, but now that was happening he would like to see it focussing on creating a democratic culture.

This would include a respect for multiparty democracy and for civil liberties and a tolerance for diversity of views.

He said his own future political role would depend upon the circumstances which arose.

Thousands at funeral

OUDTSHOORN. — A local activist who was shot by a kitskonstabel, was buried last weekend — days before he was to appear in court on a charge of attempted murder.

The trial, which dates back to 1988, was abandoned in the Oudtshoorn Magistrate's Court on Tuesday when a death certificate for Moses Mvimbi, 30, was handed to the court.

Shot by a kitskonstabel in Bhongolethu in January 1988, Mvimbi spent several months in hospital, but never fully recovered. Last month he suffered a relapse and died.

About 4 000 people attended the funeral of the Bhongolethu Youth Organisation activist.

His family now plans to lodge a damages claim against Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Old Crossroads: permission to stage protest march

2. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether any individuals or groups of individuals from Old Crossroads approached the Wynberg magistrate during November and December 1989 for permission to stage a protest march in and around Old Crossroads in connection with the activities of the mayor of Old Crossroads; if so,

(2) whether such permission was granted; if not,why not;

(3) whether the (a) South African Police at Crossroads and (b) members of the Crossroads Town Committee were requested to submit recommendations in this regard; if so, what were their recommendations; if not,why not?

B24E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes.

(2) Permission was refused because the applicants failed to prove to the magistrate that the Crossroads Town Committee gave permission under regulation 25(1) of the regulations published under Government Notice No. R.2606 of 2 December 1983 for the protest march to take place.

(3) (a) Yes. The South African Police was not in favour of the protest march, but their recommendation was not taken into account by the magistrate because of the fact that the permission referred to in (2) could not be submitted.

(b) No. The applicants were informed by the magistrate that they should apply to the Crossroads Town Committee for the permission referred to in (2) above. The applicants refused to lodge such application.

Nurses resigning from employment

20. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

Whether any (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Indian and (d) Black qualified nurses resigned in 1989 from employment in hospitals falling under the provincial administrations; if so, how many in each case?

B48E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

3 528 Registered nurses resigned from employment of hospitals falling under the provincial administrations during 1989. Records are not kept for different population groups,

(a) to (d) fall away.

Nurses: applications

21. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) How many (a) applications to train as nurses were (i) received and (ii) accepted from, and (b) vacancies existed at institutions for the training of nurses for, (aa) Whites, (bb) Coloureds, (cc) Indians and (dd) Blacks in 1988;

(2) How many nurses of each of these race groups completed their training in that year?

B49E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Applications to train as nurses, 1988

(i) Received

(aa)	2 635
* (bb) and (cc)	9 113
(dd)	30 127
Total:	41 875

(ii) Accepted

* Total: 2 729

(b) Vacancies, 1988

* Total: 2 511

(2) Completion of training, 1988

(aa)	683
* (bb) and (cc)	280
(dd)	616
Total:	1 579

*Records are not kept according to population groups

Corporal punishment: sentences

32. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) How many persons of each race group (a) under the age of 18 years, (b) aged 18 to 21 years and (c) aged 21 years and over were sentenced to corporal punishment over the latest specified period of five years for which information is available;

(2) how many such sentences were handed down by (a) magistrates' courts and (b) the Supreme Court?

B68E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The information is not readily available in the Department. In an effort to be of assistance to the Honourable Member, the following information was obtained from the Central Statistical Services.

Race	*Corporal punishment coupled with imprisonment*	*Corporal punishment not coupled with other sentences*
1/7/83–30/6/84		
Whites:	51	1 527
Coloureds:	450	13 391
Indians:	5	630
Blacks:	1 310	23 330
1/7/84–30/6/85		
Whites:	164	1 730
Coloureds:	648	14 016
Indians:	8	656
Blacks:	1 553	23 886
1/7/85–30/6/86		
Whites:	110	1 566
Coloureds:	724	13 875
Indians:	5	468
Blacks:	1 508	22 389
1/7/86–30/6/87		
Whites:	259	1 086
Coloureds:	1 808	11 977
Indians:	35	404
Blacks:	2 516	21 223
1/7/87–30/6/88		
Whites:	222	964
Coloureds:	1 998	11 461
Indians:	38	267
Blacks:	3 271	22 712

Death sentences

33. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

(a) How many persons were sentenced to death in 1989 and (b) in respect of the persons so sentenced, (i) how many were refused leave to appeal, (ii) how many sentences were altered or reduced by the Appellate Division, (iii) how many convictions were reversed by the Appellate Division, (iv) how many sentences were commuted by the State President, (v) how many were executed and (vi) how many were defended by *pro Deo* counsel at trial or appeal?

B72E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) 170 in South Africa and 4 in South West Africa.

(b) (i) 47.

(ii) 1.

(iii) None.

(iv) None.

(v) 1.

(vi) The information is not readily available. To obtain the information all the court records pertaining to such trials will have to be examined, which is not economically feasible.

Group areas legislation: prosecutions in PE

48. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any persons residing in the Port Elizabeth municipal area were prosecuted under group areas legislation during the latest specified period of five years for which information is available; if so,(a) how many, (b) under what statutory provisions, (c) when,and (d) what was the outcome, in each case?

B70E

ARGUS 327

'32 000 arrested during SA emergency'

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The South African government has used its emergency powers to arrest more than 32 000 people since June 1986, the United States State Department has reported.

The department's annual country reports on human rights practices for 1989, submitted to Congress on Wednesday, did not include recent events such as the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mr Nelson Mandela in its assessment of the South African situation.

However, there were 22 pages on the situation in South Africa in 1989, saying that, in spite of encouraging moves by the South African government since the September elections, the main legislative pillars of apartheid remained in place.

It said that, at the end of 1989, there were 18 people detained under the state of emergency, 24 under the Internal Security Act and an estimated 2 000 to 3 000 serving prison terms for unrest-related offences.

Communists will return home and work above ground in SA

W/Mail 23/2 - 1/3/90

By EDDIE KOCH and GAYE DAVIS

EXILED leaders of the South African Communist Party plan to quit their clandestine role and come home to build an above-board socialist movement inside the country.

Emigre communists — together with cadres who run the party's internal underground — hope to build a democratic party that will "provide a home for all socialists who accept its policies", SACP secretary general Joe Slovo told the *Weekly Mail* this week.

A delegation from the refashioned party will ask for a meeting with President FW de Klerk — separate to that planned by the African National Congress — as a matter of urgency.

The SACP homecoming, after being outlawed for 40 years, was decided at a special meeting of its central committee in Lusaka and spelled out in a statement released on Tuesday.

The news comes at a time when a range of Marxist and socialist groupings (in the trade union movement, the black consciousness movement and academic circles) have been holding ardent debates about the SACP's new political direction.

Consultations were already underway this week between the party leadership and its underground structures to discuss the logistics of the move, said Slovo.

The Communist Party, like the ANC, would set up a leadership core inside the country but would not immediately move all its cadres into open political work inside the country — "although hopefully our return will not be a matter of years".

SACP members inside the country will form the core of the new party and exiled leaders will be despatched to strengthen it. Names will be announced shortly.

Slovo last month urged the party to turn its back on its Stalinist past and move in the direction of democratic socialism. His vision of local *glasnost;* now accepted by the SACP executive, was outlined in a discussion paper called "Has Socialism Failed?".

The document, drafted in a bout of collective soul-searching during the wave of revolutions that swept Eastern Europe, committed the party to multi-party democracy long before this was adopted in the Soviet Union.

"Where a single party is in place and there is not even democracy and accountability in the party, it becomes a shortcut to a political tyranny over the whole of society. And at different points in time this is what happened in most socialist states," the document says.

It insists on the need for an independent press, freedom of speech, religious rights for all and an independent trade union movement that has the right to strike.

These ideas have opened the way for independent socialists, who feared that SACP policies were outmoded and tainted by Stalinism, to throw in their lot in with the party.

Last week Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the powerful Metalworkers Union of South Africa, said the time was right for all socialist groupings in South Africa to unite.

And yesterday a delegation from the black consciousness movement, fresh from a visit with Nelson Mandela to talk about closer ties with the ANC, welcomed the return of the new-look party.

"If what is being said by the leadership of the SACP today is not rhetoric and if they will be committed to democracy, then we see the party playing a major role for all leftwing socialists in a post-apartheid South Africa," said the BCM.

But there are aspects of policy that have not yet been clarified for individuals and organisations that would consider joining or backing the SACP.

- Will the CP abandon the classic vanguard role it has chosen for itself now that it is committed to a multi-party democracy?
- Will it open its ranks to all those who want to join after it sets up office in South Africa? Will such members be able to influence policy decisions and elect new leaders?
- How will an internal wing that uses open and democratic methods relate to the leaders and cadres that will retain elements of clandestine organisation if they remain underground?
- How will the SACP relate to independent trade unions? Will it remain completely autonomous or seek a formal relationship, like that which exists between workers' parties and labour federations in Europe, whereby unions fund the party and have a say in choosing its leaders?

The central committee statement issued this week dealt only partially with these questions and they will continue to be hotly debated in the weeks to come.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

327

Banned for distribution and importation:

People's War or Passive Resistance in South Africa (Karrim Essack); The Murky Underground (Sylvia Sharon); The Trailsman no 94 Desperate Dispatch (Jon Sharpe); Forum: A-Z of Sex (The Complete Sexual Encyclodpaedia 1990); Without a man of her own (linda Dubreuil); Making Love: A Woman's Guide to athe Sexual Wilderness by Two (WH Aller and company, London); Mankiller - film; Skinheads - film.

Restricted: W/Mart 23/2 — 1/3/90.

Amateur Photographer vol 180 no 21, week ending December 23/30 1989 (Prospect Magazines Surrey - not to be displayed with any of its inner pages open for distribution purposes); Amateur Photographer vol 180 no 22, week ending January 6 1990 (Prospect Magazines, Surrey - not to be displayed in public).

Unbanned:

No Easy Walk to Freedom (Nelson Mandela).

Mandela becoming a jetsetter

Star 23/4/90
327

By Stan Hlophe

Mr Nelson Mandela, joins the jet set in earnest on Sunday.

For the next two weeks, the 71-year-old ANC leader is bound by a tight schedule involving local rallies and trips abroad.

He will address what is expected to be another huge rally at the King's Park Stadium in Durban at 10 am on Sunday, and at 1 pm he will fly to Bloemfontein where another crowd will be waiting for him at the Free State rugby stadium.

A rally that was scheduled for tomorrow in Port Elizabeth has been cancelled.

Mr Mandela will be back in Johannesburg on Monday.

He will fly on Tuesday to Lusaka where he is to spend three days. Mr Mandela will meet the ANC national executive committee and the Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

He will then fly to Harare where he will meet President Robert Mugabe.

His Harare visit will be followed by a trip to Sweden to meet ANC president and longtime friend, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recuperating in a private clinic after suffering a stroke last year.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to stop over in Dar-es-Salaam and Addis Ababa.

Since his release less than a fortnight ago, Mr Mandela has had numerous TV, radio and press interviews with foreign and local journalists and has met many prominent people.

The jetsetting comes after hectic interviews and photographic sessions.

He has met numerous interest groups in the past few days, ranging from the Democratic Party to Azapo.

He was scheduled to meet a Labour Party delegation today.

Students to take part in mass protests

Star 23/2/90 (327)

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

Tertiary students throughout the country plan to take mass action next week to protest against the crisis in black education.

This was announced jointly in Johannesburg yesterday by Mr James Maseko, general secretary of the South African National Students' Congress (Sansco), and Ms Erica Elk, president of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

Mr Maseko said rallies by black and white students would take place countrywide to highlight the black education crisis.

Rallies would be held countrywide on February 27 and students had been called upon to march to the Department of Education and Training offices on February 28 to demand the readmission of all students, in line with the National Education Co-ordinating Committee's "back to school" campaign.

Mr Maseko said demands included:

- The establishment of democratic student bodies.
- An end to Government subsidy cuts in education.
- Free political activity on campuses.
- A single non-racial education department for all students.

A new era for union politics

By LEN MASEKO

THE unbanning of the ANC and other political changes may lead to the removal of some economic constraints and a new approach by trade unions to certain issues.

So says Mr Richard Cooke, manager of Juta's Law Publishing Division, who predicts that recent political developments will influence events on the labour front in the near future.

"Black leaders empowered with legal political platforms could change the nature of union politics," Cooke says.

A new era in industrial relations is unfolding in the wake of State President Mr FW de Klerk's landmark announcements, according to Cooke. "The exiled Sactu, for instance, is now free to return to South Africa and engage openly in labour organisation," he says.

"Important developments are happening daily (in the labour arena), considering that the Industrial Court became a reality 10 years ago and the Industrial Appeal Court only two years ago," he says.

Juta is hosting several seminars on labour law and the role of trade unions in a changing South Africa.

Speakers at the meetings include Mr Halton Cheadle, assistant director of Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Mr Clive Thompson, director of the University of Cape Town's Labour Law Unit, Professor Adolph Landman of the University of South Africa, and Prof PAK le Roux, an attorney.

The seminars will take place at the Sandton Sun Hotel (Johannesburg) today, Elizabeth Sun Hotel (Port Elizabeth) on March 1 and Royal Hotel (Durban) on March 5.

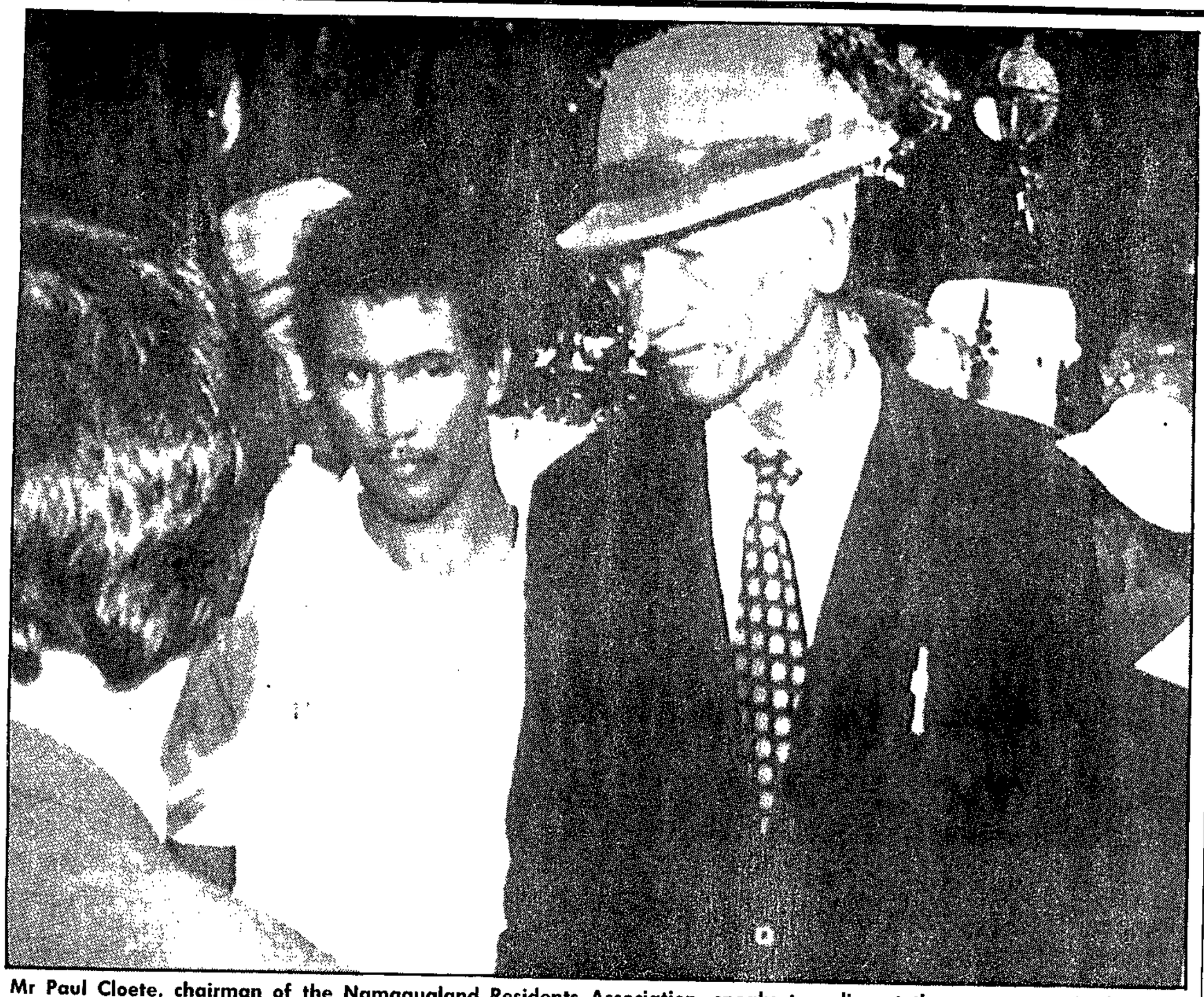
Police probe after Weekblad report

JOHANNESBURG. — A brigadier and a colonel of the Commercial Branch arrived at Vrye Weekblad's offices recently with a warrant enabling them to search for documents, the newspaper said yesterday.

According to the warrant, a charge in terms of the Protection of Information Act against the newspaper's editor, Mr Max du Preez, was being investigated, the Afrikaans-language weekly reported.

It said the investigation was about a report that Vrye Weekblad published two weeks ago on the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch.

The report had suggested to the National Intelligence Service (NIS) that the institute was used as a cover for the NIS overseas to obtain information from the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the Soviet Union. — Sapa.



Mr Paul Cloete, chairman of the Namaqualand Residents Association, speaks to police at the entrance to Parliament before he and a delegation were allowed to present a memorandum to the House of Representatives.

Star 28/2/90 (327)

Nama protesters march to Parliament over Bill

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A 20-strong delegation of Namaqualand residents marched to Parliament yesterday to present their objections to the Mier Rural Area Bill, now before the House of Representatives, and to present a memorandum calling for its withdrawal.

Namaqualand Residents Association chairman Mr Paul Cloete and two members of the delegation, accompanied by their attorney, were allowed into Parliament after waiting outside the entrance gates in Parliament Street for about 30 minutes.

There was a strong police presence, including a large riot-control van.

BIRTHRIGHT

At a press conference at St George's Cathedral hall before the march, Steinkopf resident Mr Cloete and other northern Cape speakers explained why they rejected the Bill, which aims to end trusteeship of the land and pave the way for private ownership of the area.

Mier, also known as Rietfontein, is a "coloured reserve" in the Gordonia district, just below the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park. It is the second biggest of 23 such reserves and has a population of about 5 000.

Mr Cloete said the Bill threatened to deprive all residents of their birthright to land which had been in the community for generations.

Although their rights were affected, residents had not been consulted. The Bill legalised the sale of farming units and "the alienation of our inheritance".

"We view the Bill as a dangerous epidemic that threatens the rights of residents in all our rural reserves," he said.

If approved, the Bill would end the trusteeship of the Minister of Local Government and Agriculture in the House of Representatives over most of Mier and allow private ownership of "our inheritance and birthright".

GUINEA PIG

"It appears to us that the relevant Minister is using Mier as a guinea pig to alienate trust land into private ownership without first considering that a future constitution for a new democratic South Africa is about to be negotiated," Mr Cloete said.

A-G gets dossier on Mandela and Sisulu

28/2/90

Parliamentary Staff

CAPE TOWN — Charges of high treason laid against Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng by the Conservative Party have been investigated by police and a dossier has been submitted to the Attorney-General.

This emerged in an interpellation debate yesterday on a question put by **CP MP for Bethal, Mr Chris de Jager to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.** The Democratic Party appealed for a more sensitive approach.

Mr de Jager, who said he was astonished that action had not been taken earlier against the two ANC leaders and Mr Mothopeng over their repeated, public statements supporting the armed struggle, asked Mr Vlok if criminal proceedings were being instituted. It was a "serious issue", he said.

Mr Vlok said it was up to the Attorney-General whether the matter went to court or not.

Dr Denis Worrall, DP co-leader, appealed for a more sensitive approach, citing Afrikaner heroes to illustrate his argument.

South Africa's history was rich with "treasonable" actions. "One thinks of Slagtersnek, of Koos de la Rey, of Christiaan de Wet, of Jopie Fourie ... all persons, who on the grounds of idealism ... rebelled against the State."

He added: "If this is true of a De la Rey and a De Wet, then it is also true of a Mandela, Sisulu and Biko, a Turner and a Lubowski."

New drought relief scheme

CAPE TOWN — The House of Assembly administration hoped to announce a drought relief plan which would benefit farmers who worked to conserve their farms rather than those who exploited their land and then looked to the State to take over the risk in the bad years. This was said by **Agricultural Development Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk** in the debate on the Additional Appropriation Bill. — Sapa.

Congressmen to evaluate rate of reform

Star 28/2/90 (327)

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The congressional delegation leaving for South Africa today will not primarily be looking at the issue of sanctions, according to the delegation's leader, Mr Bill Gray.

He told a press conference yesterday that the main purpose of the one-week visit to South Africa by the team of 10 US legislators was to assess the extent of recent changes and the timetable for further reforms.

US legislation was very clear about when sanctions could be lifted, so this visit was not primarily intended to assess when and how sanctions should be relaxed, he said.

The delegation is to be led jointly by Mr Gray, the Majority Whip in the House of Representatives, and Mr Dean Gallo, a Republican member of the House Foreign Operations Sub-committee.

The team includes Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa Sub-committee, who visited South Africa only a few weeks ago on a fact-finding mission.

ELECTRICITY

Mr Wolpe said yesterday he was going back to South Africa because the country had changed completely in only the few weeks since he left it.

No-one had anticipated then the electricity which would attach to Mr Nelson Mandela's release, and the speed on the part of both the ANC and the Government in moving towards negoaitions, he said.

The congressional delegation is to meet Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders in Lusaka en route to South Africa.

After they leave South Africa on March 6, they hope to pay a courtesy call on Mr Sam Nujoma, incoming president of Namibia.

The latest delegation of US lawmakers to South Africa has been sent at the request of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr Tom Foley.

Mr Gray said yesterday: "The goal of this delegation is to evaluate the political climate in a region of the world that seems to be in transition.

"To do this, we will meet with all sides and listen to their analysis of where things are at this time, and the depth and direction of future change. The US wants to understand what it will take to bring peace and racial harmony to South Africa."

'Trojan' trial: charge dropped

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A second charge of murder against 13 security force members, which arose out of the "Trojan Horse" incident, has been withdrawn in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

The men were acquitted on a charge of murdering Shaun Magmoed (16) in October 1985 after they opened fire on a stone-throwing crowd in Thornton Road, Athlone.

The case was the first private prosecution for murder in South Africa, brought after the Attorney General refused to prosecute.

The second charge, of murdering Michael Miranda (11) was withdrawn in court yesterday by Mr Les Rose-Innes, for the private prosecutors.

For interfiling

300 - 360

Police raid Mandela home

By MATSHUBE MFOLOE

Star 2/11/90

327

Police raided the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela in Diepkloof, Soweto, yesterday following a stone-throwing incident during a party at the home of journalist, Mr Ezra Mantini.

According to Soweto's police liaison officer, Captain Joseph Ngobeni, the incident happend at 4. 25 am.

Although no one was injured during the pre-dawn attack, the plush house of Mr Mantini was extensively damaged. He was out of town at the time of the incident and the house was looked after by a relative.

According to the police, an uninvited youth said to be staying at the home of Mrs Mandela, forced his way at a party held three blocks away. When he was ordered to leave the house by the organisers of the party he resisted and a brawl broke out. The man left but came back later with a group of other youths.

He threatened the revellers with a hand grenade and after he was forced out of the house, he and his campanions allegedly hurled stones and bricks at the house shattering windows and damaging a car parked outside. A hi-fi set was also smashed.

Ngobeni said police searched Mrs Mandela's home after they received leads that the man was seen at her house.

Police searched the house after they were granted permission by Mrs Mandela, but could neither find the alleged man nor explosives.

No arrests were made and police were continuing with their investigations.

One of the youths who was at the party said the intruder was often seen at the Mandela home. A youth who did not want to be indentified for fear of victimisation, confirmed seeing Mrs Mandela in the company of the man alleged to have attacked the house minutes after the incident.

Sowetan could not confirm the allegations with Mrs Mandela because, according to her daughter, Zinzi, "she had not made any appointment to meet the press" yesterday.

Defence of actions to stop demos

3/11/90

(327)

Political Correspondent

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe spelt out yesterday why police insisted on stopping illegal protests, as damaging confrontations mounted between police and anti-apartheid protesters.

He said there was nothing police could do to ease the situation even when this led to confrontation that embarrassed the Government.

They had to enforce the law and any settlement of the conflict was up to the Government and anti-apartheid forces.

He was approached for comment in the light of the gathering number of protests being broken up by police.

This has raised fears that police may not be acting in accordance with instructions from the President, Mr F W de Klerk, earlier this month not to involve themselves in politics.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday he did not believe Mr de Klerk expected the police to allow the law to be broken.

Police understood him to mean only that legal protests would be permitted.

General van der Merwe said the Internal Security Act under which outdoor protests were prohibited "does not leave any discretion to the police".

Casspirs to go, says SAP

Capt Times 4/1/1990 (327)

JOHANNESBURG. — The SAP's newly appointed regional commissioner to Soweto, Major-General Johan Swart, yesterday announced that the Casspir would be gradually withdrawn from patrol services in Soweto as part of an effort to get relations between the SAP and the Soweto community back to normal.

During a speech to mark his appointment yesterday, General Swart — who replaces Major-General Johan Viktor — said that for starters, six Casspirs would be immediately withdrawn and replaced with ordinary patrol vans.

General Swart said the withdrawal of all Casspirs was a "costly" project which could not happen overnight.

But he said the move should be seen as a "tangible" sign of goodwill on the part of the SAP.

Meanwhile, UDF acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said yesterday that removing the Casspirs "does not remove the problems lurking inside the Casspirs. They will only be transferred to ordinary police vans". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Rockman's fate crucial to SA – Acag

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The way the authorities deal with outspoken Cape Flats policeman Lieutenant Gregory Rockman will symbolise their ability, or lack thereof, to tolerate internal criticism, according to the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag).

In its latest monthly publication, Acag said Lieutenant Rockman's allegation that his colleagues had behaved "like wild dogs" when breaking up a demonstration was a triumph for freedom of speech.

Lieutenant Rockman's outspokeness, Acag said, focused attention on an area of official activity which had long been kept from the public eye by the state of emergency and the Police Act. Since he was a policeman with a long and clean service record, Lieutenant Rockman was able to say things which would ordinarily have been censored, according to Acag.

The anti-censorship group noted that the authorities had tried to silence Lieutenant Rockman from the moment he spoke out, threatened him with disciplinary action and ordered him to report to Pretoria for "special duties".

Lieutenant Rockman's fate would symbolise the authorities' ability to tolerate internal criticism and would be important to other policemen and civil servants who might wish to speak out against official abuses, said the anti-censorship group.

NATIONALISA

Star 24/2/90

327

Robbery or righting of economic w



MINING SA'S WEALTH: The workers do all the work and the whites reap the benefits. Right or wrong, that's the pe... But will nationalisation be the answer?

CHRIS MOERDYK

TO dyed-in-the wool capitalists, nationalisation is nothing short of highway robbery.

To many ordinary white South Africans it is equally threatening, something they perceive will rob them of everything from their life savings to hard-earned pensions.

But to black South Africans, nationalisation is being proferred as a symbol of economic hope, a way of speeding up the dissolution of past imbalances and of bringing about an equitable distribution of wealth as quickly as possible.

Assuming for the moment that nationalisation is not simply a card the ANC is keeping up its sleeve to play at the negotiating table, what are the effects the process will have on South Africa?

Some of these have been felt already — even though the ANC's version of nationalisation is still far from clear. Mere talk of it has scared the daylights out of businessmen and investors, and has had a dramatic effect on the financial markets, prompting Mr Nelson Mandela this week to publicly reassure businessmen that there will be no changes to the economy without thorough discussions with the private sector.

For black South Africans, however, it has given them the reassurance that the ANC is not only intent on eliminating social but economic apartheid as well.

They perceive that a small, elite group of whites dominate the South African economy, in which the prevailing policy is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Blacks see a white-dominated business community which is protected by apartheid and which in recent years has been beset by corruption and all manner of shady practices. A business community founded on monopolies, cartels, price rings and rip-offs. They continue to experience widespread unemployment.

They might well believe, as a result, that South African business hasn't done a particularly noteworthy job of keeping its house in order. And that maybe the state could make a better job of it. Which suggests that these perceptions and not the theories of nationalisation are what the free enterprise lobby will have to debate in order to entrench their cause in a new South Africa.

What though, is the ANC hoping to achieve by what seems to be an intention to stop the privatisation clock and return to state ownership?

Quite justifiably, the ANC wishes to spread the wealth of the country to all people. To ensure, as quickly as possible, that black housing, education and health services are upgraded. And that blacks are able to benefit on an equitable basis in the economy of the country.

Laudable goals indeed. And goals for which the ANC will find no argument from the incumbent Government nor the business community. The only argument they will have to face is whether nationalisation is the best or indeed, the only option.

> To many white South Africans nationalisation is something that will rob them of everything from their life savings to their hard-earned pensions.

And those proponents of capitalism and free enterprise will have a tough time convincing the ANC that their system is better. Because they will have to admit that just as nationalisation can be shot full of holes, free enterpise is by no means perfect.

But they will have history on their side. Because history has shown that in spite of its imperfections, free enterprise has had the best track record.

And while the ANC might well admit to this, the point they will promote is that time and not the system will be of the essence. Free enterprise might well create equality, but peace and stability in a new South Africa could depend on bringing about this equality with historically unprecendented speed.

For one cannot blame black South Africans for saying: "You whites have had a 40 year start on us, so we'll need something other than the slow process of free enterprise to put us on par with you."

But so far, attempts to rationalise quite what the ANC has in mind with regard to nationalisation, have failed because the ANC has not let on precisely what it has in mind.

It is not altogether clear whether the ANC is more interested in bringing about a fair distribution of wealth or a fair distribution of opportunity. Though superficially subtle, the difference between the two is enormous.

A fair distribution of opportunity might simply entail a political solution — the abolition of apartheid — with certain compensatory factors. But a distribution of wealth in a literal sense would entail the usurping of private sector assets.

So, on the assumption that the ANC is intent on the swiftest possible route to economic equality — spreading wealth and simply allowing equal opportunity to follow naturally — then when they talk nationalisation they mean it in its strictest sense.

The ANC has mentioned nationalisation in terms of mines, banks and of breaking up monopolies.

What then, would be the effect of nationalising a bank? If this was done without compensation — if the bank was simply declared a state corporation — then the first to suffer would be shareholders.

Local shareholders would lose their investments as would overseas shareholders who would probably then turn their backs on South Africa forever.

But this form of nationalisation does not mean that investors — those ordinary people with savings and fixed deposit accounts — would lose their money. At worst their interest earnings might drop, depending on how efficiently the bank was managed under state ownership.

Self-defeating

On the other hand, nationalisation could take place on a basis of partial ownership where the state "buys" a share or even in the case of total ownership, compensation could be paid so that no one loses out. However, full compensation — the market value of shares — would be self-defeating and therefore highly unlikely.

Recent history has shown many countries nationalising their banks. An example is France. When banks were nationalised there a few decades ago, there was an immediate benefit to the man in the street. Banking became a free service.

Those who paid for all these free services were the borrowers. Interest on loans and overdrafts were higher than would have been the case if the bank had not been nationalised.

And strangely enough the nationalised banking system in France worked very smoothly and extremely efficiently. However, in recent years service charges ... peared and the era of ...

