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1989

JUNE — AUG

Sayco man released

JOHANNESBURG.— The general secretary of the 700 000 strong South African Youth Congress, Rapulane Molekane, was this week released from a nine-month emergency detention and sent home — gagged.

Molekane is the last Sayco executive member to be released. It was his eighth detention in terms of security legislation.

He has been heavily restricted and is confined to his home in Central Jabavu, Soweto, from 2pm each day, and must report to the police daily.

Sunday Times 7/6/89

SOUTH on trial over emergency report

THE former editor of SOUTH, Mr Rashid Seria, will appear in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court next week charged with contravening the media curbs in the emergency regulations.

Seria will also appear as a representative of SOUTH's controlling company, South Press Services, which has been charged with the same offence.

The charge arises from a report published in May last year on the school situation in the Western Cape.

The state alleges that SOUTH contravened the regulations by publishing a report relating to the boycott of classes at Department of Education and Training (DET) schools in and around Cape Town and that it had also disclosed particulars of the "extent to which such boycott or action was successful".

The report dealt with the escalating crisis at schools in April and May last year when pupils and teachers protested against the suspension of several teachers, detentions and the actions of the police.

The report specifically stated that full details had been withheld because of the emergency regulations.

In the meantime, the security police have informed SOUTH that a further charge relating to a report on the consumer boycott in Carltonville is being investigated and forwarded to the Attorney-General for a possible charge.

The Carltonville boycott was initiated by the national Union of Mineworkers against the introduction of petty apartheid measures by the CP-controlled town council.

The boycott is similar to the one in Boksburg which has been widely reported, especially by the media controlled by the government and National Party.

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'WITWOLF' TERROR

Death sentence wipes smile off face of murdering 'boerseun'

HERO. Simon Makondoleli, who stopped Strydom's killing spree

From CAROL LAZAR

JOHANNESBURG. — It is spine-chilling to watch someone get the death sentence even when that person is cold-blooded mass murderer Barend Hendrik Strydom, the 23-year-old fanatical right-winger who shot dead eight people and injured 16 in a rampage of killings in Pretoria in November last year.

Last Thursday, in Pretoria's imposing Palace of Justice, Mr Justice Louis Harms sentenced Strydom, the blue-eyed killer with the wide smile, on eight separate counts of murder.

Strydom swallowed convulsively and momentarily gripped the edge of the dock, then lifted a glass and took a quick sip of water before he was unceremoniously bundled to the cells below by the police.

Afrikaner Weerstandbeweeging (AWB) supporters proudly sporting their swastika emblems and Vierkleur badges, smiled broadly as Strydom proclaimed how he had gladly shot blacks to safeguard Christianity and the Afrikaner volk.

Victims and their families, including Mr Geelbooi Mobeno, a young father of two, today paralysed from the waist down, listened in horror as Strydom described how he had shot dead an 80-year-old woman because she "took up a white person's oxygen".

It was here 25 years ago, almost to the day, that Nelson Mandela was found guilty of sabotage and attempting to overthrow the government by violent revolution.

The charges were punishable by death but Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment. But there the analogy ends.

Mandela fought to free his people from oppression. Strydom fought to impose a racial superiority. He killed for the creation of a racist white Boerestaat from which blacks and other "animals" would be excluded.

Strydom, the fresh-faced ex-policeman and Sunday school teacher, declared he was fighting to establish a pure white boerestaat free of blacks and the threat of communism.

The irony is inescapable, for it was on June 1 1964, that Judge President Mr Justice de Wet found Nelson Mandela, a member of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, guilty of sabotage.

At the time Mandela, a lawyer by profession and a recognised leader of his people, spoke of his aspirations. He told of his bitterness and frustration at the oppression of his people and the lack of legal means of bringing about political change.

He admitted he had organised sabotage, he explained why he had turned to violence and what kind of South Africa he was prepared to die for.

He said: "I hoped that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in what I have done."

Crowds gathered, as they did a quarter of a century ago, outside the Palace of Justice last week. But they were silent, waiting for justice to be done.

Several hundred blue-clad policemen surrounded the courts, keeping a watchful eye on the waiting hordes. On the day of judgment, police dogs snarled and kept crowds at bay.

In the elegant high-ceilinged court Strydom told Mr Justice Harms how one sunny afternoon he shot dead seven blacks and wounded 15 others on Pretoria's Strijdom Square.

He also admitted how he murdered an 18-year-old black girl and wounded her friend the previous week as a "practice run".

As the court's great colonial fan whirred, barely stirring the hot air, Strydom grinned as he said he had not bothered to put money in a parking meter before he had gone on the shooting spree because he knew he would not be long.

Dressed in a well-cut beige suit, blue shirt with dazzling white collar and a royal blue tie pinned with the Vierkleur badge of the old Transvaal Republic, Strydom calmly told the court that in his opinion blacks were not people and what he had done was not murder.

He answered questions put by the state prosecutor, Mr Paul Fick, willingly.

"In a Boerestaat there would not be room for blacks.

"I do not think blacks are people.

"I decided I had to take things into my own hands ... it is a question of you or them.

"I wanted to let the outside world know that there are people here who are against the ANC and will fight for a Boerestaat."

Spectators in the court were mixed. Many of them were relatives of Strydom's victims such as Ms Rosie Sibeko, who said before sentenced was passed: "I would like to punch him in the face, he killed my sister. Swinging is too good for him."

Others in the crowd were from the the AWB and other right-wing movements.

Christian household

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder greeted the killer profusively, clasping his arms and laughing and chatting to Strydom as he stood in the dock.

Daily, members of Aquila, the military wing of the AWB, would form a solid bodyguard around Mrs Daphne Strydom, Strydom's stepmother.

Whenever Strydom entered the court, they clambered forward to shake his hand, wish him well and and even ask for his autograph. He was the man of the moment, the hero, the martyr.

Mrs Strydom, a gaunt-looking and smartly dressed woman, sat behind defence advocate Mr J Engelbrecht, SC, and concentrated intently as the evidence unfolded.

A family source said Strydom and her stepson were close and she supported his political beliefs. After sentence was passed she was heard saying he was a true "boereseun".

Strydom's father, Mr Nicolaas Strydom, called to give evidence for the defence, told the court he had raised his children in a righteous Christian household and had inculcated in them a strong love for their fatherland and "Volkstaat".

It was Strydom senior who had taught his children that blacks were animals.

South Africa's biggest mass-murder trial came to a climax last Thursday with the court packed to overflowing.

The court buzzed as Strydom, again impeccably dressed, entered the dock waving and smiling. His stepmother kissed him and his father and brothers hugged him. Right-wing supporters surged forward shaking him by the hand and wishing him well.

Responsible for actions

And then Mr Justice Harms entered, the court rose and all was still.

The judgment was lengthy. It took well over an hour and throughout, you could have heard a butterfly waving its wings, so silent and hushed was the court.

There was no question, said the judge, that Strydom was normal. He was fully responsible for his actions.

In modulated voice and serious demeanour, Mr Justice Harms described how Strydom had "ruthlessly shot elderly people and women".

Mr Justice Harms did not don his black cap which is customary when pronouncing the death sentence. But, no matter, the death sentence caused a chill throughout the court.

Barend Hendrik Strydom, the self confessed hero of the Afrikaaner Volkstaat, the saviour of Christians and a pure white Boerestaat, stood condemned.

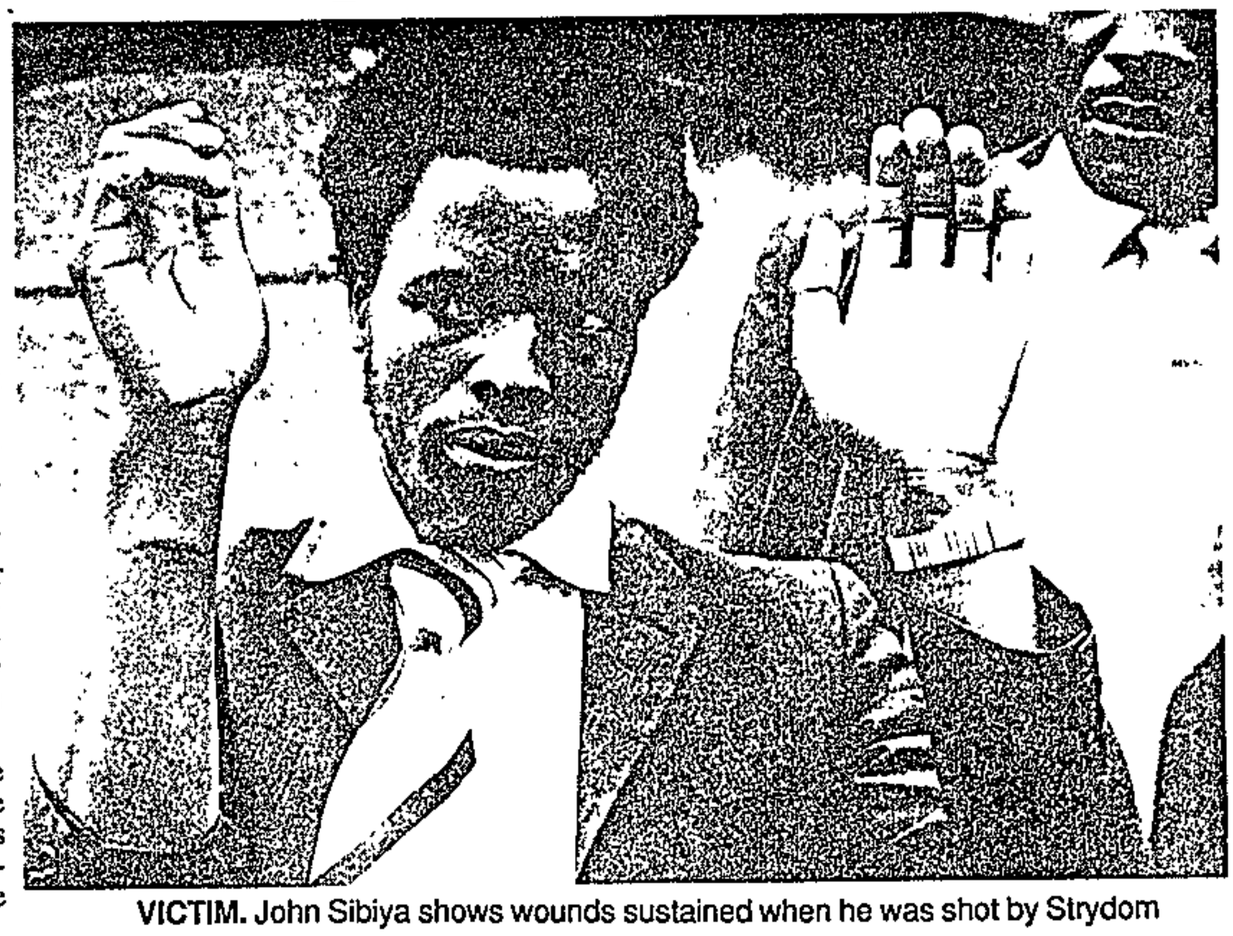
A mean, despicable and evil murderer. A vicious killer whose barbaric acts shocked a nation.

'No forgiveness'

JOHANNESBURG. — While right-wing movements have launched a petition calling for a reprieve for mass murderer Barend Hendrik Strydom, his injured victims and the relatives of those he killed say he must "never be forgiven".

They told how their lives had been devastated by the Strijdom Square shootings of November 15 last year and expressed satisfaction with the punishment meted out by Mr Justice Louis Harms last week.

"No, send him to the devil. He is not fit to be part of our society," was the reaction of 52-year-old Abel Nkuna to the appeal for clemency.



VICTIM. John Sibiya shows wounds sustained when he was shot by Strydom

Nkuna's 80-year-old mother, Selina Nkuna, was one of seven blacks gunned down by Strydom during the horrific shooting spree.

She was gunned down while selling her fruit and vegetables as she had been doing for the past 20 years.

Speaking at their matchbox home in Mamelodi township near Pretoria, Nkuna, a father of four, said: "Strydom deserves no forgiveness.

"If it wasn't for him, my mother would still be with us. I won't forgive him. He's not willing to repent because he says he will do it again.

"He is going to appeal, too. Who knows if he's going to be hanged?" he asked.

Another Mamelodi resident, Mr Moses Mokoena, whose wife Catherine died in the carnage, expressed happiness at the outcome of the trial.

"My wife's life was worth far more than that of Strydom. The pain will take time to heal because my wife was very special to me," he said.

A victim who narrowly escaped death, Ms Priscilla Motau, said: "I will be very happy if I see him die.

"I'm concerned that the death sentence imposed may just be for the record and that at some stage he may be reprieved."

Motau, who was shot at several times by Strydom, sustained chest injuries and still has a bullet lodged in her thigh.

Her friend Jan Mokotho, a former security guard, was shot in the head, shoulder and foot, and is crippled from the waist down.

"It makes no difference to me. I'm now a cripple and have lost my job. Hanging him would not change things for me," said Mokotho.

Cleaner John Sibiya, 27, was in a jewellery shop in Pretoria Street near the square when Strydom shot him in the wrist.

"Justice has been done," said Sibiya.

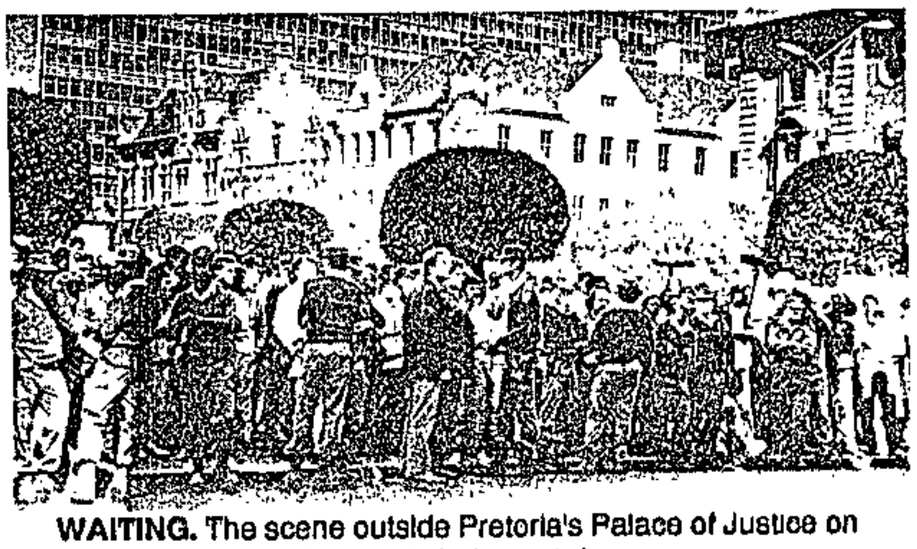
Daniel Ramakgadi, a pastor in the NG Kerk in Afrika and an assistant to Dr Nico Smith, said God "destroyed or crushed" sinners who refused to repent or show remorse.

Ramakgadi, who helped to organise the victims' funerals, said he was against any form of capital punishment but there could be no forgiveness for someone who refused to repent.

In contrast, Mr Robert van Tonder, leader of the Boerestaat Party, said in a statement that all well-wishing organisations would be approached for their co-operation in securing the reprieve of Strydom.

"The Barend Strydom event illustrates the tragedy of our 'boerevolk' in the South African situation," said Van Tonder.

"It is not Strydom who should have stood as the accused, but PW Botha and his Cabinet."



WAITING. The scene outside Pretoria's Palace of Justice on Strydom's judgment day

327 Cape Times 7/6/89

New turn in Godolozi mystery

PORT ELIZABETH. — Why was an airport worker, who allegedly saw Eastern Cape activist Qaqawuli Godolozi's kidnappers, fired? That's the question facing a Port Elizabeth court this week.

The court is hearing an application on the disappearance of Godolozi, Sipho Hashe and Champion Galela.

The three, all executive members of the restricted Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), disappeared mysteriously four years ago.

Mrs Benedicta Nobulele Godolozi, mother of one of the missing men, is demanding that the Minister of Law and Order and the officer commanding the Alexandria police station produce her son.

Two earlier applications demanding that police release or produce the three failed when police flatly denied they were holding the men.

The activists disappeared on May 8 1985. They had gone to the Port Elizabeth airport, apparently after receiving a phone call asking them to fetch a member of the British embassy.

Airport worker Mzwandile Fezi told the court when the application started last year that he had seen the three men being apprehended by police at the airport.

Fezi subsequently lost his job.

When the application resumed this week, the airport's senior supervisor, Mr A Thompson, said he did not know when Fezi had been dismissed.

He said he had been told that Fezi lost his job because of his "bad work record".

"I find it fascinating that you had heard this about Mr Fezi, a labourer," said Mr M Baslian for the applicants.

There was some argument over this line of questioning between the two parties, and the court will rule this week on whether Thompson will be questioned further on Fezi's dismissal.

In earlier evidence, heard when the application started late last year, several other witnesses claimed to have seen the three men in police custody.

The case continues.

UCT slams police ban on education crisis rally

ARGUS 2/6/87 327

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and JOHN YELD
Staff Reporters

CONCERNED staff and students at the University of Cape Town have added their voices to the growing protest at the police banning of a rally to discuss the crisis in Peninsula black schools.

The rally was banned by Brigadier Roy During, police chief in the Western Cape in terms of the emergency regulations.

Acting UCT vice-chancellor Professor J V O Reid called on the authorities to reconsider the banning and to allow all parties involved the necessary space to solve the serious problems "which exist in our schools".

UCT did not believe that bannings achieved anything constructive, he said.

"On the contrary, free discussion of the problems and grievances and full information about all the issues involved are essential if we are to come close to a solution."

Bannings, restrictions and clampdowns only serve to worsen frustration.

"Education in South Africa and in the Western Cape in particular cannot afford this," Professor Reid said.

The Progressive Education Group (Peg) at UCT said in a statement it was "deeply troubled" by the banning.

"There is crisis in the schools in our country, and parents, students, educationists and other interested people have the right to discuss this crisis in an attempt to resolve the very serious problem that exists," the statement said.

UCT Students' Representative Council vice-president Mr Mike Briggs said in a statement that people had a fundamental right to meet to discuss matters concerning them.

Police seize copies of 'cultural' book

Star 2/6/89 (327)

Police have been visiting bookshops throughout South Africa and either instructing booksellers to take a publication called "Culture in Another South Africa" off their bookshelves or confiscating copies under the Internal Security Act.

According to a statement by David Philip Publisher (Pty) Ltd, the book celebrates Amsterdam's "historic conference" of 1987, when artists "new and legendary, in exile and from home, joined in an impressive showcase of resistance culture — music, film, art, photography, theatre and literature".

"Culture in Another South Africa", edited by Willem Campsher and Joost Divendal, is published by Zid Books, London, and distributed in southern Africa by David Philip, whose remaining stock has been confiscated pending the decision of the Attorney-General, a statement said.

"If recent government pronouncements about 'great indabas' are to be taken seriously," Mr Philip said in the statement, "we need to know more, not less, about some of the other people who will be at the negotiating table. I trust that this important and exciting book will be released immediately so that it may make its rightful and considerable contribution to the future of South Africa."

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG) yesterday released a statement "deploring" the raids to seize copies of the book.

"The raids hark back to the earliest days of the state of emergency and one would have hoped, obviously in vain, that some sanity would prevail in the minds of the authorities, particularly since the Publications Control Board did not see fit to ban the book in the first place," the statement said.

"Only a government with little or no popular support could feel so threatened by a book about culture," the statement concluded. — Sapa.

Star 'latest victim of law' – paper

(327)

Star 26/8/87

The Editor-in-Chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, had become the "latest victim of the law that allows the police to drag a journalist off to a secret inquiry, and to have him put in jail if he refuses to tell them the source of some innocuous economic information", *Business Day* said in an editorial today.

The editorial was commenting on the fact that security police were demanding the name of a highly placed source who provided statistics for an economic article in The Sunday Star.

Mr Tyson refused to name the source and has been reminded that he may be summoned to appear before a magistrate for interrogation in secret.

Failure to answer questions under a Section 205 subpoena could result in him being jailed until the matter is resolved.

Business Day said: "The victim of this treatment will be reluctant either to appear as a fact-gatherer for the police, lest he learns no more facts, or to betray informants to whom his newspaper has promised anonymity.

"This newspaper (*Business Day*) was recently subjected to 'the treatment' because the police wanted information which had emerged at a public inquiry three years ago . . .

"In *Business Day's* case, fortunately, there were no confidential sources to be protected; in the case of The Star, it appears, the newspaper's staff are bound to protect the anonymity of a source, and the Government is in danger of having to imprison an editor of international reputation . . ."

Cape Times 2/6/89 (327)

Editor refuses police demand to name source

JOHANNESBURG. — The security police are demanding the name of a highly-placed source who provided statistics for an economic article in the Sunday Star, the Star reported yesterday.

The editor-in-chief of the Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, refused to name the source and has been reminded that he may be summoned to appear before a magistrate for interrogation in secret, the paper said.

Failure to answer questions under a Section 205 subpoena could result in his being jailed until the matter is resolved, it added.

"These cases are a gross misuse of a legal mechanism which, in itself, is a dubious instrument," Mr Tyson said yesterday.

"There is no way we can reveal our source. In any case, he is a highly-placed responsible citizen who is doing his job legally." — Sapa

Police raid churches' offices

(327) Crime Reporter Cape Times 2/6/89

SECURITY police yesterday raided the Salt River offices of the Western Province Council of Churches and seized about 1 500 copies of their May edition of "Crisis News".

Staff at the council's offices in Community House described the police search as thorough and the largest raid so far this year.

In September last year police confiscated thousands of copies of "Crisis News" because of an article which delt with the call by church leaders for the boycotting of the October municipal elections.

Eight security policemen arrived at Commmunity House at 10.30am and spent 45 minutes searching the offices.

According to Ms Claire Keeton, a staff writer for "Crisis News", the police did not specify what article contravened the security regulations saying that they "objected to the entire publication as it suggested the country was ungovernable".

The edition contained articles on vigilante violence, the Upington trial of 25 people convicted for the death of a municipal policeman, restrictions of released detainees and capital punishment.

The council printed 40 000 copies of the edition, most of which have already been distributed.

POLICE RAID . . . Ms Claire Keeton speaks to the press in the WPCC office soon after security policemen raided their offices.
Picture: RICHARD BELL

sterday. Mr Bush and Prince Philip inspect the
her agree on arms plans — Page 7.

Picture: REUTER

ANC hijack man gets 15 years

Cape Times 2/6/89

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DAR ES SALAAM. — A white man, Bradley Richard Stacey, believed to be South African, was sentenced yesterday to two 15-year prison terms for carrying grenades and explosives on board a Soviet aircraft which he reportedly tried to hijack to Johannesburg.

High Court Judge Nassoro Mnzavas passed the sentence on Stacey, 30, alias George Hodges, who pleaded guilty in a closed court two days earlier.

Police say the May 18 flight from Angola was carrying 200 ANC members to Moscow for training and that Stacey tried to divert the flight to Johannesburg before being shot by a Soviet security man.

Stacey, who appeared in open court with a bandage on one shoulder, was sentenced to 15 years in prison on the explosives charge and 15 years for assaulting a Soviet citizen. The terms are to be served concurrently.

Stacey said in court that he would appeal against the sentence, saying: "I must be home within 10 years." He did not say where his home was.

Tanzanian authorities have been extremely secretive about the case, but security and ANC sources have said Stacey was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

They said Stacey approached the cockpit of the plane waving a hand grenade and saying he wanted the flight diverted to Johannesburg because there was a "communist" on board who was badly wanted by South African police.

The hijacking was foiled when a Soviet security man shot Stacey in the chest. They said they believe Stacey was an undercover agent working for the South African government. — UPI

Court told of police anti-ANC hit squads

Cape Times 2/6/89

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By RONNIE MORRIS
Supreme Court Reporter

MR BONGANI Jonas yesterday told the Supreme Court he had agreed to join a police unit known as the A-Team, which was composed of former ANC members whose work was "to kill their former ANC colleagues".

Further claims made by Mr Jonas, 30, in the Yengeni terrorism trial were that:

- Security police had "consulted" with accused Ms Jenny Schreiner "so as to create an Olivia Forsyth".
- He was shot by a policeman in the hip from five metres when he was arrested, and another later stood on the wound.
- He was taken up Table Mountain in the cable car by security police, to the Sea Point beachfront and other outings when it was thought he would give evidence for the state.
- Police removed a suit and shoes they bought him, as well as soap and a wash-cloth given to him when he refused to testify as a state witness.

Asked for protection

Mr Jonas, 30, was giving evidence at an inquiry to determine whether he had just excuse for his refusal to testify. On April 18 when he started giving evidence for the state Mr Jonas repeatedly asked for the court's protection and the next day said he no longer wished to continue.

If he had testified he would have brought shame to his family who would never be able to live in their community, he said.

Mr Jonas said he learnt about the "A-Team" which comprised ANC defectors and was told by members of two operating units, one in Pretoria and another in East London. A third was to be formed in Cape Town. He got to know A-Team members including a David from Pretoria, a man known as Fanyana, Lucky Marimbela, Stan Gwigi and a man known as Neville.

Members took him to Athlone, Lansdowne and Bonteheuwel at night and told him they were "the Gestapo" and their work was "to go around townships acting on information from the security police ... and kill former ANC colleagues".

Capt William Liebenberg told him about Ms Schreiner and said security police had consulted with her "so as to create an Olivia Forsyth" to create

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Hit squads

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animosity between democratic whites and the oppressed community.

The plan was to create the impression that Ms Schreiner had been "planted" in the struggle, and that whites could not be trusted.

After Ms Schreiner refused to co-operate with police it was suggested to him that everything be done to put her in a difficult position.

After he indicated in court on April 19 he no longer wished to testify for the state, he was denied access to his family, legal representatives or correspondence.

Security police removed the suit and shoes they had bought him, his soap and wash-cloth were removed and he was now locked in his cell for 23 hours a day.

An exercise bicycle and exercise springs provided by police were removed, as were his bed, his radio, newspapers and a Xhosa and English Bible.

When he asked a Major Du Toit about the removal of the English Bible, he was told that "we don't have the same God". He was also taken to security police offices in Loop Street where he was threatened and interrogated, he said.

Earlier, Mr Jonas described how on September 17, 1987, while he, his girlfriend and a friend were driving to Khayelitsha they were "ambushed" by a police minibus and a car. Shots were fired from both vehicles, he said.

A chase ensued and he evaded police and offloaded his friend, but when he returned to his car, where he left his girlfriend, he was met by A-Team member "David".

Mr Jonas said he was unarmed and had his hands above his head. He saw "David" load, arm and point a pistol at his genitals from about five metres and fire. When he fell down "David" pointed the pistol at his forehead.

He was then "brutally manhandled" into a police car and later taken to security police offices at Culemborg.

Mr Jonas said he was still being interrogated.

State prosecutor Mr H Klem said he would have to call about 30 witnesses to refute Mr Jonas's allegations.

The trial continues today.

Court told of police anti-ANC hit squads

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Showdown as editors face subpoena threat

By SHAUN JOHNSON

A CLASH is imminent between the government and the major English-language press groups, following the state's use of the controversial "section 205" subpoena against two of South Africa's most prominent newspaper editors.

In quick succession, the editor of Times Media Limited's *Business Day*, Ken Owen, and Harvey Tyson, the editor of Argus Group's *Star*, have been served with subpoenas under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act. The section is designed to force journalists to reveal their sources — or face imprisonment.

Last week Ken Owen was obliged to give in-camera evidence about reports and editorial comment in *Business Day* centring on the unsolved murder of four mineworkers at Western Holdings mine in June 1986.

The newspaper had taken the police to task for apparent inactivity in their investigations into the murders.

Owen and two of the newspaper's reporters, Sipho Ngcobo and Riaan Smit, were subpoenaed to give evidence before a magistrate. They did so in camera last week.

In another development, the *Star's* Harvey Tyson has been ordered to reveal the name of a highly placed source who supplied information for an economic article in the *Sunday Star*.

Attacking what he described as "the blatant misuse of power and court procedure", Tyson said he would not comply with the subpoena.

"There is no way we can reveal our source," Tyson said yesterday. "He (the reporter concerned) is a highly-placed, responsible citizen who is doing his job — legally.

"All of us need to challenge the increasing abuse of power by government departments," he added.

The *Star* subpoena follows two reports published four months ago — one dealing with the Minister of Economic Affairs' Draft Bill on Minerals, and the other analysing the strengths and weaknesses of South Africa's mineral resources.

The *Star* says the use of (correct) statistics which were not presented to the relevant minister, led to the police intervention.

● Two publications were seized by police this week.

The South African Council of Churches' *Crisis News* was seized under Emergency regulations at the SACC's Cape Town offices.

Acting in terms of the Internal Security Act, police also seized copies of the book *Culture in Another South Africa* at the Cape Town offices of the publisher, David Philip. Philip said police had ordered bookshops around the country to remove the book from their shelves.

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2-8/6/89. Weekly

A minutes-long reprieve from the noose

J-8/6/89. (327) WMail

By IVOR POWELL

DEATH row prisoner Andries Anton Uithaler had a few minutes of jubilation this week when he received a clemency notice: his death sentence had been commuted to a 15-year sentence.

Only minutes later, before the first transport of jubilation had worn off, Uithaler was served another notice by the sheriff of the court — his notice of execution.

Next Tuesday he is to go to the gallows for his other death sentence, handed out for armed robbery with aggravating circumstances.

Tuesday happens to be Uithaler's birthday.

Uithaler is one of seven death row prisoners — one a woman, the first to be executed in over two years — who were served notices of execution this week. None were convicted on political grounds.

Unless urgent petitions for clemency lodged on behalf of the condemned have been successful, four prisoners will have been hanged in the early hours of this morning.

They are Sandra Smith and Jasin Harris, of Mitchell's Plain, both sentenced in 1986 for a Cape Flats murder, Michael Erasmus of Cape Town, sentenced for murder and sodomy in 1987, and Jacob Ndaba, convicted on five counts of murder in the Rand Supreme Court last year.

On Tuesday, three further executions are sheduled. They are Uithaler, his co-accused Michael Morris and Mxolisi Isaac Tshongoyi, convicted of murder early in 1988.

Pretoria Central's death row is overcrowded at present. Of the more than 280 prisoners held there at present, some are, according to Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, being forced to double up on cells. Others — the forgotten on death row, those who have not received visitors — have even been transferred to other parts of Pretoria Central or another prison, Currin said.

Meanwhile, he reports, 42 new death cells are in the process of being built in order to relieve the congestion.

"It's hard to avoid the sinister conclusion that space is being made for the Upington 14," Laura Polecutt, a Black Sash researcher said yesterday.

Laurel Angus, a researcher attached to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand drew attention to the increase in hangings over the past month. "Where only one prisoner was executed in January this year, and one in February, there will have been 12 executions in the space of 10 days."

On Wednesday night, Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, added his voice to those calling for the abolition of the death penalty in South Africa.

"I include even a Barend Strydom who is a child and product fed on the hatred and contempt that are the logical consequences of apartheid and its horrendous racism," Tutu said in an address to the Anglican Church's Provincial Synod in Durban.

Embassy protesters in court

(327) Weekend By VUSI GUNENE 2-8/6/89

TWO Pretoria activists who took refuge in the British embassy earlier this year to protest against restrictions imposed on them under the Emergency have been charged with contravening their restriction orders.

Congress of South African Trade Unions' Northern Transvaal secretary Donsie Khumalo was charged with 129 contraventions of the regulations in the Pretoria Regional Court this week. The maximum penalty for a contravention is 10 years' imprisonment or a R20 000 fine.

The other activist, who was charged separately in the same court, is Construction and Allied Workers' Union adminstrator Grace Dube.

Khumalo and Dube were among six people who took refuge in the British Embassy earlier this year to protest against restriction orders served on them after their release from detention. At the time, they said they intended to defy the restrictions.

The magistrate, WAJ van Zyl, yesterday turned down Khumalo's bail application.

Captain Hendrick Britz of the Northern Transvaal security police, testified that Khumalo was restricted to his Mamelodi home between 6am and 6pm and had to report at the local police station twice a day.

Since his involvement in the embassy protest on March 29, Khumalo had failed to report to the police, Britz said, and on several occasions when police went to his house and workplace, he was not available.

Britz told the court that the Khumalo had a passport and many contacts outside the country. "If he is granted bail, he could leave the country with or without a passport and could also go to one of the embassies to seek political asylum, in which case the South African government and those embassies could be embarrassed."

The case was postponed to August 30 for hearing, while the case against Dube was postponed until today.

Meanwhile five restricted Soweto Students' Congress activists, Paul Themba Chauke, Norman Raboshoge, Solomon Dolamo, Blessing Ndlovu and Norman Makaboke, and another activist, Joel Letlape, were detained this week in a pre-dawn raid, and are currently being held under the emergency regulations, according to their lawyers.

327 Weekly 2-8/6/89.

Silence follows police probe into Webster assassination

By GAVIN EVANS

FIVE weeks after David Webster's assassination, police remain tight-lipped on the progress of their investigation, while human rights activists have challenged them to produce results.

Police investigating officer Colonel Floris Mostert said on Wednesday that his men were "still investigating the whole thing", but could not comment further "as this could have a bearing on the outcome".

Earlier, one of his colleagues, Colonel Chris Earle, said there were "definitely no positive clues", but insisted his team were "trying their best".

Human Rights Commission representative Dr Max Coleman expressed scepticism about how seriously the investigation was being taken by police and challenged them to show evidence of their efforts. "We are starting to feel that this investigation is going the way of all the others in the past. After an initial flurry of police reaction everything has gone silent.

"It is disturbing that 33 days after his death, there seems to be a complete halt in progress towards solving his murder," Coleman said.

He expressed surprise that police were remaining silent despite newspaper reports that new witnesses had been found and a claim by convicted mass murderer Barend Strydom that the "Wit Wolwe" were behind Webster's assassination.

A recent *Vrye Weekblad* report said that a new eye-witness had come forward with fresh information on the identity of the killers which suggested that the original identikits were inaccurate.

Colonel Mostert said police would alter the existing identikits "if necessary". He refused to comment further.

Vrye Weekblad reporter Jacques Pauw was also handed a letter by Strydom in which he claimed the Wit Wolwe were responsible for Dr Webster's assassination. The police have discounted claims that the Wit Wolwe exist.

A grief-stricken Maggie Friedman, girlfriend of assassinated David Webster, at a detainees teaparty held to commemorate him

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

STATE OF EMERGENCY

(327) Fmail 2/6/89.

Round one to the hawks

Government's powerful securocrat lobby appears to have won an intense behind-the-scenes political struggle to have the three-year-old State of Emergency renewed when it expires at midnight next Friday (June 9).

It is understood that "constitutionalists" within government want the emergency lifted to stress the National Party's new image under F W de Klerk. They also believe that, by lifting the emergency, the campaign for September's general election can be waged without the tarnish of severe restrictions.

The anti-emergency lobby is said to have won backing for its stand from President P W Botha, long regarded as the biggest securocrat of them all. The prospect of being able to step down from office, having returned the country to "normality", apparently appealed to him.

But senior politicians and security chiefs in favour of the emergency have counter-attacked in what seems to have been a successful campaign. It is understood that the only possible concession under a renewed emergency will be a lifting or partial lifting of some media regulations.

First indications of the in-fighting came last week when Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe told journalists at a briefing in Cape Town that government was considering whether or not to reimpose the emergency. "The present State of Emergency runs out early next month, so government is in the process of considering whether it is advisable or justified to lift or reimpose it. The process of consideration is under way and I cannot pre-empt that," he said.

However, he also said that the "unrest" situation and violence was waning — and that it was now possible to consider concentrating more on social welfare programmes than on maintaining law and order.

But reports that Van der Merwe had implied that the emergency would be lifted drew immediate response from the security establishment. Senior sources said it was wrong to suggest that "revolutionary violence" had subsided. They argued that the number of unrest incidents was still unacceptably high and that, from a security viewpoint, it will be dangerous to lift the emergency.

They also point out that the general election, particularly for the coloured and Indian Houses, could become an important focal point for extra-parliamentary opposition groups and that emergency powers are vital to maintain law and order over the coming few months. The prospect of violent action by white rightwing extremists is also offered as justification for renewing the emergency.

At a recent security seminar in Pretoria, SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys said the "revolutionary climate" still exists in SA and has possibly become worse, even though this cannot always be seen.

He accused the ANC of continually creating new "revolutionary structures" to mobilise the black community. He said the ANC relies on intimidation to achieve its aims, but security force action and the State of Emergency minimise the effect of intimidation.

And Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, who is apparently the political spearhead of the pro-emergency lobby, says while the emergency has played a significant role in restoring life in black townships to some degree of normality, the process is far from over.

At a public function in Fish Hoek near Cape Town last week, Vlok said it will take "time and a lot of work" to complete the "process of stabilisation and normalisation ... The revolutionary climate is still unacceptably high and the communist enemies of our country are still putting everything into the struggle to create a classless communist State. The players who started the unrest (in 1984) and kept it going are also still in the country. Unfortunately, most of them are not prepared to abandon their revolutionary aims and actions. It is these radical activists and their supporters who are responsible for the imposition of the State of Emergency."

In effect, Vlok said "revolutionary radicals" are standing in the way of the lifting of the emergency and that government will have to take their attitudes and actions into consideration when deciding what steps to take next week. "The eventual decision will depend on the facts and will, therefore, depend on what is in the best interests of the country and its people," he said. ■

SANCTIONS

Fmail 2/6/89

Breaking free

Is talk of blanket sanctions on its way out? New answers to that question, amid SA's economic woes, seem to have caused something of a split in opposition circles at home and abroad.

A rift in the ANC-UDF camp became apparent during the visit last month of SA church leaders to the US. Speaking to a gathering of businessmen, politicians and academics at Rand Afrikaans University last week, former SA Council of Churches general secretary and UDF stalwart Beyers Naude said the delegation told US President George Bush to support a boycott of "*targeted* sectors of SA's economy."

Naude continued: "There is a serious reconsideration in the anti-apartheid movement with regard to sanctions at the moment. If one or two targeted sanctions could bring about meaningful change then the movement will have to reassess its position." Naude added that boycotts of loans, gold, oil and coal could have such an effect. "We also told President Bush that it would be all right if he met with F W de Klerk, as long as such a meeting could bring about meaningful change as well."

ANC relentless

Meanwhile, the ANC in Lusaka this week denied Associated Press reports that an ANC spokesman in Nigeria also spoke of selective sanctions and downplayed the call for tougher sanctions at a press conference last Wednesday. And, responding over the phone to a conference on business and change in SA, hosted by the Transvaal Indian Congress last Sunday, an ANC spokesman in Lusaka reiterated his organisation's commitment to comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against SA. Cosatu's Chris Dlamini stated a similar position — whatever the sacrifices in terms of job losses this might entail. The main thing, he said, was that SA's lines of international support be cut.

ANC leaders have not yet met to discuss formally the apparent change of emphasis by the SA churchmen and, by implication, a section of the UDF. But feeling in Lusaka is that the ANC will answer the churchmen by stepping up its international campaign for a comprehensive boycott.

(327) Fmail 2/6/89.

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The anti-emergency lobby is said to have won backing for its stand from President P W Botha, long regarded as the biggest securocrat of them all. The prospect of being able to step down from office, having returned the country to "normality", apparently appealed to him.

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the next shuffle may again be in September, but she has made clear the time is ripe for some new and younger faces around the table at the regular Thursday cabinet meeting.

Most of the current speculation features Energy Secretary Cecil Parkinson, restored to the cabinet in 1987 four years after resigning over involvement in a sex scandal, as a likely successor to either Sir Geoffrey or Mr Lawson. — Reuter.

SA musicians off to Moscow

Star 3/6/89

SEVERAL top South African musicians will visit Moscow this month as part of a tour by American singer-songwriter Paul Simon, music industry sources said yesterday.

The singing group Ladysmith Black Mambazo, jazz saxophonist Barney Rachabane, drummer Isaac Mtshali, bassist Bakithi Khumalo and musician-producer Ray Phiri will appear with Simon in Moscow's Gorky Park Theatre on June 24 and 25. — Reuter.

Concern over censorship

Star 3/6/89

327

CARINA le GRANGE

THE Anti-Censorship Action Group abhors the "flagrant abuse of power" of police who demand information from journalists subpoened under Section 205, Ms Pat Sidley, executive committee member of Acag said yesterday.

She said Acag was also concerned about the safety of journalists.

She was reacting to the report that the editor-in-chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, is facing imprisonment for refusing to reveal sources of statistics printed by the Sunday Star.

Security Police are demanding the name of a highly placed source who provided the statistics.

Failure to answer such questions can, under Section 205, result in imprisonment until the matter is resolved.

Ms Sidley said: "Acag believes newspapers should not be intimidated while keeping a knowledge-starved public informed.

"Acag is deeply concerned at the continued and growing use of Section 205 inquiries. While its use is so widespread and common that it frequently is not reported, two cases lately have been prominently reported — those of the Star and *Business Day*."

The editor of *Business Day*, Mr Ken Owen, was recently forced to answer questions. He was refused a public hearing after criticising the Minister of Police and accusing the SAP of incompetence.

"In both cases police wanted the sources of information which, when published by those newspapers, has embarrassed the authorities," said Ms Sidley.

"Acag is particularly concerned for the safety of the journalists whose job it is to keep that public informed," she said.

Hijacker's arson link

Cape Times 3/6/89 327

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE mystery South African jailed this week for attempting to hijack a Soviet plane-load of ANC members, Bradely Richard Stacey, 27, was yesterday linked to the unsolved arson at Natal university in 1986.

The fires razed the Durban home and work offices of political scientist Professor Laurence Schlemmer and the university's political science department on March 21, 1986.

In a second surprise disclosure, police yesterday linked Stacey to terrorism trialist Mr Damian de Lange.

Police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet, said an altered ID document confiscated during the arrest of Mr De Lange and two fellow terrorism-accused at Broederstroom on May 8 last year belonged to Stacey.

The official investigation into the university fires turned up Stacey's passport undamaged amid motor-cycle parts in a charred cupboard of the political science department. Two emergency fire hoses nearby had been cut.

Prof Schlemmer, now director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, said yesterday that there had been no arrests since the arson.

Low-profile activist

Police had run "into a brick wall" when Stacey disappeared soon after the fires, he said.

Brigadier Mellet said the next thing police knew of Mr Stacey [illegible]

PROTEST . . . Matie students on their way to deliver notes objecting to the expulsion of Ms Leslee Durr (front, wearing blue top and pants) and bans on Nusas and BSOS.

Picture ANNE LANG

By MALCOLM FRIED and SYBRAND MOSTERT

PROTESTS erupted on

University Cape

CAPE TIMES 3/6/89 327

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Brigadier Mellet said the next thing police knew of Mr Stacey, a former Durban campus economic history honours student, was when he joined the ANC for "transit training" in Botswana in 1986.

Stacey had been a low-profile political activist and ostensibly fled the country to avoid military training.

A former fellow student of Stacey and present Durban SRC campus projects officer, Mr Steven Collins, said that Stacey kept to himself except for "showing interest when Nusas started talking to the ANC".

"He was a lefty on campus. Few people knew him. The passport found had an East German visa — some detonators were also found after the fire," he claimed.

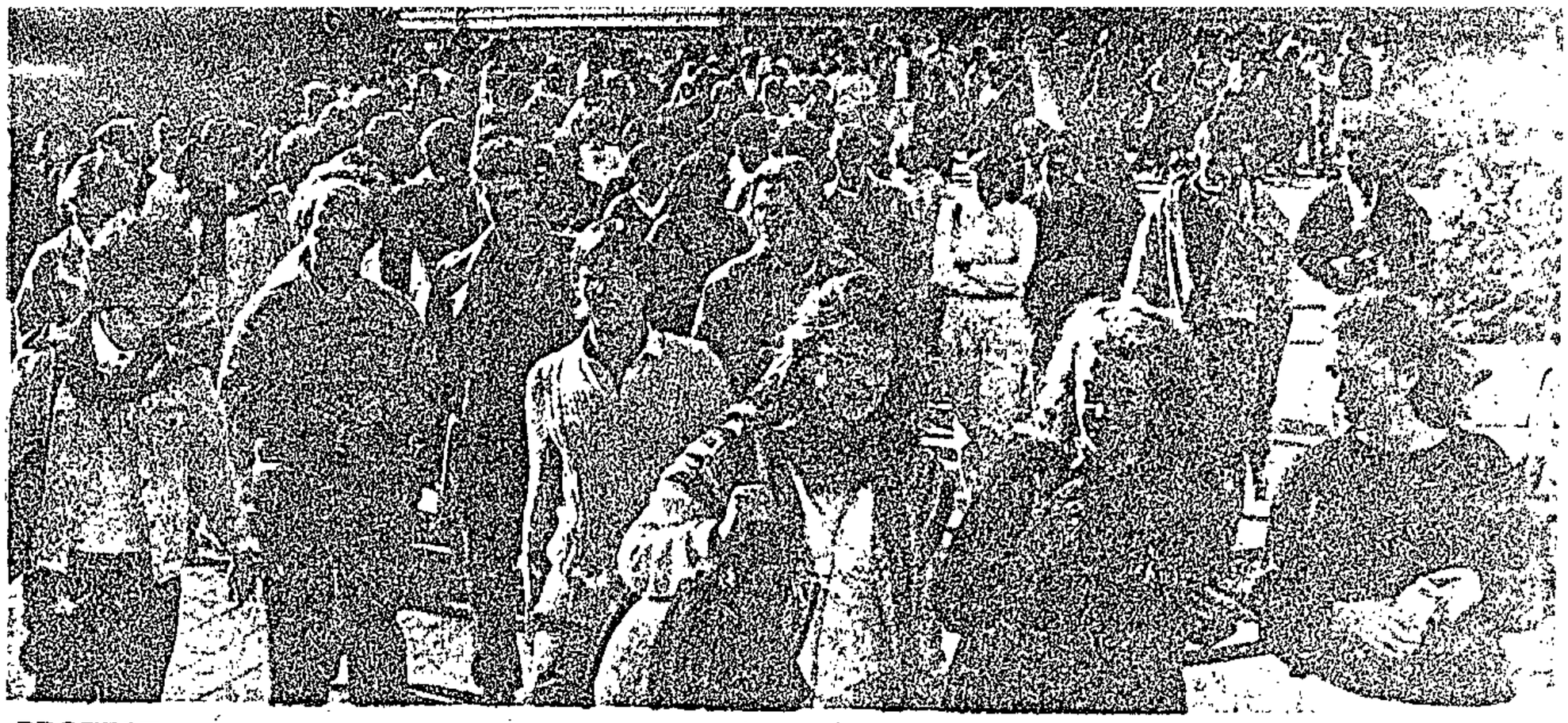
Brigadier Mellet was unable to confirm this.

He said police believed that Stacey and a colleague — yet to stand trial — wanted to hijack the plane with 174 ANC members on board to South Africa "to escape the ANC hierarchy and come home".

Mr Vlok had recently announced that any ANC members who renounced violence could return and that every case would "be judged on merit".

Brigadier Mellet listed several ANC grievances which he said were obtained from captured cadres to support the police belief that the hijack was "to return home".

● Stacey was jailed for 15 years by Tanzania's High Court on Thursday after pleading guilty to charges of endangering the lives of passengers, placing dangerous explosives and assaulting a crew member during a flight from Angola to Tanzania. A second accused will appear next week.



PROTEST . . . Matie students on their way to deliver notes objecting to the expulsion of Ms Leslee Durr (front, wearing blue top and pants) and bans on Nusas and BSOS.

Picture: ANNE LAING

University expulsion: Protests erupt

Cape Times 3/6/89 327

By MALCOLM FRIED and SYBRAND MOSTERT

PROTESTS erupted on three university campuses yesterday following the expulsion of a Nusas student leader from the University of Stellenbosch.

In simultaneous marches and pickets at lunchtime, students from the universities of the Witwatersand, Cape Town and Stellenbosch protested against the expulsion of Stellenbosch Nusas president Ms Leslee Durr and the suspension of two student organisations.

A Stellenbosch University disciplinary committee expelled Ms Durr and suspended Nusas and the Black Student's Organisation (BSOS) from the campus for four months on Thursday.

The committee also fined two campus residences R500. They are Huis Marais and the only open residence on the campus, Goldfields.

Authorities said the measures were a punishment for organising a protest meeting two weeks ago against segregated hostels.

At the protest fellow students — apparently from Huis Marais — pelted protesters with food.

Yesterday more than 1 200 Stellenbosch students defied the new ban and held a meeting under a Nusas banner before moving to the administration building.

The university council banned student protests and marches in 1985, following a student demonstration in the centre of Stellenbosch against the emergency regulations.

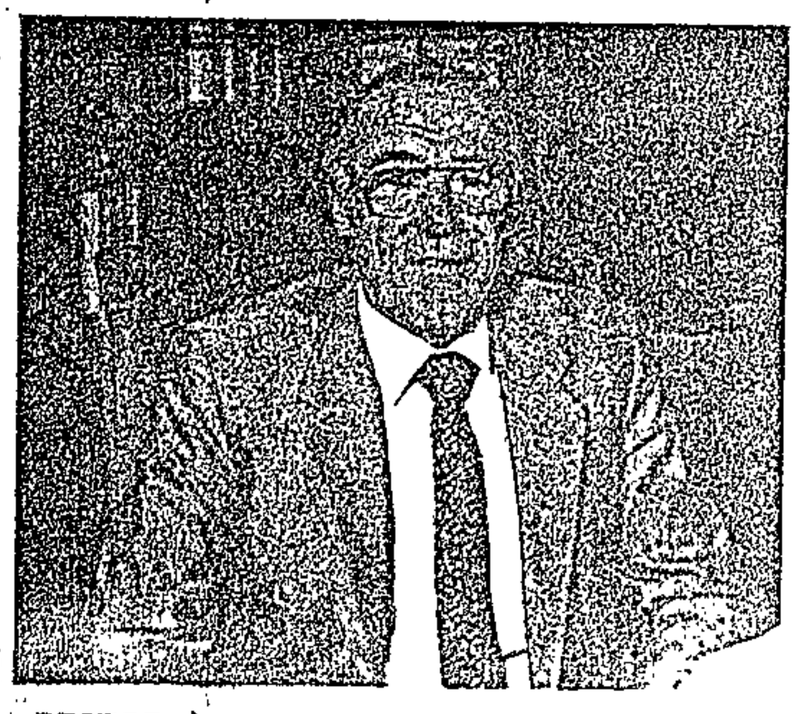
The rector of the university, Professor Mike de Vries, said the disciplinary committee's action "must not be viewed as having been taken because of the reason for the protest, but because the rules of the university against student protest were broken".

At UCT 22 students were detained by police. They were questioned and released.

Students lined the university grounds overlooking Settlers Way holding placards accusing Stellenbosch University of applying apartheid.

On the Wits campus a group of 20 students also picketed in protest.

At the meeting in Stellenbosch, Democratic Party MP Mr Jan van Eck, DP campaigner Dr Esther Lategan and student, community and church groups condemned the action taken against Ms Durr, and called for a reversal of the action.



RECTOR . . . The rector of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Mike de Vries, in his office on campus yesterday.

Children know only violence

BEWARE the fearful tyranny of the township children. Untutored in any conventional system of values, they understand the language of violence only.

Perceived as victims of brutal aggression, and generally as victims of apartheid, there is widespread sympathy for them.

However, there is also concern that unschooled in any conventional system of values, disaffected by the democratic process and abandoned by democracy, they inhibit in themselves a fearful tyranny which they unleash on their own communities, especially when anyone refuses to conform to their dictates.

Documenting the brutalisation of the township children, Fatima Meer says: "The organisations themselves, dependent largely on the support of the youth and fearful of losing their support, dare not criticise them thereby legitimating even non legitimate action."

The life of 16-year-old Percival, in hiding from the police and Inkatha, is an example showing how children have lost their youth.

Attempts to force him to join Inkatha led him into the United Democratic Front which he saw as being anti-government. He saw the classroom as his constituency where he organised his peers and experienced a sense of power.

Percival was accused of attacking Inkatha members and taken to a police station where he was beaten up because he refused to talk. After his release he left school and his home and went into hiding with other child refugees waiting for a chance to leave the country and join the African National Congress.

Perhaps these children will return as guerrillas ... or to negotiate our future. Either way we all lose.

Behind the headlines

Book gives chilling account of life under the emergency in the townships

Reports by QURAISH PATEL
Weekend Correspondent in Durban

THE tyranny of the emergency was expected to stop most reports of political resistance in the townships. It has not stopped Fatima Meer.

Police action, the attacks on families, the slaughter of families and the lost youth of the children have devasted settled communities, changing their lives for ever. Hiding behind media reports on township violence are terrible stories of fear and slaughter that are waiting to be told.

These are the stories Professor Meer is determined to tell in her book *Resistance in the Townships*.

With her group of researchers and contributers, among them journalist Barney Mthombothi, the collection of interviews, affidavits and reports is a chilling account of life under the emergency in the townships.

Every page is a tale of horror, recalling the pain of the victims in the Transvaal, Eastern and Western Cape, Free State and Natal. Mthombothi says: "While the causes can always be traced to the disadvantaged position of blacks, the immediate causes of the resistance differed from area to area. It was education in Pretoria, education and rent in Cradock and Grahamstown, rent in the Vaal Triangle and the to reform as a means of appeasing international pressure and containing internal opposition."

The State, he says, tried to muster support by co-opting black people to bolster its shaky edifice. These people became the targets of township resistance.

Describing the anatomy of "so-called black-on-black violence" Zuik says: "As attacks and counter-attacks continue, anarchy sets in and finally there is some fighting among the opposition groups themselves, although many have al-

away from the funeral.

"Some of them were told they would be on a hit list if they continued to visit his house," says the witness.

Of special significance is the brutalisation of township children who have lost their youth ... probably the same children who will be involved in deciding the future society.

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute says: "The many harsh circumstances in the lives of township youth make it clear that even without political ideologies, there would be enough anger, frustration and aggression to produce violent behaviour. Statistics prior to the so-called Inkatha/UDF conflicts support this contention absolutely.

"Perhaps most importantly, hundreds of young men gather in loose group formations, sub-consciously looking for an outlet for their pent-up aggression and frustration. The aggravation is frequently displayed in mob context, which usually gives the event an irrational intensity.

The destructive consequences are often the appalling news headlines of the past few years.

INTERESTING also is the attempt to explain the Cape Muslim involvement in the resistance against apartheid.

The regulations have done little to silence Professor Meer and her team of researchers

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"In the face of an unbending and inflexible authority, violence had to come," he says.

IN his overview of resistance in the townships Paulus Zulu says: "To appreciate the strife that not only brought challenges to the State, but which has also torn the black community asunder, one has to understand the nature and operations of the State. In the first instance the State is confronted with a legitimacy crisis. The dominated have rejected the established order which the rulers find increasingly difficult to manage successfully ...

"Faced with these challenges the State turned to reform as a means of appeasing international pressure and containing internal opposition."

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Describing the anatomy of "so-called black-on-black violence" Zulu says: "As attacks and counter-attacks continue, anarchy sets in and finally there is some fighting among the opposition groups themselves, although many have alleged the State is not exonerated from instigating or encouraging such conflicts."

When the emergency regulations were first gazetted the media were paralysed. Gradually, recovering a little from the shock of severe State censorship, the media made halting attempts to continue to document the disastrous effects of the emergency. Behind the screen of law and order, community leaders were being detained, attacked and assaulted — and children were being killed. The thousands who escaped death fled their homes to tell a disbelieving public horror stories.

A WITNESS tells how a group of men arrived at his house, abducted a man and killed him outside. The witness says friends and relatives of the victim were ordered to stay away from the funeral.

"Some of them were told they would be on a hit list if they continued to visit his house," says the witness.

Of special significance is the brutalisation of township children who have lost their youth ... probably the same children who will be involved in deciding the future society.

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute says: "The many harsh circumstances in the lives of township youth make it clear that even without political ideologies, there would be enough anger, frustration and aggression to produce violent behaviour. Statistics prior to the so-called Inkatha/UDF conflicts support this contention absolutely.

"Perhaps most importantly, hundreds of young men gather in loose group formations, sub-consciously looking for an outlet for their pent-up aggression and frustration. The aggravation is frequently displayed in mob context, which usually gives the event an irrational intensity.

The destructive consequences are often the appalling news headlines of the past few years.

INTERESTING also is the attempt to explain the Cape Muslim involvement in the resistance against apartheid.

The regulations have done little to silence Professor Meer and her team of researchers who ventured into townships to record what the people were saying and how their lives were devastated by the violence.

The result of their research is an indictment of apartheid, and the State and the failure of even black political organisations to formulate creative responses to the emergency.

Although some sections sparkle, others are disappointingly dull and tedious, even superficial; in some instances the line between fact and comment is blurred and sometimes important information loses its significance through shoddy writing.

However, the importance of this book cannot be underestimated. Professor Meer ensures that no one will ever be able to say of the emergency: "I didn't know."

Behind the headlines

Book gives chilling account of life under the emergency in the townships

Reports by QURAISH PATEL
Weekend Correspondent in Durban

THE tyranny of the emergency was expected to stop most reports of political resistance in the townships. It has not stopped Fatima Meer.

Police action, the attacks on families, the slaughter of families and the lost youth of the children have devasted settled communities, changing their lives for ever. Hiding behind media reports on township violence are terrible stories of fear and slaughter that are waiting to be told.

These are the stories Professor Meer is determined to tell in her book *Resistance in the Townships*.

With her group of researchers and contributers, among them journalist Barney Mthombothi, the collection of interviews, affidavits and reports is a chilling account of life under the emergency in the townships.

Every page is a tale of horror, recalling the pain of the victims in the Transvaal, Eastern and Western Cape, Free State and Natal. Mthombothi says: "While the causes can always be traced to the disadvantaged position of blacks, the immediate causes of the resistance differed from area to area. It was education in Pretoria, education and rent in Cradock and Graaff Reinet, rent in the Vaal Triangle and the East Rand. The latter two areas experienced some of the worst violence ever seen in this country.

"In the face of an unbending and inflexible authority, violence had to come," he says.

IN his overview of resistance in the townships Paulus Zulu says: "To appreciate the strife that not only brought challenges to the State, but which has also torn the black community asunder, one has to understand the nature and operations of the State. In the first instance the State is confronted with a legitimacy crisis. The dominated have rejected the established order which the rulers find increasingly difficult to manage successfully ...

"Faced with these challenges the State turned to reform as a means of appeasing international pressure and containing internal opposition."

The State, he says, tried to muster support by co-opting black people to bolster its shaky edifice. These people became the targets of township resistance.

Describing the anatomy of "so-called black-on-black violence" Zulu says: "As attacks and counter-attacks continue, anarchy sets in and finally there is some fighting among the opposition groups themselves, although many have alleged the State is not exonerated from instigating or encouraging such conflicts."

When the emergency regulations were first gazetted the media were paralysed. Gradually, recovering a little from the shock of severe State censorship, the media made halting attempts to continue to document the disastrous effects of the emergency. Behind the screen of law and order, community leaders were being detained, attacked and assaulted — and children were being killed. The thousands who escaped death fled their homes to tell a disbelieving public horror stories.

A WITNESS tells how a group of men arrived at his house, abducted a man and killed him outside. The witness says friends and relatives of the victim were ordered to stay away from the funeral.

"Some of them were told they would be on a hit list if they continued to visit his house," says the witness.

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Children know only violence

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BEWARE the fearful tyranny of the township children. Untutored in any conventional system of values, they understand the language of violence only.

Perceived as victims of brutal aggression, and generally as victims of apartheid, there is widespread sympathy for them.

However, there is also concern that unschooled in any conventional system of values, disaffected by the democratic process and abandoned by democracy, they inhibit in themselves a fearful tyranny which they unleash on their own communities, especially when anyone refuses to conform to their dictates.

Documenting the brutalisation of the township children, Fatima Meer says: "The organisations themselves, dependent largely on the support of the youth and fearful of losing their support, dare not criticise them thereby legitimating even non legitimate action."

The life of 16-year-old Percival, in hiding from the police and Inkatha, is an example showing how children have lost their youth.

Attempts to force him to join Inkatha led him into the United Democratic Front which he saw as being anti-government. He saw the classroom as his constituency where he organised his peers and experienced a sense of power.

Percival was accused of attacking Inkatha members and taken to a police station where he was beaten up because he refused to talk. After his release he left school and his home and went into hiding with other child refugees waiting for a chance to leave the country and join the African National Congress.

Perhaps these children will return as guerrillas . . . or to negotiate our future. Either way we all lose.

NEWS

Harassment of journalists condemned

By CARINA le GRANGE
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) abhors the "flagrant abuse of power" of police who demand information from journalists subpoenaed under Section 205.

Ms Pat Sidley, an executive committee member, said Acag was also concerned about the safety of journalists.

She was reacting to the situation in which the editor-in-chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, is facing imprisonment for refusing to reveal sources of statistics printed by the Sunday Star in an economic article.

Security Police are demanding the name of a highly placed source who provided the statistics.

Failure to answer such questions can, under Section 205, result in imprisonment until the matter is resolved.

Intimidated

Ms Sidley said: "Acag believes newspapaers should not be intimidated while keeping a knowledged-starved public informed.

"Acag is deeply concerned at the continued and growing use of Section 205 inquiries. While its use is so widespread and common that it frequently is not reported, two cases lately have been prominently reported — those of the Star and Business Day.

The editor of Business Day, Mr Ken Owen, was recently forced to answer questions. He was refused a public hearing after criticising the Minister of Police and accusing the SAP of incompetence.

"In both cases police wanted the sources of information which, when published by those newspapers, embarrassed the authorities," said Ms Sidley.

"Acag is particularly concerned for the safety of the journalists whose job it is to keep that public informed," she said.

Stroke of midnight another ripple in tide of history

Sowetan 5/4/89.

AT THE stroke of midnight today or tomorrow at the latest — the state of emergency may be lifted or it may be reimposed, either as it stands or in a modified form.

Most South Africans will sleep through this moment of history, but among those most likely to be wakeful are the hundreds of restricted persons, whose quality of life depends on whether their restriction orders are renewed or cast aside.

In Queenstown, Pillay Mdatyulwa will be waiting to hear whether his house will continue to be a prison for 20 hours out of every 24 and whether he will continue spending much of his precious four-hour period of daily "freedom" reporting twice to the police station.

In Grahamstown, Gugile Nkwinti will be anxious to hear whether he will still be confined to the university town or whether he will be allowed home to his family in Port Alfred.

In Johannesburg, academic Raymond Suttner will want to hear that he is no longer prohibited from entering the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand and that he can get back to the libraries and lecture halls.

In Mankweng, in the Northern Transvaal, Mrs Priscilla Mokaba will be relieved if she no longer has to get the permission of the divisional commissioner of police to go to Pietersburg to do her regular shopping, or to visit the dentist.

Also in Mankweng, Mrs Joyce Mabudafhasi awaits the news that she will no longer be confined at night to the house where she was once bombed and where she sustained severe shrapnel wounds to the head.

In Soweto, the Sisulu family will be watching with double interst. They will know if Mrs Albertina Sisulu, president of the United Democratic Front, will be released from restriction and free to fulfil her role as a political figure of national stature, and whether, Zwelakhe Sisulu will be allowed to return to his work.