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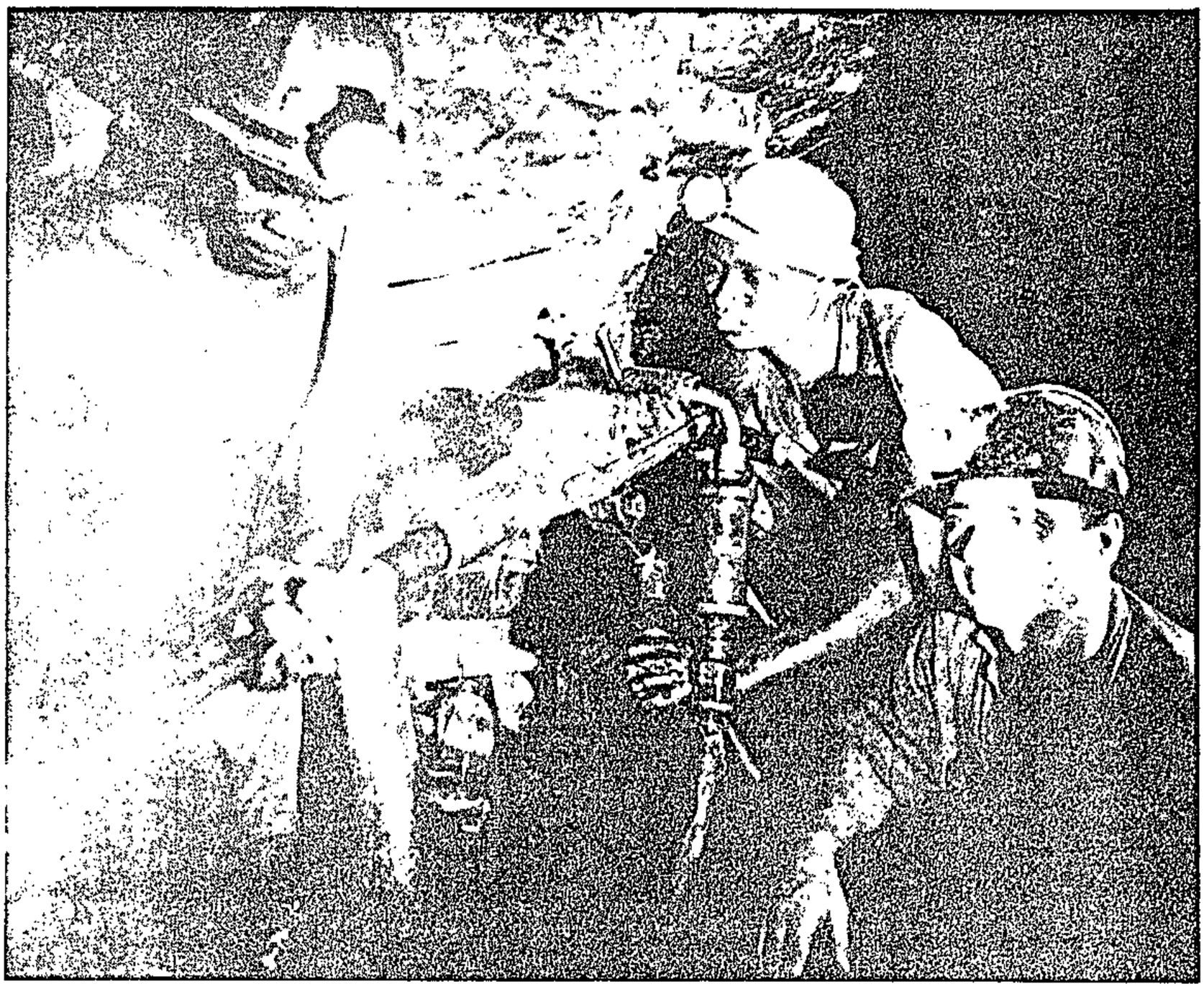
ONALISATION

Star 24/2/90 (237)

bery or righting of economic wrongs?



WEALTH: The workers do all the work and the whites reap the benefits. Right or wrong, that's the perception among blacks. But will nationalisation be the answer?

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And strangely enough the nationalised banking system in France worked very smoothly and extremely efficiently. However, in recent years service charges have once again appeared and the era of free banking has ended.

So, while the nationalisation of banks need not necessarily be to the detriment of the man in te street, it should be remembered, however, that many pension funds are bank shareholders and should nationalisation cause the value of a bank's shares to fall considerably or even disappear completely, this would impinge upon the performance of any pension fund involved. Which in turn would depreciate the value of individual pensions with the result that contributors would find that the amount of money they expected to receive on retirement would decline.

The question of nationalising the mines appears a to be a lot less complex. Indeed, the state would find itself up to its neck in money if it owned the mines. But as, for example, roughly 20 percent of the shares in local gold mines are held by overseas investors, nationalisation of the mines would scare off foreign investors to the point where investment capital into South Africa would become as rare as hen's teeth.

In theory, nationalisation of the mines need not have an impact on the ordinary citizen. In fact, nationalisation in general should theoretically allow government to reduce taxes. However, history has shown that this doesn't necessarily happen. Mostly from the point of view that the reason for nationalisation is usually that government needs money for projects that could not normally be financed out of tax revenues.

But what of the monopolies? That handful of companies that dominate the economy? Is it possible to argue against the black view that so much economic power in so few white hands is as odious as the political oligarchy they have lived under for more than 40 years?

But will nationalisation solve the problem? Will nationalsation dissipate power?

The belief, for example, that 80 percent of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange is owned by four or five companies is an old chestnut used by critics of the South African economic system as an example of everything that is wrong within that system. It is not strictly accurate, however.

"Controlled" perhaps, but not "owned". And the difference is quite significant. Take the prime "culprit" — the Anglo American Corporation — and an example of how it might appear to own shares that in fact it merely controls for the benefit of tens of thousands of people.

Black consumers

Anglo has a significant stake in Southern Life which in turn has a equally significant stake in African Life. Thousands of predominantly black consumers have African Life assurance policies. A significant portion of the millions of rands of premium income that flow in from these policies every month might be invested in public company shares in order to gain maximum benefit for policy-owners.

But while ultimately Anglo American controls these shares, it does does not own them.

This taken into account, the shares actually owned by this handful of so-called monopoly companies probably amounts to a maximum of about 35 percent and not 80 percent of all JSE shares.

But the monopolies that perhaps the ANC is quite justifiably intent on getting rid of, are those that benefit from legislation precluding competition. South African Airways is a prime example.

So, given that the principle of nationalisation is generally fraught with economic disadvantages, what other options are there?

There are, it seems, all manner of ways of skinning the cat.

For example, Professor Pieter le Roux of the Department of Developmental Studies at the University of the Western Cape, believes that social democracy is the answer.

He says a social democracy — a calculated but limited state intervention in the economy — is a reasonable compromise which leaves the way open for a Thatcherite reversal at a later stage when most of the leeway in providing equal opportunity has been made up, or for a move toward a more radical socialism if desired.

There are many such compromise options. But at the end of it all, the best compromise will be one which brings about equality as quickly as possible but which has least impact on the economy — particularly on the inflation rate.

Equality is going to cost a lot of money. And whether this comes from nationalisation or social consciousness contributions from the private sector, the inflation rate is bound to increase and productivity almost certainly curtailed.

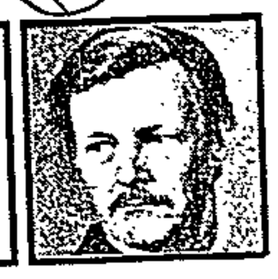
Which, in turn, could well create a situation where the very things that are created to improve the quality of life of black South Africans will at the same time increase their cost of living burden.

> Blacks perceive that a small group of whites dominate the economy, in which the prevailing policy is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Four steps to bridge a chasm

Undercurrent Affairs

HARVEY TYSON



THE charisma and courage of two men — Nelson Mandela and Frederick de Klerk — are largely responsible for South Africa being poised at this moment at one of the more promising crossroads in history.

I mean *world* history.

Where else do you recall the leaders of two warring factions announcing their willingness to negotiate peace before battle is properly joined?

Where else have you observed a government in power voluntarily moving towards its own demise?

Where else have we witnessed two forces willing to avoid the normal path of self-destruction and aggressive testing of strength?

Yet today we see a government, whose dominant physical strength remains unchallenged, ready to talk to a liberation movement with a potential "people power" which may eventually be irresistible and is, as yet, hardly tested. The two sides are short-circuiting history. This is the highpoint. It has been reached through both sides taking risks.

Now we shall descend into pettiness as both sides manoeuvre for advantage. And we must expect a long series of crises as negotiations are attempted.

But no matter. The triumph is that two courageous leaders have agreed to take the broad high road to the future. It will be harder now to turn back. South Africa has achieved something which most analysts never thought was possible in any society.

□ □ □

The key to the future lies in a clear statement made by Mandela on SATV to the nation, and uttered in different words on different occasions by SPFW:

"Everything is negotiable. Not just the peripherals. Everything."

With that in mind, let me propose a provocative plan. It consists of four concise proposals which, taken together, cut across the basic principles of every political party and orthodox ideology everywhere.

Taken together (they stand united) my four-point proposition is:

1) Make Nelson Mandela executive State President while he still has capability as well as stature.

2) Make SPFW his Prime Minister of a federal government.

3) Grant any extreme isolationists their right to their own state within the federation, provided it is not racialistic or infringes the rights of others. Also tolerate ethnic diversity within the constitution, providing it does not allow exclusivity or political advantage for any group, or combination of groups.

4) Let socio-economic forces, by themselves, work out the economic policies of this country, rather than try to impose, or compromise on, different ideologies.

□ □ □

● Mr Mandela for SP.

If you have analysed each and every utterance he has made since emerging from more than a quarter of century of imprisonment, you will see that he has confounded his critics; his supporters; friends and enemies.

His consumate skill is matched by his clear integrity (a rare quality which he, in turn, attributes to SPFW). His loyalty to his lifelong cause is matched only by his unorthodox and independent way of thought.

One of his closest "organisers" complained the other day: "The Old Man does things his way . . ."

● SPFW.

The National Party leader has shown, despite the record of his party, the kind of courage and flexibility, bounded by integrity, which fits him as a leader of a much greater South Africa — or Azania if you will — which could play a major role, not only in Africa, but in First-Third World affairs.

● Morgenzon.

The vision of an *eie boerestaat* is not peculiar. It was achieved by the Mormons in Utah, and still exists there. It is the dream of terrorist Basques in Spain and in many parts of the USSR. Why build terrorism into the new South Africa by suppressing the bitter nationalistic soul of ultra-isolationists?

For heaven's sake, give them their Morgenzon, their so-called holy, promised land. Let them go. Let them build their new *volkstaat* out of the desert. So long as they do not take what belongs to all the people; so long as they do not trespass on the rights of others, let the Oranje Republic live within a federation. Like the Basters of Namibia, they will soon rejoin their country.

□ □ □

● The economy.

Quite clearly, there will have to be readjustments in the allocation of national resources. Nationalisation need not be one of them. But then frantic privatisation of resources, milked for half a century by an NP sectional government, need not be one of them, either.

Businessman Sam Motsuenyane has suggested several alternatives to nationalisation. Big Business, that part of it not too Far Right, also has a number of "adjustments" in mind.

In any case, many adjustments will just happen, when a new government with a new majority comes to constructing the annual budget and having it approved by a new Parliament.

The negotiating parties need agree on just two principles: the tests for any economic policy should be that (a) it is fair and (b) it must increase the national wealth within a year of implementation.

□ □ □

I wanted to talk to you about words. Words like "jubilating" and seagulls' names, and others of grave moment. But I have not a moment to spare, except to leave you with some words of Shakespeare, who speaks with time-tested truth about the current scandal which The Star is investigating:

For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak with most miraculous organ.

(Hamlet).

And you all know Security is mortal's chiefest enemy.

(Macbeth).

A thing too bad for bad report.

(Cymbeline).

Meanwhile, our investigation has prompted a telephone call from a well-spoken English-speaker who informs us very calmly that he is going to kill the editor.

I mention it only because I happen to be rushing off to Communist China to view a billion people and a bad economic system.

Sorry to delay anyone's plans.

See you all in about three weeks.

Wives, mothers plead release of hunger strikers

Argus 25/2/90

By JOHN YELD
Staff Reporter

"ENOUGH is enough . . . we have waited too long."

These are the words of a wife whose "political prisoner" husband, jailed for life on Robben Island, is now on a hunger strike in protest against his exclusion from the amnesty announced by President F W de Klerk in his speech at the opening of parliament.

Mrs Pina Ncata was one of several women who addressed a Press conference at St George's Cathedral Hall yesterday in support of the more than 300 prisoners on Robben Island who have started their hunger strike to secure their release.

"We thought our people would be released (after Mr De Klerk's speech)," said Mrs Ncata, common law wife of Mr Lizo Ngqungwana who was jailed for life in 1987.

"We still need them. We long for our loved ones. I wonder if the government knows how painful it is to bring up a child without a father."

Mrs Patricia Jacobs, mother of University of the Western Cape student Mr Peter Jacobs who was arrested in May 1987, said she had been "quite shocked" by his arrest, but now understood his reasons for joining the liberation struggle.

"I've also changed, although I don't go out and throw stones . . . here in my heart I know the things he fought for are right.

"We say to Mr De Klerk: 'Please release our boys, they are not terrorists, they are fighting for their freedom, for what they know is right.' I am with my son."

The Western Cape branch of the United Democratic Front announced a campaign in support of the hunger strikers which will include a vigil tonight at the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre at 7.30 pm, a picket outside parliament each day until the hunger strike is over, and a march on Friday afternoon to hand over a meorandum on the prisoners' demands to the President.

Creda Press.
KNL-Web.
ABC Press.
Promedia.

76. CTP.
Printpak.
Perskor.
Nasionale Media.

77. CTP.
Sneller Data Set.
Perskor.
Nasionale Media.
Printpak.

78/85. CTP.
Promedia.
Aurora Printers.
Dreyer Printers.
ABC.
Creda.
Belmor Group.
Natal Witness.

86/87. Printpak.
Perskor.
Creda.
ABC.
CTP.

(2) Yes.

(3) Tenders for printing contracts are dealt with by the Government Printer.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Mandela, Sisulu and Mothopeng: charge of treason

1. Adv C D DE JAGER asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether a charge of treason was laid against Messrs Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Zeph Mothopeng with the South African Police in Cape Town on 12 February 1990; if so,

(2) whether any criminal proceedings have been instituted in respect of the above-mentioned persons since that date; if so, what proceedings; if not, why not?

B317E.INT

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, in terms of section 5 of the Police Act—Act No 7 of 1958—the SA Police have a legal obligation to investigate "any offence or alleged offence" that comes to their attention. This judicial obligation places the responsibility on the SA Police Force to investigate any offence or alleged offence which is reported. Although they have frequently had to do so under difficult circumstances, over the years the SA Police have conscientiously carried out this responsibility. That is still the case today.

In this regard I should like to emphasise that in the execution of their prescribed duties, the SA Police act without fear or favour, regardless of a person's race, gender, status in the community or political ties.

The final decision about whether a prosecution should be instituted or not does not, of course, rest with the SA Police. This is the exclusive prerogative of the Attorney-General who is the Director of Public Prosecutions in our legal system. Accordingly a dossier is handed to the Attorney-General who decides whether a criminal prosecution should be instituted or not. He can also call for a further investigation if he so desires.

In the case under discussion here today, I hereby confirm that on 12 February 1990 the hon member for Bethal laid a charge with the SA Police in Cape Town. The case docket was handed to the Attorney-General of Cape Town by the SA Police on 22 February 1990. His decision is still being awaited.

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, I thank the hon the Minister for his reply. I also thank the SA Police for the attention they gave the matter.

The hon the Minister said "if a charge is laid", but I think that section 5, which he quoted, also states "if the police should become aware of that". It is not always necessary for a charge to be laid. If it is clear that an offence has been committed, the police can act on their own initiative.

I find it amazing that in this case no action was taken before a charge was laid. The very fact that the police investigated the matter means that they at least thought the charge had some substance. [Interjections.]

Hon members who are interjecting must remember that the police are doing their duty and that they know what their duty is. At some or other time they will also be doing their duty for the benefit of those hon members. [Interjections.]

This is a serious matter. I think it is a serious crime being committed against the State, or allegedly being committed. Only this morning it was reported on TV that they are still invoking the threat of violence, On several occasions after the charge was laid they again did so. I therefore find it somewhat disquieting—I am glad the hon the Minister of Justice is here—that in *The Argus* of 16 February it was reported that the Ministry of Justice had telephoned Mr Mandela and told him that they needed photographs in order to get his passport ready for him.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Well I never.

→ continue

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Mandela leaves the country today. He has obtained a passport to leave the country. [Interjections.] I want to ask the hon the Minister in all seriousness whether, if I had proclaimed that there should be an armed uprising against the State to overthrow the Government, the Ministries would also have helped me obtain a passport to leave the country.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Never. You are not a communist [Interjections.]

*Mr C D DE JAGER: These are the aspects we find disturbing. It is these aspects which make it seem to us that as far as this matter is concerned, no attention is being paid to the law any longer. It seems as if the action taken is less severe, for the sake of efficacy, than would be the case, for example, if right-wing elements were involved. [Interjections.]

Dr D J WORRALL: Mr Speaker, it is quite correct to say treason is the highest of political offences. Our history, if one considers it, and especially the Afrikaner's history, is rich with acts which have been treasonable or bordering on treason.

One thinks in this respect of De la Rey, of De Wet, Kemp and Jopie Fourie. There are many such instances. [Interjections.]

What those people did, was out of idealism or out of a sense of correcting or rectifying injustice. [Interjections.]

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: They were prosecuted!

Dr D J WORRALL: This is also true of Mandela, Sisulu and many Black political leaders. Inevitably, people like that become heroes. They somehow capture the minds, hearts, imagination and the wonder of their people, and if this is true of De la Rey, De Wet and Kemp, it is also true of Mandela, Sisulu, Biko, Rick Turner and also of Lubowski.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: It is scandalous for you to compare Mandela with those Afrikaner leaders!

Dr D J WORRALL: In the months that lie ahead we in public life have an obligation to see those people in those terms and to respect the admiration, the political respect and the political and historic memory of those who respect them because that is what is important. Do this and we will be nation builders.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, when the hon member for Bethal took the floor I wondered what he was going to say, but now I discover that he really has nothing to say.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: You have nothing to say.

*The MINISTER: I merely gave the hon member the facts of the matter. The hon member also went off at such a tangent, asking the hon the Minister of Justice about passports that Mr Mandela supposedly obtained. Apparently he had nothing to say to me. [Interjections.] I see him laughing very heartily, because he knows I am right. [Interjections.]

The hon member says I should have a look at section 5 of the Police Act. I should like to quote it to the hon member verbatim from the Act. It deals with the functions of the SA Police. [Interjections.] I quote:

> The functions of the South African Police shall be, *inter alia*—
>
> (a) the preservation of the internal security of the Republic;
>
> (b) the maintenance of law and order;
>
> (c) the investigation of any offence or alleged offence; and
>
> (d) the prevention of crime.

That is precisely what I quoted to the hon member in my reply. Therefore the hon member cannot say that we had not read the relevant section before I drafted my reply to him.

The hon member also alleges that we are less severe in the action we take against left-wing elements than we are in the action we take against right-wing elements. [Interjections.] Here we have other hon members also singing in the choir when, in fact, they do not know what it is all about. They have a vague notion, but they really do not know what is going on. [Interjections.]

*An HON MEMBER: The Cossack choir!

Continue pp 161 | 162 →

*An HON MEMBER: Koos, there are two chairs for the Cossacks up front . . . [Interjections.]

*The MINISTER: The hon member for Overvaal has not even been there yet, and he is already singing in the Cossack choir! [Interjections.]

*Mr F J LE ROUX: Sit down if you have nothing to say!

*The MINISTER: No, hon members are laughing at the hon Cossack sitting there next to the hon member. [Interjections.]

I should like to give hon members the assurance, as I indicated in my reply, that it makes no difference to us whether the relevant person is of a left-wing or right-wing persuasion, because . . . [Time expired.]

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, the most revealing incident in this whole debate has just taken place. I am referring to the fact that after the hon member for Berea stood up here and defended people who had committed high treason, saying that they did so out of a sense of idealism and conviction, that hon Minister did not reprimand him. [Interjections.] He tried to crack a joke at the hon member for Bethal's expense. It is incredible! This just goes to show this Government's approach to the offence of high treason . . .

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: F W is also sitting there smiling!

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: . . . particularly when it is committed by left-wing elements. That is precisely why, this afternoon, we have had this interpellation . . .

*Dr J J VILONEL: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: It has repeatedly been said that someone should not be addressed by name. The hon member for Overvaal said: "F W is also sitting there smiling" as if he and the hon the State President were on a par.

*Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Who is Rooi Koos?

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! I merely want to tell the hon member for Langlaagte that after the debate on this interpellation has concluded I intend to say something about this matter. The hon member for Roodepoort may proceed.

*Mr J J S PRINSLOO: This whole attitude is also reflected in the Government's arguments in regard to other laws. In this regard I want to refer to statements made by the hon the Minister of Justice in a debate here yesterday. I consulted the Hansard record and found that yesterday the hon the Minister defended the unbanning of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, arguing that the ANC and the SA Communist Party no longer posed any threat to law and order in South Africa. That was precisely what this hon Minister argued here yesterday.

In the meantime, after the unbanning of the ANC and the Communist Party, there are bomb-blasts here in the Cape Peninsula, and the hon the Minister and his hon colleague, the Minister of Law and Order, know this. [Interjections.] This just goes to show the attitude of these people.

Secondly, in this House yesterday the hon the Minister of Justice said that the section in the Internal Security Act prohibiting communism or the promotion of communism in South Africa had been abrogated by disuse. [Time expired.]

*Mr C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, if the section has been abrogated by disuse, it will be the first section placed on the Statute Book in 1982 and abrogated by disuse within a period of eight years. [Interjections.] It is very strange, because if that section has been abrogated by disuse, why was it necessary to unban the Communist Party on 2 February? Surely there would no longer be any crime of which it was guilty. [Interjections.]

We should like to know which other sections in this Act have been abrogated by disuse, because I may wrongly have laid a charge in terms of section 54. Perhaps it has also been abrogated by disuse, because no one is sure what the law is any longer. The fact that it is on the Statute Book does not necessarily mean it is still law, because perhaps it has been abrogated by disuse!

*An HON MEMBER: That is absolutely ridiculous.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Speaker, it really seems to me as if I was right in saying that the hon members should not have directed the interpellation at me, because now they are engaged in altercation with the hon the Minister of Justice about what he supposedly said yesterday. [Interjections.]

P.T.O. →

I just want to say that hon members accuse us of not taking action against left-wing elements and of only taking action against right-wing elements. There are equally many accusations from left-wing elements alleging that we treat right-wing elements with kid gloves. So we know we are right; we are right in the middle, and that is where we want to be in the fight between these opposing parties. I merely want to tell hon members that the hon—no, he is not an hon member, and never will be—Mr Eugène Terre-'Blanche utters just as many threats of violence. What he regularly says is that when this Government falls, violence will break out. He also says that if the ANC were to take over in South Africa, violence would break out. That is why we must all tread lightly in talking about violence and not so glibly accuse people of perpetrating acts of violence.

In regard to what the hon member for Berea said, let me also just say—my hon colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice, also said so yesterday—that the communist ideology is totally unacceptable to us on this side of the House. We specifically want to deal communism a knock-out blow, and we have dealt communists a knock-out blow over the past 40 years by way of legislation. We think we can now do an even better job by doing so in the hearts and minds of people. We shall do so by pointing out to them what communism actually stands for. [Interjections.] That is precisely what we are doing.

We have not grown soft on communism. Not by a long shot. There are millions of people in the world who join us in saying that communism is out. We therefore want to tell those hon members they have no premium when it comes to opposing communism. We are still fighting communism. We are going to win, while you are not going to manage it. [Interjections.]

If the hon member for Bethal has any questions about these matters, he must put them to my hon colleague, the hon the Minister of Justice.

I have already indicated that the SA Police will act fearlessly and investigate any complaints that are laid.

Debate concluded.

*Mr SPEAKER: Order! That concludes Interpellation No 1. Before proceeding to put Interpellation No 2, I should like to focus hon members' attention on the fact that I have noticed during the past few days—I do not know the background—that repeated references are being made to "Rooi Koos". [Interjections.]

Last year or the year before last I gave a ruling on this in the House. My ruling was that hon members must not deliberately be addressed by their first names or nicknames, or shouted at or addressed across the floor of the House. I want to make a serious appeal to hon members to uphold and abide by Mr Speaker's ruling.

Hon members must not wait until problems crop up, and then ask Mr Speaker to solve them. I am therefore asking that we treat one another with the necessary respect. Normally I do not hear nice remarks made in a soft tone of voice, even if first names or initials are involved. I try not to hear that, but when hon members do so deliberately, let me tell them that they are not abiding by the Chair's ruling, and I request hon members' co-operation in this regard.

Free settlement areas

2. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs:

(1) Whether the Government is prepared to declare entire local authority areas as free settlement areas; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether the Government is prepared to amend legislation to allow for a non-racial franchise in electing a single local authority for such free settlement areas; if not, why not?

Hansard 27/2/90 B335E.INT

*The MINISTER OF PLANNING AND PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, this is an amazing question from the DP. Not one of the three factions—four, if one counts the hon member for Claremont—making up the DP today, has ever been in favour of the Free Settlement Areas Act. [Interjections.] We know that the DP once again rejected the concept of free settlement areas during the past election.

I assume from that question that a change has taken place in the DP, because the hon member for Houghton would like to know whether we would be prepared to open up entire areas so that he may propagate this concept, which is embodied in the Free Settlement Areas Act, in the circles in which he moves. I welcome this change of policy on the part of the DP. [Interjections.] I welcome their willingness to co-operate

within the framework of the Free Settlement Areas Act. [Interjections.]

Legally, there is nothing in the Free Settlement Areas Act which prohibits the declaration of an entire local authority area as a free settlement area. As with any other application, however, such an application would have to be dealt with by the Free Settlement Board. Such a request would therefore have to be considered in accordance with the provisions of that particular Act before the Government took a decision on it on the basis of the advice it received from that board.

The board would have to deal with a number of matters, such as the prevailing social and socio-economic conditions. I do not want to trouble hon members with those aspects. Those matters that have to be taken into consideration, appear in the Act.

The Government would then consider the recommendations made by the Free Settlement Board. If we were satisfied that it was in the interests of the community, we would seriously consider opening such an area. I just want to point out to hon members, however, that there are, in fact, some problems with the legislation in regard to the determination of local government within such a free settlement area. [Interjections.] We are looking into this and we shall furnish a reply in this regard. [Interjections.]

I see that the hon member for Green Point is once again waving flies away. Let me tell him at once, with regard to the second part of the question, that the Government is of the view that universal franchise should apply at local authority level. It is furthermore a point of departure of the Government that there ought not to be domination of minority groups at any level of government. [Interjections.] Universal franchise at the local authority level must therefore be structured in such a way that the rights of minority groups are protected. [Time expired.]

Mr A J LEON: Mr Speaker, contrary to what the hon the Minister said, the DP still believes that, as Dr D F Malan put it in 1950, group areas are the essence of apartheid. We also believe that they have disfigured our country, distorted property economics, skewed free-market principles and radicalised generations of Coloureds and Indians in this country. In short, the Government, by introducing free settlement areas, has tacitly acknowledged that group areas were a colossal experiment in social engineering which has, in fact, been a dismal failure.

When free settlement areas were introduced, we were told that they were going to be based on the principle of "live and let live". We only wish that were the case. On the evidence so far, and based on what is likely to happen in the foreseeable future, we believe that isolated free settlement areas will not be the birth of the brave new South Africa, but could become an aborted experiment in racial zoning.

We would have thought that the failure, economically and from a physical point of view, of the homelands had proved once and for all the futility of drawing lines on a map. Isolated free settlement areas, as contemplated, could become instant ghettoes, a rigged experiment doomed to failure because it violates the basic laws of supply and demand and the free market.

As a recent example of the hon the Minister's thinking on this, or that of the Free Settlement Board, we have a proposed free settlement area for Johannesburg which, in just one instance, completely ignores any community interests and slices out half an island of integration in a sea of segregated suburbs.

We think that this could be a reckless experiment which could be consigned to long-term oblivion, but which could produce drastic short-term consequences. We therefore believe that it is necessary to scrap group areas and not to use them as a bargaining chip, and short of that step, to declare entire municipalities free settlements. This at least will create large-scale space. It will also remove the inferior voting rights and second-class services which residents in free settlements will have to endure. The current legislation with management committees in free settlement areas, makes them toothless bodies, and they will have to co-exist in the same area as the parent White municipal authority. The Act clearly does not contemplate entire city-wide free settlements. If the Government is sincere about this, the Ministers' Council which has the power in the House of Assembly should immediately encourage or instruct the Free Settlement Board to investigate in order to declare all major metropolitan areas as city-wide free settlement areas, and Parliament should repeal the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas

P. T. O —o

Allegation that office burglar was a cop

Cape Times 26/2/90

Staff Reporter

POLICE are investigating charges of house-breaking after a man said he saw someone trying to force his way into the offices of Oudtshoorn community newspaper Saamstaan at 1.30am on Thursday.

Police are also investigating allegations that the burglar, wearing a balaclava, checked jacket, jeans and old army boots, was a policeman.

Mr William Jansen said he noticed a police van parked opposite the Saamstaan offices. A man stepped down from the van with "an iron rod" and tried to loosen the burglar bars covering one of the newspaper office's windows.

When this failed, said Mr Jansen, he tried to kick in the window, triggering the burglar alarm.

The man then left the premises but saw Mr Jansen and asked: "Hey! What are you doing out at this time of night?"

Mr Jansen reported the incident to the police and completed an affidavit. He was also questioned by police twice.

A spokesman for the Oudtshoorn police, Major F N du Plessis, confirmed that the incident was being investigated. He said he doubted police were involved in the matter.

Police end protest rally (327)

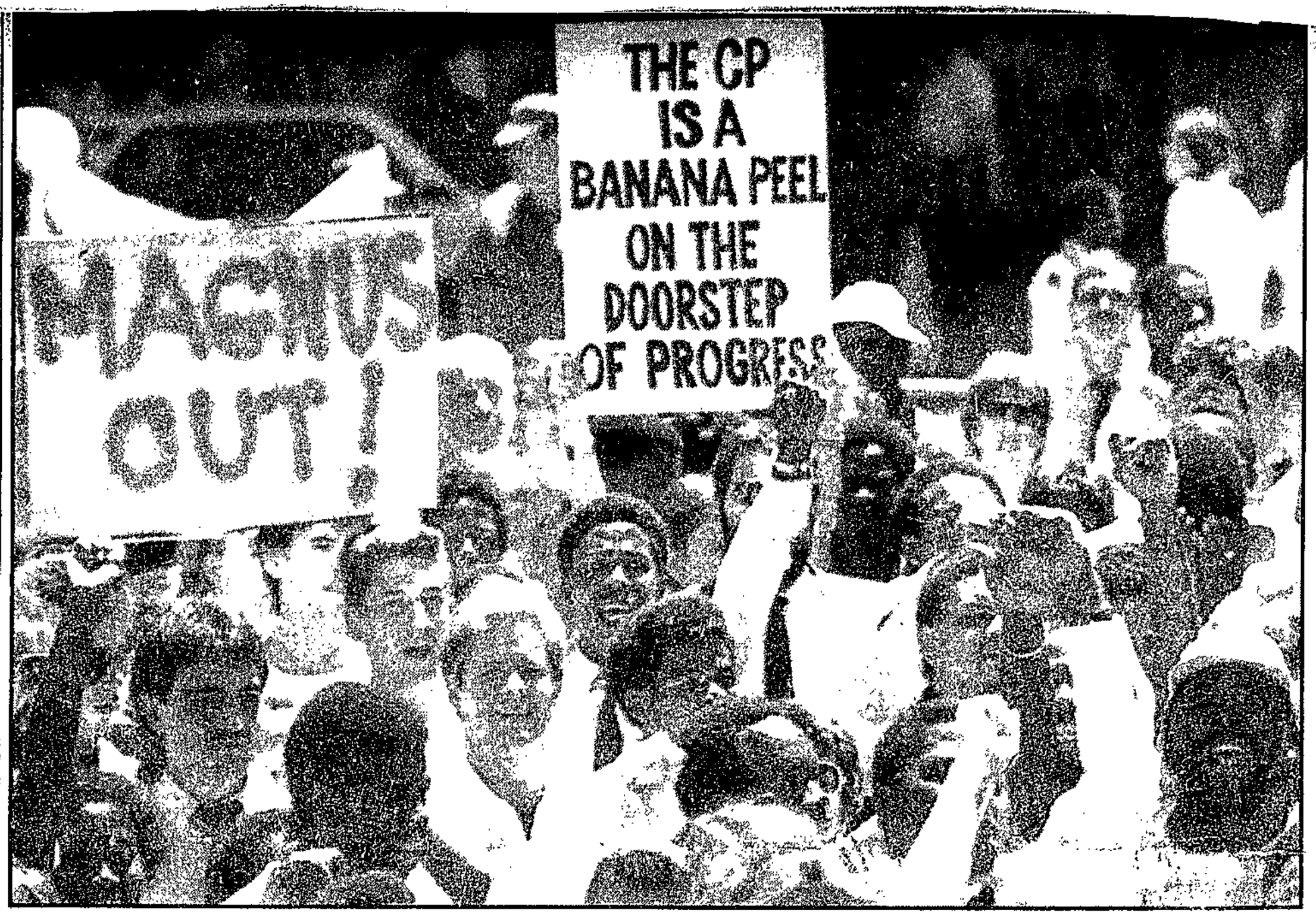
BRITS — Emotions ran high in the black township of Oukasie at Brits yesterday when police moved in to end a protest rally after it had continued longer than the time set. 26/2/90

The local magistrate had granted permission for the rally in the Hotspurs sports ground from 9 am to 1 pm to protest against three previous refusals to grant permission for protest marches in the township.

At 1.15 pm, a few policemen arrived at the grounds and ordered the rally to end. After conferring with the rally's leaders, the police granted them 30 minutes longer.

About 15 policemen returned at 2.10 pm as the rally was drawing to a close. They took up positions outside the grounds as the crowd of about 1 000 emerged. A stand-off developed with the police demanding that the crowd disperse, and the crowd demanding the police leave first.

The crowd eventually dispersed when their leaders urged them to do so. — Sapa.



FREEDOM MARCH: DP supporters were joined by members of the Black Sash, Five Freedoms Forum, ANC and UDF in the march down Harrison Street to the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday.

Spectrum of colours at DP's peace march

Star 26/2/90

PAT DEVEREAUX

327

THE Democratic Party's yellow and blue colours yesterday flew alongside a prominent flag of the Star of David as a crowd of about 3 000 supporters marched along Johannesburg's Harrison Street to the City Hall.

The symbolic march for "democracy, peace and negotiation" was led by DP party co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer and DP members Mr Peter Soal, Mr Douglas Gibson and Mr Tony Leon, as well as Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan and Methodist Bishop Peter Storey.