Hundreds wait in hope for PW's decision

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Star 2/6/87

Shrapnel wounds

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In Botshabelo, in the Free State, trade unionist Tamsanqa Mfazwe awaits the green light to move beyond his hometown so that he can effectively resume organising workers.

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Third year of emergency – and with it 'restrictions'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The third consecutive year of emergency rule is drawing to its close — a time that will no doubt be remembered as the period when, at the stroke of a pen, hundreds of homes across the country were effectively turned into prisons.

If 1986/7 was the year in which the foundations of emergency rule were laid — mass detentions, heavy media restrictions, clamps on gatherings and the definition of large areas of organisational life as "subversive" — and the distinctive feature of the second year was the banning of anti-apartheid organisations, then the outstanding facet of the last year was the large scale substitution of "restrictions" for detention without trial.

The term "restriction" has made a rapid entry into the peculiar jargon of South African politics. It is used as shorthand for a set of conditions imposed on an individual by the Minister of Law and Order acting in terms of the emergency regulations.

The conditions vary in detail but almost always include:

- A house arrest-type provision restricting the person to his or her home for anything between 11 and 20 hours out of every 24.
- Confinement to a single magisterial area.
- A prohibition on participation in various anti-apartheid organisations.
- A ban on helping prepare material for publication or granting interviews to journalists.
- A prohibition on attending gatherings convened to "attack, criticise or protest against any acts or policies or proposed acts or policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa".
- A limitation on the size of gathering the restricted person may attend. In some cases such gatherings may not exceed five persons.

Restriction orders are usually imposed on former detainees and given to them as they are set free from the cells. But there is an emergency provision for persons who have not been detained to be restricted by Ministerial order. Such restrictions apply, for instance, to United Democratic Front president Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

The imposition of restrictions is the flipside of another distinctive feature of the last six months of emergency rule — the mass release of detainees as a result of a series of events set in motion by hunger strikes mounted by detainees.

On February 1 this year — just a week into the first of the series of hunger strikes — there were 924 emergency detainees. By the end of May, according to official sources, only about 20 of this group were still in the cells.

At least 900 people were released in that short period — and the vast majority of them were restricted. At one point Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellett put the proportion restricted at about 60 percent.

This means that approximately 600 recently released detainees have been restricted, and that they joined scores or perhaps hundreds who were released earlier and restricted, or who were restricted without being detained.

"The house-arrest type of restrictions ... are causing enormous hardship and preventing former detainees from living a normal life," the Human Rights Commission (HRC) observes.

"The restriction orders are indefinite: there is no time limit placed on them. Ex-detainees are now being incarcerated in their own homes and prevented from being involved in political activity despite the fact that they have not been found guilty of any offence."

The HRC points out that restrictions often cause financial hardship. "Many former detainees complain that they are unable to afford the expense of having to report (often twice daily) to police stations.

"Others have been denied their livelihood and access to families by the conditions of their restriction orders.

"All are restricted from taking part in political activity. Most seriously, many ex-detainees feel that their restrictions place their lives in jeopardy, because they are forced to remain indoors."

The HRC stresses this fear is not a mere flight of fancy. In April, it states, restricted former detainee Christy Ntuli, of the Natal Youth Congress, was murdered within weeks of his release. He was killed while returning from a compulsory visit to the police station.

There have been press reports that restricted Soweto high school pupil Pamela Majodina was attacked by two minibus-loads of armed men on her way home from reporting to Meadowlands police station. This attack and an alleged policeman's threat to kill her have been reported to the Commissioner of Police by her attorney.

The difficulties and dangers associated with complying with restriction orders have led former detainees to defy their restrictions. Some have been threatened with prosecution and a few have actually been charged.

The house arrest of one member affects the whole family

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The difficulties and dangers associated with complying with restriction orders have led former detainees to defy their restrictions. Some have been threatened with prosecution and a few have actually been charged.

The house arrest of one member affects the whole family

Judge reprimands Brigadier During

Cape Times 6/6/89

By RONNIE MORRIS
Supreme Court Reporter

A COURT could not be expected to uphold the cause of a litigant who entered its portals with dirty hands, a Supreme Court judge said yesterday.

Mr Justice H L Berman was giving judgment on an application by Brigadier Roy During, Divisional Commissioner of Police, for leave to appeal against the setting aside of his banning of the Rally for Democracy in the City Hall last year.

The application was refused.

Brigadier During banned the meeting — called by Mr D M de Jong and the Gardens Youth Congress (Gayco) — in terms of the emergency regulations on October 19 last year.

At the hearing of an urgent application at his home that evening, Mr Justice Berman set the ban aside after he found that Brigadier During had failed to apply his mind properly and had acted in bad faith.

Mr Justice Berman said yesterday he did not doubt the correctness of his original finding that Brigadier During had deliberately delayed notifying the organisers until hours before the meeting.

Furthermore, the brigadier had attempted to mislead the court into believing that affidavits prepared in advance of the Gayco application and filed by him after the suit was brought were genuinely "replying" affidavits.

Mr Justice Berman said Mr L Visser, SC, for the brigadier, had sought to account for the brigadier's "unacceptable conduct" by saying the brigadier had known what Gayco would say, having had considerable experience.

If that had been the case, the brigadier should have been frank with the court, the judge said.

Mr Deon Irish, instructed by Ms Christine Burger of E Moosa and Associates, appeared for Mr De Jong and Gayco. Mr Visser appeared with Mr J L U van der Hoven and was instructed by the state attorney

Men vanished at time of violence, says police colonel

Argus 6/6/89

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From PAT CANDIDO, Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — People went missing in 1985 and 1986 during violent clashes between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, the Supreme Court has been told.

Colonel Eric Strydom, former head of the Eastern Cape Murder and Robbery Squad, said Mr Qaqawuli Godolozi, Mr Sipho Hashe and Mr Champion Galela had disappeared at this time.

Colonel Strydom was testifying in an application by Mrs B N Godolozi asking the Minister of Law and Order and the commanding officer of the Alexandria police station to produce her missing son.

Mr Godolozi, president of the restricted Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association, secretary-general Mr Hashe and organising secretary Mr Galela disappeared under mysterious circumstances on May 8 1985.

On way to airport

They were believed to be on their way to see a member of the British Embassy at the H F Verwoerd Airport when they disappeared.

Families of some missing people had traced relatives to the mortuary, Colonel Strydom said. Missing people had often been assaulted and set alight.

He said he had told Mrs Hashe she should check the mortuary.

Colonel Strydom said he had issued instructions that Mr Hashe be arrested and questioned about an incident in which police had been attacked by a group of guards at the Hashe home.

Police had found petrol bombs and other dangerous weapons there.

Colonel Strydom said he had not met Mr Hashe. When he met Mrs Hashe she had told him her husband was missing.

He denied telling her that her husband's body was at the mortuary or that police had identified him by his legs.

Murder investigation

He said he did not know the three men, because his squad had nothing to do with political cases.

He knew Mr Henry Fazzie, regional president of the UDF, and the vice-president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi. He said his staff was investigating a case of murder against Mr Ngoyi.

On May 21 1985 the divisional commissioner and commanding officers were told at a meeting to investigate whether Mr Godolozi, Mr Hashe and Mr Galela had been taken into custody.

He had personally checked the registers and could not find their names.

The hearing continues.

groups demand lifting of emergency

to

By Jo-Anne Collinge (327) STAR 7/6/89

Letters demanding an end to the state of emergency and the lifting of restrictions on organisations and individuals were delivered yesterday to every member of the Cabinet by a delegation representing 10 organisations.

"There is a very strong feeling among large sections of the community that they are no longer prepared to continue living under the state of emergency. We believe the Cabinet is unaware of the seriousness of the situation," the organisations said.

They issued a press statement expressing the hope that the letter would be considered by Cabinet Ministers before their special meeting today at which the reimposition of the emergency will be discussed. The present state of emergency is due to end on June 10.

The letter read: "For three years the people of South Africa have been restricted and controlled under the state of emergency. This has caused tremendous suffering for individuals and their families. The country has experienced unprecedented erosion of the rule of law and a decline in the economy."

The emegency had failed to address the country's problems and had hindered peaceful settlement. It could never contain resistance to apartheid.

The letter was signed by: Black Sash, Black Students Interim Committee, Catholic Association of Students, Conscientious Objectors Support Group, Five Freedoms Forum, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, National Union of South African Students, South African Council of Churches, Students Union for Christian Action and Women for Peace.

● The organisations have called a public meeting in support of their demands to be held at 1 pm tomorrow at the Central Methodist Church, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg. Speakers include Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa of the Human Rights Commission; Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star; Mr Murphy Morobe of the UDF and Mr Murray Hofmeyr of JCI.

● See Page 11.

De Waal drive closed by teargas, protests

CM Times 7/6/89 (327)

By CHARL DE VILLIERS and PATRICK COLLINGS

DE WAAL Drive was closed off for more than an hour yesterday by police who fired salvoes of teargas into a UCT student picket protesting at the expulsion last week of Matie Nusas president Ms Leslee Durr.

Thousands of vehicles were diverted away from the area by police and traffic officers, causing a huge traffic snarl. Roads in the immediate vicinity were congested and virtually impassable.

Police said a 21-year-old woman was briefly detained under the emergency regulations.

The demonstration also slammed the suspension of Nusas and the Black Students' Organisation on the Matie campus in the wake of recent disturbances at the University of Stellenbosch.

Matie rector Professor Mike de Vries yesterday turned down a student ultimatum that he rescind the disciplinary steps against Ms Durr and the two organisations by 10am on Saturday.

"I hope to be playing golf then," Prof De Vries told a press conference at the university.

Warning of harsh action against people who tried to "blackmail" the University of Stellenbosch, Prof De Vries said he could not discount the possibility of further disciplinary steps against students.

Commenting last night, Ms Durr said: "It's clearly the response of an authoritarian administration which obviously does not take student demands seriously."

To page 3

GAS ATTACK . . . Students flee billowing clouds of tearsmoke fired by police against a student picket below the University Cape Town sports centre yesterday. ● More pictures — Page 3.

Pictures: DION TROMP, The Argus.

DUCK 'N DIVE: The protest breaks up as students run when police fire teargas.

Police fire teargas to break up UCT rally

ARGUS 7/6/89

By ANTHONY DOMAN and DALE KNEEN
Staff Reporters

A UCT placard demonstration in support of suspended Stellenbosch Nusas leader Miss Leslee Durr and other "students under attack" was broken up by police firing teargas after warning the gathering contravened emergency regulations.

The demonstration followed a rally at which students voted in favour of cancelling the annual intervarsity because of Stellenbosch University's suspension of Nusas president Miss Leslee Durr and two student bodies.

A police officer warned the students to disperse. Teargas was used when they refused, said police liaison officer Lieutenant Attie Laubscher.

A part of Rhodes Drive in front of the university was sealed off by police as about 150 students gathered on the slopes above the road.

Lieutenant Laubscher said about 400 students later regrouped. He said police detained a 21-year-old woman, believed to be student, who had been carrying a placard. She was released soon after questioning.

This follows the arrest of 22 UCT students demonstrating in support of Miss Durr last Friday.

PROTEST ROLE

Miss Durr, a 21-year-old philosophy honours student, was expelled last week for her role in a protest march on May 18 against residence racism.

She was applauded yesterday by about 500 students at a UCT lunchtime rally under the banner "Students under attack" when she said: "I would like to encourage you not to play the intervarsity against Stellenbosch."

Stellenbosch University administration had "finally been exposed for the racist body it is", Miss Durr said.

The Nationalist Party was losing its grip on the campus, which was formerly a "bastion of Afrikanerdom".

"The suspensions were a last desperate move to silence opposition," she said. The move had been politically motivated.

"A SHAM"

She described the disciplinary hearing at which she was suspended as "a sham".

Legal action would be taken to fight the suspension if the university had not rescinded the decision by Saturday, she said.

Also, a national and international media campaign against the university authorities would begin. Efforts would be made to isolate Stellenbosch.

The rally resolved to demand the unconditional lifting of the Stellenbosch suspensions, and to approach the intervarsity committee to cancel the annual event.

It also called for the unbanning of "democratic organisations", the removal of security forces from schools, the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of all detained teachers and students.

MARCHING OUT: UCT students march down the stairs from Jameson Hall in the direction of Rhodes Drive after a mass meeting.

EMERGING AGAIN . . . Mr Govan Mbeki comes out of Victor Verster Prison after an 80-minute visit to Mr Nelson Mandela. With him is Mrs Farieda Omar, who took him to the prison, but was not allowed in with him.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Cape Times 7/6/89 (327)

Mbeki granted visit to Mandela

By PETER DENNEHY

RESTRICTED ANC stalwart Mr Govan Mbeki was granted a surprise visit to Mr Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday.

Mr Mbeki, 79, may not speak to the press, and he made no attempt to do so when he emerged smiling from the prison, clearly in an exuberant mood.

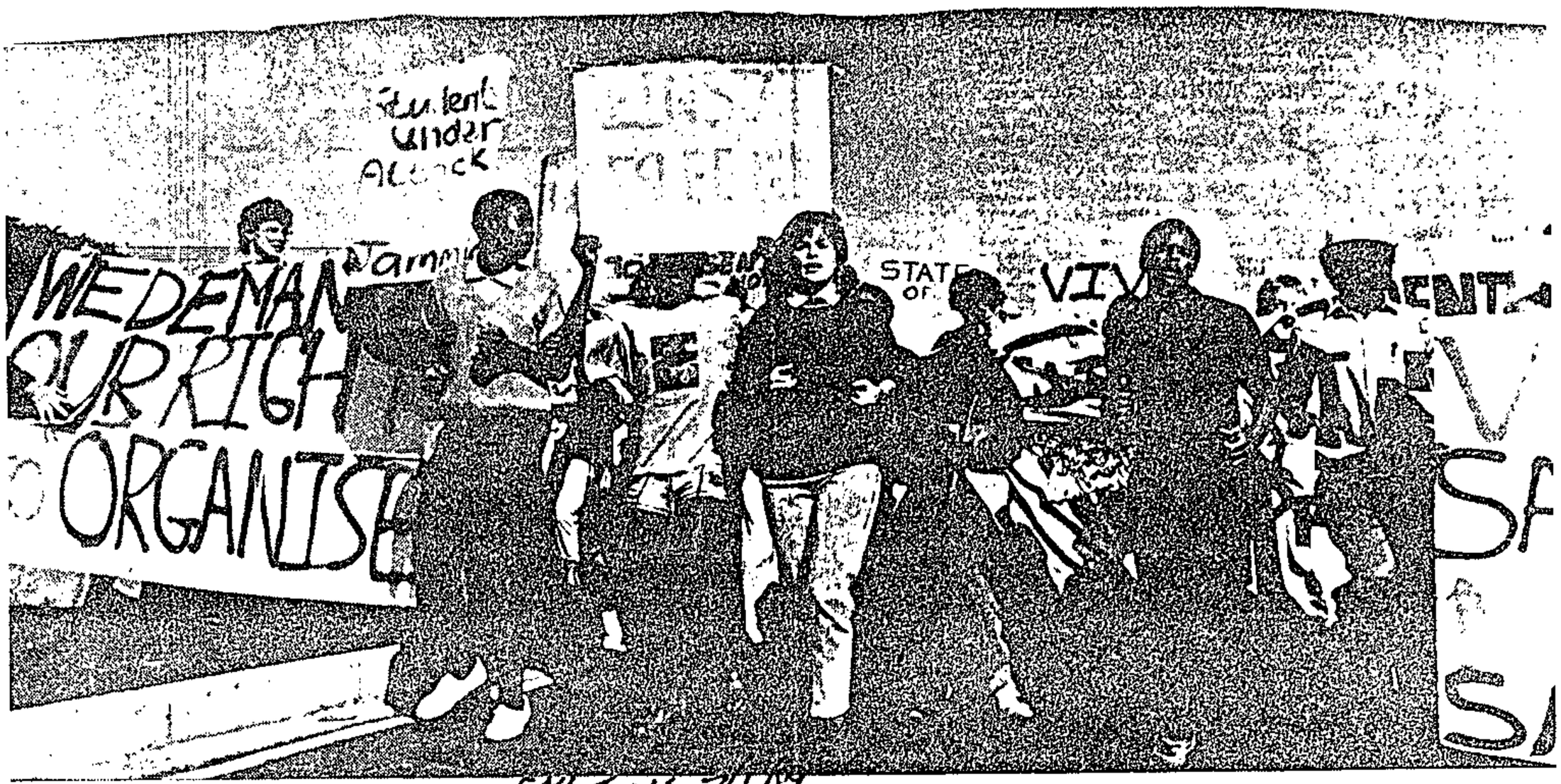
Mr Mbeki — father of Mr Thabo Mbeki, a senior member of the ANC's present National Executive Committee — was imprisoned for life along with Mr Mandela at the end of the Rivonia Trial in 1964.

He was released about 23 years later on November 5, 1987, after having spent most of his sentence with Mr Mandela on Robben Island.

Yesterday's visit was the first time the two ANC leaders had met since Mr Mbeki's release.

Soon after his release, restrictions were slapped on Mr Mbeki, confining him to the Port Elizabeth area. He has on occasion been granted permission to see his opthalmologist in Cape Town.

Major J H Smith of the SA Prisons Service Liaison office said visits to prisoners were considered private matters.



ABOVE ... UCT students, led by SRC chairperson Ms Geordie Radcliffe, jog towards De Waal Drive in protest against the expulsion of Stellenbosch Nusas leader Ms Leslee Durr and the four-month bans on Stellenbosch branches of Nusas and the Black Students Organisation. **BELOW** ... Police yesterday diverted traffic from De Waal Drive during a student roadside picket, causing unrelieved congestion for almost two hours.

From page 1

Prof De Vries was underestimating the support on and beyond the Stellenbosch campus for herself and the suspended organisations, she added.

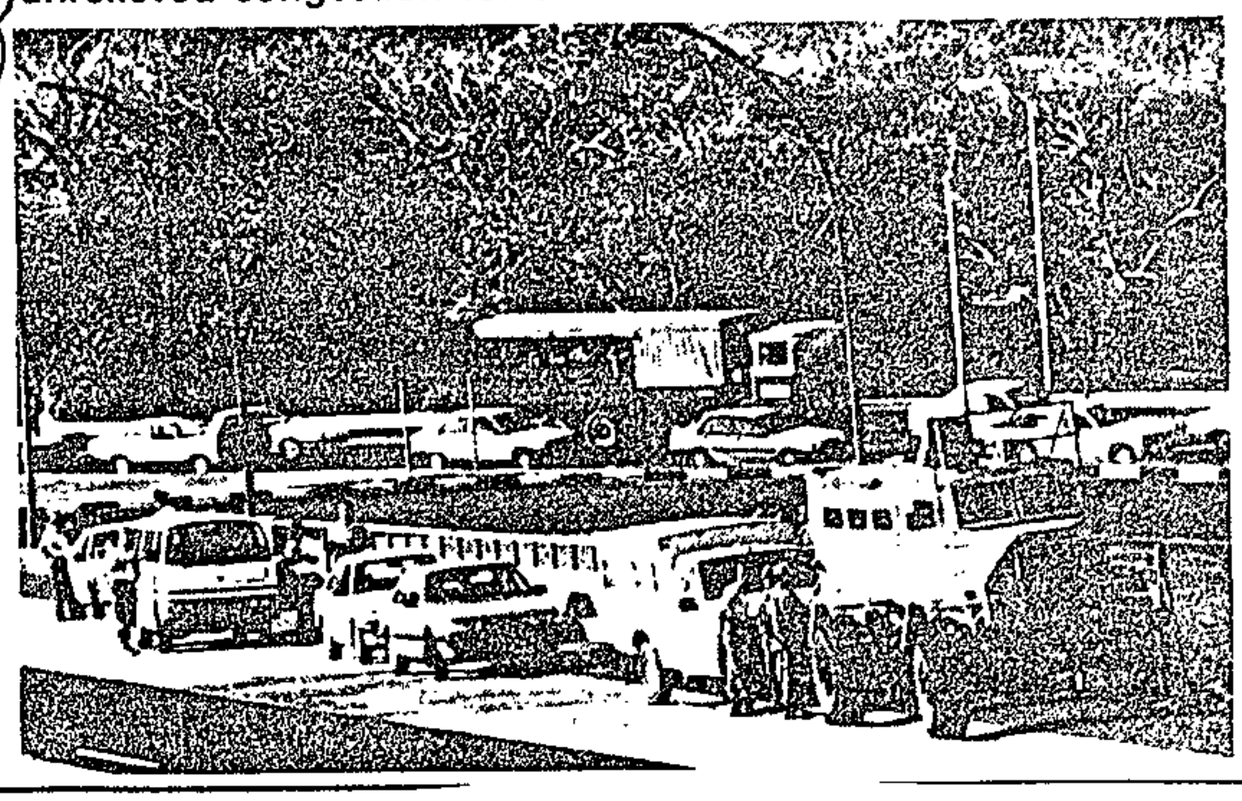
Police yesterday confirmed that students gathered on the slopes below the UCT sports complex and, after ignoring orders to disperse, were dispersed with teargas.

De Waal Drive was cordoned off at Woolsack Drive and Princess Anne Avenue soon after 2pm with traffic diverted into Main Road until 3.45pm, when the cordon was lifted.

Ms Durr, who was given a standing ovation before addressing about 800 students in Jameson Hall, called for the rugby intervarsity between UCT and Stellenbosch to be cancelled.

Matie mathematics lecturer Prof Hennie Schutte yesterday said about 60 Stellenbosch academics had expressed concern at the events on the campus, because "freedom of expression includes that of peaceful protest".

The Western Cape region of the Union of Democratic University Staff Association said denying students the right to protest was contrary to the "nature of a university".



Behind the Mandela visits

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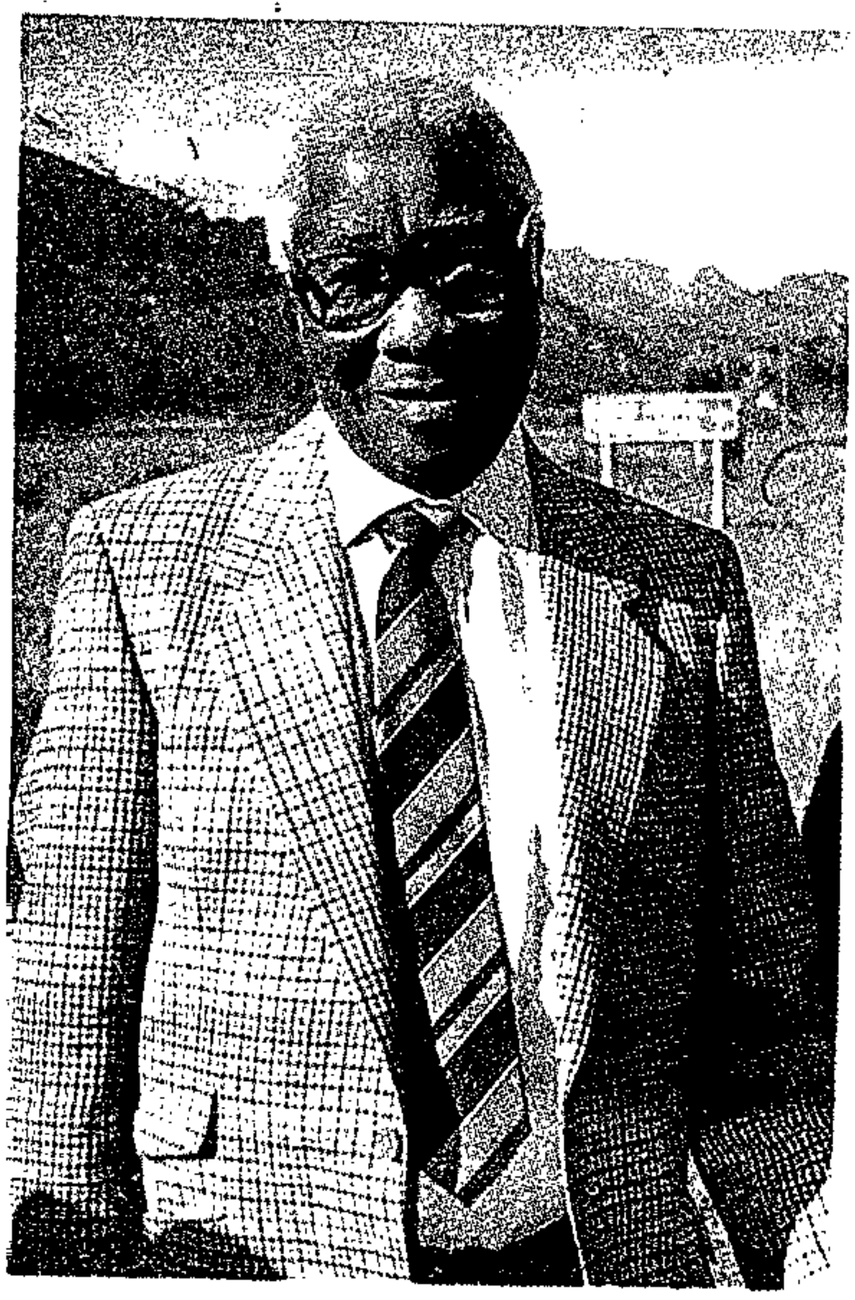


Govan Mbeki outside Victor Verster prison this week
PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

THE steady stream of visitors to Nelson Mandela's Paarl prison "home" is linked to a government offer to release him.

The surprise visit by Govan Mbeki to the Victor Verster Prison this week is believed to be part of an elaborate consultation process requested by Mandela.

The government in recent months has been involved in intense negotiations with Mandela on his possible release, according to reliable sources.

It is insisting, however, that he agrees to a set of conditions which includes a guarantee that his release will not lead to unrest and that it will not be exploited by anti-apartheid forces to whip up support.

Refused to budge

Mandela has reportedly refused to budge from his position of an unconditional release for him and fellow Rivonia trialists still imprisoned.

He has, however, requested, and the government has seemingly agreed, an opportunity to consult a broad range of people and groups in the democratic movement internally as well as the ANC in exile.

These consultations are well underway, the latest being that with Mbeki who had been refused permission to visit Mandela on two previous occasions.

The last meeting between the two was in November 1987 when Mbeki was released from imprisonment on Robben Island on humanitarian grounds and taken to Pollsmoor for discussions with Mandela.

Sources said this week's meeting between Mbeki and Mandela was of "great significance" as the government had used the enthusiastic reception accorded Mbeki on his release as an excuse not to release the other Rivonia trialists.

Heavy restrictions were imposed on Mbeki shortly after his release.

"It was a trial-run the government considered a failure from its point of view," a source said.

Other developments in the consultative process requested by Mandela are:

- The visit last week by ANC veteran Harry Gwala — the second time in a month;
- Visits to Victor Verster by Walter Sisulu and other Rivonia trialists held at Pollsmoor;
- The detour visit to Victor Verster by the jailed ANC veteran Wilton Mkwayi while being

TO PAGE 3

Mandela

FROM PAGE ONE

transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor;

- Visits by legal representatives including his personal lawyer, Ismail Ayob;
- A visit by family confidante Fatima Meer three weeks ago.
- Visits this week by Mandela's close friends, Yusuf and Amina Cachalia.

ANC sources in Lusaka, while not confirming that the movement had been directly consulted, responded firmly against a conditional release.

"The South African regime will clearly attempt to exploit the inhuman incarceration and suffering of Mandela and other imprisoned comrades. The regime, however, is under intense pressure to release Mandela and will have to do so soon.

"An acceptance at this stage of a conditional release by our imprisoned comrades will be a major setback to the democratic movement and our advice is against it."

Sources in the democratic movement internally expressed concern that the government was able to manipulate particularly Mandela's isolated position.

"Except for his guards, he is virtually in solitary confinement at Victor Verster. The authorities are able to control who he sees and what he reads. They peruse the letters he writes and receives.

"We have no doubt, however, that Mandela, because of his leadership qualities, discipline and commitment to the struggle, will not do anything contrary to the wishes of the democratic movement."

South

REPRESSION DOSSIER No 4

The year that forced the state's hand

AS another year of the state of emergency draws to an end, the only emergency detainees in the Western Cape at present are five pupils.

This number hardly reflects the level of repression in the region in the past year.

Since June 12 last year, when the government introduced its third state of emergency, 157 people have been detained in the Western Cape, of whom 23 were served with heavy restriction orders on their release.

Almost 500 detainees have been restricted on their release countrywide.

Towards the end of last year, several Western Cape teacher and student organisations, including the Western Cape Teachers Union, the Democratic Teachers Union, the Mitchells Plain Students Congress, as well as the Western Cape Civic Association, joined a long list of about 30 organisations which have been restricted countrywide.

Pressure

Also added to the list were the End Conscription Campaign, the National Detainees' Forum and the Soweto Students' Congress.

But the past 12 months have seen the state of emergency facing its toughest test yet — the detainees' hunger strike, which led to the government succumbing to pressure and releasing hundreds of detainees.

It was also the year of the Consulate 37-day sit-in, the flop of the municipal elections in spite of the emergency regulations, the 38-day hunger strike by Sandile Thusi, the daring escapes by hunger strike detainees, and the detention of scores of people around events such as the Anti-Apartheid Conference and the 70th birthday of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Said a spokesperson for the Human Rights Commission: "It (the hunger strike) might even have gone as far as changing the future of detentions without trial from being the major tactic of repression.

"However, in its place it has left another form of immobilisation — that of restrictions, which make the restricted person the policeman of his own activities."

Since the first emergency was introduced almost 1 100 days ago, more than 30 000 people have been detained under emergency regulations.

Members of Bongani Jonas' family outside the Supreme Court for the "Yengeni" trial

Six hanged in one week

EVEN as the nationwide campaign against hangings continues to gain momentum, at least six more people — three of them from Cape Town — have gone to the gallows in the past week.

And a further 280 people are still on Pretoria Central Prison's overcrowded death row.

These include about 60 people who have been sentenced to death for politically-motivated crimes.

South Africa has the highest hanging statistics in the world. In 1988, 117 people were hanged at Pretoria Central. So far this year more than 20 people have met a similar fate.

Publications seized

IN THE month that Grassroots and New Era hit the streets again after a three month banning under the emergency regulations, two other publications became targets of the government's strict media curbs.

Last week copies of Crisis News, a South African Council of Churches publication, and *Culture in Another South Africa*, published by David Philip, were seized by police under the emergency regulations.

This week former SOUTH editor Rashid Seria and Kate Savage and Lise Bosman, former editors of the student publication Varsity, appeared in the Cape Town magistrates court charged with contravening the media emergency regulations.

The charges against both publications arise from reports published last year on the schools situation in the Western Cape.

In Johannesburg the editor of Business Day, Ken Owen, and Harvey Tyson, the editor of The Star newspaper, have been served with subpoenas under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act in an attempt to force them to reveal the sources of articles they published.

The Owen article concerned the unsolved murder of four mine workers at Western Holdings mine in June 1986 and the Star subpoena centred on an economic article published in the Sunday Star.

Trials underway

THE following is a list of trials underway in the Western Cape during June:

Ongoing: Tony Yengeni, Jennifer Schreiner, Lumka Nyamza, Mzimkhulu Lubamsbo, Mbutu Nduku, Mongameli Nkwandla, Mtheteleli Titana, Gary Kruser, Christopher Giffard, Sitlabocha Mahlale, Alpheus Ndude, Gertrude Fester, Zuraya Abass and Colleen Lombard. Charges of terrorism, Supreme Court, Cape Town.

JUNE 2: Christina Tuyulu, contravening the Internal Security Act, Wynberg regional court.

JUNE 5: Elliot Mthwa, Siphiwo Mkhabeni, Vusumzi Futshane, Wandile Qamata, Simon Sineli, Paulo Mokoena, Mzwandile Bhuka, Mzandile Yesha, Teminkosi Nbanjwa, Mzwabantu Nciyabo, Lundi Ngqokrwana, Nktsikelelo Kambi, and Matoto Makhosonke. Charges of public violence, Wynberg regional court.

JUNE 6: Former SOUTH editor Rashid Seria, contravening the media regulations, Cape Town magistrates court.

JUNE 8: A youth on charges of public violence, Cape Town regional court.

JUNE 9: Mr M De Sousa, attempted murder, Mitchells Plain regional court.

JUNE 12: Buyiswa Jack, charge not yet formulated, Wynberg regional court.

JUNE 12: Veliswa Mhlauli and Linda Tsotsi, terrorism, Wynberg regional court.

JUNE 13: Robert Maliti, possession of explosives, Cape Town regional court.

JUNE 14: John de Vos, public violence, Cape Town regional court.

JUNE 15: Mangaliso Dolosi, public violence, Athlone regional court.

JUNE 19: Pumzile Simelela, terrorism, Cape Town regional court.

JUNE 19: Magdalene Witbooi, George Dwashu and Anna Shosola, public violence, Vredenberg regional court.

JUNE 20: Harold de Bruin, perjury, Vredenberg regional court.

JUNE 27: A youth, charges of public violence, Parow regional court.

JUNE 29: Don de la Harpe, furthering the aims of the ANC, Cape Town regional court.

Pupils still held

MORE people are presently held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act that under emergency regulations in the Western Cape.

STATE OF EMERGENCY

The following pupils are the only emergency detainees in the Western Cape:

Basil Muller, Anthony Madini, Tutu Majozi, Pelly Momvana, Thanduxolo Sogani. They have all been held for more than 20 days.

SECTION 29

The following people have been held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Their names are followed by the number of days they will have been held by June 8:

Vuyo Fetsha (145), Christopher Toise (121), Robert Thwalo (108), Zamile Louw (108), NgcondeBalfour (108), Mdoda Daki (108), Siphiwo Qila (58), Lungile Mfobo (58).

SOUTH's Repression Dossier is a monthly focus on political trials, detentions, bannings and restriction - measures used by the State against opponents in South Africa.
This dossier has been compiled from information supplied and publications produced by the Repression Monitoring Group, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) and the lawyers and relatives of detainees.

This focus was made possible by the support of the FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

Brave new era for detainees

A turning-point in the third successive state of emergency came in September last year, when three detainees at Johannesburg's Diepkloof Prison escaped and sought refuge in the American consulate.

One of the escapees, Mohammed Valli Moosa, considers the escape the first in a series of events in which detainees wrested the initiative from the state.

"Detainees decided to free themselves — and won," he told MONO BADELA in an interview:

Mohammed Valli Moosa

WHEN detainees Mohammed Valli Moosa, Murphy Morobe and Vusi Khanyile made their dramatic escape from Johannesburg Hospital to the United States consulate in September last year, they ushered in a brave new era for detainees.

In the months to follow, hundreds of detainees would fearlessly challenge the government's bluff — and win their release.

Valli, general-secretary for the United Democratic Front (UDF), Morobe, UDF publicity secretary and Khanyile, chairperson of the National Education Crisis Committee, were in detention at Diepkloof prison when the second state of emergency came up for renewal in June, 1988.

Recalled Valli: "On June 9 1988, those of us in Diepkloof were redetained. This made it clear to us that Vlok was not applying his mind to the specific cases of individuals.

"We got the feeling that we would remain in detention without any recourse to justice for an endless period of time.

"It was also clear that the government was not prepared to listen to the whole range of voices inside the country and around the world who were demanding the lifting of the state of emergency.

"In this situation the only option we had was to use a creative way to secure our freedom."

Valli described their escape from custody as "frightening", given the possible consequences should their mission fail.

"We made our decision to escape at the risk of worsening our own situation.

"Although the American Consulate officials were reluctant to allow us to remain in the first hours of our arrival there, we received tremendous support from the staff.

"We held the moral high ground and so we found a ready sympathy."

Valli said the national and international impact of the escape and sit-in was "beyond expectation".

"Our escape gave a boost to the morale of many people who only saw a gloomy picture of repression.

"More importantly, it tremendously strengthened the resolve of hundreds of detainees throughout the country."

By "sitting it out" in the consulate for 35 days, the men were able to highlight the plight of detainees when the issue was no longer considered newsworthy.

"It also secured our personal freedom and later those of others like youth leader Ephraim Nkwe and the three others who escaped from hospital to the West German Embassy in Pretoria."

Valli said he believed the escapes "largely contributed" to the hunger strikes earlier this year.

"The hunger strikes were acts of tremendous heroism on the part of the detainees. There have been examples of hunger strikes elsewhere in the world where certain individuals embarked on extended hunger strikes.

"But what the state did not expect was that the entire detainee population would embark systematically on extended hunger strikes to force their release."

Valli said the actions of detainees and various church, youth, civic and women's organisations had helped to ensure that the democratic movement "survived the battering" it had received under the state of emergency.

Far from being beaten into submission, the democratic movement had made several gains during that crucial period.

"The state of emergency has failed in its main objectives," explained Valli.

"As we understand it,the objectives of the state of emergency when it was first introduced was to smash all kinds of resistance to apartheid and destroy the structures of the opposition movement.

"Another aim was to re-establish the legitimacy of the government's reform strategy, particularly in the townships. The emergency has failed in all these aims."

However, the emergency succeeded in keeping in detention a significant layer of the leadership.

"Many activists and organisations were isolated by 1988. But by the end of last year, we began to see the first signs of a turn in events," said Valli.

"Those involved in the struggle found new ways of overcoming the effects of the emergency and ensured that resistance continued."

The municipal elections in October last year and the three-day stayaway initiated by Cosatu with the help of other organisations had indicated that the struggle was continuing despite the three-year-old state of emergency.

But the mass democratic movement had not come through without losses.

"One of the greatest losses we suffered was the death of a large number of our supporters as a result of violence in the Natal area."

The assassinations of anti-apartheid activists proved to be other setbacks for the movement.

And then there were the restrictions — the harshest yet — imposed on hundreds of released detainees.

Nothing, though, could stifle the rising spirit of optimism.

"During the latter part of 1988 and the first few months of 1989, it finally became clear to all of us that the emergency had failed," said Valli.

SASJ
SOUTHERN AFRICAN SOCIETY OF JOURNALISTS

DEMANDS THAT GOVERNMENT ENDS THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND LIFTS THE MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

How Bobby Sands' ghost won a victory for freedom

By CHIARA CARTER

ON New Year's Day this year, more than 900 people were being held in emergency detention in South Africa.

Four months later, human rights groups placed the figure at about 100.

In the intervening three months, detainees themselves had staged the most successful challenge ever to the system of detention without trial, the major weapon used by the government over the past two and a half years to stifle opposition.

The method the detainees used to win their release was simple: They refused to eat.

The first reports of a hunger strike by 20 detainees began to trickle out from Diepkloof prison at the end of January.

The detainees had embarked on an "indefinite" hunger strike to demand the release of all detainees.

The hunger strike spread rapidly as scores of detainees joined the Diepkloof protest.

By the end of March, more than 700 detainees had participated and sympathisers from all walks of life had undertaken solidarity action in South Africa and abroad.

Many of the hunger strikers had been in detention for a long time; over a quarter since the beginning of the state of emergency.

Unlike previous hunger strikes, the protest affected all parts of the country, continuing over several weeks and showing no signs of abating.

Vlok's initial response was to dismiss the protests as "blackmail", but it was soon evident that the government faced a major crisis with local and international implications.

While President Botha recovered from his stroke, the spectre of Bobby Sands brought the government to the negotiating table.

The securocrats continued to advise Vlok to ignore the hunger strike but the State Security Council was overruled by the cabinet, the first time this had happened in Botha's 11-year rule.

In mid-February, Vlok agreed to meet with the detainees' families and lawyers as well as churchmen.

He gave an undertaking to review the situation of all detainees and release a "substantial number" by the end of the month. In return the hunger strikers agreed to suspend their fast.

The Human Rights Commission monitored the release of 202 detainees during this fortnight. The detainees said this number was not "substantial" and as the deadline drew closer there was a storm of protest that Vlok had not kept his word.

Several detainees resumed their hunger strike; one, Sandile Thusi, came close to dying. And, in a new development, Section 29 detainees joined the protest.

Vlok was forced to accelerate the rate of releases.

As hundreds of detainees were released, it was clear that the victims of state repression were holding their jailers to ransom.

And, in what observers dubbed the "great pyjama escape", some detainees cut short the release process by taking the "consulate route" of escape, leaving their captors looking foolish.

Despite attempts to undermine the hunger strike by refusing to release detainees until they stopped their fast and the decision to hospitalise all strikers in Bloemfontein to pre-empt more escapes, the hunger strike was a clear victory for the detainees and the mass democratic movement.

But, if the extra-parliamentary forces won a victory through their creative opposition, the state was not willing to free activists.

More than 500 of the released detainees are restricted, some so severely that it is impossible for them to lead a semblance of a normal life.

The challenge which now faces them is how to overcome their restrictions.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Lives hobbled by curbs

A QUEENSTOWN mother Mrs Margaret Bobotyana has a special wish — the lifting of the restrictions on her son.

She is part of at least 15 Queenstown families who have written to Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok asking him to lift the restrictions placed on former detainees.

In affidavits compiled by the families, they described the hardship of living with a restricted person and said the entire household was affected.

Mrs Bobotyana, describing the depression experienced by her son Aaron, said:

"His memory is poor and he complains of continuous headaches which do not stop even if he takes painkillers.

"One Saturday Aaron came to visit me. He looked worried and sat quietly. When I asked him what was the matter he just said 'restrictions'. He held his hands on his face with his eyes closed.

"He got up, went outside and stood at the gate staring blankly. I was so worried to see my son like that, I went inside and wept, praying that the restrictions will be lifted."

Mrs Bobotyana said at times Aaron looked confused.

"He once told me he found it difficult to plan his future under the present state of affairs.

"Because of the restrictions imposed on him he cannot be referred to a specialist outside Queenstown. I really fear losing my son."

In other affidavits, wives, husbands, mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters complained bitterly of the nightly police visits, of being unable to see their loved ones and of having to watch the anguish of restricted members.

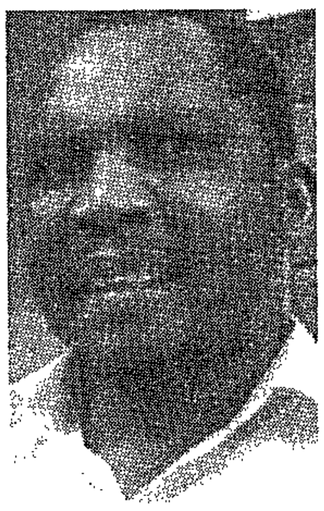
They said restricted members were unable to pursue their studies.

Mrs Evelyn Mdatyulwa, aged mother of restricted Xolela Mdatyulwa, said as a student studying through Unisa, her son was unable to seek assistance from group discussions with other students in the evenings.

Many of the families expressed similar problems with attending night classes and lectures outside Queenstown.

Mrs G B Veni said the nightly police visits affected her entire family.

"Our schoolgoing children are deprived of their sleep. I worry most about the effect of these experiences on their later lives as the police are feared by kids at their age."



Ian Mkhize

Sandile Thusi

Mr Tamsanqa Gcina expressed his concern about the restrictions on his son Sandile's movements in the evening which would make it illegal for him to take his sickly parents to a doctor should an emergency arise.

CHRISTINA SCOTT reports from Durban that the restrictions placed on 60 Natal activists have turned them into their own jailers.

Their lives become a biting comment on the absurdity of the government's repressive strategies.

● Diakonia ecumenical agency employee Ian Mkhize is the father of four boys. But the ex-hunger striker's restrictions bar him from seeing all of them at the same time.

In 1984, his house and car were torched by anonymous arsonists.

A year later, Mkhize was detained for a month, followed by six months in 1987 and five months in 1988 and early 1989. He has never been charged.

Yet Mkhize is lucky. He has kept his job, although his abilities have been severly hobbled by his "13 commandments".

● Attorney Archie Gumede, a president of the UDF, is not allowed to address gatherings. But this did not stop the authorities from asking him to speak reason to 250 hunger-striking detainees last year.

Gumede has been detained three times, charged and acquitted of treason, and is on his second restriction order.

This hampers his efforts to negotiate peace talks between the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha to resolve the Natal violence which has so far claimed 2 000 lives.

● Sandile Thusi, who led the country's longest hunger strike with 38 days, is a university student and education researcher. But under the terms of his restriction order, he is barred from all educational institutions, from creches to universities, and so can neither study nor research.

Every time Thusi takes public transport he effectively flouts his order by breaking the limit on the number of people he can meet.

When he returns home, there is a constant reminder of how vulnerable he is.

There he fills his time by rebuilding a room petrol-bombed by vigilantes three years ago - an incident which killed his younger brother, Thabo.

● Natal Students Congress activist Skhonzi Gazu of Lamontville no longer reports to the police since they refused to sign him in unless he brought his own pen.

After he said he could not afford the busfare to the station twice a day, the commander at Montclair Police Station allegedly responded: "Sleep in the verandah between visits."

COMMTRA

WE CALL FOR THE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY.

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT BE RESOLVED BY USING REPRESSIVE MEASURES

The South African Municipal Workers' Union demands

SOUTH AFRICAN MUNICIPAL WORKERS' UNION SAMWU

that no new State of Emergency be imposed on our land when the current State of emergency ends this week.

We further demand:

The release of all Emergency detainees and other political prisoners;

The lifting of restrictions placed on our organisations;

The repeal of all legislation enacted in terms of the Emergency.

Schools bear the brunt of emergency

A PASS to go to the toilet. This is one of several measures introduced to control the situation at schools during the state of emergency.

A unrest flashpoint since 1976, schools were targeted by the state for firm action over the past three years.

Security forces now patrol schoolgrounds in townships throughout the country, pupils are compelled to carry identity cards and schoolgates are padlocked after the first bell has rung.

Teachers, pupils and students have borne the brunt of the repressive measures, such as detentions and bannings.

A range of educationists interviewed this week agreed, however, that the state of emergency has done little to alleviate the chronic crisis at black schools.

Responsible

Mr Yusuf Gabru, chairperson of the restricted Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU) said the existence of the emergency was a clear indication of the illegitimacy of the minority government.

Speaking in his personal capacity, Gabru said: "The fact that the government, with the support of the Labour Party, has seen it fit to restrict students and teachers organisations once more shows who is responsible for the situation at our schools.

Graeme Bloch, an educationist at the University of the Western Cape, said the state of emergency had meant increasing security force involvement in education.

Saleem Mowzer

He said the detention of students and teachers and the restrictions on their organisations have become synonomous with education under the emergency.

"Both the SAP and SADF are not qualified to deal with educational matters. Their intervention has had a destabilising and retarding effect on the education of our children."

Bloch said the emergency had provided the Department of Education and Training and the Department of Education and Culture the opportunity to act against progressive teachers and students organisations.

"They are trying to turn teachers into bureaucrats and officials of control rather than responsible educators.

"Neither the security forces nor education departments have begun to resolve the school crisis. Indeed, DET schools are simmering nationally. Emergency regulations may hide the real issues, but they will not help to eradicate the problem."

Saleem Mowzer, former Western Cape secretary of the restricted NECC, said the emergency had helped the government to silence progressive education organisations in the country.

"If organisations were allowed to meet we would have been able to resolve the present crisis at schools. We would have been able to invite parents, teachers and pupils and teachers to meetings to discuss the problem.

"The emergency prevents us from doing this. The government uses the emergency to prevent us from talking and to criminalise our organisations and their activities."

He said the high-handed actions of the education authorities worsened the problem.

Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon and president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, said the emergency had created an atmosphere of false calm while "affording the police far too much power".

"It is important for the state of emergency to be lifted so that legitimate protest can be heard, the press freed and the rule of law reinstated.

"This will also go a long way towards relieving the pent-up tensions in education," Sonn said.

Professor Peter Randall, head of education at Wits University, said restrictions on education must be lifted for it to function normally.

MWASA

MEDIA WORKERS ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The State of Emergency is about to expire on the 11th of June 1989, but there is every likelihood that the government would like to renew it.
Like in the past, MWASA calls on the government to scrap this draconian law.
For the past three years this law has been in operation, it has kept news from the people and allowed gossip and rumours to flourish.
The State of Emergency has not stopped things from happening but promoted them to be engineered more dangerously from behind the scenes.
It is the evil law which has filled the jails with innocent children and forced our people into exile.

MWASA condemns in the strongest terms the renewal of this diabolical law.

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SPECIAL LIFT THE EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENT

Emergency 'biggest cause of lawlessness'

LIFT the state of emergency!

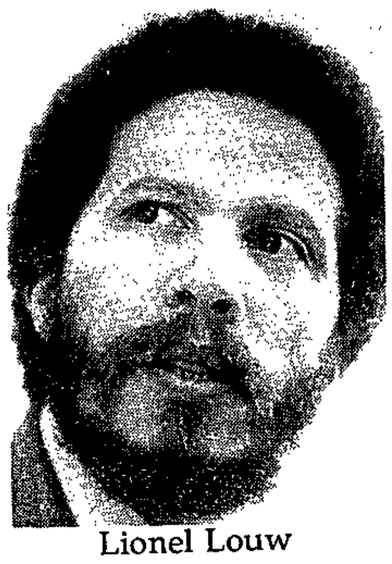
This was the call this week from all quarters as another year of emergency rule drew to an end.

The current state of emergency lapses at midnight on June 10, but is likely to be reimposed.

University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel described the state of emergency as an "hysterical reaction" to the growing demand by ordinary people and the international community for genuine peace and stability.

And advocate Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairperson of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, slammed it as the "biggest cause of lawlessness and disorder".

Dullah Omar


Lionel Louw

Jakes Gerwel

Ebrahim Patel

Disorder

Far from restoring "law and order", the state of emergency had caused more "lawlessness and chaos" and given security forces the licence to break up meetings and detain people with impunity, said Omar.

The courts had been "weak-kneed" in their approach to the emergency and many times events and happenings which were not recorded were only exposed when court applications were made.

Omar also blamed the emergency for the violence in Natal, which has claimed about 2 000 lives to date.

Calling for an end to the emergency, Omar said an atmosphere of peace was essential for South Africans to discuss the issues facing the country and to ensure that they could decide on their own future.

Said Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town: "South Africa cannot begin the long road to reconciliation and peace until the state of emergency is lifted.

"The University of Cape Towr. has called for its removal in the past and I renew that call now."

His UWC counterpart, Gerwel, rejected the notion that the state of emergency had led to "law and order" and "peace and stability".

He described this as a "fraudulent and dangerous illusion".

"The apparent calm, if we are to believe the strictly controlled flow of information, is an uneasy one. Jackboot repression under the state of emergency will not dull the people's instinctive rebelliousness against the tyranny of apartheid exploitation," said Gerwel.

The emergency was aimed at suppressing the legitimate expression of the will of the people, he said.

"History will not be manipulated, the truth can never be stifled.

"The impending apocalypse can only be avoided by ending the state of emergency in all its various forms."

Reverend Lionel Louw, chairperson of the Western Province Council of Churches, said the emergency had simply "forced the real problems underground".

"It has not in any way helped in bringing about peace and justice in South Africa. It has only caused greater suffering," he said.

Educationist Randell van den Heever said the real crisis in South Africa was the lack of democracy and this was being exacerbated by the state of emergency.

Discontent

"The emergency merely creates an artificial atmosphere of calm, with the seething discontent of the great majority of people still boiling beneath the surface," he said.

Ebrahim Patel, president of the South African Rugby Union, said the organisation called on the government not to reimpose the state of emergency.

"While the state of emergency may have succeeded in suppressing the visible distress of the people, it has failed miserably in addressing itself to the primary cause of the protest.

"Saru calls on the government to allow the people of South Africa all the means of democracy to bring about a political dispensation that bears the hallmarks of civilisation, morality, justice and peace for all South Africans," said Patel.

Taking centre stage. Workers protest against the Labour Relations Act
PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

'Address majority's problems'

The mass democratic movement had been able to adapt to difficult conditions after three years under emergency rule, says Cosatu's general secretary Jay Naidoo in this interview with a British publication:

Jay Naidoo

What has been the impact of the state of emergency?

The initial period had a severe impact — it disrupted strongly the lines of communication to structures we had built during the uprisings of 1984-85.

Mass detentions also had a severe impact, in that they removed not only the first layer of leadership but in some cases second and third layers.

It led to a type of paralysis in which there was no clear programme through which we could effectively advance the struggle. What happened as a result was that increasingly the burden was placed on the shoulders of the labour movement.

The labour movement was catapulted into the centre of the political stage. This led to important developments, but also caused some problems.

But by 1987 and 1988, one began to see a restructuring taking place, very serious attempts being made to address the strengths and weaknesses of the mass democratic movement (MDM).

The emergency going into its third year was not as effective as in the first two. People were developing different ways of dealing with repression.

The manifestations of that were the ongoing resistance — militant struggles of workers, ongoing student problems in many of the campuses, Turfloop, Fort Hare, etc, and the ongoing rent struggles.

A crisis for the state was caused by the campaigns and actions around detainees this year (particularly the hunger strikes by detainees), and that fundamentally undermined the effectiveness of the emergency — one of the main prongs of the emergency was the detentions.

The State was forced to adjust its views. They've imposed restriction orders, but these are doomed to failure — you cannot restrict so many people and still be able to monitor them and reduce their political role.

So, after three years of emergency rule, we have suffered quite serious damage to our structures and communications. But overall one could say that we have been able to regroup and adapt to conditions. That is what is leading to a keener spirit of optimism in the MDM.

But there has been a real decline in active resistance, even in the workplace.

But the intensity of worker militancy is still high. And that will become increasingly so as employers resort more and more to using the provisions of the new Labour Relations Act (LRA — passed last year amid strong protests by trade unions).

Generally, the approach of the MDM today would be different in a sense to the approach we used in 1984/5. We are living under changed objective conditions.

If it is not apparent at a mass level, one can be sure that there is consistent work going on to rebuild grassroots structures.

Particularly after the judgment in the Mayekiso case, people have begun making a new effort to rebuild street committees. But more than just street committees, one is talking about restructuring the MDM in its various formations, to the extent of trying to develop a more concrete process of building organisations at a national level and sectorally.

At that level there is a lot of work going on .... attempts to build unity of teachers, health workers, attempts to organise cultural workers, these are all manifestations of how the MDM is responding to the repression.

What is the labour force doing to challenge the LRA?

It has always been on the agenda of the MDM to make apartheid inoperable. That has been Cosatu's approach to the LRA, and that has been what is happening with the interdicts and lock-outs against our members.

We are basically not co-operating and they — certain employers — have been forced to begin to acknowledge that certain sections of the new act basically do not work if they do not have co-operation of the unions.

The restrictions would be one, the bannings of our organisations another.

What developments are likely in the MDM in the immediate future?

The months and years ahead will require the MDM to be very introspective, to be able to very systematically evaluate our strengths and weaknesses, to be able to formulate a very clear programme that allows our struggle to be dicatated by ther core forces of the democratic movement — essentially those core forces are the mass-based organisations in our community.

The apartheid state is undergoing a severe crisis as manifested by the resignation of (Constitutional Planning Minister Chris) Heunis, (Home Affairs Minister) Stoffel Botha and other cabinet ministers.

The pressures they are under from forces of imperalism, and at the same time recognising that their reform strategies have failed in that they have failed to win any significant collaboration of the black oppressed.

So they are very much in a cul de sac, and would need to formulate something that's radically new to rescue them and if you see that their latest debacle is the National Forum, which was an attempt to rescue themselves, even there a conservative body like the United Municipalities iof South Africa (Umsa) has suspended members who participated in the forum.

So the bottom line of what we are saying is that whatever strategies we develop, whether in relation to strengthening of the MDM, or broadening our base, our objective is to intensify the mass struggle.

It is only through mass resistance that one is able to achieve what are the minimum conditions we are demanding for a new South Africa. Those are the demands of the Freedom Charter.

You referred to the strengths and weaknesses of the MDM.

The process of assessing them is an ongoing process. That is the context in which we have to a large extent eliminated the factionalism of the old days. That is a very positive development.

The correctness of our strategies and tactics will be dictated by the extent to which they are accepted by the people as a whole. That is a very important issue to understand.

It is very much taking the example of Boksburg and saying why Boksburg is an isolated incident, why is it an isolated area of action against the Conservative Party, and being able to analyse what the role of the MDM has been in that struggle.

Have we been able to assert our leadership or is it essentially a struggle that is in the hands of councillors?

You referred to pressure on Pretoria by "forces of imperialism". What is your view of this pressure?

Our perspective would be that negotiations have been put on the agenda because the forces of imperialism have understood that change is inevitable in this country, and that the longer it takes to make changes, the more dramatic they will be when they do take place.

And essentially their concern is that the perspective of the democratic movement is a radical transformation of South African society, both economically and politically.

And this obviously threatens their vested interests, not just in South Africa but in the subcontinent. One must understand their concerns in a subcontinental context - South Africa is very much a key to the rest of Southern Africa.

Secondly, they've recognised that the National Party government has neither the capacity nor the will to begin to address the crisis in the country.

And what is happening is that they are dragging us deeper and deeper into the mire and dragging the interests of imperialism down with them.

So the pressures they are trying to exert on the government and the ANC is to effect a negotiated settlement. Our position and that of the democratic movment as a whole is that we have never opposed negotiations.

In fact the call by the ANC has consistently been for negotiations, even prior to its banning when it was forced to take up the armed struggle.

What we have maintained, though, for negotiations to succeed and lead to a permanent and lasting peace, there have to be created certain conditions.

These have been spelled out by the MDM in very very clear terms — the dismantlement of the structures of apartheid repression, whether it's legislation or the various security apparatuses that exist.

The second area would be the demands we have made consistently about the release of political prisoners, unbanning of banned organisations, return of exiles. But the one we emphasise is freedom of association and freedom of speech.

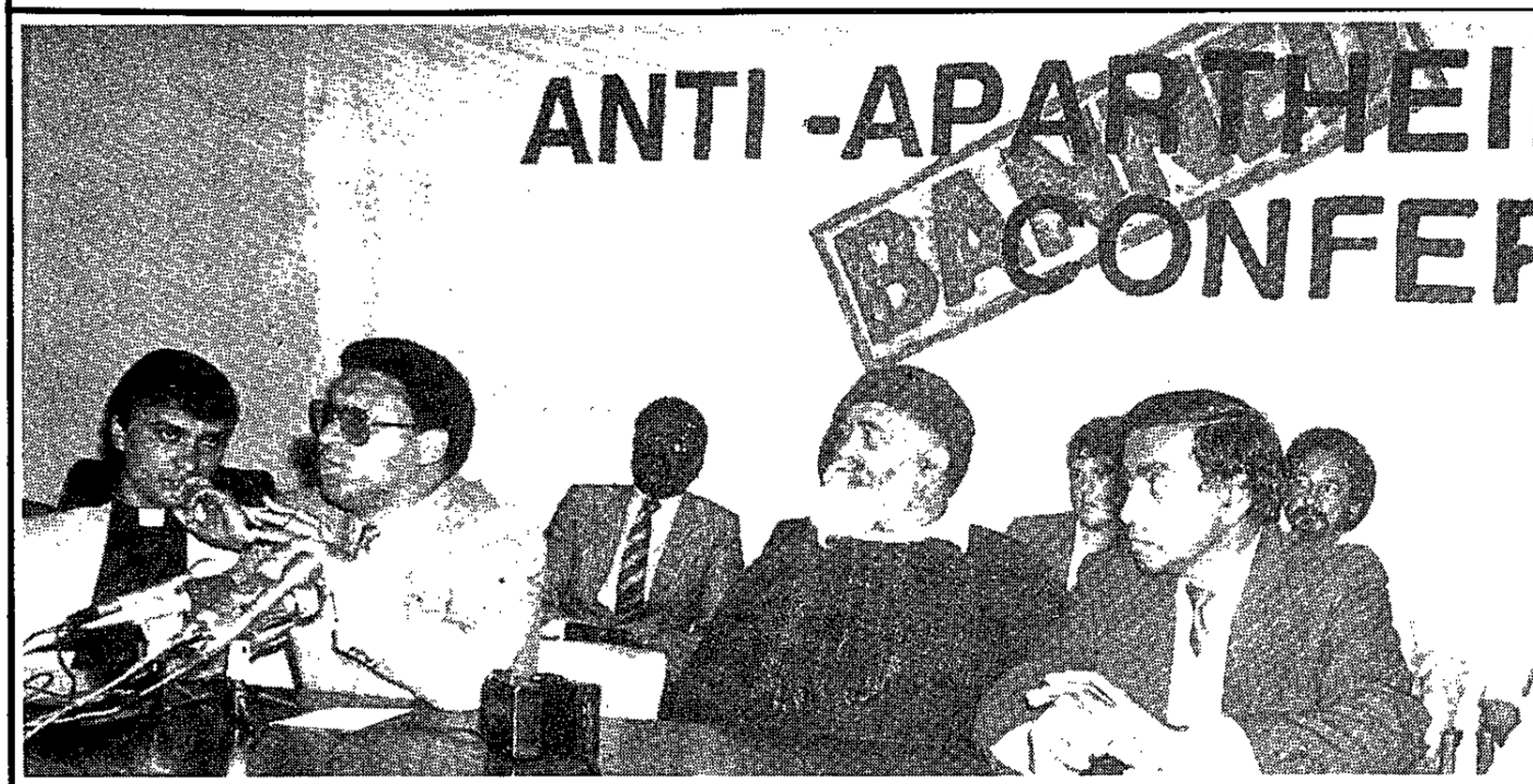
For us to have negotiations organisations will have to put their programmes to the people, to canvass people and get mandates.

That implies that any negotiations have to be open. Lastly, our view of any negotiations is at the end of the day we have got to address the needs of the majority of people in our country — whether that's in relation to housing, education, medical care or electricity.

(Jay Naidoo was interviewed in his personal capacity because of restrictions placed on Cosatu.)

SPEC

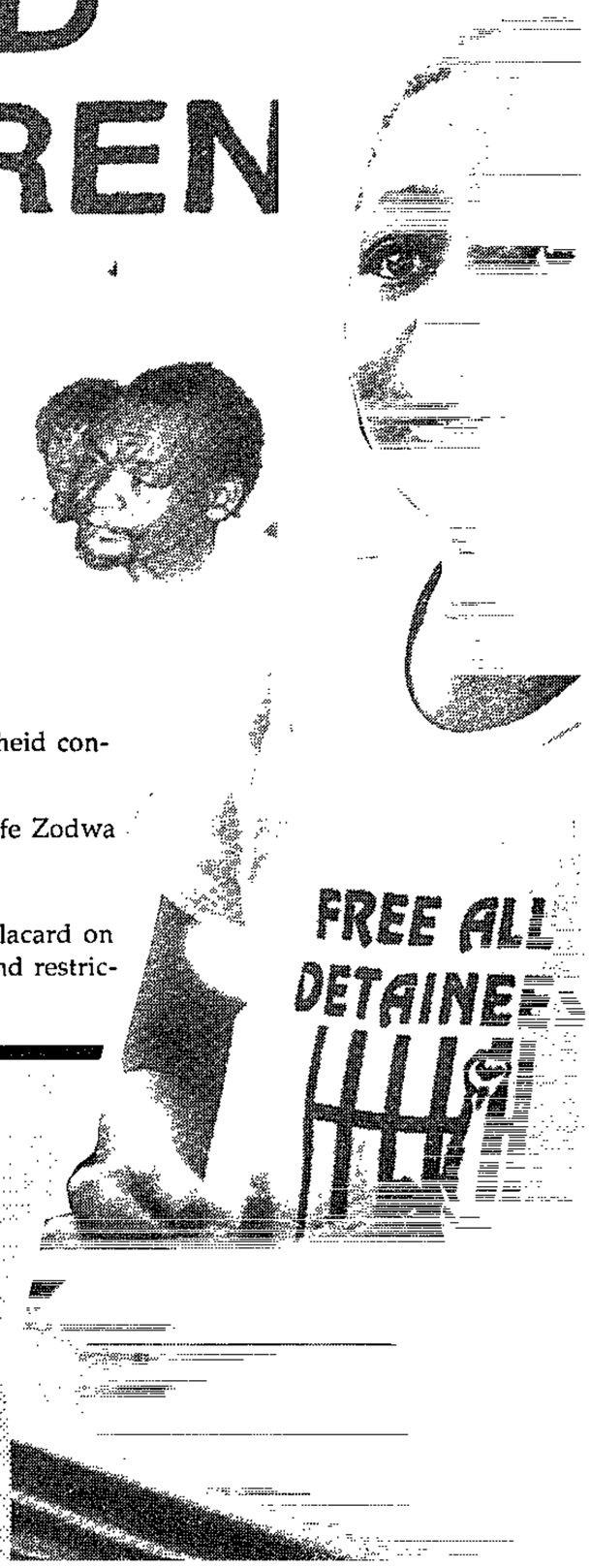
ANTI-APARTHEID CONFEREN



(Above): In September the Cosatu-convened anti-apartheid conference is banned in the midst of widespread detentions

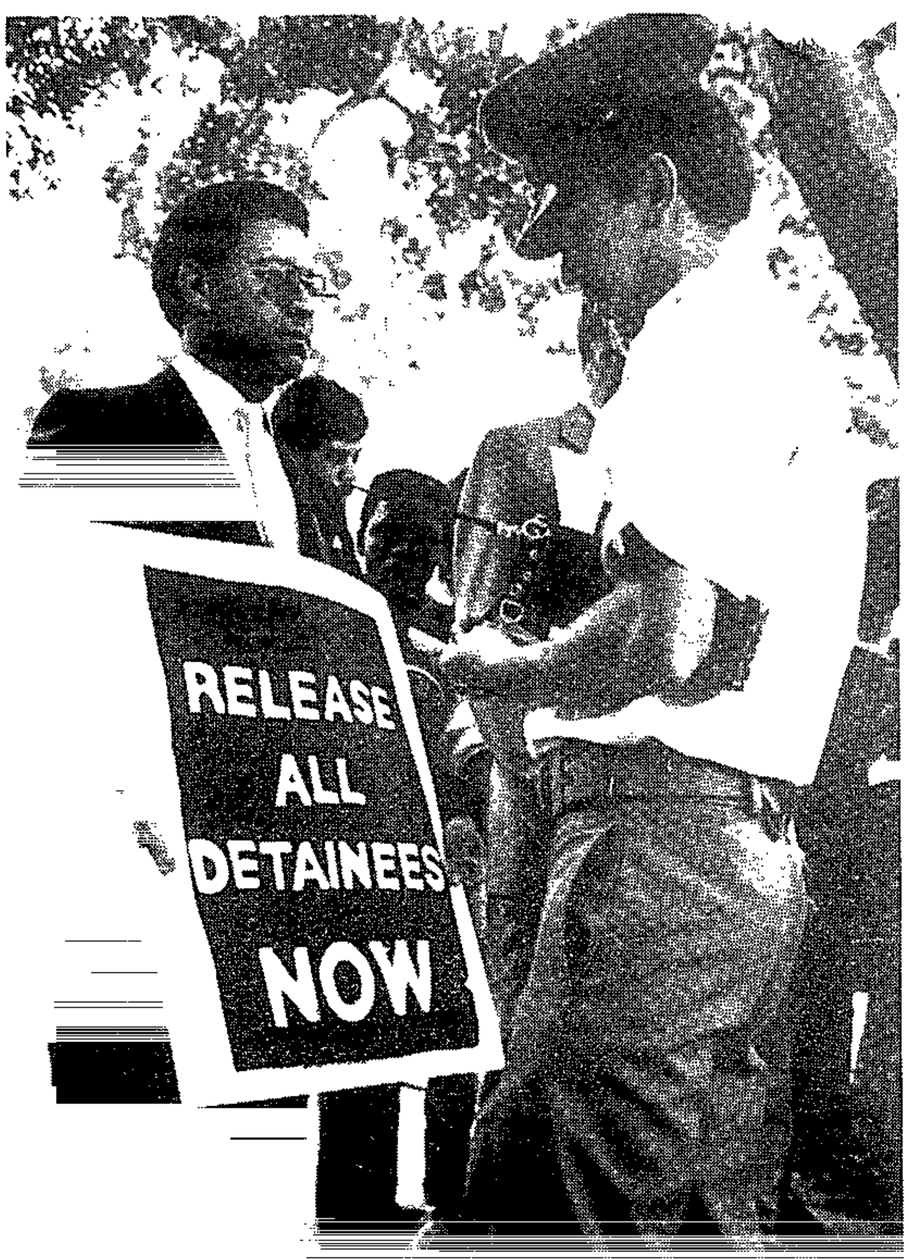
(Left): Zwelakwe Sisulu is welcomed home by his wife Zodwa after almost two years in detention

(Bottom left): In April Western Cape clergy stage a placard on the steps of St George's cathedral against detentions and restrictions



The national state of emergency enters its fourth year when the clock strikes midnight on Saturday.
In the past year, as was the case in the previous two years, hundreds of people were detained without trial, and scores of people and organisations were restricted.
On Saturday, South Africa would have lived through almost 1 100 days of pain since the first national state of emergency began on June 12 1986.

Sorrow and



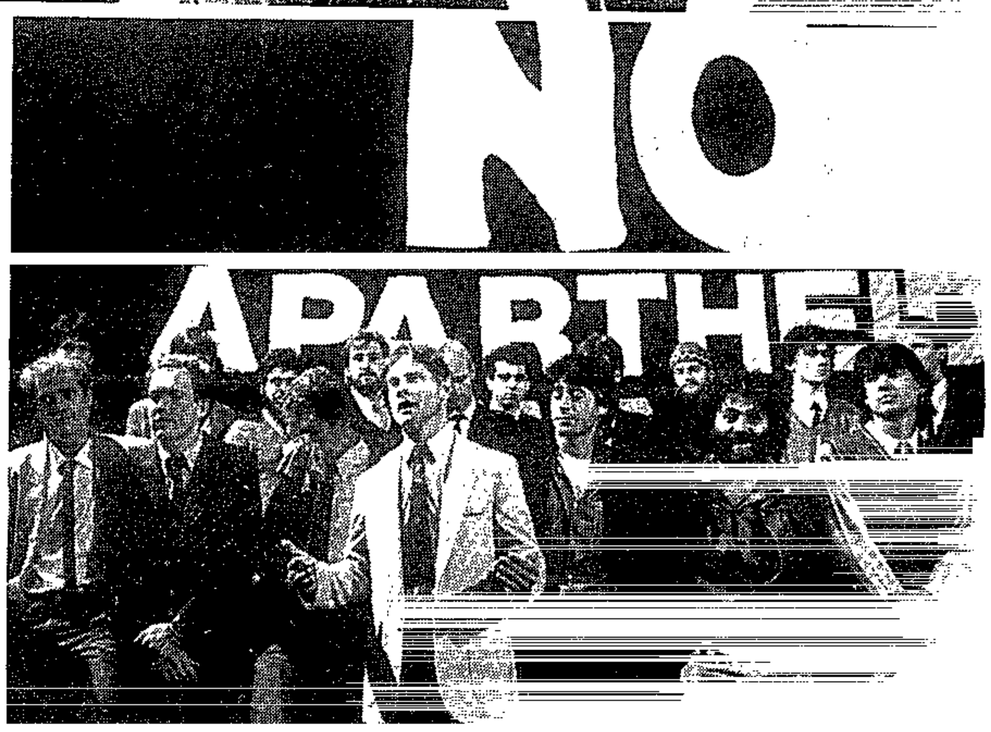
(Below): The first sit-in at the US Consulate ends and Morobe, Valli and Khanyile walk free

June 11: The government renews the state of emergency for a third time.
July 18: As the world's most famous prisoner, Nelson Mandela, turns 70, thousands of people celebrate his birthday abroad. At home birthday celebrations go ahead despite government attempts to clamp down on festivities.
August 20: The fifth birthday of the United Democratic Front passes quietly. The UDF, Cosatu and 16 other organisations were restricted in February.
August 30:.Khotso House, the SACC headquarters, is severely damaged in a bomb blast.
In the same month conscientious objector David Bruce is jailed for six years for refusing to do [illegible] Conscription Campaign is [illegible]
September 13: Three detained U[illegible] Valli and Vusi Khanyile escape [illegible] burg from Hillbrow Hospital. T[illegible] they will not be redetained.
September 22: Several people, [illegible] leadership, are detained in [illegible] apartheid conference. The [illegible] banned at the eleventh hour.
October 26:. The countrywide [illegible]

But the past 365 days also saw the government showing signs of severe strain as it bowed under the pressure of resistance which began inside its own prisons.
The past year was a chronicle of oppression and suffering — but also a year of courage and conviction as thousands of South Africans stood their ground and said "No!" to the state of emergency.
SOUTH looks at some of the main events of the past year:

rength

(Above): Jubilation - and a fresh wave of detentions - mark Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday on July 18



(Right): The End Conscription Campaign is restricted as more than 140 men publically refuse to do military service

(Below): A short sit-in at the German Embassy by four detainees ends when the Government assures them that they will not be redetained

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..be, Mohammed central Johannes- ..ment assurances

. 's Western Cape ..u convened anti- . Cape Town, is

place against the

backdrop of the emergency and a pitch-battle develops between the government and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

Churchmen like Dr Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu advise their congregations not to vote in contravention of the emergency regulations which prohibit the promotion of a boycott of the elections.

December 8: The mammoth 446-day Delmas treason trial comes to an end with varying sentences being imposed on senior UDF activists, including former UDF publicity officer, Terror Lekotha.

The judge, Mr Justice Kees van Dikjhorst, found that "treason had been at the core or the United Democratic Front apple since its inception".

December 10: Prominent journalist and editor of the New Nation, Zwelakhe Sisulu, is released after almost two years in detention.

December 25: Another Christmas passes with hundreds of detainees still in jail, many of them for the third year.

January. 20: Emergency detainees at Diepkloof Prison near Johannesburg embark on a hunger strike to demand the release of all detainees.

They are joined by detainees from around the country. By the end of March, more than 700 detainees have embarked on hunger strike.

February 16: Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and several other clergy meet Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok to discuss the release of the detainees and bring the hunger strike to an end.

A large number of detainees are released but many of them are placed under heavy restriction orders.

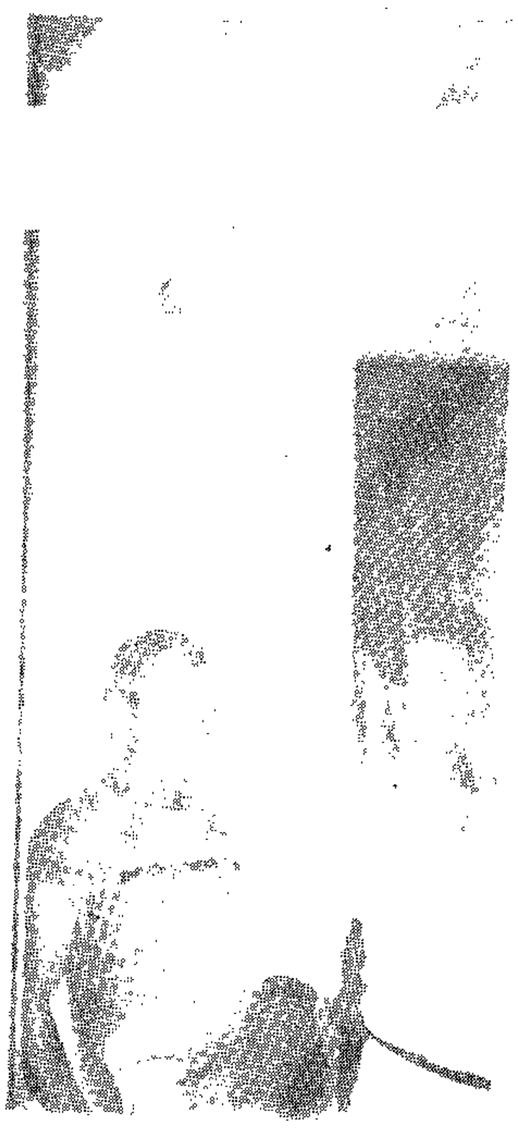
March 11: The Emergency passes 1 000 days, as a campaign mounts for the goverment to "release all detainees now".

March 20: A second sit-in by four detainees, including Sayco's education officer Ephraim Nkwe, at the German Embassy in Pretoria, forces the government to announce their release from detention.

April 4: Western Cape clergy stage a placard demonstration on the steps of the St George's Cathedral amid claims that Vlok did not live up to his promise to release "substantial numbers of detainees".

May 1: Wits lecturer and anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster is assassinated outside his home in a Johannesburg suburb. His murder is linked to his support role for the hunger strikers in detention.

May 18: Government sources raise the possibility of the state of emergency being lifted, but this is immediately quashed by Vlok who says the "revolutionary climate" in the country is still too high".

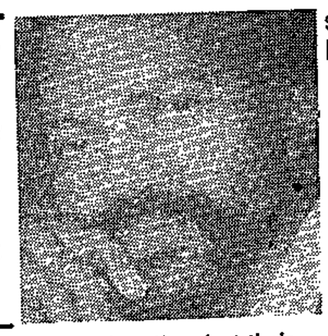


SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Camaraderie in prison

By BRIAN SOKUTU

A bill which Port Elizabeth journalist Brian Sokutu received in the post this week contains a bitter irony. It is a demand for the payment of legal costs incurred in a failed application for his release from emergency detention which had left him, and many others, penniless. Non-payment may mean going back to jail.
He describes the hardship and also the camaraderie forged with other detainees during almost three years of incarceration:



WHEN the heavy, unbearable knocks landed on my door in the early hours of June 16, 1986, I knew my turn had come.

Fellow journalists like Mike Loewe and Mbulelo Linda, students, mothers and the youth, the majority of whom were members of street and area committees, were already held during pre-dawn raids on their homes under the iniquitous form of state repression, the state of emergency.

Though shocked at the prospect of going to jail for mere reporting on repression during the period 1984 to early 1986 — which I had always regarded as being part of my work as a journalist — I had no other alternative but to be strong as I was escorted to prison.

The state tried to show that I was "fomenting violence and revolution" rather than being an ethical newsman doing his work.

Giving reasons for my detention, the state alleged that during the consumer boycott of white businesses, I became "unethical" in my conduct as a journalist by taking pictures of people who broke the consumer boycott, handing them to the township people's militia, "amabutho".

Held in St Albans Medium Prison and moved around to other prisons for nearly three years, the future looked bleak day by day.

We could only speculate about our possible release as years went by after having exhausted all legal avenues.

My application for release was turned down by Mr Justice Kroon in the Grahamstown Supreme Court in 1986, shattering my dreams of being united with family and friends.

This week the Department of Justice is demanding that I and others pay the legal costs which run to R8 000, or face the prospect of being sent to jail.

A breadwinner at home, I went through a period of severe hardship with my family as the emergency brought financial ruin to detainees and their families.

Detainee Jackson Mdongwe's furniture was repossessed, and comrades like Mthwabo Ndube, Mpumie Odolo and many others went through a tormenting experience when they lost their parents while in detention and were denied access to even pay their last respects.

Moments of silence were held and clenched fists were raised during services in solidarity with bereaved families.

Detention was regarded by us as "a trial period".

And none of us broke down to come begging to the state to be released, at the expense of our noble cause.

We soon realised that prison was our second home as oppressed and exploited masses, striving hard to transform the apartheid system in South Africa.

The best of times in detention was being engaged in political discussions, physical training, studying, singing and the chanting of slogans. There was also the toyi-toyi which helped so much to lift our morale.

Fellow detainees kept on telling me they "felt honoured" to have me as a journalist in prison to tell the story as it was on my release.

Denied visits of people who were not my relatives, being confined to one cell during certain hours, being forced to listen to hard rock music played by warders through an intercom and at one stage being put in solitary confinement, I had no choice but to adapt.

St Albans Medium Prison is sometimes referred to as "little Robben Island".

For it is in St Albans where working class intellectuals were produced.

Political discussions on the South African situation, international struggles, labour theory and many interesting topics were held on a daily basis from early in the day, even before breakfast, at cell number four.

Former Robben Island veterans, the likes of Michael Ndzotoyi, Stone Sizani, Mike Xhego, Edgar Ngoyi, Mpumie Odolo, Benson Fihla, Silas Mtongana and many others, were there to share their experience with us.

Decisions were taken democratically through prison structures such as the political panel, Kholkoz, sport and education.

We also held a cultural festival to promote our talent in poetry, drama, singing, karate demonstrations and athletics.

What a life with the comrades!

Ironically, it was through the state of emergency that activists were able to meet, albeit behind bars, creating one big family which would otherwise not have been possible.

I was released on March 9 this year. As with other detaineees, I have no bitterness.

Instead we see ourselves as having a role in shaping the future of our country where there will be no oppression and exploitation.

The best thing for the state to do is to swallow its pride and lift the state of emergency which will create a climate for negotiations.

CAPE DEMOCRATS

Calls for the lifting of the state of emergency and the removal of restrictions on organisations and individuals

MERGE

Merge calls for the lifting of the State of Emergency which is a blight on our society

The Trades Union Congress representing nine million British trade unionists extends warm, fraternal greetings to the independent trade union movement in SA and calls for the lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of all trade unionists and others detained under it, and an end to all restrictions on organisations and individuals.

Norman Willis
General-Secretary TUC

Ron Todd
Chairman, TUC International Committee

non-revenue.

ARGUS 8/6/89

Mandela to see life-long friends

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter 327

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who saw his fellow Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki this week, will meet two life-long friends — Mr Yusuf Cachalia and his wife, Amina — in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison today.

The Cachalias, who last saw Mr Mandela a year ago when he was being held at Pollsmoor Prison, are due to meet him for a two-hour visit that will include lunch.

Mrs Chachalia said she had applied on two occasions last year to visit Mr Mandela "because he had said we should see him again soon". However, she had been turned down each time.

She had reapplied for permission in March, but this had also been refused.

She and her husband were overseas last week when they heard that approval for a visit had been granted, and had returned immediately, Mrs Cachalia said.

EMERGENCY UPDATE

Midnight strikes, emergency stays

Political Staff ARGUS 9/6/89 (327)

THE nationwide state of emergency has been reimposed for the fourth time by President P W Botha with effect from one minute past midnight today.

The reimposition comes against the background of Cabinet disagreement and a concerted effort by the security establishment to have it maintained.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and senior members of his staff were called to Cape Town by President Botha as recently as Wednesday to justify their demands for the renewal of the emergency.

All the existing provisions have been reimposed and most people under restriction orders could expect to receive new orders today, Deputy Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said today.

The conditions imposed on detainees recently released would automatically be reinstated.

The virtual banning of 32 organisations, including the United Democratic Front, remain in force as do the restrictions on any political activities of the trade union movement, Cosatu.

The wide-sweeping media regulations also remain in place.

Why we need it

President Botha said there was the risk that safety and the maintenance of public order could not be ensured by the application of the ordinary laws of the country.

He said in a statement that the government had continuously reconsidered lifting the emergency.

Through the application of emergency measures the government had ended large-scale violence by radicals. This had enabled the government to continue its social development programme and other reform initiatives.

In spite of the emergency regulations the revolutionaries had continued underground.

As a result unrest and violence had continued unabated.

Mr Botha said he had consequently, after intensive investigation by and consultation with security and other advisers, decided to again declare a state of emergency.

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk said in a statement that there were positive results from the previous states of emergency along with the achievement of stability by the application of law and order.

The reduction in violence and the improvement in socio-economic development, particularly in black residential areas, deserved ...

Why we don't ...

Democratic Party co-leaders, Dr Zac de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall, accused the government of re-imposing the state of emergency because it was unable to govern by normal, civilised methods.

Dr de Beer said: "For another year there will be arrest and detention without trial, censorship of publications and all the paraphernalia of an embattled regime which lacks legitimacy."

Dr Worrall said that in effect it meant that the government "cannot manage the country by normal civilian rule. The securocrats or verkramptes have won over the verligtes with this decision."

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrikse said it would prevent any possiblity of extra-parliamentary groups entering the elections.

Dr J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity, said: "We have always stood for the lifting of the state of emergency and that remains our policy."

University of Cape Town vice-chancellor and principal Dr Staurt Saunders said: "South Africa cannot begin the long road to reconciliation and peace until the state of emergency is lifted. UCT has called for its removal in the past and I renew that call now."

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The reduction in violence and the improvement in socio-economic development, particularly in black residential areas, deserved every right-thinking person's support.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha welcomed the reimposition of the emergency.

But he supported the view of President Botha that its scrapping as well as possible relaxation of special measures "be continuously considered".

He was particularly in favour of the reimposition of the emergency in view of the general election this year.

Conservative Party chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said that if there were indications that organisations wanting to overthrow orderly government had not come to their senses, it was obligatory for the government to renew the emergency.

It was important that the election should take place in peace and order.

Deputy Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe gave reasons for the reimposition:

- An expected infiltration of many of ANC members now being removed from Angola in terms of the Namibian/Angolan peace treaties;
- The ANC/SACP alliance was determined that the elections should be a failure and were planning a campaign of violence; and

If the emergency, including restrictions on any possible boycott campaign, were lifted, there would be mass violence which would be difficult to contain.

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The Black Sash said: "The laws denying freedom to South Africans were in existence before the state of emergency. But the state of emergency has made it easier for the government to maintain its unjust laws."

Mr Murphy Morobe, a leading activist, said President Botha's stance on reimposing the state of emergency would signal to the world precisely how prepared he was to engage in negotiations with representatives of the majority of South Africans.

Mr Dullah Omar, Western Cape chairman of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said: "The state of emergency represents a violent response to the struggles of the people in this country."

Civil rights lawyer **Mr Essa Moosa** said he had not expected anything else, "particularly with the September general elections in mind ... they can't have elections without a state of emergency".

Johannesburg Consolidated Investments chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyer emphasised that the demand being made of the government was not merely that it lift the state of emergency, but that this measure should be accompanied by a number of actions "as evidence of the authorities' good intent".

Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa of the Institute for Contextual Theology urged the demilitarisation of the townships, the unbanning of organisations and the return of exiles. "We should create a climate that is conducive to negotiations," he emphasised.

PRESS CURBS: In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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Vol. 288 PRETORIA, 9 JUNE JUNIE 1989 No. 11949

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 89, 1989

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

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 with effect from 9 June 1989.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Eighth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

P. W. BOTHA,

State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,

Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions and application of Regulations

1. (1) In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Director-General" means the Director-General: Education and Training;

"Education Act" means the Education and Training Act, 1979 (Act No. 90 of 1979);

"hostel" means a hostel attached to a school, and where in the Afrikaans text "koshuis" is used as part of a compound word, it shall have a corresponding meaning in such word;

"pupil" includes a student at a college of education;

"school" means a public school as defined in the Education Act, and where in the Afrikaans text "skool" is used as part of a compound word, it shall have a corresponding meaning in such a word.

(2) No provision of the Education Act shall derogate from the validity of any provision of these regulations or of an order issued thereunder.

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 89, 1989

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

NOODREGULASIES OP OPVOEDKUNDIGE INRIGTINGS

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 met ingang van 9 Junie 1989 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Agste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege en tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,

Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,

Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing en toepassing van Regulasies

1. (1) In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"Direkteur-generaal" die Direkteur-generaal: Onderwys en Opleiding;

"koshuis" 'n koshuis verbonde aan 'n skool, en waar dit as deel van 'n saamgestelde woord gebruik word, het dit in so 'n woord 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis;

"leerling" ook 'n student aan 'n onderwyskollege;

"Onderwyswet" die Wet op Onderwys en Opleiding, 1979 (Wet No. 90 van 1979);

"skool" 'n openbare skool soos omskryf in die Onderwyswet, en waar dit as deel van 'n saamgestelde woord gebruik word, het dit in so 'n woord 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis.

(2) Geen bepaling van die Onderwyswet doen afbreuk aan die geldigheid van enige bepaling van hierdie regulasies of van 'n bevel daarkragtens uitgevaardig nie.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

Government Gazette
Staatskoerant

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Vol. 288 PRETORIA, 9 JUNE JUNIE 1989 No. 11946

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 86, 1989

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

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 with effect from 9 June 1989.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Eighth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

A. J. VLOK,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. (1) In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Act" means the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No. 3 of 1953);

"Commissioner" means the Commissioner of the South African Police, and for the purposes of the application of a provision of these regulations in or in respect of—

(a) a division as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act No. 7 of 1958), the said Commissioner or the Divisional Commissioner designated under that Act for that division; or

(b) a self-governing territory, the said Commissioner or the Commissioner or other officer in charge of the police force of the Government of that self-governing territory;

"gathering" means any gathering, concourse or procession of any number of persons;

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 86, 1989

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

VEILIGHEIDSNOODREGULASIES

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 met ingang van 9 Junie 1989 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Agtste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

A. J. VLOK,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. (1) In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"ampsdraer", met betrekking tot 'n organisasie, 'n lid van die beherende of uitvoerende liggaam van—

(a) die organisasie; of

(b) 'n tak of afdeling van die organisasie;

"beampte" 'n persoon in diens van die Staat, en ook 'n lid van 'n veiligheidsmag wat nie andersins in diens van die Staat is nie;

"byeenkoms" enige byeenkoms, toeloop of optog van enige getal persone;

"druk" om deur druk, tik of op enige ander wyse van reproduksie voort te bring;

"geskrif" ook enige metode waarvolgens letters, syfers, tekens of simbole in sigbare vorm voorgestel of weergegee word;

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Vol. 288 PRETORIA, 9 JUNE JUNIE 1989 No. 11947

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 87, 1989

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

PRISON EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

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 with effect from 9 June 1989.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Eighth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

P. W. BOTHA,

State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,

Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions and interpretation

1. (1) In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Commissioner of Police" means the Commissioner of the South African Police, and for the purposes of the application of a provision of these regulations in—

(a) a division as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act No. 7 of 1958), the said Commissioner or the Divisional Commissioner designated under that Act for that division; or

(b) a self-governing territory, the said Commissioner or the Commissioner or other officer in charge of the police force of the Government of that self-governing territory;

"detainee" means a person who is in detention under regulation 3 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1989;

"head of a prison", in relation to a detainee detained—

(a) in a prison as defined in the Prisons Act, means the head of that prison; or

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 87, 1989

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

GEVANGENISNOODREGULASIES

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 met ingang van 9 Junie 1989 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Agtste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA

Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,

Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing en uitleg

1. (1) In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"aangehoudene" 'n persoon wat kragtens regulasie 3 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, in aanhouding is;

"geneeskundige beampte", met betrekking tot 'n aangehoudene wat—

(a) in 'n gevangenis soos omskryf in die Gevangeniswet aangehou word, 'n persoon wat kragtens artikel 6 van die Gevangeniswet as die geneeskundige beampte van daardie gevangenis aangestel is of 'n geneesheer wat ingevolge genoemde artikel die pligte verrig wat aan so 'n beampte opgedra is; of

(b) in 'n polisiesel of -opsluitplek aangehou word, die distriksgeneesheer vir die gebied waarin daardie polisiesel of -opsluitplek geleë is of 'n ander geneesheer wat op sy gesag handel;

"gevangenis" 'n gevangenis soos omskryf in regulasie 1 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989;

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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Vol. 288 PRETORIA, 9 JUNE JUNIE 1989 No. 11948

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 88, 1989

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

MEDIA EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

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 with effect from 9 June 1989.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Eighth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In these regulations, unless the context otherwise indicates—

"Commissioner" means the Commissioner of the South African Police, and for the purposes of the application of a provision of these regulations in or in respect of—

(a) a division as defined in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act No. 7 of 1958), means the said Commissioner or the Divisional Commissioner designated under that Act for that division; or

(b) a self-governing territory, means the said Commissioner or the Commissioner or other officer in charge of the police force of the Government of that self-governing territory;

"film recording" means any substance, film, magnetic tape or any other material on which the visual images (with or without an associated sound track) of a film as defined in section 47 of the Publications Act, 1974 (Act No. 42 of 1974), are recorded;

"firm" includes a State controlled or financed or other public undertaking;

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 88, 1989

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

MEDIANOODREGULASIES

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 met ingang van 9 Junie 1989 uit.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Agtste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

J. C. G. BOTHA,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie regulasies, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, beteken—

"ampsdraer", met betrekking tot 'n organisasie, 'n lid van die beherende of uitvoerende liggaam van—

(a) die organisasie; of

(b) 'n tak of afdeling van die organisasie;

"beperkte byeenkoms" 'n byeenkoms ten opsigte waarvan 'n voorwaarde kragtens artikel 46 (1) (ii) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet No. 74 van 1982), bepaal is of ten opsigte waarvan 'n voorwaarde, verbod of vereiste kragtens regulasie 10 (1) (d) van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, opgelê of van krag is;

"byeenkoms" 'n byeenkoms, toeloop of optog van enige getal persone;

"firma" ook 'n Staatsbeheerde of -gefinansierde of ander openbare onderneming;

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Vol. 288 PRETORIA, 9 JUNE JUNIE 1989 No. 11950

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

No. 1220 **9 June 1989**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953:

ORDER UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1989

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 7 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1989, I, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, hereby prohibit the organizations specified in the Schedule hereto, as from publication of this order and subject to regulation 7 (4) of the said regulations, from carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever.

A. J. VLOK,
Minister of Law and Order.

SCHEDULE

AZANIAN CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE.
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION.
AZANIAN YOUTH ORGANISATION.
BLACK STUDENTS SOCIETY (University of the Witwatersrand).
BLANKE NASIONALE BEWEGING VAN SUID-AFRIKA.
CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS.
COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY (also known as DEFEND DEMOCRACY COMMITTEE).
CRADOCK RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION.
DEMOCRATIC TEACHERS UNION.
DETAINEES PARENTS' SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
DIE BLANKE BEVRYDINGSBEWEGING VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE

No. 1220 **9 Junie 1989**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953:

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDSNOODREGULASIES, 1989

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 7 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, verbied ek, Adriaan Johannes Vlok, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby die organisasies vermeld in die Bylae hierby, vanaf afkondiging van hierdie bevel en behoudens regulasie 7 (4) van gemelde regulasies, om enige bedrywighede of handelinge hoegenaamd te beoefen of te verrig.

A. J. VLOK,
Minister van Wet en Orde.

BYLAE

AZANIAN CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE.
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION.
AZANIAN YOUTH ORGANISATION.
BLACK STUDENTS SOCIETY (Universiteit van die Witwatersrand).
BLANKE NASIONALE BEWEGING VAN SUID-AFRIKA.
CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS.
COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY (ook bekend as DEFEND DEMOCRACY COMMITTEE).
CRADOCK RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION.
DEMOCRATIC TEACHERS UNION.
DETAINEES PARENTS' SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
DIE BLANKE BEVRYDINGSBEWEGING VAN SUID-AFRIKA.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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Vol. 288 PRETORIA, 9 JUNE JUNIE 1989 No. 11945

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 85, 1989

DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY

Whereas in my opinion it appears that circumstances have arisen in the Republic which seriously threaten the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order, and that the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order;

I therefore, under the powers vested in me by section 2 of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No. 3 of 1953), hereby declare that a state of emergency exists within the Republic as from 9 June 1989.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Eighth day of June, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

P. W. BOTHA,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 85, 1989

VERKLARING VAN 'N NOODTOESTAND

Nademaal dit na my mening blyk dat omstandighede in die Republiek ontstaan het wat die veiligheid van die publiek en die handhawing van die openbare orde ernstig bedreig, en dat die gewone landswette onvoldoende is om die Regering in staat te stel om die veiligheid van die publiek te verseker en die openbare orde te handhaaf;

Verklaar ek derhalwe hierby kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 van die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet No. 3 van 1953), dat daar 'n noodtoestand binne die Republiek bestaan vanaf 9 Junie 1989.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Agtste dag van Junie Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

Public at risk if curbs are lifted, says PW

327

Star 9/6/89

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The state of emergency could not be lifted without the risk that public safety and maintenance of public order could not be ensured by South Africa's ordinary laws, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

Announcing the renewal of the state of emergency for the fourth time, he said the Government had continuously considered lifting it.

Through the application of the emergency measures, the Government had succeeded in bringing an end to large-scale violence by radicals. This had enabled it to continue with its social development programme and other reform initiatives.

Elections for local government bodies could continue in spite of threats and the efforts of terrorists and their internal allies, and black local authorities were again functioning in the vast majority of black residential areas.

Development programme

The Government had been able to continue with its social development programme in order to improve the quality of life of communities.

In general, matters were calmer in the field of education.

While determined to go ahead with its upliftment efforts, the Government was being inhibited by revolutionary groupings which wanted to prevent its programme from succeeding.

Terrorist organisations and their internal allies had made revolution the central theme of their propaganda and had eulogised conflict and violence as a method to bring about a new order in the Republic.

Evofutionary and peaceful progress were the greatest enemies of these elements, who had not abandoned their efforts to make the country ungovernable.

In spite of the emergency regulations, the revolutionaries had continued underground. As a result, incidents of visible unrest and violence had continued unabated.

Since the last state of emergency was declared on June 10 1988, the incidence of unrest violence had remained unacceptably high. There had been hundreds of petrol bomb attacks on vehicles, buildings and people.

Although large quantities of terrorist weaponry had been captured and many terrorist infiltrators had been eliminated, there was an increasing tendency to acts of violence. Since June 1988, there had been an escalation of terror attacks in comparison with corresponding previous periods.

Mr Botha said he had consequently decided, after intensive investigation by and consultation with the Government's security and other advisers, to reimpose the state of emergency.

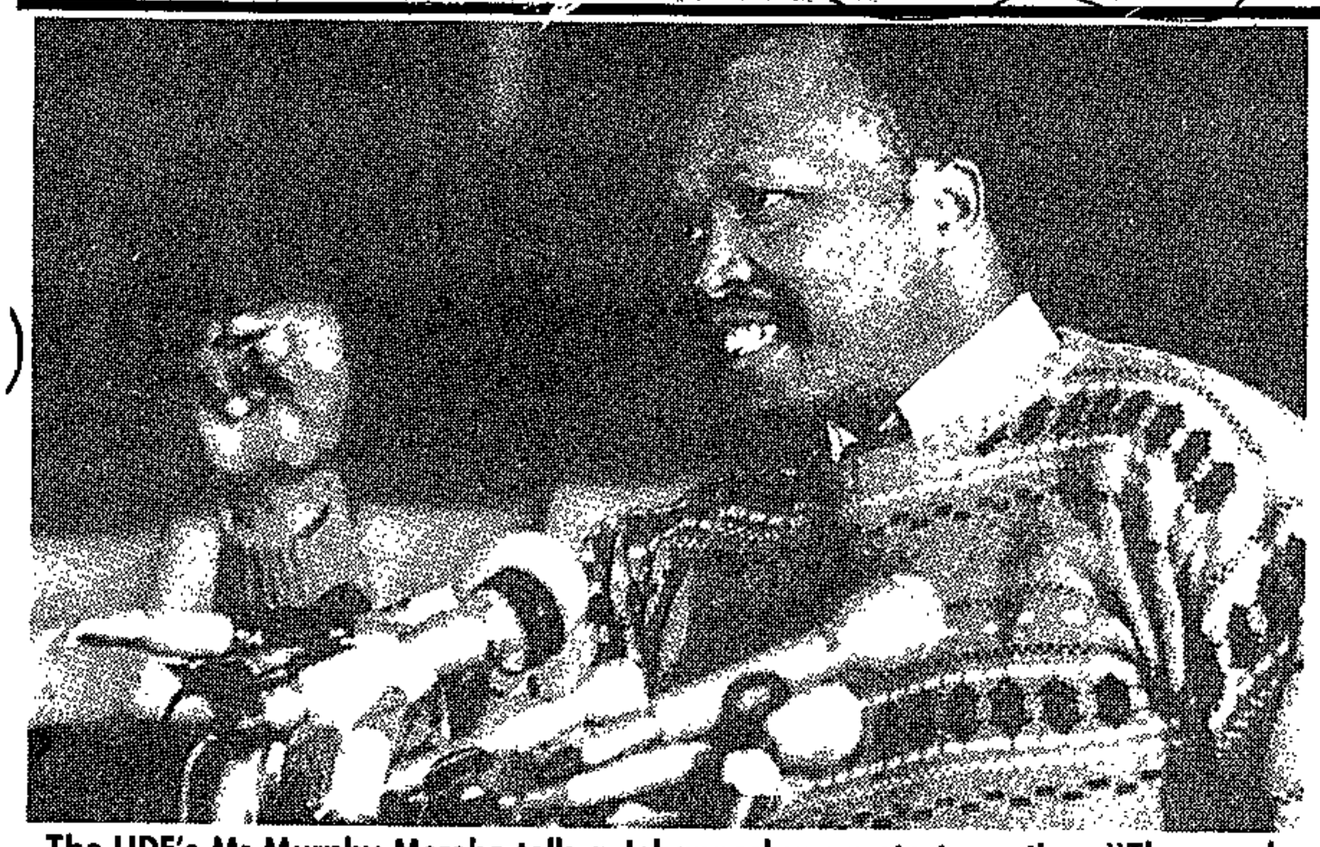
A proclamation and regulations to this effect would appear in the Government Gazette today.

He said he wanted to emphasise that the reason for the existence of the emergency should be blamed on terrorist organisations and their allies internally and not on the Government.

The regulations being proclaimed were the minimum regarded as needed to handle the situation effectively.

Mr Botha added that the state of emergency and the regulations would be continuously reviewed and, if circumstances allowed, regulations could be adapted or the state of emergency lifted.

Star 9/6/89



The UDF's Mr Murphy Morobe tells a Johannesburg protest meeting: "The people have survived three years of emergency — the regime is in greater crisis."
● Picture by Etienne Rothbart.

Emergency rule 'worsens crisis'

(327) 13By Jo-Anne Collinge

President Botha's stance on reimposing the state of emergency would signal to the world precisely how prepared he was to engage in negotiations with representatives of the majority of South Africans, Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, said yesterday.

He was addressing about 400 people who packed Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church Hall to show opposition to continued emergency rule.

Mr Morobe stressed that mass organisations had never rejected negotiation and they were not opposed to it now.

But he added: "We are not going to let the issue of negotiation derail us from the main issue of political power."

He said the people had survived more than three years of emergency rule, but the same period had seen the Government pitched into greater crisis.

He urged all those committed to a just South Africa to continue to put pressure on the authorities.

Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, said the public was told the state of emergency had to continue because violence was the likely consequence of its being lifted. If this was true, then this spelt a clear failure of government.

While even the most just of administrations might temporarily need to resort to emergency rule, use of such powers in excess of three months suggested failure and "any emergency lasting not three months but three years is total failure".

As the crowd left the hall to the singing of freedom songs, they were confronted by riot police.

One man was arrested and Norwegian journalist Pol Christensen briefly detained.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman confirmed the arrest and stated it arose from the stoning of a police vehicle. He said film had also been seized.

Emergency a 'recipe for conflict'

(300WR) Staff Reporter Star 9/6/89

The reimposition of the state of emergency would be a "recipe for conflict", the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) warned yesterday.

The organisation pointed out that a continued state of emergency would hamper the efforts to end violence in Natal.

A reimposition would also "make nonsense" of the claim that there had been any real change of NP policy under Mr F W de Klerk.

Cosatu called for United States President Mr George Bush and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to exert real pressure to lift the state of emergency instead of extending invitations to Government representatives.

The Transvaal region of the Black Sash issued a statement declaring: "A Government that requires repressive measures in order to govern should not be in power." (327)

The Sash added: "The state of emergency has made it easier for the Government to maintain its unjust laws."

In a similar statement, the Five Freedoms Forum said the Government would be making a serious mistake.

Vice-chairman Mrs Barbara Buntman said the Government could either listen to the international community and the majority of its citizens and end the emergency, or it could follow the advice of its security chiefs and continue to deny civil liberty for another year.

Nats unable to rule by civilised methods – DP

Govt under fire for renewed emergency

(327)

Star 9/6/89.

Cape Town

The Government was accused today of re-imposing the state of emergency because it was unable to win the support of all the people to govern by normal civilised methods.

The accusation was levelled by Democratic Party co-leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall in reaction to the midnight renewal of the nationwide state of emergency for the fourth time by President P W Botha.

The only support for the move came from the Conservative Party, with CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux saying it indicated there were still organisations which wanted to overthrow orderly government.

The Government's reason for re-imposing the emergency to protect the forthcoming election was supported by the CP, but rejected by the DP, while Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said it would prevent any possibility of extra-parliamentary groups entering the election.

Mr Botha said he was particularly in favour of re-imposing the emergency "in view of the general election later this year".

"Terrorist organisations and their internal collaborators are known for their efforts to make the Republic ungovernable by *inter alia* disrupting or defeating the peaceful and democratic constitutional processes."

Disagreements

The emergency was re-imposed today, with effect from just after midnight, against a background of Cabinet disagreement and demands by the security establishment for it to be maintained.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and senior members of his staff were called to Cape Town by President Botha on Wednesday to justify demands for the renewal.

All existing provisions have been re-imposed. Most people under restriction will receive new orders, Deputy Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said yesterday. Conditions on detainees released recently will be automatically re-instated.

The virtual banning of 32 organisations, including the UDF, remains in force, as do restrictions on political activities of the Cosatu trade union movement. Wide-sweeping media regulations also stay.

General van der Merwe told a press conference of a number of reasons for the re-imposition of the emergency. These included:

- An anticipated mass infiltration of many ANC members now being removed from Angola in terms of the Namibia/Angola peace treaties.
- The ANC/South African Communist Party alliance was waiting for restrictions to be lifted on organisations and individuals so that it could re-start its campaign to mobilise and politicise

Political Staff

— to spark a revolutionary seizing of power through a mass struggle.

- Restricted individuals had not changed their views and remained committed to making South Africa ungovernable.
- The ANC/SACP were determined that the coming elections should fail and were planning a campaign of violence similar to the increase in terror attacks during the municipal elections.
- If the emergency were lifted, there would be mass violence which would be difficult to contain.
- The ongoing violence in Natal would be far worse if it were not for the state of emergency. The position there was now relatively stable as a result of increased police action.
- Relative law and order had returned to black townships, and trust was again starting to develop between residents and police. This could only be increased under the protection of the emergency.
- The ANC/SACP were again starting to disrupt black education and were threatening to do the same to health services.

Commenting on the new emergency, Mr Hendrickse said: "We are saddened by the fact the emergency has been re-introduced. It is a reflection on the state of the nation.

"The LP continues to deplore the emergency, which removes the right of the individual at all levels. People who are guilty of a crime or plotting against the state should be brought before the courts."

'Obstacle'

Dr de Beer said: "There is no doubt this will confirm the international view that minority government is being sustained by brute force in our country."

Dr Worrall said the extension of the emergency made nonsense of Mr F W de Klerk's pretensions to reform.

"The decision has been taken despite the fact that every black leader he has spoken to recently has told him the emergency is a major obstacle to black leaders talking to the Government.

"Mrs Thatcher and other leaders whom he is supposed to see will tell him the same thing. He might as well stay at home and save the taxpayers a lot of money."

Sole warming . . . the going was cold and damp underfoot this week as Out team of Isaac Nhlapo and Kurt Sartorius trekked through the 1 Reserve. Today, nearly a month into their 8 000 km walk of goodwill an of South Africa, the men are being feted in Phalaborwa. ● Picture

Walking on the wild si

By Melanie Gosling

Reach Out hikers Isaac Nhlapo and Kurt Sartorius, who have pounded along 550 km of roads, dirt tracks and veld since they left Johannesburg on May 12, met their Waterloo this week — in the form of the Olifants River.

The two hikers, who reached the Olifants on Wednesday after a brisk 23 km walk through Klaserie Game Reserve, were confronted with about 40 hippo and several crocodiles at the spot where they had hoped to cross.

Knowing that hippo are reported to be responsible for more human deaths in Africa than any other animal, they paused to catch their breath and eyed the broad river apprehensively.

"Not exactly the place for a quick swim, hey, Issy?" said Kur

"I tell you what, you g you get across, I'll follow."

The hikers decided the difference between advent and while their 8 000 km borders of South Africa spread goodwill among a tered, this did not necessar animals.

After lunch of peanut bu on the banks of the river, watched elephant, giraffe, impala feeding peaceful hopped into their back-up a long detour to a spot side of the river.

From there, they walked yesterday.

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Please leave your name and number ... a policeman tapes a protestor's details.

Police tape Sash

Plainclothes policemen today asked members of the Black Sash protesting against the reimposition of the state of emergency to give their particulars on tape.

Members of the anti-apartheid group were staging a picket along Empire Road.

The women were asked to read their names, addresses, identity and telephone numbers into a policeman's recorder. (327)

In a statement the Black Sash said the introduction of the state of emergency had made it easier for the Government to maintain its unjust laws.

"A government which uses reform rhetoric but silences legitimate opposition is a government which should not be in power. A government which requires repressive measures in order to govern should not be in power," the statement said. Star 9/6/89

Cosatu sends letter to British Govt

Sowetan 7/6/89

(327)

A DELEGATION of Cosatu's Northern Transvaal branch has delivered an open letter to the British Government following the detention of its regional secretary, Mr Donsie Khumalo and the reimposition of the state of emergency.

The six-member delegation handed the letter, addressed to the British Government, to an embassy official who only identified himself as Mr Curtley, "a member of the foreign office."

"Your Government is in a position to pressurise the racist Pretoria regime to address the South African problems.

"We challenge your Government to do so or stand condemned as an accomplice to crimes against humanity," the letter said.

After Curtley would not allow the delegation to enter the embassy grounds in Arcadia, the First Secretary, Mr Allan Lewis, invited one member of the delegation to officially hand the letter over and to receive a receipt which was requested by Cosatu.

The delegation, however, declined the invitation and waited for 40 minutes outside the embassy gates.

Following Khumalo's detention and hunger strike earlier this year, he was again arrested on June 1.

medical experts have — Rowan Argle, said a spe-

General's reasons for emergency

Cape Times 9/6/89

Political Staff (327)

THE police had "highly reliable" information about the ANC's "future terrorist plans", General Johan van der Merwe, chief assistant deputy commissioner of police, said last night.

Briefing a conference about the re-imposition of the state of emergency, General Van der Merwe said he hoped to be able to demonstrate this soon through certain actions.

He said also that there were indications that members of the ANC who were now being moved from Angola to other countries were highly dissatisfied and wanted to return to South Africa to commit acts of terrorism rather than languish in other countries.

"Their infiltration will be accompanied by acts of terror and incitement to violence," he said.

He said another reason for re-imposing the emergency was that radical organisations in South Africa had not changed their aims or methods in any way.

...mo soldier shot dead

...lier was shot

Cape Times 9/6/89

Emergency re-imposed

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Political Staff

THE nation-wide state of emergency was re-imposed on the whole of South Africa by President P W Botha at midnight last night.

There are no changes in the emergency regulations, but Mr Botha said that, in consultation with the responsible ministers, he would continually consider the emergency and the regulations and "if circumstances permitted it, will adjust the regulations lightly or lift the emergency".

Emergency regulation restrictions on 32 organisations and about 500 individuals will be extended.

Mr Botha said the government had continually considered lifting the emergency. However, there were signs that had resulted in the conclusion that the state of emergency could not be lifted "without the risk that the security of the public and protection of public order could not be ensured or guaranteed through the administration of the normal laws of the land".

He said it was a fact that through the implementation of the emergency regulations the government had succeeded in ending wide-scale violence by radicals.

This had enabled the government to continue with its social development programmes and reform initiatives. But the government had been inhibited by revolutionary groups who wanted to stop its programmes succeeding.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that at least one person was arrested, a police van was stoned and police dispersed a singing crowd outside the Johannesburg Methodist Centre yesterday after a protest meeting against the state of emergency.

Two press photographers, a Norwegian and a South African, were temporarily detained.

Earlier, addressing about 1 000 people at the meeting organised by the Black Sash, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment (JCI) chairman Mr Murray Hofmeyr called for the scrapping of the emergency and described the 41 years of National Party rule as "dismal and ghastly".

The acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, said three years after the promulgation of the emergency the government was in crisis but the people had survived, more united.

He said nothing was more important for a future South Africa than the ANC's constitutional guidelines.

Reacting last night to the re-imposition of the emergency, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was a confession by the government that it could not govern South Africa except by force.

The provincial synod of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa said it would "continue gross injustices", the Black Sash said the government required the "tyranny" of the state of emergency and the Anti-Censorship Action Group said citizens have been prohibited from understanding the full implications of the emergency.

CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux said that in view of continuing signs of unrest and the approaching general election, extending the emergency was "the wiser course".

An Assocom spokesman said the association did not expect the decision to have any effect on business confidence in the short-term, but it could have a negative impact on South Africa's economic performance.

General's reasons for emergency — Page 3

unchanged

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'Common purpose': 12 more to hang

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

TWELVE men were sentenced to death in the Bisho Supreme Court this week on the evidence of an eyewitness who testified that he had seen only four of them take a direct part in the murders of which they were accused.

The men were part of a group of 26 Mdantsane residents convicted of the murder of five alleged gang members who had earlier fatally wounded the brother of one of the accused.

In his judgement, Mr Justice J Heath said that although only some of the accused were involved in actual violence, they had all associated themselves with it. He used the common purpose principle to convict them on five counts of murder and one of attempted murder.

The accused were part of a group of people who abducted six youths from their homes and later set them alight. One survived the attack. The day before the murders took place, the youths had been involved in a fight in which the brother of one of the accused was fatally stabbed.

Throughout the trial the 16 men protested their innocence and produced alibis to back this up. Although the judge said there was nothing to suggest that the alibis were "inherently improbable", he rejected them "in view of the totality of the evidence" against the accused.

The accused were linked to the abduction by numerous witnesses, but only Mbulelo Vellem, who was one of the six, gave evidence as to what happened at the scene of the murders.

He told the court that he had been abducted from his home by some of the accused, taken to waste ground and beaten until he was unconscious.

On regaining consciousness, he discovered that he was covered in grass and a burning tyre, and fled. He testified that apart from the four who had assaulted him, he did not know whether the other accused had done anything at the scene of the crime.

He imposed five death sentences on Bonakele Jwambi, 41, Mabongo Jamela, 26, Luyanda Kana, 27, Mseki Mbusi, 27, Xolile Nkukwana, 23, Soyiso Zuzani, 22, Mbuyiselo Klaas, 22, Bangkhanya Petros, 20, Mandenkosi Jakavu, 28, Mzwabantu Katsikatsi, 24, Raymond Kana, 32, and Thando Kana, 23.

All but Katsikatsi were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for attempted murder, while Wonke Faku, 19, and Albert Resha, 19, and two youths who cannot be named were sentenced to an effective 20 years' jail on the six counts.

Giving evidence on behalf of the accused, psychologists Dr Vernon Sack and Mr Ian Meyer presented a 130-page report which described Mdantsane as a mainly poor community suffering from unemployment, low wages, poor facilities and costly education.

They found there had been intersection conflict between the younger township residents. In one area, a gang calling themselves the "Killer Boys" were terrorising residents.

He also rejected the psychologists' evidence that one of the accused, Bongkhaya Petros, had an IQ of below 66, and was probably mildly retarded. — ANA

Threat to 'blow workers' heads off'

A CONGRESS of South African Trade Unions' delegation yesterday delivered a letter of protest to the British government at its embassy in Pretoria over the State of Emergency and restriction of activists.

In the letter, the delegation — representing Cosatu's Northern Transvaal region — accused the British government of "loudly talking about the resolution of the South African problems" but of not having the "interest of the oppressed masses of South Africa at heart".

It highlighted the plight of Cosatu's Northern Transvaal regional secretary, Donsie Khumalo, who was charged last week in a Pretoria court with contravening his restriction order. He was refused bail and is due to reappear in court on August 30.

Grace Dube, an official of Cosatu's Construction and Allied Workers' Union, and SA Youth Congress executive member Ignatius Jacobs have been charged with the same offence.

Early this year, Khumalo, Dube, Jacobs and three other restricted people sought refuge in the British embassy in Pretoria to highlight the issue of restrictions. 9-14/6/89.

Drawing attention to the charges against Khumalo, Dube and Jacobs, the letter of protest said: "Many activists who were released and restricted in sequel to the hunger strike have been redetained, or otherwise live under a cloud of insecurity and uncertainty with death a constant campanion.

"We strongly believe that anybody who is having the interest of the oppressed masses of South Africa at heart should address himself or herself to the question of an end to the State of Emergency, the unbanning of banned organisations and individuals, the unconditional release of Donsie Khumalo, Grace Dube, Ignatius Jacobs and all other political prisoners and detainees."

The letter further challenged the British government to put pressure on its South African counterpart to lift the emergency.

"Your government is in a position to pressurise the racist Pretoria regime to address the South African problems. We challenge your government to do so or stand condemned as an accomplice to crimes against humanity."

One year later and activist Bopape is still 'missing'

WMail 9-14/6/89. 327

By MUSA ZONDI

ON Monday next week it will be one year since activist Stanza Bopape went missing in what many believe was a Latin-American-type disappearance.

Bopape, president of the Mamelodi Civic Association, allegedly escaped from police custody on June 12 last year after being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The police account of how Bopape escaped — with hands handcuffed and chains around his ankles — has been described by independent MP Jan van Eck as "implausible".

In a statement released this week, the Stanza Bopape Support Committee claims police informed the family about the alleged escape a month after it had supposedly taken place.

"His friends, family and colleagues continue to search for him but it is believed that he may have died while in police custody," the statement reads.

A memorial service will be held on Sunday in Mamelodi for Bopape.

● Asked to comment, police representative Captain R Bloomberg said police had already replied to the allegations. They referred *Weekly Mail* to last year's reply in which they urged any member of the public to inform them should Bopape be seen.

EARLY JUNE HAS BECOME A TIME OF FEAR ... WHEN THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IS RENEWED. IN PREVIOUS YEARS

Emergency 4. But strangely, there's a new confidence

Another year, another State of Emergency. But this time, there is a new confidence among the opposition groups which were so battered by earlier Emergencies.
By SHAUN JOHNSON

IN recent weeks, extra-parliamentary resistance groups have experienced a pleasant *deja vu*. Partly, because many of their leaders and structures are back after an extended absence. And partly because a great deal has changed since the clampdown of June 12 1986.

But as the measures that have rendered many organisations leaderless for up to three years are renewed, there are strong signs of a resurgence of confidence in what has become known as the "mass democratic movement".

Three examples from different areas underscore the point.

●In Alexandra township on Monday, symbolism and practical activity combined with the effective relaunch of the Alexandra Action Committee; Moses Mayekiso once again at its helm. The AAC announced a programme of action around housing problems, and served notice that the political transformation which took place during 1984-1986 would once again find an organised outlet.

●In the Eastern Cape, influential leaders Mkhuseli Jack and Henry Fazzie were welcomed back into their communities. No-one doubted that the reinvigoration of organisations in and around Port Elizabeth would follow.

●And, after Peter Mokaba walked free from a Pietersburg regional court last month, it did not take long for the executive of the South African Youth Congress to hold a press conference at which they hinted at a new phase of youth activism.

In these key areas, the leadership structures look more or less as they did at the time of the imposition of the first nationwide State of Emergency in 1986. What the Emergency had supposedly left dead and buried is very much alive again.

But this is not to suggest that the political situation has simply reverted to pre-Emergency times, or that organisations depend on specific personalities, alone, for their survival.

What makes the *deja vu* most striking, according to a United Democratic Front official speaking in his personal capacity, is that successive Emergencies have demonstrably failed to rub out the culture of resistance of the 1980s. They have, however, dramatically altered its face.

Resistance leaders believe that the elements which plunged South Africa into its deepest-ever crisis are still present, and have manifested themselves in different ways.

"The conditions which gave rise to massive mobilisation and organisation over the past years have not been removed," extra-parliamentary leader Mohammed Valli told the *Weekly Mail*, "and this has provided a fresh challenge to the democratic movement.

"Most importantly, while repression has weakened — and in some cases wiped out — the structures that grew up, the state has failed dismally to impose its version of a new South Africa.

"Hearts and minds have simply not been won, and the (political) consciousness and awareness that was developed still lives graphically in people's memories."

Another senior UDF leader argues that developments since 1986, including some of those which appear to have done most damage to the organisation, have led to a psychological breakthrough in activist circles.

"In many ways, the realisation that apartheid is not about to collapse has led to a form of glasnost in the democratic movement," he says.

"This is not to concede that the government has somehow 'won'. On the contrary, it is a development based firmly on the belief that the Pretoria government is facing unprecedented pressure both in terms of its international debt squeeze, and in its need to present a fresh image to the world.

"This has contributed to what I would describe as a new (tactical) maturity throughout the democratic movement. One senses a openness within the movement to explore new options and initiatives. The sacred cows are gone — everything is open for discussion."

This is how major extra-parliamentary leaders assess their positions on the eve of the fourth national Emergency: they are certain that the fabric of the anti-apartheid struggle is intact, but are open to innovative, previously unthought-of means of channelling it.

"The debates on the nature of a post-apartheid South Africa, going on at all levels of our structures, are being pursued with more vigour than ever before," says the UDF official.

And new structural forms have been born "in the middle of the Emergency", he says. There have been fresh, innovative challenges to Pretoria through campaigns such as the prison hunger strike, and "new organisations have sprung up at different levels, the best examples being professional groups such as the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, the National Medical and Dental Association, and the social workers' congress".

Such initiatives, Valli believes, will complement the likely re-emergence of "township-based structures" such as civic associations, many of which had become moribund in the face of the Emergency onslaught.

And they will operate in a changed political environment which offers up profitable new areas for activism.

"In 1984, the defeat of the tricameral system was a life-and-death matter for us. It was successfully discredited then and there. This meant that the restrictions placed later on anti-election campaigning were not as damaging as they might have been. The polls were very low in the 1987 (municipal) elections, not because of a co-ordinated campaign, but because of the consciousness of the people.

"Thus it is unlikely there will be any nationally co-ordinated, high-profile 'no vote' campaign (this September). There are new areas of challenge."

These new areas, says the official, include the international terrain. "The priorities of the democratic movement change with conditions," he says, "and whereas protest against the apartheid state was the be-all and end-all in 1984, we are now effectively contesting the Nationalist government in the sphere of foreign relations."

This is one element of a broader, strategic battle over the concept of "negotiations". Despite impressions to the contrary in some quarters, says the UDF official, the "broad democratic movement" (which can be taken to include progressive trade union structures) accepts that a "negotiated" transfer of power is as valid an option for the future as the seizure of power.

"And so the democratic movement is taking the whole question of the possibility of 'negotiations' in the not-too-distant future quite seriously.

"This is not because there are signals from the NP that it has undergone a change of heart, or has the same understanding of what 'negotiations' mean as we do. It is because we believe the pressure (on Pretoria) will rapidly become intolerable. These are the signals from the capitals of the world."

Thus the extra-parliamentary movements are manoeuvring themselves into a position whereby they are fully prepared for such a development. Says the official: "We are saying to our people — don't prepare for negotiations by lessening pressure on Pretoria. That must continue. But be ready to seize the opportunities of changed balances, when they arise."

Speculation around the release, before the end of the year, of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, is considered in this broad context. "Certainly we realise the state may be trying to prepare the ground for Man-

A violence which the Emergency has not ended: Youngsters at the funeral of a friend, shot dead in Pietermaritzburg. Mourners blamed police for her death. Picture: JONATHAN KAPLAN

Midnight: A new Emergency

STATE PRESIDENT PW Botha last night announced the reimposition of the national State of Emergency for the fourth time.

New Emergency regulations are due to appear in today's Government Gazette.

Botha said the Emergency measures had enabled the government to stop "the widespread violence by radicals", but "the revolutionists ... are continuing underground to mobilise."

He said "the occurrence of unrest-related violence is still unacceptably high (and) there is still a rising tendency in incidents of terrorism".

"I want to emphasise that the reason for the existence of the State of Emergency should be blamed on the terrorist organisations and their internal allies and not the government. It remains the resolute aim of the government to terminate the activities of the revolutionaries."

He added that the need for the State of Emergency would be continually reconsidered.

A MASSIVE INCREASE IN VIOLENCE ON EVERY SCALE

THE number and scale of guerrilla attacks has increased dramatically since June 1986. This is just one of many signs of a massive increase in the levels of violence in every area of society.

According to statistics released by the South African Police public relations division in Pretoria, there were 245 guerrilla attacks last year, compared to 235 and 41 attacks in 1987 and 1986 respectively. Of these, 172 were aimed at the police, the military, judicial buildings and economic installations, while 73 were aimed at civilian targets.

After a spate of explosions in civilian areas last year, the African National Congress issued a statement saying the organisation would instruct its cadres in the country to observe its long-standing policy of avoiding civilian targets. Since then, the number of such attacks has declined.

The number of deaths due to insurgent attacks was 38 in 1988, as opposed to 30 in 1987, while 500 people were injured between January to November 15 last year — 159 more than in the previous year.

Most of last year's attacks took place during the run-up to the municipal elections, during September and October.

Police said the were 70 hand-grenade attacks and 106 limpet mine blasts in 1988 as against 73 and 45 respectively the previous year.

In 1988, according to the report, 63 guerrillas were arrested and 29 killed. According to official figures, there were 1 368 incidents of public violence last year, as compared with 1 973 the year before.

Natal has been the area hardest hit by violence. According to figures compiled by the Indicator Project of Natal University, violence in Natal claimed the lives of more than 4 000 people between September 1984 and December 1988. The violence peaked in 1986, when 1 352 people died. Last year, 883 deaths were recorded.

Independent surveys conducted in Natal suggest that more than 200 people have died since January.

At the same time, there has been an increase in levels of serious crime which is not politically motivated.

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, said there had been a dramatic increase in crime. In 1988, 30 South Africans were murdered every day, while 344 people were seriously assaulted.

The number of murders last year showed a sharp increase over 1987 — from 9 800 to 10 631. Serious assaults rose over the same period from 120 779 to 125 571.

A new twist to the rise in violent crime has been the unprecedented rash in armed robberies in recent months. Last month, more than R2-million was snatched in bank robberies, and in the Witwatersrand area, there were 16 armed robberies this week alone.

In one incident, R494 000 was stolen from the First National Bank's branch in Lenasia. On the same day, two men wearing balaclavas, one carrying a firearm and the other an axe, robbed a Putco depot in Selby of R143 000. In another incident, armed men broke into the Volkskas Parktown branch and drove off with R300 000 in cash.

Analysts are alarmed by the robbers' use of weapons normally used by guerrillas, such as AK47 rifles. Some believe weapons cached by guerrillas may be falling into criminal hands. In April this year AK47 and R1 rifles were used during clashes between taxi drivers.

The police have suggested that the ANC may be behind the heists.

Mzimkulu Malunga

Has the bastion of Afrikanerdom changed forever?