The crowd, including members of the Black Sash, the Five Freedoms Forum and student groupings were joined by a large group of toyi-toying black supporters wearing ANC and UDF T-shirts.

A wide variety of banners were displayed attacking the right wing, the Group Areas Act and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Addressing the group in the City Hall, UDF Transvaal secretary, Mr Jackson Tembu, said: "It is a pleasure for the UDF to be part of this historic DP march for freedom and democracy."

He praised the DP for "being the only voice of reason in white politics" and congratulated the party on its parliamentary achievements — which had contributed to the recent unbanning of the ANC.

Mr Tembu received a standing ovation after he told the crowd: "I would like to say to whites that this land belongs to all who live in it and we would like to march with you to this South Africa where all of us will be proud to be Zulu, Jewish, whatever ... as South Africans.

"We as the UDF and the ANC have marched with the DP because we believe our future is interlinked with whites in South Africa," he added.

Addressing the gathering, Dr de Beer mentioned the DP co-leaders' first meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, which took

● TO PAGE 2.

DP march

● FROM PAGE 1.

place earlier. "It was a real privilege to meet Mr Mandela. He is a fine gentleman.

"We agreed it would be premature to release a joint policy declaration but this morning the foundations of a friendship were made which bodes well for all South Africans."

The Nationalists had moved dramatically towards DP policy, but the Group Areas Act and separate schools and hospitals still had to go.

Despite recent progress, South Africa was still not a democracy. Even though President de Klerk had promised that the country would soon be a democracy, the DP would be pushing for this.

On negotiations, Dr de Beer said: "Good business is only done when the other side is satisfied. In negotiations one must think of the other side as one's partner."

Unbanning of SACP condemned

THE chief opposition spokesman for law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, introduced a draft resolution condemning the government for unbanning of the South African Communist Party.

He said the SACP was a danger to the State and threatened the proper maintenance of law, order and democracy.

He also called on the government to account for its dialogue with the African National Congress, which was in conflict with an explicit undertaking to the contrary; its silence before the general election about its intention to abolish Acts such as the Population Registration Act and its failure to enforce the current laws of the country.

Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said the CP had every right to feel unhappy about the government not having given any indication of the steps it intended taking as announced by the State President.

"A person would also not deny the right of the CP to mobilise in times of confusion. However, if they want to remain relevant on the long term and and really represent the interests of their bases, they will have to take stock, make peace with reality and think strategically.

Mr Malan said the DP was convinced that the best way to argue against any ideology lay in the democratic process as a mechanism through which various interest groups in a community could improve their own interests and through which policy differences could be solved.

KEEP TO THE RULES

the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the ANC and other organisations which had now been allowed to play on the fields opened up by the State President's initiatives had to keep to the rules of the game.

He said that if these organisations had said they were seeking peaceful solutions, this had to be interpreted to mean that there would be no more talk of violence and that violence would not be practised any longer.

There had in fact been a considerable decrease in violence.

CP members knew in their innermost being that President De Klerk had performed a masterstroke by pulling the carpet from under those who wanted to use violence.

BREAKING THE LAW

Mr Chris de Jager (CP Bethal), said that by failing to apply the Internal Secuirty Act against the SACP, cabinet ministers were breaking the law as well as their ministerial oaths.

Mr De Jager said laws could only be made and scrapped in parliament, and not by decree.

Nationalists were mistaken if they thought that the SACP could enter the country, establish offices and further its aims, because they thought the law had been amended by decree.

The State President's remarks on the unbanning of the SACP could not ignore provisions of the Internal Security Act which allowed a maximum 10-year jail sentence for furthering the aims of communism.

Mr De Jager said Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and others were openly statin" that the armed struggle should continue, but sect.on 54 of the Internal Secuirty Act said people guilty of furthering political aims by violence were guilty of terrorism. This law had not been repealed.

He said this was permissible when they did it, but if he were to do so he would be jailed. — Sapa

Secret funds audit report 'limited'

Political Staff

AUDITOR-GENERAL Mr Peter Wronsley has pointed out that he is allowed to publish reports on the special defence account, but only with the approval of the Minister of Finance and the State President.

He was responding to a newspaper article which said that the funding of the Defence Force's controversial Civil Co-operation Bureau was buried in the huge special defence account beyond public scrutiny.

The article pointed out that the account was subject to audit but that the Auditor-General "may not publish his findings". Mr Wronsley said this was not quite true and might give the impression that "anything goes" in the auditing of this account.

He said his department did audit the account. But section 6 (3) of the Auditor-General Act limited how much he could report on the account.

This section stipulated that he must report on this account, and other specified secret accounts "with due regard to the special nature of the accounts and shall limit such report to the extent to which the Minister of Finance in consultation with the State President and the Auditor-General, may determine".

Mr Wronsley pointed out that in his report of 1988/1989, he had been given approval to publish several examples of thefts, irregularities and variations of contracts in the special defence account.

This included two cases of theft amounting to R156 370 that had not yet been finalised and which the Department of Defence had brought to the attention of his office.

AKGUS 27/2/90

Island prisoners go hungry for release

Staff Reporters

MORE than 300 "political prisoners" on Robben Island are on a hunger strike in support of their immediate and unconditional release.

The Prisons Service confirmed in a statement that the prisoners had not taken meals since yesterday morning.

At a Press conference in St George's Cathedral Hall today, United Democratic Front Western Cape vice president Mr Dullah Omar said the definition of "political" by organisations within the broad liberation struggle and the prisoners themselves differed radically from that of President F W de Klerk, who had announced a limited amnesty in his speech at the opening of parliament.

There had been no indication since Mr De Klerk's speech that the government was moving towards further releases. The situation on Robbben Island was becoming "more and more critical" and tension was increasing, Mr Omar said.

"The prisoners have decided to act in terms of their own demand."

THEIR DEMANDS

Their demands included:

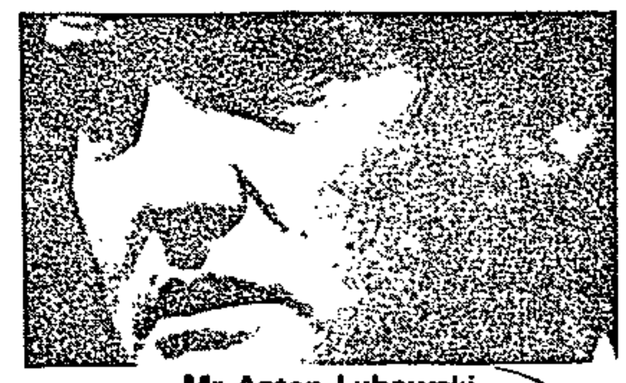
- The unconditional release of all political detainees, political prisoners and combatants;
- Rights for incarcerated political prisoners;
- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- The immediate withdrawal of the SADF, kitskonstabels, "racist" police and other "agents of the apartheid regime"; and
- Immediate and umhampered consultation with the leadership of organisations and legal representatives to discuss their demands.

Several mothers and wives of the prisoners addressed the Press conference and said they supported the prisoners "100 percent".

The UDF announced details of a campaign in support of the hunger strikers, which will include the daily picketing of parliament, a vigil at Bonteheuwel Civic Centre tomorrow at 7.30pm, and a march on Friday afternoon to deliver a memorandum from the prisoners.

● See page 4.

Lubowski 'an SA agent'



Mr Anton Lubowski

CM Times 27/2/90

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ASSASSINATED Swapo member Mr Anton Lubowski was a paid South African military spy, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told Parliament last night.

General Malan brushed aside opposition calls for his resignation, but announced the suspension of activities of the Defence Force's shadowy Civil Co-operation Bureau pending the outcome of a judicial investigation.

"I have no intention of bowing to the witchhunt against me, which is now also suddenly coming from the ANC," said General Malan, who has been embroiled in a battle for his political life in recent weeks.

General Malan's claim about the murdered Mr Lubowski brought charges of "smear" from opposition politicians.

The claim was also dismissed by Mr Lubowski's parents as "the biggest lie out" last night.

Mr Wilfried Lubowski said General Malan's claim was "completely crazy and impossible — he was brought up in a home that was against apartheid. There is absolutely no truth in this whatsoever".

Heated debate

Mrs Molly Lubowski said: "We are so upset. It is not true at all — we have all the evidence."

However, General Malan said during a snap debate on the activities of the secret Defence Force unit accused of political assassination that he had been assured that Mr Lubowski had "done good work for the SADF".

He added that there was no way that the head of military intelligence, General "Witkop" Badenhorst, would have approved the assassination of Mr Lubowski.

Replying to the often heated debate, General Malan stuck largely to his prepared text and declined to respond to a series of questions by opposi-

More PO price rises on the way

CM Times 27/2/90

Political Staff

THE Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, presented the Post Office budget yesterday, with a wide range of tariff increases — and more are in the pipeline.

He was presenting a record R8-billion budget.

Increases generally range between 14,3% and 16,7%, with the postage on a standard letter rising from 18c to 21c and telephone rentals from R18 to R21 a month. Telegram and parcel tariffs will also increase from April 1.

The sole good news is that no increase in the metered call rate is planned because of the switch to the new system in terms of which the duration of calls will be measured.

There is some good news for pensioners who receive a maximum of R267 a month, as their telephone rentals will remain R18 a month. In addition their installation and transfer

PO increases

- Telephone rentals up from R18 to R21 a month.
- Handling charges per telegram up from R3,50 to R4.
- Inland telegrams: Tarrif for first 10 words increased from R1,30 to R1,50 and from 13c to 15c for each additional word.
- Standard letter postage increased from 18c to 21c.
- Non-standard letters: A range of hikes from 5c to 80c per item.
- Parcels: Increases varying from 15c to R1,45.
- Registered post from R1 to R1,20.
- Express delivery from R2,50 to R3.
- Priority mail from R2,25 to R2,75.
- Private post rental from R24 to R28.

these operations.

He said two factors contributed to postal losses:

- Many tariffs were insufficient to compensate for the expenditure incurred.
- The services rendered were labour-intensive.

Dr De Villiers said efforts were being made to increase revenue through aggressive marketing.

Presenting a budget making provision for expenditure of R7,2bn and an operating surplus of R387m, Dr De Villiers said the proposals in the budget were based on expected continued growth.

He said the political reforms in progress created a "spirit of optimism here and abroad" which could lead to a new era for South Africa.

This would definitely result in the strengthening of the country's trade relations abroad and undoubtedly



ent

CMR Tim P 27/2/90

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Replying to the often heated debate, General Malan stuck largely to his prepared text and declined to respond to a series of questions by opposition MPs regarding his possible knowledge of or complicity in Defence Force hit squad activities.

General Malan said that neither he nor the SADF would in future respond to "any direct or indirect questions to the whole situation. This can only disadvantage official investigations".

General Malan said that should official investigations reveal malpractices, a "surgical cut" would be made to remove problems.

He said the special forces, the "eyes and ears" of the Defence Force, had since their founding during the early '70s infiltrated the ANC and had supplied information to the police. The CCB was established in the mid-'80s.

General Malan, who said he would make a sworn declaration to the Harms Commission investigation into alleged hit squads, appealed to parliamentarians and the media "to stand together and build the new South Africa".

Introducing a special debate on the CCB, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the, continued presence of General Malan as the Minister of Defence could only obstruct the process of justice and he should be suspended until the Harms Commission had completed its work.

Dr Worrall, the DP chief spokesman on law and order, said the head of the Brixton murder and robbery unit, Brigadier Floris Mostert, had said under oath that the members of the CCB were specifically involved in the murders of Dr David Webster and Mr Lubowski.

Dr Worrall said Brigadier Mostert's statements were not those of "some irresponsible radical" but those of a "brave policeman".

"How deep and how wide it goes we do not know."

To page 2

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Sowetan 28/2/90

Welfare women take Council to task

By MOEKETSI MPHAKI

THE Mamati Greater Soweto Welfare Organisation Women's League has sent a letter to the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, asking him to intervene on their behalf in a matter involving them, the Soweto City Council and the Chief Commissioner of the Witwatersrand.

A spokesman for the organisation, Mr Herbert Sithole, said they sent the letter to the minister following disatisfaction with the local authorities regarding their fund-raising number, the organisation's certificate and the allocation of a site to build an old age home.

Long wait

Sithole said they applied for a fund-raising number on December 12 1984, through the Soweto council, but had not obtained a satisfactory answer.

He said the organisation's certificate issued by the department of Constitutional Development and Planning in 1986 has never reached their possession, and they suspect it has been withheld by the council.

Site lost

Sithole said a site allocated to them for the building of an old age home in Moroka has since been given to another organisation without their knowledge.

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He showed *Sowetan* a letter from Mr J van Kradenburg, Community Administrator of the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) dated 19 January 1990, stipulating that the issue of the site will be discussed soon with other interested parties in order to resolve the matter.

No answer

But yesterday Kradenburg referred *Sowetan* to Mrs Naome Koutoulogeni, chief social worker of the West Rand Development Board, who in turn referred *Sowetan* to the Director of Fundraising Mr Alwyn Jacobs in Pretoria.

At the time of going to Press, a fax sent to Mr Jacobs had not been answered.

Thousands join Cape march

EAST LONDON — The Duncan Village Residents' Association presented a petition to the three National Party MPs for East London yesterday after a peaceful march through the city in protest against the eviction of 600 families from the township. (327)

The petition was handed to the mayor of East London, Mr John Badenhorst, Mr Billy Nel, NP MP for East London City, and Mr Callie Badenhorst, NP MP for East London North, by a delegation of clergymen and members of the association.

The protest march, which started at the Duncan Village stadium after a 2½-hour meeting, followed the eviction of squatters from the area.

More than 8 000 people participated in the march which ended in the city centre without incident, according to police. SAPA 5/11/90

After the petition was handed to the two MPs, the association was assured that it would be handed over to the Government for consideration. — Sapa.

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A CRUCIAL MONTH FOR MAPUTO, IN WHICH FAR-REACHING DECISIONS ARE MADE

In the beginning, there was the dark

This was meant to be the 'Year of Peace' for Mozambique, in which a final diplomatic push would end the war. But the first fortnight was instead one of darkness

By EDDIE KOCH

IN the first two weeks of 1990, Mozambique's "Year of Peace", Maputo was plagued by a series of blackouts caused by sabotage.

People were trapped in lifts. Telephones and telex machines stopped working. Restaurants sold only South African beer as their stoves went cold. And children playing on the streets cheered like it was New Year's Eve when an antiquated power station cranked into life, lighting up the city.

Mozambique has become the focus of an intense drive by the frontline states and Western diplomats to end the 12-year war that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher calls "the most intractable problem in Southern Africa". Since July Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and Kenyan leader Daniel arap Moi have held a series of mediation sessions with Renamo leaders in Nairobi that could lead to a conference between the rebels and the Mozambican government.

But the power cuts and chaos in Maputo, caused by sabotage of the pylons that bring in electricity from South Africa, reminded the city's residents that the prospects for a quick end to the war remain dim.

Even President Joaquim Chissano, who was initially hopeful that direct talks with Renamo could begin in February, was in a gloomy mood last week.

"We have obtained a reply from Renamo according to which they are not prepared to hold a dialogue with the People's Republic of Mozambique," he said during a five-hour rally in downtown Maputo.

At the start of the mediation sessions in Nairobi, rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama produced a 15-point document which included demands for changes to the country's constitution, free elections, freedom of religious worship and restoration of power to *regulos* — local chiefs that ruled in the colonial period.

Most of these demands have already been met. This month the government issued a new draft constitution that allows for election of candidates, who do not have to be members of the ruling Frelimo party, to the presidency. It replaces the country's complex system of electoral colleges with universal suffrage and direct elections to the country's parliament and polls are planned for the middle of next year.

Islamic and Christian leaders have expressed satisfaction with the religious freedoms that were restored a year ago. But one obstacle remains.

Dhlakama wants the existing constitution to be put on ice and talks to take place between Renamo and Frelimo as a party, rather than as the recognised government, as a prelude to introducing a multi-party state in Mozambique.

The government, on the other hand, insists peace talks should take place in the context of existing state structures and says the new constitution gives Renamo the opportunity to press for further changes.

"They (Renamo) do not recognise the constitution and much less the laws that flow from it," said Chissano. "They want to return to 1974 (the year of independence) and to set up another transitional government ... to start again from zero."

However, some observers believe constitutional niceties obscure more fundamental stumbling blocks to peace. At the rally Chissano expressed personal opposition to a multi-party system but indicated that the demand was negotiable. He urged people to discuss the idea thoroughly during popular debate on the draft constitution.

One diplomat in Maputo said a more serious problem was the absence of a role for Pretoria in the Nairobi process. According to his view, President FW de Klerk desperately wants to participate in a regional summit with the frontline states but faces strong opposition from Zimbabwe.

"De Klerk knows the Mozambique factor, which has tied down thousands of Zimbabwean troops in a costly war, is the best way to deliver Mugabe. For this reason he may be holding back on whatever leverage Pretoria still has over Renamo until there is agreement to hold the summit."

Rob Davies, researcher at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, says the war in Angola may also be linked to a slow-down in the peace process.

"The United States government has made it clear that a positive attitude to the De Klerk administration depends on South Africa playing a positive role in ending the war in Mozambique and this has been one of the overriding reasons for South Africa ending overt support for Renamo," says Davies. "However, although most Western powers are not sympathetic to Renamo and do not feel strongly about a multi-party state in Mozambique, the United States wants its Unita allies to be accommodated in Angola. For this reason it cannot have an unsuitable precedent in Mozambique."

Thus the US may have decided to

The poet of Maputo calls on FW to end the war

By EDDIE KOCH

MOZAMBIQUE'S national poet, José Craveirinha, has in his filing cabinet a cheque from the SABC for R12,75 dated November 1974, the last time he spoke to a white South African.

Craveirinha, internationally acclaimed as a leading writer in Portuguese, broke that silence this month.

He is the patron of a group of 70 poets, writers, artists and scientists in Maputo who published an open a letter in the South African press asking State President FW de Klerk to help end "one of the most terrible genocides in the history of Africa".

It says Renamo continues to receive support from South African territory and asks De Klerk to dismantle all the "mechanisms" that have been used in the past to destabilise the country.

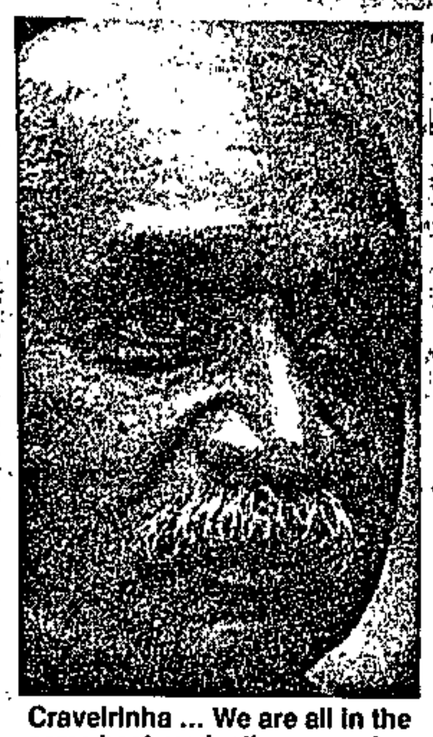
"Mr President. We would not have sent you this open letter if we did not believe that you could not use the powers conferred on you to as head of the South African state to confront without further delay the forces in South Africa that are involved in the destruction of our common future," it adds.

In an interview this week, Craveirinha outlined a growing awareness among diverse groups of Mozambicans that peace in their country depends on a political settlement in South Africa and conciliation with its white population.

"The truth is that we are eating and drinking the industrial development of South Africa. We are only two hours away from South Africa and can fetch pots, wine ... even Coca Cola. But not peace. For me to give something to my grandparents, I depend on De Klerk.

"For the South Africans, its even worse because there industrial and technological development has to be channelled out and we can help them to do that ... How can anybody think they can destabilise a neighbour and not destabilise themselves.

"The Afrikaner has the right to be in Africa and we have to take into account his own love for the land. But they have to be very sensitive. They shouldn't use their intellect only for



Craveirinha ... We are all in the same boat, under the same stars

industrial development or their exceptional system of agriculture. They have to use their intellect at the service of human quality.

"There is not one simple reason why we sent the letters. For many years we have been living an intolerable situation and we are conscious of the fact that we cannot call this thing that is happening a war. In a real war the adversaries are well defined and know how to recognise each other is.

"But the population here in Mozambique is living like a child in a dark room filled with ghosts. The result is fear and confusion.

"The letters may have come too late because thousands of lives have already been lost in this situation of the child in the dark room. But it is better late than never.

"To use another metaphor: We are sailing in a ship that has a very particular characteristic. We don't know whether the bow of the ship starts in South Africa and ends in Mozambique or starts in Mozambique and ends in South Africa.

"Though it seems a paradox, both South Africans and Mozambicans are floating in the same waters under the same stars. They are subject to the same tides, the same winds, the same tempests.

"And they are subject to the same calm."

● De Klerk has announced that he will reply to Craveirinha and his colleagues if the letter is sent to him through appropriate channels. Johan Heyns, moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, this week agreed to deliver the letter to the President's Office.

From this month, more liberal labour laws than in SA

By PRABHA KHOSLA and EDDIE KOCH

WORKERS in Mozambique, where the government is running an austerity programme to reconstruct its wartime economy, now enjoy more trade union rights than their counterparts in South Africa.

New labour regulations, passed by the Frelimo-led government early this month, give workers the right to strike on condition that they provide three days notice. Workers in essential services, such as railways and hospitals, can strike legally if they give four days notice.

Pickets are allowed, elected worker committees can bargain outside of recognised trade union structures on behalf of strikers, and strike-bound companies are not entitled to employ replacement labour during a legal dispute.

Under South Africa's Labour Relations Act, workers in railways and hospitals are barred from striking while all forms of picketing are illegal. Management can fire workers on strike and replace them with new labourers if statutory bargaining procedures are followed.

Mozambique's liberal labour dispensation has its origins in a wave of wildcat strikes which began in early January at a steel factory in Maputo and rolled rapidly into most of the country's industrial centres.

The labour disputes, fuelled by austerity measures imposed under the country's programme for economic reconstruction, are the first in Mozambique since the country gained independence 15 years ago.

They began with a stoppage by editorial staff of the weekly magazine, *Tempo*, and the state-owned Iron Works and Rolling Plant (CIFEL) in Maputo. Within days workers at the city's central hospital, the large Texlom textile plant, a glass factory, the State Body for Housing and bus drivers were out.

The strike wave, which has now involved more than 20 000 workers, has spread to hospitals and bus services in provincial capitals such as Beira and Nampula. The latest to join the strikes are workers from the Moatize coal mines in Tete province.

The consistent demand in the strikes is for payment of a 13th cheque at the end of the year. The bonus became customary during Portuguese rule but has been made dependent on the productivity of each enterprise under the government's new Programme for Economic Reconstruction (PRE), run under the auspices of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Now a groundswell of opposition to the social effects of the new economic programme, that has been building up for more than a year, underlies most of the workers' grievances.



For the first time in Maputo, Mozambique, you can buy from hawkers in the street — part of the World Bank's economic revival

Three years ago, the Mozambican government controlled virtually every sector of the country's economy. Strict price controls were imposed on basic commodities while food, transport, education and health services were heavily subsidised.

Under the PRE, however, price controls were abolished and all subsidies on basic goods and services removed. The local currency, the metical, was devalued to make it reflect its real value and the exchange rate fell from 40mt to the dollar to 620mt to the dollar. A series of devaluations since 1987 have reduced the rate to 850mt, further eroded the buying power of workers' wages.

In return the World Bank agreed to reschedule Mozambique's foreign debt and vast amounts of development aid poured into the capital. By the second year of the programme,

...r a US Justice Department 'mugshot' ...here he refused to plead.

Reforms 'not forthcoming' for the media

Star 5/11/90

327

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — At least 150 journalists have been arrested in South Africa since the beginning of the anti-apartheid defiance campaign in early August 1989, the United States-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) has claimed.

The committee has updated its chronology of events in South Africa since mid-1985 to include the period between January 1 and October 31 1989. The chronology is an almost daily list of actions taken against journalists in South Africa.

The list for the first 10 months of 1989 details 90 events.

The CPJ said some of the 150 journalists arrested since last August had been detained several times. Film and equipment had been almost routinely confiscated on many of these occasions.

"While the arrests have rarely involved charges or long detentions, officials have achieved their apparent goal: preventing reporters from covering controversial news."

The CPJ added that it was watching developments in South Africa "while noting that reforms promised by the new president, F W de Klerk, have not been forthcoming for the media so far".

Meeting in Bloem banned

CAPE TIMES 6/1/90 507

PRETORIA. — A gathering in Bloemfontein tomorrow at which one of the recently released ANC leaders, Mr Walter Sisulu, was to have been a key speaker, has been banned by Bloemfontein's chief magistrate, a senior police spokesman said yesterday.

People who had intended attending the meeting would, therefore, now be attending an illegal gathering, he said. — Sapa

Hain tells of brushes with police

LONDON — Mr Peter Hain says he got into South Africa legally via "an unusual route" on his recent secret visit, but will give no details.

The veteran anti-apartheid campaigner, speaking at a press conference here yesterday, first joked that he had "been quiet recently because I have been digging a tunnel under the Limpopo".

But, pressed for details, he said: "I went in legally and not in disguise. I am not willing to say anything beyond that."

Mr Hain would not reveal the date of entry, port of entry or which border he had crossed, but added that it had been "an unusual route". He stayed in South Africa for nine days and his travels took him to Cape Town, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Oudtshoorn.

He described how he had a number of "close encounters" with unsuspecting South African police during his recent clandestine visit.

Cynical observers pointing to the renowned and formidable efficiency of South African security police are wondering if

CHRIS WHITFIELD and SAPA

they in fact knowlingly allowed him in while keeping an eye on his movements.

If Hain — an enemy of many white South African sports fans in the late 1960s and early 1970s — did enter the country unnoticed, observers say the security police have slipped up badly.

Hain related two specific incidents of encounters with police during his tour.

In Oudtshoorn, where he interviewed the restricted editor of *Saamstaan*, Reg Olifant, Mr Hain said they knew beforehand the newspaper's offices were bugged, and care had been taken not to say his name out loud.

The Olifant interview had been interrupted by a telephone call from security police, who demanded to know from the editor "Why are you telling all that shit to foreign journalists ... you are making shit".

Mr Hain recounted how security police had then started driving up and down outside the newspaper's offices, and that the interview had been continued outside in the open, against a background of ostriches in a pen.

In another incident, Mr Hain and the film crew had driven through a police roadblock near the black township of New Brighton outside Port Elizabeth.

Mr Hain, who was in the rear seat, had looked back and seen they were being followed by a police car, which stopped them.

Linda McDougall, the TV producer — who is also banned from re-entering South Africa — had angrily talked the suspicious policeman out of making any further inquiries and thay had been allowed to proceed.

Asked about reports in South Africa that he had entered the country on a British passport in the name of Peter Western-Hain, he declined to comment: "I have nothing to say about rumours from the South African Government," he said.

Journalists were yesterday shown the "World in Action" programme on the cricket tour, which will be broadcast on

● TO PAGE 2.

Secret film gets go-ahead

LONDON — Britain's television monitoring body, the Independent Broadcast Authority, has given the go-ahead for a programme secretly filmed in South Africa recently by anti-apartheid activist Mr Peter Hain to be broadcast as scheduled on Monday.

Confirming this last night, a spokesman for the IBA said a review of the programme was "on our own bat", and not as a result of a complaint by pro-South African Tory MP Mr John Carlisle, who was reported to have objected on the grounds that it was aimed at whipping up violence against Mike Gatting's cricket tour to South Africa later this month.

The IBA had reviewed the film as it dealt with a controversial topic — sport and apartheid in South Africa — and had been involved in discussions with the television company, Grenada, last week already, the spokesman said. — Sapa.

Hain

● FROM PAGE 1

Monday evening.

The programme is pitched at Mike Gatting's unofficial England side which departs shortly for its tour of South Africa.

It contrasts conditions at Newlands, Cape Town, with the facilities used by players in Guguletu. The difference in facilities for schoolchildren is also highlighted.

But the overwhelming message of the programme is that there is considerable resentment within South Africa's black communities.

ANC leader Mr Govan Mbeki tells Mr Hain the tour will be "dogged by demonstrations", and a black cricketer says the reaction to the tour could amount to "civil war ... people will be jailed, people will be killed because the might of the South African Government will be behind him (Gatting)".

Mr Hain said later he still believed the cricket tour could be called off.

"I don't think anybody expected the politically charged atmosphere that will surround this tour. I think Dr (Ali) Bacher must be asking himself if it is really worth it."

Sisulu indignant at ANC rally ban

(3 27)

By CONNIE MOLUSI and SANDILE MEMELA
Citizen 71190

RELEASED ANC leader Walter Sisulu yesterday expressed dissapointment at the refusal of permission for the ANC birthday celebration rally to be held in Bloemfontein today.

Sisulu, who was to have given the keynote address, said the government had no reason to ban the rally because experience with other rallies showed that they had been orderly.

"I am very indignant at the banning of the gathering as recent history has shown that mass meetings and defiance campaigns are orderly. The only reason to justify the refusal is fear of violence, but those fears are without basis."

He said his speech would also have appealed to Afrikaners to join the ranks of the Mass Democratic Movement, as the only way forward for South Africa was non-racialism.

Rivonia trialist Wilton Mkwayi said the withdrawal of permission to hold the rally was "just an excuse".

"Obviously the authorities are afraid the rally would have revived interest in the ANC in the region," said Mkwayi.

He said the rally in the Free State would have been be the first to be held in the province. The Free State had posed serious difficulties to organising ANC political activities, due to intimidation and strong resistance from conservative groups.

"Free State has always been the weakest spot of the ANC and this would have provided the opportunity to test the strength of the movement in the area," said Mkwayi.

Banned refugee Suttner plans to come back home

S/Times 7/1/90 (327)



Ex-detainee Raymond Suttner with his sister, Sally

By CHARIS PERKINS

EX-DETAINEE Raymond Suttner — who fled the country illegally while under effective house arrest — is flying home from London despite charges pending against him.

He has spent about a quarter of his life in South African jails for his anti-apartheid work.

His family expect him back on January 25, but they live in fear of the Government's response to his shock arrival.

Although he defied restriction orders by leaving the country, a letter from the South African embassy in Washington, addressed to Rabbi Lynne Landsberg, said Mr Suttner would not be re-detained on his return.

The gently-spoken Wits University law lecturer is guilty of defying the crippling emergency regulations by leaving South Africa in August last year.

The SAP is investigating criminal charges for breaking the restrictions.

Mr Suttner was freed in September 1988 after a spell of 27 months in jail — 18 of which he spent in solitary confinement.

Broke

He was immediately restricted, which prevented him from taking part in any political activities and from lecturing at Wits.

He was placed under a 6pm to 6am curfew and was forbidden to leave the Johannesburg magisterial district.

He was banned from speaking to the Press and was not allowed more than four visitors at a time.

In August he broke his banning to attend MDM talks with the Organisation of African Unity in Harare.

He has since travelled to Zambia, New York, Russia and Australia. He is now in London.

His sister, social worker Sally Suttner, said this week: "There was never any doubt that he would come home. On the day he left, he said he was attending a conference and would return.

"But he has needed this time away to recover from his detention both physically and psychologically — something that would have been impossible under the restrictions he had lived under.

"He needed to escape his situation for a while."

Mr Suttner, whose only companion in solitary confinement was a little lovebird he named Jailbird or JB, suffered from post-traumatic stress.

"When he went to Russia, he was invited to spend time at a health sanatorium at the Black Sea," said Miss Suttner.

"But he is eager to return now and is feeling much better."

Lawyer Clive Plasket said the restrictions placed on Mr Suttner had not changed.

Mr Suttner hopes he will be allowed to return to lecturing at Wits.

Liberty is dead

Thousands attend funeral

CPress 7/1/90

(327)

By DESMOND BLOW

WITBANK'S best-known political activist, Eric Liberty, 33, was allegedly murdered by the son of a black policeman two nights before Christmas when he went to stop a fight in the township of Schoongezicht.

He was stabbed in the heart.

A man has been arrested and charged with murder.

This week more than 6 000 people from Schoongezicht and the adjoining township of Guqa attended Liberty's funeral.

Liberty was detained frequently by the Witbank and Middelburg Security Police, but his spirit was never broken, report his comrades.

Towards the end of last year Liberty was responsible for stopping a gang war in the townships.

To celebrate the "peace" he held a braai for them, but police who suspected his motives raided the braai putting scores of people to flight. Liberty was arrested for disturbing the peace.

Witbank is a Conservative Party stronghold but anti-apartheid organisations including branches of NUM, Cosatu and junior church organisations are very active.

In an interview *City Press* had with Liberty before his death, the father of two said he had received threats from an anti-activist organisation which calls itself the South Eastern Transvaal Students' Association Committee.

Caricatures of well-known activists, including Liberty, were sprayed on walls in the townships with a hangman's noose around their necks.

Liberty refused to take these threats seriously.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by J Beffon, both of 204 Eloff Street Ext., Johannesburg.

Court case declined

By DAN DHLAMINI

CPress 7/1/90

A POTCHEFSTROOM magistrate has declined to hear two cases of obstructing the police because he saw the incidents from which the charges arose.