The protests at Stellenbosch this week go a long way beyond the expulsion of an outspoken student. Even the long-silent black students and the academic staff are now confronting political issues for the first time

By GAYE DAVIS

THE character of Stellenbosch University as an Afrikaner institution sealed off from South Africa's political realities has changed — perhaps forever.

The possible appointment of an independent mediator to break the deadlock between students and the administration may resolve some of the issues which by this week had thrown the campus into a ferment of debate.

But things will never be quite the same again.

In asserting their claims to the basic civil liberties of freedom of association and the right to peaceful protest, Stellenbosch students have taken the first steps in demolishing their traditional image of being subservient to the ruling National Party.

It is not the first time that students at the university have challenged the *status quo*.

In 1985 students marched in protest against the State of Emergency, prompting the imposition of a blanket ban on any form of peaceful protest on the campus. The ban lies at the centre of the current dispute.

While the 1985 protest went so far and no further, recent events at Stellenbosch have been marked by the involvement of many more students — indicating not only increased awareness but heightened political organisation as well.

And in the eyes of many students and academics on campus, the reaction of the university authorities in expelling Nusas leader Leslee Durr and suspending both Nusas and Black Students of Stellenbosch (BSOS) for four months has debunked the notion that Stellenbosch University is a liberal institution.

Durr, 21, was expelled and Nusas and BSOS suspended not, according to rector Professor Mike de Vries, because of their involvement in the May 18 protest against segregated residences but because they defied the ban in doing so.

But the ban had been defied before.

In April, students showed opposition to municipal eviction notices served on residents of a nearby squatter community by erecting a shack on campus and urging the university to take a stand on government's responsibility in addressing the housing crisis.

A week later 1 500 students gathered in protest against the university administration's banning of a planned concert by touring Voëlvry musicians Bernoldus Niemand, André Letoit, Johannes Kerkorrel and his Gereformeerde Blues Band. The hall was last as full when exiled poet Breyten Breytenbach addressed students four years ago.

And official censure of a group of Stellenbosch students who visited Lusaka in March and met with members of the ANC was offset by the standing ovation they received from hundreds of students on their return.

In the view of some observers, a gulf is rapidly widening between the university administration and students, among whom the National Party has lost sway. Students' demands extend beyond campus issues to those facing all South Africans.

The university has also repeatedly stated its commitment to serving the "broader community". But this refers largely to alumni, who include six of South Africa's eight prime ministers, many of whom make substantial financial donations to the university.

This factor, combined with the university's close ties with the National Party government, informs the administration's decisions and what students perceive as its reluctance to act.

By his own admission, rector De Vries has spent the past 10 years in "quiet negotiations" to get permission for residences to desegregate.

Every SRC on campus since 1979 — the year after the university decided to admit all races — has called for their opening. In 1987 the government's own advisory body, the President's Council, recommended tertiary institutions be allowed to decide for themselves who live where.

SRC president Pierre van der Spuy believes De Vries is willing, but that the impasse lies with the government's reluctance to jeopardise its election chances.

De Vries is also widely rumoured to be a leading candidate for FW de Klerk's post as Minister of National Education, although he denies any knowledge of this.

Appeals for the desegregation of residences by successive Nusas leaders in the four years since the organisation started operating on campus have been met with pleas that so sensitive an issue be left in the hands of the administration.

"People simply lost confidence and faith in the administration's ability to get anything moving," said Durr. "All the channels were exhausted, so we tried peaceful protest as a last resort."

Durr believes it significant that the ban on Nusas and BSOS activities extends beyond not only campus SRC elections but also the white elections on September 6.

"It is an attempt to stifle their voices. Recent events on campus have forged a working alliance between black and white students. Through Nusas and BSOS, the voice of the mass democratic movement is being heard."

And for the first time, black students — never a political force on campus — have made their voices heard.

Black students who choose Stellenbosch over the University of the Western Cape are likely to rate academic pursuits more highly than political aims. Until recently, applicants' political attitudes were also screened.

Fears of expulsion and their isolation within a predominantly white institution — last year's black enrolment was 566 students — reinforced their hesitance.

Now, according to BSOS chairperson Johan de Jongh, *students are realising* that through organised action, they can help bring about change.

For academics, the effect has been to confront them head-on with political issues facing the university.

For the first time, staff are meeting to discuss the implications of the university being seen as a racist institution where the right to peaceful protest is denied.

Senior academics are expected to raise questions at today's meeting of Senate, and a resolution by the local branch of the Union for Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa) will be tabled at the university's next council meeting on May 23.

An enterprising student catches up on his studies — the book is *Understanding Greek* — during a sit-in at the Stellenbosch administration building in support of Nusas leader Leslee Durr (standing).

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

English defect from NP, but not Afrikaners

SUPPORT for the National Party among English-speaking students on Stellenbosch University campus has fallen so dramatically, according to political scientist Jannie Gagiano.

Gagiano, who has conducted an annual survey of students' political attitudes since 1985, believes most of this support was accumulated when the National Party showed reformist zeal.

In 1986 he found 40 percent of English-speaking students voted for the NP. In 1987 it fell to 27 percent and by last year had reach 18,8 percent — about the level it was at in 1970. Democratic Party co-leader Denis Worrall "simply brought them back to the idea of vigorous reform," Gagiano said this week.

The fall-off among Afrikaans-speaking students was less dramatic.

"Between 1986 and 1988 the percentage dropped from in the 70s to 64 percent. The Conservative Party took four percent and about 5 percent drifted left.

"The overall shift in support for the NP is from 68 percent to 54 percent, largely due to the defection of English-speakers."

Gagiano dismisses the notion that recent events on campus signify any deep-rooted change in the university's political culture.

"The Lusaka talks, the protests over the Voëlvry tour, the housing crisis and the opening of residences have provided the vision of a challenge to the traditional tranquillity of Stellenbosch University.

"But it would be misleading to think something was emerging from this. These events have taken place not as a result of a process on campus but because they have been put on the local political agenda by organisations linked with the broader movement outside.

"The university is not really threatened by its own students, the large body of whom are well-socialised in the Afrikaner norm."

VACANCY

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The SACHED Trust, an independent non-racial educational institution has a vacancy in the Library and Information Service Department at its Cape Town Centre.

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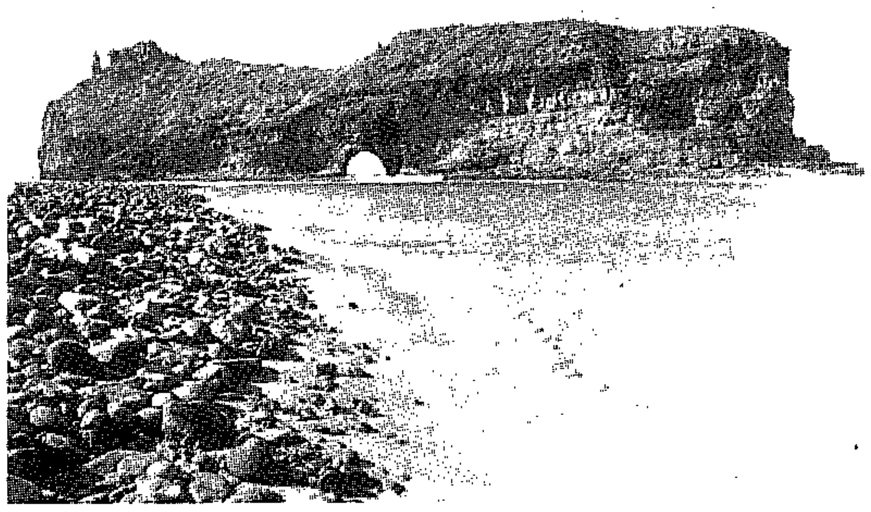
Closing date for applications is 20 June 1989.

TIME SHARE ON THE WILD COAST at HOLE-IN-THE-WALL



WILD COAST

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Anglican ban on security police in church office

Argus 9/6/89 327

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Security police have been described at the Anglican synod as being "at the cutting edge of a politically repressive regime" and may no longer be parish councillors or church wardens.

A motion declaring it "manifestly inappropriate" for security police officers to hold office in the church was passed yesterday.

A speaker said security police were like the "shock troops" of the government and were not accountable to anyone.

"They assume extraordinary powers and often resort to torture," he said. "It is contradictory for this synod to want a democratic society while at the same time knowing that some of our parish councillors are in the security branch."

The Rev Charles Claasens said a church councillor in Mossel Bay was a high-ranking security police officer.

"I know he is informing on all my activities and everything we do in the group goes back to the security branch. All I want people to understand is my fear and the fear of others. But what can we do? Our hands are tied," he said.

Speaking against the motion, Canon Ezra Tisani said the church had a responsibility to members of the security police themselves and was required to help them to do their work in a Christian manner.

● The Anglican Church will not comply with government regulations required by the Foreign Funding Act to disclose information about money it received from overseas sources.

In a motion passed by the synod the church added its support to a similar stand taken by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the South African Council of Churches and the Anglican Church's own synod of bishops.

The motion said that the Act had "sinister intentions" and was aimed at crippling the work of anti-apartheid organisations.

Proposing the motion, the Rev Rubin Phillip, said that an acceptance of the motion was intended to show civil disobedience towards a government that aimed to "prevent organisations, the church in particular, from opposing government policies".

MANDELA'S FRIEND TO STAY FOR WEEKEND?

10/6/89 377

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

NELSON Mandela has invited an old friend to spend some time with him in his luxury house at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

The African National Congress leader extended the invitation to Mrs Amina Cachalia, wife of former South African Indian Congress secretary Mr Yusuf Cachalia, when the couple saw him for two hours this week.

They last saw him a year ago when he was still held at Pollsmoor Prison. Since then he became ill with tuberculosis and was first treated at Tygerberg Hospital before being transferred to Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic from where he was discharged to Victor Verster.

Mr Mandela was "overwhelmed" when he saw them on Thursday, said Mrs Cachalia.

He asked her to visit him for a longer period.

"I said I would come for a weekend. He said: 'Good, that will be great'."

This is the first time Mr Mandela has asked a visitor to see him for longer than the normal prison visit.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetzee gave the Mandela family permission to visit him for long periods in his new quarters, but this was turned down by Mrs Winnie Mandela because it had not been extended to other political prisoners.

Mrs Cachalia said they had talked about many things, but not of his release from prison.

Mr Mandela was told about the September general election and had remarked that it would be interesting to see what would happen, she said.

"The house is absolutely gorgeous and very nicely furnished. It's a real middle-class home.

"He has everyting, except his freedom. We must remember that he is still a prisoner."

Mr Mandela had mentioned to them that he had seen his former cell-mate, Mr Govan Mbeki, on Tuesday.

● Mr Mandela has decided to accept an international human rights award from Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

Mr Mandela's daughter, Mrs Zenani Dhlamini, who is married to a Swazi prince, will accept the Gaddafi Human Rights Prize, valued at R1-million, on his behalf in Tripoli on Monday night.

Also at the ceremony will be his attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob, who secretly flew out of Johannesburg last night on his way to Tripoli via London.

It is believed the jailed ANC leader asked Mr Ayob when he saw him a fortnight ago in his quarters at Victor Verster Prison to go to Libya on his behalf.

■ See Page 16.

PW's LEGACY: AN EMERGENCY WAY OF LIFE•

W/E ARGUS 10/6/89

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As South Africa enters its fourth year under a national state of emergency, political writer FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the effects of this political legacy of the P W Botha era.

EMERGENCY rule has become a way of life for South Africans.

From the partial state of emergency declared in 1985, we moved into the first national emergency in June, 1986. Since then the country seems to have become dangerously accustomed to steadily increasing restrictions as the state of emergency was renewed year after year.

This time the emergency has been reimposed without any immediate changes in the emergency regulations, but President Botha said the matter would be considered continually. If circumstances permitted, the regulations would be adjusted or the emergency lifted.

Nowadays the average person seldom considers what it is about. Life goes on; people go to work, do their shopping, play sport, go on holidays, read their newspapers ...

Forgotten are the restrictions on certain political activities, organisations and individuals; the detentions without trial; the muzzled media; security action in the townships; the immense powers of government and security officials; the restrictions on movement and communication; the mass of draconian regulations and the perils and penalties if any of them are disobeyed ...

Except for those, of course, who are directly affected. For them it is only too real.

THE emergency way of life is a major part of the legacy President Botha will leave when he steps down after the September 6 election.

When he declared the first national state of emergency on June 12, 1986, he told parliament: ... *sporadic cases of violence have begun to increase again, and they have begun to assume such proportions that I am of the opinion that the ordinary laws of the country which are now on the statute book are insufficient to enable the government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order.*

Since then the key term used by government spokesmen to justify emergency rule has been the *revolutionary climate.*

It remains unclear what this means and how such climate is measured.

The implication to the public is that it is some threat from somewhere — sinister forces which threaten to overthrow the existing order, which want to make the country ungovernable, which want to take over power, which are dangerous and potentially violent ...

We don't see them anymore or hear much from them either, but they are in our midst. We are told so through official statements or through restricted news reports about incidents of unrest, an occasional bomb blast, or sporadic violence.

TO deal with these forces behind the *revolutionary climate*, the government tells us it needs these almost unlimited powers and special regulations. The existing laws of the land, including the formidable armoury of security legislation built up over four decades, are not enough.

Such is the impression created in the public mind.

But legal experts have noted that in order to meet the implied threat of *revolution*, the government has been subjecting South Africa to a revolution of a different kind — a revolution in the quality of, and attitude to, the law of the land.

It is a process that began long before the first state of emergency — in fact, ever since the National Party came to power in 1948. But it has quickened drastically since 1985.

It is this process that resulted in accusations against the government over the years that it was undermining and even abandoning the country's tradition of freedom under law — a tradition based on the principles of natural justice, the rule of law and protection of the fundamental rights of the individual.

The emergency regulations which President Botha introduced in 1986 were far tougher than those which operated during the partial emergency of 1985. Restrictions on the Press were tightened, particularly in regard to reporting on unrest areas.

AND with each renewal still tougher measures were introduced, the claim being that the emergency of the previous year had been successful but that the *revolutionary climate* was still too high.

At the first renewal in June 1987, President Botha claimed that *the extraordinary measures adopted during the past year have resulted in a decline in the visible incidence of violence.*

Significantly, he added: *But if such measures could no longer be utilised, there would be a serious and real danger of another escalation of internal violence.*

This was the first clear indication of how the emergency was becoming a part of South African life. It was no longer there to deal with a particular event or set of events, but was now, in the eyes of the government, an essential deterrent.

The impression created in the public mind was that we were moving closer to a situation where we could not live without emergency rule. Remove the government's almost unlimited powers and we would be in real trouble; the unseen forces behind the *revolutionary climate* would run wild.

The new regulations gave even greater powers to the executive arm of government. The initial period of detention which could be authorised by an ordinary member of the security forces was extended from 14 to 30 days; new media regulations were promulgated; clauses previously set aside by the Natal Supreme Court were reintroduced; definitions of a *subversive statement* were extended.

THE extended restrictions also included a ban on calls to boycott the local government elections held in October last year, and a further clampdown on the quoting of banned organisations.

In his preamble to the renewed state of emergency declared in June last year, President Botha spoke of circumstances which *seriously threaten the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order.*

He repeated the key official reason for having the state of emergency: .... *that the ordinary law of the land is inadequate to enable the government to ensure the safety of the public and to maintain public order.*

In announcing the fourth re-imposition yesterday, he again made it clear the government believed the emergency could not be lifted without putting public security and order at risk. The *normal* laws of the land were still not enough to deal with the situation.

The government has continued its assurances that the emergency measures are working. Despite these claims, the measures have been extended regularly over four years of emergency rule and the provisions have become increasingly repressive since the early stages of emergency rule.

Legal experts have noted that the regulations have even been presented in the form of acts of parliament, each having a title like that of a full-blown statute: *The Security Emergency Regulations, The Media Emergency Regulations, The Prison Emergency Regulations*, and so on.

Recently — in April — the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told parliament that South Africa would have to learn to live with *so-called detention without trial.* Conditions in the country made it impossible to scrap the system. It was *indispensable* in the pursuit of law and order, stability and democracy ...

A system that guarantees development of people

Star 14/6/89. (304A) (339)

The economic and political empowerment of black South Africans demanded a proper analysis of long-term structural change which was vitally necessary in the formulation of appropriate responses to crises, says Mr Jan Steyn, chairman of the Urban Foundation.

He told the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs in New York yesterday that while political participation was an integral and essential part of the package of change elements, it could not be achieved successfully in an economic vacuum or operate with justice in an economic wasteland.

Mr Steyn gave an analysis into a number of economic factors manifesting the current background against which structural changes would occur.

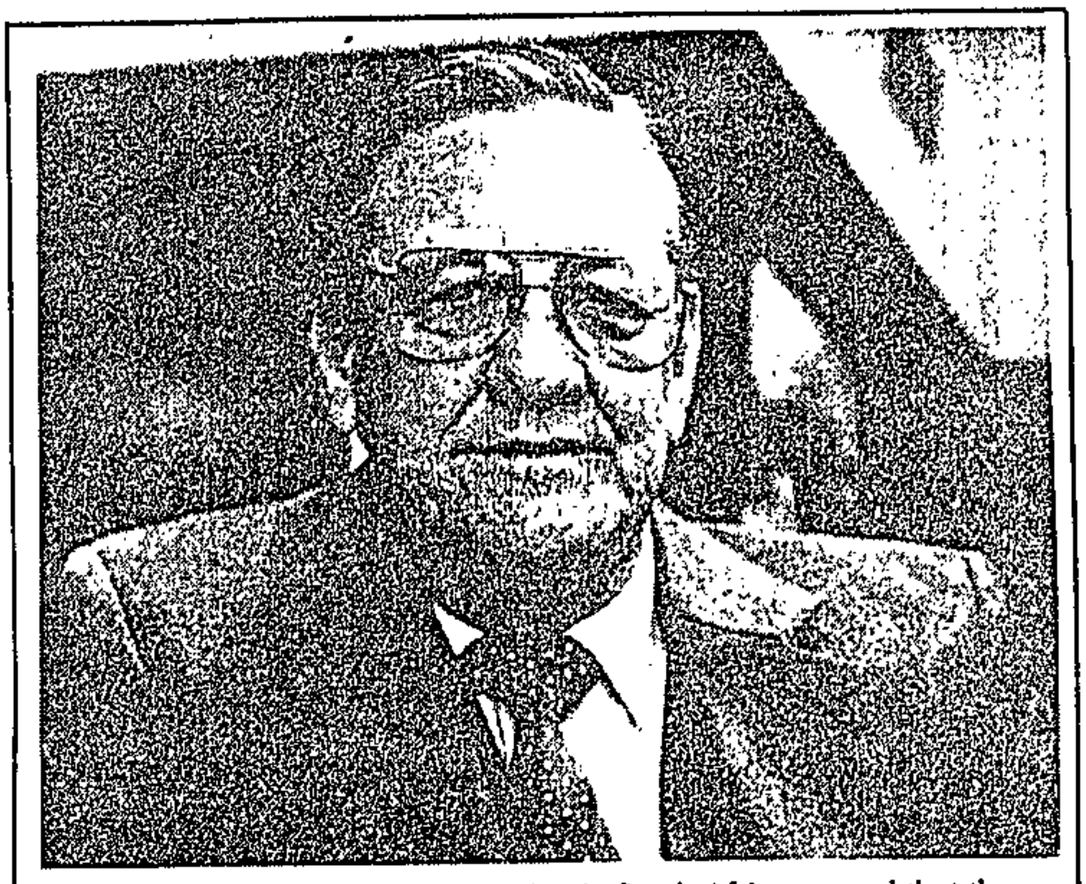
Figures by the Bureau of Market Research at Unisa showed that the black share of disposable income would increase from 45 percent in 1985 to between 55 and 60 percent in the year 2000. This meant that the higher the growth rate in South Africa, the more black people would benefit in relation to white people.

The black people best able to take advantage of a growing economy were the better educated and the urbanised. By 1980, urbanisation was virtually complete for South Africans of European and Asian extraction, with over 90 percent of both groups living in cities and towns. Eighty percent of coloured South Africans were urbanised on that date. The figure for black South Africans was much lower at 43 percent.

But the situation is changing rapidly, said Mr Steyn. In 1980, 8,7 million black people lived in cities and a further 2,3 million in towns. By the year 2000, these figures were expected to increase to 18,6 million and 4,3 million respectively, reflecting 62 percent urbanisation.

The white population was heavily concentrated in the PWV area, Durban and Cape Town. Only 27 percent of the total population in these areas was white in 1980. By the year 2000, this proportion would have dropped to 15 percent.

With urbanisation came a general enrichment in the skill structure of employment outside agriculture, domestic service and the informal sector.



A proper analysis of changes occuring in South Africa proved that the economic empowerment of blacks was taking place, says chairman of the Urban Foundation Mr Jan Steyn (above). But he argues that economic empowerment could never be a substitute for political participation.

HELEN GRANGE reports.

In 1985, 47 percent of white South Africans were in middle class occupations. The corresponding figures for Asians and coloureds was 31 percent and 17 percent respectively. It was 9 percent for black South Africans. Small as the black proportion was, the number of black people in middle class occupations tripled between 1971 and 1983.

"Unless the economy collapses", said Mr Steyn, "the gap will close and the rate at which it closes will increase with the economic growth rate. The movement of educated people into more and more economically strategic positions was bound to increase black influence and authority".

It did so by obliging employers to deracialise their employment practices. It put pressure on existing racial patterns of residential location and the legislative instruments which regulated these, notably legislation providing for the racial zoning of land. It created a class of people with the talent and the capacity to make structured political inputs.

Another important development was the modernisation of South Africa's industrial relations system. Black trade unionism dated from the 1920's, but it was very fragile until the efforts at re-organisation which started in the early 1970's. State recognition of black trade unions in 1979 was a turning point, and in the 1980's trade union membership had grown by leaps and bounds.

"Black trade unions have been much more stable than political organisation in the last five years and the biggest unions are now very powerful", said Mr Steyn.

In a capitalist society, another major source of power was the ownership of productive assets. The picture here was not encouraging. The black share of productive assets was pitifully small.

But urbanisation was rapidly creating a much bigger and more concentrated market. Small black entrepreneurship was growing rapidly and becoming much more visible. Both government and business were beginning to contract out various activities to small businesses which would ever-increasingly include black entrepreneurs.

Mr Steyn said that the principal constraints to further progress were the lack of technical and management skills and the difficulties of financing. At all levels (apart from university training in business and engineering skills), the South African educational system was grossly deficient in technical and management training.

Financing black entrepreneurial development was equally difficult, he said. It was not beyond the economic capability of South Africa to offer secure tenure in the urban areas to all but the poorest 10 percent of black households, and the Urban Foundation was pressing for the public policy changes necessary to realise this potential.

The Foundation's experience was that, as the Government zoned more land to be available principally for black residential development, finance emerged as the major constraint on the delivery of housing to black families. The problem lay in making small loans of up to R20 000.

The difficulties were two fold. Firstly, how to grant and collect repayments on the loan without incurring administrative expenses which are high in relation to the loan size. Secondly, how to make loans against assets which are not conventionally regarded as collateral or against no assets at all.

These factors all showed how changing patterns of urbanisation and income distribution had empowered black people. And this process would continue.

Economic empowerment however, was no substitute for political empowerment — it was not designed to prevent the concentration of power in the state.

"We need to be flexible in our approach to the future", said Mr Steyn. "No single-stranded strategy can succeed in resolving the complex issues that face us. What is certain is that economic ruin would inevitably follow the construction of a new authoritarian political system with no guarantee of real development of people.

"We should plan for a growth rate of 4 percent per annum sustained for a generation," he added.

Emergency: Resignation sets in

W/E ARGUS 10/6/89.

by LEON MARSHALL

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INSIDE POLITICS

HOW undramatically and resignedly South Africa slipped into its fourth year of emergency rule this week.

And, what contrast with its first declaration on countrywide scale on June 12, 1986!

One recalls the sense of shock, fear and horror that accompanied that announcement three years ago and the uncertainty over what it all meant and what was happening to our country.

One remembers the stack of papers which landed on newspaper desks that day and the difficulty of trying to make sense of the legalistic style and terms of those numerous sections and sub-sections.

Most of all, one remembers the difficulty of coming to terms with the fact that these, indeed, were meant to be the new law of the country, that the many restrictions and numerous difficulties presented by existing law were about to be overtaken and vastly compounded.

Then-Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel was delegated to explain to journalists what it was all about and what the government had in mind.

It was already latish in the evening when the press conference was held in the Hendrik Verwoerd Building and one might have been somewhat tired and emotional by that stage. However, for some reason, visions kept jumping to mind of some South American state.

Before us was not the rather easy-going, quite jovial Louis Liedjie we used to know. Flanked by dark-suited officials wearing equally grim expressions, he spoke with determination, in turn balling his fist and pointing his finger to lend emphasis to his every word.

THIS was no joke. Sweeping as the emergency regulations seemed — made perplexingly more so by the vagueness and generalities in which some were cast in spite of the drastic punishments attached to them — the government was in deadly earnest about imposing them.

Of that we were left in no two minds by the government's delegate.

As to the meaning of some of the stipulations, we were left in many more minds than two.

What, for instance, was meant by ordering that nothing should be said or done that might prolong the state of emergency.

Say Eugene Terre'Blance publicly welcomed the emergency and urged the government not to drop it, would that constitute an infringement? Alternatively, what would happen if anybody said it was bad and should be dropped forthwith?

The answer: Get yourself a lawyer.

As it turned out, lawyers have often been equally baffled for lack of precedent and inability to grasp the government mind which, in many cases, seemed the only way of getting some understanding of the regulations' intent.

Yet, the consequences of not adhering to the new rules were vast. Thousands of people disappeared into detention; mass organisations were silenced; newspapers either got closed down or had to operate under threat of having that happen; a government agency was set up to distribute unrest-related information, often making a hash of it; the courts overturned some regulations both on technical and more substantive grounds, only to have these replaced by technically improved clauses ...

Yet, in an alarming way society has come to live with it. Societal sensitivies seem to have become dangerously blunted.

Even now with the fourth annual renewal, the justification persists that there is an abnormal situation out there which requires abnormal laws and powers with which to deal.

THE question is, how long must abnormal law endure before it gets turned in people's minds into the normal law of the land?

Contrasting this week's muted reaction to the reimposition with that of the announcement of the first national state of emergency, it already seems to have already gone far down that road.

And, without trying to put too clever a legalistic point on it, isn't that in direct contradiction to the very regulation that makes it an offence to do anything that might prolong the state of emergency.

The point is, dark-suited, grim-faced men thumping their fists as they tell of their determination to restore law and order by imposing the massive powers given them by their law, simply do not seem to be as frightening anymore. On the contrary, they have come to sound and look very ordinary.

Boost for human rights

By VIVIEN HORLER and PETER AUF DER HEYDE
Weekend Argus Reporters

Judge's finding welcomed by academics

HUMAN rights in South Africa have received a boost in the form of a recent Appellate Division finding which has been welcomed by academics as representing a change of direction.

Mr Justice J A Hoexter found that part of a NGK minister's restriction order, which forbade him from attending any gathering criticising the government, was "a drastic inhibition of the appellant's rights of freedom of association and freedom of expression".

The judge said that the Minister of Law and Order, in making the condition, had abused his discretion "by an insupportable abridgement of the appellant's rights".

The condition was declared void.

In terms of his order the Rev Abraham Visagie, a former detainee, was restricted to the magisterial area of Middelburg, was forbidden to take part in the activities of several organisations, to write anything for publication, or attend any gathering at which the government was criticised.

HE challenged the order in the Grahamstown Supreme Court, but his application was dismissed with costs. He took his case to the Appellate Division, and Mr Justice Hoexter's judgment was handed down last week.

The judge said the condition that Mr Visagie could not attend any gathering criticising the government could lead to "glaring absurdities".

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the Appellate Division, and most of them are regarded as fairly conservative. But this judgment seems to indicate a change of approach we would not have expected a year ago."

THE finding came in the wake of a series of Appellate Division decisions which refused to exercise any judicial control over the state of emergency.

"This culminated in the UDF judgment of last year in which the Appellate Division found that the President could make just about any regulation and, effectively, however vague it was the courts did not have the power to overrule them."

He said the finding was important for another reason. "If it heralds the beginnings of a new trend, it will mean much closer judicial supervision of the emergency regulations. It will mean the courts will begin to look more closely at a range of police and executive action taken under the emergency."

Professor Hugh Corder, head of Public Law at UCT, said: "The finding is significant in the sense that this kind of lead from South Africa's highest court will inevitably have some kind of influence on the lower courts if those who are restricted challenge their orders in the future. It's a strong statement in favour of the right of the association."

He added: "This finding by Hoexter is an indication that at least some members of the Appellate Division are moving towards a greater appreciation of individual human rights."

Zimbabwean accused get 40 years each

Cape Times 10/6/89

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From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — Three former members of the Rhodesian security forces were yesterday each jailed for 40 years for helping South African commandos attack African National Congress premises in Harare in May 1986.

The raid on the ANC offices in central Harare and on an ANC house in Ashdown Park caused no casualties due to a mysterious prior warning, believed to have come from Western intelligence services, but it wrecked the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group diplomatic initiative on South Africa.

In a surprise move, Mr Justice Ahmed Ibrahim did not impose the death penalty on Kevin John Woods, 36, Michael Anthony Smith, 35, and Barry Desmond Bawden, 31.

Woods and Smith are, however, already under sentence of death for their part in the murder last year of a civilian during the bombing of an ANC house in Trenance, Bulawayo.

The three men were visibly relieved when the judge said he rejected the death sentence for them, largely because no one was killed in the raid.

The judge noted that throughout their trial the three had shown no sign of contrition but "almost on a daily basis carried out a conversation among themselves, smiling and laughing and giving the impression of not having a care in the world".

The judge accepted in mitigation that the three men only acted as drivers or provided logistical back-up for the commandos.

The judge rejected leave to appeal, saying the sentence might have "erred on the side of leniency".

Emergency rule 'perceived as normal'?

Cape Times 10/6/89 327

THE Association of Law Societies (ALS) yesterday warned that the danger existed that emergency rule — and the accompanying suspension of individual rights — could come to be perceived as "normal" in South African society.

The president of ALS said in a statement yesterday the renewal "effectively suspends the rule of law and allows the government to employ abnormal procedures" when dealing with people accused of committing various offences.

The ALS said that while it acknowledged that there were circumstances under which special procedures should be employed to protect the community, the association "can never support the concept of detention without trial".

Meanwhile the vice chancellor of the University of Natal, Professor V Booysen, said emergency government had become a largely lawless kind of rule thereby aggravating, rather than moderating, the SA security crisis. He noted that only extended political and civil rights would lead to a secure and peaceful future.

The leader of the NP, Mr F W De Klerk yesterday expressed his full support for the move. He said a certain degree of stability has been achieved through the application of law and order.

The CP noted their approval of the renewed measure. However CP spokesman on Law and Order, Mr Moolman Mentz, said it was striking that the NP claimed that if the CP came to power it would result in unrest.

● Black Sash members conducted a demonstration at key traffic intersections in Johannesburg yesterday morning condemning the renewed state of emergency. A statement later noted "the state of emergency had made it easier for the government to maintain its unjust laws". — Political Correspondent and Sapa

Reaction to renewed State of Emergency

Star 10/6/87

THERE was mixed, and sometimes heated, reaction from politicians, political organisations and foreign governments this week to the renewal of the State of Emergency.

The National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday gave his, and the National Party's, support to the reimposition of the State of Emergency by President Botha.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, said the Government was causing South Africa to be in a permanent state of emergency by its refusal to search for real political solutions.

'Sign of an abnormal society'

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the re-imposition of the State of Emergency was "a tragic indication of the abnormality of our society". Apartheid had failed and the only way in which it could, to some extent, be kept intact was under the extraordinary circumstances created by a State of Emergency.

The British Foreign Office said it "very much regrets" that the South African Government has seen fit to reimpose the emergency and that such measures did nothing for "the search for a solution to South Africa's problems".

British Premier Mrs Maggie Thatcher, however, took a somewhat less direct line. Downing Street had no comment to offer yesterday, saying the emergency was "an internal matter" for South Africa.

The Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said the Government and widespread and massive violations of human rights were synonymous. The State President had shown "utter contempt" for the Law Commision and its White Paper on human rights and the need for a Bill of Rights in South Africa.

The commission had concluded after years of investigation and evidence that peace and prosperity in South Africa depended on the recognition and protection of fundamental human rights, said the LHR.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement slammed the reimposition of the emergency, and called on Mrs Thatcher to protest by cancelling her planned meeting with Mr de Klerk.

The AAM has plans to picket South Africa House on Monday.

The Association of Law Societies said it regretted the renewal of the State of Emergency.

It said the suspension of the rule of law was a severe restriction on the rights of the individual.

The association said that, with few exceptions, the situation in South Africa appears to be normal. Therefore, it was regrettable that the Government has seen fit to re-impose the State of Emergency for a further period. "We urge the Government to again reconsider the whole matter and to lift the State of Emergency or at least some aspects of it at the earliest opportunity, " it said.

The reduction in violence on the one hand and the improvement in socio-economic development, particurly in the black residential areas, on the other deserved every right-thinking person's support, said Mr de Klerk in a statement.

The emergency remained an extraordinary step and "I therefore support the viewpoint of the State President that the ending and lifting of the emergency enjoys the highest priority".

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said reasons for the existence of the emergency should be placed before the door of "terrorist organisations" and their internal "comrades".

"The government will foresake its duty should it not take the necessary steps to introduce measures to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order in circumstances where the usual laws of the country are inadequate."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said revolutionary and radical elements were still trying to plunge South Africa into chaos and misery, and were determined to make the country ungovernable and destroy property and the lives of people.

'Survey reveals popular support'

Mr Vlok said the DP co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, claimed the re-imposition was a confession by the Government that it could not govern South Africa except by force.

"But the State of Emergency does not represent rule by force as was stated by Dr de Beer. Its aim is to create stability, to protect our people against violent revolutionary and radical activities. That is why the majority of South Africans welcome the State of Emergency.

"The survey by Markinor revealed that only 1,35 percent of black people in our country were opposed to the State of Emergency. Almost 99 percent welcomed it.

"Why? Because they bore the brunt of the uncivilised murder, bloodshed and destruction which took place in South Africa prior to the imposition of the State of Emergency."

Chief Buthelezi said whites need to know that, if anything can save the country, it is democracy. "It is so tragic that there is too much fear to place open reliance on the principles of democracy. Detention without trial is totally destructive for a climate of negotiation".— Political Staff, Correspondents, Sapa.

(327) Argus 11/6/89.

Govt curbs take toll on family of activist

Sayco leader restricted to Jabavu residence

By SELLO SERIPE

THE sound of a car engine or a knock on the door of activist Rapu Molekane's central western Jabavu home in Soweto makes his family panic.

This is the kind of family life prescribed by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok for the restricted general secretary of the SA Youth Congress (Sayco).

"Thanks Vlok – my dad will stay indoors to keep me warm during the cold winter days," young Tokologo appears to be saying to her restricted father, Rapu Molekane. ■ Pic: BONGANI MNGUNI

This week *City Press* visited Molekane at his house and found him playing with his 14-month-old daughter, Tokologo.

City Press spoke to his wife, Patience, as Molekane is restricted from speaking to the Press.

Nor is he allowed to enter any institution which provides formal education. This means the 28-year-old activist is effectively barred from completing the Senior Teachers' Diploma he was studying for before his detention.

Throughout the interview, his ageing mother, Mary, and sister, Mmeme, would dash to the front windows at intervals to see who was coming.

"We cannot cope. We have to be on the look-out constantly as enemies can strike at any time," Molekane's mother said.

Their house was petrol bombed recently.

Molekane's first brush with the law was in 1983, when he was detained under Section 29 while a student teacher at the Sowcto College of Education.

In 1985 he was detained under the emergency regulations and missed his final exams.

Like many other detainees, Molekane has fought for his "freedom" by going on hunger strike.

He first fasted at the Witbank prison in October last year and again with nine other detainees at the Johannesburg prison in May this year.

Two days later they were transferred to Bloemfontein's Grootvlei prison. Two weeks after Molekane started his last fast he was told he would be released if he accepted food.

A week went by and he had still not been released. The youth leader then refused food for the third time.

His restrictions prevent him from taking part in Sayco activities, from criticising local authorities and inciting others to engage in consumer boycotts.

He is also restricted to his home between 2pm and 7am and has to report to the Moroka police station once a day. He can only have four visitors at a time.

Cape Times 12/6/89

Literature seized in raid

DURBAN. — ANC-South African Communist Party literature as well as items which could have been used for explosive purposes, were seized by police in a raid on a house in Reservoir Hills at the weekend. Police said no arrest had been made but investigations were continuing.

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Cape Times 12/6/89

Mandela 'does not expect freedom this year'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela thinks he is unlikely to be freed from prison this year, a friend who visited him reported Mr Mandela as saying.

There has been speculation that 70-year-old Mr Mandela would be freed soon after the election in September.

"We asked him about it and he replied: I don't think this year," said Mrs Amina Cachalia, who visited Mr Mandela for 3½ hours at his prison in Paarl on Thursday.

"He's ready for release but he's not anticipating release, not immediately anyway," Mrs Cachalia told Reuters. She said Mr Mandela did not elaborate on the issue.

Mrs Cachalia, who was accompanied by her husband Mr Yusuf Cachalia, was granted the visit after repeated requests. Apart from a brief visit last year they had not seen him since 1962.

She said Mr Mandela was neatly dressed in a double-breasted suit and red striped tie and looked physically fit. He was in good spirits but it was clear he was lonely, she said.

"He reads a great deal, he writes, he listens to the radio, he has a televison and a video," Mrs Cachalia said. "He's still very lonely."

Although he did not have a telephone, he kept abreast of developments in the country. "But the worst thing for him is not liaising in person with his people," she said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Cape Times 12/6/89

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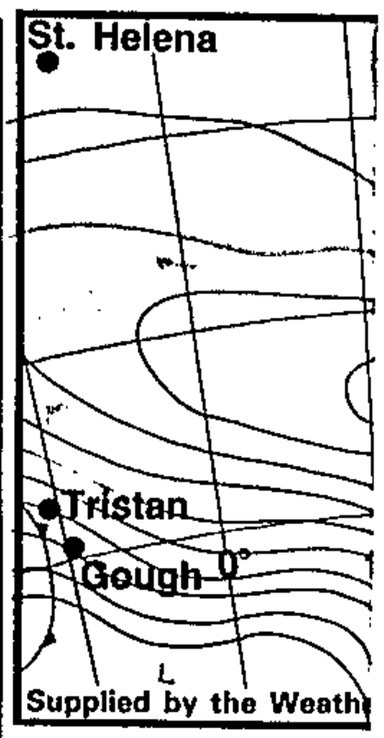
Mr Mandela is in his 27th year of captivity after being jailed on June 12, 1964.

The court jailed him for life, which, for political offences, means imprisonment until death.

● Thatcher negotiation denied — Page 5



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V

CAPE PENINSULA vicinity and West Cape Coastal B Fine and warm. W moderate south-terly becoming nc easterly. The m mum and maxin temperature will between 07 and deg C.

Coastal belt Cape Infan Plettenberg Bay: Fine Warm.

Coastal belt Plettenberg to Port Alfred: Cloudy cool.

Namaqualand and the S Western Cape Interior: and mild.

Pretoria, Witwatersrand the Eastern Highveld: and mild but very cold morning with frost.

Tomorrow: Fine and mil

Wunderman World 1e 301325/5/CT

PHONE 21 2421

candidate for Beaufort West in the coming election.

Cape Times 12/6/89

ANC man convicted

MBABANE. — A member of the ANC, who shot dead a Swazi soccer player in December last year, has been convicted of culpable homicide. He will be sentenced today. Zweli Nyanda was charged with killing Mr Mguyo Zwane in Manzini.

Cape Times 12/6/89

Literature seized in raid

DURBAN. — ANC-South African Communist Party literature as well as items which could have been used for explosive purposes, were seized by police in a raid on a house in Reservoir Hills at the weekend. Police said no arrest had been made but investigations were continuing.

Mwasa worker held in raid

Sowetan 12/6/89 (327)

AN educator of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, Southern Transvaal region, Ms Miranda Ebenezer, was arrested in a police raid at the union's Johannesburg offices on Saturday.

Witwatersrand police Press liaison officer, Colonel Frans Malherbe, yesterday confirmed a raid was conducted at Lekton House which houses Mwasa, the Azanian People's Organisation and trade unions affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions.

Routine

Although Col Malherbe said the raid was routine police duty they had received iformation about the presence of undesirable material in the building.

He said a woman was arrested during the search and would be charged with possession of banned literature.

The raid on Azapo alone was the sixth this year. However, the restricted organisation's offices were locked on Saturday.

Renewed emergency dashes hopes

(327) B/Day 12/6/87

SIPHO NGCOBO

REGRETS, disappointments and stronger calls for democracy by SA's foreign trading partners have greeted President P W Botha's re-imposition of the state of emergency.

Britain, the US, Japan and Canada attacked the renewal of the emergency as having no basis for a solution to this country's problems. They warned SA not to expect the international community to be satisfied with just talk of reform.

In a statement issued by its Foreign Office, Britain said: "We have much regret that SA has renewed the state of emergency for a futher 12 months. The emergency does not contribute to the search for a solution to SA's problems."

Japan called for an immediate scrapping of the emergency, the unbanning of the ANC and PAC, the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and dialogue with a wide range of black leaders.

While Namibia was on the road to independence, international expectations of reform in SA had been dashed, said the statement.

Meanwhile, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark said the renewal of the emergency was a reflection that apartheid had to be mantained through force.

Clark said Canada would maintain pressure on SA to dismantle apartheid and negotiate with genuine black leaders towards the establishment of non-racial, representative government.

Ending the state of emergency would have been an important gesture, he added.

The US State Department said it considered the emergency renewal a serious obstacle to the solution of SA's true dilemma — racial discrimination and minority rule.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said he was appalled at the re-imposition of the emergency, while KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was a "tragic indication of the abnormality of our society".

The Conscientious Objectors' Support Group expressed "grave concern", while the Association of Law Societies said there was a danger that the state of emergency could come to be perceived as normal in SA's society.

Star 13/6/89.

Worrall hits out at NP for renewing state of emergency

Dr Dennis Worrall

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

World leaders and black South African leaders remained adamant that the lifting, not the reimposition, of the state of emergency was a precondition for negotiation, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

In a scathing attack on the Government's renewal of the state of emergency, he said the National Party offered illusory security while further reducing international trading and investor confidence.

Leaders such as British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who was to meet NP leader Mr F W de Klerk soon, would criticise the reinstatement of the state of emergency. "Mr de Klerk might as well stay home and save taxpayers' money," Dr Worrall said at a Greytown, Natal meeting.

In Johannesburg, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night South Africans' common desire for peace, freedom and justice provided the basis for unity.

"Neither the territorial segregation proposed by the Conservative Party nor the group segregation advocated by Mr de Klerk will ever gain the support of the people in South Africa in general.

"Either will prove a recipe for ongoing conflict and ultimate disaster. That is why we must pursue a single united nation. Our love for our country leaves no alternative."

Dr de Beer said after the stresses and strains of the past six to eight months, the DP's victory in the Linden municipal by-election last week had come as a "marvellous reassurance that we were absolutely right to form this party".

The DP had proved that it had a viable political instrument, committed to the establishement of a Western democratic government in South Africa.

"We must set in motion a process which will establish trust, mutual understanding and convergence towards a shared future vision as the basis for a peaceful negotiated settlement.

"We shall expose the shallowness and hollowness of the policies put forward by the Conservatives and the Nationalists, and we shall fight unremittingly for a just and open society and a common patriotism."

Saamstaan seized by Cape police

Star. 13/6/89 (327)

Own Correspondent

CAPETOWN — More than 300 copies of the Oudtshoorn community newspaper, *Saamstaan*, have been seized by police.

Saamstaan journalist Mr Patrick Nyuka said five policemen arrived at the newspaper's offices yesterday armed with a search warrant.

"They said they were investigating charges against *Saamstaan* and confiscated all of this month's edition," he said.

Mr Nyuka said police, who gave him a receipt for the seized newspapers, had also raided offices of the Bongolethu Civic Association and the Southern Cape Council of Churches.

Last year *Saamstaan*, winner of the 1988 South African Society of Journalists' Pringle Award, was seized in terms of the emergency regulations.

The seizure of Saamstaan follows police action at the offices of Western Province Council of Churches in Salt River where they confiscated 1 500 copies of the organisation's May edition of Crisis News.

B/Day. 14/6/89

Radicals reimposed state of emergency

(327)

STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE, Minister of Information, explains why government has renewed the state of emergency in SA

THERE are cogent reasons why it would have been desirable not to renew the state of emergency. They have been eloquently expressed in a number of newspapers.

It is intrinsically undesirable that government should have to augment ordinary laws of the land by emergency regulations. It is also clear that a number of important political groups in the country insist on the lifting of the emergency as one of their preconditions for constitutional negotiations with government.

It is argued that the fact that government has to rule by emergency decree is an admission of its own failure to rule effectively and does not inspire the kind of confidence which we need to make economic and constitutional progress. Critics also point to strong calls from Western governments for the lifting of the state of emergency as soon as possible.

These strong arguments were given careful consideration by government before it took its decision. However, government also had to consider its responsibility to protect the lives and property of all the citizens of the country.

Government was of the firm opinion that it could not allow another round of unrest and violence as experienced from September 1984 until the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12, 1986. Whatever the arbitrary nature of the emergency regulations, it does not compare with the arbitrary and random injustice of mob and revolutionary violence which gripped the country for more than two years and left more than 3 000 people dead, the great majority of them killed by radicals.

Whatever the injustice of detention without trial, it pales into insignificance beside the dreadful injustice of the revolutionary "courts" and their barbaric "necklace" executions.

Whatever the problems of confidence caused by the continuation of the state of emergency, they do not compare with the collapse of international confidence in the South African economy brought about by the unrest and which led to the severe international financial crisis which continues to plague the country.

Whatever the cost to our international relations might be of the continuation of the state of emergency, it cannot compare with the crisis created in our foreign relations by nightly scenes of violence on Western television and by the widely held perception that the old order was about to be swept away.

Whatever the constitutional cost of continuing the state of emergency, the atmosphere for genuine negotiations is much better now than it was in 1986, when there was a disturbing escalation of polarisation and the perception that radicals would inevitably seize power drove the moderate majority from the political scene.

Normalcy prevails

The question government had to consider was not whether law and order should continue to be maintained, but whether it could do so in terms of the normal laws of the land, without emergency powers.

Government could look to the progress in restoring law and order made possible by the state of emergency. It could look to the normalcy which once again prevails in most black communities. It could look to the resumption of normal education of the overwhelming majority of black schoolchildren and the considerable progress in the provision of normal social services and housing for black communities.

It could also take into account the resumption of business confidence which followed the declaration of the state of emergency and which enabled our economy once again to grow. It was also aware of the fragility of that confidence, as illustrated by recent economic devlopments.

Above all, government could look to the restoration of representative local governemnt for black South Africans throughout the country, which followed the successful 1988 municipal elections. These were all gratifying indications of the success of the state of emergency.

However, government also had to note the continuing violence in Natal, which has left more than 700 people dead and continues to rage in the Durban and Maritzburg areas. Although the root causes are complex, this violence has some national characteristics and some of the perpetrators come from outside Natal. The partial state of emergency in 1985 showed regional measures were ineffective.

More seriously, however, government had to take into consideration the escalating incidence of terror in the country and the prevailing revolutionary climate and planning. From November 1988 to April 1989 terrorist incidents were up 16% over the same period for 1987/88 (despite all the ANC/SACP's discussions with well-meaning "liberal-bourgeois" elements from SA).

The ANC has openly stated that it has no intention of abandoning its campaign of violence, even though this has apparently been the subject of some debate within the organisation.

Although legislation exists through which government can quite effectively deal with terrorism, terrorist activities cannot be divorced from the other leg of ANC policy: its political campaign. Notwithstanding the apparently more moderate stance of the ANC/SACP's new constitutional proposals with regard to the "interim-phase of people's power," its ultimate objective remains unchanged — the revolutionary seizure of power.

The political objectives of the ANC/SACP and its allies within SA remain the same: mass mobilisation, confrontation, unrest and violence leading to a transfer of power to the revolutionaries. In terms of this scenario negotiations can take place, but only when the balance of forces has shifted sufficiently to ensure that the minimum demands of the radicals will be secured.

We would be naive to imagine that radical elements and their allies within SA are not working day and night to create circumstances in which such a scenario can take place.

Government has reluctantly reached the conclusion that the normal laws of the land are inadequate to maintain public order under these circumstances.

It is, however, not government which has created the conditions which have necessitated the renewal of the state of emergency. It is the radical and revolutionary organisations, because of their refusal to stop their campaign of terrorism and their planning and mobilisation for revolution. It is not necessary for them to follow this course. It is not true that they have exhausted all peaceful and constitutional channels to bring about change.

Standing invitation

Government has issued a standing invitation to all South Africans who do not support violence to join it in negotiations on the constitutional future of SA. We urge all South Africans of goodwill to join us in these efforts and make it possible for us to lift the state of emergency at the earliest possible moment.

Those who are unhappy with the renewal of the state of emergency (including government itself) should bring pressure to bear on radical organisations still working for violent change. There will be no such change in SA.

There is, however, every possibility of peaceful constitutional change as the vast majority of decent people are prepared to join government in negotiations.

End harassment, pleads Mwasa

(327)

B/Day 14/6/87

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) yesterday wrote an open letter to security police asking to be left in peace.

This followed a series of raids on its offices country-wide, culminating in the arrest at the weekend of of its research officer Miranda Ebenezer.

Ebenezer was arrested at the union's head office in Johannesburg on Saturday and released on Monday without being charged. She told Business Day she was questioned about Mwasa's activities.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria denied harassment of Mwasa. Any action taken was against specific individuals, he said.

In a statement, Mwasa said it had resignedly accepted raids on its offices and "confiscation of property by security police" in the absence of its officials.

B/Day. 14/6/89

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(327)

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It is argued that the fact that government has to rule by emergency decree is an admission of its own failure to rule effectively and does not inspire the kind of confidence which we need to make economic and constitutional progress. Critics also point to strong calls from Western governments for the lifting of the state of emergency as soon as possible.

These strong arguments were given careful consideration by government before it took its decision. However, government also had to consider its responsibility to protect the lives and property of all the citizens of the country.

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Cosatu urges regions to be vigilant

Star 14/6/87 (327)

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The national office of the Congress of South African Trade Unions has warned all its regions and affiliates to "be vigilant and take necessary security precautions".

The warning follows a spate of physical attacks on Cosatu workers by unknown persons and a series of official actions against the organisation and some of its affiliates in recent weeks.

In a statement released yesterday, Cosatu said that, at the time of writing, "the regional offices of Cosatu in the eastern Cape were being turned inside out by the security police" and that the administrator for the region, Ms Immalde Bailey, was being held by police.

Asked to comment on the raid, the Police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria responded: "We consider the visiting of premises to be a routine police duty."

Cosatu said that yesterday's search of the offices was the latest in a number of State actions. Others included:

- The detentions of the vice-chairman and secretary of the Cosatu local committee in Queenstown.
- Four other raids on eastern Cape offices of Cosatu in the past month.

Curbs under fire

THE Human Rights Commission said yesterday it viewed the reimposition of the state of emergency with deep regret.

In a statement the commission said the move was a "blatant" contradiction since the Government said political violence had decreased as a result of emergency measures.

"The Government has again contradicted itself by speaking of the decreased levels of violence that has been a by-product of the emergency. In the same breath they speak of the imperative of such an emergency in order to contain the 'intense revolutionary climate.' "

The commission said it was "gravely concerned" at the renewed restrictions on anti-apartheid activists.

Sowetan 15/6/87

(327)

Flashback: Students on the march on June 16 1976.

SERVICES TO MARK JUNE 16

By THEMBA MOLEFE

TOMORROW, June 16, will be commemorated for the 13th year since Hector Pietersen became a martyr at the age of 13.

As services are held to mark the day when Hector and many other Soweto pupils were killed at the outbreak of a nationwide uprising, many young people his age — he would be 26 were he alive today — are either detained or restricted.

Many of those restricted are of schoolgoing age but have spent long periods in detention and have been refused re-entry at their previous schools.

June 16 is also being commemorated a week after the state of emergency was reimposed for the fourth year on June 9.

The first post-June 16 1976 state of emergency was declared in June 1986 at the height of political unrest which also affected schools and education in general.

Three months after the first anniversary of the "students protest" in 1977, 19 organisations were banned. Today 17 anti-government groups are still restricted in terms of emergency laws.

The 13th anniversary of June 16 comes when workers are leading the fight to have the day declared a public holiday. Many employers have declared it a paid public holiday.

The Chamber of Mines and the De Beers group have adopted a no-work, no-pay and no-penalty stance, while Ergo and Samancor regard it as a paid holiday.

However, political, church and other concerned groups have endorsed the call to declare the day a national holiday similar to those days commemorated by white South Africans such as the Day of the Covenant on December 16 and Founders' Day on May 6.

Meanwhile, shops in black townships will close from noon tomorrow. The National African Federated

• To Page 2

June 16 services

• From page 1

Chambers of Commerce and the Soweto Independent Shopkeepers Association yesterday issued statements calling on their members to close their doors as a sign of respect.

The Atteridgeville City Council has declared June 16 a holiday for its workers. A statement said yesterday that its offices would be closed, Sapa reports.

Services will be held at the following venues tomorrow:

- Kopanong, Dobsonville, 1pm, June 16.
- Waffville Anglican Church, 12 noon, June 16.
- Samaj Centre, Cape Town, 6pm, June 18.
- Godfather, North Areas, Port Elizabeth, 12 noon, June 16.
- Masiza Hall, Welkom, 10am, June 16.
- Laudium Hotel, Pretoria, 11am, June 16.
- Lenyenye Lutheran Church, Northern Transvaal, 1pm, June 18.
- Seshego Lutheran Church, Phodisaditshaba, Northern Transvaal, June 17.
- Sebokeng Methodist Church, Zone 13, 10am, June 16.
- Dosele School Hall, Nebo District, Northern Transvaal, 2pm, June 16.
- Fatima Shrine, Kimberley, 3pm, June 16.
- Regina Mundi Catholic Church, Soweto, 1pm, June 16.
- Gamatlabe Hall, Potchefstroom, 10am, June 16.
- Kwaggafontein, Kwa-Ndebele, 11am, June 16. (Specific venue not disclosed "for security reasons").
- Phuthaditshaba, Qwa-Qwa, 3pm, June 16. (Venue also not disclosed).

Cosatu slates attacks on MDM

327

15-21/6/85

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions this week hit out at the reimposition of the state of emergency and what it termed "consistent attacks" on the mass democratic movement, including the federation and its affiliates.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo condemned the restrictions placed on Cosatu, the United Democratic Front and 31 other organisations.

He said the restrictions placed on more than 500 individuals were "turning our communities into huge prisons".

"The government is digging deeper into the trenches of emergency rule in a futile bid to reverse the march of history," he said.

Cosatu has compiled a list of attacks on the federation in the past fortnight. These include:

- The detention of the Eastern Cape regional administrator, Immalde Bailey, last week.
- The detention of the Cosatu vice-chairperson and local secretary in Queenstown.
- The arrest of the three detainees who occupied the British embassy earlier this year to protest their restrictions, on a charge of breaking their restriction orders.
- An attack by unknown people on the house of the Northern Natal regional secretary, Sipho Cele.
- The petrol bombing of two union organisers' houses in the Northern Cape.
- Repeated raids on the Eastern Cape Cosatu offices.
- Burglaries at five Cosatu offices.

A building housing the Johannesburg offices of the National Council of Trade Unions and several organisations affiliated to the Azanian Peoples' Organisation was raided by security police last week.

A Media Workers' Association of South Africa organiser was arrested on a charge of possession of banned literature during the raid.

The 5pm protest rally chugs home from work

Workers at Elandsfontein station dance along the platform as they wait for the Tembisa train

Placard in hand, a protestor enters a coach on the Tembisa train

Activists find a mobile solution to the Emergency clamp on meetings

The 5.00pm train pulls out of the platform. All aboard know that the fourth coach from the end is 'the place of struggle' where the train committee will be holding a meeting. For 'railway rallies' do not contravene Emergency regulations. And police are finding these moving meetings difficult to monitor

EDDIE KOCH reports

WHILE it hurtles across the industrial landscape of the East Rand at dusk, ferrying workers from their factories to their homes in Tembisa, the 5pm train from Germiston becomes the vehicle for an ingenious response to the State of Emergency.

On the station at the Elandsfontein industrial estate, labourers from a nearby chemical factory discuss plans for a strike to protest at the sacking of seven colleagues while they wait for the train.

At 5.10pm it arrives on the platform. The workers break into a chant before crowding into a second-class coach, from which the sounds of song reverberate.

A young man, carrying a handwritten poster that proclaims "People remember June 16", pushes his way through the crowded passages. Fingers point into the air — an indication that the singing should stop — and a young woman at the far end of the compartment gets up to make a speech.

"Comrades," she says. "When these meetings started late in 1985, it was because of the need to meet. The State of Emergency made it difficult for us to hold meetings in the townships so this alternative was necessary to maintain our unity. It is here, in these coaches, that we will make decisions about the rent boycott, stayaways and many other things."

At 5.30pm the train pulls into the station at Isando, another big industrial township. Workers from the surrounding factories have been told in advance which coach for the week will be *emzabalazweni* — "a place of struggle".

Comrade Jabu — he asked for his real name not to be used because police have mounted raids on the train lines to a number of Witwatersrand townships — told the *Weekly Mail* how union members and youth activists have, under Emergency conditions, turned train coaches into effective platforms for trade union and township campaigns.

On the Germiston-Tembisa line, he says, support was won among commuters for striking metalworkers during the national strike last year; the rent boycott in Tembisa; the mass three-day protest in June last year against the new labour Bill; and a boycott of a fish-and-chip shop near Elandsfontein which sold rotten Russian sausages to workers.

"Train committees" have been established to co-ordinate these campaigns. Another of their tasks has been to stop "thugs and tsotsis" from harassing people at stations on the route. Jabu says this is a major reason for the blessing that commuters have given the committees.

It looks like a typical June 16 memorial meeting. The difference is that it's being held in a train coach

Pictures: STEVE HILTON BARBER, Afrapix

"They trust us because we have cleaned up the stations," says Jabu. "But it is not always easy to keep their attention — especially if the speeches are too long. If you speak from here to the next station you're in big trouble. So we sing and dance to keep them interested."

Comrade Jabu, sacked last year from the company in Elandsfontein where he had been an active shop steward, now describes himself as a "cultural worker" on the trains.

"In 1987 I saw that interest in the train meetings was beginning to die down. So I decided to make a play to show on the trains. Most of our people like to sing and dance and act. If we entertain the people, they are more likely to support our struggle."

One of the plays devised and acted out in the coaches was called *Workers' Lament*. Another popular play on the 5pm train to Tembisa is called *Women Stand Up For Your Rights*.

"It shows the threefold exploitation that black women suffer as wives, workers and community members," says Jabu. "We wanted to persuade the men in the train to treat their women better. At first some of us (men in the train committee) acted out the parts of women. We had to put on squeaky voices. But later some women passengers expressed interest. They rehearsed with us in the township and then came and acted on the train."

Trade unionists report that similar happenings have become commonplace on Witwatersrand lines where large groups of workers commute to and from work. Shop stewards often arrange what is increasingly becoming the workers' answer to the businessmen's breakfast: a quick meeting in the carriage to discuss strategy while the union members are travelling to work.

In a recent edition of the *Labour Bulletin*, researcher Kehla Shubane argues that trains have become the major venue in which the political culture that developed in the townships during the 1984-1986 insurrection is being kept alive.

"Workers on the trains are singing the same songs, accompanied by stamping feet, as those sung by the youth in township revolts. The slogans chanted in *emzabalazweni* are the same as those heard in township meetings ... After four years of the State of Emergency the government has still failed to crush this political culture."

Reasons for the resilience of these railway rallies lie in the unique strategic advantages the trains offer to union activists.

Meetings in the coaches take place "indoors", thus protecting participants from prosecution under Emergency regulations; the trains are highly mobile vehicles for building solidarity between factories and for rolling strikes from one industrial area to another; and they are extraordinarily difficult for security forces to monitor and control.

But there are indications that police are aware of the extent of *emzabalazweni* meetings on the trains and have now begun to crack down on them. Unions report that daily raids on main commuter lines from Germiston to Tembisa, Springs, Katlehong and Johannesburg have taken place in the run-up to June 16.

Charge sheets in the possession of the *Weekly Mail* indicate that most of those arrested have been prosecuted for "behaving in a violent and aggressive manner" in public. Police headquarters in Pretoria said it could not supply comment on the raids until the names of those arrested were supplied to them.

"We asked them why they did not arrest the born-agains who sing gospel songs on the trains," said one of those held in the raids. "They said: 'Because they are singing for God and you are disturbing people who want to read.' Our reply was to ask: 'Since when have trains become libraries?'"

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Dept. of History:

Lecturer

Applications are invited for the above post, vacant as from 1 January 1990.

Special interest and qualifications in South African history and/or African history will be an advantage, but candidates well qualified in other fields will not be excluded from consideration. The appointee may be required to assist in the teaching of the first-year survey course. Candidates should either have completed or be nearing completion of a Ph.D. degree.

Appointment, according to qualifications and experience, will be made within the lecturer salary scale R26 316 – R44 016 per annum with attractive staff benefits.

Applicants should submit a full curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of three referees not later than 31 July 1989 to the Appointments Officer, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, 7700 (telephone: (021) 650-2192; telefax: (021) 650-2136), from whom further information should be obtained. Applicants should give referees copies of cv's and list of publications.

Applicants are considered irrespective of gender, race or creed.

Bates Wells Recruitment CT 8771

don

Varsity body ups Webster reward

THE total reward offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderers of human rights activist Dr David Webster is now close to R50 000, according to the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa).

A statement by Udusa said over R20 000 had been pledged principally by members of staff of the University of the Witwatersrand. Substantial pledges were also expected frcm the other major universities.

The pledges formed part of a national campaign by Udusa "which aims to increase the probability of the murderers being found".

Since the death of the Wits academic six weeks ago, police had not found any positive leads, the statement said.