Magistrate Ben Bester this week recused himself from the proceedings involving Benjamin Hlanyane, 30, an executive member of the Vaal Civic Association, and Philip Ntepe, 26, who appeared before him separately on charges of obstructing police during the course of their duty.

Hlanyane and Ntepe, both represented by Advocate A Hussein, were not asked to plead and their cases were adjourned until January 18. They were granted R100 bail each.

Their appearance is a sequel to an incident on November 14 at Potchefstroom magistrate's court when seven ANC members were convicted on terrorism charges.

New date for trial

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

CPress 7/1/90

NOTORIOUS Soweto gang leader Mbumelelo "Sporo" Mandisi, who is serving a 75-year jail term for multiple crimes, made another appearance with two alleged henchmen this week.

The two, who are also serving long prison terms are, Benini Tshabalala, 20, and a 17-year-old youth.

Their appearance is a sequel to the murders of Christopher Ngwenya and Jacob Mokgakgali on November 23 last year.

Mandisi is also charged with the murder of Albert Ntsele on November 1 last year.

The three were not asked to plead and their case was postponed to January 19.

Mandisi and his gang allegedly conducted a reign of terror in Soweto.

Ratanda march for rights

atric sults thheld

Sowetan 5/1/90

er group of Soweto have had their withheld by the tment of Education Training after they suspected of having d during last year's examinations.

pupils all of i High School in e.o. were informed rs by a DET offi- at results they co- were being kept because it was ted that they ted irregularities the writing of an tural science paper.

19 pupils were d that should they give acceptable ex- ons for the alleged rities discovered



Part of the crowd that took part in the Ratanda protest march.

RATANDA township, near Heidelberg, came to a standstill on Saturday when 10000 residents marched to the police station to present a petition to the district commandant Major PJ Visser.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

The petition, which was presented to the major by a delegation of church ministers and an executive member of the Ratanda Civic Association, Mr Obed Nkosi, contained Ratanda residents' grievances against the local town council and the Department of Education and Training. It is to eventually be handed over to the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

To the surprise of many, the march - which had not been officially sanctioned by the local chief magistrate - was incident free. To crown its success the delegation was warmly welcomed by Visser who gave an assurance that he will hand the petition to the local authorities.

"As a police officer I cannot handle complaints but can pass them ovver over to the local council. I agree that people must be happy where they live. They must have schools, houses and tarred roads," he said.

Shortly after the delegation had met with Visser it went back to the crowd that had been waiting outside the police station. It was informed that the petition had been accepted by the major. Thereafter the black national anthem, Nkosi Sikeleli'Afrika, was sung and later the residents dispersed.

Keep emergency - cops' supporters

IT WOULD be the height of folly to abandon or even ease the State of Emergency until the undermanned police force was brought up to full strength and police salaries were increased, the Support the Police Action Group said in a statement yesterday.

The effective maintenance of law and order was a essential prerequisite for the introduction of necessary reforms.

"At present it would apparently be necessary to fill over 6 000 vacant posts to bring the force up to full strength let alone increase the numbers therein," the statement said.

The statement said the apathy shown by the media, the public, commerce and industry to the conditions in the police force was "alarming".

Spag called for "an immediate probe into the undermanning of our police and the disgraceful salaries they are paid". - Sapa.

UDF slams the police

Sowetan 8/11/90

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THE refusal for permission to hold a rally in Bloemfontein on the basis that police did not sanction it, shows that the judiciary is not free and independent, but controlled by the police, UDF local chairman for Bloemfontein, Mr Zingile Dingani, said yesterday.

Former ANC Secretary-General, Mr Walter Sisulu, was to have addressed the rally on Saturday, and organisers were expecting up to 80 000 people to attend.

Mr Dingani said two applications were made for the rally, the first was submitted early in December last year but only refused on December 28.

He said the second application, submitted on Friday, was also refused and when asked for reasons why, the chief magistrate said he could not grant permission because police had not given him the go ahead, he said.

The refusal showed talks about negotiations were "clearly a bluff. Our people should remain determined to intensify the struggle on all fronts", Mr Dingani said.

He said preparations for the rally were continuing, and following consultations with the National Reception Committee, a date would be decided for the rally to proceed.

"United mass action must ensure the rally is going to be a success".

He said there had been intimidation by the security police, marshalls had been interrogated and rally organiser's homes were under surveillance on Sunday.

He told Sapa there was a heavy police presence in the township on Sunday, with roadblocks on routes into the city.

Cars from outside the Bloemfontein area were being searched and denied access to the township.

Police with dogs were guarding the two stadiums where the rally was to have been held.

Organisers were expecting up to 2 000 people at a meeting yesterday to discuss the situation, he said.

Police duty officer in Bloemfontein yesterday said he knew nothing of the alleged police presence in the township. "No-one has informed me at this stage".

Police liaison officer for Bloemfontein, Colonel Human, could not be contacted for comment, or to confirm the situation.-Sapa.

Mandela free in February?

CAPE TIMES 9/1/90 (327)

THE ANC yesterday welcomed what appears to be the imminent release of Mr Nelson Mandela, but warned that it would not be enough to create a climate for negotiations in South Africa.

A senior ANC spokesman was reacting to reports that Mr Mandela could be released very soon.

Family and friends said in Johannesburg yesterday that he could be released early in February, although Mr Mandela himself had not yet been given a date.

Mr Mandela yesterday summoned his wife Winnie to his Victor Verster Prison residence near Paarl and for the first time discussed with her preliminary arrangements for his release.

Mrs Mandela emerged from the meeting saying: "I dont think we are looking at months any longer. This is the real thing.

"This is the first time I have accepted it as a reality that he will be released this year," a visibly pleased Winnie Mandela told reporters on her return to Johannesburg after a three-hour meeting with her 71-year-old husband.

She declined, however, to name a specific date.

Along with Mr Mandela's release there were also rumours that the ban on the ANC was about to be lifted, but the ANC spokesman in London said that if the government unbanned the ANC and allowed exiles to return the ANC would still retain its international and internal identities while conditions were created "allowing for dialogue in South Africa".

"It is going to be a protracted exercise," he said, as a constituent assembly would have to be formed and agreed upon by the people of South Africa.

He called on the international community not to relax pressure on the SA government as it "would only move forward as long as economic, sports, cultural and other pressures were kept in place".

The organisation also hoped that President F W de Klerk would show "vision and courage" by releasing all political prisoners and lifting the state of emergency.

The probable release of Mr Mandela has been welcomed by the British government.

The news also sparked preparations for a worldwide network of international, national and local reception committees for the world's most famous prisoner.

Yesterday Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, head of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and convener of the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, was in New York to discuss the initiative with the United Nations and to promote the campaign in the United States.

It is reported that a meeting in the House of Commons is also planned for later this month to establish a national committee for Britain.

In London a Foreign Office spokesman welcomed the the move, adding that "the earlier he is unconditionally released the better".

One of Mr Mandela's closest friends, Mr Walter Sisulu, who was released with six other ANC leaders in October, said he had not yet spoken to Mrs Mandela after her visit but welcomed the possibility of Mr Mandela being released soon.

"The sooner he is released, the better for all of us," Mr Sisulu said.

Mr Mandela will probabaly be released in Johannesburg, close to his home in Soweto.

Ministry of Justice spokeswoman Major Elsa Jones said last night: "It has been said before that the possible release of Mr Mandela is always on the agenda. This position has not changed."

● Mr Mandela's imminent release received prominent coverage on national news networks in Britain yesterday. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and Staff Reporter

COURT BID TO HALT IPI TOMBI FOLLOW UP SHOW IN THE CAPE

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE authors and producers of the musical Ipi Tombi, Bertha Egnos and Gail Lakier, launched an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday in a bid to halt the backers of the follow-up from opening the new show in Cape Town tonight.

Egnos and Lakier, who also devised and produced the follow-up musical, were seeking an interim order preventing Pink Parrot Promotions (Pty) Ltd from presenting The Warrior (previously known as Ipi Tombi — The New Generation) at the Baxter Theatre in Cape Town pending action for a final interdict.

They also wanted Pink Parrot Promotions stopped from staging the show under the name The Warrior pending the action for a final order.

Egnos and Lakier claimed the licence they granted Pink Parrot to stage the new show restricted performances to the Victory Theatre in Johannesburg where it was performed earlier this year.

In an affidavit Egnos also claimed Pink Parrot Promotions was not entitled to change the name of the new show or present it elsewhere without a new fee structure being agreed upon for herself and Lakier.

Egnos said she had ascertained that the name of the show had been changed to The Warrior and that she and Lakier were no longer credited in publicity material as being the authors and producers.

Mr Justice Strydom postponed the application until next Tuesday to allow Pink Parrot Promotions time to file affidavits answering the allegations made by Egnos and Lakier.

He did this after asking counsel for the pair, advocate JF Roos, why Pink Parrot Promotions was only given 23 hours notice when the court papers had been signed last Thursday.

Pink Parrot Promotions was given until noon next Monday to file answering affidavits.

Egnos and Lakier had to file their replying affidavits by 10am next Tuesday.

B/Day 10/1/90

Blacks can stay in white hospital 'until probe ends'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Black Hillbrow Hospital staff members will be allowed to stay at Johannesburg Hospital until a top-level provincial investigation has been completed, according to a spokesman.

About 100 doctors, nurses and physiotherapists — most of them black — had to evacuate their accommodation at Hillbrow Hospital after a fire last month.

The initial reaction of the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) was to instruct the hospital to find accommodation elsewhere for the black staffers.

But the staff of the half-empty white Johannesburg Hospital has supported the continued accommodation of the Hillbrow staff until their accommodation has been renovated.

Reacting to the issue in a statement in Pretoria yesterday, the South African Nursing Association (Sana) said nursing residences should be opened to all races.

A Sana representative said the association was not convinced that forced integration of facilities was necessarily right, but it firmly believed conditions of employment for nurses — including accommodation, creches and other facilities — should be equal.

It believed, too, that nurses should be able to apply for posts wherever they wanted to work, although it was the prerogative of each employer to select staff on merit.

The Sana statement added that facilities for the training of nurses should also be opened to all races.

Sana's central board had noted "with concern" media reports about the Hillbrow Hospital-Johannesburg Hospital issue.

Vrye Weekblad editor subpoenaed

VRYE Weekblad editor Max du Preez and journalist Jacques Pauw have been subpoenaed in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act to disclose details concerning interviews with alleged former "hit squad" policemen Dirk Coetzee and David Tshikalange.

B/Day 10/1/90

Du Preez yesterday confirmed he was to appear before a Johannesburg magistrate on January 12.

The two journalists have been subpoenaed to provide information regarding the murder of human rights attorney Griffiths Mxenge and other murders and crimes mentioned in the newspaper on November 17 and 24.

Du Preez said they had also been ordered to hand over tape recordings made and notes taken during interviews with Coetzee and Tshikalange. — Sapa.

Quality Tyres in

Steyn next

Star 10/11/90

Excitement over Mandela's release

MDM planning huge 'welcome home' rallies

At least 1 000 activists will be organised in various reception committees countrywide in anticipation of Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison, Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) representatives said yesterday.

The MDM's National Reception Committee, which was established to co-ordinate the activities of the seven ANC leaders who were released in October last year, will expand to cope with the work involved in planning for the release of one of the best known political prisoners in the world.

Mr Walter Sisulu expressed confidence in the ability of the existing reception committee to handle the celebrations around Mr Mandela's release, but said it would have to work around-the-clock to cope.

He expected various regional rallies around the country and "of course, a massive national rally" to take place.

Excitement growing

Mrs Winnie Mandela reported that during a visit to her husband at Victor Verster Prison on Monday, they discussed preliminary arrangements about his release for the first time.

A key MDM spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, yesterday said excitement over Mr Mandela's release was growing within the MDM and concrete plans would be discussed next week.

"The reception committees are still in place, their task never ended. They have been organising meetings and rallies around the country up until today."

Mr Morobe anticipated a number of technical difficulties, such as finding a stadium large enough to cope with the hundreds of thousands expected to attend a welcome home rally.

The most obvious venue, but one which was still regarded as too small, was First National Bank's Soccer City, which accommodated 80 000 at the welcome home rally for the ANC leaders last year.

"Nelson Mandela belongs to the people. Programmes arranged for his return must provide sufficient facilities for all to welcome him."

Mr Dali Mpofu, a spokesman for the Release Mandela Campaign and a member of the National Reception Committee, said the national, regional and local reception committees would operate in a similar manner to when the seven ANC leaders were released, and would organise security, rallies, press interviews and meetings with dignatories and other visitors.

● Mr Mandela has invited 12 members of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) to meet him this week.

Nadel's national president, Mr Pius Langa, said yesterday Mr Mandela was Nadel's honorary life president and there had been "a mutual desire to hold an open meeting".

"The meeting is part of the process of consultation between the ANC leader and a whole range of people. We want to discuss the role of lawyers in this country."

Mr Langa added there was a lot to talk about and learn from Mr Mandela as a lawyer and legal practitioner.

He said Nadel members would visit Mr Mandela in two groups of six. The first group, which will meet him today, will consist of Mr J Smith, Mr M Bulelani, Mr A Cachalia, Mr J B Sibanyoni, Ms Linda Zama and Mr Kajee Mehmood.

The second group, consisting of Mr Langa, Mr Dulla Omar, Mr Silas Nkanunu, Mr Ronnie Pillay, Mr P Majeke and Mr E Moosa, will visit Mr Mandela tomorrow.

● The South African stage was being responsibly set for Mr Nelson Mandela to return to play a positive role, the London *Daily Mail* said in an editorial yesterday on reports that he expected his release within weeks. — Staff Reporters-Sapa.

Editor subpoenaed

VRYE Weekblad editor, Mr Max du Preez, and journalist, Mr Jacques Pauw, have been subpoenaed in terms of section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act to disclose details concerning interviews with former "hit squad" policemen Captain Dirk Coetzee and David Tshikalange( ) (327) Sowetan 10/11/90.

Du Preez confirmed yesterday that a subpoena was served on him yesterday to appear before a Johannesburg magistrate, Mr JF Zeelie, on January 12.

The two journalists have been subpoenaed to provide information regarding the murder of human rights attorney, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, as well as other murders and crimes mentioned in the weekly newspaper on November 17 and November 24 1989.

Star 12/1/90.

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Prosecution of editor 'invalid'

By Celeste Louw

Defence counsel for *Vrye Weekblad* editor Mr Max du Preez yesterday objected to his prosecution on charges of publishing subversive reports on the grounds that the Attorney-General was not entitled to prosecute.

The publishers of *Vrye Weekblad*, Wending Publications and Mr du Preez, have not yet pleaded to the charges of contravening the media emergency regulations of 1988 by publishing six subversive articles in the weekly paper between February 2 1988 and February 24 last year.

Some of the allegedly subversive articles dealt with conscription in the South African Defence Force.

NO OFFENCE

Defence advocate Mr E Cameron argued that the prosecution was instituted last year after the expiry of the 1988 emergency.

Therefore the charges did not constitute an offence.

Mr Cameron submitted that the 1988 emergency, which formed the basis of the charges, was temporary legislation.

The notice of intention to prosecute was served on the accused after the expiry of the legislation.

Therefore the prosecution was not entitled to prosecute.

State prosecutor, Miss I van der Walt, argued that the State reserved the right to prosecute an offender of media emergency regulations even after the expiry date of the state of emergency.

The hearing was postponed to February 12 when the magistrate, Mr P du Plessis, will give his finding.



Editor Mr Max du Preez . . . accused of contravening the media emergency regulations.

We've found bomber — Weekblad

BRITON Peter Casselton, who allegedly planted a bomb in ANC offices in London in 1982, has been traced in South Africa by the Afrikaans weekly newspaper *Vrye Weekblad*.

According to the newspaper's front-page lead article yesterday, he is wanted by Interpol, is broke and fears former friends may kill him.

Vrye Weekblad says, in another development in its recent revelations of alleged hit squads in South Africa, that a policeman with 13 years' service, Barend Petrus Horn, had come forward this week with allegations of "police torture, wild police violence during unrest situations, innocent bystanders shot dead, and a young activist whose body was dumped in an old mine shaft by three security policemen".

Responding, the SAP said yesterday: "Notice has been taken of reports in *Vrye Weekblad* of January 12 in which many allegations (are made) of unlawful actions by members of the SAP. These allegations will be investigated at a high level without delay.

"However, before the investigation reaches a stage in which a proper evaluation has been done, meaningful comment cannot be made. As was also previously the case, *Vrye Weekblad* published allegations without prior consultation with the SAP and without giving the police the opportunity of reacting to them."

The SAP said many of the allegations were already the subject of present police investigations. However there were new allegations which the police were taking in a serious light, and would probe thoroughly.

"The police will see to it that law and order prevails where offences have been committed. The assurance is once again given that unlawful action by members of the force will not be tolerated or condoned." — Sapa.

'No plan' to form anti-riot unit

Staff Reporter

POLICE and Defence Force spokesmen yesterday denied any knowledge of plans to form a specialist anti-riot unit.

This follows a report in an Afrikaans weekend newspaper which said a specialist anti-riot unit, independent of the police and SADF, was being considered in state security circles.

Such a unit would free the SADF of its controversial presence in black townships and scale down the role of the police force in riot control, the newspaper said.

It added that talks about such a unit were merely exploratory.

Police and SADF sources yesterday denied any knowledge of plans to form a "third security leg".

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Lieutenant Peet Bothma said the riot unit remained an operational wing of the SAP and as far as he was aware the "status quo remains unchanged".

SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said: "I do not know about this," but added: "It does not mean there aren't such plans."

Ululations as ANC 8 jet off to Lusaka

JAN Smuts Airport reverberated with song, ululations, whistling and slogans when 14 leaders of the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement left for Lusaka, Zambia, yesterday.

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

The 14, led by former ANC secretary general Walter Sisulu, headed for the ANC headquarters in the Zambian capital where a massive welcome rally for the eight stalwarts was to be held.

The eight are Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Andrew Mlangeni and Wilton Mkwayi. Some were accompanied by their wives.

The MDM leaders were: Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers; Mr Chris Dlamini, first vice president of Cosatu; Mr Sydney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary of Cosatu; Mr Titus Mafola, a national executive member of the UDF; Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, a UDF executive member in the Western Cape; and Mr Alfred Metele, president of the Border region of the UDF.

On arriving in Lusaka the group was to be met by the secretary of the ruling United National Independence Party, Mr Grey Zulu, the most senior politician in Zambia after President Kenneth Kaunda. Later they were to be received by Kaunda privately at the State House.

Stroke

The group is to leave Zambia at the weekend for Dar-es-Salaam and Addis Ababa. They will then fly to Sweden to visit ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering after having a stroke.

Mr Murphy Morobe, another official of the MDM, could not leave with the group yesterday as he is still waiting for his passport. He hopes to join the group later.

Scores of people in the international section of the airport were taken aback when the Young Lions, teenage ANC supporters clad in khaki uniform with the ANC colours on the lapel of their shirts, and members of the Federation of Transvaal Women and other well-wishers, started singing freedom songs accompanied by the "toyi-toyi" dance. There were shouts of "Amandla" and other slogans in praise of the ANC and its leadership.

Police could also be seen everywhere, but did not take action against the well-wishers. On at least two occasions, a senior police official appealed to the crowd not to make noise "as it was against airport regulations.

The trip by the group is historic as it will be the first meeting of the internal and external wings of the ANC. Many of those undertaking the trip said they were looking forward to it as it will afford them an opportunity to see other comrades after many years.

Another important aspect of the trip is that it will afford Mbeki to be reunited with his son, Thabo, who is effectively now third in seniority in the external ANC. The two have not seen each other for 27 years.

During this week, the group from South Africa will meet other ANC members based in Zambia - said to number more than a thousand - in encounters which will also be highly emotional.

Winnie lays blame at State's door

Sowetan 16/1/90

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PORT ELIZABETH - The killings at Uitenhage which resulted in the funeral of nine people at Kwanobuhle on Sunday could not be seen in isolation from the State's repressive measures, a huge crowd at the funeral was told.

In a message to State President FW de Klerk, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, said at Jabavu Stadium:

"That we are here today to comfort the bereaved families and bury our fallen heroes should be viewed as a challenge to the people's liberation movement, the ANC, because we know who is responsible for all this - the South African Government.

"De Klerk wants the people to believe that after the release of our comrades this is what happens - the fanning of violence.

"We are saying to De Klerk that if he does not unban the ANC, release all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency, and allow Oliver Tambo and other comrades to come back home, we shall never negotiate."

To chants of "Viva Mandela" she said the ANC was going to negotiate from a position of strength.

The aim

"When we say we are prepared to talk we mean negotiating the handing over of power from the hands of the minority regime to the people of South Africa - both black and white," Mrs Mandela said.

Mrs Mandela re-emphasised: "Comrade Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela is coming back home".

Most of those buried at the weekend died during a clash on December 28 between Mass Democratic Movement supporters and the Ama-Afrika group.

Recently-released ANC veterans Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Govan Mbeki said in a message read at the funeral that political ideological differences were not resolved through physical force.

They appealed for calm.

Those buried were: Mr Fezile Msutu, 49, Mr Gladman Kopo, 34, Miss Nokuzola Kulati, 29, Mr Gladwell Belesi, 21, Mr Mfusi Mshubana, 27, Mr Daki Sowazi, 41, Mr Zoneli Mangesi, 20, Mr Mbuyiseli Jonas, 22, and Mr Mtuzimele Manziya 37. - Sapa.



Winnie - challenge to De Klerk.

Priest gets summons over union meetings

By Carina le Grange

A Louis Trichardt priest has been served with a summons to appear in the magistrate's court on Friday on charges that he has been contravening the town planning regulations by allowing his church to be used for trade union meetings.

Father Terence Mooney (52) of the Catholic Church has been informed that he has been providing accommodation for trade unions, according to a lawyer's letter in possession of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC).

He has been told that in allowing trade unions to use the church in town for meetings, he has contravened clause 33 of the town planning scheme. A further charge is that he has not obtained permission from the authorities for these activities.

Father Mooney was warned in November last year that if the trade union activities in the church did not stop a criminal charge would be laid against him and an interdict sought to compel him to comply with the terms of the town planning scheme.

The SACBC said the real issue was that the town council was white and that the people attending the meetings were black.

Webster killing linked to drug group — claim

B 10 day 17/11/98

CAPE TOWN — Police are searching for a man who approached the Cape Times with sensational claims about a drug syndicate's part in the assassination of Wits academic David Webster. (327)

Police have issued an identikit picture of a man calling himself Alan Peres, who has disappeared after making the claims.

Peres, who described himself as a Jo-

Own Correspondent

hannesburg Mandrax dealer, claimed Webster had found out about drug deals involving an "informant" on the Wits University campus, and several senior police officers, all members of a drug syndicate.

Police and Cape Times investigations have concluded that certain crucial aspects of his story are false.

Alkmaar, Holland, through Rotary Exchange students Peter Sullivan (left) and Jason [illegible]. Peter and Jason are among many students who leave this week to spend a year in countries as far afield as Argentina and Turkey. ● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

Threats made on life of Mxenge's brother

PORT ELIZABETH — Threats were made this week on the life of Dr Fumbatha Mxenge, the brother of Mr Griffiths Mxenge, the Durban civil rights lawyer who was assassinated in November 1981.

The latest threat came on Monday at 7 am when a woman telephoned Dr Mxenge at his New Brighton, Port Elizabeth home, to warn him that three strange men would be coming to his surgery in Motherwell to assassinate him.

Dr Mxenge said the threats on his life followed instructions he gave to his Durban lawyers to investigate his brother's death.

His instructions were given after disclosures were made by a former policeman, Butana Almond Nofomele (32), presently on Death Row for the murder of a farmer.

Nofomele claims he was a member of a special assassination squad under the command of Captain Dirk Coetzee that was sent to eliminate Mr Mxenge who was taken to the Umlazi Sports Stadium in Durban where he was kicked, punched and then stabbed to death.

Nofomele appeared briefly before Mr G L S Holland in the Maritzburg Magistrate's Court in December and pleaded guilty to the murder of Mr Mxenge on November 19 1981.

Dr Mxenge said yesterday the first threats came in November, a month after Nofomele's disclosures, when two women telephoned on separate occasions and ordered him to lay off the investigations.

"But the woman who phoned me yesterday sounded very much concerned.

"After her call I became quite worried and reported the matter to the police who have promised to keep my surgery under observation," he said.

He said he was treating Monday's telephone call seriously. — Sapa.

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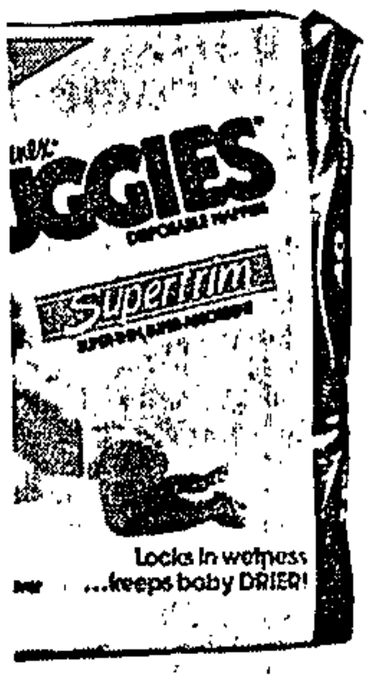

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Cape Times 17/1/90

Sweden 'aware' of alleged killer

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — Mr Heine Hüman, the 39-year-old Swedish subject alleged to have confessed to involvement in the murder of Mrs Dulcie September, an ANC representative in Paris, is reportedly known to the Stockholm government's security police.

Sources in Harare say Mr Hüman was born in South Africa of Swedish parents, and lived in Paarl.

Unconfirmed reports say he travelled to Stockholm in the 1970s claiming refugee status, working both for the Swedish government and for an aid agency.

ANC officials in Lusaka, interviewed by telephone yesterday, again denied all knowledge of Mr Hüman or his whereabouts.

At the weekend, Swedish diplomats in Harare acknowledged that Mr Hüman came to see them "about a consular matter" in December.

They believed he had now left Zimbabwe and was not in custody.

Mr Hüman is reported to have confessed to involvement in the 1988 assassination in Paris of Mrs September. He arrived in Harare with his six-year-old son, who is now back in South Africa.

Govt reviewing restrictions

GOVERNMENT is reviewing the restrictions imposed on all banned organisations, a Justice Ministry spokesman said yesterday. Sday 18/11/90

The statement came as the UDF national executive announced it would resume full-scale, above-ground operations as a challenge to government.

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday in a statement the UDF was not a banned organisation. However, during February 1988 it was necessary to restrict certain of its activities.

Vlok said if the UDF felt its activities were no longer a threat to the public or the maintenance of law and order, or to the

MATTHEW CURTIN

ending of the state of emergency, then it was free to apply to him to continue its activities unrestricted, and he invited it to do so. (327) (

The resumption of its activities without the necessary permission would constitute a contravention of the emergency regulations. Any contraventions would be investigated in the normal way and passed on to the Attorney General for a decision.

Senior leaders of the UDF, representing more than 700 organisations with more than two million members, said they would re-open offices across the country and

☐ To Page 2

Restrictions Sday 18/11/90 (327 (

☐ From Page 1

begin planning for a national conference in April.

UDF treasurer Azar Cachalia said yesterday the reviewing of restrictions by government was "news to us".

"As recently as this weekend, Titus Mafolo, National Executive Council member, was approached by officials in Pretoria and reminded of his restricted status. The government is concerned about its reformist image and it is a standard tactic when opposition groups take the initiative for it to say it has the situation under review already."

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said at a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the UDF would co-ordinate "an intensification of the mass struggle inside the country.

"We owe it to our people that the leadership of our movement is openly available at this crucial moment in the struggle for freedom and democracy in our country."

Morobe said UDF offices would be opening shortly, and gave notice of the organisation's national general conference — its first in five years — to be held from April 6 to April 8.

As part of the UDF's revitalised strategy, Morobe said, a 22-person UDF delegation headed by co-presidents Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu would be meeting Nelson Mandela in Victor Verster Prison at a date to be confirmed.

Cachalia said it was wrong to say the emergency regulations had been de facto lifted.

"But it is true that their purpose has failed. The UDF is as strong as ever and now we are challenging President F W de Klerk's commitment to a new SA."

Asked what the UDF's position was in relationship to the ANC, he said they were two autonomous organisations "but the aims were as one".

Yesterday's media conference also saw the official public welcoming of freed Delmas trialists Popo Molefe and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, who have re-assumed their positions as general secretary and publicity secretary on the UDF executive.

● Picture: Page 3

All banned organisations 'reviewed'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is reviewing the restrictions imposed on all banned organisations, a Justice Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

The statement came as the UDF national executive yesterday announced it would resume full-scale, above-ground operations as a challenge to the government.

In response to the question of whether the ANC and SA Communist Party were included in the review, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said a "comprehensive review" was being made of all organisations. It is not known when a decision will be made.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, yesterday said the UDF was not a banned organisation. However, during February 1988 it was necessary to restrict certain of its activities.

Mr Vlok said that if the UDF felt its activities were no longer a threat to the public, the maintenance of law and order or the ending of the state of emergency then it was free to apply to him to continue its activities unrestricted.

The resumption of its activities without permission would constitute a contravention of the emergency regulations and would be investigated in the normal way and passed on to the attorney-general for a decision, he said.

UDF treasurer Mr Azar Cachalia said yesterday that the UDF's review by government was "news to us".

● UDF 'unbans itself' — Page 7

UDF out in the open

(189) (327)

Sowetan Reporters

THE United Democratic Front has unbanned itself and will operate openly, executive members of the organisation said at a Press conference held in Johannesburg yesterday. Sowetan 18/1/90

The decision to work openly after four-and-a-half years of operating under "the most repressive conditions" imposed by the ongoing state of emergency, was taken when the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the UDF met last weekend.

A delegation of 22 UDF members from all sectors of the organisation will be meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison in the next few weeks.

Meanwhile the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, last night said the UDF was not a banned organisation, although it was necessary in February 1988 to restrict certain of the organisation's activities and operations.

Reacting to a decision by the UDF to "unban" itself, he said in a statement from Pretoria the actions

UDF unbans itself

From Page 1 (189) (327)

taken in February 1988 against the UDF were necessary in order to ensure the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, or the end of the emergency situation. Sowetan 18/1/90.

"The regulations at the same time made allowance for the UDF to apply to the Minister of Law and Order to carry on with its activities and operations."

He said should the UDF now be of the opinion that its activities and operations no longer endangered the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, or the ending of the emergency situation, it was free to apply to the Minister (of Law and Order) for the continuation of its activities and operations.

"I therefore invite the UDF to let me have the necessary representations. However, should the UDF violate (oortree) the restrictions placed on it without permission, it could be a transgression of the emergency regulations and the alleged infringements will be investigated in the normal course and handed to an Attorney-General for a decision."

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF said: "In what we see as a challenging period ahead of us we have decided to claim our rights, to engage in open opposition activity.

"We owe it to our people that the leadership of our movement is openly available at this crucial moment in the struggle for freedom and democracy in our country and the world over.

"The UDF steadfastly refuses to give in and will continue to challenge apartheid at every turn."

The NEC also decided that the National General Council (NGC), the highest decision making body of the UDF would meet from April 6 to 8. Key policy matters are expected to be dealt with, including the issue of negotiation and strategies for the intensification of the struggle against the apartheid regime.

UDF 'unbans itself' to operate openly

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front has unbanned itself and will operate openly, executive members of the organisation said at a press conference here yesterday.

The decision to work openly after 4½ years of operating under "most repressive conditions" imposed by the ongoing state of emergency, was taken when the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the UDF met last weekend.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Murphy Morobe were chosen at the weekend meeting as assistant general secretary and assistant publicity secretary respectively.

The NEC also decided that recently released general secretary Mr Popo Molefe and publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota would take up the positions they had held before their arrest. — Sapa

Govt 'to lift curbs, avoid showdown'

(327)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government is expected to lift restrictions on organisations such as the UDF to avoid a damaging showdown with them and with the press.

The Democratic Party forecast this today following the UDF's decision this week to resume their political activities as a challenge to the Government.

The press also has openly challenged the Government by deliberately flouting the law which prohibits the quoting of banned people. Yesterday the Johannesburg Nationalist newspaper *Beeld* criticised the ban on quoting in an editorial and published a front page report quoting the banned South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo.

The financial newspaper *Business Day* followed *Beeld's* example by doing so in a news report today. So far there has been no indication from the Government that these newspapers would be prosecuted for doing so. Star 18/1/90.

The Star carried the gist of Mr Slovo's remarks in a news report last week and took up the matter again in its Undercurrent Affairs column on Saturday. Mr Slovo's main point was: "We have ... noted that there are more one-party states in the capitalist world, especially in Africa, than in the socialist world." But the SACP rejected a one-party system for SA, he said.

Responding to the earlier, separate challenge to the regulations by the UDF, the Justice Department said yesterday this was no real challenge, and the restrictions on the UDF and other organisations were in any case under review.

The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok invited the UDF and other organisations to apply to have their restrictions lifted.

It seems likely that such applications would be considered favourably, as Government sources said today that the security climate was far better now than it had been in February 1988 when the organisations were restricted.

DP deputy justice spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said today that the changed political climate made it essential for the restrictions to be reviewed and lifted so that the country could move into a climate of open political debate and to avoid losing current momentum.

UDF shuns Vlok's offer

BY VUSI GUNENE

THE United Democratic Front has rejected Adriaan Vlok's invitation to "apply" to his department to lift restrictions placed upon the organisation two years ago. This follows the UDF's announcement that full-scale overt operations are to be resumed.

The UDF argues it has already "unbanned" itself — on August 20 1988, its sixth anniversary. Vlok's invitation, says the UDF's national assistant publicity secretary, Murphy Morobe, has come too late.

Morobe called Vlok's strange remarks to the effect that if the UDF felt its activities no longer "endangered public safety" it could apply to have its restrictions lifted, "both interesting and disturbing".

"It is interesting Mr Vlok does not state what those activities are because he knows very well the nature of the restrictions on the UDF were intended to have an the effect of an actual banning," said Morobe.

The UDF announced it was going to avail itself openly to its membership at a press conference this week.

Reacting to the announcement, Vlok said the UDF was not a banned organisation, although it was necessary in February 1988 to restrict certain of the organisation's activities.

Vlok said should the UDF be of the opinion its operations no longer endangered the safety of the public, the maintenance of public order or the ending of the Emergency, it was free to apply to him as minister of law and order for a change of status.

The organisation says its announcement this week was "in line with the defiance campaign of the Mass Democratic Movement. Therefore, there is no reason to apply to the minister for anything. That the UDF is once again fully operational is a *fait accompli*.

The re-emergence of the UDF comes after five years of semi-underground activities.

Azar Cachalia, national UDF treasurer, while conceding the State of Emergency "hurt the organisation", asserts the Emergency failed to kill it off. During this period its affiliates met regularly and executed campaigns such as the anti-municipal elections and a number of stayaways.

Also during this time the UDF has emerged with the Congress of South African Trade Unions as the core of the Mass Democratic Movement in leading the defiance campaign.

The confident mood at press conference made it clear that the UDF sees itself playing a leading role in the future of the anti-apartheid struggle. This is illustrated by the manner in which they see their impending meeting with jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, sometime in the next few weeks.

A delegation of 22 NEC members will visit Mandela to "inform (him) of our full confidence and support in the various initiatives and ANC consultations he has been involved in so far", the statement said.

● Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the government is to review the position of banned and restricted organisations.

ANC hints at fighting limits

CHARLENE SMITH

LUSAKA — The ANC admitted yesterday it did not have "the capacity" to intensify the armed struggle.

This view, expressed at the opening here of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) conference with the internal leadership and observers from the mass democratic movement, would be clarified only on Monday, the ANC said. At the same time, a programme of action based on this week's meetings might be published.

The ANC leadership told delegates, diplomats and Zambian officials that the Harare Declaration made provision for the mutual suspension of armed hostilities and a negotiated end to hostilities, but while this had not happened, "the armed struggle must continue".

Acknowledging that it lacked the capacity to intensify the armed struggle effectively, the ANC said the main military priority would be to rectify that — "both to fight effectively should the need arise" and to form a future SA army.

The need to consider what to do when the ANC was formally unbanned — whether to operate solely as a legal movement or to maintain some underground units — was put to the conference.

The ANC said, with regard to President F W de Klerk, it should be expected that government would work to engage the organisation in negotiation once it had tackled ending the state of emergency, unbanning organisations and returning exiles.

De Klerk could well move with speed, to catch the ANC off balance and retain the initiative, the conference heard.

A secret proposal drafted by Nelson Mandela and conveyed to the conference

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ANC

☐ From Page 1

appeared crucial to this. He would telephone Lusaka on Sunday to determine what resolutions had been adopted with regard to his proposal. The NEC is to discuss what tasks Mandela should assume after his release, which it was made clear was expected to be "soon".

On the issue of international support, the conference heard that as the situation in SA improved, the more difficult it would be to have further sanctions imposed.

The UN secretary general was expected to begin a major diplomatic initiative to inform nations of the content of the Harare Declaration and the General Assembly resolution supporting the declaration.

Finally, regarding the health of ANC president Oliver Tambo, the conference heard he had been paralysed on his right side but had now begun walking and writing unaided.

(A) 327

Mandela's 'fighting spirit' praised

By MARIUS BOSCH

MR Nelson Mandela does not believe that his release will be announced by President F W de Klerk at the opening of Parliament next month, a delegation of youth leaders said after a two-day visit to the jailed ANC leader.

South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) president Mr Peter Makoba said Mr Mandela had told the eight-member delegation that he believed his release would "not come on a platter" and that he was not going to beg for it.

"He said he would like to leave with us," Mr Makoba said.

Among the issues discussed with Mr Mandela was the meetings he had with cabinet ministers, former president Mr P WBotha and Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mandela had stressed again that he was not negotiating with the government but saw himself as a facilitator, Mr Makoba said.

The meetings with the government was a result of Mr Mandela wanting to draw the government's attention to "the desperate situation of our people", he said.

Mr Mandela had tried for more than three years to speak to the government and this showed that the government had never been prepared to enter into talks with the ANC, Mr Makoba said.

These issues had been raised during his meetings with Mr De Klerk and Mr Botha, Mr Mandela told the delegation.

According to Mr Makoba, Mr Mandela said some of his views had been distorted by previous visitors, especially on nationalisation.

"He referred us to a statement he made in court in which he said political liberation can only be accompanied by some measure of socialism."

Other matters which had been discussed were that the ANC had never stood for black domination and had no intention of espousing communism, Mr Makoba said.

The members of the delegation said they had been impressed by Mr Mandela's "fighting spirit".

"He can come out (of prison) and replace any youth leader with his progressive militancy," one member of the delegation remarked.

Magistrate permits march

Staff Reporter

THE Magistrate of De Aar in the Northern Cape, Mr W J Grobbler, granted conditional permission yesterday for a protest march through the town tomorrow afternoon.

One of the organisers, Mr Louis Hollander, the House of Representatives MP for Britstown, said the purpose of the march was to protest against class boycotts.

The march is due to take place between 2.30 and 5.30pm.

UDF defiance 'indicates its determination'

Political Staff

THE fact that the United Democratic Front (UDF) had remained intact and was defying the emergency regulations was an indication of its determination, the UDF in the Western Cape said last night.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had tried to create the misleading impression that only certain UDF activities were circumscribed by the emergency regulations, it said.

"In fact, all UDF activities have been prohibited in terms of the emergency regulations," the organisation said in a statement.

"If UDF had to adhere to the letter of the regulations, it could not perform any act or take part in any activity whatsoever."

The statement said: "We are determined to continue to defy the state of emergency, because it is a stumbling block to the establishment of peace in our communities."

● In Johannesburg the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said he felt that a reappraisal of restricted organisations, as announced by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, was "welcome" and "overdue", reports Sapa



Jubilant youths on their way to Victor Verster to demand the release of Nelson Mandela

AWB threat scuttles non-racial peace picnic

A PICNIC planned to be held on a Mossel Bay beach on December 16 was cancelled after a person claiming to represent the AWB telephoned the organisers and threatened to burn the buses taking people to the beach.

The picnic, organised by Mossel Bay residents at Hartenbos Beach, was planned to heal the divisions between the races.

Mossel Bay clergy have now laid charges against the unidentified man who made the threats.

And in Cape Town, a candlelight service at the gates of Victor Verster prison on Sunday to demand the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners was prohibited by a Paarl magistrate.

After a rally in Paarl East, addressed by Mrs Winnie Mandela and South African Youth Congress leader Peter Mokaba, a convoy of 12 buses and cars left for the prison.

Police set up roadblocks on the Franschoek Road which passes the prison and stopped the convoy from reaching the entrance to the prison.

Police told the marchers that the gathering had been prohibited and gave the crowd five minutes to disperse.

United Democratic Front officials negotiated with the police to allow the protestors to deliver a memorandum to the prison. Police refused the request.

An hour later, the kilometre-long convoy returned to Paarl.

Jubilant youths danced on the roofs of the buses, waving their placards and shouting slogans.

About 1 000 people packed the Planet theatre in Paarl East after the convoy returned for a report-back meeting.

UDF Western Cape chairperson Mr Bulelani Ngcuka read a memorandum from the Mass Democratic Movement entitled "Message to all our comrades in apartheid's jails" which was to have been presented to prison officials at the gates of Victor Verster.

"We are gathering outside the Victor Verster prison today at 6.30pm," the memorandum stated.

"We will gather to remind ourselves and the world at large that your continued imprisonment proves the emptiness of (President) De Klerk's talks of change.

"We will light candles as a symbol of our hope for the future of our country. You are now behind bars because of your contribution to our struggle for freedom.

"You and all other political prisoners have become symbols of hope for us."

Troops out?

Cape Times 20/1/90 327

Township duty may end; big SADF cuts

Defence Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Troops could be out of the townships before the end of the year, the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg, said yesterday while announcing drastic cuts in the Defence Force.

The Armaments Corporation (Armscor) budget will be also be reduced and community service terms served by conscientious objectors cut, he said.

Military observers said the cuts are the most stringent since World War II, but will not materially affect the SADF's operational capability.

The wide-ranging measures will affect the Cape in particular.

While briefing military correspondents on SADF manning levels, General Liebenberg said that the withdrawal of troops from townships depended "on the manpower situation of the South African Police" and on the country's internal situation.

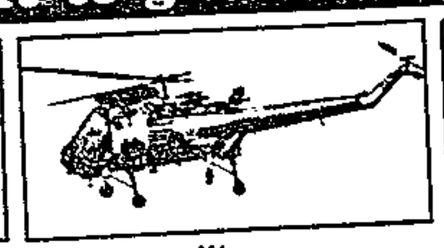
General Liebenberg could give no time scale to the withdrawal.

The main measures include the following:

These aircraft to get the chop . . .



Albatross



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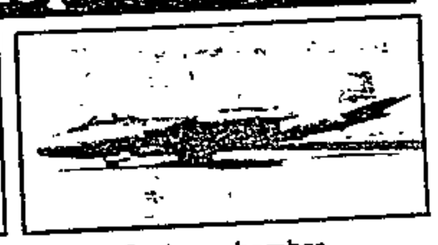

Canberra bomber

● Eleven of the army's major weapons and equipment acquisition projects which were scheduled to begin in the 1990/91 financial year will be cancelled, while 49 other projects will either be reduced or delayed.

● Five types of operational aircraft — Canberra light bombers, Super Frelon helicopters, Wasp anti-submarine helicopters, Kudu light communications aircraft and Albatross maritime reconnaissance aircraft — will be phased out.

Some will be sold, others scrapped. None will be "mothballed".

● Four SAAF squadrons will be disbanded. They are 16 Squadron (Alouette helicopters, Port Elizabeth), 12 Squadron (Canberras, Pietersburg) and Air Force Base Ysterplaat's 25 Squadron (Dakotas) and 27 Squadron (Albatrosses).

Personnel and aircraft will be transferred to other squadrons, except for the Albatrosses.

The Chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General J van Loggerenberg, said there would be no difficulty in absorbing these personnel as the SAAF was substantially undermanned.

The disbanding of 27 Squadron would not affect maritime patrol and air/sea rescue operations along the South African coast as 35 Squadron, which used to fly the long-retired Shackletons, now operates specially equipped Dakotas.

● About 2 000 uniformed and civilian navy members and small numbers of air force personnel will be retrenched.

Navy operations that will be affected are:

● Naval Commands West (Simon's Town) and East (Durban), as well as the Marines, will be disbanded.

● The Marine Harbour Protection Units at Richards Bay, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London will be closed down.

● In Simon's Town Naval dockyard, the Armament Depot and the Depot Storage Support group will be scaled down.

The Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Dries Putter, said the "fairly large scaling-down" process would not affect the navy's ability to maintain ships.

Other measures include:

● The SA Medical Services will consolidate and rationalise all its systems.

● About 2 100 personnel at Armscor will be retired or retrenched — about 10% of the giant parastatal organisation.

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P.T.O.

From page 1

General Liebenberg said no army units of permanent force or citizen/commando forces would be disbanded.

He was unable to quantify the sums which would be saved.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said his party welcomed the cuts.

"Not only are they welcomed from a fiscal viewpoint, but the very fact that defence expenditure is being reduced should contribute towards an atmosphere of peace in Southern Africa and a feeling of reconciliation in our country."

The Conservative Party said it supported the cuts but was shocked at the sudden retrenchment of thousands of people in the service, as well as the scrapping of certain projects.

The real reason for the move was that South Africa was financially bankrupt, the CP said in a statement.

"The government is caught up in the peace psychosis that has brought this country to a standstill."

Cape Times 20/11/90

General Liebenberg also announced that the length of civilian community service had been reduced as a result of the cut in national service.

This would affect 147 religious conscientious objectors who began community service in 1984 and 1985.

A full statement about the "whole question of religious objectors" was being drawn up by the office of the Minister of Defence, and would be issued later this month.

Military observers said this indicated that the government had no immediate plan to broaden grounds for applications for classification as conscientious objectors, other than on religious grounds.

General Liebenberg said that national servicemen who signed on for short service terms of an extra two or three years would be paid up to R30 000 a year, and those who signed up for three years would have no citizen force obligations.

Censors to hunt for 'SA propaganda'

S Times 21/1/90 (327)

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

CENSORS will search schools and libraries in Doncaster, England, to sniff out "apartheid propaganda" as part of a drive to promote "positive teaching" of South African issues.

Councillors approved the move this week as part of a package which also bans advertising of South African products in public areas.

Local authorities will also discourage the sale of such SA goods as oranges and apples.

The decision provoked a furious row in the town's Mansion House, where Labour councillors outnumber Conservatives by 54 to nine.

Tory leader Ted Scales, a retired headmaster, has even accused his fellow councillors of failing to practise what they preach.

He said he found South African oranges in a bowl next to him at a recent dinner party given by a Labour councillor.

He said: "Who is going to vet what goes into libraries? I'm all in favour of children receiving a balanced view of the world, but this reeks of propaganda — the very thing Labour says it wants to eradicate.

"Both sides of the issue should be shown. You cannot allow only one view. Are we to be allowed access to statements by the African National Congress and Archbishop Desmond Tutu only?"

Labour leader Peter Welsh said libraries contained many articles and books which, for instance, "promoted the high-falutin statements of people like Ian Smith and the South African Government".

The reading matter would be thrown out in favour of other material suggested by bodies like the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Education in schools would centre on the "struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples for recognition", he said.

"My own recommendation is that films like Richard Attenborough's Cry Freedom should be shown to classes."

Doncaster, which has been officially declared an "apartheid-free zone", is hosting an 18-year-old ANC refugee from South Africa who is working in the municipal engineering department.

Mr Welsh said: "Once he has finished his two-year stint with us, he will be well placed to return home and add the weight of his experience to a new South Africa."

The council also voted against attending functions where the SA Government was represented.

Mr Welsh countered an accusation that Labour was restricting civil liberty by censoring library contents. He said he preferred to regard the move as "positive discrimination".

City Press 21/1/90.

Anti-tour strategy reviewed

327

Police reaction against peaceful demonstration forces leaders to change ideas

By DESMOND BLOW and RODNEY MTSHAZO

THE attack by the police on what appeared to be a peaceful demonstration by anti-cricket tour demonstrators could lead to a less passive strategy by demonstrators, some leaders warned yesterday.

City Press saw:

■ Road blocks at the entrance to Jan Smuts Airport and the diversion of six buses containing demonstrators to a remote section of the car park, where they were kept on the buses by police.

Some people tried to get off and make their way to the terminal building, but dogs were set on them.

At least one person was bitten.

Photographers' films of the incident were confiscated.

■ Winnie Mandela and lawyer Krish Naidoo interceded and said the police had no right to keep people on the buses.

■ They then negotiated with the police to allow the people to get off providing each one was body-searched.

Anti-tour pamphlets in their possession were confiscated.

■ Two to three hundred then marched to the terminal, those in front holding placards objecting to the tour.

Some of them read: "Not only today, but until a free Azania," "Gatting go home," "Isolate SA until Azania is free" and "One rebel, one bullet".

■ They were forced to stop at a lowered barrier on the road at the corner of the terminal. Those in the front row held up their placards and the crowd sang and chanted.

■ After a few minutes a warning was issued to the singing crowd. They were told they had one minute to disperse.

■ A minute later teargas was sprayed from a metre away at the people in the front row and dogs were unleashed.

Long truncheons were used and the crowd rushed to the barrier, breaking a pole while people fell over each other.

The hut at the side of the barrier was overturned in the surge and people fell over cars parked at the side of the road.

■ The panic-stricken crowd then surged up the stairs to the spectator stands with the police in hot pursuit, only to be met by more police at another barrier. Many of the crowd lost their shoes, while others lost their spectacles and some their watches.

■ They were chased back to the buses, where some were assaulted while they were boarding.

Requests by demonstrators that their missing possessions be brought to them fell on deaf ears and the buses were escorted out of Jan Smuts Airport grounds by police.

Meanwhile police had hurled the demonstrators' possessions into the small barrier hut.

Winnie Mandela then negotiated with the police for these possessions and she and two other women carried them off, their arms full.

Police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe, told the Press that 10 demonstrators – seven men and three women – had been arrested and charges were being formulated against them.

He later announced all 10 had been warned under the Airport Regulations and released.

Malherbe also said the attack on the demonstrators had been ordered because they were causing damage and had broken the windows of the barrier hut.

The media, including foreign media, went to check and found none of the windows were broken. The hut had been overturned when the police charged, but it had not been damaged.

The barrier pole had, however, been broken during the police charge.

None of the rebel cricketers were at the airport at the time. Their aircraft had been delayed for three hours.

■ This report has been heavily censored in terms of the emergency legislation.

Police hold 214 Cape villagers in dawn raid

c/pres 21/11/90

(327)

POLICE this week swooped on a tiny Eastern Cape village and arrested 214 residents in a pre-dawn raid.

Kubusie residents started a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in Stutterheim two months ago to pressure authorities into upgrading their community. Several shops have had to closed after a drastic drop in turnover.

Early on Tuesday morning police in several vehicles, supported by a helicopter, entered the village.

They distributed pamphlets in which they wished people a good morning and apologised for previous police mistakes.

According to residents, they then started to round up all the young males and took them to a makeshift camp surrounded by barbed wire.

From there they were taken to Stutterheim, three kilometres away, where they were photographed and fingerprinted.

While the people were standing beside a bridge, a busload of policemen pulled up above them and started firing teargas.

A reporter visiting Kubusie, Vuyo Bikitsha, said he was standing next to the people and had not heard any warning to disperse.

"After the police shot about six or seven teargas rounds, the people ran away."

He said he then left the area and was followed by the police.

"A Capt Potgieter, who was in charge, told us we would have to leave as it had been declared an operational area."

Bikitsha then drove to Stutterheim police station with another journalist, where they laid a charge against the police for shooting at them.

In a statement, SAP regional commissioner Maj-Gen MJ Rust said the police had "conducted a full-scale crime prevention operation in Kubusie.

"Several serious cases of unrest occurred during 1989 in Kubusie and there is at present at escalation of incidents.

"Leaflets explaining the necessity for the operation were distributed among residents of the township." – ANA

Happy family: Marks reunited with his mother and father at their Mohlakeng home.

Robben Island play unbanned

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Sunday Times 21/11/90

Writers' work crucial for SA's future – playwright

By ZB MOLEFE



Khayelethu "Lucky" Mqayisa is happy his play *Confused Mhlaba* has been unbanned.

PLAYWRIGHT Khayelethu "Lucky" Mqayisa, 37, did not know whether to laugh or cry this week after he won a 15-year battle to have his published play *Confused Mhlaba* unbanned.

Until now he has been forbidden even to have a copy of the play in his house. Although delighted at the lifting of the ban he pointed out that many black writers' works were still banned.

"If the government is serious about unbanning books and allowing a free exchange of views it must be made aware that the work of writers and artists is crucial to South Africa's future, said Mqayisa who hails from Port Elizabeth's New Brighton.

The nine-scene *Mhlaba*is about a long-term Robben Island political prisoner, who, on release, finds there had been no change in the country.

In 1975 when the Publications Control Board's Directorate of Publications was challenged by publishers Ravan Press it was ruled on appeal that the play, among other things, "intended to bring white sections of the Republic, both socially and economically, into ridicule and contempt".

During the appeal Mqayisa "informed us that he had several times been subjected to harassment by Security Police, with lengthy interrogation and searches of his home", claimed an article by Ravan Press published in the influential *Index on Censorship*.

There was also a smear campaign against the playwright when his wife received an anonymous phone call claiming her husband was having an affair with the wife of a well-known political figure who was banned at the time, the article said.

Mqayisa, who this week held discussions to have *Mhlaba* perfomed at Johannesburg's Market Theatre, could not hide another pain – a ban on one of his other plays *Room At The Top* still stands since 1977, after one perfomance at New Brighton's St Steven's Hall.

■ An intensive campaign aimed at ending Press censorship will be launched at Wits University on Monday, January 29.

It will start with a "Save the Press" conference, bringing together organisations directly affected by censorship.

Speakers at the conference will include former editor Raymond Louw and lawyer Azhar Cachalia.

"A free Press is essential for the transformation of South Africa from a society based on apartheid into a democratic society. Because South Africa has suffered under severe censorship for several decades, the public has been left uninformed and thus unable to cope with the pressures it faces as it grapples with opportunities of creating a democratic South Africa," said a statement from the campaign organisers.

S Times 21/1/90

Editors urged by Idasa to defy the law

By LESTER VENTER

EDITORS have been urged to defy government bans on quoting people and organisations by an Idasa conference on responsible democracy.

Banned and restricted people and organisations should be quoted when their opinions were "pertinent and newsworthy — regardless of state laws and restrictions", the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA decided in Cape Town yesterday.

The purpose was to create "open political debate and assist the process of negotiation", a statement said.

Pushing

The debate on Press responsibility included speakers from mainstream and alternative media.

The passing of the resolution was itself controversial.

One editor, Mr Ken Owen of Business Day, said the move was "scurrilous trickery" and walked out.

The resolution was finally adopted with only one dissenting vote.

The proposer of the motion, Mr Max du Preez, editor of Vrye Weekblad, said: "There are a few journalists and publications pushing the parameters.

"This motion asks all other editors to join forces with them to make the message more forceful and minimise the risk."

● A major campaign to end Press censorship will be launched on January 29 at a conference called by Save the Press.

Repeal

The conference, at the University of the Witwatersrand, will be attended by a wide range of organisations and individuals.

Speakers will include the MDM's Azhar Cachalia and Save the Press interim committee chairman Raymond Louw, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail.

A spokesman for the movement said the campaign would focus on:

● The lifting of the state of emergency and the repeal of censorship laws;

● A moratorium on prosecutions and the setting aside of convictions of journalists for actions during work;

● The removal of government control of TV and radio.

Robben Island play unbanned

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Sunday Times 21/11/90

Writers' work crucial for SA's future – playwright



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By ZB MOLEFE

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SPECIAL GREETING: Mrs Farieda Omar opens the gift she received from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster prison

'Sweet' greeting from Mandela

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela had a special greeting for Mrs Farieda Omar, wife of UDF vice-president Mr Dullah Omar, when she visited him at Victor Verster last Friday.

For Mrs Omar, who was visiting Mandela for the first time, the greeting was very "sweet" indeed.

Mandela presented her with a Christmas card and a box of delectable chocolates.

"I had asked if I could bring something for him, but the prison authorities had said this was not allowed," said Omar.

"So I came into his house empty-handed and he gave me a gift instead."

Omar said it was "very painful" to have seen an "intelligent" man such as Mandela locked away from his fellow human beings.

"He is in a cold, lonely prison house. The house has everything but it can never be a home. There is no joy, no laughter, no warmth.

"My Christmas wish for Mandela and all political prisoners is that they will be free to come home and work together with us for a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa."

In good health

Attached to her gift was a Christmas card with the inscription: "To Farieda, from Nelson".

Mr Dullah Omar said he and his wife had spent three hours with Mandela and found him in good health.

Omar said Mandela did not hold the keys to the prison in which he is being held.

"The keys are in the hands of the government, and as soon as they unlock the doors of his prison he will leave without a moment's waste of time.

"It is clear to me as a result of my discussions with him that the government persists in linking his release to the unfolding events in South Africa."

Omar said the government knew that it had no alternative but to negotiate with the liberation movement, particularly the ANC.

A top-level delegation from the Congress of South African Trade Unions met with Mandela on Tuesday — the first meeting Mandela has held with union leaders.

The meeting lasted six hours and covered a wide range of topics, including Mandela's role in facilitating discussion between the government and the extra-parliamentary movement inside and outside South Africa.

Another Cosatu delegation was due to meet with Mandela later.

20/12 - 18/1/90.

Vlok gives nod for peaceful protests

Pressure to stop rebel tour mounts

(327)

Star 22/1/90

By Jovial Rantao and Political Staff

Peaceful protests against the continuation of the English rebel cricket tour are to be permitted by the Government.

But the National Sports Committee (NSC), which is organising opposition to the tour, is strongly urging the rebels to reconsider their decision to proceed with the itinerary, starting in Kimberley on Friday, following Friday's violence outside Jan Smuts Airport.

The call, which is certain to be rejected, came as Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok announced that the Government would permit peaceful protest against the tour.

He told political correspondents protesters would have to apply to magistrates for permission.

In an open letter to the rebel team's captain, Mike Gatting, the NSC said the tour leader's respect for the right to peaceful protest was no justification for his presence in South Africa.

International reaction to the tour is continuing to make news. But African nations have agreed not to take any action against English athletes at the Auckland Commonwealth Games, or boycott the event.

Mr Tommy Sithole, president of the Zimbabwe National Olympic Committee, emphasised that Africa would do all it could to ensure the success of the Games, opening on Wednesday.

After an hour-long meeting of sports leaders from 11 African nations attending the Games, he read a statement calling on Britain to make a stronger protest against the rebel tour.

"Britain must unequivocally and loudly condemn the tour," he said.

Restraint urged

The director of the South African Cricket Union (Sacu), Dr Ali Bacher, said he had held talks with the police to urge restraint in the handling of anti-tour demonstrators.

The NSC questioned how Gatting intended ensuring the safety of protesters against "State violence".

"We believe the response of the police was carried out with the full knowledge and approval of your host, the South African Cricket Union," the NSC alleged in the letter.

No weapons were found on any of the protesters, all posters and pamphlets were confiscated and buses carrying protesters were intercepted before arrival, the letter continued.

At least 40 protesters were injured and 10 arrested during the clash.

According to Colonel Frans Malherbe, Witwatersrand police liaison officer, those who were arrested were released with a warning.

"The 10 were warned in terms of airport regulations and released the same day. No charges were laid against them," Colonel Malherbe said.

● Graham Dilley was made to hand back his luxury sponsored car before leaving with the Gatting cricket tour. The company was reported to be "dismayed" when the former England pace bowler decided to join the tour.

● The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Auckland that British athlete Sebastian Coe has slammed the rebel cricket tour.



Caught in the conflict ... an Azerbaijan w
that her children had been kic

Mass burial after S

MOSCOW — Azerbaijani nationalists and local authorities planned a mass funeral today for the people who died when the Soviet army seized control of their capital, Baku, at the weekend.

Baku Radio and militants of the nationalist Popular Front in the southern republic's capital said most of the dead, officially set at 83, would be buried in the newly named Freedom cemetery.

A general strike to protest against the Soviet troop presence was called for today in Azerbaijan, according to a political scientist

who said hospitals i
capital were fille
wounded by gunfire

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EMERGE

The army entere
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after Azerbaijani
dozens of Armenian

Police await vital fo

By Craig Kotze and Norman Chandler

The results of forensics tests on material taken from paedophile Gert van Rooyen's home could today provide the vital link to establish beyond doubt that he had a hand in the disappearance of five missing girls.

Lieutenant-General Alwyn Conradie, chief of the CID, confirmed last night that five girls had been linked to the suicide couple — Joan Horn of Pretoria; Odette Boucher, Anne-Marie Wapenaar and Yolande Wessels of Kempton Park, and Joan Harvey of Maritzburg.

SEARCHING

UDF to protest against 'brutality'

By Janet Heard (327)

A peaceful march to the Carletonville police station is scheduled to take place today in protest against alleged police brutality in the township, a United Democratic Front spokesman announced yesterday.

One of the aims of the march is to protest against the "mysterious death" last Tuesday of Mbuyiselo Phiri (16).

The spokesman said the march would also highlight the "mysterious disappearance" of two youths in the township.

Star 22/11/90

ANC leaders plan rally in Natal

By John Ryan

LUSAKA — The recently released African National Congress leaders plan to stage a rally in Natal in an attempt to end the violence in the province.

They will also try to meet King Goodwill Zwelethini, the ANC announced in Lusaka last night.

A statement issued after a three-day meeting between Mr Walter Sisulu and the other leaders from South Africa, the national executive committee and members of the ANC's military wing said the organisation viewed "this continuing massacre" as totally unacceptable.

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INTERVENTION

It said the situation in Natal was a national problem which required the direct intervention of "our national leaders to interact with the people affected by this violence and all other forces interested in ending it".

An attempt to end the violence would be made "without delay".

The meeting, the first between external and internal leaders of the ANC, had stressed the importance of engaging all South Africans in united action against apartheid, the statement said.

It also expressed concern that there were still "some patriots" on Death Row and demanded that they should under no circumstances be hanged.

Participants in the meeting also called on all those working within the "bantustan" structures to commit themselves to a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The statement was unforthcoming about what had been decided on issues vital to the ANC — such as a strategy for possible negotiations with the Government — and the role the released leaders would play in the hierachy.

It merely said these leaders were part of "one united leadership of our movement" and would operate together with the national executive.

Today the ANC leaders will attend a summit meeting of the Frontline states in Lusaka, the statement said.

The ANC would take the opportunity to extend to the Frontline heads "our deep appreciation for the unswerving support for our movement and discuss with them what needs to be done further to intensify the offensive against the apartheid system".





OPPOSING SIDES ... Anti-rebel cricket tour protesters (left), apparently frustrated by the police refusal to allow them close to the Kimberley stadium where Mike Gatting's men were engaged in their first match, turned their anger on the old mining town, smashing shop and car windows with sticks and stones. Riot police (right) with shotguns and teargas block their path.

CAPT Times 27/11/90

Ali's demo

Bacher gets protest permission

IN a bizarre and dramatic twist to the rebel cricket tour, Dr Ali Bacher, organiser of the tour, yesterday telephoned two government ministers to get permission for protests against the tour to go ahead.

Dr Bacher intervened while 2 000 protesters and police were locked in a four-hour confrontation a kilometre from the De Beers Country Club, where the controversial English team were playing their first match of the tour.

In a series of developments yesterday:

● Protesters, stopped by police from demonstrating, ran through Kimberley breaking shopfront windows and smashing cars.

● An anti-tour committee was formed in Durban dedicated to making "life miserable" for the rebel team in Natal.

● British anti-apartheid activist Mr Peter Hain praised Dr Bacher for his intervention.

Yesterday police first stopped two busloads of protesters from Johannesburg 200km from Kimberley.

Later, as the game between the rebel team and the Combined Bowl XI got under way, police blocked the march of about 2 000 protesters one kilometre from the field.

The crowd included several hundred who had bought tickets to the game.

While protesters and police remained deadlocked for about four hours, some protesters broke branches from trees lining the route and vented their anger in Kimberley's town centre.

In a violent episode similiar to the scenes in Cape Town on Tuesday, angry demonstrators ran though the town, smashing shopfront and car windows.

One pedestrian, a 54-year-old man, was assaulted and admitted to hospital with facial injuries.

Police arrested 31 people on charges of public violence.

Dr Bacher intervened in the tense scene when Mr Krish Naidoo, head of the National Sports Congress — which is organising opposition to the tour, arrived at the grounds while police were holding up the demonstrators.

He asked Dr Bacher to intervene on his behalf for permission to stage a peaceful protest.

After speaking to the policemen and being told that the demonstration was illegal as no magisterial permission had been given, Dr Bacher called Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development.

He said Dr Viljoen had been "sympathetic" to the SACC's evaluation of the situation.

INSIDE:

● **Govt worried protests could derail reform — PAGE 3**

● **Match report — PAGE 16**



"I then spoke to Mr (Adriaan) Vlok (Minister of Law and Order) and he gave me the assurance that he would be only too willing to allow peaceful demos, provided they observe the law and that an application was made by me," Dr Bacher said.

"I indicated to him that according to reports the NSC did not want to make an application. It came about that if I appplied personally on behalf of the NSC, he (Mr Vlok) saw no legal difficulties or problems."

The NSC, which is not prepared to apply for permission themselves, indicated to Dr Bacher that his application would be acceptable to them.

Later Kimberley's Chief Magistrate granted authority for the gathering.

"The demonstration will take place today from 10am to 5pm. The demonstration will be under the direction of Mr Naidoo who assured me it will be peaceful," Dr Bacher said.

Dr Bacher said that he was now "much reassured about the future of the tour".

He said Mr Naidoo had assured him that the demonstration would be peaceful and that neither the club or the pitch would be invaded.

Dr Bacher said he would be "quite ready to organise permission for future peaceful demonstrations".

IAN HOBBS reports from London that activist Mr Peter Hain yesterday praised Dr Ali Bacher's peace initiatives — but urged him to "abort this dangerous rebel tour before it gets completely out of control".

It was also announced yesterday that a Natal Anti-Tour Committee had been formed by 37 organisations, including the UDF and Cosatu.

Committee members vowed to make the lives of Mike Gatting and his cricketers "as miserable as possible" while the team was in Natal. Strategy will include protests at the tourists' hotel, marches and demonstrations at the ground. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Mandela: Foreign media flock to SA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A flood of foreign news teams are expected in SA from the beginning of next month in expectation of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and for the opening of Parliament.