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WMail 15-22/6/89

y of Computer Bookkeeping

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'Unban' call as Cosas turns 10

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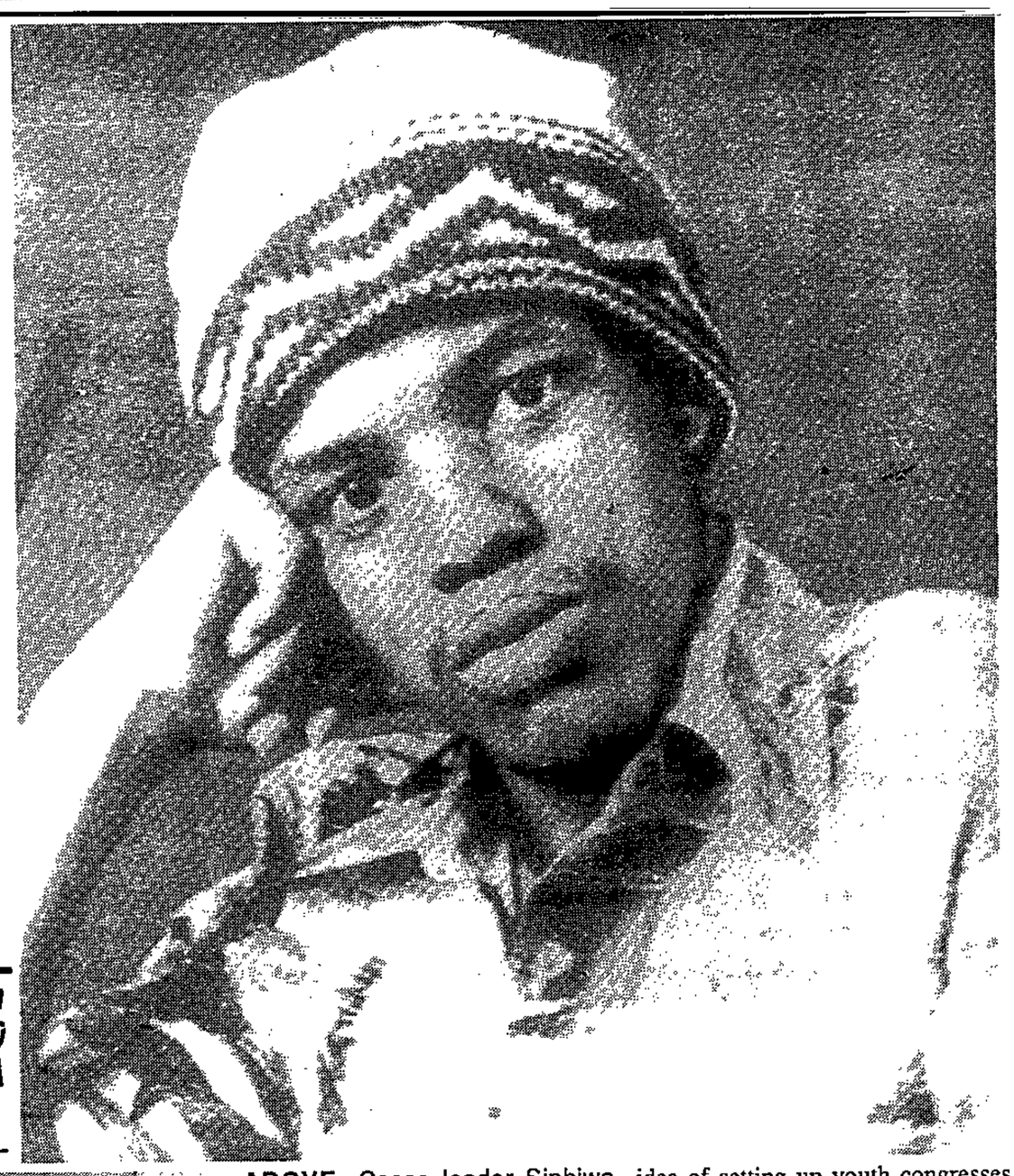


The Congress of South African Students, the dominant organisation in high school politics in the early 1980s until its banning in 1985, turned 10 without much fanfare at the beginning of this month. MONO BADELA traces its effects on education and the political struggle in general:

THREE former presidents of the Congress of South African Students have marked its 10th anniversary with a call for the unbanning of the organisation.

The call has been supported by educationist Curtis Nkondo, president of the restricted National Education Union of South Africa.

Speaking in his personal capacity, Nkondo described Cosas as the "students' movement accepted by all students", and said if the government had any wisdom it would lift the ban on the organisation.

Ephraim Mogale, founder member and first president of Cosas, said it had striven for "free, compulsory, dynamic education in a nonracial and democratic South Africa".

Robben Island

Mogale, who spent five years on Robben Island barely months after being elected as president, is one of three former Cosas presidents still in the country.

The others are Lulu Johnson, the last Cosas president, and his predecessor Shepherd Mati.

The fourth former Cosas president, Wantu Zenzile, is studying at an American university.

Johnson, recently released from nearly three years in emergency detention in Port Elizabeth, said bannings and detentions could not disguise the fact that the state had lost the initiative to resolve the crisis in the country.

And he warned that "people's education" was a phenomenon the state could not run away from.

Mati said the 1980's classroom boycotts had "baptised" Cosas and created a layer of student leadership which had gone on to build solid organisations in schools across the country.

Cosas had produced a generation of young South Africans who refused to believe the lies of apartheid and resolved to take responsibility for the future of South Africa.

"This generation played an important role in the formation of civics, youth movements, trade unions and the United Democratic Front," he said.

"Cosas also contributed in breaking down township barriers by organising not only African students but also those from the so-called coloured and Indian schools."

ABOVE. Cosas leader Siphiwo Mtimkulu, who disappeared shortly after being released from detention. He had sued the Minister of Law and Order after allegedly being poisoned in detention

LEFT. The former Cosas presidents still in the country, Lulu Johnson, Ephraim Mogale, Shepherd Mati and Whitey Mohapi

BELOW. Former Cosas president Wantu Zenzile, now studying in America

Cosas was banned in September 1985, six years after its launch on June 3 1979.

It suffered the fate of earlier black student organisations such as the South African Students Organisation, the South African Students Movement and the Soweto Students Representative Council, which were banned in 1977.

The 1980 school boycotts which forged the Cosas leadership began in the Western Cape and then spread rapidly to the rest of the country.

The boycotts were born out of frustrations about poor facilities, lack of textbooks, inadequately trained teachers, corporal punishment and the banning of SRCs.

The classroom boycotts took place against a background of growing labour action, bus boycotts, rent protests and the rejection of community councillors.

Alliances between students, workers, parents and teachers were strengthened during this period.

By October 1980, the Department of Education and Training (DET) had closed 80 schools indefinitely and many other schools remained empty until the end of the year.

Cosas, the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) jointly spearheaded the Anti-Republic Day campaign in 1981 under the slogan "Forward to the People's Republic".

The second half of 1981 saw at least 40 Cosas leaders being detained, including its second president Wantu Zenzile and Siphiwo Mtimkhulu, who went "missing" a year later.

At the time of his disappearance in April 1982, Mtimkhulu was suing Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange for R150 000 for allegedly being poisoned with thalium while in detention.

Cosas' second national congress, held in Cape Town in May 1982, was attended by about 200 delegates from 28 Cosas branches throughout the country, as well as by observers from other organisations.

Held under the theme "Student Worker Action", the congress looked at "education for liberation", "students and workers" and the role of black consciousness.

It was at this congress, at which Mati was elected president, that the idea of setting up youth congresses was mooted.

From 1983, youth organisations began to emerge and were to become a major force in township politics nationally.

Under the slogan " Each One Teach One", Cosas members intensified their efforts to popularise their organisation and its aim.

Jointly with Azaso, Cosas decided to launch the Education Charter Campaign.

In August 1983, Cosas became one of the first United Democratic Front affiliates.

That year, there were further schools boycotts.

In December 1983, Johnson was elected president at a congress held in Durban.

In the first few months of 1984, schools in Atteridgeville, Alexandra, Cradock, Port Elizabeth, Tembisa, Bloemfontein, Soweto and Nigel stood empty.

Bantu education

By the end of May, more than 30 000 pupils were boycotting classes. Bantu Education came to a standstill in large parts of the Eastern Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State.

During the unrest, Cosas branch secretary Bongani Khumalo was shot dead by police in Soweto, and almost the whole executive was detained.

In 1985, Cosas participated in campaigns around the International Year of the Youth and the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

After the first national state of emergency was proclaimed in July 1985, hundreds of Cosas members nation-wide were detained.

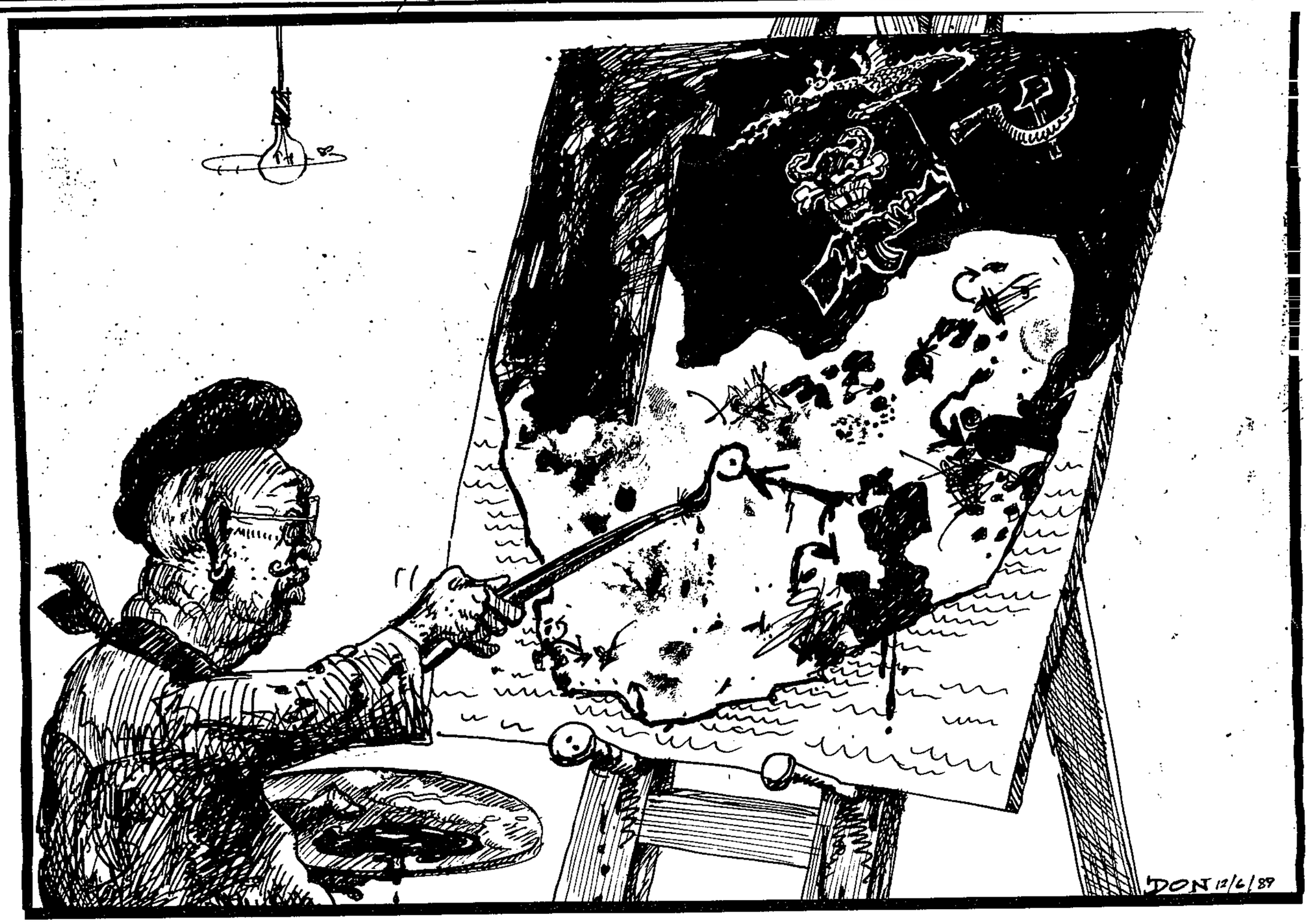
Curfews were imposed in many parts of the Transvaal and Eastern Cape townships, banning students from being outside classes during school hours.

In some areas, students were allegedly sjambokked and forced to attend classes at gunpoint.

Five weeks after the proclamation of the state of emergency, Cosas, which had 150 branches nationwide by then, was banned.

But, as Mogale points out, the outlawing of the organisation did not succeed in crushing the students' spirit.

"The fire in the hearts of the students and youth can never be put out," said Mogale.



Sidestepping the courts on 'black spots'

A new bill, currently before the President's Council empowers the State President to change the boundaries of non-independent homelands, while sidestepping the authority of the courts. Critics of the Alternation of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill say this will lead to "administrative, legal and political chaos". CHIARA CARTER examines the controversy surrounding the bill:

A CONTROVERSIAL bill which gives the government unlimited power to change non-independent homelands' boundaries has aroused a storm of protest and fears that violent conflict will follow should the bill be passed.

Critics of the Alternation of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, currently before the President's Council, say the bill replaces forced removals with forced incorporation and further erodes the powers of the judiciary by removing the courts' right to review government decisions.

The bill gives the State President the right to change the boundaries of non-independent homelands by proclamation "if he deems it expedient".

The State President already has the power to change boundaries by proclamation in terms of the National States Constitution Act 21 of 1971.

But the courts have defined this power as limited, with the Supreme Court on two occasions ruling this was not an absolute power to be exercised arbitrarily.

The court said boundaries could only be shifted if this was in line with the purpose of the Act, which is to establish self-governing territories on the basis of the principle of ethnicity.

Based on this definition, the Appellate Division in a unanimous decision set aside the incorporation of Moutse into Kwandebele, while a full bench of the Orange Free State Division set aside the incorporation of Botshabelo into Qwa Qwa.

In the new bill, there are no guidelines to govern the circumstances under which incorporations take place. It is left entirely to the State President's discretion.

This means parliament has no say in the question of incorporation.

The Labour Party walked out of a joint sitting of the three houses of Parliament recently, saying they would not vote on the bill which "seeks to abrogate the sovereignity of parliament by handing the State President the power to tinker at will with the boundaries of self-governing territories".

The bill also sidesteps the authority of the courts.

There is no provision for legal review of incorporations, since the bill states that no court of law can enquire into, or pronounce on, the validity of a proclamation.

According to civil rights lawyer Geoff Budlender, this means legal supervision of the State President's decisions is almost impossible, since there is no recourse to the courts, such as that successfully pursued by the communities of Moutse and Botshabelo.

A key aspect of the bill is that it is retro-active. It overules previous findings of the Supreme Court by validating all previous proclamations, including those the Supreme Court found invalid, with the exception of Moutse.

That the judiciary is left out in the cold is no accident.

The Minister of Constitutional Development said the reason for the bill was to avoid "the administrative, political and legal chaos which can take place when a court changes the proclaimed boundary of a self-governing territory".

The legal fraternity has responded sharply, saying the bill amounts to "an attack on the law as an institution" and is "a cynical attempt to bypass the courts to facilitate forced removals under the guise of boundary relocation".

Defiance

Lawyers for Human Rights chairperson Jules Browde said: "The government is now seeking a mandate from parliament to act in defiance of the law unhindered by the inconvenience of judicial control. If anything will lead to administrative, political and legal chaos, this will."

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) said the bill exposed the "lie of reform" since the government had "replaced forced removals with forced incorporation".

Nadel also warned that the bill meant increased violence.

"Every incorporation has been accompanied by the unleashing of violence by vigilantes or homeland security forces on the residents of the affected areas. The examples of Moutse, Botshabelo, Braklaagte and Leeufontein are well known."

The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) has warned that incorporation often means violence, with homeland authorities acting as an "army of conquest".

The fears that violent conflict would result from forced incorporation are not without grounds.

In Moutse, a period of violence and turmoil, in which hundreds of people were allegedly abducted by Mbokodo vigilantes, followed the gazetting of the incorporation into Kwandebele in January 1986.

Moutse is specifically excluded from the provisions of the bill, pending the findings of a commission of inquiry into the future of the area.

However, Trac has warned there is nothing in the bill to preclude Moutse being incorporated into so[illegible] other homeland after the commissi[illegible] has reported.

A joint statement issued by the [illegible]ened communities earlier this [illegible] cited the case of Peelton, wh[illegible] people obtained a court interdict [illegible] restrain the Ciskeian police and am[illegible] from harassing residents, and [illegible] case of Braklaagte, where over [illegible] residents were detained by Bo[illegible]phuthatswana police in April.

Most immediately at risk is Bo[illegible]shabelo near Bloemfontein, whi[illegible] the government wants to incorpo[illegible] into Qwa Qwa.

The 600 000 strong community [illegible] deeply opposed to becoming part [illegible] Qwa Qwa.

In terms of the original proclam[illegible]tion, administrative and executi[illegible] authority was transferred to the Qw[illegible] Qwa legislative assembly but [illegible] land remained with the Sou[illegible] African Development Trust.

Some services also temporarily [illegible]mained with the South Africans.

These included health, politics a[illegible] education, because residents [illegible] previously objected to the low [illegible]dards of service provided by Q[illegible] Qwa.

Doubts still remain over Q[illegible] Qwa's ability to administ[illegible] Botshabelo which, experts say, w[illegible] be larger than Soweto by the end [illegible] the century.

"The bottom line remains Q[illegible] Qwa's inability to run and develop [illegible] urban township the size of Bo[illegible]belo," a Trac spokesperson said.

Also under threat are many [illegible]munities in conflict-ridden Natal.

Past attempts to incorporate [illegible] Durban townships of Chester[illegible] and Lamontville as well as [illegible]banathi on the North Coast i[illegible] Kwazulu met with strong resistan[illegible] and violence.

Freehold black communities whi[illegible] have resisted attempts to move t[illegible] into resettlement camps on T[illegible] land earmarked for incorporati[illegible] into Kwazulu, could also fa[illegible] incorporation.

The bill also raises the possibili[illegible] of another Ingwavuma where So[illegible] Africa tried to give a part of Kwa[illegible]lu to Swaziland.

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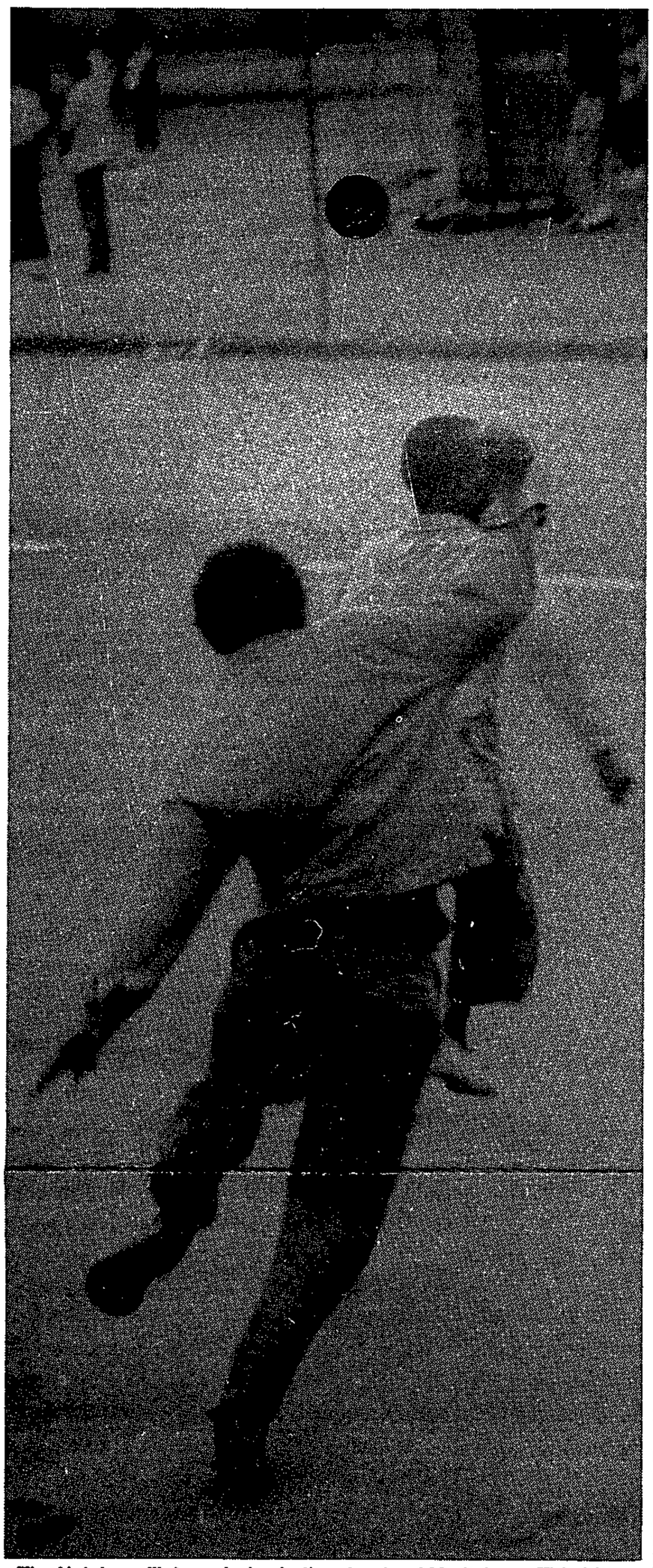
HE RENEWAL HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY MASSIVE CLAMPDOWNS. WILL THIS YEAR BE DIFFERENT?



The Natal conflict explodes in the streets of Maritzburg. This bitter fight has claimed more deaths each year of the Emergency

Picture: Jonathan Kaplan, PPC

Expect a security laws deal between hawks and doves

Under pressure from abroad and within, the government hard-liners seem to have lost the initiative for the first time in three years.

GAVIN EVANS reports

INTERNATIONAL and local pressures have reduced the all-sweeping repression the creators of the State of Emergency intended.

While the "securocrats" in government have won their fight against its repeal, the Emergency is likely to be substantially amended.

A probable compromise between "hawks" and "doves" in the cabinet, says a leading Johannesburg lawyer, is an Emergency minus most of the media regulations but with the detentions provisions largely untouched.

"The substance of the media regulations are no longer in force, and I will be surprised if (Minister of Home Affairs) Stoffel Botha's diehards, like his media liaison director Andreas Engelbrecht, get their way in preventing them from being scrapped," said the lawyer.

"What they may do is include some of the media regulations, such as the restrictions on working for an end to compulsory military service, under the security section, and then claim kudos for repealing the rest."

He said it was also possible that the regulations regarding Emergency detainees may be softened to allow them the status of awaiting trial prisoners.

The government quashed reports that it was preparing to end the Emergency by leaking news that a meeting of the Cabinet had decided the climate was not yet ripe for such a measure.

At a Republic Day rally in Verwoerdburg, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok confirmed this decision:

"The African National Congress, South African Communist Party and other radical elements are renewing efforts to expose the public to widespread violence and chaos which could only be contained through extraordinary measures such as the Emergency regulations."

Fears that the lifting of the Emergency would lead to a disruption of the September general elections appears to be the main reason for the regulations remaining in force.

But it is clear that, for the first time in over three years, the tide is against the security hardliners, says Mark Phillips of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies.

A range of "carrot and stick" pressures have shifted the power balance away from those favouring narrow counter-insurgency solutions, and strengthened the hand of those prepared to contemplate some kind of national-level negotiations in the short to medium term, he says.

The detainees' hunger strike earlier this year focused international attention on the Emergency and led to hundreds of releases

Picture: Reuters

A key factor has been the Soviet Union's new foreign policy focusing on peaceful solutions to regional conflicts. This has removed the basis to the South African government's "total onslaught" slogan. The state now faces superpowers more prepared to co-operate with one another.

Phillips said the growing gap in South Africa's balance of payments, as well as its foreign debt crisis, has made the government more sensitive to the threat of economic pressures.

"The Commonwealth conference in October could well bring new pressure to bear for sanctions and there is a strong likelihood that a united Europe in 1992 could apply strict economic pressure to bear against apartheid unless the government agrees to major changes," he said.

Foreign affairs personnel and others outside the security establishment have therefore been eager to make use of the international space the government has won through agreeing to a settlement in Namibia.

This factor has opened the way for the frontline states to play a more assertive role in the negotiations issue. It is expected the Organisation of African Unity will prepare guidelines for a negotiating process in South Africa at its conference later this year.

Speaking in Ottawa on Monday, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said that while the South African government was keeping to the Namibian settlement fresh pressures for sanctions should be shelved.

"We are prepared to start some sort of dialogue about how to end apartheid through talks and consultation," he said.

Kaunda, who is playing a more assertive role in building credibility as a regional negotiations broker, set four conditions for the resumption of such dialogue: ANC leader Nelson Mandela's unconditional release, the return home of ANC President Oliver Tambo, the unbanning of the organisation, and the end of press censorship.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher remains the government's most reliable international ally. She is demanding that, at least after the elections, Mandela is released and the Emergency lifted.

These demands are ones that she, and several in the South African cabinet, see as realistic. There are strong indications that National Party leader FW de Klerk has agreed to Mandela's release shortly after the elections.

The carrots Thatcher dangles are a willingness to oppose sanctions and a preparedness to put pressure on the ANC to drop the armed struggle — and enter negotiations for a compromise solution on majority rule.

Several reports indicate that United States President George Bush has welcomed Thatcher's role because of Britain's greater leverage with the South African government.

But if her efforts to ensure a negotiated solution fail he may well be prepared to use the bipartisan consensus in the Congress to wave a bigger stick at the South African government — a factor that may explain the upbeat response of Archbishop Desmond Tutu to his meeting with the US president.

Such considerations have helped nudge foreign affairs officials towards a more conciliatory approach to world opinion.

Only last year the then-South African ambassador to the United Nations told the world to "do its damnedest".

Last week De Klerk told a US television audience his government was committed to a negotiated settlement to the country's problem, while Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha repeated his previous no-no that a black president could be on his way.

This altered international climate has combined with, and contributed to, renewed internal pressures for change.

dela's release and, as a hoped-for consequence, their own brand of negotiations."

But, it is suggested, advantage can be taken of this — with spin-offs the government cannot predict. The bottom line for the democratic movement is that its demands remain constant, while tactical advantage is gleaned along the way.

The internal "glasnost" which the official identifies certainly makes it easier for such strategy-linked advice to be heeded, and acted upon. Many political taboos have disappeared or been shifted aside in the cut-and-thrust of activism under the Emergency.

Consultations with business leaders, apparently sympathetic "homeland" figures, "liberal" whites, and even township "mayors" and councillors now take place without undue recriminations within extra-parliamentary circles.

At the end of this month, UDF President Albertina Sisulu is expected to lead a top-level delegation of UDF leaders to meet US President George Bush in Washington. The tactical correctness of accepting the American invitiation does not appear to have been called into question within the organisation — another positive indicator of how much has shifted during the time of the Emergency.

The ugly face of repression

By VUSI GUNENE and MUSA ZONDI

AS the State of Emergency moves into its fourth year, anti-apartheid activists fear new forms of repression are being unleashed.

Many in the resistance movement see a shift in state security strategy to restrictions, rather than detention without trial, and they fear more assassinations of activists.

Under Emergency rule, political conditions under which activists operate have changed considerably. Most important features include:

● Harsh media restrictions empowering the government to suspend "subversive" publications remain in place, but have not been invoked for some months — probably because of the international furore they sparked.

However the media is still severely restricted in its coverage of security force action, and publications have been seized under the Emergency.

● Since February last year a total of 32 anti-apartheid organisations have effectively been banned, while Cosatu was prohibited from engaging in any political activity. The bannings have tailed off in recent months.

● Mass political gatherings and protest meetings, a feature of the immediate pre-Emergency period, have virtually disappeared as a result of bannings or restrictions. Mass-based organisation in the townships is dormant or non-existent.

● Many activists, mainly teenagers, fled their homes to avoid detention and violent repression, creating a massive "internal refugee" problem.

● The kidnapping, disappearance and assassination of activists has intensified over the past year. Activists both inside the country and abroad have been affected. According to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) "disappeared people have subsequently been discovered in detention, but some disappear permanently".

During the last year, 10 people are known to have been assassinated, including academic David Webster.

● Sectarian violence in Natal which, according to the Indicator Project at Natal University, took 4 000 lives between September 1984 and December 1988.

● Widespread restriction and house arrests of township activists, which contrasts with the mass detentions of the period 1986/87.

● A vital factor in the shift in state strategy was linked to the nationwide hunger strike by detainees demanding they be charged or released. Of those released following the hunger strike, 90 percent are believed to have been placed under restrictions.

● After its assault on extra-parliamentary organisation, the state moved to strengthen its own structures of authority in the townships — specifically the black councils.

● In addition to assassinations, abductions and disappearances, "informal" repression in the latter part of the Emergency has involved a large number of attacks on buildings and offices. These include sabotage and arson attacks at Cosatu House, Community House in Cape Town, the South African Council of Churches' Khotso House, and Khanya House, the headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

WEEKLY MAIL, June 9 to June 14, 1989

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Heads the DP loses, tails it loses too

The DP faces a brutal decision this week which will lose it key friends either way, reports ANTON HARBER

THE Democratic Party faces another important — and extremely difficult - decision in the next few weeks.

The new party's 22-member board is due to decide whether to contest the September elections in the coloured and Indian houses of parliament.

There is a strong lobby within the board that wants to see the party pursue every avenue to parliamentary power, and sees no distinction between the white elections, and the coloured and Indian equivalents.

The DP already has three members in the House of Delegates (HoD), and is committed to supporting them. Party leaders are also hopeful of forging an alliance with the Labour Party in the House of Representatives (HoR).

However, the party is under direct pressure from the "mass democratic movement" to stay out of the other houses of the tricameral parliament. Organisations such as the United Democratic Front have warned that relations between the DP and extra-parliamentary organisations will be damaged if the party fights coloured and Indian elections.

In an open letter to DP leaders, delivered to the *Weekly Mail* yesterday, the Transvaal Indian Congress said it would be "a fatal mistake for the DP to underestimate the deep feeling of rejection of the tricameral system in the Indian and coloured communities".

The TIC said it recognised that the DP had an "influential role to play in the process of change ... and that the current political climate presents creative opportunities for all anti-apartheid forces to co-operate."

However, the DP needed to consider whether a strategy of participation in the coloured and Indian houses "allows for these dynamic possibilities to materialise.

"The TIC is of the view that fielding even a single candidate in the HoD or HoR would not only be unfortunate, but would be extremely short-sighted," it said.

It warned that the DP would be opening itself up to "expedient and unprincipled politics (as well as) corruption and constant embarrasment given the frequency with which MPs cross the floor.

"It would be a sad day if the DP allowed itself to be blinded by election fever," it said.

A representative of the UDF said that even defending the seats of its three members in the HoD would be "a threat to what the DP wants to achieve and what it can achieve."

The UDF was opposed to participation in government structures in general, and in the coloured and Indian houses of parliament in particular.

The DP was trying to present itself as a party of negotiations and wanted to show that it had good relations with organisations such as the UDF. "It would be extremely foolhardy for them to jeopardise or threaten this relationship with extra-parliamentary organisations.

"If they go ahead with these elections, they face the danger of having another front opened against them. After all, the DP flag will have to fly in the HoD, and that will not go down well in Lenasia.

"I am not saying that we will have nothing to do with them, but I am warning that this will create a problem area between the UDF and the DP," the UDF representative said.

The DP has held a series of consultations with extra-parliamentary organisations in the last few weeks on this topic. The message given to them has been consistent: "Don't do it, or do it at the risk of harming relations with the mass democratic movement." The last consultation took place on the eve of the last DP board meeting, and some extra-parliamentary activists went so far as to suggest that they would treat the DP in the same way as other "collaborators" if they fought the Indian and coloured elections.

The DP meeting the following day referred the matter to the executive committee. A DP representative said yesterday that negotiations and consultations around the issue "are by no means finished".

A meeting scheduled for this week to make a final decision was yesterday postponed.

The issue is complicated by the fact that it comes at a time of unprecedented contact between the DP and extra-parliamentary organisations. For the first time, both sides are committed to developing contacts and alliances.

Bodies such as the UDF have shown a new willingness to enter into talks. And the DP programme of action commits it to "the development of a broad front for joint strategies and alliances with organisations."

DP sources say they see their decision as a "no-win situation". They stand to lose if they ditch their HoD members, as they do if they go ahead and harm relations with bodies such as the UDF.

Arrested: Assessor who criticised the judge

By CARMEL RICKARD

AN extraordinary controversy involving a Transkei Supreme Court judge and his assessor has sent shock waves through the legal profession.

Assessor Arjun Naidu, an advocate and professor of law at the University of Transkei, last week signed a statement saying in effect that Mr Justice M Mitchell had lied in court.

A week later, arrested and charged in court for contempt and defamation, he said the statement was a lie, made "under duress".

In the affidavit, filed with the Registrar of the Supreme Court in Umtata, he challenged the judge's ruling on the last day of a "political" murder trial, that the court found "unanimously" there were no extenuating circumstances.

Naidu, who was not in court at the time sentence was handed down in the case, questioned the accuracy of the judge's remarks during sentencing. The judge said he and the assessor were unanimous in their conclusion that there were no extenuating circumstances. He sentenced the two accused in the Wild Coast casino bombing trial to death.

Naidu's version was that he had not reached a final conclusion on extenuating circumstances and he challenged the judge on whether the court was "unanimous" on the issue, saying the judge's remarks had caused him "great concern".

He also explained why he was not in court: Naidu said he had received threatening letters and phone calls about his role in the trial and was warned to recuse himself.

After consultation with the trial judge and Transkei's Chief Justice it was decided that he should not continue sitting in the case.

However he stressed that while he did not appear in court on the final day, "I state quite categorically that I did not reach any definite conclusion on the question of extenuation and certainly did not convey my final judgement on this question before withdrawing as an assessor".

A few days after his affidavit was lodged, Naidu was arrested. He appeared in the Transkei Supreme Court on Monday and read a second statement, this time made to a magistrate, claiming his previous statement was made under duress.

Naidu claimed that after the death threats began, he was visited by Durban advocate Kessie Naidu, who told him to sign an affidavit which would "make him blameless in the eyes of certain organisations".

The assessor said he took this to mean the African National Congress was involved. He claimed the lawyer told him that the ANC "would just have to give the word to the students ... and (he) would be killed within a few minutes".

Arjun Naidu said that, acting under duress, he signed the statement contesting the judge's version of the question of extenuating circumstances even though his own version was not true.

He also claimed that the portion of the document stating that it was signed before a commissioner of oaths, was not signed in his presence, and he did not know "if and when it was done".

Naidu said the statement was signed "under total compulsion and fear for (his) life".

The assessor was released on bail of R250.

Where is Stanza Bopape?

Stanza Bopape, General Secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association, was detained by the South African Police on June 9 1988, in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The police say that he escaped from custody while being transported to Vereeniging at approximately midnight on 12 June 1988.

According to the police, he was accompanied on this trip by three armed policemen, and was in leg-irons and hand-cuffs at the time of his escape. The police say their vehicle had a puncture en-route and while all three policemen were changing the tyre, Stanza found their keys, unlocked his shackles, got out of the car and escaped.

The police informed Stanza's lawyers of this escape only three weeks later. The police did not inform his family. In that month no one associated with Stanza reported any sign of him or any evidence of a police investigation into Stanza's escape. Since then no friend, relative or colleague has seen or heard from Stanza.

Mr. Vlok, then Minister of Law and Order, has accepted and relayed the police version of Stanza's escape to Stanza's father, Mr Matome Bopape. Mr. Vlok had explained the events surrounding the escape by saying that the policemen concerned were "tired". The minister further suggested that Stanza may have joined the ANC.

In February 1989 Mr. Matome Bopape and his attorneys went to Lusaka to question the ANC about Stanza. The ANC confirmed they had no record of him, and that they had made a thorough search of refugee and other camps, to no avail.

It is now one year since Stanza Bopape was detained. Three unidentified members of the Security Branch of the South African Police were the last people to see him alive. His family, friends, and colleagues continue to search for him, but they fear he may have died while in police custody.

Until we have any other information we must hold the police responsible for him.

If you have seen Stanza please contact: Cric c/o P.o. Box 30894 Braamfontein 2017

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Issued by the Mamelodi Civic Association and the Community Resource and Information Centre

won't heal

SOWETO. - June 16 means many things to many people, but for Mrs Antoinette Sithole, it always means a painful flood of memories.

As the sister of Hector Pietersen, the young schoolboy whose death from a police bullet has come to symbolise the Soweto uprising, Sithole knows the events of June 16 will always be a part of her.

In a picture taken on that day and published around the world, she is seen weeping and running alongside Vuyo Makhuba, who is carrying her slain brother.

"Before, I used to go to commemoration services every June 16," said Sithole, 31.

"Now I no longer go. There is always teargas and even at times bullets. I don't think I can take it any longer."

Instead, this June 16 Sithole will visit Hector's grave to pay her respects and to reflect on what might have been.

Thirteen years ago, Sithole was 18 and a Std 8 pupil at Thesele Secondary School.

Like thousands of other Soweto students, she was angry about the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at schools.

Plane flew low

On June 16, she was on the assembly ground of her school in White City, Jabavu, when a plane flew in low over their heads. It was Sithole's first inkling that something dramatic was to happen.

The atmosphere at the school had been tense all morning because of a protest demonstration planned for later that day.

At the demonstration at Orlando West High School, about 10 000 students of all ages gathered to sing and chant, including Hector and a group of other primary school pupils.

When Sithole saw the police approaching with dogs, she called Hector over to her side and held his hand.

But Hector broke away from her grip and disappeared into the crowd.

"A white police officer gave us five minutes to disperse. There was no response from the pupils. The next thing the policeman fired a shot from his stengun and all hell broke loose when the other policemen opened fire too," recalled Sithole.

"In the confusion I called out for Hector and ran about looking for him. I fell down during the stampede but got up again to find everyone crowded around a boy who'd fallen.

Spotted a shoe

"Not for a second did I think the boy was my brother. I was horrified when I spotted a shoe similar to Hector's lying next to the crowd.

"I forced my way into the crowd and saw it was Hector lying there, with blood oozing from his mouth. I slumped over his body, crying for help.

"A tall youth, whom I later came to know as Vuyo, took Hector in his arms and ran towards some cars parked nearby.

"Vuyo was crying and angry and not at all concerned about his own safety, even though the bullets were flying," she said, as she began weeping.

A journalist rushed Hector to a clinic nearby. Two teachers later took Sithole home to inform her parents.

"My mother arrived home later that day. She received the news calmly. She shed no tears. The only time she had cried was at the graveside."

Hector had been the "darling" of the family, said Sithole.

"He was an only son and clever at school. He wanted to be a doctor and I've no doubt that he would have made it.

"Every time I see that famous picture I feel the pain again. It brings back vividly those frightful moments but at the same time it gives me courage. Although Hector isn't with us anymore, I get solace from the fact that I was with him until his very last moment."

Sithole said she believed Hector had died for a good cause.

"I firmly believe our protests were justified. Our march was not in vain. We could not tolerate being taught mathematics in Afrikaans. Our education has not improved one bit."

For nearly two years after the June 16 unrest, schooling in Soweto virtually came to a standstill and Sithole only returned to school in 1979.

Today, Sithole is married and the mother of two sons. Her eldest son is named after Hector.

"They look so much alike, too," she said, smiling for the first time.

Mrs Sithole with her two sons

Hector's mother, Mrs Dorothy Molefe

The world famous picture with Sithole, then a young school girl, running alongside Vuyo Makhuba, carrying the dying Hector in his arms

Class of '76 rise above the ashes

From MONO BADELA

SOWETO — In 1976 they marched as pupils at the head of one of the most momentous protests in South African history.

Thirteen years later, they have "graduated" from that uprising and head another protest movement.

Former UDF publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, youth activist Dan Montsitsi and Alexandra township's Obed Bapela, were among the class of '76.

"The march of June 16 1976 was a demonstration by students expressing their abhorrence of the system of education in South Africa," said Morobe.

"No one expected the police to respond so harshly to what was meant to be a peaceful protest."

As a student at Soweto's Morris Isaacson High, Morobe was active in organising some of those marches.

Today, he is involved in negotiations to restore peace to Natal's war-torn townships.

Indelible impression

The '76 shootings left an indelible impression on Morobe.

As a teenager, he was a member of the Soweto Students Representastive Council (SSRC) which was formed in August 1976. with Tsietsi Mashinini as founding president.

Morobe was convicted in 1977 of sedition along with several other student leaders of the Soweto uprising.

On his release from Robben Island prison in 1982, he became involved in trade union and community affairs.

He was an organiser for the General and Allied Workers Union when he helped launch the Soweto Youth Congress.

In the first half of 1984, Morobe became an organiser for the UDF's Million Signature Campaign.

In March 1985, he was elected rural secretary for the UDF, but following Patrick Lekota's detention in April 1985, Morobe became the acting national publicity secretary.

American Consulate

He was detained under the emergency regulations on January 22 1986. He was held in solitary confinement at John Vorster Square and released when the state of emergency was lifted on March 12.

Morobe and Mohammed Valli Moosa were arrested again in July 1987 while on a trip to Port Elizabeth.

They were later transferred to the Diepkloof Prison from where they escaped in September last year along with Vusi Khanyile to start a sit-in at the American Consulate in Johannesburg.

Montsitsi is another anti-apartheid campaigner who "graduated" from the smoke and ashes of June 1976.

He is restricted and is forbidden to talk to the media.

Now 30, he has been involved in political and community organisations since he was 13, when he joined the South African Students Movement (Sasm).

By the '76 student uprising Montsitsi was already a youthful "veteran".

He served on the first executive of the Soweto Students Representative Council (ESSRC) and when Tsietsi Mashinini and other student leaders fled the country, he was elected president of the SSRC in January 1977.

Murphy Morobe

Obed Bapela

He was detained soon afterwards and held in solitary confinement for many months before being charged for sedition with other students, including Morobe.

Convicted in 1979, Montsitsi was sent to Robben Island for an effective four-year prison sentence.

At the time of his detention in December 1987, he was a member of the Soweto Civic Association.

Montsitsi was one of the first detainees to go on a hunger strike earlier this year.

Restricted upon his release, he cannot leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg and is confined to his home from dusk to dawn.

Since 1976, Alexander activist Bapela has developed a knack for getting out of tight corners.

Speaking about his experiences in 1976, Bapela said he had attended a meeting at a stadium in Alexandra township called by members of the SASM on the eve of June 16.

"At the meeting assignments were given to each and every student to write placards and we decided on a boycott. It was for the first time I had heard people openly criticising the government and slowly I began to question things," he said.

"On that day I took my books to school because I wasn't confident that the demonstration would succeed."

He said June 16 had "opened his eyes".

"It's a day I will never forget. But the problems and the system we fought against are still there today."

Chaos in schools echoes '76 crisis

On the eve of June 16, the anniversary of the Soweto uprising in 1976, education is once again in a state of heightening tension. While the protests 13 years ago were about the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools, the issues today include the presence of security forces in the schools, the placing of white principals and the general state of education. But, CHIARA CARTER comments, the underlying causes remain the same:

THIRTEEN years after a protest march by Soweto high school pupils signalled the start of a bloody student revolt, education is once again in a state of heightening crisis.

The catalyst for the 1976 revolt was the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools; today the issues include the presence of security forces in the schools, the placing of white principals and the chaotic conditions under which most students are forced to study.

But the underlying causes remain the same — the application of apartheid ideology to the education system.

Future

In the intervening years since 1976, students, teachers and the education departments have been locked in a bitter battle over control of education, including the structure and substance of what is taught. At stake is the future of millions of children.

In both 1980 and the 1984-1986 revolt, thousands of students voted with their feet and abandoned the classrooms.

This month, lessons in many parts of the country are once again disrupted. Elsewhere, conditions are so chaotic that students and teachers earlier this month abandoned any attempt to write mid-year exams.

While white schools face a declining enrolment, the classrooms in most black schools are crammed to capacity.

Teachers are unable to teach effectively in a situation where there are too many students and inadequate or non-existent facilities.

Classes in Soweto are so jam-packed that the teachers find it difficult to move around, or even to write on the blackboard.

An acute shortage of furniture, books and stationery means students are squashed into desks, share the few books available and have little paper to write on.

There are schools where poor weather means no school because the authorities have not yet repaired damage dating back to the 1984 -1986 revolt.

The introduction by the DET of a standard exam for all schools this year has meant further chaos.

Students and teachers claim they were unable to read many of the exam papers because of bad typing, missing pages and poor reproduction.

In many cases, the exams were based on work not covered by the teachers.

Salaries

Education is also bedevilled by double session classes in sub-standards, low salaries for teachers who are often underqualified, as well as syllabi based on racist ideology.

In 1981, for every R1 395 spent on a white child, the government spent R51 on each African pupil.

In the same year, of 83 819 African teachers, 74 percent had no matric and the average teacher-pupil ratio iwas 1:46 as opposed to 1:19 in white schools.

Attempts to redress these discrepancies have floundered.

Cuts in the education budget for this year mean between 20 and 25 percent fewer classrooms will be built this year, although 250 to 300 large schools are needed every year to accommodate a school population which will have grown to six million by 2 000.

Educationists say the way the authorities are handling the situation in schools can only worsen the crisis.

The Soweto Progressive Teachers' Committee has warned against DET attempts to transfer and retrench teachers.

In the Western Cape, teachers are up in arms over an announcement by the deputy director of education that security forces will in future assist in the administration of schools.

Violence

The appointment of white principals has already led to violence with one principal's car being stoned and set alight.

In the Eastern Transvaal, education was disrupted for several weeks while pupils protested against the racist attitudes of some white teachers.

At Botshabelo in the Orange Free State, pupils are refusing to accept tuition in protest against the area's incorporation into Qwaqwa.

Disruption is endemic at some schools in the Eastern Cape and in Natal, where the violent conflict in the Pietermaritzburg area has meant many pupils have not attended school for lengthy periods.

The crisis is not confined to the schools alone. There have also been flare-ups at campuses ranging from Stellenbosch to Fort Hare.

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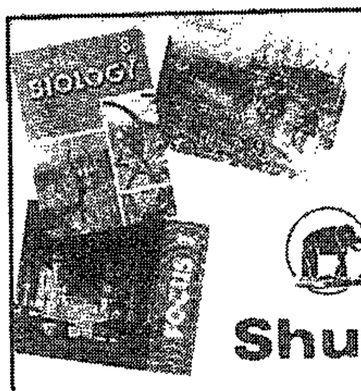

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The pain that

By HENRY LUDSKI

THIRTEEN years later, Mrs Rebecca Truter is still unable to come to grips with the death of her youngest child — the first victim of unrest in the Western Cape in the wake of the June 1976 Soweto uprisings.

"Not a day goes by without me thinking of him," says 59-year-old Truter.

Unable to hide the pain of Christopher's death (he was 15 at the time), she cries quietly as she relives the tragedy.

At work on August 25 1976, she heard a news broadcast that a schoolboy had been shot in Bonteheuwel.

"I remember asking myself: I wonder where my child is today.

Devasatated

"When I got the call that Christopher had been shot, I became hysterical."

A short while later, Truter was devastated by the sight of her critically injured son lying in the hospital across the road from the Pinelands nursing home where she worked.

Two days later, Christopher died of his injuries.

"My husband and I were healthy before Christopher's death, but we haven't been the same since that day," says Truter.

Christopher was a pupil at Bonteheuwel Senior Secondary School. But on August 25, curiosity drew him to schoolgrounds of the Arcadia Senior Secondary School.

When policeman Captain Albert Voskuil shot towards a crowd which had gathered near the school, Christopher was in the direct firing line.

An inquest court found that nobody could be held responsible for his death.

The events of June 16 1976 left an indelible impression on South African politics and the lives of thousands of ordinary people. For Christopher Truter's mother, Rebecca, and Hector Pietersen's sister, Antoinette, '76 was a year of intense heartache that still clouds the present. For activists Murphy Morobe, Dan Montsitsi and Obed Bapela, it was the year they "graduated" from the smoke and ashes of Soweto:

In spite of this, Truter still clings to the hope that the circumstances surrounding her son's death will be reviewed.

"Maybe one day they will re-open the case," she says, riffling through copies of the inquest court records.

Mention the name Christopher in the Truter household and everybody has something to say.

Says his sister Roseline: "He would always joke with me that one day when he was a lawyer I could be his tea-girl."

Truter's face lights up as she recounts fond memories of her son and she treasures the momentoes she has of him, his school Bible and a small viewfinder.

"My neighbour tells me that whenever she sees children playing in the street outside, she is always reminded of Christopher running with a soccer ball under his arm. That's also the way I always remember him."

A rose bush planted in her front garden 13 years ago occupies a special place in her heart. It blooms a rose for Christopher.

The Truter family were deeply moved when youth in the area decided to organise a soccer tournament involving 16 teams in honour of Christopher.

The tourney will be held under the auspices of the Metropolitan Football Board and will take place over two weekends on June 25 and July 2. The family hope to be at the field and at the prize-giving ceremony.

Mr Gesant Petersen, president of the football association, witnessed the shooting of Christopher.

"I believe his death conveys a particular message for the youth of today in that they have a very positive role to play in our struggle for freedom," said Petersen.

A ROSE FOR CHRISTOPHER. Mrs Rebecca Truter remembers her son

The power of youth

By CHIARA CARTER
and GAIL REAGON

ORGANISE, unite and continue the struggle.

These are the three key tasks which Sayco president Peter Mokaba sees as facing South Africa's youth.

Mokaba acknowledges that Sayco, like other organisations in the mass democratic movement, has been adversely affected by state repression.

But this in turn, he says, has created new arenas of action.

The challenge is for the mass democratic movement to rebuild its structures.

"Detentions, restrictions, the death and disappearance of activists, leaders being forced underground or into exile have all meant that in some areas our organisations have been seriously hampered," says Mokaba.

"In some places our structures have, in effect, been wiped out.

"Those forced underground face no easy task. They cannot lead a normal life and they are limited in their effectiveness in organisation.

Evading police

"State repression has a draining effect on us. Instead of doing our work, we have to waste time and energy evading the police or, in some cases, vigilantes.

"Opposition to the state of emergency, detentions,and the fight against vigilantes is gaining momentum."

The success of the hunger strike by detainees is serving as a source of inspiration in these battles, says Mokaba.

"The fight against long-term detentions by the detainees themselves has meant they are now on the outside of cells as a result of their own struggle.

"The hunger strike proved a unifying force both for people and organisations outside, who rallied round the hunger strikers, and for the detainees themselves, who through their common experience, forged links and defied the regime's attempts to divide its opponents."

Mokaba sees a similar onslaught being waged against restrictions.

To be effective in struggle, the youth must concentrate on building organisation, says Mokaba.

"We have to rebuild our structures and ensure maximum unity while being constantly alert to attempts to destroy us.

"We must make sure we have sound activists and good leaders."

The Young Pioneers is part of this process of strengthening organisation.

"In organising our youth into the Young Pioneers, we would be instilling patriotism and undoing and challenging a racist and individualistic culture.

"We would replace this with collectivism, nonracism and democratic practices.

"This would result in youth being better armed and prepared to enter Sayco structures. It would ensure the reproduction of the cadres and leadership of Sayco."

Mokaba sees one priority for the MDM as being the building of a broad anti-apartheid coalition, as envisaged by the banned anti-apartheid conference last year.

"We as youth have a role to play in the creation of a broad anti-apartheid coalition encompassing all opponents of the racist government.

"It is important that all who are like-minded come together and build unity in their ranks.

"The only criteria for being part of the MDM is that we share the same beliefs.

"We call upon our white compatriots to make a decisive move against apartheid and join the democratic forces in our country.

"We must not only make this call but make sure the structures exist in the MDM to accommodate all who wish to join our ranks.

Peter Mokaba

"Should white youth in a suburb form a youth congress which upholds the same beliefs as us, Sayco in the region must support their efforts and accommodate them in the organisation.

"Our constitution says we exist for all youth, irrespective of colour, race, creed or sex. This means it is possible for a white youth congress to affiliate to the region.

"Then we must go beyond those who belong to the mass democratic movement and forge links based on opposition to apartheid.

"It is possible to build alliances against apartheid based on a minimum programme of demands, a minimum consensus.

"The basis for entering such alliances should be how people perceive steps they are prepared to take to end apartheid."

The unifying issue, says Mokaba, is the ending of apartheid.

"If people are honestly opposed to apartheid and committed to ending apartheid, it is possible to form a tactical alliance with them.

"We must use our existing political and moral force to exert influence on those opposed to the government but who are not yet in the MDM. We have to forge closer links with them to isolate apartheid.

"It is a result of the impact our struggle has made on the South African situation that people's anti-apartheid consciousness has progressed to a point where the conditions exist to form a broad anti-apartheid coalition.

"Most whites are no longer convinced that the present government holds the key to the future. It is up to us to make sure they are won over to the mass democratic movement."

"Negotiations can only take place on the basis of the ending of apartheid.

"The non-violent struggle is aimed at wearing down the might of the government. Similarly, the Vietnamese won their victory by winning the moral high ground. It is a dialectical process."

While youth are often the group most visibly engaged in opposition, this does not mean they are leading the opposition, says Mokaba.

"Youth is a sector of the community, not a class. We come from various classes — working class, bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie.

"A simple analysis of society shows us that our society is dependent on the labour power of the workers. It is the workers who produce the country's wealth; the people's culture.

"It is often the case that in society youth who are in the process of socialisation, who do not have responsibilities to dependents, are the ones who ask the questions.

Leading struggle

"They are the conscience of the society. Because of their position, they are able to be the most active opponents of apartheid."

"This should not lead people into thinking that youth, no matter how active, are leading the struggle.

"Youth, like all in society, must either develop the standpoint of the oppressed or the oppressor. They have to have the viewpoint of one of the major classes.

"In developing this viewpoint we are dependent on the efforts made by the various classes to mobilise and nationalise their ideals so that all in society can recognise their demands.

"The task of youth during the struggle, and the fight beyond that to create an even better society, is to be guided by the aims and ideals of the most oppressed and yet most powerful class, the working class.

"The youth must articulate the cry of the most oppressed, the working masses."

EN WILLIAMS

...ties are second-...s on their own

Stepchildren of Matieland

...e view of many stu-...med officially by the university as "anderskleuriges" (of a different colour) and the basis of the tension and protests which have rocked the University of Stellenbosch in recent weeks.

Right-wing students and the university's administration have blamed "linksgesinde opstokers" (left-wing agitators) for the campus protests, which have seen placard marches to the office of the rector, Professor Mike de Vries, and a walkout at a student meeting which he addressed.

But many trace the present "protest mood" to the inherent racism prevailing at the institution, and the growing resistance to it from black students.

Discrimination

Stellenbosch admitted its first full-time black students to limited courses in 1978, but extended admission to all courses in 1978. The university's black enrolment is expected to be about 700 students this year.

The university's governing body agreed to the admission of blacks on condition that the university's "Afrikaner character" was not harmed.

One such "characteristic" is segregated residences, which last month became the focus of a demand for open residences by the Black Students Organisation of Stellenbosch (BSOS) and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) branch on the campus.

Black students, interviewed at the blacks-only Goldfields residence, spoke of their difficult decision to enrol at Stellenbosch and the subtle and "sometimes not so subtle" racism they have experienced on the campus.

BLACK MATIES. Louise Mitchell and Theo Adams at the "blacks only' Goldfields residence

Louise Mitchell, a 20-year-old social science student from Riversdale, said her community was "100 percent against" her enrolling at Stellenbosch.

"I felt I had to come and find out for myself what it's like studying at Stellenbosch and that if I did come across discrimination, I would do something about it.

"I very soon found that white students do not readily mix or accept black students. It's not uncommon for me to find a physical distance between me and white students in the lecture rooms."

Mitchell said there was "little or no" social mixing with other white students and black students had even found it necessary to play sport informally off campus.

"We don't doubt that black students are put through a thorough screening process before they are admitted.

"Principals of high schools are usually contacted for a recommendation. In my case a teacher at my high school was contacted to provide a reference.

"It's no coincidence that very few students from the more militant schools in the Cape Peninsula are successful in gaining admission to Stellenbosch."

A leader of the BSOS, Theo Adams, said "racism rears its head" on the university's admission forms, which require students to denote their race classification.

Adams, a 21-year-old engineering student, said segregated residences and the limited number of rooms at the Goldfields residence forced many students to seek accommodation in the coloured and African areas of Stellenbosch.

Adams claimed black Matie students had on several occasions been evicted or denied entry to discotheques and pubs in the central section of Stellenbosch.

Adams said the university authorities had barred students at Goldfields from using any official university name after they had indicated their intention to play in sports codes affiliated to the nonracial South African Council on Sport (Sacos).

In a letter to the residents of Goldfields, the vice-rector, Professor JA de Bruyn, said students were free to participate in sport outside campus' sports-structure, but would not be allowed to use the university's sports facilities, "the name Goldfields, or Maties or the University of Stellenbosch".

Adams said students at Goldfields had on numerous occasions attempted to raise their grievances with De Vries.

"On one occasion we invited him to address students at Goldfields. Without giving us proper notice, he decided not to attend the meeting.

"This, more than anything else, angered students and made them decide to resort to the kind of protest action which we have seen on the campus in recent weeks".

Multiracial

The rector, Professor de Vries, said it was the university's "sincere endeavour" to have a campus where there was no racism.

De Vries said the university rejected all discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, colour, creed or sex.

He said the university's screening process applied to all students and it was "incorrect" that few students from the more militant schools in the Peninsula were successful in gaining admission.

"If their study records are up to the standards we set, they shall be admitted."

De Vries said the university's two residences on its Tygerberg campus (Faculties of Medicine and Dentistry) were open to all races. They have been multiracial since the start of the 1988 academic year.

"Negotiations to do the same on the Mother campus are ongoing."

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Mrs A. Angerman (emancipation worker); Mrs M.C. Arsink-Schipper (micro-biologist); Mrs J. Arens (psychologue); Mrs A.C. van Baalen (university teacher); Mrs Baartman (teacher); Mrs J.J Beijer (physiotherapist); Mrs J.J. Bekkenkamp (university teacher); Mrs C. v.d. Berg (chairwoman Vrouwentrefbensentrum Waddinxveen); Mrs J.S.A. v.d. Berg (member Booie Vrouwen); Mrs J.M.C. v.d. Berg (student); Mrs L. v.d. Berg-Oude (professor); Mrs J.M. ten Berg-Vinke; Mrs J.P. van Beuzekom (employee Science Shop); Mrs E.E. v.d. Bijl (co-ordinator Womencentre); Mrs

H.P.M. Bijlsma-Campschreur (teacher); Mrs A.J. Bloem; Mrs U. Bidali (danser); Mrs M. de Boer (chairwomen political party); Mrs S. Boerlage (chairwomen political party); Mrs J.B. Borsel-Snelleman (councillor); Mrs M. Boon (singer/poetress); Mrs W. Bork (danser); Mrs A.M. Bos (university teacher); Mrs M. Bos-Boerseo (scientific researcher); Mrs J. Bosman (social worker); Mrs R. Bos-Osinga (member local council); Mrs M. Bouw (researcher); Mrs J. Bouwer; Mrs A. Bouwer-Strauss (sociologist); Mrs C. Braam (member Anti-Apartheidsbeweging Nederland); Mrs E.J.M. Brand (retired); Mrs L. v.d. Broek (ombudswoman); Mrs M.C. Broersen (educational worker); Mrs I. Brouwer (politician); Mrs Y. Brouwer van der Wilt; Mrs J.G.M. de Bruijn (university teacher); Mrs J.G.M. Bruinsma (alderman); Mrs J.J. Buckers (social worker); Mrs

M.S. v.d. Burght; Mrs I.M. Busch (theologian); Mrs Y.G.M.F. Coenders (student); Mrs E.F.M. Coeneu-Vaessen; Mrs H.J.A. Collette (scientific employee); Mrs M. Cuperus-Boenenkool; Mrs C.F. Dagmelie (physician); Mrs D. Daalman; Mrs M.G. Dekker (adjunct-director); Mrs L. Dekker-Schouten (housewife); Mrs S. Delbaas (journalist); Mrs

J.E.M.F. v. Dijck (political scientist); Mrs A.E.E.M. v. Dijck (student); Mrs J.P. v Dijck-Ottoy (housewife); Mrs P.B.M. v. Dijk (member European Parliament); Mrs J.E. v. Dijke (psychiatrical nurse); Mrs S. v. Dijke (social pedagogue); Mrs V. Domela Nieuwenhuis;

Mrs G.H. v.d. Dool (housewife); Mrs H. Dragt-Keller (chairwomen political party); Mrs J.M. Drees (county councillor); Mrs F.M. Droes (university teacher); Mrs P.J.M. Duijndam; Mrs M. Ekelschot (teacher); Mrs C.G. van El (student); Mrs A.M. Buans (physician); Mrs C.M. Enzing (policy researcher); Mrs C.A. Faber-Stockvis; Mrs M. Gemal (actress singer); Mrs A. Gardien (teacher); Mrs L.G. Garning (landscape architect); Mrs J.M. Geling (student); Mrs L. van Gert (member local council); Mrs B. v.d. Goor (Women's Centre); Mrs M.A. Griffijn (restorator); Mrs M.L. van Hall-Blom (sculptor); Mrs B.F. Hansen (prevention worker Schorerstichting); Mrs P. Hannsen (policy employee); Mrs B. Herkes (historian author); Mrs C. Hermann (Director Regional Health Service); Mrs T. Hesper (physician); Mrs G.S.C.M. Hesseling (lawyer);

Mrs I. v.d. Heuvel (European parliament); Mrs I.F.A. Hillaert; Mrs S. Hinderdael (scientific functionary); Mrs K. v.d. Hoek (CON-vrouwengroep); Mrs L. Hoekendijk; Mrs R. Holstegge (dancer); Mrs G.A.M. Hoogland (community worker); M. v.d. Horst (homeopath); Mrs H.A. van Houten (nurse); HTKB Turkse Vrouwen-vereniging; Mrs G. Hulshof (assistant manager); Mrs M.C.J. v. Hutten-Lambregts; Mrs M. Husker (student); Mrs A Imbens-Fransen (theologian); Mrs R. Jaarsma (member First Chamber); Mrs W. Jabaay (member of parliament); Mrs M.M. Jacobs-van Vugt; Mrs T. de Jager (motor mechanic); Mrs D. Jaspers; Mrs L. Jongejans (political scientist); Mrs J. de Jonge-Mast (housewife/teacher); Mrs C.M.J. Joustra (feminist student); Mrs K. Kahlman (policy employee Jongeren-beweging FNV); Mrs A. Kahlman (housewife); Mrs T. Kanis; Mrs C.A. Kerling-Simons (mayor); Mrs D.J.M. Kepe-Groffen; Mrs E.C. Klant (feminist); Mrs S. Klinkenberg (housewife); Mrs L. Knoppers (actress); Mrs A.P. Koemeester (medical officer); Mrs L.P. Kok (coordinator educational centre); Komitee Waakzame Vrouwen in de

Gezinsverzorging; Mrs W.J. Koning; Mrs B.J.J. Koning (student); Kontakt-adres Landelijk Overleg Vrouwengeschiedenis; Mrs M.B. Kood (teacher); Mrs C. Kortman (drawer-designer); Mrs T.M. Krayer (social pedagogue); Mrs L.J.M. Kroon (teacher); Mrs J. Kuhn; Mrs A. Kwabena (secretary); Mrs S. Langedijk-de Jonge (mayor); Mrs K.E.C. Lauwen; Mrs A. Leenman (local official); Mrs A.E.P. Lendlers-Pellemans (teacher); Mrs M. Leurdijk (teacher); Mrs M.L.P. v. Lierop (university teacher); Mrs C.T.M. Linjers (student); Mrs A.E.M. Linjers (student); Mrs

E.M. Linjers (administrative employee/student); Mrs M. Maurick (public relations officer); Mrs H. Meinbena (writer); Mrs H. Mulders (student); Nederlandse Vrouwenbeweging; Mrs C. Nevejan (cultural manager); Mrs N.J. Nicolai (psychiatrist);

Mrs P.M. de Nooij (political activist); Mrs G. Norber; Mrs N.A. Nottelaan (scientific computer programmer); Mrs A.K.M.C. Oerlemans (social worker); Mrs A.P.M. v. Oijen (nurse); Mrs J.C.M. Oosterk (member European Parliament); Mrs S. Ootes (printer);

Mrs M.P. Ouwerkerk-Dijkers (university teacher); Mrs A.M.C. Overbeek (management teacher); Mrs L. Paulussen (social-pedagogue/union activist); Mrs M.E. Pelikaan-Engel (philosopher); Mrs A.J.J. Pijnenburg; Mrs T. de Poel (teacher); Mrs S.W. Poldervaart (university teacher); Mrs V. Popma (cultural worker); Mrs H.M. v.d. Poppe (nurse);

Mrs J. Potters (women's chessclub Chesspot); Mrs R.D. Pudlat (staff employee); Mrs L. Pugh (coordinator); Mrs W.P.M. Pichter (employee Tropen Instituut); Mrs K.B. Riedmuller; Mrs M. v. Rijen (teacher); Mrs Y.C.D.E. Rijk; Mrs K. Ritsert (student); Mrs C. Roeper (staff member Bolland Committee on Southern Africa); Mrs G.C.M. v. Rooijen; Mrs M. Rookhuizen (development project employee); Mrs M. Ros (development sociologist); Mrs S. Rosenberg (electrical contractor); Mrs S.A. Schaaf (emancipation worker); Mrs I.J. Scharree (teacher); Mrs L. Schenk (chairwomen Women's Party); Mrs M. Schipper (professor); Mrs E.M.A. Schmitz (mayor); Mrs L. Schoon (political scientist); Mrs C. Schuddeboom (staff member Holland Committee on Southern Africa); Mrs A. Schuurhuis (resident anaesthesiology); Mrs M.M.H. Smit (economic researcher); Mrs A. Smit (member local council/teacher); Mrs A. Sneiders (informatician); Mrs H. Snelten (clerical worker); Mrs A.F. Staarman (student); Mrs J. v.d. Steen (lawyer); Mrs B. Stenending (coordinator); Stichting Carmel; Stichting Las Muchachas (women's printing office); Stichting Solidariteitswinkel Haarlem; Stichting Womengroup Eduardo Mondlane Students; BVA Alleraar; Mrs A.H. Swaan; Mrs E. de Swaan-Boos (political activist); Mrs W.J.C. Swildens-Rozendaal (member of parliament); Mrs A. Tanja (city councillor); Mrs E. Taselaar-Slager; Mrs V.P. Terpstra (emancipation worker); Mrs H.M. Theunnissen; Mrs B.N. Tiddens (informatician); Mrs M.W.Th. H. Timmermans; Mrs F.M.G.G. Timmer-van Dijck (housewife); Mrs A. Tji (teacher); Mrs P.T.E.M. Tomlow; Mrs A.C.M. Twisk (student); Mrs A.D. Vaillant (photographer); Mrs D. van Veen (member Rooie vrouwen); Mr I. de Veer (scientist); Mrs H. v.d. Veer (teacher); Mrs M. van Veldhuizen (student); Mrs E.B.M. Verbruggen-Smit (manager homehelp); Mrs A Vermeij (teacher/local party chairwoman); Mrs A.B.M. van Vianen (industrial psychologist); Mrs A. v.d. Vlis (housewife); Mrs G.J. Volders-Nuis (councillor); Mrs P. Vos (mathematician); Mrs M.H. de Vries (scientific functionary/researcher); Mrs L. de Vroom (lawyer); Vrouwenbond FNV Schagen; Vrouwencentrum de Pijp; Vrouweninformatiecentrum Amsterdam; Vrouwensecretariaat Dienstenbond FNV; Mrs L. Waaldijk (historian); Mrs J.M.G. Waard (poetress); Mrs M.E.W. Wamel (member NOVIB/peacegroup); Mrs D. Wardenaar (student); Mrs I.C.J. Weeda (professor); Mrs E.K. Wessel-Tuinstra (governor); Mrs J. Westerlaken (feminist); Mrs I Westrienen (voluntary coordinator); Mrs A. v.d. Wey (volunteer); Mrs J.C.A.P. Wiche-Ribbenink; Mrs W. Wijkomans-Imema (member city council); Mrs J. Wijnveen-van Maren, Mrs G.M.T. Wittenbols; Women's bookstore Xantippe; Mrs J.E. Zoubendijk (educational worker); Mrs Y. Zuidschenwoude; Mrs L. de Zwaan (social psychologist); Mrs A. Zwinkels (housewife)

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE JUNE UPRISINGS ...