At least four major networks have reserved more than 150 rooms at five-star hotels in Johannesburg and Cape Town during the next month.

The largest contingent is that of CBS News, which has booked 50 rooms at the Carlton Hotel for next month. ABC has booked 40 rooms for one-and-a-half months. Others teams include the BBC and NBC.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that a spokesman for ABC-TV's news programme Nightline flatly denied reports that Nightline presenter Mr Ted Koppel had locked up rights to the first US interview with Mr Mandela after his release.

CHARLENE SMITH reports that it has also become reasonably clear from ANC and government sources that although government has not worked out the exact date of Mr Mandela's release, it will be around February 14 to 16.

Nightline spokesman Ms Laura Wessner sid Mr Koppel was making "protective" contingency plans to broadcast from SA in February. She stressed that the arrangements were at a "very sensitive stage".

She said she had no knowledge of reports that ABC news president Mr Roone Arledge had been negotiating with the government for special access in SA and had been given advance word that Mr Mandela was to be freed on February 16.

SA embassy officials in Washington have confirmed that Mr Koppel had been given approval to travel to SA, but said no dates had been set. They predicted he would be on the scene in time for President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament.

Of ABC's two main rivals, CBS would say only that it was "keeping our options open" while NBC publicists failed to return reporters' calls.

Editors 'apt to do their own thing'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Some newspaper editors have cautioned against defying the law by quoting restricted organisations or people, as suggested by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA.

The suggestion, made at a weekend Idasa conference, urged editors to quote newsworthy and pertinent opinions regardless of the Government's laws and restrictions.

OWN PUBLICATIONS

Most editors declined to react to the suggestion, some of them saying their opinions on press freedom would only be disclosed through their own publications.

The Star's Editor-in-Chief, Mr Harvey Tyson, said yesterday:

"In theory everyone has the right to tell editors what to do as editors have the right to tell politicians what to do.

"However, in practice most editors have a healthy streak of independence and will 'do their own thing' regardless of advice or pressure from others."

Weekly Mail co-editor Mr Anton Harber said breaking the law was a final option which should be used only when all other avenues had been explored.

"There does come a time to confront the law head on. That time may not be now."

The newspaper's strategy had been to obey the law, but to "find holes in the existing law" as part of the tactical battle against press censorship, Mr Harber said.

Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez, who suggested the motion, said only a few journalists and publications were pushing the parameters.

"This motion asks all other editors to join forces with them to make the message more forceful and minimise the risk."

The resolution was finally passed with one vote against it and several abstentions.

Business Day editor Mr Ken Owen, who walked out of the conference because he had not been consulted before the motion was put to delegates, said: "I left when it became clear to me that the conference was being hijacked for another purpose."

Protest victim to sue police for R350 000

Argus 23/1/90

By MICHAEL DOMAN
False Bay Bureau

NOTICE has been served on the Minister of Law and Order of a R350 000 damages suit for crippling injuries to a Strand teenager, Xavier Robertson, during a protest against beach segregation on August 19 last year.

Attorney Mr Roger Chennels has alleged that Xavier, 14, was shot in the head with a rubber bullet near Webb Street, Rusthof, when police took action against groups of people after the beach protesters were dispersed.

Members of the boy's family said he had been on an errand when he was wounded.

"He had two operations at the Groote Schuur Hospital brain clinic and is now recuperating at Conradie Hospital, although he has been allowed home some weekends," Mr Chennels said.

PARALYSED

"He is paralysed from the neck down. He can feed himself with one hand, but he is like a limp rag.

"We have asked for a neurosurgeon's report on his current condition."

Most of the claim is for loss of future income and for future medical expenses.

A report in August quoted the police public relations division as saying it had reason to believe Xavier's injuries were caused by a stone.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has also been notified of claims of R5 000 by Mr Brian Stevens, 36, Mr Dennis Pretorius, 27, and Mr Ronald Summers, 27, as well as a claim of R3 500 by Mrs Frances Kroutz, 50, arising from alleged police action in Rusthof on the same day.

These claims are for injury to dignity and self-esteem and various physical injuries, including birdshot or buckshot wounds and cuts, grazes and bruises.

Mr Vlok has a month to respond to the notices of intention to sue.

Argus 327

y January 23 1990 3

UDF tells Vlok to lift restrictions by April

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front, which resumed its political activities last week, was optimistic that the government would lift the restrictions on it before April, spokesman Mr Azhar Cachalia has said.

But he warned yesterday that the UDF's national general council meeting, planned for early April, would go ahead "with or without the blessing of Mr Adriaan Vlok", the Minister of Law and Order.

Restricted two years ago, the UDF "unbanned" itself on 20 August 1988, its sixth anniversary. Last week it announced that it would now resume all political activities.

OFFICES

Mr Cachalia said the organisation's eight regions were looking for venues to reopen offices. A Western Cape office had already been opened and the UDF's head office would remain in Johannesburg.

"Since the UDF's restriction there have been no public campaigns under the UDF banner. We merely concentrated on holding the organisation together. Now we will resume high-profile activities such as those prior to the restrictions."

He said the UDF would form "the backbone" of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's national reception committee. UDF affiliates would be involved in protests against the rebel cricket tour.

He said it would be in the government's interest to unban the UDF. It would have a favourable international response and would enable the government to "understand the people's demands better", which would enable it to "chart the path forward".

Mandela, bannings on FW's agenda



President De Klerk

ARGUS 23/1/90

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

THE first Cabinet meeting of the year, to be chaired by President De Klerk in Cape Town tomorrow, will give attention to the release of African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela as well as the possible lifting of the state of emergency and the unbanning of the ANC.

This was the expectation among Nationalist MPs today as Mr De Klerk kept his followers guessing about when Mr Mandela will be released.

The MPs said that politically there was no longer any problem about the fact that he would be released, but the exact date remained a problem.

They have been left in the dark about this and the growing impression was that no date had been set.

There was also the growing feeling in Nationalist circles that Mr De Klerk would not make a definite announcement in his speech at the opening of Parliament on February 2.

Right timing

If he announced a date for Mr Mandela's release in that speech it would dominate any other announcement on reform and future negotiations that he might want to make, the MPs said. Some thought that he might even be released before parliament started or shortly afterwards.

Mr De Klerk was said to be grappling with the question of the right timing for Mr Mandela's release.

Some top Nationalists think it should be done in a way that would not benefit the ANC too much.

On the other hand there are indications that a final announcement on the release of Mr Mandela could be linked with one on the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations.

These are among the pre-conditions to negotiations that Mr De Klerk is expected to deal with when he opens parliament on Friday week.

Tomorrow's Cabinet meeting will also deal with aspects of the opening speech. Various Ministers will make contributions to this speech.

Nationalist MPs are concerned about expectations that are being created about the speech. They warned today that Mr De Klerk could not be expected to make one "wonder stroke" speech that would at this stage sweep aside all race-based measures such as the Group Areas Act.

Meanwhile, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, who has been in regular contact with Mr Mandela over the past few years and especially lately, has for the first time commented on the role Mr Mandela has played in his contacts with the government as well as the ANC.

In an interview in the latest issue of "Nationalist", the National Party's propaganda sheet, Mr Coetsee said this role of Mr Mandela had been a "giant leap" in the negotiation process.

Mr Coetsee said it was no longer a question if Mr Mandela would be released but when and in what circumstances.

Star 23/1/90

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We're back in business and hopeful, says UDF

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front, which resumed its political activities last week, is hopeful that the Government will lift the restrictions on it before April, spokesman Azhar Cachalia said yesterday.

But he warned that the UDF's national general council meeting, planned for early April, would go ahead "with or without the blessing of (Law and Order Minister) Mr Adriaan Vlok".

Looking for venues

Restricted two years ago, the UDF "unbanned" itself on August 20 1988, its sixth anniversary. Last week it announced that it would now resume all political activities.

Mr Cachalia said the UDF's eight regions were looking for venues to reopen offices. A western Cape office had been opened and the head office would remain in Johannesburg.

"Since the UDF's restriction, there has been no public campaigns under the UDF banner. We merely concentrated on holding the organisation together. Now we will resume high-profile activities such as those prior to the restrictions."



Mr Azhar Cachalia: We will resume high-profile activities, including anti-tour protests.



Mr Murphy Morobe: The nature of the restrictions on us was effectively a banning.

He said the UDF would form "the backbone" of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's national reception committee, and UDF affiliates would be involved in protests against the current English cricket tour.

Other activities planned included a Natal peace initiative and campaigns for press freedom and against the death penalty.

"Large sections of the community, particularly whites, have been bewildered by political developments in recent years. Now there will be a constant flow of information from the townships. The people of South Africa will know first-hand what is happening.

"If we are working as if we are unbanned, the Government will have to bring its laws into line with the political realities."

Semantics

● Reacting to Mr Vlok's request last week that the UDF, which he said had never been a forbidden organisation, should request the right to continue its activities, UDF spokesman Mr Murphy Morobe said: "Of course Mr Vlok knows very well that the nature of the restrictions on the UDF was intended to have the effect of an actual banning.

We will free Mandela, says govt

Cape Times 24/1/90

(A) 327

Political Staff

THE government has decided to free Mr Nelson Mandela from life imprisonment but is still considering the timing and circumstances of his release, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

In an interview in the Nationalist, the National Party mouthpiece, Mr Coetsee said speculation that Mr Mandela's release was imminent was "a reasonable deduction" considering that prominent political prisoners were released in October.

Mr Mandela appears to have been acting almost as a negotiator between the government and the ANC and has had regular contacts with Mr Kobie Coetsee in particular.

Mr Coetsee described Mr Mandela's role as a "giant leap" for negotiation.

At the same time, however, Mr Coetsee warned that both Mr Mandela's release and proposed power-sharing negotiations between the government and black leaders were internal issues. Foreign attempts to take credit "could only delay matters".

But there was speculation on the eve of today's first cabinet meeting of 1990 that Mr Mandela would not be freed until the ANC was unbanned.

This new complication and other important issues such as the partial lifting of the state of emergency and the scrapping of the Separate Amenities and Group Areas Acts will be high on today's agenda as a prelude to President F W de Klerk's speech at the opening of Parliament next week.

Some people believe Mr Mandela should be released as soon as possible to capitalise on the apaparent disarray in ANC ranks.

It is believed there is a degree of division between members of the "old guard" who favour negotiations, as Mr Mandela appears to be doing, and the "young Turks" who seem set on continuing the armed struggle. — UPI and Political Staff

Pupils run amok after protest march

CAPE TOWN — The costs were being counted yesterday of damage caused by school pupils who ran through the city at midday smashing car and shop windows after police dispersed an illegal protest gathering.

Police used water cannon to disperse a crowd of about 8 000 Western Cape schoolchildren, teachers and parents.

While personal injuries are understood to have been minor, damage to shop fronts and the windows of cars which lined the demonsrators' escape route was more substantial.

The demonstrators, organised by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), had planned to march from St Georges Cathedral to the Education and Training Department to protest against

LESLIE LAMBERT

the state of black education and sport, and to present a list of demands.

But no official permission had been applied for, and when police dispersed the crowd after blocking two exit roads with rolls of blade wire, the main body of demonstrators ran down St Georges Street smashing windows.

Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said yesterday evening that while government was prepared to grant permission for peaceful protests, it would not tolerate illegal gatherings.

NECC chairman Moosa Kaprey said the committee had publicly announced its intention to march peacefully and deliver a petition to the DET.

Star 25/11/90 · 327

Lone placard at hotel says: Gatting, we love you

Crowds picket cricketers

By Stan Hlophe

Members of the Anti-Tour Campaign (ATC), the National Sports Congress, the Commercial Catering and Allied Worker's Union and the Alexandra Students Congress staged a peaceful protest outside the Sandton Sun Hotel against the visiting English cricketers last night.

During the demonstration about 200 protesters holding placards toyi-toyied outside the hotel for about two hours.

This was the second demonstration at the hotel within a week.

On Monday the hotel's workers staged a similar demonstration against the cricketers.

Low profile

Police kept a low profile while traffic officers took charge of traffic approaching the hotel. Plain-clothed policemen mingled with the crowd and two busloads of demonstrators from Alexandra were allegedly rerouted by Morningside police.

Some of the placards read "Gatting stop batting", "No normal sport under apartheid", "Gatting old chap, what are you getting?", "Ban racist tours", "Rebels are racists", "Apartheid is not cricket" and "Ali Bacher promotes sports apartheid."

One poster placed against a window on the top floor of the hotel, however, read: "Gatting, we love you."

One of the organisers of the demonstration later handed a petition to Mike Gatting after the cricketer was spotted in the hotel foyer.

When asked if he would consider the petition handed to him, Gatting said: "I would like to read it when there is peace."

Asked to comment about the tour, he said: "If you want to talk about cricket, yes, but if it's about politics, you'd better ask the politicians."

At a press conference held after the demonstration, ATC publicity secretary Mr Moss Mashishi said the demonstration was called to express outright condemnation of the tour. He added that the organisers of the protest hoped to meet Gatting and his men face to face.

Mr Mashishi said that while there was a lot of talk about helping the underprivileged and South African Cricket Union managing director Dr Ali Bacher claimed the tour had the blessing of the community, the majority of the people of South Africa were prepared to take peaceful action to stop it.

Part of the petition read: "Honourable captain, we as Alexandra students, part of the dominated suffering under apartheid, see ourselves as part of the struggle for a free society, free from exploitation and oppression."



Fielding questions . . . English cricket captain Mike Gatting is surrounded by media representatives and members of the National Sports Congress after he was presented with a petition at the Sandton Sun hotel last night. Second from left is Tebogo Malinga, a 13-year-old Alexandra cricketer who stated his opposition to the tour during the press conference.

© Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

Gatting and his rebels evade protests outside their Sandton hotel

MATTHEW CURTIN

MIKE Gatting and his rebels yesterday evaded about 80 protesters singing and dancing outside their Sandton hotel and tried leave the hotel during a Press conference given by the National Sports Congress anti-tour committee.

Gatting told reporters the team was in good shape and he reiterated they were here "just to play cricket".

He denied he was a pawn of circumstances and declined to comment on the protest.

A few cricketers came downstairs earlier and watched the protest but refused to comment, among them Chris Broad and Bill Athey.

Anti-tour committee Transvaal organiser Moss Moshishi accused Gatting of ducking the issue by not meeting the committee during the Press conference.

He read out a memorandum from Alexandra community groups reiterating that the tour was in violation of the sports boycott which was essential to their campaign against apartheid.

The crowd waved banners with slogans like "Liberation Before Wickets" "Gatting go home" and "No normal sport in an abnormal society".

But on an eighth floor window, hotel guests put up posters saying "Welcome to SA Mike Gatting — we love you" and "Gatting keep batting".

Moshishi claimed two buses packed with supporters of the anti-tour campaign, who intended to present the memorandum to Gatting, were intercepted by police at a junction near the hotel and then redirected to Morningside police station.

But police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe, at the scene, denied the claims, saying they were "utter nonsense".

Alexandra cricketer D Malinga, 13, from the SACU township cricket coaching programme complained in a brief statement at the Press conference yesterday of the lack of money for township cricket.

National Sports Congress marshalls, including NSC general secretary Krish Naidoo, also attended the Press conference.

A dozen plainclothes policemen mingled with the protestors. Traffic police and about 40 riot police were also outside the hotel, but out of sight of the protesters.

□ Sapa reports that Alexandra township cricket programme participants were to petition the SACU yesterday to halt the coaching programme, Moshishi said.

Thousands of protesters are expected to converge on Kimberley tomorrow.

Moshishi said there would be a "very big demonstration" at Saturday's game.

Sapa also reports that razor wire has been erected around the cricket field at Maritzburg's Jan Smuts Stadium and police and private security guards with dogs and armed with rifles are patrolling the premises as the Maritzburg Cricket Union gears itself for the rebel team's visit.

The English cricketers will play against a South African Invitation XI in Maritzburg on February 3, 4 and 5.

Alex plans march for third time

RESIDENTS of Alexandra township are preparing for a march and mass rally on February 3 to demonstrate to the Government their "serious grievances" about housing and the township's upgrading scheme.

Should permission for the march be refused, the Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) has pledged to "defy the authorities in our thousands".

Mr Obed Bapela, a spokesman for the ACO said in a statement yesterday that last year permission for two planned marches was refused by a Randburg magistrate and the Alexandra City Council.

"This led to a tense situation and the detention of members of the ACO, who immediately embarked on a hunger strike," Bapela said.

"We were surprised to learn that our applications were turned down. We do not know why, except that the council had written an affidavit to the magistrate telling him not to allow the march as we are their political enemies.

"Our people are still asking: 'Why are marches allowed in other townships and not in Alexandra?' The march was, and still is, going to be peaceful. We demand the right to march and this time if they do not allow us, we will defy in our thousands," he said.

Replies

Bapela said applications to hold the march and rally had been sent to a Randburg magistrate, the Alex City Council and the Sandton City Council.

The ACO was still awaiting replies.

* A protest march is being planned by residents of the Asherville and Masizakhe townships in Graaff Reinet for the same day.

Former ANC secretary-general Mr Walter Sisulu, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Dr Allan Boesak and regional president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape Mr Edgar Ngoyi, have been invited to lead the march.



WALTER SISULU

The three men are to address a rally after the march.

An application to hold the event has been made to the magistrate and town clerk.- Sapa.

MDM plans City march

(327

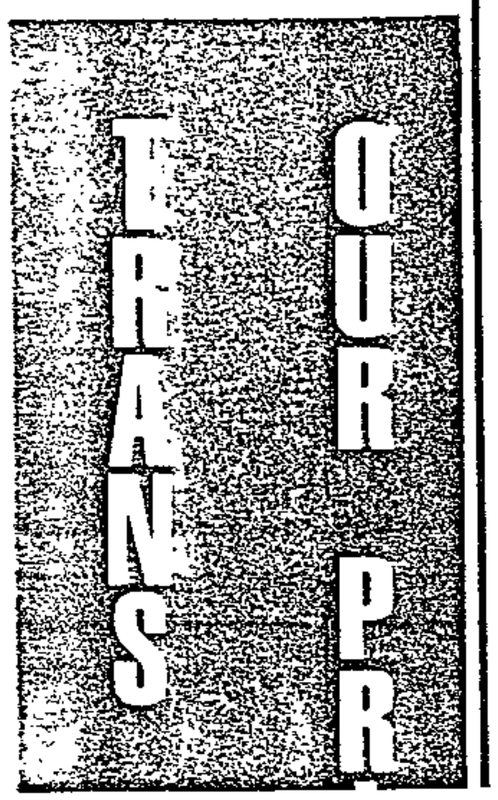
A MASS march through central Cape Town is due to take place when parliament opens next Friday.

The "people's march" is being organised by the Defiance Campaign Committee of the Mass Democratic Movement. Sat 25/11/90 - 30/11/90

The marchers plan to present a list of demands to parliament.

These include an end to the rebel cricket tour, the scrapping of the Labour Relations Act, the resolution of the marathon SATS strike and demands for housing and education.

● See page four



Ex-ANC men in police squad

Cape Times 25/1/90

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Police used "rehabilitated" ANC terrorists and a captured AK-47 assault rifle to infiltrate ANC cadres in Natal's troubled areas.

This was heard at an inquest in the Regional Court here yesterday into the killing of four activists in Chesterville in June 1986 by an alleged SAP hit-squad.

Brigadier Willem Schoon, now retired, was officer commanding a Pretoria-based SAP security unit called Section C at the time.

Group C-1, an anti-terrorism squad, was sent to "investigate the wave of terrorist incidents in Natal at that stage", said Brig Schoon.

Hehad authorised the use of an AK-47 assault rifle by group C-1, which was to pose as an ANC cadre and meet and infiltrate other ANC groups.

"It was not meant to be fired. It was only to be shown in case their authenticity (as an ANC cadre) was questioned," Brig Schoon said.

Mr G H Penzorn, appearing for the families of the dead, suggested that this was a dangerous tactic, because group C-1 might have been seen as an ANC cadre by people not sympathetic to the ANC.

Asked about the use of squads of ex-ANC guerillas in police counter-insurgency operations, Brig Schoon explained that the men were used to "trace their former comrades" so the police could arrest them.

Group C-1 was formed partly of regular policemen and partly of ex-guerillas. A seven-member squad of C-1 policemen, including three ex-guerillas, are alleged to have been involved in the Chesterville killings.

Major Eugene de Kok, head of the C-1 group, said the group was sent to "aid" Natal police with their investigations into terrorist incidents.

Mr Penzorn questioned the necessity for C-1 to aid investigations into incidents in Natal, "some of which had already come to court".

Major De Kok replied that often not all members of a cadre were arrested and C-1 was employed to find the remaining members so they could also be brought to trial.

Major De Kok said he found the rehabilitated guerillas to be "stable and responsible" and added that they were used because they were aware of "certain attitudes and language used by the ANC".

The inquest continues today

Cape protest damage: police prepare docket

By Craig Kotze

Police will send a docket to the Attorney-General for his decision on the way this week's protest march in Cape Town was conducted, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday.

The general said an investigation was being conducted into the damage caused by demonstrators who had robbed people, damaged parked cars and buildings, and looted several businesses.

"The way in which demonstrators caused damage and threw stones and other objects at vehicles leaves no doubt they had come with premeditation to the city centre, and had these objects on them beforehand to use during the ensuing violence.

"I once again emphasise that the SAP did everything in its power to let demonstrators disperse in a peaceful manner, but that the organisers refused to lend an ear to police requests."

Police had contacted the organisers and told them that permission for the march had to be obtained from the chief magistrate. This was not done.

Earlier this week, the organisers were again told that permission had not yet been obtained. They were warned that the police could not, and would not, allow the march if permission had not been obtained.

"In the light of this, the police had no choice than to prevent the protest. The subsequent violence therefore had nothing to do with the police and did also not take place during confrontation with the police," he added. Star 25/11/90

No clarity on Mandela after Cabinet talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Cabinet completed its first meeting of the year yesterday with no indication of what decision, if any, had been made on the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Government sources said that although the question of a release date for Mr Mandela had been discussed, no decision had been reached.

This could not be confirmed officially. President F W de Klerk's office had no comment on the meeting.

The Mandela question attracted unprecedented media interest in the Cabinet meeting and hordes of foreign and local journalists laid siege to the official presidential office at Tuynhuys where the Cabinet met.

It was expected that the Cabinet would also discuss other questions concerning the Government's effort to create a climate for negotiation.

Chief among these was whether or not the African National Congress should be unbanned at the same time as Mr Mandela was released.

Government sources have indicated that there is increasing support in the Cabinet for unbanning the ANC as Mr Mandela is released so that he is not released into a negotiation "vacuum".

The Cabinet was also likely to have discussed an apparent deterioration recently in the protest situation.

The Government's new policy of allowing peaceful legal protests is showing signs of going sour as opposition groups increasingly refuse to ask permission — and the police warn that they will stop illegal protests.

This was dramatically illustrated in Cape Town on Tuesday when police dispersed an illegal NECC gathering.

It is also clear that a damaging confrontation is looming between the Government and the opposition National Sports Council (NSC) over protests against the English rebel cricket tour. The NSC has vowed it will not ask for permission while the police insist that illegal protests will not be tolerated.

Government sources suggested other probable items on the Cabinet's agenda were, a plan to restructure the economy, measures to scrap the Separate Amenities Act and possible amendments to the Labour Relations Act.

Star 25/1/90 (327)

Police patrol Carletonville

Two shot dead, many hurt after protest meeting

By Montshiwa Moroke

At least two people were shot and killed and several were wounded after more than 5 000 people attended a protest meeting at the Khutsong stadium, Carletonville, yesterday.

Unconfirmed reports said two other unidentified men had also died.

The police public relations directorate confirmed that police had fatally wounded two men with birdshot and had arrested one man and 12 youths.

One of those killed was Mr Zanempi Benjamin Tshoba (39) of LTA section, a father of two teenage children.

The identity of the other dead man, who was allegedly shot near the Hlabangeza Lower Primary School, had not been established at the time of going to press.

Witnesses said some of those injured had been shot with rubber bullets.

Township sealed

The township was still tense late yesterday as police continued to patrol the streets. Burnt-out tyres, car wrecks, rocks and other debris blocked the main street.

Police manned a roadblock about 500 m from the entrance to the township. Residents said the roadlocks had been set up late on Tuesday.

Residents said thousands started gathering at the local stadium at about 9 am in preparation for a peaceful march to the Oberholzer police station.

The march was to have taken place to protest against police brutality in the township and the death last week of a 16-year-old Mbuyiselo Phiri. Family members and the UDF have alleged he died after being picked up by police for questioning on Tuesday.

The UDF has called for an official investigation into his death and the interrogation methods used by police.

A spokesman said Carletonville's chief magistrate and police were informed about the march on Tuesday, but permission for it to be held was not sought.

Residents told reporters the stadium had been packed to capacity and crowds were also outside.

They said police had surrounded the stadium as the crowd left. The protesters moved out into the township and were followed by police vehicles.

They said police chased youths as they sang and chanted freedom songs and did the toyi-toyi. Teargas was allegedly fired into yards of homes.

Earlier, the township had been sealed off by police. The press and non-residents were barred from entering.

Thousands of workers and pupils stayed home as they heeded a call by activists. Taxis did not operate and buses went only as far as the men's hostel at the entrance to the township.

The police public relations directore issued an interim unrest report which said that at about 9 am yesterday about 5 000 people gathered at the Khutsong stadium. At about 10.30 am they left the stadium and started gathering in the streets.

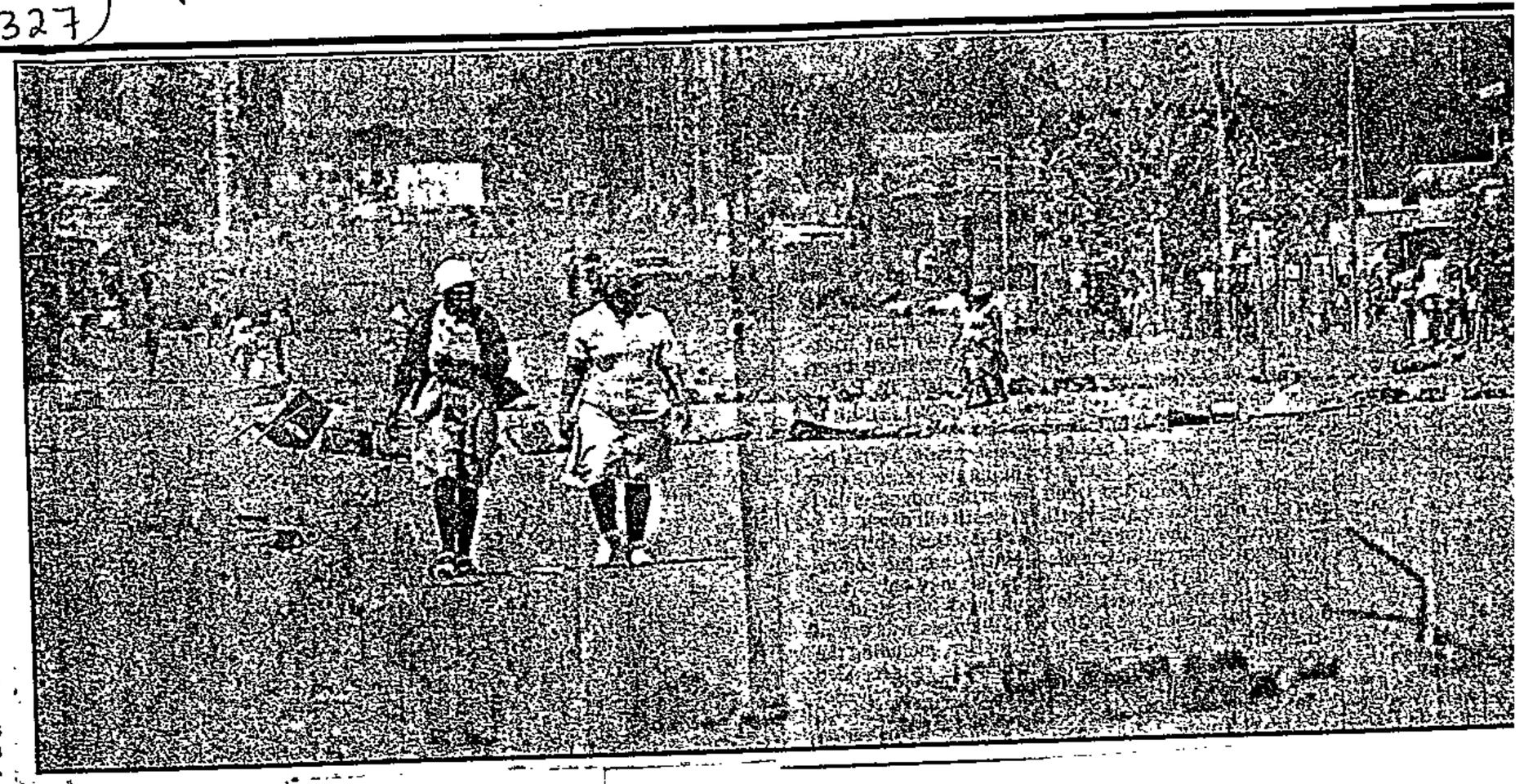
Shortly before midday, police came across an unruly group. They were warned to disperse, but started stoning the police, said the report. Teargas and birdshot were used.

Shortly after this another police vehicle was stoned. Police said they used shotgun fire (mainly birdshot) to disperse the stone-throwers. Four men were wounded, two fatally.

About two hours later a patrol came across a mob stoning a policeman's house. Teargas was fired.

Another patrol in the area was stoned, said the report, and shots were fired in the air to disperse the crowd. One man was reported to have been injured.

One man and 12 youths were arrested on charges which include malicious damage to property, possession of a petrol bomb and public violence.



This was the scene in Nxumalo Street, Khutsong, Carletonville, yesterday, after police fired birdshot and teargas at protesters who had earlier gathered at the local stadium for a planned march to the Carletonville police station. ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza.

FIM 26/1/90 (327)

receive from abroad.

The organisations include the Kagiso Trust, Idasa, End Conscription Campaign and Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre.

Wilgespruit director Dale White said its council was due to meet on Tuesday to consider its response. Wilgespruit was informed that it had been put on the register in a letter from the Registrar of Reporting Organisations, Pieter Kleynhans, on January 12. He is employed by the Justice Department.

In terms of the Act, which came into force in August, any organisation or person receiving funds from outside SA may be declared a reporting organisation. Once they've reported, they are obliged to disclose the amount they receive; name and address of the donor; for what purpose it is to be used; and any conditions attached. In addition, the organisations must keep a separate account of these funds, records of transactions affecting them, and have those accounts seen by auditors of their choice. The registrar must report annually to parliament.

Justice Department sources say it does not matter for what purpose the money comes in, nor can the money be seized by government in terms of this Act. However, it is a criminal offence to use the money for any other purpose than stated.

Stiff penalties (fines up to R40 000 or three years' jail or both) are provided for contraventions of some sections. Hindering or refusing to provide the information could mean a fine of R4 000 or a year in jail, or both.

The Act empowers the court to direct a financial institution to hold control of such an account, or to direct the organisation to deposit such funds. In a conviction, the court may order the reporting organisation or financial institution to return the money to its foreign source.

At least 50 organisations have been looked into by the registrar. Some have been exempted, some declared, and responses are still awaited from others.

The registrar sets about his task by getting information on organisations from various sources, including newspapers. Inquiries are then made to substantiate the information, and the amount of cash involved is considered. He then writes to them about the information he has gathered, inviting representations before declaring an organisation to be a "reporting" one.

The criteria used include the fact that foreign funds are likely to be received in future; that it is a "substantial" amount; and the "implications" of having it "declared."

In its original form as the Promotion of Orderly Politics Bill, introduced in parliament early in 1988, the legislation caused major controversy. It was then referred to an all-party select committee, which proposed the new version unanimously passed by parliament last March. ■

FIM 26/1/90 (327)

Acag calls for more Press freedom

SA HAD to move away from its history of repressive censorship and establish an environment in which a free Press could flourish, the Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) said in a statement yesterday.

Criminal investigations and prosecutions against journalists had increased in a systematic attempt to use the courts to enforce emergency control, Acag said.

"Journalists and editors have been charged in connection with stories run more than a year ago, allegedly violating either emergency regulations or one

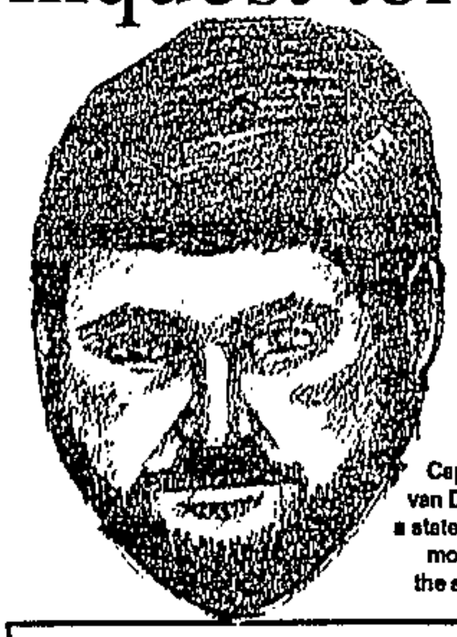
THEO RAWANA

of the maze of laws which clamp down on the public's right to know.