Thirteen years on, what's happened to the June 16 generation?

From the Soweto SRC to the UDF ... Murphy Morobe and Dan Montsitsi
Picture: GISELLE WULFSOHN, Afrapix

The years have not been kind to the three presidents of the 1976 Soweto SRC, leaders of the June uprising. The first vanished into exile and infamy. The second is serving a 10-year jail sentence on Robben Island. The third is under Emergency restrictions, after joining the recent prison hunger strike. GAVIN EVANS reports on the fate of the '76 leaders

THIRTEEN years ago tomorrow, the students of Soweto launched the country's youth into the frontline of anti-apartheid oppostion.

Less than 12 months later, up to 1 000 students had been killed and hundreds more had fled into exile.

Among the key leaders of the uprising were the three men who succeeded one another, in quick succession, as presidents of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC). The first two left the country. The third was detained, tortured, and later jailed.

The first was Tsietsi Mashinini, 32, whose star flared so brightly and briefly. Today he is almost forgotten, a discredited playboy, believed to be living in exile.

The second was Khotso Seathlolo, 32, now on Robben Island, serving a 10-year sentence for activities on behalf of a now-dormant, would-be guerrilla group.

The third was Dan Sechaba Montsitsi, 31, now a key UDF youth leader living under a severe Emergency restriction order, having been released from detention after a prolonged hunger strike.

Six weeks after Hector Petersen was gunned down by police, high school students launched the Soweto Students' Representative Council, which was to guide the fledgling movement for much of the uprising's duration.

A charismatic 19-year-old matriculant, Tsietsi Mashinini, was elected its first president.

A school prefect at Morris Isaacson High and an executive member of the South African Students' Movement, (Sasm) he became known as the "lieutenant-general" among his comrades when he displayed his leadership abilities during the second Soweto march.

For 22 days he became the chief voice of the rebellion, and in its heady early days was carried shoulder-high by students through the streets of Soweto.

Soon he became the most wanted man in the country.

Police appealed for him to give himself up, and when that failed put a R500 price on his head.

In his three weeks underground, he would occasionally emerge from hiding to give interviews to the foreign media. But with scores of his colleages being killed or detained, Soweto's "Scarlet Pimpernel", as he was known, decided to leave.

"My staying behind means I'm offering one more target for the system," he said in an interview at the time.

"My going out has a lot of advantages, the major one being that I could come back again and work with the people."

Like many at the time, he thought the process would be short and sharp, and that he would be back as key political leader within a few years.

"If South Africa doesn't change within the course of this year and next year and one other year, it means South Africa will have riots as its daily meal," said the man described by the *Rand Daily Mail* at the time as a "baby-faced but brilliantly articulate schoolboy".

On August 23 he left his hiding place in Alexandra and crossed the border to Botswana, and from there to London and later Amsterdam.

The international media, hungry for a symbol of the rebellion, adopted Mashinini as its principal representative.

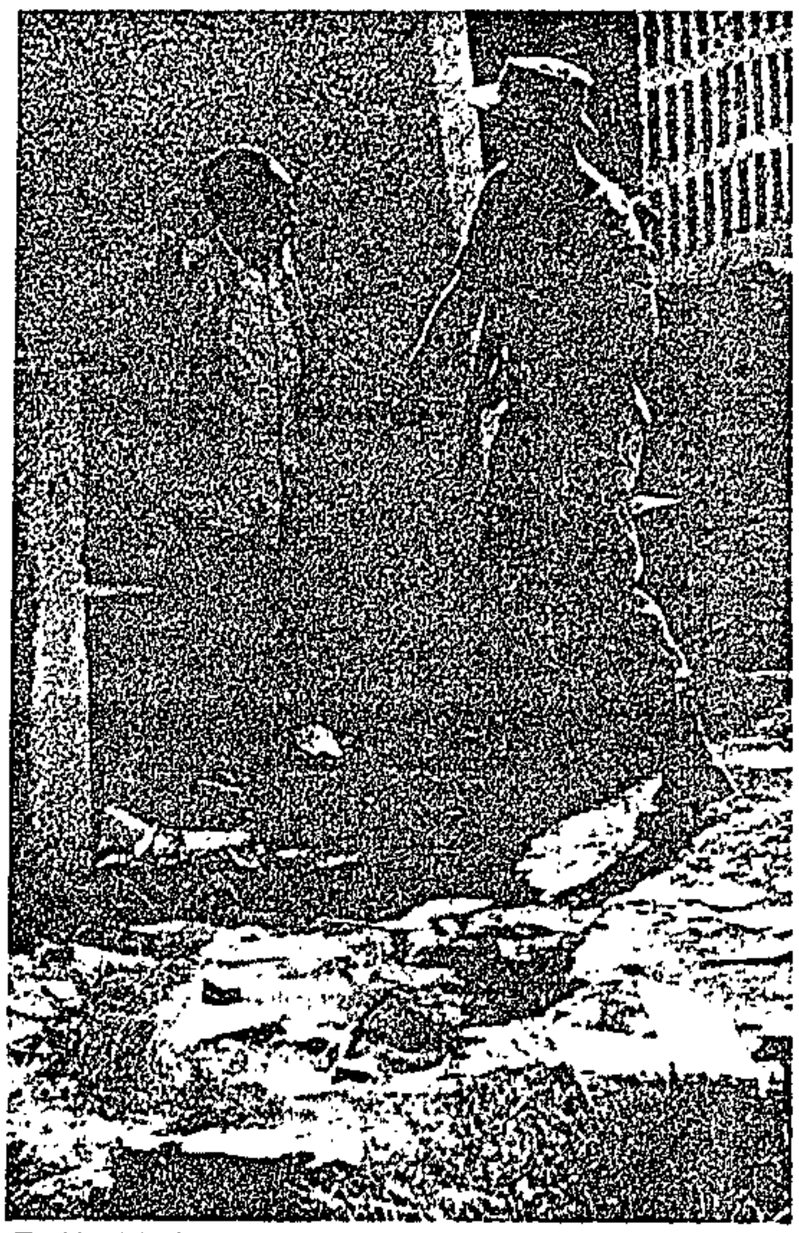
After a brief flirtation with the ANC he balked at its discipline, and linked up with the Trotskyist Workers' Revolutionary Party, which spirited him through a "school for revolution" in Derbyshire.

In 1977 he returned to Botswana, where he worked for an American Trotskyist group.

On a visit to the United States he vowed to return to South Africa to take up arms, but the international interest faded as the rebellion was quashed.

Mashinini's persistent attacks on the ANC led to his ousting from the anti-apartheid circuit in Britain. He moved between Lagos, Gaborone and Lusaka, where he was involved with talks with Drake Koka to set up an alternative movement to the ANC and PAC. This became the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa (and later of Azania).

He settled in Monrovia in 1978 and the following year married Liberian beauty queen Wilma Campbell.



Flashback to June 16 ... confrontation between student and police

His image declined further when he granted an extensive interview to the Info-Department-funded *Pace* magazine. He was quoted as naming himself as the "man who would lead blacks to freedom", and that his wife would be at his side to "free the women".

As a result of his behaviour, the Youth Revolutionary Council, which claimed the mantle of the SSRC, officially ousted Mashinini as its leader.

In 1982 Mashinini visited Zimbabwe in an attempt to make a comeback into exile politics, but faded soon afterwards.

His mother, Virginia Mashinini, said she had no idea where he was living. "I've had no contact with him for many many years," she said.

In September 1976 19-year-old Seathlolo took over from Mashinini as SSRC president and remained at the helm for four months.

The first major action under his presidency was a demonstration against a visit to Johannesburg by Henry Kissinger.

He also helped spearhead a number of campaigns, including the Black Christmas protest of December 1976.

On January 7 1977 he was shot by police during a car chase at night, and was wounded in the left arm. Soon afterwards, he fled to Botswana, and later took over the SA Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO) leadership, travelling around the world on its behalf.

In late 1981 he returned on a SAYRCO military mission to South Africa, but was captured at the home of a girlfriend, former Soweto beauty queen Masabata Loate.

In March 1982 he was sentenced in the Vanderbijl Park Magistrate's Court to an effective 10 years imprisonment. Loate was sentenced to an effective five years.

Seathlolo is currently imprisoned on Robben Island.

Dan Montsitsi took over the SSRC reins in January 1977 and held them until his detention five months later.

By that time he had already spent over five years as an activist, having joined Sasm as a 13-year-old in 1972.

By 1977 the elation of the early days of the revolt had given way to hard times.

Students were divided over whether to sit for exams or boycott in support of their martyred and exiled comrades. The SSRC ensured unity with a ceremonial burning of Bantu Education textbooks.

Later they organised a successful march on the Urban Bantu Council offices, which led to the resignation of its members and a reduction in rents.

In June that year Montsitsi and his vice-president, Murphy Morobe, were detained and held by police as awaiting-trial prisoners for nearly two years.

Montsitsi said he had been tortured and successfully sued the minister of law and order for the assaults suffered during this period.

"The security police thought we had been working for the ANC," he said in an interview three years ago. "They couldn't conceive of students planning and executing a demonstration — to them it had to be orchestrated by communists from outside."

In May 1979 Montsitsi was sentenced to an effective four years' imprisonment on Robben Island for sedition. After his release in May 1983, he played a central role in the building of the Soweto Youth Congress.

In 1985 he was elected to the UDF Transvaal executive and served as its youth organiser. He also played a central role in the Soweto Civic Association and in the launch of the South African Youth Congress in March 1987.

He was detained under the Emergency regulations on January 15 and was released after 16 months, following his participation in the hunger strike.

He is currently living in Soweto under a stringent restriction order.

The day teenager Poppy 'died' and was reborn ...

Weekly Mail Reporter

FOR Poppy Buthelezi June 16 1976 marked the death of her dreams — but the start of her political growth.

That afternoon the 16-year-old girl was on her way to visit her aunt when she was shot in the spine. Thirteen years later, Buthelezi, confined to a wheelchair, is a member of the restricted Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and was secretary and a founding member of its women's wing, Black Women Unite.

She is also a community worker involved in counselling other disabled people and the sole supporter of her younger brother and sister.

This year, like the past 12 years, she will spend her "death day" in church, praying.

There is a shadow of pain in her eyes as she recalls that fateful day: "I was young and unaware. After that day I started asking questions."

During June 1976 they were writing exams and boycotting the Afrikaans papers, Buthelezi said. That morning she arrived late at Senaoane Junior School and found pupils sitting down to write examinations. Up to this point she did not know of the impending doom but remembers the tense silence en route to school.

But some students were obviously in the know — "when the question papers were handed out these students just stared at them and did not start to write".

Suddenly, pupils from Sekano/ntoane High School entered the classroom. Buthelezi recounted how they tore up question papers and then joined the march to Ibhongo High and Morris Isaacson High, their numbers increasing as they descended on schools.

Pupils carrying placards which read "Away with Bantu education" and "We don't want Afrikaans", led the singing and chanting students.

It was at Morris Isaacson that they heard that Hector Petersen was shot — he was the first pupil killed on that awful day.

Buthelezi shudders as she recalls their rage and the consequences: "When we heard the news we decided that everything that belonged to the government must be destroyed. We began throwing stones at bottlestores, cars, offices ... everything that belonged to the white man. And the police were ready to start shooting teargas and setting the dogs on us."

June 16 changed her life. Her mother died in 1981 heartbroken to see her eldest daughter paralysed from the waist down. Her eyes fill with tears and her head is bent low when she talks about her mother.

"My mother pretended to be brave but she was very hurt," whispers Buthelezi.

Shortly before her mother's death her father abandoned them. Buthelezi, the eldest, was forced to work to support the family. Gone were her dreams of becoming a lawyer.

Slumped awkwardly in her wheelchair she talks of her fellow students with pride: "They were brave. It was as if they knew what was going to happen to them — they were either going to be alive or dead.

"I took courage from these people," she says modestly. "I was not afraid."

But Buthelezi's most bitter memories are of later that afternoon when she was shot from behind. She awoke two days later in Baragwanath Hospital and she could not move her legs — "I'll never forgive them".

At first, unable to reconcile herself to her physical affliction, she wanted to commit suicide. But realising her paralysis is a result of the struggle against the apartheid system has given her strength.

Eight months later she was discharged. She tried to pick up the pieces of her life by finishing school.

"But life will never be the same after June 1976. Yet I would live that day again. I would stand up for what is right, if I had the chance."

Police seize copies of biography

Star 16/6/87 (327)

By Jovial Rantao

Police yesterday seized 1 740 copies of the book "Comrade Moss" from the Johannesburg offices of Learn and Teach Publications, who, with Sached Trust, published the book.

"Comrade Moss" is a biography of the general secretary of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa, Mr Moses Mayekiso.

Police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed that security police yesterday seized copies of the book.

The publishers said the seizure of the books pointed to the true reasons for the re-imposition of the fourth state of emergency: "It is clear that the Government cannot tolerate any ideas other than its own."

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Police raid Wits campus

CAPE TIMES 16/6/89

JOHANNESBURG. — A large-scale police raid on the Wits campus during examination time led to the seizure of political and pornographic literature — including a booklet on how to make explosive devices.

Witwatersrand security police chief Colonel Piet du Toit, who led yesterday's raid, conducted searches of the offices of the SRC, Nusas, Black Students Society, four hostels and the nuclear physics centre.

No one was arrested.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said the search was conducted in terms of the Section 25 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

"Police also took possession of an ANC flag and a register in which the distribution of documentation to ANC addresses at other campuses are recorded," the statement said.

Brigadier Mellet refused to comment on whether other campuses would be raided.

Wits acting vice-chancellor and principal Professor J T Steele issued a statement regretting and objecting to the raid.

AP — ... alternative to quitting. — Sapa-

police radio control at 10111.

Police raid Wits campus

Star Times 16/6/89

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The living death of life on death row

South Africa is fast becoming the hanging capital of the world, with Pretoria's Central Prison presently "home" to more than 280 prisoners — many sentenced for political offences. Living on death row is a traumatic experience and in this report LLOYD VOGELMAN, director of the Project for the Study of Violence at Witwatersrand University, takes a walk down death row. His impressions are based on first-hand accounts of people who were there:

WALKING into death row is a chilling experience. The first and most significant impression is the noise and the heightened security arrangements which remind one that the place is inescapable.

Walking through the corridors and catching a glimpse of the populated cells, the realisation dawns — all in the prison are waiting to die. Put on new prison clothes and that feeling is intensified.

Enter the cell and you are confronted with little but a bed, with some blankets, a small table and a basin and toilet.

Spare time in the cell is generally spent reading library books, the Bible, transcripts of the trials in which prisoners were involved, as well as writing letters to loved ones.

In addition, the time of some prisoners is taken up by sleeping, speaking to each other, singing — and praying.

Many of these activities are done in the place of sleep which is in short supply, because of the anxiety and the cell light which is left on for 24 hours.

Being on death row, particularly for a long period, offers no protection from the disappointments of life outside the prison. There are deaths in the family, illnesses, problems with children, divorces and desertions.

Atmosphere

One unique contradictory feature of death row is that the consistent pattern of the day takes place within a transient atmosphere. All the prisoners know they will not be there for long. They will either die or receive a reprieve.

Despite the transience, friendships develop quickly due to the commonality of experience between prisoners. There is also the realisation that there is little time to develop a bond and, because of the isolation and anxiety, prisoners latch onto anyone who can provide support.

Also because of the strong possibility of dying soon, establishing trustworthiness is low on the list of priorities. This is not to say that a friendship gone wrong is not hurtful. It is.

Friendships become essential to existence, providing a basis for sharing and support. They provide a constructive meaning to a world filled with destruction.

Death row is also for some a world of fantasies, and a significant feature of friendships are discussions held about the future.

One prisoner, in an attempt to preserve a picture of a more enlightened and brighter tomorrow, spoke to his friend about setting up a business together and they debated whether they would live in Cape Town or Johannesburg.

For them, a future planned meant death denied.

Although friendships are part of a prisoner's survival kit, they do not last — their ending brought about through execution.

Religion and a belief in God would assist some prisoners in maintaining their relation with lost friends.

Another world

The notion is that the friendship has not ended, it has taken a temporary relapse and will be renewed in another world — a protection from the sorrow engendered by losing someone a prisoner has become reliant on and grown to like.

The death of a friend is not only significant in terms of loss and separation, but brings to light the reality of execution.

It tells the other person that people do get executed and your time will also come. It transforms death row from a place of waiting into a place of execution.

Despite the trauma of death row, not all relationships and interactions with other prisoners are supportive. Sadistic practical jokes are sometimes played on new prisoners.

One new inmate was informed when he first arrived that during the night a rope would come from his cell's ceiling and throttle him. Consequently, he did not sleep and remained vigilant for the rope.

Then he was told by his fellow prisoners that even though he had arrived on the Friday, since there were too few people to hang on the Monday, he would have to make up the shortfall. That weekend he waited for his execution.

Late on the Monday morning, a prison warder who noticed his odd and extremely anxious behaviour informed him he needn't worry about the rope or an early execution.

Antagonistic conflict also exists, with some prisoners feeling threatened or envious of the friendship of others. Some disapprove of the "crimes" of others.

For instance, some prisoners would attempt to gain favour with the warders by distancing themselves or harassing or provoking political prisoners, particularly ANC members.

Religious

While many prisoners have no religious orientation before entering death row, some do.

However, as time passes most prisoners, no matter what their prior religious orientation, become more involved in God and some become extremely religious.

Many death row prisoners are given the right to appeal against their sentences.

If the appeal is successful, prisoners are released from the confines of prison or transferred from death row to another prison, where they live out their new sentences.

For those whose appeals are dismissed, the effect is devastating. A heightened anticipation of death forces prisoners to seek comfort in a new hope — a petition to the state president.

If this fails, virtually all options for the prisoner have run out. Such news initially brings shock and then the struggle of accepting death begins in earnest.

The news and actual move to the "pot" is done quickly.

The cells in the "pot" are not very different in size and shape from prisoners' previous cells, but the contents are different. There is no mattress, which makes sleep more difficult. (Prisoners are supplied with sleeping mats, according to the Prisons Service.)

Prisoners are not permitted to have their toothbrushes and toothpaste with them and clothing requirements also change.

Shoes have to be left outside the cell and prisoners are without vests and underpants to ensure that they are unable to commit suicide.

Anxiety

In the "pot" prisoners are not permitted to exercise outside. A new privilege is the freedom to speak whenever one wishes — and "pot" prisoners usually make full use of this. Many are often manic, making jokes and speaking the whole night.

One means to dampen fear and anxiety is through joking and idealising fantasies.

For instance, one prisoner wanted to marry his fellow prisoner's sister the day before he was to be executed.

On the last days, a cause of terrible anguish and pain are the visits received from family members and prisoners are particularly concerned about the consequences of their death.

Often there is much crying and sometimes there is an attempt to lift the spirits of the other party.

The day before the execution, the last goodbyes are said. The last hours have arrived.

As is the custom in South African prisons, condemned prisoners receive a tasty meal the night before the morning execution. If anxiety doesn't impede appetite, this is often the condemned person's last meal.

The night before is usually filled with the singing of hymns.

At about 6am a prayer is said with a priest and then the prisoner is collected by a warden and taken to the execution chamber.

(Excerpt of a paper presented at the Conference on Capital Punishment, at the Univeristy of Natal.)

Executions handled 'responsibly'

THE SA Prisons Service is satisfied that death row prisoners are treated in a responsible and professional manner, according to a spokesperson.

"It is the policy of the SA Prisons Service to approach executions and everything pertaining thereto, with the utmost responsibility and respect.

"This attitude stems from a consideration and respect for the circumstances in which these people find themselves and consequently, also the necessary regard for life and death.

"It will therefore be appreciated that the Prisons Service is not prepared to become part of any forum of sensationalisation concerning this sensitive matter."

The Prisons Service complied with internationally-accepted standards with regard to all prisoners, the spokesperson said.

"Prisoners are not allowed to provoke or harass one another and any suggestion in this regard is rejected.

"Dietary scales in prisons are well-balanced and comply with the minimum requirements with regard to nutritional standards as laid down by the World Health Organisation. The preparation and serving of the food, which is subject to regular inspections, is also of a high standard."

Death row's daily routine

A CONDEMNED man's account of a day on death row:

The bell rings at 6am (this marks the start of the new day).

At 7am they call you for counting. Every prisoner must stand at the door. Then they take the dirty things from each cell.

Breakfast would be served at 8am. Sometimes, during or after breakfast, a man with medicines would come by and ask if we wanted any tablets for aches.

For breakfast we got a dish of soft porridge, cold coffee and there was not enough milk and sugar. The coffee was like dirty water.

After breakfast they would come and collect all the dishes. Every second day we would shave. When we were finished shaving we would go back to our cell.

Later, we would go exercise, sometimes for 20 or 30 minutes. In exercise we were not allowed to talk. We had to walk or jog in a circle.

At 11.30am, they served lunch. They served soup but it was water with uncooked cabbage and crushed Jungle Oats and sometimes carrots. They also gave us jam with white margarine.

We were allowed visits between 9am and 11am and 2pm and 3pm. At 3pm we would get supper. Sometimes we would get boiled dish. We got raw cabbage; they called this salad.

The last moments

THE prisoners ascend the steps to the gallows.

Inside the execution chamber the hangman is waiting for them. So is a medical doctor, who has to certify the bodies are dead, and a policeman, who takes a set of fingerprints to ensure the correct person is hanged.

The condemned men are lined up — Pretoria's gallows can hang seven at one time. Their wrists are tied behind their backs.

A rope is put around each neck with the knot next to an ear. Hoods are fastened over their faces.

The executioner pulls a lever which opens the trapdoor and the men drop.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

"Every child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the state."

Article 24 of the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child

The HRC demands and end to the repression of the youth in our communities:
* the abolition of their detention without trial
* the lifting of their restriction orders, and
* the right to free and compulsory education which shall be equal for all.

Vlok defends renewing of state of emergency

Star 16/6/89

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By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The state of emergency would not be lifted while the climate or revolutionary activities remained at its present high level, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the South Africa-Britain Trade Association on the eve of the commemoration of the 1976 Soweto uprising, Mr Vlok said the Government was "not pleased" that it had been compelled to reinstate the state of emergency for the fourth time earlier this month.

"I can assure you we all want to see the end of it. But while abnormal conditions prevail as far as the internal security of South Africa is concerned, we will do everything necessary to maintain law and order and to protect our present social order.

"For that we do not apologise to anyone. We have an obligation and a duty to protect the people of South Africa. This we will do with pride and with diligence."

He said even a state of emergency did not guarantee peace and order.

Terrorism and violence had increased drastically before last year's municipal elections, with incidents in September and October more than 100 percent higher than previous months.

THREATENED

The president of the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, had also threatened to disrupt the parliamentary election on September 6, Mr Vlok said.

"Can you imagine what would have happened if we did not have the extraordinary powers given the police under the emergency regulations? South Africa could indeed have become an ungovernable country as the ANC intends it to become."

Statistics showed violence had reduced drastically after the imposition of the first emergency in 1986.

He dismissed as "a propaganda move" statements by the ANC and SA Communist Party that they were primarily concentrating on hard targets, saying the "terrorist alliance" was trying to convince the international community that such acts of terror were a form of guerilla warfare.

He claimed 200 percent more acts of terror had been launched on "soft" compared to "hard" targets in the first five months of 1989.

Govt urged to end apartheid

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has voiced its "unreserved condemnation" of the Government's re-imposition of the state of emergency.

In a statement in Pretoria yesterday, it said the experience of the past three years showed that emergency rule was "a major obstacle to peace — far from serving the cause of peace".

"When a government resorts to emergency powers it is not only admitting that it does not enjoy the support of those it governs, but it is also alienating even further the people from whom it gets its legitimacy.

"It is sad yet encouraging that after three years a government Minister should admit publicly: 'There are certain legitimate grievances which will have to be rectified'.

"In the light of this, we appeal to the Government, and to Mr F W de Klerk in particular, to translate the many promises of change into actual steps to remove the often-voiced grievances. We ask them to begin with the key grievance, which is apartheid."

The statement said that until the re-imposition of the state of emergency, there was reason to hope that the statemanship which led to the Namibia accord would be applied to the situation in South Africa.

"Sadly, this is not to be," the statement said. — Sapa.

Banned papers: Sendingkerk pastor in court

ARGUS 20/6/89

By REHANA ROSSOUW, Staff Reporter

A MINISTER of the Montagu N G Sendingkerk has appeared in Worcester Regional Court on charges relating to the possession of prohibited literature.

The Rev Dirk Marais, of Eyssen Street, Montagu, pleaded not guilty yesterday.

The State alleges that Mr Marais was found in possession of two copies of the African Communist, a copy of Sechaba (the monthly publication of the African National Congress) and a copy of a speech by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo at a World Council of Churches gathering.

The head of Worcester's security police, Lieutenant Gerhardt Nieuwoudt, said he and 12 officers searched the offices of the Montagu/Ashton Community Service project on December 1 after being told they would find illegal literature there.

Mr Marais is the director the project.

CONFISCATED

Lieutenant Nieuwoudt said documents were confiscated and were given to a Warrant Officer van Loggerenberg to determine which were prohibited.

Under cross-examination by Mr J Whitehead, for Mr Marais, Lieutenant Nieuwoudt declined to name his informant, but said his sources had given reliable information in the past.

He declined to reply to a question on the "rewards" given to the "sources" after a conviction.

Lieutenant Nieuwoudt said he remembered that Mr Marais telephoned his lawyer in Cape Town when he arrived and that he said the warrant was vague and his lawyer would approach the Supreme Court to stop the police from searching the premises.

"I told him it would be a waste of time getting an interdict because we had powers in terms of the emergency regulations to conduct a search," Lieutenant Nieuwoudt said.

"I remember that he said we could search the premises because he had nothing to hide."

Lieutenant Nieuwoudt said he was aware that prohibited literature was sent to the Montagu/Ashton Community Service project in March.

He also saw banned literature sent to the offices last week from England. Mr Marais had taken the literature to the Montagu police.

He did not attempt to discover who had sent it because it was not "part of my duties".

AWARE OF VENDETTA

In reply to questions by Mr Whitehead, Lieutenant Nieuwoudt said he was aware that a "vendetta" was being waged against Mr Marais, but did not know the culprits.

He knew about a break-in at the offices of the project in August last year, that the locks were tampered with in November, that an ambulance was called to Mr Marais's home after a caller alleged he had had a heart attack and that threatening telephone calls were made to his home after the killing of Dr David Webster.

Lieutenant Nieuwoudt said he was not aware that 20-dozen hot cross buns were sent to Mr Marais's home at Easter after a fake order.

The hearing continues.

Mr A J van Wyk is on the Bench and Mr D Nel appears for the State. Mr Whitehead is instructed by the Legal Resources Centre.

Banned book 'shocked' dominee

By RUSSELL MICHAELS
Staff Reporter

A SENDINGKERK clergyman accused of possessing prohibited literature has told Worcester Regional Court he was shocked when a banned book was found in his office.

The Rev Dirk Marais, 39, of Eyssen Street, Montagu, was allegedly found in possession of two copies of the African Communist, a copy of Sechaba (the monthly publication of the African National Congress) and a copy of a speech made by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo at a World Council of Churches gathering. He has pleaded not guilty.

Giving evidence in his defence, Mr Marais, director of the Montagu/Ashton Community Service project, said 13 policemen searched the premises on December 1 last year.

"After showing me a search warrant which seemed vague a Warrant Officer van Loggerenberg asked me to unlock a filing cabinet.

"I did not have the keys and left my office to fetch them, but wondered whether it was wise under the circumstances. Instead I called for my secretary.

"I told a policeman to fetch the keys himself. I was suspicious and on my way back to a chair where I sat previously I saw a small book — which I had never seen before — on my desk.

"I asked the warrant officer about it and he said it came from a shelf on the desk. I denied it. The cover, if I remember correctly, was something like *Bird Life in Australia*.

"I paged through the book and was shocked to see the words 'African communist'. I accused the police of planting the book there."

The hearing was postponed to July 31.

Mr A J van Wyk was on the Bench. Mr Marais was represented by Mr J Whitehead, instructed by the Legal Resources Centre.

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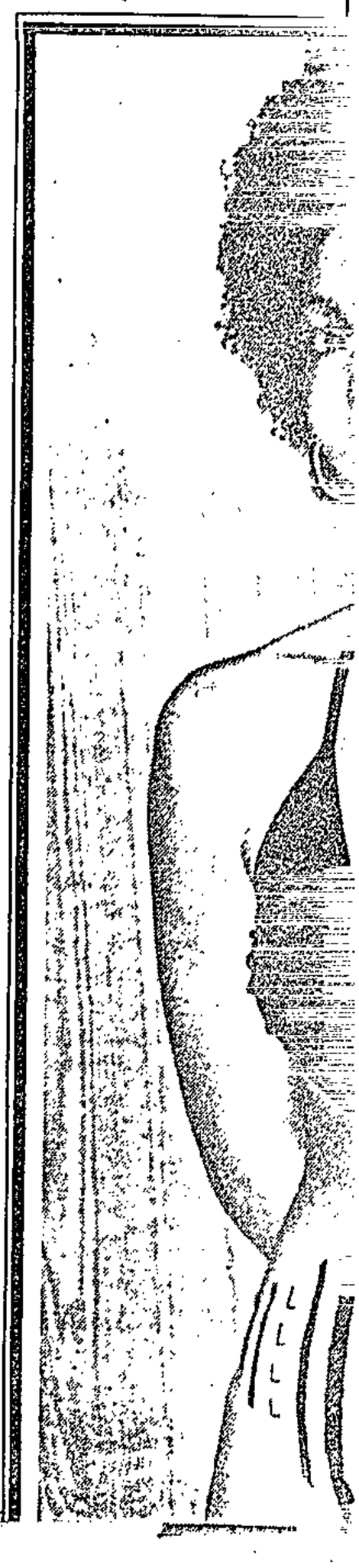
EDITOR BROKE SECURITY LAW

MAX du Preez, editor of the *Vrye Weekblad* was found guilty by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday of contravening the Internal Security Act. He was given a six-month jail sentence, suspended for five years, for quoting a listed person in the newspaper.

Du Preez's conviction follows a report in *Vrye Weekblad* November 11 issue on the Leverkusen conference in West Germany in which Soviet, South African and ANC academics took part.

Magistrate Mr P H Bredenkamp said it was not prohibited for a third person to take notice of the viewpoints of various organisations, but actual remarks by a listed person were not allowed.



Quoted

The court found that the newspaper quoted Joe Slovo, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

"Du Preez should have taken steps to prevent the publication of the article," said Mr Bredenkamp. "The court finds that he acted negligently."

Suspended

"When the media wants to report on matters that involve state security or law and order, it should be done in a responsible, reasonable manner," he said.

Wending Publications, publishers of the *Vrye Weekblad* were fined R1000, also suspended for five years, on the charge.

The company was warned and acquitted on four counts of publishing the newspaper when it was not registered.

Protest swim 'plain stupid'

Sowetan 22/6/89

AN apartheid-busting swim has been planned for the Hillbrow pool at 11am today.

About 12 members of Actstop and the Democratic Party intend staging a demonstration dip to prove there is no law preventing blacks from swimming in municipal pools in the city, said DP council leader Mr Tony Leon.

He said there was no by-law ruling that Johannesburg's pools were "whites only" and the swim would establish this fact.

The demonstration has been labelled "stupid" by Johannesburg management committee chairman Mr Jan Burger.

He said: "Their mid-winter swim is just plain stupid as the Hillbrow pool is open to all races. The management committee instructed the head of the parks department to open Hillbrow in May and if the group is looking for a showdown they will be disappointed.

"With all respect to the DP and Actstop, they are acting like a lot of loonies."

Class boycott ends

Sowetan 22/3/89

WINDHOEK — Although no statistics were yet available, official sources in Northern Namibia indicated yesterday that pupils were beginning to return to school at the end of a month-long class boycott.

The stayaway, affecting about 170 000 pupils in the Ovambo region, has ended without demands by either pupils or authorities being met.

Among the students' demands was that members of the former SWA police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, be removed from the police force.

The Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, threatened to close all schools in the region until the end of the year unless pupils reregistered, accompanied by a parent or guardian.

They had to undertake to refrain from political activities on school premises both during and after school hours.

The secretary of the Ovambo administration, Mr Frans Viljoen, is reported to have said earlier "no conditions are being imposed for pupils and students to return to classes".

He declined to comment on the school situation, saying an official statement would be issued later.

The Namibia National Students Organisation has called on the thousands of boycotting pupils and students to return to school, adding that the call to end the boycott should not be seen as a failure on the part of the student movement in realising their demands. — Sapa.

Winter school

THE Soweto College of Education Educational Committee is hosting a Winter School which will cater for Std 9 and 10. Classes will be held at the college until June 30.

The registration fee is R10 and those wishing to attend should register by today June 22.

N_I's INN

Kids shot in kitscop drama

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22-28/6/89

By HENRY LUDSKI

FOUR children, one a five-year-old boy, were this week shot following a fracas between a Bhongolethu resident and an armed "kitskonstabel".

The children were playing in front of a home in the township near Oudtshoorn when they had to run in terror as the drama exploded.

"We heard shots being fired and started running towards the gate," said 14-year-old Tandeka Silo, who was wounded on her cheek and thigh.

In an affidavit, she also described how five-year-old Thando Silo was hit in his back as the little boy ran for cover.

Stabbed in the face

Tandeka said her sister, Bulelwa Gumede, 10, and Nompumelelo Mgolozi, 12, were also wounded in the incident on Tuesday afternoon.

According to a police unrest report, the "kitskonstabel" allegedly involved in the incident is in a serious condition in hospital after being stabbed in the face.

Police fired two rounds of birdshot at the knifeman, but, although wounded, he escaped, said police.

Seventeen-year-old high school pupil Lindiwe Manie, who witnessed the shooting, said the fracas allegedly took place after the kitskonstabel confronted a Bongolethu resident standing with his girlfriend in Buitekant Street and allegedly assaulted him.

An altercation ensued after which another "kitskonstabel" emerged from the police station, allegedly opening fire and wounding the fleeing resident.

A worried Mrs Agnes Mashoeshoe nurses her five-month-old baby after her flat in Argyle Court, Joubert Park, was raided by police yesterday. ● Picture by Steven Davimes.

Police 'ransack' flats during raid

Star 22/6/87

(327) By Stan Hlophe

Police yesterday raided eight Argyle Court flats in Joubert Park.

The flats are occupied by members of the Action Committee to Stop Evictions (Actstop).

Actstop publicity secretary Mr Pressage Nkosi said the raid came on the eve of the "Inner-City Encounter" rally planned by Actstop and the Five Freedoms Forum. During the rally, whites would spend a night with black families living in Hillbrow and Berea.

He said the five-storey block was raided at about 9.30 am.

Two policemen forced open the door of his flat and pointed a firearm at him, Mr Nkosi said.

"They jostled and pinned me against the wall. My flat was ransacked while they asked for my particulars. I was accused of being a foreigner who was here to instigate other people.

"I was threatened with detention under the emergency regulations. I was accused of forcing people to join Actstop and to cause trouble. An Actstop leaflet and a T-shirt were confiscated during the raid."

Mrs Agnes Mashoeshoe, mother of a five-month-old baby, said her flat was ransacked.

"They pulled down the pictures and broke the mirror on the wall. I was asked if I belonged to Actstop and they took down my name. They left my flat in a shambles."

Miss Irene Maluleka, a mother of three, said: "They started ransacking my room and turned it upside down. I asked them what they wanted as I was here to help them. They had a list with them and they said they got it from the landlord who alleged that Acstop members were troublemakers.

"I told them that I did not know of any troublemaker as we were exploited and desperate people."

The landlord, Mr David Malan, refused to comment.

A police spokesman said the raid was carried out by the security police in terms of Section 5 of the emergency regulations. He said various articles were seized, some of which would be returned to the owners.

Star 22/6/89

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Editor guilty of quoting Joe Slovo

By Celeste Louw

Max du Preez, editor of the *Vrye Weekblad*, was found guilty by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday of contravening the Internal Security Act and given a six-month jail sentence, suspended for five years, for quoting a listed person in the newspaper.

Du Preez's conviction follows a report in *Vrye Weekblad's* November 11 issue on a conference in West Germany in which Soviet, South African and ANC academics took part.

Magistrate Mr P H Bredenkamp said it was not prohibited for a third person to take notice of the viewpoints of various organisations, but actual remarks by a listed person were not allowed.

The court found that the newspaper quoted Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's national executive.

Wending Publications, publishers of the *Vrye Weekblad*, were fined R1 000, also suspended for five years.

Editor may face further charges

(327)

Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez, who yesterday received a suspended sentence for contravening the Internal Security Act, was later informed by the security police that he would soon also be facing three charges for contravention of emergency regulations governing the media. Star 22/6/89

Mr du Preez was yesterday told that three alleged contraventions of the media regulations were being forwarded to the Attorney-General.

● See Page 6.

State persecuting paper — editor

Star 27/4/87 (327)

By Carina le Grange

The State is waging a petty vendetta against *Vrye Weekblad*, the weekly independent newspaper says in a page one statement today.

"Only hours after its editor was sentenced to a suspended sentence under the Internal Security Act, the Security Police informed him that several charges are being investigated against *Vrye Weekblad* in terms of the emergency regulations," says the statement.

"The Security Police say the newspaper has 'undermined' national service. But the stories involved, all older than four months, contain mostly reports of a conscientious objector's court case.

"Since *Vrye Weekblad* was published for the first time on November 4 last year, the State has tried on several fronts to make us suspect, to damage us financially and to brand us as a security risk.

"Why is the Government so scared of *Vrye Weekblad*?" the statement asks.

'OUTRAGEOUS'

Editor Max du Preez said yesterday: "It is really outrageous. We don't regard it as a coincidence that I should walk out of court into new charges.

"It is really irritating, but also a compliment to us, part of the State's vendetta against us! We will continue to publish."

The Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) said it noted with "grave concern" what appeared to be an ongoing campaign of harassment of *Vrye Weekblad* and Mr du Preez.

SASJ president Mr Bob Kernohan said yesterday the union believed the aim of the campaign was to force the newspaper to close and deny readers knowledge of conditions in the country.

"A barrage of statutory and emergency laws has been marshalled against the newspaper since its launch in December 1988, not only aimed at intimidating the newspaper and its staff, but also draining it of its limited financial resources," said Mr Kernohan.

● See Page 9.

Star 23/6/89. (327)

Editor may face more charges

By Carina le Grange

Mr Max du Preez, editor of the newspaper *Vrye Weekblad*, who this week received a suspended sentence for contravening the Internal Security Act, was later told by the Security Police he would soon be facing three charges for contravening emergency regulations governing the media.

Mr du Preez said he was telephoned at his office by a major in the Security Police who informed him that three alleged contraventions of the media regulations prohibiting publication of "subversive statements" were being forwarded to the Attorney-General for consideration.

He said he was told the charges concerned alleged subversive statements regarding national service.

Said Mr du Preez: "It is really outrageous. We don't regard it as a coincidence that I should walk out of court into new charges."

Mr du Preez said he had instructed his lawyers to appeal against his conviction.

Vrye Weekblad editor hits at state 'vendetta'

Weekly Mail Reporter

"ALL people who are a threat to state security must be silenced in each and every way", was how a Johannesburg magistrate interpreted the Internal Security Act, in sentencing newspaper editor Max du Preez.

The editor of the *Vrye Weekblad* was found guilty of contravening the Internal Security Act and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, suspended for five years, in the regional court this week.

The charges relate to an article published in the newspaper last year which indirectly quoted senior African National Congress member Joe Slovo, who may not be quoted in South Africa because he is a listed person.

Vrye Weekblad's company, Wending Publikasies, was also fined R1 000, suspended for five years.

In the fourth court appearance this year the newspaper, represented by Du Preez, was acquitted on four other charges of failing to be registered before publication. This was on grounds that the offence was merely "technical".

But the fifth charge of contravening the Internal Security Act, to which Du Preez pleaded not guilty, was regarded in a far more serious light.

According to Magistate J Bredenkamp, Du Preez had committed "such a serious offence that a sentence had to be imposed". He added that, in his opinion, the Act (the Internal Security Act), spelt out that "all people who are a threat to state security must be silenced in each and every way".

In passing sentence Bredenkamp conceded that the article was "indeed objective and not revolutionary".

The article, on November 11, was a summary by University of the Witwatersrand academic, Mark Swilling, of a conference between South African and Soviet academics in West Germany last year. Slovo was one of the participants.

Professor Nina Overton, a communications professor at Rand Afrikaans University, was called by the defence during a previous court appearance. She said it was "impossible for any newspaper today to publish articles about South African politics and our political future without referring to the arguments of persons on the consolidated (banned) list or their banned organisations".

On his return to his office after the hearing Du Preez, was informed that three further charges against the *Vrye Weekblad* were being investigated. These related to alleged subversive statements about military service which appeared in three separate editions of the paper, the last on February 24 this year.

Du Preez yesterday said the "subversive" quotes came from straightforward reports on the case of conscientious objector Charles Bester. He found it strange that the police took so long to take action, and that they arrived so timeously just after he returned from court.

"We think it is totally absurd, ridiculous and outrageous," he said. "It is further evidence of the petty vendetta that the government has against the *Vrye Weekblad*."

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WMail 23-29/6/89.

A soldier engages in some 'crisis management' with children in Alexandra. The NMC is concerned with making love, not war, says Lloyd

The 'system' emerges from behind its clouds of secrecy

WHY is the erstwhile National Security Management System now called the National Management System?

Because it used to be concerned only with security; and now it's concerned about everything.

That was the substance of Lieutenant-General Charles Lloyd's answer to a question about the system's change of name.

"What made it necessary is the security situation, because you cannot play around with the security of your country. That is why we went for management by objectives — because we must maintain security.

"So therefore you must have specific objectives in this field because we will never have enough resources to fulfil all the needs of the people," he said.

But other uses were soon found for it.

"We learnt that this management instrument that was established initially for state security purposes, and then for crisis management ... can actually be applied in your general government affairs, because you must deal with priorities."

The aim is to get all government departments, and the private sector, to co-ordinate their actions.

"We must try to work together and complement each other, and not work against each other, and this can only be done if you work as a team and if you get your actions co-ordinated.

"That's why, actually, we started with security, but at the present moment in time we have discovered that this horizontal system of co-ordinating is a most useful tool."

As the system has become more extensive it has also become more visible. A result is that its co-ordinators are making vigorous efforts to free it from its image as a shadowy alternative government.

"The system has become more visible in the last two, three or four years. Before that it was regarded as a very secretive organisation.

"People didn't see the system. That is one of the reasons for this cloud of secrecy. It was something sinister that was being written about.

"Nowdays I think you can go to the smallest hamlet in the country and ask people about the JMC, and they'll know about it. It's visible now."

Its officials are making sure that with the greater visibility comes greater acceptability.

Last month SATV carried an extensive interview with Lloyd. And the system's Pretoria headquarters moved this week from their nondescript offices in the city centre to more spacious surroundings in the suburb of Arcadia.

As Lloyd explains it, the system is headed by the State Security Council. Formally this is only one of four cabinet committees — the others being political, economic and social.

The SSC is headed by President PW Botha with Lloyd as its secretary. Other permananet members include the ministers of defence, law and order, justice and foreign affairs, and each of their departmental directors general. It also includes the director general of national intelligence and the senior cabinet minister.

Lloyd confirmed the widespread belief that the SSC meets the day before each cabinet meeting.

"After every session of the SSC, as secretary I minute all the decisions and the guidelines they have decided on and I summarise them for the state president.

"The next day is the cabinet meeting during which the state president will then inform the cabinet of the decision of the SSC," he said.

Lloyd is keen to dispel notions that the cabinet has served merely as a rubber stamp for the political decisions of the SSC.

"The SSC is not actually taking decisions on its own without the cabinet knowing of them.

"Certain things have got to be referred to the cabinet for approval and other minor things, within the policy decisions already taken, can be decided on by the SSC who pass on the decisions to the heads of department who will carry it out."

What used to be a security-only system expands its focus to include ... just about anything. 'You can go to the smallest hamlet, and people there will know about the JMC,' says the general

While this has always been the *de jure* position there have been frequent reports that the *de facto* situation was that the cabinet never went against the SSC's recommendations.

According to Mark Swilling, of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies, this has started to change under FW de Klerk's leadership of the National Party. He said the cabinet's decision to release the hunger strikers went against the SSC's recommendation — for the first time since PW Botha came to power.

Below the SSC is a working committee consisting of the heads of government departments. This has an executive of sorts, called the "smaller working committee" which is made up of the government department heads dealing directly with security matters.

These working committees decide what recommendations to submit to the SSC. Once the SSC has made its decision the relevant working committee ensures it is implemented.

Below these committees are 11 regional Joint Management Centres which correspond with the SA Defence Force's territorial command regions. These are made up of SADF and South African Police senior officers and other government officials.

Leaders of the organised private sector participate in the Joint Liaison Committees which attempt to co-ordinate the activities of the JMCs and the private sector.

Below the 11 JMCs are about 350 mini-JMCs which are made up primarily of security force members, government officials and members of local authorities. Again they co-ordinate their activities with Joint Liaison Forums which include members of the private sector.

In larger areas the mini-JMCs also have sub-committees dealing with welfare, the security forces and communications.

Lloyd explains the system as one of horizontal management.

"Your normal management system is your line functions which are managed from the top down, but this system of co-ordination crosses the functional line of various departments at specific levels. The NMS is managing sideways."

Its key aim, he said, was to ensure that government departments do not work against each other.

Lloyd and his colleagues are keen to dispel suggestions that they serve as some kind of extra-parliamentary government.

"It is people who are not informed who say such things," he insists.

He argues that the system is ultimately answerable to the government in power — "(it) doesn't matter what political party it is.

"We are not running loose outside with nobody to control us. We are answerable through the SSC to the cabinet."

He also points out that the system has no executive powers and no budget of its own. Funding takes place through the various government departments involved and is therefore not reflected as a separate item in the general budget.

And the government officials within the system are ultimately responsible to their heads of department and ministers.

The general on counter-revolution and insurgency

General Lloyd in his own words:

On the role of the NMS:
"IT started off as a counter-insurgency, counter-revolutionary organisation. But it serves such a useful purpose to co-ordinate activites. For example, when we had the floods in Natal and the Free State ... the mini-JMC was the co-ordinating organisation. It's a management system which is a generally accepted management system throughout the world. I can give you a book dealing with that kind of matrix management."

On its function:
"It's a matrix management system managing from the side in order to co-ordinate the activities of those people who are responsible to the heads of government departments and to a political head. In the end it is just providing a service to all of them enabling them not to work against each other, but to get their activities on the ground synchronised."

On its success:
"It is a management aid for people who are in charge, and it helps them to execute their missions successfully. And it makes things much easier for them. It makes sense. Within the government set-up I must say that there is now really an understanding of the situation, whereas in the beginning we were seen as something you must handle with suspicion."

On its profile:
"I don't think it has a higher profile. I think it's just a quesion of being more visible."

On its ability to channel information:
"The people who come forward with the solutions to the problems are the people on the ground. But there again this will work right up to the top and you get your top people now to realise the existence of the problem on the ground ... Then the people on ground level will say, now they want to make the people happy, what must they do? So it's top-down, bottom-up. And it's teamwork all along at the various levels. It's a two-way channel of communication, actually."

On its political programme:
"We must, of course, give the enemy as little opportunity as possible to exploit the situation psychologically, and therefore that is why the very first principle of counter-revolutionary war is good government. And there is nothing to replace good government.

"So therefore you must work on things like soccer fields and transport and housing. That's why these things are so important."

On the rationale for detaining activists:
"Oh yes. It is part of the security forces' strategy ... because the enemy come with various tactics aimed at the mind of the people. And they mislead them, they disinform them. They make promises. They are not expected to render the proof today. But eventually when they are told to prove their promises, then it's too late, then they have the power."

On counter-revolutionary theory and practice:
"You can talk to any military man and he will tell you that 80 percent of the actions that you must perform in a counter-revolutionary war are non-military and only 20 percent will be security forces activities.

"Take an area like Lebowa, and I'm talking from practical experience, when we had trouble there. The security forces were all over there, but you haven't got government officials in the bushy areas and the isolated areas where we sent our troops in. They discovered that there is no water, no medical aid and so on.

"We sent our soldiers to every bush and they'd come back with a long list of needs, shortcomings and so on in the welfare field."

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THE SECURITY SYSTEM USED TO BE CONCERNED ONLY WITH SECURITY. NOW IT'S CONCERNED WITH EVERYTHING

OF HEARTS AND MINDS

The general at the centre of the security web talks about revolution and how he plans to stop it

General Charles Lloyd talks to GAVIN EVANS

TO win a revolutionary war guns alone will not suffice — you must work on things like soccer fields and water works too.

So says one of the most powerful men in the country, Lieutenant-General Charles Lloyd, secretary of the State Security Council.

Lloyd and three other senior National Management System officials granted a 70-minute interview to the *Weekly Mail* in which they explained their views of counter-insurgency struggle, and of the system they operate.

Until recently Lloyd and his colleagues were widely accused of being a shadow government — a charge he vigorously denies. Now with the coming to power of the more civilian-minded FW de Klerk their centrality in matters of state appears to be coming into question.

De jure the general is simply a servant of elected officials as he himself insists. *De facto* he still wields enormous power as the man with his finger on the pulse of the octopus-like National Management System.

Under De Klerk the "securocrats" may have slipped anotch or two, but their perspectives continue to matter in the corridors of state power.

When Lloyd says, "gentlemen, we are in a revolutionary situation", it's a view that counts.

As the man who coined the phrase about the war being 80 percent political and 20 percent military, Lloyd is dismissive of talk of hawks and doves in government.

If the military is engaged in welfare work then surely they are doves as well as hawks?

For Lloyd and his colleagues, the 80 percent is essentially about upgrading trouble spots to defuse local grievances.

He tells a story of how it was the security forces who unearthed "welfare problems" in Lebowa, and then sent in "our doctors, our medical experts, our engineers" to help diffuse tensions in the area.

It is at the national and international levels that the security forces' view of the 80 percent seems to be hitting some rocky ground.

Releasing Mandela, ending the Emergency and negotiating with the African National Congress are issues that their foreign affairs and finance counterparts are finding increasingly difficult to sidestep. But these do not fit neatly with the general's vision.

Asked whether a conflict within the state was developing on these issues, Lloyd said simply that "these are complex issues".

But he added that "you can expect a policeman to put the police point of view, not the political point of view", and likewise, an economist can't be expected to put the military point of view.

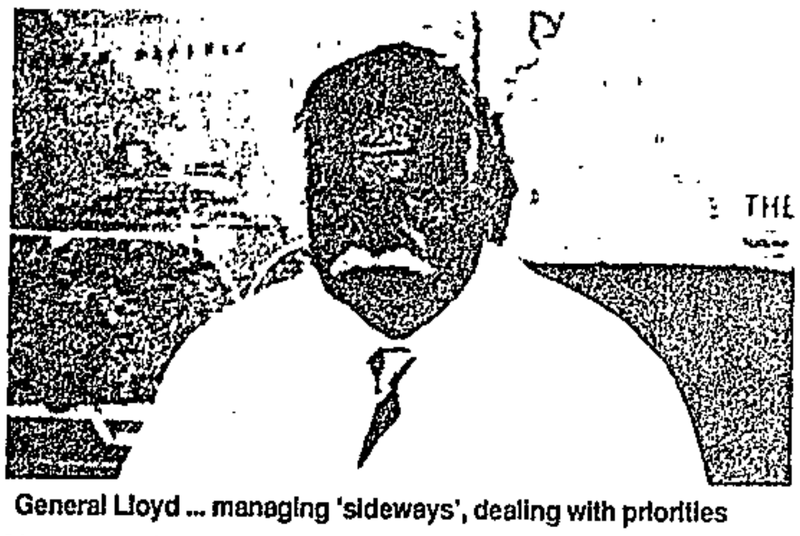
"A revolutionary war, like any other war," he insists, leaning forward, "is a struggle for power."

This struggle was against an enemy out to exploit the grievances of the majority in the "middle ground" who don't really care about politics.

To fight them you need to remove the grievances, because otherwise "the enemy will find it so easy to turn them against the government.

"Normally 90 percent of your people are in the middle ground."

These are people who want "these things a normal person would like to have" — a job, house, family, leisure time, schools, libraries and sports fields.



General Lloyd ... managing 'sideways', dealing with priorities

What the "revolutionary organisations" do is to "work them up to actually be dissatisfied with this situation".

"Eventually they must get dissatisfaction to go over to grievances. They must become aggrieved about this thing, they must hate the government. It's all psychological."

The antidote is "good government", which is the "very first principle of counter-revolutionary war.

"We are not there just to make war," he stresses. "Through the whole history of the NMS, the military was concentrating not so much on making war, but on making love."

Making love, for those staffing the NMS, involves identifying "shortcomings" and making the appropriate recommendations.

"We say, okay, now we want to keep this place secure, anti-revolutionary, so we will have to deal with these things."

For example it's no good building tennis courts if the people want soccer fields. That's the "top-down" way of the past.

"If you can occupy their time by having a soccer field, that does relate to security. You have the leisure time in which you get them involved."

And, of course, in this way you save money for other priorities.

One priority is the detention of activists in an area.

"It is part of the security forces strategy to remove the enemy leaders, to take them away from the masses, so that you can inform them and convey to them the real situation.

"It is a matter of unmasking the enemy, because the enemy comes with various tactics, and it is all aimed at the minds of the people."

Lloyd confirms Namibia visit

THE secretary of South Africa's National Management System recently visited Namibia to address military personnel and "the general public" on the implications of Resolution 435.

This was confirmed by Lieutenant-General Charles Lloyd in an extensive interview last week.

Earlier this month, the *Namibian* reported that a General Lloyd had met the territory's "National Security Council" to devise strategies to counter Swapo in the forthcoming elections.

Lloyd said he knew nothing of a National Security Council of Namibia, but confirmed that he had "talked to people in Namibia".

The State President, PW Botha, said in parliament recently that one of the 11 regional joint management centres was based in Windhoek.

The JMCs fall directly under the authority of South Africa's National Security Council.

But Lloyd explained his involvement in Namibian affairs as arising out of his position as a former general officer in command there.

"I was a former GOC, and we were fighting a counter-revolutionary war — and it was felt necessary that I must go back there to inform them exactly what we are having now.

"Are we surrendering? Was everything we did in the past *vergeefs*, in vain, and where are we heading to?

"I just explained to them that we were working for a 435 situation, how we achieved it and how 435 will be implemented."

He said he had not talked to "political leaders", but had addressed "the general public and especially the military".

"I talked to the territorial forces to inform them what is the position," he said.

PRIMARY SCHOOL
PRINCIPAL
ST NICHOLAS
PIETERMARITZBURG

A non-racial school, promoted by the Anglican Diocese of Natal, is to open in January 1990 to boys and girls, (initially Pre-Primary, Class 1, 2 Std 2), irrespective of race or religion, in buildings ideally situated to serve the whole community.

We look for a Principal who has imagination and the capacity to draw on the resources of staff, pupils and the community, preferably with primary school experience, and applicants need to be communicant members of the Church of the Province of South Africa or of some other part of the Anglican Communion.

We offer a competitive salary and the possibility of a house, together with the challenge of developing foundations in education.

Applications, together with C.V. and the names and addresses of two referees to:

The Secretary
St Nicholas School
The Cathedral Centre
P.O. Box 899
Pietermaritzburg 3200

from whom further particulars can be obtained.

Closing date: 24 July 1989.

JODAC
Political discussion
UDF

East Cape detainees freed

THE last two Emergency detainees in the Eastern Cape were released this week after being on hunger strike for four days.

The two youths, Mlinda Magxwalisa and Tembinkosi Ngeleza, were released from Algoa Parks Prison in Port Elizabeth shortly after being being transferred from St Albans Medium Prison, where they were held in isolation. Their release comes days after it was announced at a June 16 church rally that they were on hunger strike.

Captain R Crewe of the South African Police in Pretoria denied that the two detainees were on hunger strike, saying that both youths had been eating normally and and had not refused their food.

Magxwalisa and Ngeleza, who are students at Grahamstown high schools, were both involved in student representative council activities at the time of their detention.

They were both detained for more than a month and have been released without restrictions. — ANA

Flood of Webster returns

THE Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa) has been flooded by responses to their call for people to pledge themselves to contributing towards a reward for information leading to the arrest of the murderers of activist Dr David Webster.

Members of the staff of the University of the Witwatersrand have raised over R30 000, pushing the total over R50 000. They aim to raise at least R100 000, which would be the largest reward ever offered in South Africa. Substantial pledges have also been received from other universities.

Concern on 'harassment' of paper

ARGUS 23/6/89

JOHANNESBURG — The Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) has noted with "grave concern" what it said appeared to be a campaign of harassment by the State against the *Vrye Weekblad* and its editor, Mr Max du Preez.

In a statement today by the SASJ president, Mr Bob Kernohan, the society said it believed the aim of this campaign was to force the independent Afrikaans newspaper into closure.

BARRAGE

"A barrage of statutory and emergency laws have been marshalled against the newspaper since its launch in December 1988, not only aimed at intimidating the newspaper and its staff, but also draining it of its limited financial resources," he said.

"We find it significant that the police chose to warn Mr du Preez that he faces possible charges of contravening the media emergency regulations immediately after his conviction under the Internal Security Act."

The SASJ noted that the newspaper was to appeal against the conviction. — Sapa.

Police watching talks with ANC, says Vlok

Cape Times 24/6/89

Political Staff

THE police will know exactly what happens at next week's talks between the ANC and a group of more than 100 South Africans, who should tell the full truth when they return, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

If the people who visited Lusaka as the guests of the ANC and the SA Communist Party did not inform the people correctly, "we will be obliged to do it", he said at a medal parade in Pretoria.

Although Mr Vlok strongly criticised next week's "safari" to the "tyrants of Lusaka", he did not hint that any action would be taken by the government to prevent the talks.

It seems that the government now accepts that it cannot stop people from inside South Africa talking to the ANC although it is publicly strongly opposed to these discussions.

SA state agency's illegal booklet

STAR 25/6/89

By NORMAN WEST

THE Bureau for Information has admitted circulating hundreds of copies of an illegal booklet. 327

Called Problems of Communism, it contains a half-page picture of ANC prisoners Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu.

Publication of such pictures is prohibited under the Prisons Act. The caption says it was taken on Robben Island in 1966.

The booklet is published by the US Information Agency in Washington.

The acting director-general of media liaison for the bureau, Mr Schalk van der Westhuizen, said the bureau had not obtained permission to distribute the booklet.

A senior official attached to the Department of Home Affairs said the bureau appeared to have "slipped up".

Missing boys stir panic

Witness lies in intensive care unit

By SOL MORATHI 25/6/89. Star

PARENTS in Atteridgeville, west of Pretoria, are living in fear and anxiety, following the disappearance of five boys in four months and the murder of another.

Yet another child is in intensive care at a Pretoria hospital after a brutal attack.

Located near Laudium, a posh Indian suburb, Atteridgeville has had the reputation of being a quiet, respectable township.

On March 5 the residents of Pheli – as Atteridgeville is popularly known – could not know the horror that was to come. Soon afterwards they would be afraid to let their children out of their sight.

Early that morning Suprise Kola, 11, left his aunt's house at 40 Lehabe Street after attending a birthday party the day before. He has not been seen since.

His mother, Selina, had phoned earlier that day and was told he would be coming home after breakfast.

When Surprise was still not home by 4.30 that afternoon, Selina became frantic and she and her husband Steven went out to look for him. They stopped neighbours, children, friends . . . anybody who might have seen Surprise. No-one had seen him.

The distraught parents then reported their son's disappearence to the police – without success.

They went back to the streets, but their search drew a blank. All possibilities were covered. They hunted for their child at mortuaries and hospitals around Pretoria – to no avail.

Surprise's disappearance was just the beginning. Since then four other children have gone missing. They are: Joseph Sibande, 14, of 42 Masemola Street; Tebogo Khoza, 9, of 56 Mzankomo Street; Khayalakhe Mlangeni, 11, of 18 Shabangu Street and Cyprian Sibiya, 14, of 83 Mareka Street.

Last month the body of Bakae Mathabe, 9, was found in Church Street near Atteridgeville. He had been hit with a sharp instrument. His cousin Tebogo was also abducted, but survived. He cannot yet tell the story as he is still in Kalafong's intensive care unit.

One Atteridgeville resident, Hendrik Mogolodi, believes the boys were abducted for muti purposes.

"What other reason can one think of to explain so many children missing, except muti?" asked Hendrik.

Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Northern Transvaal Brig Sarel Strydom said two men had been arrested in connection with the abduction of young boys last month.

Meanwhile, anxious parents in Mamelodi have formed a Concerned Parents' Committee to express their concern at the kidnappings.

Blum not allowed to meet Mandela

Cape Times 28/6/89

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PRETORIA. — West Germany's Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr Norbert Blum, was yesterday denied an audience with imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Mr Blum said here.

He was addressing reporters after an unscheduled meeting with Mr Coetsee after President P W Botha redirected him to Mr Coetsee regarding permission to see Mr Mandela.

Pretorians stopped to stare in amazement as the short but dapper Mr Blum cut short his meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to walk up Pretorius Street — pursued by scores of West German and foreign cameramen — to the Ministry of Justice a block away. — Sapa

(327) Sowetan 29/6-5/7/89

Release Mpetha drive hots up

From MOIRA LEVY

LONDON. — The Free Oscar Mpetha Campaign in the United Kingdom published a half-page advertisement in London newspapers demanding the release of the 79-year-old imprisoned trade unionist in a prestigious national newspaper to mark Freedom Day this week.

Signed by all the major trade unions and solidarity organisations in Britain, it represented a high point in the campaign's efforts to bring to the attention of the British public the continued imprisonment of Mpetha, who is being held in Groote Schuur hospital.

The Free Oscar Mpetha Campaign has the backing of British trade unions and opposition politicians. It is an initiative organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) and the Joint Campaign Against the Repression of Trade Unionists in South Africa and Namibia.

Calls for support

Since the campaign was launched earlier this year, a motion has been passed in the British parliament calling on the government to release Mpetha and appeals have gone to UK prime minister Margaret Thatcher calling for British government support to secure his release.

Messages of support from the campaign have also come for Sactu and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Meanwhile, the Right Rev David Sheppard, who recently returned from a visit to South Africa as a guest of Archbishop Desmond Tutu told a packed Freedom Day rally here that apartheid was still firmly entrenched.

The standing-room-only rally heard speaker after speaker denouncing the recent tour of Europe by FW de Klerk.

Praise went out to the AAM demonstrators who dogged De Klerk throughout his visit, picketing his hotel 24 hours a day and forcing him to call off theatre visits.

A senior ANC official poured scorn on the idea of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher playing the role of honest broker in the run-up to negotiations.

The meeting heard speakers demand that Pretoria prove its peaceful intentions by releasing political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency, and ending restrictions on former detainees, and warned that no negotiations would take place under the state of emergency conditions.

Destroys human rights

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who was at the Kliptown Congress, announced at the rally that he had renewed appeals to Thatcher and the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to support sanctions.

Huddleston quoted the assassinated Swedish prime minister, Olaf Palme, who described apartheid as an evil which destroys human rights and dignities.

Earlier that day a delegation from the AAM marched on the prime minister's residence to present a Boycott South Africa campaign message.

They handed over some of the 10 000 cardboard "oranges" sent by members from all over Britain to demand economic sanctions.

Each orange had a message calling on Thatcher to end trade with South Africa.

Buthelezi book sought by police

(327)

Star 1/2/89

CAPE TOWN — Security Police visited the offices of David Philip publishers in Cape Town yesterday to search for copies of "Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda".

According to a statement released by Mr David Philip, police said they were not concerned with the content of the book, but with a quotation in the book from a banned person, Ronald Segal. The statement says the book is published by Zed Books, London, and has not been distributed in South Africa.

The police also inquired after "The National Question in South Africa", which lawyers felt was unlikely to be allowed to circulate in this country under present legislation.

"As we anticipated last year when the press was restricted under the emergency regulations, the Security Police are now concentrating their attention on publishers and booksellers," said Mr Philip in the statement. — Sapa.

Attacks? It's their own fault, says Vlok

By CARMEL RICKARD

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has told lawyers that if restricted former detainees are attacked, it is their own fault.

And he has also refused to ease night-time house arrest restrictions on lawyer Yunus Mahomed despite the fact that he has been the target of a number of death threats.

Mahomed, an official of the Natal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front, is restricted to his house from dusk to dawn.

Since the Easter long week-end, when he claims he caught members of the security police carrying out a torchlight raid of the Kagiso Trust offices in Durban, Mahomed has been the target of death threats.

The police have denied his version of events at the Kagiso offices.

In June Mahomed's lawyers wrote to Vlok, asking that in view of the threat on his life, the house arrest conditions should be eased.

Now Vlok has replied, saying he is not prepared to make such a change.

Mahomed's firm has released a letter from Vlok, in which he justifies his actions in putting people under house arrest and other restrictions.

The firm wrote to Vlok informing him that another of their clients, Christopher Ntuli, had been killed on the way back from reporting to the police station as required to do in terms of his restriction order.

They said that even though Ntuli's restriction orders made him extremely vulnerable to attacks by "people opposed to him", Vlok persisted with his restriction.

The lawyers said they were putting these facts before Vlok so that he would "be aware of precisely how seriously you are affecting and endangering the lives of those of our clients who are so restricted".

Adriaan Vlok

In his reply Vlok said it was "most disturbing" that a number of restricted people were being attacked in Natal and said everything possible was being done to protect them.

However he added that in many cases it was their own fault: "It is clear that the past actions of many detainees are responsible for the present state of affairs. These individuals have created enemies among members of their own community. The lifting of restrictions on former detainees will in no way ensure their safety. These individuals must seek reconciliation within their own communities."

Vlok said that since investigations concerning many former detainees were continuing their restrictions could not be lifted "at this time".

Vlok said it was unacceptable to claim that Ntuli's death was connected to the fact that he was restricted.

Vlok said that the police did not divulge information such as the whereabouts of restricted people or details of their restrictions.

"The source of information could possibly be traced closer to the deceased," he commented.

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28/7

3/8/89

same time "an outspoken ... justice, clashing with the Botha ... over treatment of squatters." ... s from Pretoria that the Southern ... have lost not just another good person, but ... real friend and brother," the Bishops Conference said.

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New light on Emergency laws

Case of Atlantis leader may affect hundreds of lives

B/Day 4/7/89

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A precedent-setting case in the Cape Town Regional Court yesterday could affect the lives of hundreds of people placed under emergency restriction orders.

The State is charging former UDF leader and Atlantis community leader Noel Williams with having contravened the conditions of his release from detention by leaving his restricted area on September 22 last year without Security Branch permission.

Williams, 42, of Alicia Crescent, Avondale, Atlantis, was released in September 1987 after three months detention on condition he did not leave the magisterial district of Malmesbury without official permission.

His release was premature as his detention was to have ended when the 1987 State of Emergency expired last year.

At yesterday's hearing, Williams's counsel Dullar Omar submitted that his client could not plead because the State's charges did not disclose any offence.

He said Williams's conditions of release expired on June 10 along with the 1987 State of Emergency and were not automatically renewed when the 1988 State of Emergency was declared.

The conditions of release fell away at the same time the detention would have ended, Omar said, adding that the regulation purporting to keep the conditions of release in force during the following State of Emergency were ultra vires and of "no force or effect".

Omar also submitted that the emergency regulations required the authorities to apply their minds to each individual case, however practically difficult it might be for them.

State prosecutor Ian Yuill said there was no case law to indicate that the minister should re-apply his mind to restriction orders when a new State of Emergency was proclaimed.

However, the accused had committed an offence and should stand trial, he argued.

Judgment on the validity of the charges will take place next week.

(3271)

Star 17/7/89

Police raid publishers in Jo'burg

By Helen Grange

Police seized a wide range of political literature during a raid yesterday on the Braamfontein, Johannesburg, offices of progressive publishing groups Ravan, The Other Press Service and South African Research Services.

Notebooks, political documents, photographs and a poster of the State President, Mr P W Botha, changing into the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, were among items seized.

Police last night confirmed a "routine investigation" of the premises and said they would be "working through seized documents to see if criminal charges would be instituted".

Ravan Press manager Mr Glen Moss said the police had a list against which they were checking certain items. He said the affected parties in the raid would consider their legal options to protest.

Security police swoop on seven more publishers

Cape Times 5/7/89

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IN the latest of a series of raids on publishers, police yesterday searched the offices of seven Johannesburg publishers.

Security policemen from John Vorster Square's Security Branch yesterday searched the offices of Ravan Press, Work In Progress (WIP), The Other Press Service (Tops), Learn and Teach, A D Donker, Skottaville Publishers and the Johannesburg offices of David Philip.

One copy of a book entitled "South Africa between Reform and Revolution" by Alex Callinicos was seized from Ravan Press, two photographs of assassinated activist Dr David Webster's funeral, a notebook, a set of minutes, a Namibian resource package and a poster were seized from Tops, while only one letter was seized from WIP.

"When the press was restricted by the government, publishers predicted that we would be next," Mr David Philip, managing director of David Philip Publisher's, said last night.

A Pretoria police spokesman confirmed that the premises of various publishing organisations had been searched and documents seized in terms of Section 5 of the Emergency Regulations. — Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

New Nation journalist is acquitted

(327)

Star 5/7/89

By Brendan Templeton

A reporter from the *New Nation* was acquitted in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on a charge of illegal possession of a banned publication, Umzebenzi — Voice of the SA Communist Party.

Ms Kerry Jane Cullinan (27) of Dunbar Avenue, Yeoville, said earlier that the publication did not belong to her and could have become mixed up with her belongings when she collected them at a newspaper she had worked on previously.

The publication was found in her car by a policeman.

The magistrate, Mr T M Prinsloo, said Ms Cullinan was a reliable witness but the state's main witness, a policeman from John Vorster Square, "did not impress the court with his evidence".

Police raid six publishers

B/Day 6/7/89 (327)

TIM COHEN

THE offices of six Johannesburg publishing organisations were raided yesterday by security police, who seized documents and publications.

Ravan Press manager Glen Moss said about 10 security policemen from John Vorster Square searched the offices of his organisation, Work In Progress (Wip), and the offices of The Other Press Service (Tops).

Police told him the offices of Learn and Teach; Donker and Skottaville publishers were also being raided, he said. He subsequently confirmed that Skottaville publishers had been visited, but could not say if anything had been confiscated.

A police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed the premises of various publishing organisations had been searched and documents seized in terms of Section Five of the emergency regulations. Criminal charges were being investigated.

One of Wip's co-ordinators, Ingrid Obery, said policemen arrived at the Braamfontein offices of Wip, Tops and Ravan Press at 11.30am and left at about 2.45pm.

One copy of a book, SA between Reform and Revolution, by Alex Callinicos, was taken from Ravan Press. Two photographs of assassinated activist David Webster's funeral, a notebook, a set of minutes, a Namibian resource package and a poster were seized from Tops. Only a letter was taken from Wip.

Police had a list of publications and were apparently looking for the organisations which were distributing them.

The policemen described the operation as a routine search.

Obery said the raid was "ominous", and added that Wip was consulting its lawyers.

An employee of A D Donker publishers said about six security policemen searched the premises yesterday, but no publications or documents were seized.

Comment could not be obtained from Skottaville or Learn and Teach.

Metalworkers call for discipline at JCI

B/Day 5/7/89

ALAN FINE

NUMSA yesterday called on JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr to discipline management at its subsidiary, Lennings Manganese, for allowing and facilitating an interview by two security policemen with two shop stewards in the GM's office.

Numsa said the shop stewards were warned by police that they could be detained under the emergency regulations for holding an open-air meeting on company premises, and discussing matters not authorised by the company.

"Hofmeyr has appeared on many platforms calling for an end to the emergency," Numsa said. "These calls are completely in contradiction to what appears to be the company's use of the security police."

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A JCI spokesman said Numsa's allegations were "factually incorrect and misleading", but did not elaborate.

(3271)

Star 17/1/89

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south

REPRESSION DOSSIER No 5

Jailed Mpetha 80 next month

SOUTH AFRICA'S oldest political prisoner, Oscar Mpetha, turns 80 next month - with one year still to go of a five-year jail sentence.

The frail and sickly Mpetha, who suffers from diabetes, has spent most of his sentence under armed guard at Groote Schuur Hospital.

Mpetha, jailed for terrorism, has lost his wife Rose and son Karl in this period.

The sickly Mrs Mpetha died in 1986. Karl, 36, died in a car accident in Arpil.

Called the "Father of South African trade unionism", Mpetha spends his days in hospital knitting jerseys for loved-ones and for charity.

And it is likely that the former Cape president of the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front will spend his birthday the same way.

He will turn 80 at the time of a mounting international campaign being spearheaded overseas by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and his youngest son Themba Mpetha.

The Free Oscar Mpetha Committee has published a half-page advertisement in a London newspaper demanding his release and this week similar advertisements were placed in newspapers in South Africa.

Locally, Mpetha's daughter Esther has been campaigning for the release of her father for the past four years, along with several organisations.

"I am hoping the government will show some humanity and release my father before his birthday," she said.

The family had made unsuccessful attempts to have him released for her mother and brothers' funerals.

Mpetha, for many years general secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union, now called the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu), was born at Mt Fletcher, Transkei on August 5, 1909.

In a call for his immediate and unconditional release from prison, Fawu said Mpetha had "dedicated his life to the working class struggle, particularly as a factory worker, an organiser and a community leader".

"As a gallant and tireless fighter for freedom and the unity of the South African people, he was involved in the formation and building of the JCU, FCWU, Sactu, UDF, and youth and other community organisations.

"His imprisonment is unjust and condemned by all South Africans and the international community.

"His health had deteriorated while imprisoned and he needs special attention and medical care.

"His beloved ones, families and freedom loving people inside and outside South Africa are missing him."

Fawu is establishing a trust to look after the welfare of Mpetha.

FAMILY

CAMPAIGNING. Esther Mpetha addresses a press conference on her father's plight

Thirty 'political' trials in W Cape

TRIALS

THE following is a list of political trials in the Western Cape in July.

July 3: Noel Williams, contravening restriction order, Cape Town Regional Court.

Julu 4: Mziwoxolo Mfeketo and Xolile Jaxa, terrorism, Cape Town Regional Court.

July 4: Mzonke "Whitey" Jacobs, contravening restriction order, Athlone Regional Court.

July 4: P Njozela, public violence, Bellville Magistrates' Court.

July 5: Five youths, charges of malicious damage to property, Hopefield Magistrates Court.

July 5: Mangaliso Dolosi, public violence, Athlone Magistrates' Court.

July 6: J Adams, assault and resisting arrest, Oudtshoorn Regional Court.

July 7: Allie Parker, publishing subversive literature, Parow Regional Court.

July 7: V Hlombe and six others, murder, Mitchells Plain Regional Court.

Julu 7: Abbey Angel, assault, Vredenberg Regional Court.

July 10: Johnny Issel, furthering the aims of the ANC, Goodwood Regional Court.

July 14: Audrey Mlakaza, Zodwa Mtandeki, Bukelwa Jerremiah, Kholeka Khombela, Mvuleni Yengeni, Nowhi Yengeni, and Shirley Yengeni, contravening the emergency regulations, Cape Town Regional Court.

July 17: Elliot Mthwa, Makhosonke Matoto, Mzwabantu Nciyabo, and 10 others, public violence, Wynberg Regional Court.

July 17: A youth who may not be named, public violence, Cape Town Regional Court.

July 17: Former SOUTH editor Rashid Seria, contravening the emergency media regulations, Cape Town Magistrates Court.

July 17: Mxolisi Zide, Fumanekile Magwelu, and Mongameli Masumpa, public violence, Athlone Regional Court.

July 18: W Lumkwana, assault, Athlone Regional Court.

July 18: Geobani Xhegwana, attempted murder, malicious damage to property, alternatively settiing off an explosive device, Caledon Regional Court.

July 20: Ashley Kriel inquest, Wynberg Magistrates Court.

July 21: Mninawe Godongwana, possession of a firearm, Wynberg Regional Court.

July 21: Veliswa Mhlawuli, Linda Tsotsi, terrorism, Cape Town Regional Court.

July 21: Mzwandile Mzamane, public violence, Athlone Regional Court.

July 24: Robert Maliti, terrorism, Cape Town Regional Court.

July 26: Marjorie Lewis and Terence Lucas, furthering the aims of the ANC, Wynberg Regional Court.

July 26: Zamile Hleli, public violence, Athlone Regional Court.

July 27: Gem Mlumko, murder, Hofmeyer Regional Court.

July 27: Allie Parker, violation of media regulations, Cape Town Regional Court.

July 31: John de Vos, public violence, Cape Town Regional Court.

July 31: Reverend Dirkie Marais, possession of prohibited material, Worcester Regional Court.

Restrictees fear after attack

RESTRICTIONS

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Restricted ex-detainees here are living in fear of "death squads" following a petrol bomb attack on one of their homes.

Gugile Nkwinti, former executive member of the Port Alfred Civic Association, and his family were lucky to escape injury when the bomb exploded outside his bedroom window at 2.00am last Wednesday.

Neighbours told him later that they had seen strange men near his home earlier in the week.

An Eastern Cape police spokesman said they were not aware of the incident, but added that it would be investigated.

Meanwhile, relatives of former detainees from the region who have written to Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok asking him to lift restriction orders are continuing with their Stop the Restrictions campaign.

The people, who told Vlok about the effect of restrictions on their children, have yet to receive a reply from the Minister.

Hundreds of former detainees throughout the country were placed under stringent restriction orders after being released. - ANA

MORE than 20 Western Cape and Southern Cape activists have been heavily restricted under emergency regulations.

They include Noel Williams, Dorothy Zihlangu, Roseberry Sonto, Christmas Tinto, Willie Hoffmeyr, Zoli Malindi, Josseph Marks, Joey Marks, William Thomas, Trevor Manuel, Mzonke Jacobs, Mountain Qumbela, Hilda Ndude, Ebrahim Rasool, Neville van der Rheede, Walter Mputeng, Wilson Sidina, Janet Small, Amy Thornton, Harold Harvey, Nokwanda Pokwana, Reggie Olifant, Derick Jackson and Mbulelo Grootboom.

Oudtshoorn man only emergency detainee

STATE OF EMERGENCY

Hilton McDillain, 23, from Oudtshoorn, is the only emergency detainee being held in the Western and Southern Cape.

Six Guguletu pupils have recently been released after being held under the state of emergency for up to two months. One of them Anthony Madini has been charged with public violence and released on bail of R300.

The others are Basil Mtongaatana, Tutu Majozi, Pelly Bomvana, Thanduxolo Sogani and Siyabulela Dawweti.

SECTION 29

The following people have been held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The number of days they have been held on July 6 is in brackets.

Vuyo Fetsha (178), Robert Thwala (141), Zamile Louw (141), Ngconde Balfour (141), Mdoda Daki (141), Siphiwo Qila (89), Lungile Mfobo (89) and Reggie Mzamo, who has been held since May.

Pamphlet probed

THE security police are investigating whether a pamphlet, issued by the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa and widely distributed in Athlone last week, contravenes the emergency regulations.

Police last week informed the Congress of South African Trade Unions that they were investigating possible charges in connection with the pamphlet, a Cosatu spokesperson said.

The pamphlet calls on the community to support the struggle of 17 workers for reinstatement at an Athlone supermarket.

The workers were dismissed from Elite supermarket in Klipfontein Road after they did not come to work on December 16 last year.

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South 6-12/7/89.

Star 6/7/89 (327)

Police seize book from publisher

The manager of Ravan Press, Mr Glen Moss, said yesterday police had seized one book only from the company's premises in Braamfontein after a three-hour search on Tuesday.

The book was "South Africa between Reform and Revolution" by Alex Callinicos.

Police seized notebooks, politcal documents, photographs and a poster from the offices of The Other Press Service and South African Research Services in Braamfontein. — Staff Reporter.

Pamphlet banned

By SHAUN HARRIS 327

A BANNED rightwing pamphlet smearing Indian families who have moved into a whites-only area has been defended by the mysterious figure who compiled it.

Mr Michael Moore is named as the author of the pamphlet attacking Indians who have moved into Westville, near Durban.

The pamphlet, banned in Friday's Government Gazette, has already been dropped off at many homes in wealthy Westville by a distribution company.

Entitled The Facts in a Nutshell, it is a searing attack on Indians and black people, claiming that if they move into white areas, health hazards, uncontrolled breeding and rampant violence will result. S Times 9/7/89.

But Mr Moore said yesterday he was "amazed" by the banning of his pamphlet.

Describing himself as the "unofficial acting chairman" of the Westville Action Committee, a fringe anti-mixed-areas group, he said he stood by the sentiments expressed in the pamphlet.

SA wanted Starstreak 'at any cost'

Cape Times 10/7/89 327

Missile firm was 'target of espionage', says arms dealer

LONDON. — The arms dealer at the centre of a South African attempt to steal the secrets of Britain's Starstreak missile said at the weekend its makers, Short Brothers of Belfast, were the target of a long-running, well-financed South African espionage operation.

Mr Douglas Bernhardt, who was arrested with three Ulster Loyalists in Paris two months ago as they allegedly tried to hand over missile parts, added that the Belfast plant was still vulnerable despite a security clampdown.

Mr Bernhardt, 41, a Geneva-based arms dealer, revealed Pretoria's plans to obtain "at any cost" the guidance system of the Starstreak missile, the most advanced system of its kind, in an attempt to beat the world-wide arms embargo.

Interviewed in a secluded hotel on the French-Swiss border after his release from prison last week, he also disclosed that it was highly classified parts of the missile guidance system, not a stolen replica, which came close to being handed over by Ulster Loyalists to a South African diplomat working for Armscor.

His statement showed that Armscor was willing to stop at nothing and would do anything to obtain Britain's secret missile guidance technology, which it needs for its own air defence missiles.

British government spokesmen have tried to minimise the security breach by maintaining that the three Ulster Loyalists arrested by French intelligence officers in a Paris hotel were attempting to sell a dummy Blowpipe missile-launcher of little technical value.

Mr Bernhardt, an American citizen, was released by the French authorities after 10 weeks in prison during which he was interviewed by agents of the DST, France's internal security service.

He insisted that the Paris deal was purely "a commercial money-for-technology deal with no guns involved".

The Royal Ulster Constabulary has little doubt that the the money would be used to buy arms for Protestant paramilitaries. A straight £1 million (about R4,4m) is rumoured still to be on offer to anyone who can deliver the vital computerised "brain" of the Shorts missile.

The Starstreak is recognised as being four years ahead of any portable air defence system the Russians or Americans have developed. It will enter service with the British Army in the mid-1990s.

Mr Bernhardt's arrest in April in Paris came moments after French police swooped on the three members of the paramilitary Ulster Resistance who were allegedly concluding the sale of the stolen missile parts with the South African diplomat Mr Daniel Storm in the nearby Hilton Hotel.

Mr Bernhardt said the DST agents told him they had been pressured by Britain to make the arrests. The French would have preferred to have waited before moving in, since premature arrests may have jeopardised the chances of securing convictions.

The three Loyalist paramilitaries, Mr Noel Little, Mr Samuel Quinn and Mr James King — none of whom works at Shorts — are unlikely to come to trial for another year, according to French legal sources.

The French examining magistrate will travel to Belfast this month for consultations with the RUC Special Branch.

Mr Storm, operating under diplomatic immunity, was expelled from France with two other unnamed South African diplomats and returned home soon after the arrests.

The affair led to the expulsion from London of three South African diplomats as well.

Mr Bernhardt said the Paris rendezvous was "the first step in a long-running operation with unlimited funds" by Armscor following orders from Defence Minister General Magnus Malan that Armscor should manufacture its own air defence missile.

After the loss of many troops during air attacks by Cuban pilots in recent Angolan operations, the SADF see the lack of an effective air defence missile as their Achilles heel.

However, according to Mr Bernhardt, it is "highly unlikely" that senior South African politicians knew, or wanted to know, the details of Armscor's espionage operation. This supports the assurance given to Mrs Margaret Thatcher by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that that Pretoria had not sanctioned the meeting in Paris.

Mr Bernhardt, looking pale and thin, is nervous about his future in the arms business. He acknowledged his long-standing role as a "Mr Fixit" or commercial agent for Armscor "among other clients in the defence business" was ruined by the British government's outrage at the discovery of the Armscor espionage operation.

Speaking in a secluded hotel near his home three minutes drive from the Swiss border, Mr Bernhardt refused to discuss other deals he was involved in on behalf of South Africa.

At the time of the arrests in Paris late April, the British government was locked in the final stages of negotiations with the Canadian corporation Bombardier for the £30 million (about R132m) sale of Shorts Brothers. — Daily Telegraph

Star 11/7/89

Swoop on six Sash women at festival

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Own Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN — Security Branch and uniformed police swooped on six women from the Black Sash at the Grahamstown Arts Festival yesterday.

They ordered them to remove placards calling for an end to apartheid, group areas, the death penalty, conscription, house arrest and detention.

Police have maintained a high profile here since the festival began last Thursday.

However, residents and visitors alike are aware that bag-snatching and mugging have been rife during the festival.

Two young women, attacked outside the 1820 Settlers Monument, were told by the police they were not the first mugging victims.

They were also told, they said, that police were too busy to patrol the unlit road between the nearby Settlers Motel and the monument.

other.

1.20: Transmiss

SA hit squad active in Botswana — claim

ARG-Times 13/7/89

By BARRY STREEK

THE Botswana security forces suspect that a South African hit squad is operating in the country.

But in Pretoria the police yesterday rejected the Botswana claim.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said he was not aware of any such action on the part of the police.

Botswana Defence Force commander Lieutenant-General Mompati Morafhe said in Gaborone yesterday that a public statement about the matter could jeopardise the investigation, but added that security forces had always suspected the presence of "such people" in the country.

Claims about the presence of a South African hit squad in the city appeared in a lead article in a Botswana newspaper, "Mmegi", last Friday.

SAP sources said it was possible that the "hit squad" in Botswana, if it existed, was composed of dissident ANC members.

Emergency restriction case goes to the Supreme Court

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ARGUS 13/7/89

Court Reporter

A CAPE TOWN Regional Court magistrate yesterday referred a precedent-setting case, which could affect the lives of hundreds of people placed under emergency restriction orders, to the Supreme Court for trial.

The state is charging former Western Cape Cosatu vice-chairman and Atlantis community leader Mr Noel Williams with having contravened the conditions of his release from detention by leaving his restricted area on September 22 last year without permission.

In the judgment, magistrate Mr J D Hugget found that he could not pronounce on the defence's application to have the charge declared invalid because, in terms of the Magistrate's Court Act, the matter rested solely with the Supreme Court.

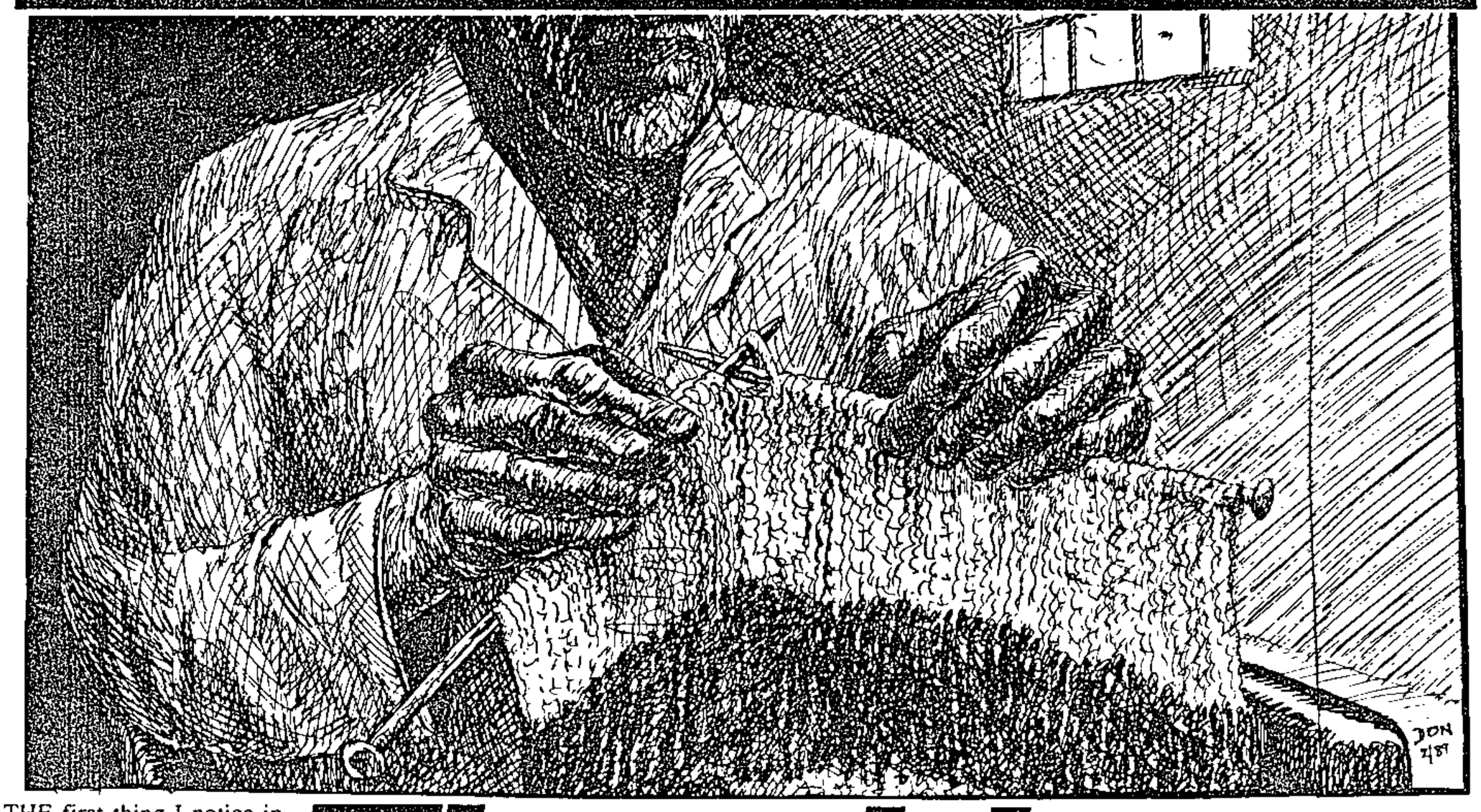
He therefore used the powers vested in the Criminal Procedure Act to refer the case to the Supreme Court for summary trial.

The defence, lead by advocate Mr Dullar Omar, argued that Mr Williams, 42, of 19 Alicia Crescent, Avondale, Atlantis, had assumed that his restriction orders had expired when the 1987 state of emergency ended on June 10 1988 and had not been renewed with the immediate start of the new 1988 state of emergency.

Mr Omar further submitted that emergency regulation 3 (8) (c) of proclamation R97 of 1988, whereby all restriction orders were automatically carried over from the one state of emergency to the next, was invalid.

Mr Williams was released from detention in September 1987.

FACE TO FACE WITH OSCAR MPETHA



The old man In Ward G13

A chance encounter with imprisoned trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, serving five years for terrorism, came as much of a surprise to him as to me.

In a private room off a main ward at Groote Schuur Hospital, I recognise a greying man knitting a jersey.

With no warder in sight, I slip in for a personal chat:

SPECIAL REPORT

By HENRY LUDSKI

THE first thing I notice in Oscar Mpetha's hospital ward is the number of Father's Day cards at his bedside.

"For a father who has loved so much," is the message on one from his daughter Esther.

The card could so easily have been been from one of thousands of workers throughout the country who regard Mpetha as the "father of trade unionism in South Africa".

My first glimpse of him is of an old, grey-haired man dressed in a hospital gown sitting at his bedside knitting a mauve jersey. Intermittently, he glances towards the doorway.

The apprehension and surprise on his face as I enter his "prison" makes way for a broad smile as I identify myself.

All the time as we talk, Mpetha's eyes dart between me and an empty chair in the hallway where a prison guard, who has slipped away for a short while, can almost always be found.

He drops his knitting as the discussions switch between his knitting, his favourite hospital past-time, and a possible early release.

The minutes tick away slowly. The guard is still not back.

Happiest

Mpetha's yearning for freedom is no more evident than when the discussion shifts to his forthcoming birthday.

The happiest person in the world on his 80th birthday on August 5 would be a free Oscar Mpetha, celebrating at home with his family.

It will be a home without his wife Rose, who died in 1986, his 36-year-old son Karl who died last year, and his youngest son Themba who is living in the United Kingdom.

After four years in prison a lot has changed for him.

He is hopeful of an early release but realises that his refusal of a conditional pardon if he renounces violence does not count in his favour.

He is eager to find out more about British PM Margaret Thatcher's call for his release and the newspaper I brought along is quickly paged through for any further elaboration.

Mpetha is in a general ward with about 20 other patients, many of them not even aware of his presence.

Then there are those who know his every movement from the time he goes for therapy to when he can be found in the "television room" with other patients.

For many of them he too has become a "father" figure.

Not one to idle away his life in "prison", the veteran trade unionist has knitted 15 jerseys for his grandchildren and four great-grandchildren.

The cabled jersey he is busy on at the moment is the third he is knitting for the hospital to sell for charity.

He shows me the intricate magazine pattern, faded and kept in a plastic sleeve.

And he laughs as he recalls reading an article in SOUTH which said that while millions of workers throughout the country would be observing May Day he would be spending his day knitting — which is exactly what happened.

Mpetha was jailed for terrorism in 1985 after his appeal failed. Most of this time has been spent under armed guard in a Groote Schuur Hospital ward which, under the circumstances, he has tried to make as homely as is possible.

On the pedestal next to his bed is a pot plant given to him by a relative on his birthday.

Mpetha, who is a diabetic, is not the frail old man I expected to find. Instead, he looks remarkably well.

Devoted

He is as excited about the prospect of freedom — which will come in 11 months time if he is not granted a remission of sentence — as he is about the dream house which has been presented to him by the trade union to which he has devoted so many of his years.

The Food and Allied Workers Union, called the Food and Canning Workers Union during Mpetha's many years as general-secretary, has set up a Trust Fund to "see to his health and welfare needs while in prison and after his release".

Besides his bed is a hospital library trolley with a collection of about 20 books all of which, Mpetha points out, he has already read.

Mpetha's leg was amputated a few years ago and he walks with great difficulty, but he leaves his walking-stick in the corner of the room as he takes three awkward paces to the book trolley.

From it he retrieves the architect's plans and artist's impression of the house included in the Trust Fund proposal and spreads it out on his bed.

He elaborates on the proposals, lightheartedly mulling over the implications of the new lifestyle it presents.

The prison guard has since returned and surprisingly takes up his position in front of the door without being to perturbed by the discussions inside.

The minutes tick away ...

Jailing Mpetha a 'callous' action

THE continued imprisonment of veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha is a reminder of the government's "callousness".

This was said by Mandla Gxanyana, general-secretary of the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu), of which Mpetha is a former general-secretary.

Mpetha, who has already served 49 months of a five-year sentence for terrorism, celebrates his 80th birthday on August 5.

Mpetha has spent most of this period under armed guard at Groote Schuur Hospital because of ill health.

The intensification of a Fawu campaign for Mpetha's release comes at a time of increasing international pressure on the South African government for his release.

It includes a call last week by British PM Margaret Thatcher for the release of political prisoners such as African National Congress leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpetha.

Mpetha, born in the Mount Frere district in the Transkei on August 5 1909, is a former Cape ANC chairman and president of the United Democratic Front.

Gxangana said union officials, assisted by lawyers, are presently "putting the finishing touches" to a Trust Fund which will see to Mpetha's "health and welfare needs".

Several branches and regional structures of the union are also "in the process of setting up a committee which will mobilise support" for the campaign to secure Mpetha's release.

"In an effort to highlight the plight of Oscar Mpetha the union's education department is putting together a package of his life history which is to be disseminated to our 79 000 members nationally.

"Fawu is soon to meet with other progressive organisations with whom Comrade Mpetha has had links to work out a common approach to campaign for his release," said Gxangana.

Police, prisons probe 'strait-jacket' death

By HENRY LUDSKI

A YOUNG woman prisoner was rushed to hospital in a state of shock and haemorrhaging internally after allegedly being held in a strait-jacket for 22 hours.

However, in spite of frantic efforts by doctors, 20-year-old Carol Anne Meyer died two days later.

Now her mother, Mrs Josephine Meyer of Parkwood, is demanding a full inquiry into her daughter's death which is being investigated by police and prison authorities.

Meyer, 39, has already taken legal advice. A private pathologist has also been appointed.

"My child was always strong and healthy," said a distraught Meyer.

"She was already in jail. Why did they have to punish her further by putting her in a strait-jacket?"

Her daughter, who was popularly known as Debbie, was convicted in October last year of crimen injuria, resisting arrest and robbery.

She had served nine months of her two-year sentence.

Relatives who visited her recently said she had always been cheerful and at no stage did she complain of illnesses or conditions at Pollsmoor Prison.

On June 30 Meyer was admitted to Victoria Hospital in a state of shock and haemorrhaging internally.

She was then transferred to Groote Schuur Hospital where her condition initially stabilised. It later deteriorated and she died on July 2.

Before her death, Meyer is understood to have told doctors about having been kept in a strait-jacket for 22 hours. She claimed it was so tight she could hardly breathe.

Meyer was buried on Wednesday.

"I didn't have any money to bury Debbie, but I would not allow her to buried by the government," said her mother.

The death of the young prisoner is understood to have perplexed doctors who have been unable to establish the exact cause of her death.

However, they believe that being kept in a strait-jacket for at least 22 hours may have contributed to her death.

Doctors approached for comment described the practice of placing prisoners in strait-jackets for disciplinary measures as "totally barbaric".

A SA Prisons Service spokesperson confirmed that an investigation into the cause of Meyer's death was being conducted departmentally and by the SA Police.

"The assurance can be given that, as is customary of the SA Prisons Service, everything possible will be done to have the matter clarified and properly dealt with."

Is this the man Botha met?

327 South 13-19/7/89

Is this the face PW saw? Many who have seen Nelson Mandela in recent times agree that the "identikit" picture above, sketched from descriptions provided by his visitors and family, closely resembles the jailed ANC leader. They say it is almost perfect except for the lips, which are slightly fuller than Mandela's.

• FROM PAGE 1

28 years, "namely that dialogue with the Mass Democratic Movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country".

Mandela said he was making the statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with Botha.

"I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development," he said.

"I would also like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage.

"As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa," Mandela said.

327 South 13-19/7/89.

● Mandela's healing role — Page 9

Rivonia men toffed up for Mandela party

NELSON MANDELA'S fellow Rivonia trialists being held at Pollsmoor will for the first time in almost 26 years wear civilian clothes when they attend a function at Victor Verster next week.

According to family sources, a tailor visited Pollsmoor Prison to measure Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba and Wilton Mkwayi.

The suits were delivered this week.

The five ANC stawarts, jailed for life after their arrest at Rivonia on July 11 1963, are apparently on a guest list for a function at Mandela's prison home at Victor Verster.

It could not be ascertained whether the function is to celebrate Mandela's birthday on July 28 or him being awarded a law degree by Unisa.

Mono Badela reports from Johannesburg that Mandela family members, including his grandson and family living in the Transkei, will be visiting the ANC leader on his 71st birthday next Tuesday.

Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said arrangements for the birthday visits had been made.

Meanwhile, the world's most famous political prisoner issued a statement this week in response to the meeting last week between himself and State President PW Botha.

Mandela said a statement issued by the government after the meeting did not deviate from the position he had taken over the past

• TURN TO PAGE 3

By HENRY LUDSKI

POLICE have swooped on a Claremont block of flats and given almost all tenants until the end of the month to get out or face prosecution.

The hounded tenants say the raid is a pre-election Group Areas crackdown.

At the end of July, a 12-month grace period extended to the tenants by Claremont station commander, Major C M J Jansen, expires and they become liable for prosecution.

Jansen granted the tenants the period of grace so they could find "lawful alternative accommodation".

But the tenants are reluctant to quit their homes.

"We are all living happily together and we are not going to move," said Mr Neil Ernstzen.

Over the past two years, about 10 Newmarket Place tenants have at some stage been approached by the police.

However, an early Sunday morning visit this week has heightened fears that action against them is imminent.

"I was a total wreck for the few minutes the police were here," said a resident, who did not want to be named.

Emigrate

"I thought they were coming to put us out and I was worried about what I would do with my children. I feel terribly insecure."

The tenants' Group Areas Act nightmare began soon after the opening of a National Party election office in their block of flats during the last election in 1987.

The police action has already resulted in one resident having his fingerprints taken, a few others quitting their flats rather than face a confrontation with the authorities, and at least one other family applying to emigrate to Australia.

Mr Leslie Vickerman, the owner of the block of flats, confirmed that residents had informed him of the police ultimatum but claimed he had been given an assurance by the office of the Attorney-General (A-G) that they had "nothing to worry about".

However, this was denied by the A-G, Mr Neil Rossouw, who said his office would continue with prosecutions in terms of the Group Areas Act, as it was still on the statute books.

A police spokesperson in Pretoria confirmed the Claremont Group Areas investigation.

Is this the man Botha met?

Is this the face PW saw? Many who have seen Nelson Mandela in recent times agree that the "identikit" picture above, sketched from descriptions provided by his visitors and family, closely resembles the jailed ANC leader. They say it is almost perfect except for the lips, which are slightly fuller than Mandela's.

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• TURN TO PAGE

South 13-19/7/89.

Lift ban on ANC – writers

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — Afrikaans writers have agreed with the African National Congress that apartheid must be rejected, the ban on the ANC lifted, the state of emergency ended, political prisoners released, troops removed from the townships and laws which ban legitimate political activity abrogated.

The writers committed themselves to work for these objectives after a four-day meeting with an ANC delegation at the Victoria Falls.

Forty-five South Africans, mostly Afrikaans writers, met an ANC delegation that included cultural representatives and writers.

Among those who attended the conference were Andre Brink, Breyten Breytenbach, Etienne van Heerden, Antjie Krog, John Miles, Ampie Coetzee, Gerrit Olivier, Hein Wilhemse and Jeannette Ferreira.

The writers said they wanted to see a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

A communique said they committed themselves to work for the objectives outlined.

The gathering spoke of finding a truly representative South African literature, in which Afrikaans, freed of its racist connotations, would naturally find its place.

It agreed to encourage the creation of national literature departments at universities.

Reconsider Press curbs — TML chairman

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LIZ ROUSE

GOVERNMENT should give serious thought to the damage Press restrictions do to the public good and the country's image, says Times Media Limited chairman Pat Retief in his annual review.

"We believe the introduction of these powers was ill-advised and we urge the authorities to give serious thought to the damage which those laws affecting the Press do, not only to our country's image, but to the public good which is best served by rapid and credible means of communication." B/Day 13/7/89

Retief warns that when credible sources of information are restricted they are replaced with rumour and uncertainty. The public could not take rational decisions unless it was provided with accurate, timely and credible information.

● See Page 7

327 W mail 14-20/7/89.

Death in a hail of bullets. Verdict: No-one responsible

Student leader Caiphus Nyoka died in a hail of bullets almost two years ago. Police admit shooting him, but say they were threatened with a knife. This week, no-one was found responsible

A MAGISTRATE who found police shot dead a Daveyton student leader at his home two years ago has found no-one criminally liable for his death.

Magistrate JP Myburgh — who repeatedly referred to the deceased as "the accused" — delivered judgement on Wednesday in an inquest into the death of Caiphus Nyoka, who died in a hail of police bullets.

"I am certainly unhappy. I feel shattered," said family lawyer Amichant Soman after the judgement in the Benoni Magistrates' Court. Soman said he planned to study the judgement and hoped to apply for a review of the findings.

Nyoka's family and friends, who filled the tiny courtroom, sat silently as the magistrate said he found no-one had "brought about any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence."

The inquest court was presented with two opposing versions of what happened on August 24 1987, the night Nyoka died— that of his family and friends and that of the police.

He accepted evidence by the police that they shot Nyoka because they felt threatened — the police claimed he had a knife in his hand.

The police said they had gone to Nyoka's home heavily armed because they believed he was in possession of "terrorist weapons". In evidence, they said they had found only four used AK-47 cartridges.

Myburgh said he did not think the police would plant a knife to incriminate Nyoka. "If the police wanted to plant something, surely they would not have planted a knife. They have access to hand grenades, hand-guns and all sorts of weapons.

"I cannot reject police evidence that the accused (deceased) was armed with a knife. I specifically reject the contention that the police went out to execute the deceased. If so, it is improbable they would act in such a manner," he said.

Myburgh rejected the evidence of Nyoka's family, and of three youths who shared a room with Nyoka on the night of the shooting, as "highly unsatisfactory and unreliable".

He said the youths "contradicted each other on several material points ... All three gave contradictory statements to the police, when they testified under oath and even in the evidence they gave to their legal representatives."

The magistrate said there were also inconsistencies regarding the words "999 Lemba Street, Caiphus Nyoka. Executed six shots. Hands of death", which the witnesses allegedly saw on a blackboard at the police station shortly after the shooting.

The words on the board were not mentioned to the police and none of the three witnesses had explained why not, Myburgh said. "All three wrote down differently how these words were found or written on the board," he added.

Evidence regarding the firing of shots in Nyoka's bedroom was unsatisfactory, he said. Myburgh said Cornelius, Nyoka's brother, and Moses Nyoka, his father, who were sleeping next door to Caiphus Nyoka's room, told the court they had not heard shots, while the three youths sleeping in Nyoka's bedroom said they had heard noises. "The three witnesses used the word 'crackers' to describe the shots," he said.

The inquest magistrate dismissed the evidence of Nyoka's brother as unsatisfactory and unreliable, saying he had a motive not to tell the truth because Nyoka was his brother. The magistrate added that Cornelius had told the court that while in his room he had heard people talking but failed to hear nine gunshots.

However, evidence on behalf of the minister of law and order — by the policemen — was similarly unsatisfactory and there were contradictions between sergeants Engelbrecht, Marais and Stander.

He dismissed the submission by the family's lawyer that the police tailored their evidence. "Their evidence (of the police) does not support such a finding," he said.

's free year
y Mail

Tea at Tuynhuys — it's not yet time to party

Although of huge symbolic importance, the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha has to be seen as a step towards a beginning rather than the beginning itself, argues SHAUN JOHNSON

NEWS of Nelson Mandela's tea-taking with PW Botha threw the whole of South Africa into tumult — not least the vast numbers of people who regard themselves as his lifelong supporters.

And his statement on Wednesday was too terse to settle the questions that had arisen.

Who requested the meeting? What was discussed? Was there a genuine attempt to keep it a secret, or was it leaked? What is the government playing at? And, most important, have "negotiations" been brought any closer?

The brevity displayed by both Kobie Coetsee and Mandela — as well as the silence from PW Botha — has ensured that it will be some time before such questions are authoritatively answered.

But amid the confusion of the past week, some beacons of clarity have emerged. One is that Mandela was not, as had been hinted at initially, an unwilling participant in the meeting. Another is that he clearly told no-one about it beforehand. A third is that whatever did happen during those 45 fateful minutes in Tuynhuys, it wasn't "negotiations".

Each of these facts has an important bearing on any attempt to see beyond the welter of information and innuendo the encounter has encouraged.

The meeting has changed some things, but not everything. It has conferred an extraordinary legitimacy on the African National Congress, courtesy of the government. At the same time it has raised questions (respectful and discreet, but earnest still) about the potential for Mandela undertaking initiatives on his own, when he thinks it opportune.

On both sides, state and resistance, this makes for a measure of fluidity in previously granite-like positions: it is, at least, possible to meet. Even if the purpose is to share tea and not much more, the potential significance should not be lost.

But the saga is separate from the much bigger issue of a negotiated settlement in South Africa, and many commentators have got dangerously carried away.

The "democratic movement", through its spokesmen like the Rev Frank Chikane and Saki Macozoma of the South African Council of Churches, is quite right to rail against the euphoric headlines which equate tea with the first round of negotiations about the transformation of South Africa.

"Negotiations" still mean very different things to the resistance (external and internal) and the state.

The position of the former is detailed and clear, and becoming more so by the day, as consultations proceed apace. The government, for its part, has issued a manifesto on negotiations, couched in the ambivalent newspeak of the National Party.

It is imperative that sympathisers of the broad anti-apartheid movement understand the resistance's ground rules for eventual, serious negotiations. These are set out in two crucial documents, one drafted last month and the other nearly two years old.

In the first, a summary by delegates of the "mass democratic movement" of their meeting with top-level ANC officials in Lusaka on June 6, there is an unequivocal acceptance that after the elections "the regime will make positive steps towards negotiations and towards meeting the preconditions set in 1987".

The "1987" reference is to the second document: the ANC National Executive Committee's statement on negotiations, issued in Lusaka in October of that year, and specifically reaffirmed by the NEC last month.

The 1987 preconditions, and these can be regarded as authoritative, are that the goverment would have to create a climate conducive to negotiations by, at the very least:

- Unconditionally releasing all political prisoners, detainees, captured freedom fighters and prisoners of war, as well as ordering the cessation of political trials,
- Lifting the State of Emergency, withdrawing the army and police from the townships,
- Repealing all repressive legislation and all laws empowering the regime to limit freedom of assembly, speech, the press and so on.

It is the realisation that the government could conceivably address the substance of these — thus gaining the support of Western and even some African leaders — that causes the MDM document to conclude: "It is necessary for us to collectively review our position on negotiations ... to find an appropriate response that fends off this initiative in a manner that does not create division in our ranks; does not result in the demobilisation of the masses; does not result in any lessening of pressure from the international arena; and results in us maintaining the initiative against the regime."

Negotiations are therefore on the agenda as, indeed, they were in October 1987.

But here is the unchanging bottom line, and it is presented in bold type in the document to prove it: "This and only this should be the object of any negotiating process."

This is the reason that resistance leaders have been so concerned to underscore the fact that the Botha/Mandela encounter did not constitute the start of negotiations.

It would also run directly counter to the ANC's insistence, in the 1987 document, that it "once more reaffirmed its opposition to any secret negotiations. We firmly believe that the people themselves must take part in shaping their destiny, and would have to be involved in any process of negotiations."

The MDM document accepts that several jailed leaders could shortly be released, that an African could find himself in the Cabinet, that the State of Emergency could be lifted, and that an "open-ended Indaba" could be proposed by State President-elect FW de Klerk.

But this will not be enough, and "we have to present proposals on this issue before the rest of the world comes up with something. The world must deal with our proposal rather than us having to deal with another initiative ... we have to ensure that we do not give the false impression that the regime is prepared to hold genuine negotiations".

The Mandela meeting was very dramatic, and of tremendous symbolic importance. But it was not the whistle to signal kick-off.

What it does mark is the beginning of a shift, which has a long way to run yet, and could founder.

Shadow of Stompie over Winnie's return to favour

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE conflict between Winnie Mandela and the "mass democratic movement" (MDM) over the actions of her "football club" is unresolved — but in crucial respects, she appears to have been rehabilitated.

Following last week's meeting between President PW Botha and her husband, Nelson Mandela, she is apparently serving as a conduit between the MDM and the jailed ANC leader.

This week, she issued a statement denying that a birthday party, involving leaders of the democratic movement both in and out of jail, would be held for Nelson Mandela at Victor Verster Prison.

She also gave an interview to the BBC clarifying the circumstances of Mandela's meeting with Botha, saying her husband had not been given the opportunity to prepare for the encounter.

In a statement this week clarifying issues surrounding the Botha/Mandela meeting, the South African Council of Churches said: "It is important to note that this incident broke out before differences between Mrs Mandela and community leaders that arose out of the Stompie incident had been resolved."

In March this year, MDM representatives called for Winnie Mandela to be isolated following allegations that her "football club" was linked to the murder of Tumahole child activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei.

In a statement distancing itself from her, the MDM said: "We are outraged at Mrs Mandela's obvious complicity in the recent abductions (of Stompie and three other youngsters). Had Stompie and his colleagues not been abducted by Mrs Mandela's 'football team', he would have been alive today."

Although she maintained a careful silence, Winnie Mandela sat this week with MDM leaders at two press conferences called by community leaders and the Mandela family. With her were Congress of South African Trade Unions assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and SACC secretary-general Frank Chikane.

As she left Cape Town after a brief visit to her husband this week, she told the press she would not give a statement concerning the Botha/Mandela visit until she had reported back to community leaders who had mandated her.

The MDM's dilemma over the Winnie issue could deepen in the near future. "It is our view that the government has got an ace up its sleeve, namely the Stompie issue," said the SACC, which has been central to communication between the jailed ANC leader and the MDM this week.

The SACC said some argued "that the government may release Mandela at the same time as it blows up the Stompie case. If it does so, it will subject Winnie Mandela to a trial by media whose objective will be to tie Nelson's hands and defuse the political implications and impact of his release."

The police this week announced the completion of an investigation into the murder of Seipei. The docket of the complete investigation now rests in the hands of the attorney-general.

The MDM has for some time tried to reconcile two differing approaches within its ranks to the scandal surrounding Winnie Mandela.

One approach is in keeping with the ANC call earlier this year for Winnie Mandela's rehabilitation. The other finds expression in the MDM's statement in March that "the only concern for the anti-apartheid groups was that people should not associate with Mrs Mandela, or participate in initiatives embarked on by her, in such a way that it could be misconstrued as being done at the behest of the mass democratic movement".

Kobie Coetsee ... party loyalist behind the Mandela-Botha meeting

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

Loyalty is key to riddle of Kobie

KOBIE COETSEE, the 58-year-old minister of justice and the government's chief negotiator with African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, is a man of contradictions, whose political about-turns can only be explained by his unquestioning loyalty to the National Party.

In recent months, he has talked a great deal about the need for a Bill of Rights and democracy.

Coetsee claimed at the NP's federal congress that his party was committed to democracy because there could be no legitimacy for a system which lacked participation by all.

"Democracy thus requires, if it is honest, equal and equivalent franchise for all citizens at all levels. Denial of the franchise to a group, or manipulation to render it unequal or not equivalent, is not justifiable and gives rise to never-ending unrest," he explained.

Yet, Coetsee heads the very department, the Prisons Service, which accommodated thousands of people arbitrarily detained in terms of the Emergency regulations — and the vast majority of them had been denied the franchise because of their race.

Easy talk about a Bill of Rights and civil liberties during an election campaign needs some perspective. Coetsee, for instance, heads the department which "lists" people in terms of the Internal Security Act. Hundreds of people, from Donald Woods to Oliver Tambo, cannot be quoted in South Africa — and he personally authorises the restrictions.

Freedom of the press and information is another fundamental civil liberty, which would be entrenched in a Bill of Rights. Yet, Coetsee was the very person who threatened to close down *Vrye Weekblad* shortly after it appeared and then demanded that it pay a R30 000 deposit before it could be registered.

He argued in Riversdale this week that the talks between Mandela and PW Botha were "a breakthrough". But in parliament last year, he said the demand by the ANC and the United Democratic Front for the release of Mandela was in reality merely a huge bluff, as Mandela and his fellow prisoners were worth far more to them in jail than out of it.

He said the ANC had created such an image of resistance and martyrdom around Mandela and the ANC "old guard" that it had become a more effective instrument for their cause than terrorism, adding that their release could also threaten established positions and thinking within the organisation.

In a revealing statement in the context of the Mandela-Botha talks, Coetsee added that the release of such people could be a tactical and strategic step whereby the government could deal its enemies a resounding blow.

Coetsee's contradictions reflect a a commitment to keeping the NP in power, while using it as an instrument of reform.

A lawyer by training, Coetsee was elected MP for Bloemfontein West in 1968. He has climbed the party ladder steadily, becoming the minister of justice in 1980 and leader of the NP in the Orange Free State five years later.

On the way, he served on the Schlebusch Commission into the National Union of South African Students, the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement, and was deputy minister of justice, defence and national security before being appointed to the cabinet.

Today, as a close confidant of FW de Klerk and a member of the State Security Council, he is an influential member of the government and will play a decisive role in unfolding government policy, as his part in the Mandela-Botha talks indicates.

Although he has appalling press relations — getting a statement from him or a decision on whether to allow a "listed" person to be quoted is a nightmarish process, which has frustrated many journalists — he is likeable, direct and friendly. Unlike many of his colleagues, he rarely makes a vituperative statement.

His political style was reflected in parliament this year when he paid tribute to Helen Suzman's "tenacity and tremendous influence in opposition politics ... The honourable member for Houghton has over a number of years been assuming the role of mother superior towards prime ministers, ministers of justice and law and order, issuing directives unabated". He even urged Suzman to reconsider her decision to resign.

However, as the archetypal party loyalist, he does not often break ranks. His outspokenly *verligte* speech at the NP's federal congress was an exception.

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Woman prisoner dies after 'straitjacket ordeal'

(327) WMail 14-20/7/89.

By GAYE DAVIS

A YOUNG woman prisoner died after allegedly being held in a straitjacket for 24 hours before she was admitted to hospital, in shock and suffering from internal bleeding.

Following the death of 20-year-old Carol Anne Meyer, the Cape region of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) this week called for a moratorium on the use of straitjackets on prisoners "until a full public inquiry has been concluded".

Meyer had served nine months of a two-year jail term in Pollsmoor Prison for robbery, crimen injuria and resisting arrest.

Admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital on June 30, she allegedly told doctors that for about 24 hours before her admission to hospital she had been kept in a straitjacket fastened so tightly that she could hardly breathe.

A doctor told the *Weekly Mail* that Meyer was "in total shock and virtually terminal" when admitted to Groote Schuur.

Meyer's mother, Josephine Meyer, is demanding a full inquiry into her daughter's death.

A private pathologist attended a post-mortem examination on July 4 and attorneys put on record that they would be calling for an inquest to be held in open court, so that oral evidence could be heard and witnesses subpoenaed and cross-examined.

The Prisons Act states that "mechanical restraints" may be used only when a prisoner is "displaying threatening or violent behaviour", and not as a form of punishment.

In a letter to the officer commanding Pollsmoor Prison, LHR said: "While at this stage it is not clear whether there is any link between the alleged use of the straitjacket and Debbie Meyer's death, the implications that might be drawn are, to say the least, disturbing.

"Our respectful view is that a moratorium should be declared by the prison regarding the use of straitjackets, if indeed the practice exists, until a full public inquiry has been concluded."

In response to *Weekly Mail* questions Prisons Department representative Major DH Smith said: "An investigation into the cause of death is being conducted departmentally as well as by the South African Police. You will appreciate that the information required by you actually forms part and is subject to the present investigation. The assurance can be given that, as is customary of the Prisons Service, everything possible will be done to have the matter clarified and properly dealt with."

Financial Mail

327 fmail 14/7/89.

MANDELA AND THE ECONOMY

The power of symbolism

There are some important economic considerations which *could* flow from the general conciliatory climate in southern Africa — a climate of change that has been given at least symbolic impetus by the meeting last week between President P W Botha and Nelson Mandela.

The SA economy — by far the dominant one of the region — is being enfeebled by two things. One is our government's own uncertainty over how it should proceed constitutionally, and what impact this policy hiatus will have at the polls. Its frustration is being given expression through financial profligacy: when government doesn't know what to do, it spends money and rakes in as much in taxes as it can. It will go on doing so to strengthen its own political base, and because it deludes itself that by so doing it is somehow fostering constitutional reform. The detrimental impact on the economy is clearly a secondary issue, if one at all.

The Botha-Mandela meeting is clearly part of a political process in this region that not only has its own impetus, but may soon provide the elusive political focus that will enable government to see the need for more sensible and restrained fiscal and monetary policies. Simply put, Pretoria might then distinguish the economic and political wood from the trees.

The process of regional political enlightenment is itself partly rooted in a growing realisation of economic reality. In particular, the devastation and cost of prolonged wars in our northern neighbours and the slower — but equally sure — process of despoilation through collectivisation is bringing new pragmatism into regional relationships.

Hence negotiations are quite far advanced for peace in Angola; SWA-Namibia is moving towards democratic elections; Frelimo in Mozambique is taking sensible steps to foster a subsistence economy through the marketplace and to seek an accord with Renamo; and in Zambia (and to a lesser extent in Zimbabwe) there is a growing realisation that equality and prosperity are often irreconcilable goals.

Indeed, there is growing realisation that the socialist policies applied here and by our neighbours to the north — not always with the best of motives — have impoverished ordinary people. Experience, not only here but in Soviet Russia and China, has shown that collectivisation is the antithesis of freedom.

This pragmatism must have permeated into ANC thinking, however reluctantly and imperfectly. It could be one reason for the meeting between KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC's Oliver Tambo over the relentless violence in Natal between the Zulus and the UDF.