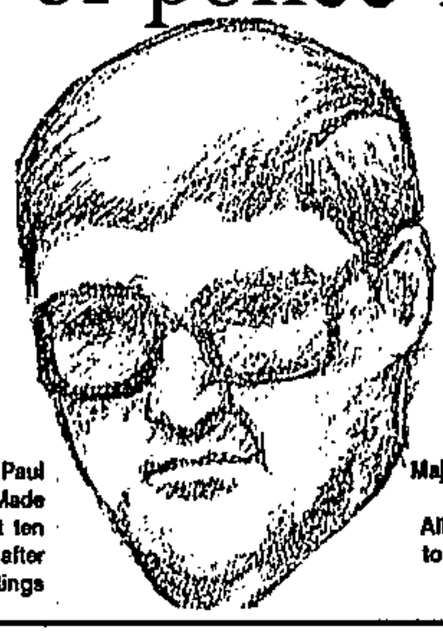
"Printers have been charged with printing pamphlets dealing with such 'subversive' issues as education . . . journalists have been arrested for demonstrating in favour of a free Press," it said.

It was urgent that SA should establish an environment in which a free Press could flourish, based on Article 19 of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

'Hit-squad' inquest told of police-issued AK-47



Captain Paul van Dyk: Made a statement ten months after the shootings



Major Eugene de Kock: Alleged links to two police ambushes



Brigadier Willem Schoon: Allegedly fitted Mxenge's radio into his own car

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

THREE senior officers, alleged by former security force colleagues to be police hit squad leaders, have all denied responsibility for an incident during June 1986 in which four youths were killed.

Brigadier Willem Schoon, Major Eugene Alexander de Kock and Captain Paul van Dyk, were giving evidence at the inquest into the deaths of four youths from Durban's Chesterville township, killed by members of a secret security unit, "C1", based at Vlakplaas outside Pretoria. Police say they intended to arrest the youths, but the plan went wrong. Families of the dead boys however, say they believe police did not intend to arrest their children, but planned to kill them.

All three officers were part of the command structure of the unit, but claimed they were not in charge of the field group responsible for the shooting of the youths.

Schoon (now retired) told the court he had headed the anti-terrorist desk at security headquarters and that Section C1 fell under his overall command.

In June 1986 he gave Section C1 permission to draw an AK47 from police stores. He said the weapon was to be used to establish the credibility of members of the unit when they tried to infiltrate suspect operations. He denied any further knowledge of the incident in which the four were killed.

De Kock, on voluntary suspension pending the outcome of an investigation into the hit squad allegations, said because of the serious security situation in Durban at that time, he decided on the "drastic" step of using an AK47 to help infiltrate operations in the area.

The weapon was to be used only to establish credibility and not for shooting. After the attempted infiltration went wrong and the four youths were killed, he ordered that no further attempts at infiltration using an AK47 should be made.

Yesterday's hearing ended with a legal wrangle when the first of three "ascaris", former African National Congress guerillas who have since joined the South African Police and who participated in the incident during which the four were killed, was called to give evidence.

Counsel for the police, Gideon Lotz SC, said the witness had told him they refused to give evidence in open court, despite a ruling from the magistrate that they would have to do so. He said an application would be made to the Supreme Court for the magistrate's decision to be set aside.

Both counsel for the families, Guido Penzhorn, and magistrate Ben Olivier, asked why the application had not already been brought since the case was adjourned on November 6 to allow time for such an application. Mr Lotz said the inquest was "not the only matter with which I am dealing" and said he would do what he could to bring it to court quickly.

The case was adjourned until noon today, by which time the magistrate said he wanted an order from the Supreme Court barring him from hearing the "ascaris" in open court, otherwise the case would continue.

This week's hearing provided unexpected collaboration of a claim made by death row prisoner, Butana Nofomela, who first alleged the existance of hit squads.

In a statement to lawyers dealing with a number of issues, Nofomela claimed De Kock had been in Durban at the time of the Chesterville incident. However, at that time there had been no suggestion by any of the police witnesses that De Kock was in the vicinity and there was some doubt about whether Nofomela was correct.

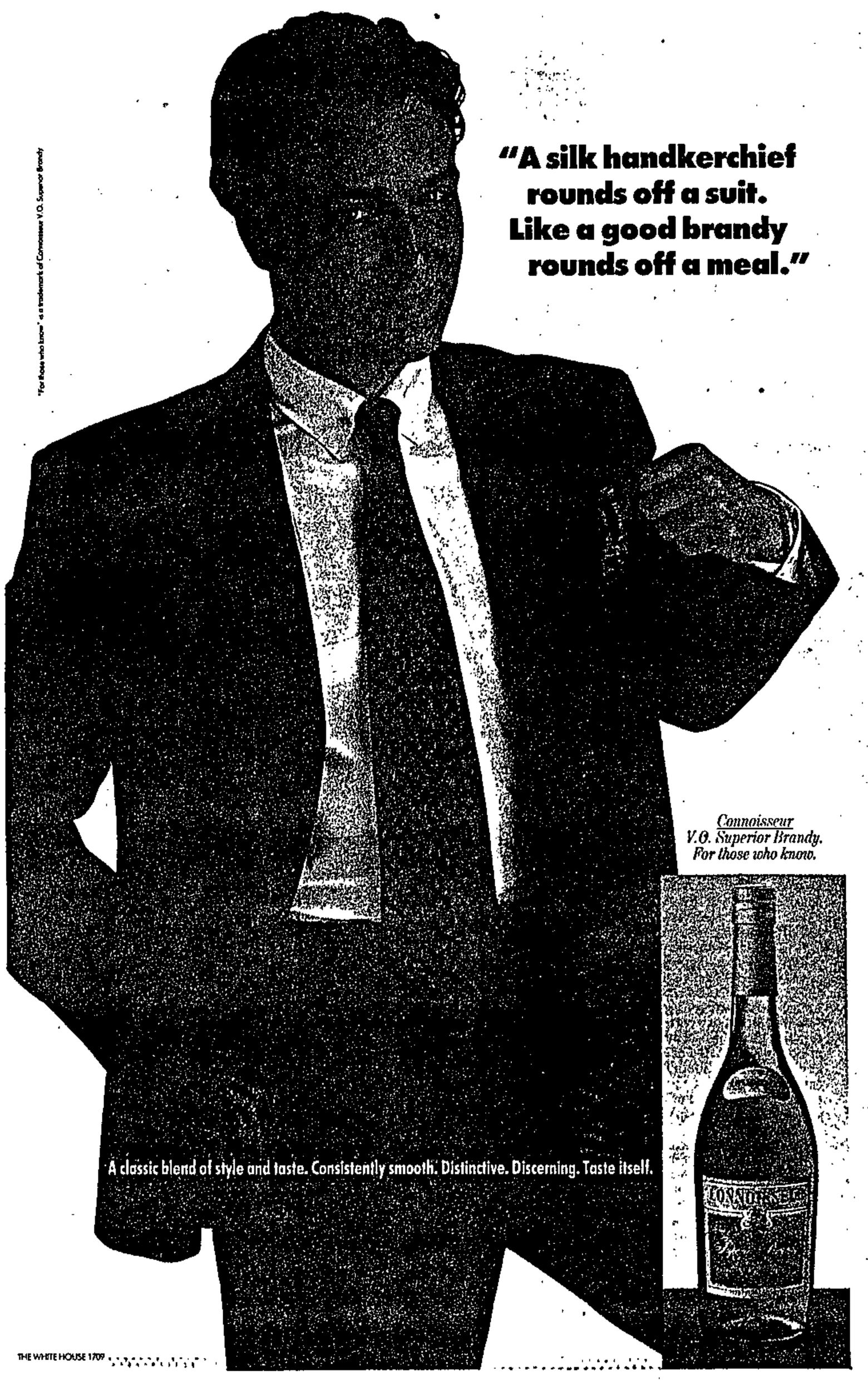
During cross-examination of De Kock, however, he said he came down to Durban from Pretoria the day after the unit arrived and was in Durban until after the incident.

He said he had nothing to do with the Chesterville incident, as he had delegated responsibility for that operation to others and was working on other matters.

This week's court hearing was the first time the three officers named as members of the hit squads have appeared in public since the allegations were first made.

One of the claims against Schoon is that he had a radio from the car of Durban civil rights lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge, fitted in his own vehicle after the attorney was stabbed to death.

De Kock has been linked to a number of deaths, including the shooting of a man at point-blank range to prevent him from identifying De Kock and his accomplices. He is also linked to at least two other operations in which police ambushes resulted in deaths.



DEFENCE BUDGET F|M 26|1|90

Leaner and hungrier

The massive reduction in SA Defence Force and Armscor activities (announced in Pretoria last week) is apparently aimed at achieving a cut of at least 20% in defence spending. This means the allocation for defence may be slashed from last year's R10bn to about R8bn. This is the level it was in 1988.

Generals who announced the reductions declined to quantify the likely saving but it must be considerable.

The cuts include the disbanding or scaling down of various navy and SAAF units; the sale of redundant equipment; postponement or cancellation of armaments projects and testing; a reduction in operating costs; and the laying off of workers. National service will be cut from two years to 12 months.

Apart from direct savings, the cuts will have a considerable ripple effect throughout Armscor and its extensive network of private contractors. Eleven of the SADF's major weapons acquisition projects have been cancelled; another 49 have been reduced or postponed. At least 10% of Armscor's 21 000 workers will be laid off, retired or not replaced when they leave.

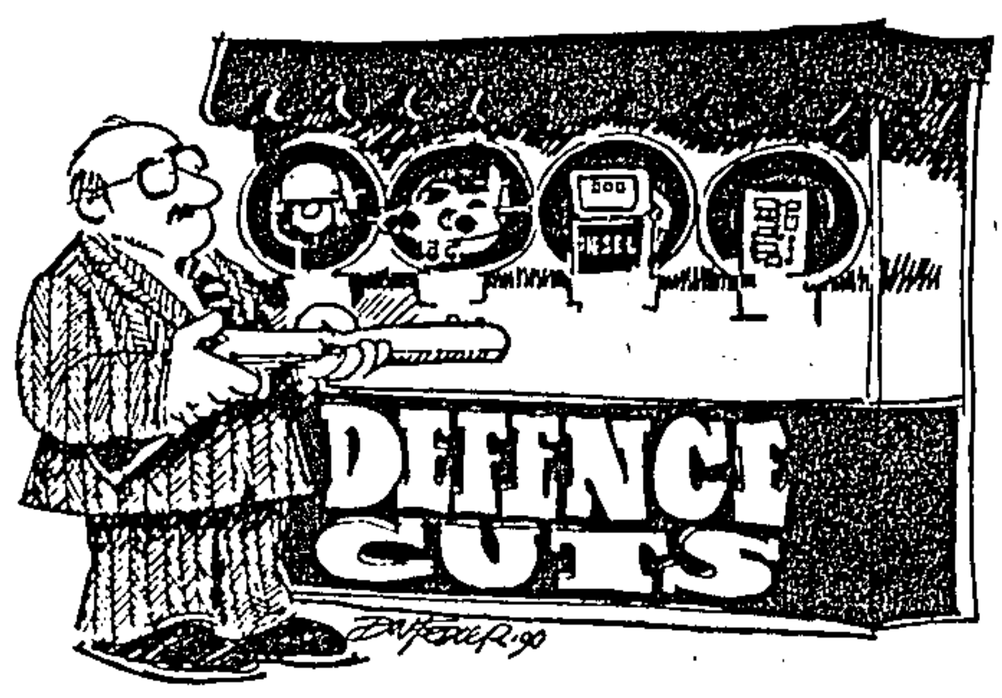
There is some concern that the cuts will have a negative impact on the electronics industry. Military electronics is one of the largest sectors of the industry and is particularly important in research and development. Analysts believe, however, that the SADF will not allow research to wind down to such an extent that SA loses the valuable ground it has covered in this area in recent years.

The cuts represent the most significant cost saving measure so far in President F W de Klerk's five months in Tuynhuys. They also indicate once again the shift in priorities from the security establishment under P W Botha to economic reform and social upliftment under De Klerk.

DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz says there is no doubt that the cutbacks are significant in money terms. However, he adds the actual saving and ripple effects are almost impossible to determine: the current cost of the services to be curtailed is unknown and the budgets of Armscor and its private sector contractors are not disclosed.

According to Schwarz, the political significance of the cuts is threefold: they demonstrate a genuine desire to get to grips with the level of State spending; show a desire for peace in southern Africa and, as such, are a signal to the Frontline states; and they're a message of reconciliation to all South Africans.

The reduction in troop levels will possibly



mean a withdrawal of forces from black townships and a decrease in the military's role in preventing civil violence.

Schwarz believes government will try to cut spending across the board in real terms but will face major problems with inflation running officially at 15%. Public service demands for pay hikes will be difficult to ignore, as will the need for more funds for the police, health services, education and general infrastructure, particularly in black areas.

"The tragedy is that we will probably see increases in current spending due to salary demands, but there will be a drastic cutback in capital expenditure."

He suggests that other savings could come through rationalising State departments, not replacing civil servants who leave or retire, privatisation and less money for homeland bureaucracies.

Schwarz believes demands during the constitutional negotiations, for which all sides are now preparing, will not only focus on political issues, but also on the need for socio-economic upliftment, for which money will have to be found somewhere. (*see Leaders*) ■

FOREIGN FUNDING F|M 26|1|90

The moving finger

The first "reporting organisations" to be registered in terms of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act have been asked by government to provide details of money they

(327)

50 000 march on town

B10 aug 26/1/90

ABOUT 50 000 representatives of the Vosloorus Crisis Committee (or civic association) handed a written complaint about high electricity rates and rents and infrastructural problems to the township's mayor and town clerk at the municipal offices on the East Rand yesterday, police said.

Police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman said the protesters marched from the Vosloorus sports stadium.

The march, authorised by a Boksburg magistrate, took place peacefully, with police maintaining a "low profile", he said. — Sapa. (327)

Judge rejects plea to release Barnard

PRETORIA. — An urgent application for the release from detention of former policeman Mr Ferdinand Barnard was dismissed with costs in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Mr Barnard is being held in connection with the assassinations of Swapo activist Mr Anton Lubowski in Windhoek on September 12 last year and University of the Witatersrand lecturer and activist Dr David Webster in Johannesburg on May 1 last year.

On Tuesday Mr Barnard's father, Colonel Piet Barnard, also a former policeman, applied urgently, for a second time, for his son's release on the grounds that no reason existed for his further detention, as Mr Barnard had no knowledge of the murders or the right-wing organisation allegedly involved. An earlier application was withdrawn.

Mr Justice H J Preiss yesterday dismissed the application, saying the facts revealed to the court by the police were, from an objective point of view, adequate to justify Mr Barnard's further detention.

He said enough facts had been revealed for the court to reasonably judge the police's suspicion that Mr Barnard was withholding vital information in connection with a right-wing organisation responsible for various violent crimes as well as the Webster and Lubowski murders.

From Windhoek it is reported that Mr Donald Acheson, an Irish national, is to stand trial in the Supreme Court there on April 18 for the murder of Mr Lubowski.

— Sapa

Move to fight press curbs

Star 27/11/90

MONDAY afternoon sees the start of a conference which is aimed at restructuring, renaming and drawing up a new constitution for the Save the Press Campaign.

With the urgent need for a free and uncensored media environment in South Africa, the Save the Press Campaign has also called the conference in order to redefine its constituency.

The meeting hopes to bring together the various organisations opposed to censorship and to launch an orchestrated campaign against it.

STAFF REPORTER

The meeting has been organised by the campaign's interim committee, which is chaired by former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Mr Raymond Louw. The committee plans to include representatives from other anti-censorship organisations to form a united front.

MEDIATOR: Krish Naidoo and protesters ask Dr Ali Bacher to intervene on their behalf at a roadblock. ● Pictures by Sean Woods

Permission to picket may not be enough

MIKE SHAFTO



BLUE WALL: Riot police seal off the road to the cricket ground.

KIMBERLEY — Dr Ali Bacher's "breakthrough" in securing permission for demonstrators to picket cricket grounds may not be enough to avoid growing tension among anti-tour protesters, some people believe.

They say the situation after two straight days of successful demonstrations, could grow even more tense.

They pointed out that Mr Krish Naidoo, general secretary of the National Sports Congress, could not guarantee to control other elements in the loosely allied parts that make up the volatile demonstration machine.

Dr Bacher on the other hand pointed out that never before had Mr Naidoo agreed to desist from trying to disrupt play and to limit demonstrations against a match to a peaceful vigil outside the particular venue.

A weary but jubiland Dr Bacher last night hailed the granting of permission to demonstrate as a breakthrough.

In the course of negotiations between Dr Bacher, for the SA Cricket Union, Mr Naidoo, and senior police officers, the SACU managing director extracted a promise from Mr Naidoo that he would restrict his followers to peaceful demonstration outside the club premises.

"I cannot speak for those who may have tickets and gained entrance to the ground itself," Mr Naidoo told Bacher. "But all we want is the right to demonstrate peacefully to register prostest against the tour. I give you my word we will not try to enter the grounds or disrupt play."

Dr Bacher said he hoped to have "retrieved the situation" by obtaining permission for the demonstration. He believed it could be a "turning point for the tour".

"Let us agree to differ on the tour itself," he said. "But this is what we have hoped to achieve all along — a fair compromise. The protesters are allowed the right of peaceful demonstration and we in turn can get on with the tour, with the right to play also being conceded by our opposition."

There are fears however, of a backlash today that could cause renewed violence following incidents yesterday.

Demonstrators returning from the long hot, day were held up at a police roadblock in Regiment's Way and are alleged to have gone on the rampage, damaging a string of cars.

At least 16 cars had their windows and/or windscreens smashed by bricks as chanting youths made their way along Lennox Street, near the England team's hotel.

Police with batons

● TO PAGE 2.

Picket

● FROM PAGE 1.

were immediately called.

Said one witness: "The pavements on both sides of the street were littered with shoes as those who had done the damage tried to flee the police. I saw several being hit with batons."

Police said there were some injuries but declined to give details.

Apparently some innocent bystanders, including women — one reported to be pregnant and carrying a baby in her arms — were reported to have been knocked down by fleeing demonstrators.

The police estimate of the damage to cars in Lennox Street at between R17 000 and R20 000.

Dr Bacher said police had given him an assurance that there would be no roadblocks today — the second day of the opening game — and protesters would be allowed to proceed to their mustering point unhindered.

From page 1

National Congress cell.

The policemen were fired upon and returned fire in self-defence.

At an earlier hearing last year, Mr J J Lotz, SC, for the police, applied for the undercover policemen, formerly ANC members, to give their evidence in camera to protect them. The magistrate dismissed this application.

Mr Lotz then announced that he would apply to the Supreme Court to upset the magistrate's ruling. Yesterday Mr Lotz said he had been instructed not to proceed with the Supreme Court application.

Mr Olivier said he would allow witnesses to give their evidence behind the screens, which were erected around the witness stand so witnesses could not be seen from the public gallery.

The witnesses were visible to the magistrate and lawyers for the state, families of the dead men and the police.

The court was cleared while the first witness was brought into court, then the public was allowed in.

The court heard how an ex-ANC guerilla recruited by the police pumped 16 rounds from an AK-47 assault rifle into a shed in Chesterville. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Screens in court hide 'hit squad' witnesses

DURBAN. — Screens to hide witnesses from spectators in the public gallery were erected yesterday in a courtroom in which an inquest into the deaths of four Chesterville men is being conducted.

The inquest before Mr B J Olivier in the Durban Regional Court is into the deaths of Mr Russell Mngomezulu, 23, Mr Mutuwenkosi Khanyile, 24, Mr Joseph Mthembu, 20, and Mr Sandile Khawala, 23, who were shot dead by undercover policemen in June 1986.

The families of the men claim they were victims of an alleged hit squad.

The police deny this, saying the undercover men were trying to infiltrate an alleged African

To page 2

Power politics and the telly revolution

S/Times 20/11/90 (327)



Desmond Colborne

Paris director of the SA Foundation, examines the role of television in politics

WHEN Mr F W de Klerk goes before the TV cameras of the world for the opening of Parliament, he will no doubt be aware of the power of television as a shaper of events.

So a great deal will depend on how F W, other major players and our country at large come across on television.

The way we perform before the relentless eye of the camera in combination with negotiating and other political skills can make a decisive difference.

While events in Eastern Europe have diverted attention from South Africa, they have demonstrated that, in taking or retaining power, control of the cameras counts for nearly as much as control of the guns. Television can make and break revolutions.

What took place in Rumania, for instance, was a "telly revolution". A television studio was both platform and headquarters of the rebellion. Meeting in the studio, the rebels announced Ceausescu's downfall, formed the new government and directed the fighting against Ceausescu's rearguard supporters — all this live, in front of the cameras.

Throughout Rumania and the world, television viewers felt as if they were there in the streets of Bucharest, ducking the bullets flying across the TV screens. Few political events have been marked by such a widespread feeling of involvement.

Flounder

An earlier televised turning point in Rumania came when Ceausescu summoned the crowds which, instead of offering their support, torpedoed him. In midharangue, he was hissed and booed.

He floundered, the TV image froze, and transmission was abruptly cut. Thanks to television, everyone could see that Ceausescu's game was up.

Similarly, in showing his trial and exhibiting his corpse, television pulled down the final curtain.

Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, television amplified and accelerated the hurricane of change. It provided role models on how to challenge the State. Previously, it prepared the way for change.

In Poland and Czechoslovakia, an important arm of anti-regime forces was video cameras and underground TV broadcasts.

Despite Poland's poverty, there are 3-million video cameras among its 38-million people. Said Mr Lech Walesa: "We owe our victory — half-way anyway — to television".

When Solidarity took over the government in Poland, it allowed the communists to retain control of the Defence and Interior ministries — until recently seen as the two keys to control. But Solidarity insisted on controlling the new means of power — radio and television.

Czech journalists working for State-run television rebelled against censorship and insisted on reporting the demonstrations. And, as Timothy Garton Ash has pointed out, "the crucial medium" was television.

"As in all this year's central European revolutions/transformations, the battle for access to television and radio was one of the two or three most important political issues," he said.

A well-known journalist became the new Foreign Minister and experts in film, theatre and drama played a key role in Czechoslovakia, putting into power the playwright president, Mr Vaclav Havel — "at once director, playwright, stage manager, and leading actor in this, his greatest play".

But the main actor/playwright/television star on the European and, in fact, the world stage, is, of course, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev (who incidentally enjoyed amateur dramatics in his student days).

Revive

Popular discontent with the dead-end societies of Eastern Europe would probably not have boiled over if it had not been for Mr Gorbachev. He was the trigger, he unleashed the expectations.

In trying to renew communism and revive near-moribund societies, he made great use of television. He wanted the Soviet people to face facts. He sought to use television to mobilise and redirect their energies. Television reporting was released from its ideological straitjacket.

On television, Mr Gorbachev became a winner. He soon dropped the hatted and waistcoated manner of his early days — a relic of the Brezhnev school — and became a master of the media, smiling, hoisting children aloft and staging walkabouts among admirers.

The enthusiasm he set off, particularly in the West, was called Gorbymania — even Gorbasm.

But now Mr Gorbachev will need all these skills and many more to avoid being buried under the crumbling debris of the Soviet empire. As the cracks open up, can he communicate — on television and elsewhere — with increasingly divergent constituencies?

Under increasing pressure, Mr Gorbachev has been losing his cool. Some time ago, he rounded on his erstwhile allies, the media, saying they were lighting matches while standing in a pool of petrol.

In national liberation struggles in the Soviet Union's "Deep South", video cassettes and "people's TV" will no doubt play a part. In Azerbaijan, a clandestine radio station called Freedom has already been set up.

Says BBC editor Garron Baines: "The survival of regimes around the world may in future depend on keeping other people's video images off television sets at home."

Rebels

As was demonstrated in China, television can be used in repression as effectively as in liberation. After the Tiananmen Square crackdown, the Chinese authorities used television to track down rebels and then, as a warning, televised their humiliating trials.

In understanding current events, the "cooler", more analytic medium of written journalism is as necessary as ever. In Eastern Europe, where people are retrieving their lost past, an understanding of this past is also an essential guide to the future.

Ex-guerilla tells of 'opening fire' on township hut

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — An ex-ANC guerilla recruited by the police pumped 16 rounds from an AK-47 assault rifle into a shed in Chesterville, the Regional Court here was told.

Hidden by two large wooden screens, Constable Thabu Paulos Makgage gave evidence on Friday at the inquest into the deaths of four young activists in Chesterville in June 1986. He and six other members of alleged SAP hit squad "Section C-1", including a woman ex-guerilla, are alleged to have been involved in the killings.

Const Makgage admitted before Mr B J Olivier to having been recruited by the ANC while employed by the Chamber of Mines. He said he served in Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) from 1976 till 1979 and underwent military training in Angola.

Ex-ANC member

He claimed he surrendered to police in 1979 after he grew unhappy with the "things" the ANC cadres were ordered to do and in December 1980 joined the SAP security branch.

A statement made to police by Const Makgage soon after the shooting and read out to the court by prosecutor Mr R V Holland said Const Makgage and six others — including Const Virginia Shosha, also an ex-ANC member — drove into Chesterville at 11.30pm on June 19, 1986, armed with a captured AK-47 and posing as an ANC cadre. They had orders, it said, to find and arrest suspected "Young Comrades" member Mr Charles Ngcobo.

They were taken to a hut in which Mr Ngcobo and five other "comrades" were gathering rifles and handgrenades.

They were fired at from the hut. They opened fire on the shed before fleeing.

MDM to march on Parliament

(327)

Sowetan 30/11/90

THE Mass Democratic Movement is to march on Parliament on Friday to call for the resignation of the ruling government and the immediate release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Permission to march will not be sought from the chief magistrate. However, the MDM are meeting the Cape Town city council this week to discuss traffic arrangements.

Mrs Winnie Mandela and her children will also join the march.

United Democratic Front press secretary Ms (Req) Cheryl Carolus said the MDM had decided to "relaunch the defiance campaign" because the National Party government could not be relied on to bring about change.

"We are on the threshhold of a new era. The pace will not be set by Mr de Klerk but by the people of South Africa," she said.

When the State President opened Parliament on Friday he would have a "chance to prove himself" by disassociating himself from racism .

Ms Carolus said it was hoped that Mr de Klerk would announce plans to dissolve the tricameral Parliament.

The march is planned for the "vast majority" to add the voice of the voteless to the proceedings.

The decision not to apply to the magistrate came about because the MDM was convinced the NP was using the question of permits to "manipulate and thwart protests".

Marches in Paarl, Robertson, Ashton, Knysna and De Aar had been denied and delayed by magistrates.

The right to peaceful assembly was a "constitutional right and not a presidential privilege", she said.

The MDM had a "strong commitment" to peaceful, disciplined protest. This had been demonstrated at the UDF launch, where 15 000 people met in a hall designed for 900.

It was not a publicity stunt to say that there was a direct correlation between violence and the presence of police, she added.

The MDM was prepared to give an "unqualified commitment" to maintaining discipline as long as the police were controlled.

Gunmen hit the home of Cape unionist

Star 30/11/90

EAST LONDON — Unknown gunmen launched a handgrenade and machinegun attack on the home of a Mdantsane trade unionist early yesterday — the second time in 13 months he has narrowly escaped death.

Mr Jeff Wabena, an organiser for the South African Domestic Workers' Union, was shot in the leg and sustained cuts from flying glass during the 1 am attack on his NU 10 home.

His wife and six children were away from home.

Mr Wabena's car, which was standing in front of the house, was damaged and all the tyres were shot out.

Furniture in the room where Mr Wabena was sleeping was riddled with bullet-holes, as were inside walls.

In a similar attack at the same house a year ago, two women were shot dead, and Mr Wabena, another unionist, and a civil rights lawyer, Mr Hintsa Siwisa, were injured.

A shaken Mr Wabena said he woke to the sound of gunfire. He turned on an outside light and saw a white Toyota Corolla drive off. A neighbour called an ambulance, and he was taken to Cecilia Makiwane Hospital for treatment.

Ciskei police could not be reached for comment.

Revenue official guilty of fraud

Own Correspondent

A former assistant director in the Receiver of Revenue's office in Pretoria was found guilty in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday on three charges of fraud involving more than R188 000.

Johannes Francois van Aswegen (41), of Stasie Street, Pretoria North, pleaded guilty to the three charges before Mr W A J van Zyl yesterday.

He admitted that on April 8 1987 he falsely, and with the intent to defraud, pretended to the Commissioner of Inland Revenue that a J Adam made a request to the Commissioner for a new cheque for unclaimed money.

The money was paid out and Van Aswegen deposited the amount into his personal account.

Van Aswegen admitted that in March 1988, in the same manner, he claimed R33 559 in the name of J F van Oswagen. This money was also deposited into his personal account.

Between March 1989 and September 1989, Van Aswegen admitted he claimed R133 559 in the name of J van As.

In mitigation of sentence, Mr A J Kachelhoffer, for Van Aswegen, said the Department of Finance had requested the accused to resign following his arrest in October.

Van Aswegen was curently unemployed.

Mr van Zyl said he needed time to consider the various aspects of the case and postponed the trial to February 6 for sentencing.

Van Aswegen's bail of R10 000 was extended.

Swart fulfils his promise as

Star 30/11/90

Casspirs pull out of Soweto

(327)

By Craig Kotze

Soweto's new police chief yesterday fulfilled his promise to withdraw Casspirs from the township when six of the armoured vehicles were sent back to Pretoria in a blaze of publicity.

The Casspirs, which have been linked for years with images of township unrest, were replaced by minibuses, each with its own complement of policemen.

Major-General Johan Swart promised when he took over the reins as Soweto's police chief earlier this month that he would try to phase out the Casspirs altogether, saying the first six would leave within three weeks.

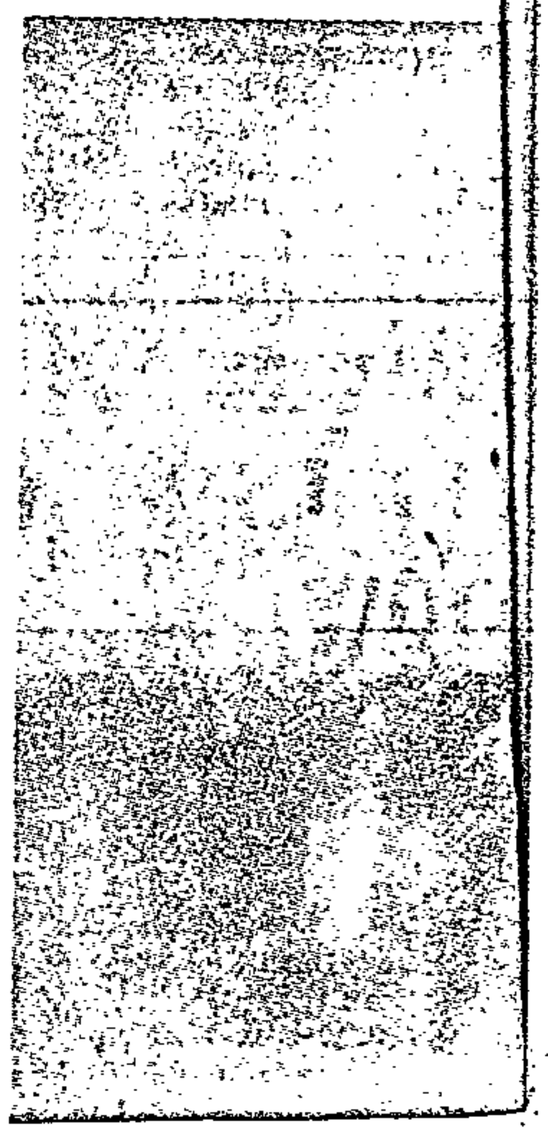
He said the township had virtually returned to normal. The Casspirs were cumbersome and not suited to policing tasks.

However, not all the vehicles have been withdrawn. Total withdrawal would depend on whether finance became available for replacement vehicles, and on the security situation.

General Swart made it clear yesterday that he would not hesitate to recall the vehicles if the situation deteriorated.

General Swart has also managed to drastically reduce crime in the sprawling township — weekend murder and other serious crime figures have fallen by up to 60 percent.

General Swart has also pledged to try to reduce crime further.



Eleven pupils reported

Star 30/1/90 (327)

Bid to scrap censorship laws and halt Govt control of TV, radio

Campaign to end press curbs launched

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

A concerted effort to counter press censorship and to ensure a free press in a post-apartheid society was launched in Johannesburg yesterday.

For the first time, organisations across the political divide joined forces to campaign against all restrictions on the press, including the media regulations.

Representatives of more than 20 organisations and publications attended the meeting, at which the interim Save the Press Campaign — launched last year — resolved to rename the initiative the Campaign for Open Media (COM).

Speakers stressed the need for a united and organised campaign against Government repression of the media.

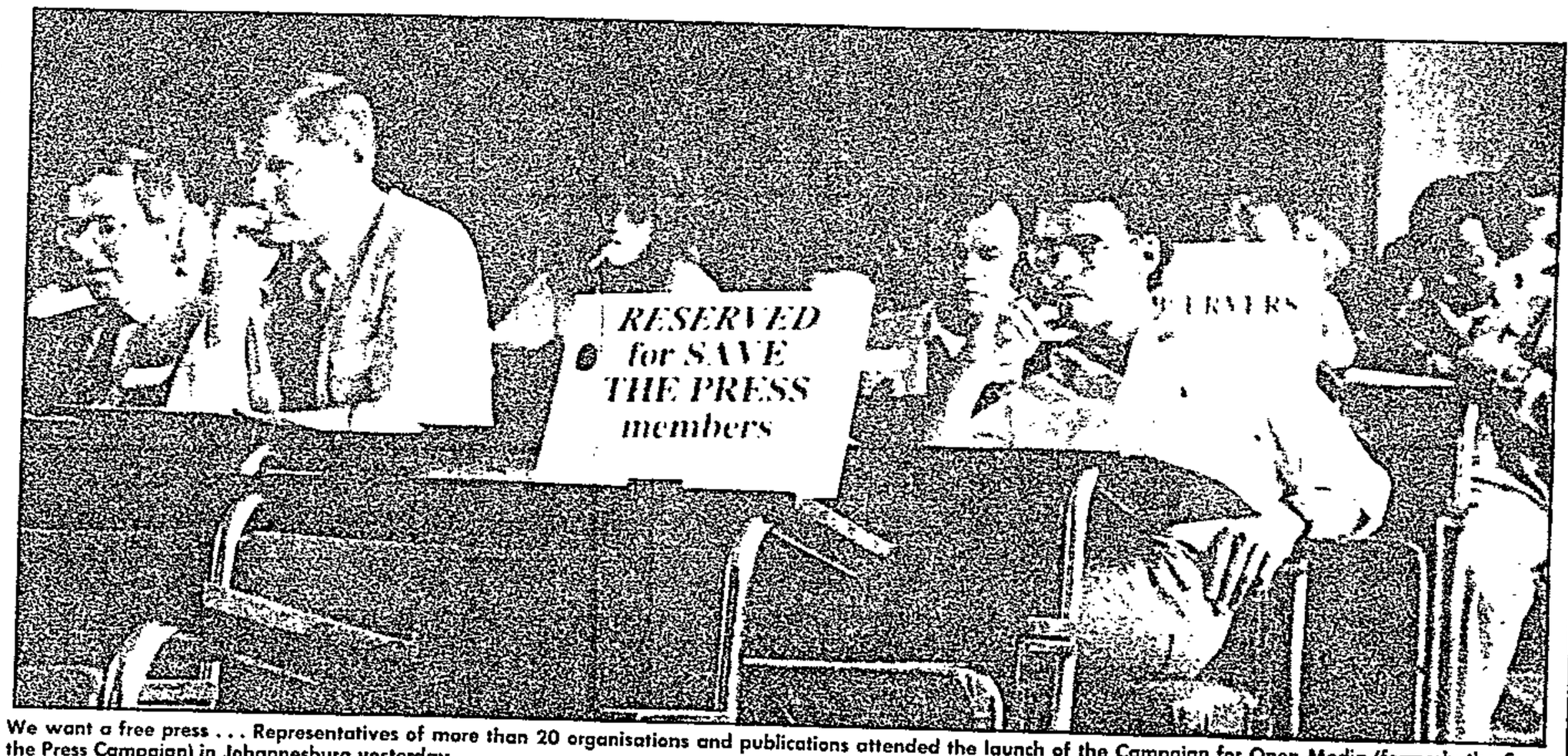
Mr John Matisonn, a radio correspondent for various overseas news media who chaired the meeting, said the campaign would be aimed at "making the public aware of what they are deprived of".

COM would campaign for the lifting of the state of emergency, the scrapping of all censorship laws, the opening of all sources of information and the removal of Government control of television and radio.

It would also campaign for a moratorium on all prosecutions and the setting aside of all convictions of journalists and media workers for actions taken in the course of their duties.

Among the delegates were Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, *New Nation* acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana, UDF executive members Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Azhar Cachalia and representatives of the Black Sash, Women for Peace and Cosatu.

Four people were elected to the COM — Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, restricted editor of *New Nation*, *Weekly Mail* co-editor Mr Anton Harber, *The Indicator* editor Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, and Mr Matisonn.



We want a free press . . . Representatives of more than 20 organisations and publications attended the launch of the Campaign for Open Media (formerly the Save the Press Campaign) in Johannesburg yesterday. ● Picture by Karen Sandison.

Make media democratic – UDF

Political Reporter

A free press should be a crucial pillar of a democratic society, Mr Azhar Cachalia, an executive member of the United Democratic Front, said yesterday at the launch of the Campaign for Open Media (COM).

Over more than four decades, "a myriad of draconian legislation" had been used to close newspapers, harass journalists and control the public's access to information.

"The effect of this was that the public, more particularly our white compatriots, were left totally uninformed and ill-equipped to deal with the challenges that face this society."

Mr Cachalia said basic rights and freedoms should be guaranteed by law in a democratic society — regardless of the government in power.

"If we want to ensure that our future government will protect all basic freedoms, it is up to us now, in the way we wage our struggles, to create the conditions which will make it impossible for any future government to retreat from this commitment."

Mr Cachalia added that access to the media was currently limited because the Government controlled the broadcasting media and a handful of privately-owned corporations largely controlled the print media.

"One of our urgent tasks therefore is to look at how we begin to democratise both the control of and access to information."

'Public denied vital information'

By Esmaré van der Merwe

South Africans could not take responsible decisions on a new political dispensation while being deprived of vital information on all the political actors, former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Mr Raymond Louw said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of a concerted campaign against censorship, Mr Louw said trust, negotiations and reconciliation were impossible while people were being denied the right to express their views or to be informed about other people's views.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

"The real challenge facing South Africa is to let the people know what is going on and let them speak so that all can hear them. You cannot have reconciliation, good faith and trust while there is such an all-pervading silence and such terrible ignorance."

He said the Government was itself breaking its laws daily by allowing the media to quote restricted individuals and members of still-banned organisations such as the African National Congress.

"We do not hold with such pussy-footing. We say scrap the banning laws now and let the people be heard. Stop detaining people so that they can be heard. Scrap the media emergency regulations so that we can all see and hear what is going on around us."

Mr Louw said the media regulations, which had been in force for more than three years, had effectively prevented access to "a frightening amount of information". Uninformed people could not make responsible decisions on a future dispensation.

"The people of this country are faced with the momentous task which in essence involves the reassessment and overturning of policies of decades, and rebuilding a new South Africa with value systems that will lift this country back into the community of civilised nations. Yet the people are being denied vital information to enable them to even think about these issues, let alone make decisions on them," he said.

Sable, the 700 ha town consists of a school, a business complex, three banks, a church, residential stands, a post office, a police station, a holiday resort and some houses.
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"I was absolutely deafened because it is not every day that a new Monet is verified."

been painted there because bridges would have blocked the view.

mean to say that another man will come and take over the presidency."

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Star 30/1/90 (327)

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"One of our urgent tasks therefore is to look at how we begin to democratise both the control of and access to information."

'Public denied vital information'

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EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

"The real challenge facing South Africa is to let the people know what is going on and let them speak so that all can hear them. You cannot have reconciliation, good faith and trust while there is such an all-pervading silence and such terrible ignorance."

He said the Government was itself breaking its laws daily by allowing the media to quote restricted individuals and members of still-banned organisations such as the African National Congress.

"We do not hold with such pussy-footing. We say scrap the banning laws now and let the people be heard. Stop detaining people so that they can be heard. Scrap the media emergency regulations so that we can all see and hear what is going on around us."

Mr Louw said the media regulations, which had been in force for more than three years, had effectively prevented access to "a frightening amount of information". Uninformed people could not make responsible decisions on a future dispensation.

"The people of this country are faced with the momentous task which in essence involves the reassessment and overturning of policies of decades, and rebuilding a new South Africa with value systems that will lift this country back into the community of civilised nations. Yet the people are being denied vital information to enable them to even think about these issues, let alone make decisions on them," he said.

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Sable, the /ORIA TOWN complex, three school, a business complex, three banks, a church, residential stands, a post office, a police station, a holiday resort and some houses.
"I was absolutely delighted, because it is not every day that a new Monet is verified."
been painted there because bridges would have blocked the view.
Mbeki to say that another man will come and take over the presidency."
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January 30 1990

Star 30/1/90 (327)

Bid to scrap censorship laws and halt Govt control of TV, radio

Campaign to end press curbs launched

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

A concerted effort to counter press censorship and to ensure a free press in a post-apartheid society was launched in Johannesburg yesterday.

For the first time, organisations across the political divide joined forces to campaign against all restrictions on the press, including the media regulations.

Representatives of more than 20 organisations and publications attended the meeting, at which the interim Save the Press Campaign — launched last year — resolved to rename the initiative the Campaign for Open Media (COM).

Speakers stressed the need for a united and organised campaign against Government repression of the media.

Mr John Matisonn, a radio correspondent for various overseas news media who chaired the meeting, said the campaign would be aimed at "making the public aware of what they are deprived of".

COM would campaign for the lifting of the state of emergency, the scrapping of all censorship laws, the opening of all sources of information and the removal of Government control of television and radio.

It would also campaign for a moratorium on all prosecutions and the setting aside of all convictions of journalists and media workers for actions taken in the course of their duties.

Among the delegates were Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, *New Nation* acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana, UDF executive members Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Mr Azhar Cachalia and representatives of the Black Sash, Women for Peace and Cosatu.

Four people were elected to the COM — Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, restricted editor of *New Nation*, *Weekly Mail* co-editor Mr Anton Harber, *The Indicator* editor Mr Ameen Akhalwaya, and Mr Matisonn.



We want a free press . . . Representatives of more than 20 organisations and publications attended the launch of the Campaign for Open Media (formerly the Save the Press Campaign) in Johannesburg yesterday. ● Picture by Karen Sandison.

Make media democratic – UDF

Political Reporter

A free press should be a crucial pillar of a democratic society, Mr Azhar Cachalia, an executive member of the United Democratic Front, said yesterday at the launch of the Campaign for Open Media (COM).

Over more than four decades, "a myriad of draconian legislation" had been used to close newspapers, harass journalists and control the public's access to information.

"The effect of this was that the public, more particularly our white compatriots, were left totally uninformed and ill-equipped to deal with the challenges that face this society."

Mr Cachalia said basic rights and freedoms should be guaranteed by law in a democratic society — regardless of the government in power.

"If we want to ensure that our future government will protect all basic freedoms, it is up to us now, in the way we wage our struggles, to create the conditions which will make it impossible for any future government to retreat from this commitment."

Mr Cachalia added that access to the media was currently limited because the Government controlled the broadcasting media and a handful of privately-owned corporations largely controlled the print media.

"One of our urgent tasks therefore is to look at how we begin to democratise both the control of and access to information."

'Public denied vital information'

By Esmaré van der Merwe

South Africans could not take responsible decisions on a new political dispensation while being deprived of vital information on all the political actors, former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Mr Raymond Louw said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of a concerted campaign against censorship, Mr Louw said trust, negotiations and reconciliation were impossible while people were being denied the right to express their views or to be informed about other people's views.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

"The real challenge facing South Africa is to let the people know what is going on and let them speak so that all can hear them. You cannot have reconciliation, good faith and trust while there is such an all-pervading silence and such terrible ignorance."

He said the Government was itself breaking its laws daily by allowing the media to quote restricted individuals and members of still-banned organisations such as the African National Congress.

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Mr Louw said the media regulations, which had been in force for more than three years, had effectively prevented access to "a frightening amount of information". Uninformed people could not make responsible decisions on a future dispensation.

"The people of this country are faced with the momentous task which in essence involves the reassessment and overturning of policies of decades, and rebuilding a new South Africa with value systems that will lift this country back into the community of civilised nations. Yet the people are being denied vital information to enable them to even think about these issues, let alone make decisions on them," he said.

Hotel staff heckle rebels

Sowetan 327
30/11/90

MIKE Gatting and his rebel English cricketers had their first taste of a Free State demonstration against the tour in Bloemfontein yesterday.

But it is unlikely any of them were aware of it. Most of them were still in their rooms undisturbed after arriving late last night in a sudden switch of plans.

The team originally was due to have arrived this morning.

The demonstration was broken up by police just over half-an-hour after it started.

It was the customary protest by workers of the team's hotel, a luxury, newly-built establishment on the outskirts of Bloemfontein.

About 40 chanting workers lined up outside the hotel to begin a demonstration agreed with hotel management to last 15 minutes.

The demonstrators, chanting "Mandela, Mandela, Mandela", seemed reluctant to abandon the protest after the allotted 15 minutes. They held aloft many red, painted posters with messages such as "Gatting, Understand Naidoo", "Away with Apartheid Sport, Viva Democracy" and the usual "No to Rebel Tour."

A major in charge of a detail of 12 men in three vehicles, denied he had been called out by the hotel management.

Protests could derail reforms

CAPE TOWN — As speculation continues over a release date for ANC leader Nelson Mandela, there is consternation in government ranks that protest marches planned for this week could delay his release — and plans to unban outlawed organisations.

There is also growing concern about protests against Mike Gattings' English rebel cricket team.

A government source said yesterday it was highly unlikely Mandela would be released within a week either side of President F W de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

But a mid-February release could be delayed if the planned marches got out of hand, he said.

He warned that any outbreak of the lawlessness which characterised the 1984-86 years would set back the pace of reform, halt plans to lift the state of emergency and unban organisations and even delay the release of Mandela.

If government is concerned about events leading up to Friday's speech, Mandela has

Political Staff

apparently also added a new dimension to release plans, because he is not happy with the planned staggered lifting of the emergency, and the ban on certain organisations.

An indication that a further snag had arisen was given by Winnie Mandela when she was interviewed after visiting Mandela at the weekend.

The source said that at this stage government planned a phased change, starting with a partial lifting of the emergency on Friday. This would effect the print media and also end the restrictions on a number of organisations — organisations such as the UDF, Cosatu and Azapo, some of which have unofficially unbanned themselves already.

The emergency would be further relaxed in time, depending on the security situation.

The second phase involved the release of

☐ To Page 2

Protests

☐ From Page 1

Mandela and the third an end to the ban on the ANC and PAC, he said.

Government not only wanted the changes staggered because of the security situation, but, according to a Cabinet Minister, because it wants to "milk" the events to its own advantage.

He said the British and US governments would not be unhappy with the package envisaged by government.

At this stage a great deal depends on the "security climate" over the next few days and whether marches and protests aginst the cricket tour take place without incident.

Sapa reports that Winnie Mandela and her children will take part in a protest march to Parliament on Friday organised by the mass democratic movement (MDM) to demand the end of apartheid.

UDF publicity secretary Cheryl Carolus said at a Press conference that one of the demands would be the immediate release of Mandela.

Marchers would also demand the resignation of the government and the dissolution of the tricameral parliament.

The MDM will not ask magisterial permission for the march but had "no problem" in co-operating "fully" with the Cape Town City Council. It had met traffic officials yesterday afternoon to discuss traffic arrangments for the march — scheduled to start at 9 am.

Carolus said the council had indicated its support for the right to peaceful assembly. The MDM hoped nobody in the city council would ask permission for the march on behalf of the movement.

UDF regional vice-president Dullah Omar said the issue of Mandela's release had been used as a "bargain counter" by government and it was unlikely he would be released before mid-February.

Cachalia backs free press body

JOHANNESBURG. — The struggle against censorship and for freedom of the press was not isolated, but was inextricably linked to the fight for a united, non-racial democratic South Africa, the national treasurer of the UDF, Mr Azhar Cachalia, said yesterday.

He was speaking at an anti-censorship conference at the University of the Witwatersrand which was attended by about 100 people, including top newspaper editors and senior journalists.

The gathering was convened to launch the Campaign for an Open Media (Com), an organisation with the object of fighting censorship and media restrictions.

Mr Cachalia said the UDF had little hesitation in supporting this cause which was for a fundamental human right "which in any democratic society must be guaranteed by law".

Com said in a statement that former prime ministers and presidents who had promised reform proved by their actions that a free press was not part of their programme.

For this reason there was profound scepticism in the South African media community that the era of President F W de Klerk would prove different.

Com's interim chairman and former editor of the now defunct Rand Daily Mail, Mr Raymond Louw, said the organisation planned to intensify the campaign till the media were free and able to operate unfettered. — Sapa

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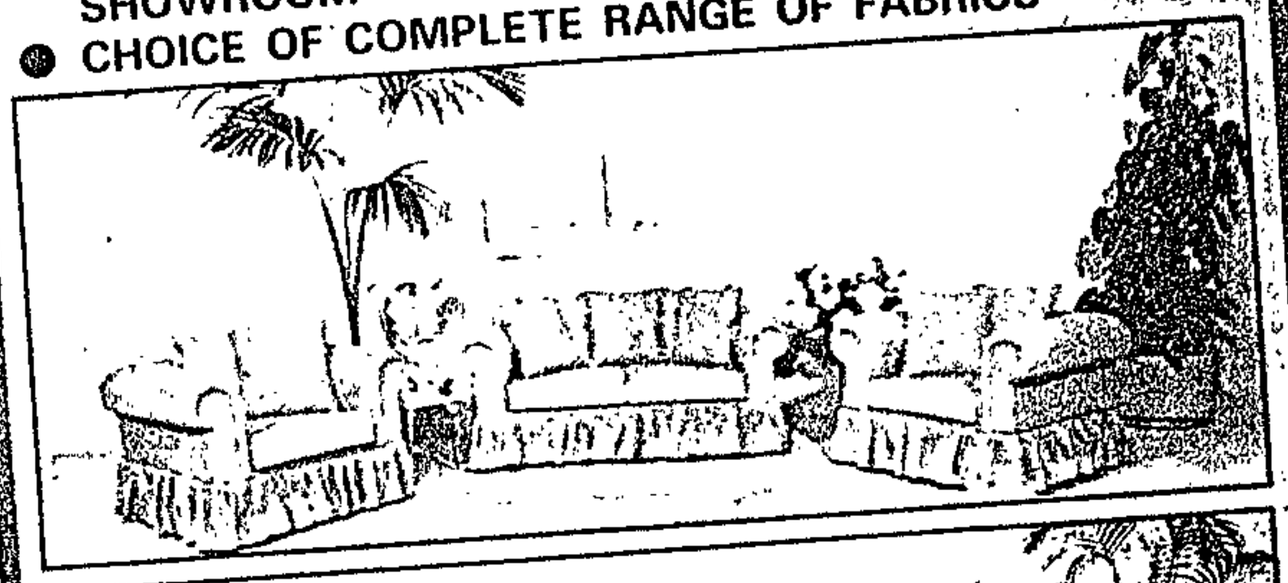

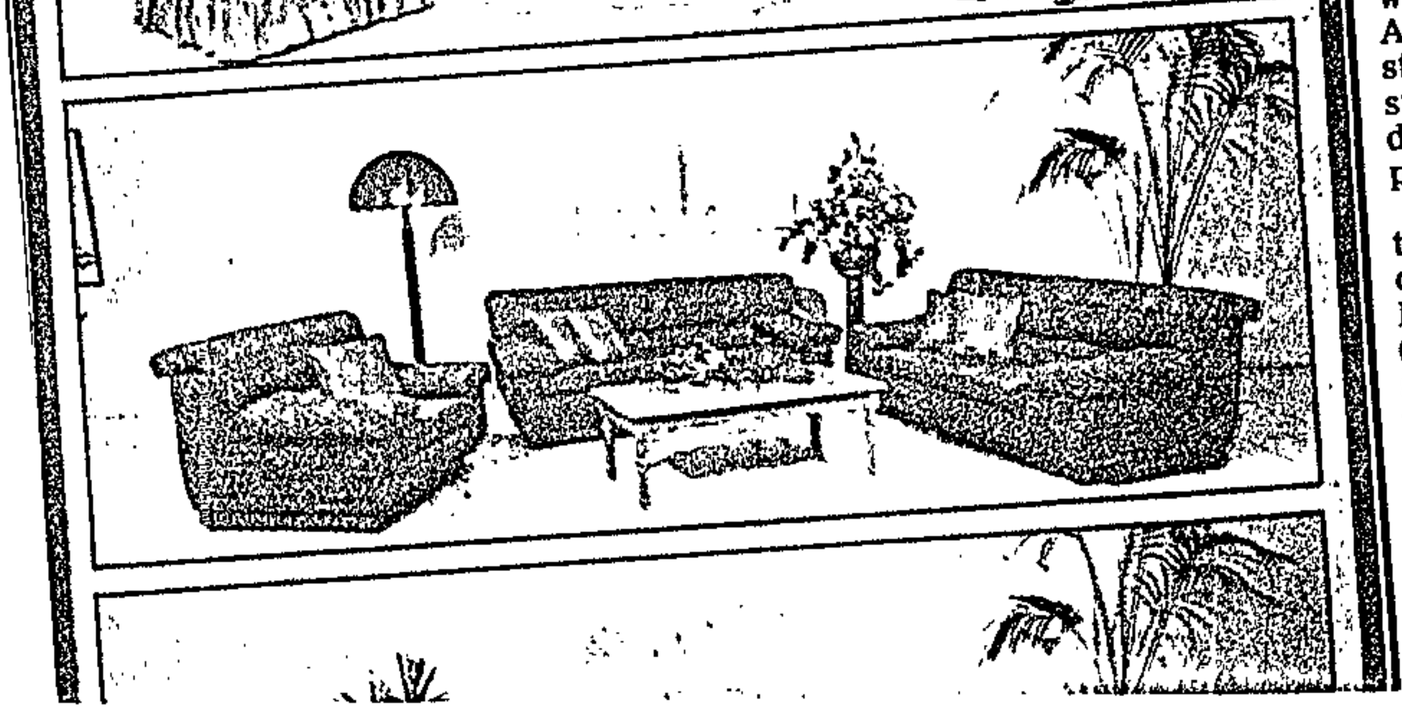

to be named Commandeur of the Order of Arts and Letters, one of France's highest honours, the culture ministry said yesterday. Dylan, 48, best known as the 1960s folk-singer of protest against social injustice, is giving four concerts in Paris. He will receive the award from Culture Minister Mr Jack Lang today. — Sapa-Reuter

Clash appearance

BOKSBURG. — Two men arrested at Boksburg Lake on Saturday appeared in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday.

The men were arrested following sporadic clashes between right-wingers and residents of Reiger Park and Vosloorus who were holding a demonstration picnic at the lake. — Sapa

From page 1

the constitution allowing for "preventative detention" without trial for 30 days. If passed, it will also also allow for the 30 days to be extended up to 12 months.

Before it can be passed the constitution needs the support of two-thirds of the 72 members of the assembly — and Swapo, with 42 members, is relying on backing from its six opposition parties.

Swapo's main opposition, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), is totally opposed to the detention without trial clause.

Detention without trial is a sticky issue, with some assembly members arguing that it was used by South Africa for many years to stifle opposition to those struggling for independence and strongly opposing apartheid.

Mr Moses Katjiuongua, the sole representative of the opposition National Patriotic Front (NPF), said: "A clause should be written into the constitution allowing a person detained without trial for no reason to be able to sue the state. This would deter the state from arbitrarily detaining people."

Cop emptied pistol into shack, court told

DURBAN. — An ex-PAC terrorist said he emptied a 9mm service pistol into a shack in Chesterville "in self-defence" without ever seeing the six youths in the shack, in an incident in which four young men are alleged to have died at the hands of an SAP hit squad.

Giving evidence in the screened-off witness stand before Mr B J Olivier at the inquest here yesterday was Constable Mampotoko Makgopa of security branch headquarters in Pretoria.

Const Makgopa was a member of counter-insurgency squad Section C-1 which entered Chesterville in June 1986, allegedly with orders to "trace and arrest" suspected young comrade Mr Charles Ngcobo.

In his statement to police soon after the shootings, which was read to the court by prosecutor Mr R V Holland, Const Makgopa claimed that after two undercover policemen walked out of the shack where six suspected young comrades waited, a shot was heard behind them "in our direction", at which he and six other members of Section C-1 — one a policewoman — fired on the shed.

"I fired through the wooden wall until my gun was empty," Const Makgopa said, admitting later that he was unable to see inside the shack.

He said he disagreed with the use of the term "operation" in his statement, as he felt "investigation" was more appropriate. When he was challenged as to how an incident which left four dead could be described as an "investigation", he replied that the killings were not planned.

Const Makgopa said he joined the PAC in 1978 and was given military training. He gradually became dissatisfied with the policies of the PAC and he joined the SAP in 1985, his decision motivated, he said, by a desire to "protect people from dangerous people".

Earlier, witness Const Thabu Paulos Makgage, the ex-ANC guerilla who wielded a captured AK-47 during the operation, was cross-examined by Mr G H Penzhorn, for the families of the dead youths.

Mr Penzhorn suggested that "with all the policemen out of the shack, the intention was to do something other than arrest the suspects". Const Makgage denied this.

The hearing continues today.

Zim press to see Coetsee?

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — The African National Congress hopes on Thursday to present alleged South African hit-squad members Dirk Coetsee and Heine Human to the Harare press corps, sources here confirmed yesterday.

The organisation is keeping the whereabouts of the two men a close secret, possibly while it obtains the approval of the Zimbabwean government for the planned media event.

Never before has President Robert Mugabe acknowledged the presence of men involved in the "armed struggle", in any capacity, on Zambian soil.

Sources suggested the ANC might present other alleged South African hit-squad members

Dylan honoured

PARIS — Bob Dylan

CAM- Trials 30/11/90

6 Casspirs withdrawn from Soweto

JOHANNESBURG. — Six Casspirs were withdrawn from Soweto and replaced with minibus patrol vehicles yesterday following an undertaking by the newly appointed police commissioner for the area, Major-General Johan Swart, to remove all 20 of the vehicles from the township.

"I made a promise and I stuck to it," General Swart said yesterday.

The situation of troops in the township would have to be assessed before any decision on the issue was made, General Swart said after his appointment earlier this month.

"We will try to remove the remaining 14 Casspirs from Soweto if the situation in the township remains as stable as it is now," Soweto SAP liaison officer Colonel Thienie Halgryn said at Soweto police station.

A media gathering watched the Casspirs leave Soweto police station yesterday for Pretoria to be replaced by six new Toyota minibuses.

Colonel Halgryn said General Swart had stated he would try to have all the Casspirs removed by the end of the next financial year.

"The Casspirs are being removed from Soweto because of the stable conditions prevailing here. They are also too cumbersome, costly and less effective than a patrol van.

"We want to ensure effective policing takes place in Soweto," Colonel Halgryn said.

General Swart was appointed to his new position on January 2, and urged the public to see the removal of the Casspirs as a "tangible sign of goodwill on behalf of the police".

General Swart replaced Brigadier J J Viktor and was transferred from police headquarters in Pretoria where he served as the chief co-ordinator of the De Witt Committee of investigation into the restructuring of the police force.

He has repeatedly asked for closer co-operation between police and the community of Soweto and has urged residents not to hesitate to contact the police. — Sapa

Swart fulfils his promise as Casspirs pull out of Soweto

Star 30/11/90

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By Craig Kotze

Soweto's new police chief yesterday fulfilled his promise to withdraw Casspirs from the township when six of the armoured vehicles were sent back to Pretoria in a blaze of publicity.

The Casspirs, which have been linked for years with images of township unrest, were replaced by minibuses, each with its own complement of policemen.

Major-General Johan Swart promised when he took over the reins as Soweto's police chief earlier this month that he would try to phase out the Casspirs altogether, saying the first six would leave within three weeks.

He said the township had virtually returned to normal. The Casspirs were cumbersome and not suited to policing tasks.

However, not all the vehicles have been withdrawn. Total withdrawal would depend on whether finance became available for replacement vehicles, and on the security situation.

General Swart made it clear yesterday that he would not hesitate to recall the vehicles if the situation deteriorated.

General Swart has also managed to drastically reduce crime in the sprawling township — weekend murder and other serious crime figures have fallen by up to 60 percent.

General Swart has also pledged to try to reduce crime further.

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Protesters are 'shock troops of revolution'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

People who participate in protest marches are the "shock troops of revolution", Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Opening the annual congress of the right-wing Mineworkers' Union, Dr Treurnicht said liberal activists were trying to intimidate the Government by a show of force. Their aim was to force the Government to the negotiating table in such a way as to get the Government to agree to black majority rule even before entering into negotiations.

While the revolutionary climate in South Africa was on the increase, the Government did not act because it feared unfavourable international publicity and renewed sanctions pressure.

"The so-called peaceful protest march on Parliament on Friday will show whether this Government is serious about firm government or whether it will allow itself to be intimidated," said Dr Treurnicht.

He said the African National Congress should be treated as a banned organisation and "not be treated to tea and cake in Tuynhuys" or be allowed to demonstrate in white areas.

It also should not be allowed to "sit around the same table negotiating a common constitution" which would be applicable to white South Africa.

MWU president Mr Cor de Jager said forced integration in the mining industry would lead to bitter conflict between white and black.

He called on the Government to pay attention to the rights of white mineworkers "in order to defuse the very tense situation".

Bid to defuse and legalise march plans

Star 31/1/90

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By Peter Fabricius and Michael Shafto

Firm steps have been taken to legalise a series of political protest marches planned in South Africa from today to the end of the week.

The first takes place in Cape Town this afternoon in protest against police disruption of a National Education Co-ordinating Committee meeting in the city last week. The Government has given the go-ahead for the march.

Also today, a protest is being planned in Bloemfontein by the Free State committee of the National Sports Congress against the rebel English cricket tour. An approach is being made today to the chief magistrate of Bloemfontein "to test the sincerity of the authorities".

They will ask the magistrate for a permit on behalf of the NSC to mount a demonstration against the Mike Gatting English rebel tour, on the second day of the tourists' match against the SA Universities XI at Springbok Park.

"If Ali Bacher, who doesn't come from here and isn't one of us, can get a permit on our behalf, why can't we do the same?" said an NSC spokesman.

He was referring to events yesterday which saw the MD of Sacu repeat his role in Kimberley at the first match of the tour, and once again obtain permission for a legal demonstration at the Bloemfontein game.

A third march will take place in Cape Town tomorrow in protest against alleged police death squads. Permission has been applied for and is expected to be granted for this march.

INTENSE NEGOTIATIONS

Permission has not yet been granted for the MDM's planned mass march on Parliament to call for the institution to be abolished and replaced with a fully democratic Parliament.

It is understood that negotiations will begin today to attempt to resolve this problem.

The decision on today's march in Cape Town was made by Cape Town's chief magistrate, Mr W P Theron, after a day of intense behind-the-scenes negotiations among Cabinet Ministers, the Democratic Party, Cape Town mayor Mr Gordon Oliver, and the MDM, but today no one would say who had asked for permission.

It was clear that some face-saving formula had been found to resolve the stand-off between the police, who have been insisting that permission would have to be asked for, and the MDM, which has insisted that it would not apply for permission.

Sources close to the talks said today that, in fact, no one had asked for permission but that Mr Theron had granted it "after obtaining the information he would have obtained had permission been sought".

Mr Theron has confirmed that it was neither the MDM nor any other protest organisation which applied.

Some Government sources were beginning to express fears that the mounting spate of confrontations between police and protestors could sour the climate for negotiations and delay major reform moves.

Webster's friend to join protest march

(327)

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CAPE TOWN — Miss Maggie Friedman, girlfriend of murdered civil rights academic Dr David Webster, will join a protest march in Cape Town tomorrow in support of the campaign for a judicial inquiry into alleged hit squads in the SA Police.

A spokesperson for the campaign said yesterday support had been received from professors in law and related subjects from Bloemfontein and Pretoria universities, Cape Town Mayor Mr Gordon Oliver and his deputy, Mr F van der Velden.

Satirist Pieter Dirk-Uys has also undertaken to join the march which will leave the Grand Parade tomorrow at 7.30 pm for Tuynhuys where it is hoped the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, will accept a formal petition.

The marchers have been asked to bring torchlights to symbolise the light of justice. — Sapa.

A willful plot to derail the Government's reform initiatives

SAP warns: unrest growing

Star 31/11/90 327

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

A top police spokesman warned last night that there had been a definite increase in unrest, partly the result of "those who wilfully seek to derail the Government's reform initiatives" and partly the result of recent labour unrest.

The growing number of protest actions, which resulted from the Government's relaxation of political restrictions, often led to incidents of unrest, Major-General Herman Stadler said.

"I believe this tendency (of increased unrest) arises during any process of change. I would like to call on people to adhere to the law and to act peacefully, not violently," said General Stadler, head of the police public relations division.

He said the police had a critical role to fulfil in these times of peaceful change. It would not interfere in legally organised protests, but it had to monitor them to ensure that the law was not being contravened.

National Party sources said last night that despite a marked increase in unrest, President de Klerk would not back down on reform announcements expected to be made at the opening of Parliament on Friday.

They conceded that there might be a lot more visible protests as a result of Mr de Klerk's moves to liberalise demonstrations, but did not believe there was any real increase in the "revolutionary climate".

'Shock troops' of revolution

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Johannesburg yesterday that people who participated in protest marches were the "shock troops of revolution".

He said liberal activists were trying to force the Government to the negotiating table in such a way that it agreed to black majority rule even before entering into negotiations.

Scores of unrest incidents have taken place countrywide in recent weeks, including school demonstrations, clashes between the police and cricket tour demonstrators and often fatal black-on-black violence.

Violent incidents also took place in rural areas, a situation compared by General Stadler to that of the turbulent mid-Eighties.

Police said yesterday unrest since Monday had left at least three people dead and several injured.



This photograph, taken by an Associated Press photographer in Bloemfontein yesterday, has been distributed around the world. The caption reads: "A riot policeman grabs a protester after preventing demonstrators from gaining access to the cricket ground where the English rebel cricketers were playing against the South African Universities while on tour in the country in defiance of a ban on sporting links with South Africa."