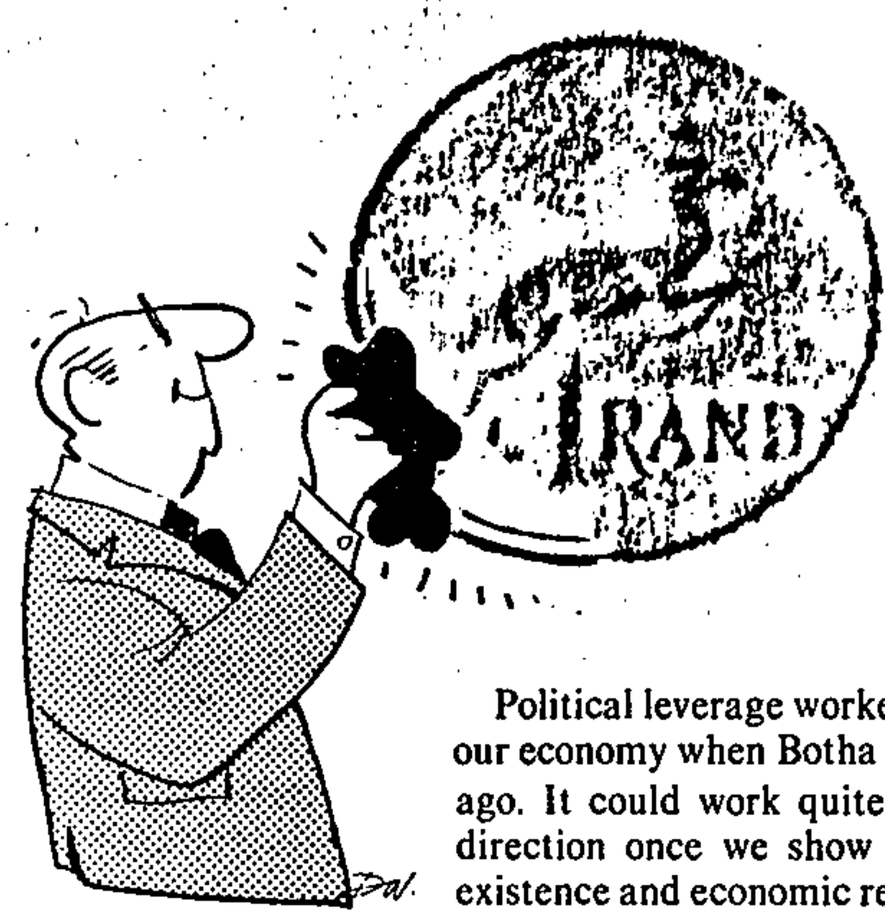
The other cause of our economic enfeeblement has been the capital boycott imposed by the often well-meaning but frustrated nations of the West. Because of it, government here does not see itself able at the same time to follow policies of maximum economic growth and repay within the next few years relatively modest foreign debts. So instead it reverts to inertia.

The capital boycott was imposed unexpectedly only four years ago when a deep economic recession was fostering township violence and President Botha was seen to be faltering on the road to political reform. It took one speech in Durban that proclaimed dramatically his political impotence to wipe more than 30% off the value of the rand in a matter of weeks.

Last week's Tuynhuys meeting, given the process of regional pragmatism, could begin an economic process equally as unexpected that could start putting value back into the rand. There will have, of course, to be sustained progress — constitutionally, diplomatically and economically — to make it stick. But if the dollar and the dollar price of gold do not act irrationally, we would not be surprised to see the rand, especially the financial rand, begin shortly to respond to the good news.

If that happens, this economy — and indeed the southern African region in general — need not head into the recession that is otherwise inevitable next year if things are allowed to go on as they are. The zero economic growth of next year — and the year after — could in fact be positive as prices stabilise and investment increases.

Investors in the West know that this region is richly endowed and has enormous economic potential, as well as the institutions and financial structures to put these resources to good use. They also know that southern African governments have demonstrably been incapable of policies that will enable that wealth to be exploited properly. Once we begin to demonstrate that we are not as foolish as our actions of recent years have shown us to be, they could be as anxious to invest as they were given to flight only a few short years ago.



Political leverage worked dramatically and swiftly against our economy when Botha retreated into apartheid four years ago. It could work quite fast and profoundly in the other direction once we show ourselves capable of sensible coexistence and economic rectitude. At the least it will take the heat out of the foreign debt repayment negotiations. ■

Post-Lusaka raids on PE activists

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SECURITY police raided the homes and offices of Port Elizabeth activists, lawyers and a journalist this week, seizing notes and photographs taken during the recent Five Freedoms Forum visit to the African National Congress in Lusaka.

Among the other items confiscated in pre-dawn raids on eight houses and four offices were End Conscription Campaign pamphlets, posters and videos.

The home and offices of a prominent anti-apartheid lawyer, Vanessa Brereton, were searched. The homes of two other lawyers were also raided.

The office of the Port Elizabeth News Agency was searched and photographed and a PEN journalist's home visited by the police. Other offices raided included the East Cape Adult Learning Project and Frontier Publications. About six policemen were involved in each raid.

Police yesterday confirmed the raids and confiscations.—PEN

Weekly 14-20/7/89.

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Star 15/7/89

Protest themes power a record festival

(327)

ADRIENNE SICHEL

GRAHAMSTOWN — Right-wing terrorism, conscientious objection and children in detention cast dramatic shadows at the record breaking 1989 Standard Bank National Arts Festival here.

Last year the festival sensation was provided by outspoken young Afrikaners in "Piekniek by Dingaan" (or "Die Kinders van Verwoerd") which launched the Gereformeerde Blues Band movement.

This year's event could be subtitled The State of Emergency Syndrome since playwrights, choreographers, actors and and dancers explored the prevailing realities in a highly theatrical manner.

The Wit Wolf's killing spree in Pretoria last year featured at the end of Deon Opperman's acclaimed new play "Stille Nag" about a white Christmas South African-style.

Unknown to his family the brain-damaged brother of an AWB supporter and an ANC activist, witnesses the event on Stijdom Square.

Advertised as a play about "the Breytenbach syndrome", with the theme of "broedertwis", it had members of the exiled writer's family threatening to sue.

Full houses

This image of divided ideology was vividly captured in another Opperman production — the satiric revue "Ah Men", which drew full houses.

In the final sketch the author appears in a costume which is half AWB uniform and half guerilla camouflage. He plays an African and an Afrikaner who are both fighting for existence and freedom.

In "Freedom Now", The Cape Flat Players present a case history of a boy who is detained only to discover his father turned police informer so he could pay for his son's education.

In The Market Theatre's enormously popular "Inyanga about Women in Africa", which, like "Dankie Auntie", played exclusively in a township venue, Gcina Mhlophe muses in her poem "Sitting Alone" what would happen to the child detention issue if Mr President had "a womb and breasts full of milk".

Also at the Recreation Centre was Pieter Dirk Uys's "Just Like Home". It had audiences riveted by the torture scene.

Conscientious objection filtered through in several productions but received full focus in Graham Hopkins well received "Sunday School for Rottweilers" and Nigel Maister's "Faust — Part III" — a UCT Student Drama entry.

If nothing else the 1989 Grahamstown Festival proved that protest theatre has come of age.

PRESS WATCH

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

Focus on future of Mandela

THE potential role which Nelson Mandela could play in South African politics could hardly be better accentuated than the reaction from some politicians to his meeting with the State President and Mandela's own statement this week, Beeld said in an editorial.

The newspaper said the statement was being analysed and interpreted word for word. From the right wing there were signs of hysterics; from the left wing signs of confusion. "Mrs Winnie Mandela reacts more like a nervous politician than a longing wife who hopes to have her husband back home after 25 years," Beeld said.

"The most intriguing aspect is the remarkable similarity between the reaction of the ANC and that of the CP.

"The ANC said the meeting was arranged more for the sake of 'public performance', while Dr Treurnicht suspects that the government wants to turn Mandela into a 'political play-ball'.

"Obviously, the image that is being portrayed, that Mandela is being misused, is wrong. He went to Tuynhuys out of his own free will and he used the concession to issue a statement."

Beeld said the question could be asked if the radicals were beginning to fear the release of Mandela.

"Let's presume the people support him in a direction which does not correspond with the plans of the left wing's power-elite?

"Against the background of so much confusion among radicals, it is a pity that the voice in the Victor Verster Prison is being kept silent for the time being."

It had at least been confirmed that his opinion of what would be in the best interests of himself and South Africa was not shared by all his comrades.

"Also, everything is not good news either. Successes for the moderates will mean that the radicals will throw everything into their struggle."

Beeld said success would also bring more responsibilities for the government. The meeting has caused a gulf of expectations world-wide.

"The experience with the Rubicon speech taught us that such a situation will have to be managed with discretion and expertise. Should matters go wrong in this respect, the damage would be larger than anything which a younger Mandela could have contemplated in wildest flights of imagination," the paper said.

In his weekly political column, Willie Kuhn wrote in Beeld that many people wanted to know why the government took this direction (in respect of Mandela).

"The simple answer is that the government needs to adjust its information. To handle the whole situation in respect of Mr Mandela and the ANC on the basis of the former's imprisonment in the early 1960s, would be absolutly wrong.

"This will also imply that the black communities must judge the Afrikaner and the National Party by apartheid of the 1960s – without considering what had happened since."

Kuhn said the Mandela issue had to be solved.

Dawie, Die Burger's political columnist, said this week there was a notable shift of accent in the government's approach.

The initial condition for negotiations was that violence had to be renounced.

"The most meaningful phrase in the statement issued about the meeting between the State President and Mr Mandela, is that both of them confirmed their support for 'peaceful development'," Dawie said.

Cohen says SA aid is still getting to Renamo

LISBON. — Mr Herman Cohen, the Bush administration's top Africa man, is optimistic about peace prospects in Southern Africa, but believes South African aid is still reaching Renamo rebels in Mozambique.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, who arrived on Friday in the Portuguese capital after a seven-nation Southern African tour, said there was "a great momentum towards peace in Angola and Mozambique".

Mr Cohen denied speculation that the US would play a mediating role in ending the 12-year war in Mozambique staged by Renamo guerillas and said that the government and the rebels could find their own solutions to the conflict.

"We don't think there is a requirement for mediation by outside governments."

There have been reports that Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano had asked Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko to mediate in the conflict, as Mr Mobutu is doing in peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels, expected to resume in Kinshasa yesterday.

'Support continuing'

Mr Cohen repeated statements made in Mozambique's capital, Maputo, on Thursday that the United States had evidence that aid continued to reach Renamo from South Africa.

"Washington believes a certain amount of support is continuing. We feel it is possible that South Africa could easily stop this," he said.

South Africa has in the past denied these allegations.

Mr Cohen said at the weekend that the US had no official contact with Renamo, which is not openly supported by any government and has been accused of widespread civilian atrocities.

Following a meeting with Mr Chissano on Thursday, Mr Cohen called on Renamo to abandon violence and said Washington would consider very seriously any request by Mr Chissano for a US meeting with the rebels.

Mr Cohen said the Mozambican government had approved a peace plan involving negotiations with the rebels, and added on Saturday that he noted a new willingness for peace among "friends of Renamo" in the US, some of whom are members of Congress.

Mr Cohen said he was optimistic about the prospects for peace in Angola, although he insisted the US government would continue to withhold diplomatic recognition from the Angolan government "until such time as national reconciliation takes place". The US furnishes some $15 million (R40,5m) a year in military aid to Unita. — Sapa-AP

Cape Times 18/7/89

Rape: Cop suspended

JOHANNESBURG. — A member of the South African Police in Belfast has been suspended after two allegations of rape were made against him, police said yesterday. According to a police statement, no further details concerning the matter could be given. Cape Times 18/7/89

Azapo appeal dismissed

(327)

DURBAN. — An application by the Azanian Peoples Party which challenged its banning was dismissed in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Azapo loses court case

AN application by the Azanian Peoples Organisation, which challenged its banning, was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday.

The ban in terms of the security emergency regulations was renewed on June 10 last year.

Azapo claims the regulations were invalid and of no force and effect in law.

It also claims that its banning in terms of the regulations was also invalid and of no force and effect in law.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order, who are cited as respondents, disputed these claims and submitted that the emergency regulations and the banning of Azapo were valid. They asked that Azapo's application be dismissed.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Booysen quoted a number of cases dealing with similar issues which had been decided in the Appeal Court.

He found that the State President had acted within his powers in promulgating the regulations. He did not agree with the Azapo submissions that the regulations were contradictory and vague.

Cape Times 18/7/85 (327)

What is going on?

IT SEEMS beyond belief. Yet we are told by a responsible American official, Mr Herman Cohen, that aid from South Africa is still reaching Renamo, the marauding mercenaries who have devastated Mozambique in the last decade, acting as surrogates for Pretoria. This campaign of destabilisation, designed to dissuade Maputo from supporting the ANC, was officially terminated by Pretoria in the Nkomati Accord. But Renamo has since carried on like Frankenstein's monster, butchering civilians and laying waste the countryside.

The American government, which operates space-age surveillance systems, confidently insists that aid continues to flow. Either Mr Cohen is talking nonsense or Pretoria, while professing peace, is acting with extraordinary duplicity. What is going on?

Homeland bans Black Sash project

JOHANNESBURG. — The ban imposed yesterday morning on the Black Sash and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac), a project of the Black Sash, by the Bophuthatswana administration "is a measure of how desperate the homeland authorities are to sweep all grievances under the carpet and stop people seeking help", the organisation said.

In a Government Gazette, Chief Lucas Mangope's administration outlawed Trac and the Black Sash on the grounds that they "endangered national security and public safety". All organisations linked to the two bodies are also affected by the ban.

Saying that they were a non-violent organisation, Trac said their work in the area, particularly in Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein, involved supporting people who suffered "under a pervasive climate of oppression, particularly as a result of their opposition to enforced incorporation into the homeland".

Ultimately, Trac continued, the culprit in the whole scenario was the South African government which failed "to recognise the human worth of black people, and persisted in treating them like pawns on a ridiculous checker board of its own design".

The ban on Trac is the latest in a series of bitter wrangles between Trac and the two communities on one hand, and the Bophuthatswana authorities on the other. The crisis was sparked off by Pretoria's decision to incorporate the two territories into Bophuthatswana on December 31 last year.

Since then, both communities have resisted incorporation with sporadic clashes between security forces and the communities. On July 1 an orgy of violence erupted at a mass meeting during which nine policemen and two civilians were killed. — Sapa

116 found dead on city streets monthly

Star 18/7/89

Staff Reporter

Police have confirmed that an average of 116 unidentified black people are found dead on the streets of Johannesburg every month.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, yesterday said it was most unfortunate that such an alarming rate of people died each month.

He said police had a tremendous job trying to trace families of unidentified people.

"In most cases people don't come forward to claim the bodies and we have no alternative but to give them paupers' funerals."

This follows a report in the *Sowetan* quoting a spokesman for the Government mortuary saying most of the casualties who, with white victims last year totalled 3 391, were given paupers' burials because their families could not be traced. The figure did not include people found on the streets of Soweto.

According to figures released by the spokesman, during the first five months of 1989, 1 239 bodies were processed by the Johannesburg mortuary and the figure was expected to double by the end of winter.

Ex-Koevoet man suspended

A police constable stationed in Belfast has been suspended after two allegations of rape were made against him.

It is believed the man, in his late 20s and unmarried, is a former member of Koevoet.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant Wickus Brits said it was policy to investigate allegations against a policeman in the same way as any other alleged criminal. — Staff Reporter.

Azapo case is dismissed in Durban

Star 18/7/89

327

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — An application by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which challenged its banning, was dismissed in the Supreme Court, Durban, yesterday.

Azapo was banned in terms of the Security Emergency Regulations proclaimed on June 10 last year.

Azapo claimed the regulations were invalid and of no force and effect in law.

It also claimed its banning in terms of the regulations was invalid and of no force and effect in law.

The State President and the Minister of Law and Order, cited as respondents, disputed the claims and submitted that the emergency regulations and the banning of Azapo were valid.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Booysen found the State President had acted within his powers in promulgating the regulations.

He found that the Minister of Law and Order had acted within his powers in banning Azapo. The judge ordered Azapo to pay the legal costs of the action.

Ex-newspaper editor in court

Star 18/6/89

(327)

CAPE TOWN — An application to drop charges against a former editor of the weekly newspaper, *South*, has been refused.

It is alleged that Mr Rashid Ahmed Seria (38), who has not yet been asked to plead, and *South* contravened the emergency regulations on May 11 1988 by publishing an article entitled "It's 1985 in the schools again", with news and comment on a school boycott.

Yesterday, defence counsel argued that the Attorney-General had no power or authority to prosecute Mr Seria. The objection was dismissed and the case was adjourned to August 28. — Own Correspondent.

'Bannings will not stop opposition'

By Mckeed Kotlolo, Pretoria Bureau

The banning of the Black Sash and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac) in Bophuthatswana does not mean the end of opposition to the violation of human rights.

This was said by the two South African-based human rights organisations yesterday after hearing that they had been banned from operating in Bophuthatswana.

The banning order under the Internal Security Act of 1979 was published in the homeland's Government Gazette on Friday.

Both organisations said in the statement they saw the banning as "a measure of how desperate the Bophuthatswana authorities are to sweep all grievances under the carpet and stop people from seeking help".

"The Black Sash is a non-violent human rights organisation responding to requests from people seeking justice and a fair hearing of their grievances. Our work in Bophuthatswana has involved supporting people and communities suffering in a climate of oppression, particularly as a result of their opposition to enforced incorporation into the homeland," the statement said.

The statement said the organisations were not responsible for the creation of the conditions in the homeland but merely exposed them.

"In the final analysis it is the South African government which is the culprit in its failure to recognise the human worth of the black people and its persistence in treating them as pawns on a ridiculous checkerboard of its own design.

"Those who still believe that the homeland system is a success, particularly in Bophuthatswana which boasts a bill of rights, should take a closer look at the homeland's record of human rights violations. The events in Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein had demonstrated this amply."

According to the banning order, the two organisations endangered or calculated to endanger the national security in the homeland.

Azapo case is dismissed in Durban

Star 18/7/89

(327)

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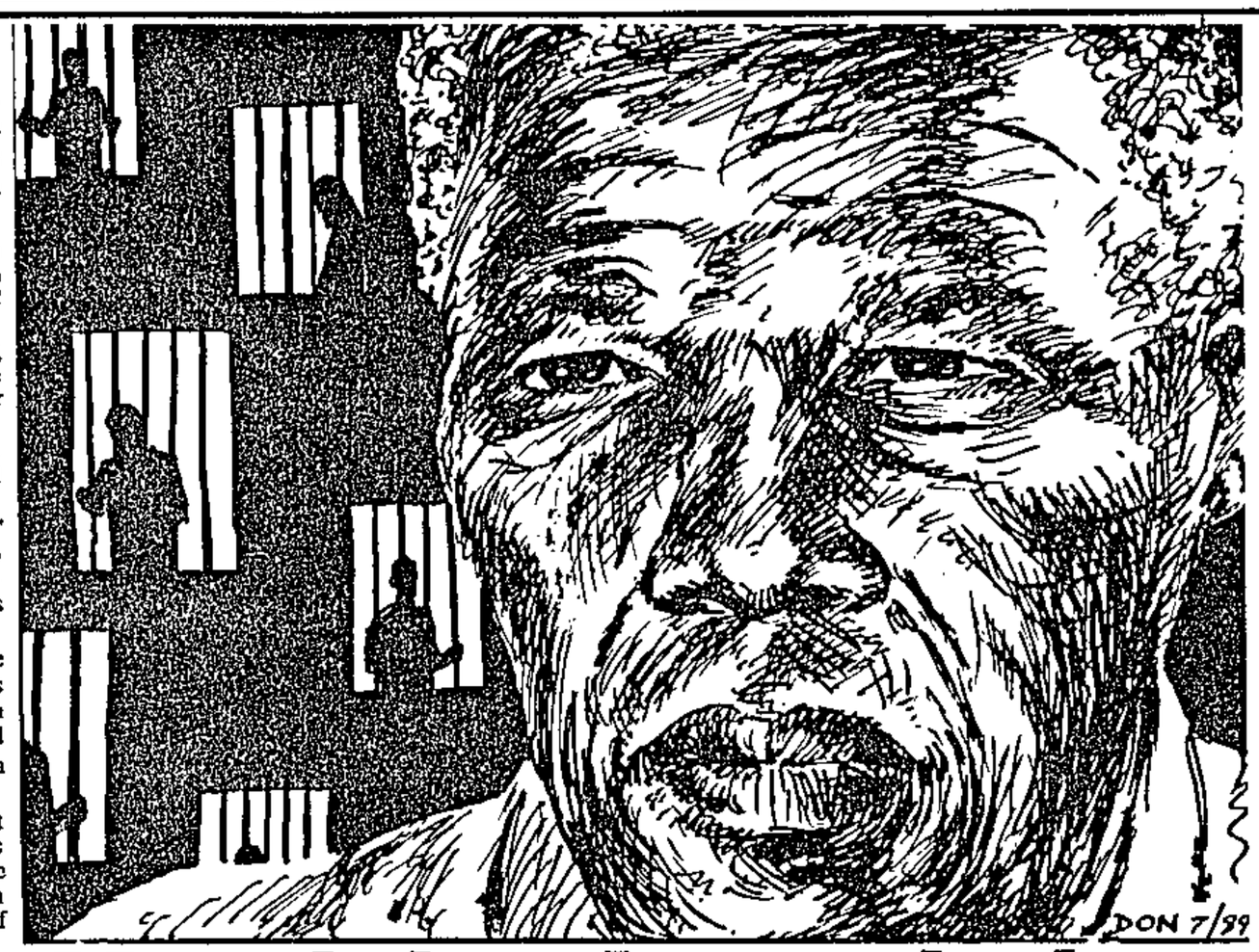

Mandela: A symbol for Rivonia trialists

SEVEN high-ranking African National Congress leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment with Nelson Mandela in the Rivonia trial.

They were Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Ahmed Kathadra.

Wilton Mkwayi, a member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, who took over the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe after the Rivonia trial, was arrested later that year, and was also sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mbeki and Goldberg have since been released, but their fellow trialists are still behind bars.

SOUTH sketches the lives of these remarkable men, who have shared the hardships of prison life with Mandela:

Walter Sisulu

WALTER MAX ULYATE SISULU was a key leader of the ANC during the years of its transformation from a pressure group to a mass movement.

He was secretary-general from 1949 to 1954, and, together with Mandela, was a founder of the ANC Youth League.

Sisulu is as old as the ANC itself, being born in Engcobo in the Transkei on May 18 1912, the year of the ANC's formation.

At 17 he travelled to the Witwatersrand, first to work in a dairy and then later on the gold mines.

He then worked as a "kitchen boy" in East London, where he came into contact with Clements Kadalie's Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU).

He returned to Johannesburg in the early 1930s, where he took a series of factory jobs to finance his high school education. In 1949 he and several colleagues established a small real estate agency.

As Sisulu's political involvement developed, so his racial views evolved. In the Youth League, he was opposed to co-operation with whites, and a staunch proponent of African nationalism.

But a trip in 1953 to Europe, Russia and China, arranged by South African communists, and his work with Indian leaders during the Defiance Campaign, modified his views.

He became sympathetic to both nonracialism and socialism. In 1954 he was a strong supporter of the multi-racial Congress Alliance.

Sisulu's first brush with the authorities came during the Defiance Campaign when he was sentenced to a nine-months' suspended sentence in 1952.

Already prohibited from attending gatherings, in 1954 he was ordered by the government to resign from the ANC.

His involvement continued behind the scenes and in 1956 he was charged in the Treason trial. He was acquitted in 1961, but state harassment remained constant.

He was detained during the 1960 state of emergency, placed under 12-hour house arrest in 1962, and sentenced to six years in jail for furthering the aims of the ANC in 1963.

Out on bail while his case was on appeal, he disappeared underground and was rearrested when police apprehended the Umkhonto High Command in their raid on the Rivionia farm on July 11 1963.

Sisulu's family have always shared his political commitment and his suffering.

In 1944 he married Albertina, a nurse, who was active in both the ANC Women's League and the Federation of South African Women. She is now a co-president of the restricted United Democratic Front.

One of Sisulu's four children, Zwelakhe, is the editor of the New Nation, and is currently restricted after spending two years in detention without trial.

Govan Mbeki

GOVAN ARCHIBALD MVUNYELINA MBEKI was a key figure in both the ANC and the Communist Party during the 1950s and 1960s.

He is also an intellectual, a journalist and a published author.

Born in 1910 in the Nqamakwe district of the Transkei, he was educated at various mission schools including Healdtown.

In 1937 he graduated from Fort Hare University with a BA and a diploma in education, and in 1940 completed a B Econ in Social Studies through Unisa.

Much of his early political involvement was in the Transkei. He opened a co-operative store in Idutwya after his political involvement led to his dismissal from teaching.

He was elected secretary of the Transkei African Voters Association in 1941, and in 1943 was elected to the Transkei Bunga. From 1944 to 1946, he also served on Fort Hare's governing council.

A keen writer, he published his first book, "The Transkei in the Making", in 1939.

In 1946 he published a booklet on co-operatives called "Let's Do It Together", and in 1964, after the Rivonia trial, his "South Africa: Peasants' Revolt" was published.

He was also the editor of New Age in Port Elizabeth in 1955, and had previously been a director of The Guardian.

Mbeki joined the ANC in the mid-1930s, but it was mainly during the 1950s, when he lived in Port Elizabeth, that he became a key ANC organiser. That the Eastern Cape became such a strong Congress area is often ascribed to his talents.

In spite of being banned, he played an active background role in the Congress of the People in 1955 and in the ANC until his detention in 1960 under the state of emergency.

In 1962 he was charged under the Explosives Act after spending several months in solitary confinement. He was acquitted on a technicality and then served with a house arrest order.

He ignored the order and went underground until 1963, when he was arrested in the Rivonia raid and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mbeki was released in November 1987, and is now restricted to his Port Elizabeth home.

The ANC leader is married with four children, one of whom, Thabo, is an ANC executive member in Lusaka.

Andrew Mlangeni

ANDREW MOKETE MLANGENI was nicknamed "Robot" by the ANC leadership, because he was reportedly so efficient.

He was the ANC regional secretary in Soweto from 1958 to 1960, and a key figure in the 1961 All-In-Africa conference at Pietermaritzburg.

Mlangeni was born into a working-class family in Prospect township in Johannesburg in 1926.

He worked as a golf caddie to put himself through his Junior Certificate, which he completed at St. Peters in 1946. After leaving school, he worked first as a clerk and later as a busdriver.

He joined the ANC Youth League in 1951, and in 1956 became the branch secretary in Johannesburg.

After the ANC was banned, Mlangeni ran messages for MK. However, at the Rivonia trial, the state alleged that Mlangeni had stored dynamite in his home and had recruited youths to leave the country for military training.

Mlangeni is married and has four children.

Raymond Mhlaba

RAYMOND MHLABA became the first ANC leader to be arrested in the 1952 Defiance Campaign after he led a group of black protesters through the "Europeans Only" entrance at New Brighton railway station in Port Elizabeth.

For Mhlaba, though, it marked a decade of intense political activity.

In 1942 he joined the Communist Party and was district secretary for Port Elizabeth from 1946 until the party was banned in 1950.

He was also local chairman of the ANC between 1947 and 1953 and a leader of the Eastern Cape bus boycott in 1949. Govan Mbeki, his fellow Rivonia trialist, was a particularly close colleague of Mhlaba's.

Banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, Mhlaba was nevertheless elected to the Cape executive of the ANC in 1954.

He defied a later banning order by slipping out of the country for military training. When he returned, he worked underground in Johannesburg until his arrest in 1963.

The son of a policeman, Mhlaba was born in Fort Beaufort in 1920. He completed 10 years of schooling, the last two at Healdtown, before dropping out for financial reasons.

Mhlaba has six children, three from his late wife, Joyce, and three from his current wife, Dideka Heliso, whom he was eventually given permission to marry in 1986.

According to Joe Mhlaba, son of his first marriage, Mhlaba is never offended when people talk about the release of Mandela without mentioning the other trialists.

"He believes Mandela is symbolic of the rest of them — like Kool and the Gang."

Ahmed Kathrada

AHMED MOHAMED KATHADRA was just 17 when he went to prison for the first time.

He had left school to become a full-time worker in the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council and was sent to jail for civil disobedience.

As chairman of the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1952, he became a key figure in the Defiance Campaign. With other Congress leaders, he was tried and sentenced to a nine-months' suspended jail term.

He was banned two years later, and was one of the 150 Congress leaders charged with treason in 1956.

He was detained for five months during the state of emergency and in 1962 was placed under 12-hour house arrest. A few months later he went underground.

Kathadra was born in the Western Transvaal in 1929 into a scholarly Muslim family who were followers of Ghandi. He was sent to school in Johannesburg from the age of nine.

Elias Motsoaledi

ELIAS MOTHOPE MOTSOALEDI was one of the major trade union leaders in the ANC.

Born the son of a migrant labourer in Sekhukuniland in 1942, Motsoaledi began to work in Johannesburg as a domestic worker after he completed his primary schooling.

Later, as a worker in a boot factory, he joined the Leather Workers' Union and the Communist Party.

In 1949, as a furniture factory worker, he became chairman of the African Furniture Mattress and Bedding Workers' Union. He was also active in both the Council of Non-European Trade Unions and Sactu.

As ANC branch secretary in 1950, he helped organise worker stayaways in the Denver Men's Hostels.

During the 1950s, Motsoaledi was plagued both by ill-health and the authorities.

He was first banned in 1952, while in hospital with tuberculosis. He was detained for three months under the 1960 emergency, and then again under the 90-day solitary confinement law in 1963.

Later that year ,he was found guilty under the Sabotage and Suppression of Communism Acts in the Rivonia trial and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Motsoaeldi is married and has several children.

Dennis Goldberg

DENNIS THEODORE GOLDBERG, the only white person convicted in the Rivonia trial, was a successful civil engineer turned military engineer in the service of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The son of Communist Party members, Goldberg was born in Cape Town in 1933 and went to Observatory Boys High School.

He graduated with an engineering degree from the University of Cape Town in 1955, and then worked for the Cape Town City Council.

Goldberg was an active member of the resistance in the 1950s, playing a prominent role in the Congress of Democrats, and helping to organise the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955.

He later served as an executive member and president of the COD before it was banned in 1962.

He joined Umkhonto we Sizwe after being detained for four months in the 1960 emergency, and was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial.

While in Pretoria Central Prison, he waged a long battle for more humane treatment of political prisoners, particularly for access to newspapers and the radio.

Although he lost a court case against the Prisons Department in 1978, the authorities gave in to the demands of political prisoners because of public pressure.

Goldberg was released from prison in 1985 after being offered freedom in return for renouncing violence. He was immediately banished to Israel by the government and now lives in England, where he works in the London office of the ANC.

Wilton Mkwayi

WILTON ZIMASILE MKWAYI escaped arrest when the police raided Lilliesleaf farm at Rivonia in July 1963, as he was out organising at the time.

He also escaped detention in the 1960 emergency while he was appearing with 149 other Congress leaders in the Treason trial.

He left the court building during a tea-break, and returned to find the police had thrown up a cordon. In spite of his explanations that he was one of the accused, the police refused to let him in.

While he was arguing with the cops outside, the security police were inside detaining his fellow trialists.

So, instead of going to detention, he went underground. After military training abroad, he slipped back into South Africa where he operated for Umkhonto we Sizwe until his arrest in 1964.

Mkawyi was born near Middeldrift in the Cape in 1923, the eldest son of a member of the Zihlahleni village council of elders.

He left school in Standard Four to work as a labourer, a clerk and later as a stevedore in Port Elizabeth.

He was a union organiser for the African Textile Workers in PE in the 1950s, and later the treasurer of Sactu.

In 1987, Mkwayi was given permission to marry his long-time companion, Irene Khumalo - 21 years after first applying to do so. Irene died recently.

The smiling faces of Nelson Mandela's grandchildren: From left, Thembela, Takwini, Dumani and Mandla

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The other Mandelas

By HENRY LUDSKI

NELSON Mandela's birthday celebration was a rare occasion for the "other family" of the ANC leader.

In an exclusive interview this week, Makaziwe Mandela, 36, the only surviving daughter from Mandela's first marriage, spoke of her years of feeling "neglected".

She also described how her father's 71st birthday brought the two families together for the first time.

Makaziwe is married and has lived for the past four years with her family in Massachusetts.

With her at the birthday event were her three children, as well as her brother, 39-year-old Makgatho, and his 15-year-old son, Mandla.

The celebration at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl focused world attention on the "forgotten" children from Mandela's first marriage.

"My father's birthday was meaningful to all of us, because it's the first time we've come together since my parents were divorced," said Makaziwe.

"Another good thing is that people now know that Nelson Mandela has children other than just the two always portrayed in the media."

She said her father was overjoyed at seeing his entire family together.

Over the years the two families lost contact and grew apart.

Makaziwe and her brother are the only surviving children from Mandela's marriage to Eveline Mase, a cousin of Walter Sisulu.

Makaziwe Mandela

In 1957 Mandela and Eveline were divorced and a year later he married Winnie Madikizela. The couple have two daughters, Zenani, 30, and Zindzi, 29.

It is this family that is known to the world.

"I think a lot of people were surprised this week to discover that Nelson had other children," said Makaziwe.

"It was good that Makgatho and I were present at the birthday, because for so long we have felt left out.

"Tuesday's reunion was a reaffirmation that we are part of the family."

Said her 14-year-old daughter, Takwini: "It was special because it was the first time I've seen grandma Winnie."

● The Other Side Of Mandela. See pages 8 and 17.

Held naked, tortured — claim

JOHANNESBURG. — Trade unionist Gerald Gary Nyembe alleged in the Johannesburg regional court this week that security police stripped him naked for hours and kicked him in his testicles during the six days he was held in Mafekeng.

Nyembe was giving evidence in a trial within a trial in support of his claim that a confession he made to a magistrate was under duress.

Nyembe and his common-law wife, Lucienne Abrahams of Cape Town, are facing charges of terrorism and of being members of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

Nyembe is a former Robben Island prisoner and an organiser on the East Rand for the Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union (PWAWU). Abrahams was PWAWU's Western Cape branch secretary.

The couple's case, which began two months ago, is expected to last another two weeks.

Five state witnesses, three secret witnesses (all alleged former members of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe), and two policemen who arrested the couple last year, have given evidence so far.

This week the state presented the court with a confession which it claimed Nyembe had made to a magistrate. The defence is contesting the admissibility of the confession.

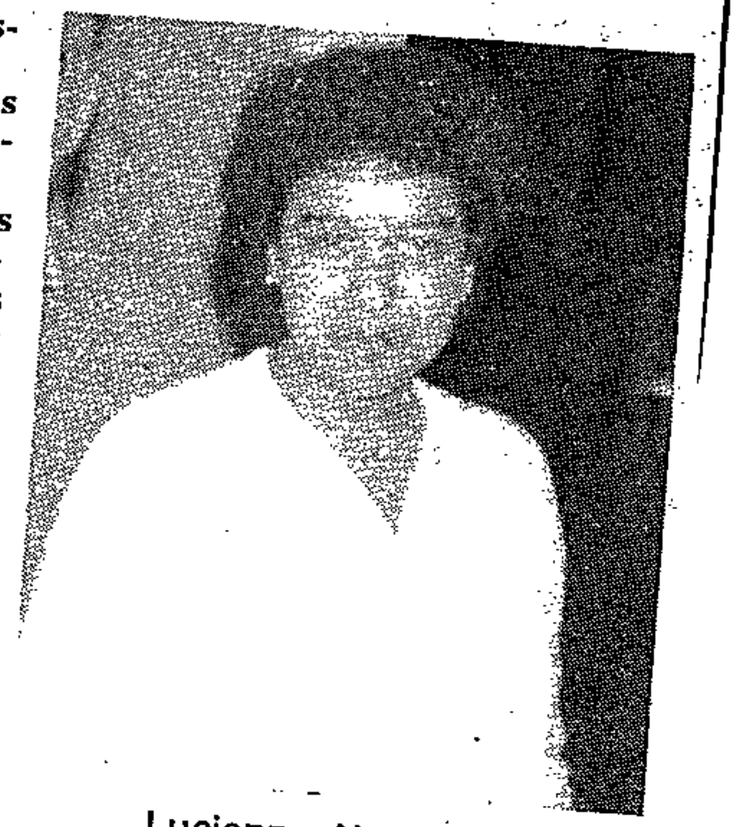
Nyembe claimed that he was tortured while being interrogated in Mafekeng last year.

He said for days he was beaten up the police, who allegedly used both their fists and a wet towel to assault him.

"I was forced to stand naked all the time and at times they would kick me in my testicles," said Nyembe.

He also claimed he was not fed for three days.

He said he was threatened with long detention and further torture by police at Protea Police Station in Soweto if he refused to make a confession.



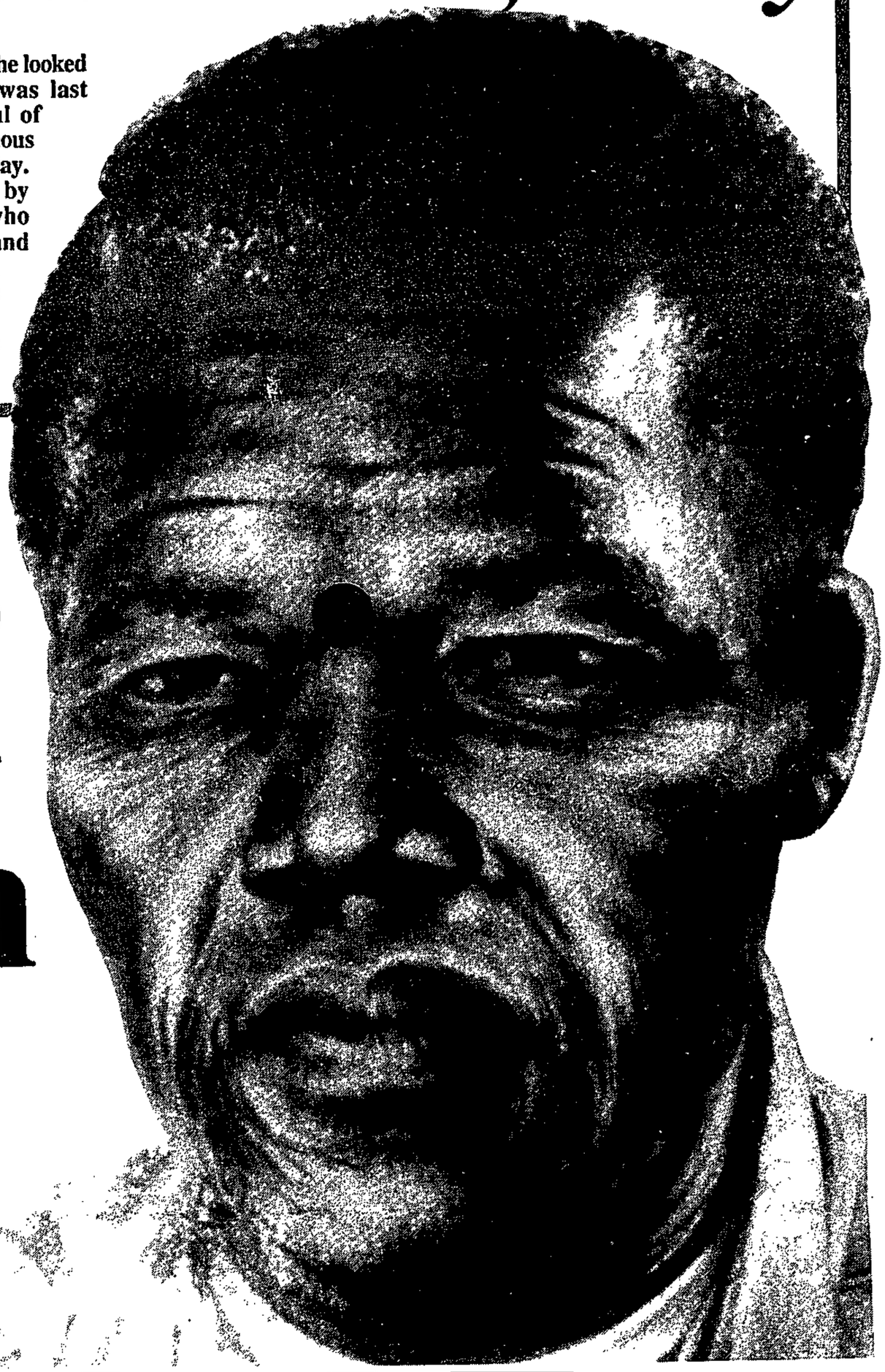
Lucienne Abrahams

(327) South 20-26/7/89.

This is Nelson Mandela, today

An artist's portrait of the man who came to tea with PW

EVERYONE knows his name and how he looked more than 20 years ago when he was last photographed — but only a handful of people know what the world's most famous prisoner-turned-diplomat looks like today. A Dutch artist has solved the problem, by spending many hours with people who have recently seen the ANC leader and constructing a life-like drawing. Nelson Mandela's associates have confirmed its realism, save that his hair is greyer and the lines around his mouth less pronounced than in the drawing.



Mandela plans to see union leaders

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WMail 14-20/7/89

Weekly Mail Reporters

NELSON MANDELA has plans to meet his five Rivonia Trial co-accused and leaders of the labour movement at his Paarl prison bungalow within the next week.

The *Weekly Mail* has learnt that five Rex Trueform suits were delivered to Pollsmoor Prison on Wednesday for Mandela's co-prisoners to use

Mandela plan to meet with Rivonia men

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WMail 14-20/7/89.

From PAGE 1

difficult to see how this could work in practice.

It has been thought for several weeks that Mandela was eager to meet with a range of resistance leaders — one estimate of the number on the list was as high as 150. The need has become pressing since his meeting last weekend with State President PW Botha, and fears in some resistance circles that he is acting in isolation.

However, sources close to the Mandela family have indicated that wide-ranging consultations are only likely to take place after September's elections. This could be part of the government's plan for a phased release, an idea floated when Mandela was moved last year to his prison house in Paarl.

Plans appear to be well advanced for a function at Mandela's Victor Verster Prison bungalow to celebrate his 71st birthday, as well as the ANC leader's recently-completed law degree.

It is not yet clear whether both will take place on Tuesday — Mandela's birthday — but the *Weekly Mail* understands that invitations to attend one or the other have been extended to Mandela's five still-imprisoned Rivonia colleagues (the recipients of the suits), family members and personal friends, and the labour leaders.

The Rivonia five still in prison — Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba and Elias Motsoaledi — are understood to have been given the go-ahead to visit Mandela. The others are awaiting permission.

The South African Council of Churches confirmed separately that members of the Mandela family — including some from the Transkei — would be "getting together" at Victor Verster on the 18th.

It is further understood that four Unisa Law Department staff members are expected to attend their former student's function.

Prisons representatives have confirmed that "an application" from Mandela was being considered, but did not elaborate.

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Case against SOUTH to proceed

AN attempt by SOUTH and its former editor to have a charge related to a contravention of the 1987 emergency regulations quashed was dismissed in the Cape Town magistrates court this week.

SOUTH and Rashid Seria appeared on charges related to the publishing of an article headlined, "It's 1985 in the schools again".

Mr M J C Tolken found that even though the charge had been brought after the 1987 emergency had expired, this did not imply that the state was no longer at liberty to continue with its prosecution.

Mr John Whitehead, for Seria and SOUTH, argued that the Attorney-General had no power or authority to prosecute for the alleged breaches after the regulation concerned had expired.

The hearing was adjourned to August 28 for plea.

Four other charges against SOUTH under the emergency regulations are being investigated.

Churches set to probe attacks on activists

Weekly Mail Reporters

AS yet another arson attack on a trade unionist's home occurred this week — leading to the death of one person — the South African Council of Churches announced the formation of an independent board to investigate attacks on anti-apartheid groups and their officials.

On Wednesday "Ace" Sopotela, the brother of a National Union of Metalworkers' shop steward, died after his kwaNobuhle home was firebombed.

In a statement, Numsa said: "We note with concern that the fire gutted the house in a short space of time and can only conclude that the rage of the fire was due to the use of some sophisticated chemical agent."

In another development, newly elected Congress of South African Trade Unions vice-president and shop steward at Volkswagen, Uitenhage, John Gomomo, has received several death threats, including one in a letter from a group calling itself "White Wolf II".

Yesterday the SACC issued a press statement saying "anti-apartheid activists in South Africa disappear and are killed, offices are firebombed and whole buildings are rendered uninhabitable through explosives. However, it is apparent the South African Police are not able to come to grips with the situation, and that failure dogs their every move".

The SACC responded by forming the Independent Board of Investigation into Informal Repression on July 15, in the wake of escalating "informal repression" and "a lack of faith in the police's ability or willingness to bring criminals to book".

The board consists of a range of prominent individuals from church and legal institutions and, according to the SACC, has the full support of a wide range of organisations which have been the victim of right-wing attacks.

Recent attacks include the bombings of Cosatu House, Khotso House and Khanya House; arson attacks on various offices and homes of individuals opposing apartheid; the destruction or theft of office equipment and documents; and vendettas against individuals, such as the poisoning of SACC secretary general Frank Chikane.

In the last two years, offices and officials of the Congress of South African Trade Unions had been attacked at least 50 times, and the SACC had been the target of a similar onslaught, the statement said. "Yet, to our knowledge this board is aware of only one criminal prosecution arising out of these incidents."

The SACC says the newly formed board is not simply a commission of inquiry, but an independent forum for thorough, in-depth investigation and research.

Cape Times 21/7/89 327

New bid to 'stop honest reporting'

JOHANNESBURG. — Weekly Mail co-editor Mr Anton Harber yesterday accused the police of spearheading a "new approach" in their bid to quash honest reportage of political events in the country.

Mr Harber made the accusation after two security policemen yesterday delivered summonses ordering him and two former reporters to appear in court on a charge of contravening emergency regulations affecting the media. He is scheduled to appear in Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on August 16.

The charges revolve around articles that dealt with the treatment and conditions of political detainees. The articles appeared in the Weekly Mail about two years ago.

"Four summonses were delivered to me. I am being charged in my personal capacity and as a representative of the company, Weekly Mail Publications.

"While we find this reprehensible, there is something positive. There is an advantage in that we can fight this action through the court. It is a change of tack from past experience when the authorities confiscated the newspaper or shut it down. You can rest assured that we will fight this tooth and nail. We are convinced we will win this battle."

Mr Harber said the police were in the process of delivering a summons on former reporters Ms Jo-anne Bekker and Mr Franz Kruger. He did not know what the position of Mr Kruger would be as he is currently studying in Britain.

The Weekly Mail has had several run-ins with the authorities culminating in its closure for four weeks last year. Other "alternative" publications such as the New Nation and the Cape-based South have also faced government wrath.

Last month Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez received a six-month suspended sentence for contravening the regulations.

Former South editor Mr Rashid Seria is currently appearing in court on similar charges. — Sapa

CBS wins case against Vlok

JOHANNESBURG. — CBS News won its application against the Minister of Law and Order in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday after an application was brought against the seizure of a video tape recording at a meeting on February 9 this year.

Mr Justice G Leveson ordered the minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to pay the costs of the application.

The application arose from a meeting held at the Central Methodist Church. — Sapa

Mail, Sowetan journalists face charges

Weekly Mail Reporters

FOUR journalists were yesterday served with summonses to appear in court to face charges.

Three *Weekly Mail* journalists, co-editor Anton Harber, and former *Weekly Mail* writers Jo-Ann Bekker and Franz Krüger, have been charged under the Emergency censorship regulations.

And the editor of the *Sowetan*, Aggrey Klaaste, has been charged under the Internal Security Act for quoting a "listed" person.

The *Weekly Mail* journalists are all accused of contravening the ban on reporting the circumstances of, or treatment of, detainees. The charges relate to articles that appeared in the paper more than two years ago.

Harber and Bekker have been charged for an article that appeared on February 20 1987, titled "Detainee barred from seeing psychologist".

Harber and Krüger have been charged for an article that appeared in June of the same year, titled "Doctor calls for probe into hunger strike prison".

The charges carry a maximum penalty of 10 years and/or R20 000. They are due to appear on August 16.

Klaaste is due to appear in court on August 9, along with a representative of the Argus Company, which owns the *Sowetan*.

They are accused of quoting Harry Gwala in December 1988.

● The former editor of *South* newspaper, Rashid Seria, appeared in court this week for allegedly contravening Emergency regulations.

At issue is an article published in *South* on May 11 last year: "It's 1985 in the schools again".

The state alleges the article contravened Emergency regulations in that it reported on a schools boycott in and around Cape Town, and disclosed details of the extent to which such action was successful.

Argument by Seria's counsel, John Whitehead, that because the 1988 Emergency regulations had expired, the court was not competent to try him, was dismissed by the magistrate, MJC Tolken.

The trial was postponed until August 28 for plea.

(327) WMail 21-27/7/89

Joubert, Graham, Scott & Partners 8760589

Editor charged over speech

THE editor of the Sowetan, Mr Aggrey Zola Klaaste, and the owners of the newspaper, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, are to face charges of unlawfully publishing or disseminating a speech by African National Congress activist Mr Harry Gwala.

Mr Klaaste and the Argus Company, both of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg, are to appear in the

● To Page 2

Editor charged

● From Page 1

Johannesburg Magistrates's Court on August 9. They are alleged to have published the speech or statement in the Sowetan of December 13, 1988.

Klaaste is alleged to have personally contravened the Internal Security Act by publishing a statement or speech by Gwala, who is a listed person, without permission from the Minister of Law and Order.

The company is being charged in its capacity as Mr Klaaste's employers and he is presumed to have been acting in the discharge of his duties as an official of the company.

The editors of the *Sunday Times*, *Weekly Mail* and *New Nation*, and the owners of these publications, have received similar summonses.

The 68-year-old Gwala was released from Robben Island in December last year after serving 26 years of a life sentence for his involvement in the activities of the ANC. He has also served various other sentences, all of a political nature.

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SOWETAN Friday July 21 1989

Editor summoned

THE co-editor of the *Weekly Mail* newspaper, Mr Anton Harber, yesterday accused the police of spearheading a "new approach" in their bid to quash honest reportage of political events in the country.

Harber made the accusation after two security policemen yesterday delivered summonses ordering him and two former reporters to appear in court on a charge of contravening emergency regulations affecting the media. He is scheduled to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on August 16.

The charges revolve around articles that dealt with the treatment and conditions of political detainees. The articles appeared in the *Weekly Mail* about two years ago.

"While we find this reprehensible, there is something positive. There is an advantage in that we can fight this action through the court. It is a change of tack from past experience when the authorities confiscated the newspaper or shut it down. You can rest assured that we will fight this tooth and nail. We are convinced we will win this battle," said Harber.

Harber said the police were in the process of delivering a summons on former reporter, Miss Jo-Ann Bekker. He did not know what the position of Mr Franz Kruger would be as he is currently studying in Britain.

The *Weekly Mail* has had several runins with the authorities culminating in its closure for four weeks last year.

Sapa.

news".

Two 'SA spies' to die

Cape Times 21/7/89

LISBON. — An Angolan tribunal yesterday sentenced two Air Force pilots to death for spying for South Africa, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to Pretoria in 1984 and 1985 respectively, it said.

Abrantes was said to have passed on classified information, including the strength of the Air Force and arms it possessed.

Ferreira was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made MI-25 helicopter to South Africa, where he would have been paid $1 million (R2,7m) and given protection.

Judge Augusto Costa Cerneiro said the two had sacrificed the country's interests for personal gain.

"The security of our armed forces, people and state were put aside for the interests of imperialism, particularly of South Africa and Unita."

Star 21/7/89 (327)

Sowetan editor, two reporters face charges

Journalists from two Johannesburg newspapers, *Sowetan* and *Weekly Mail* are being charged in terms of censorship laws.

The editor of *Sowetan*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, and the owner of the newspaper, the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, are to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on August 9.

They are charged with contravening the Internal Security Act by publishing a speech by African National Congress activist Mr Harry Gwala on December 13 1988.

Mr Gwala (68) was released from Robben Island last December after serving 26 years of a life sentence for his involvement with the activities of the ANC.

Mr Klaaste and the company are charged with quoting him, a "listed" person, without permission from the Minister of Law and Order.

Yesterday, a co-editor of *Weekly Mail* and two of his former reporters were told they were being prosecuted for allegedly breaking the Government's emergency press restrictions 2½ years ago.

Mr Anton Harber, co-editor of *Weekly Mail*, said he had been ordered to appear in court on August 16 for publishing articles about the treatment of detainees held without trial under the emergency laws.

The reporters, Mr Franz Kruger and Ms Jo-Ann Bekker, have both left the newspaper since their reports appeared in 1987. Mr Kruger is on a university fellowship programme in Britain and Ms Bekker is doing a post-graduate degree.

FIGHT

"They are charging me in my capacity as editor. They delivered prosecution orders this afternoon warning me and my former reporters to appear in court," Mr Harber said yesterday.

"While we find this reprehensible, there is something positive. There is an advantage in that we can fight this action through the court. It is a change of tack from past experience when the authorities confiscated the newspaper or shut it down."

Mr Harber said one of the stories the Government had objected to was headlined "Detainee barred from seeing psychologist".

The ins and outs of Nelson's guest list

The selection — and, more especially, omission — of activists to see ANC leader Nelson Mandela has stirred controversy in the Western Cape, reports GAYE DAVIS

THE list of people Nelson Mandela wants to see in coming weeks appears to be growing.

It is now widely believed he will soon be meeting trade unionists and community leaders from within the "mass democratic movement".

An audience with representatives of South Africa's biggest trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and its largest affiliate, the National Union of Mineworkers, will be the first in a series of meetings, it is understood.

Names have been put forward to the Prisons Service on a list compiled at Mandela's request. The list includes advocate Dullah Omar, chairman of the restricted United Democratic Front in the Western Cape; and trade unionists Elijah Barayi, Jay Naidoo and Cyril Ramaphosa.

Others said to be on the list include prominent Western Cape UDF activists Trevor Manuel, Willie Hofmeyr (both of whom are restricted) and Cheryl Carolus, as well as the restricted chairperson of Cape Democrats, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Amy Thornton.

Sister Bernard Ncube; advocates George Bizos and Ismail Ayob; former Robben Island prisoner Govan Mbeki; Mandela's friends Yusuf and Amina Cachalia; and his official biographer, sociologist Professor Fatima Meer, are also on the list, as is Johannesburg businessman Yusuf Surtee.

Mandela spent several hours last Friday with fellow Rivonia trialists Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Raymond Mhlaba, as well as ANC leader Wilton Mkwayi, with whom he was imprisoned on Robben Island. Their names were also on the list submitted to the Prison Services.

The UDF's Omar this week declined to confirm or deny the existence of the list of names.

However, he said the aim of any meeting between Mandela and community leaders and activists would be that of an "information session, to enable him to get a viewpoint".

On the selection process, he said: "If it were left to the MDM, we would want to meet our constituents, throw it open to members and get an elected delegation to see him. That would be our choice, and I'm sure that would be Mandela's, too.

Host and guest: Elijah Barayi poses with Mandela picture at Cosatu congress
Picture: REUTER

"The problem is we are living under a State of Emergency and large numbers of people have been restricted.

Mandela's wife, Winnie, this week said she was aware of moves to arrange meetings between him and community leaders. "He has persistently asked the government to allow him to communicate with people — community leaders and the trade union movement — and this is being worked on at the moment."

Speaking outside the gates of Victor Verster Prison in Paarl, where she and 15 members of Mandela's family spent a six-hour visit with him on Tuesday, she said:

"Whatever he does he is in full consultation with the leadership behind bars and the African National Congress outside."

On Mandela's release she said: "His exact words were there'll be no release, definitely not this year."

However, the question of Mandela's release was always last on his personal agenda.

"His own freedom is of no particular consequence. It is the freedom of the people he went to prison for and that of his political colleagues which is of consequence."

The recent meeting between Mandela and Botha was not discussed, she said. "This was a family gathering; we discussed family matters."

To residents of Paarl's black township, who joined the vigil outside the prison in cold driving rain and greeted the family with a *toyi-toyi* and freedom songs, she said: "He is grateful for the support from the comrades outside. He sends you his love, he remembers you and pledges solidarity with you."

Judge rules video seizure is unlawful

Star 21/7/89

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By Cathy Stagg

The Minister of Law and Order was yesterday ordered to return to CBS News a video tape recording seized by police at a meeting in Johanneburg on February 9 this year.

The Minister was also ordered to pay the costs of the application brought by CBS News in the Rand Supreme Court.

The application arose from a press conference called by a group of lawyers to announce they would fast in solidarity with detainees on hunger strike. After the conference, Captain G L S van Huysteen demanded that the CBS News cameraman hand over the video tape he had made.

The television company's main argument was that when Captain van Huysteen took the tape he was not even aware of the provision of the law under which he had purported to act.

RIGHT

He said he was "confiscating it in terms of the emergency regulations". He also told producer Ms Brenda Goldblatt he was seizing the tape because she had provoked the police into taking action. Then he said he needed the tape as evidence in an investigation.

Later, when CBS's attorney was called in, he read the media emergency regulations and implied he had a right to take the tape because the cameraman had not obeyed an order to leave.

Captain van Hysteeen's version was that he had reasonable ground to believe a Mr Cachalia had breached his restriction order and, when there was doubt about whether the police camera was working properly, decided to seize the video.

The judge ruled that the seizure was unlawful.

Weekly Mail editor charged over reports

B/Day 21/7/87

ADELE BALETA

WEEKLY Mail co-editor Anton Harber and two of his former journalists have been summonsed in connection with two reports written and printed about two-and-a-half years ago.

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Harber said two security policemen delivered summonses yesterday ordering him, Franz Kruger and Jo-Ann Bekker to appear in court on charges of contravening the emergency media regulations.

Harber is scheduled to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on August 16. The charges relate to regulations affecting reporting of conditions and treatment of political detainees.

The two reports were Bekker's article printed on February 20 1987 and headlined "Detainee 'barred from seeing psychologist' " and Kruger's report written on June 5 1987 and headlined "Doctor calls for probe into hunger strike prison".

Kruger's article dealt with a National

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Medical and Dental Association (Namda) call to investigate conditions at East London's Fort Glamorgan prison.

Bekker's report was about alleged security police control on the access of detainees to psychiatric care.

Franz Kruger is presently on a university fellowship programme in London and Bekker is reading for a history honours degree.

Harber said the paper would fight the court case and denied it had contravened any regulations.

During three years of emergency rule, the weekly newspaper has been seized twice and suspended once for four weeks.

Breyten forced into a pact of silence

Sunday Times Reporters

EXILED poet Breyten Breytenbach was forced to enter into a "pact of silence" with the Department of Home Affairs in order to visit his sick father.

Millions of South Africans were told on Thursday night's SATV news that the controversial writer and his wife had been granted visas to visit South Africa for four days. S/Times 23/7/89

But Breytenbach was already here, visiting his ailing father, Mr J Breytenbach, 84, who recently suffered a stroke and is in Grahamstown's Settlers Hospital.

"Breyten agreed to keep his trip a secret to ensure he was granted the visa," said a friend yesterday.

"The authorities kept a close watch on him while he was in the country.

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Flew

"And all his friends were instructed to stay mum on his presence."

The fellow author and friend, who did not want to be named, said Breyten spoke of his impending visit when he and other writers met the ANC at Victoria Falls a fortnight ago.

"He left the country the way he came — via Swaziland — and flew to Harare before going to West Berlin for a writers' conference," the friend said.

"Yolande flew via Jan Smuts, on a separate aircraft."

Breyten drove to Grahamstown from Swaziland by car, the friend said.

The poet has been refused visas several times.

"The family does not want to discuss the matter," a brother, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, said.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said Breytenbach had been granted a four-day visa on "humanitarian" grounds on condition the couple did not engage in politics.

'Lift info ban on bank robberies'

Star 25/7/89

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Anti-Censorship Action Group (Acag) yesterday condemned the police decision to withhold detailed information on bank robberies and called for the immediate lifting of all bans on news and information.

In a statement to The Star, Acag said by refusing to disclose certain details about the robberies, police were withholding important information from the public.

Acag's remarks follow protests by communications and criminology experts who said last week a clampdown on information about bank robberies would not prevent them.

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DISQUIET

Police have said the clampdown was requested by the banks to prevent further robberies.

Acag said this explanation was "spurious". It was as concerned about the recent spate of robberies as anyone else but did not think denying the public information would eliminate them.

Intead, it would create rumour and disquiet about what happened.

"The police constantly complain that they do not enjoy the trust of the public and that their credibility is suspect. It is measures like these, which suggest the police have something to hide, that build public mistrust."

Newspaper editors face charges

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The editor of the *Sunday Times*, Tertius Myburgh, is to be charged under the Internal Security Act for allegedly quoting ANC activist Mr Harry Gwala in an article last year. Star 25/7/89

He joins *Sowetan* editor Aggrey Klaaste and *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber, also being charged for quoting a listed person without permission from the Minister of Law and Order.

Two *Weekly Mail* reporters face charges too.

Mr Klaaste and Mr Harber are expected to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on August 9.

An Oudtshoorn community newspaper has been charged under the Prisons Act for publishing a photograph of Mr Nelson Mandela without permission last December. *Saamstaan* editor Derek Jackson must appear in the Oudtshoorn Magistrate's Court on September 20.

Seven other charges related to contravening emergency regulations and the Internal Security Act are pending against the paper. *Saamstaan* won the Pringle Award for services to press freedom in 1988. — Sapa.

Watch on Cosatu, UDF, say security sources

From CRAIG KOTZE
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are closely watching Cosatu and the United Democratic Front to counter alleged plans by the mass democratic movement to launch a campaign of militant defiance against the elections.

Security forces were on the alert and prepared for any eventuality, sources said today.

They said a defiance campaign had already been anticipated and planned for for some time and appropriate action was being taken.

Prominent personalities in Cosatu and the UDF were being closely monitored and were likely to be issued with restriction orders if the anti-election plans, said by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to have been hatched in Lusaka, were implemented.

Top personalities in the South African Communist Party were also being closely watched, the security sources said.

At least 30 activist leaders were said to be under observation.

Police were also monitoring UDF affiliates, said the sources, who added the "revolutionary climate" was still tense.

Police also warned that the ANC planned violent disruption of the September 6 general election.

The three terror blasts, in which two suspected ANC members were killed at at Athlone magistrate's court in Cape Town on Sunday night, were seen as part of this strategy.

"We are in control of the situation and the normal process of law enforcement continues. Should anyone break the law, action will be taken against them," the security sources said.

They also emphasised that the mass democratic movement plans as outlined by Mr Vlok were strategies which police action could very well nip in the bud.

"Just because some of these plans will not come to fruition does not mean Mr Vlok is incorrect. The information at his disposal is absolutely correct," the security sources said.

● Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that the ANC has denied that it has devised a "militant defiance campaign" against the elections in conjunction with the mass democratic movement.

An ANC spokesman said here today that a meeting with an MDM delegation last month had been called primarily to discuss the unrest in Natal and attempts to find a solution to that conflict.

He denied there had been discussion about a defiance campaign or tactics to disrupt the election and township services.

(Report by C Kotze, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Police threaten protesters

CAPE TIMES 27/7/89

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Staff Reporter

POLICE have threatened to evoke the "full power of the law" to prevent a defiance campaign aimed at the disruption of whites-only provincial hospitals in the Transvaal, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order yesterday said.

The police announcement came less than 24 hours after Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok vowed that police would counter a "well-planned wave of violence calculated to disrupt" the September elections.

Yesterday the Congress of South African Trade Unions and organisations formerly affiliated to the restricted United Democratic Front announced a non-violent defiance campaign against segregation.

They were supported by the South African Council of Churches which said "direct non-violent actions (would) force the regime to abandon apartheid and enter into negotiations that will lead to a new society in South Africa".

Law and Order ministry spokesman Lieutenant Peet Bothma said police would act "within the full power of the law, including the emergency regulations", to prevent hospital disruptions.

However the two anti-apartheid organisations, claiming to speak on behalf of the "mass democratic movement", hit back at Mr Vlok's warning.

They said the movement was determined to claim its democratic right to protest peacefully against "apartheid laws and apartheid elections".

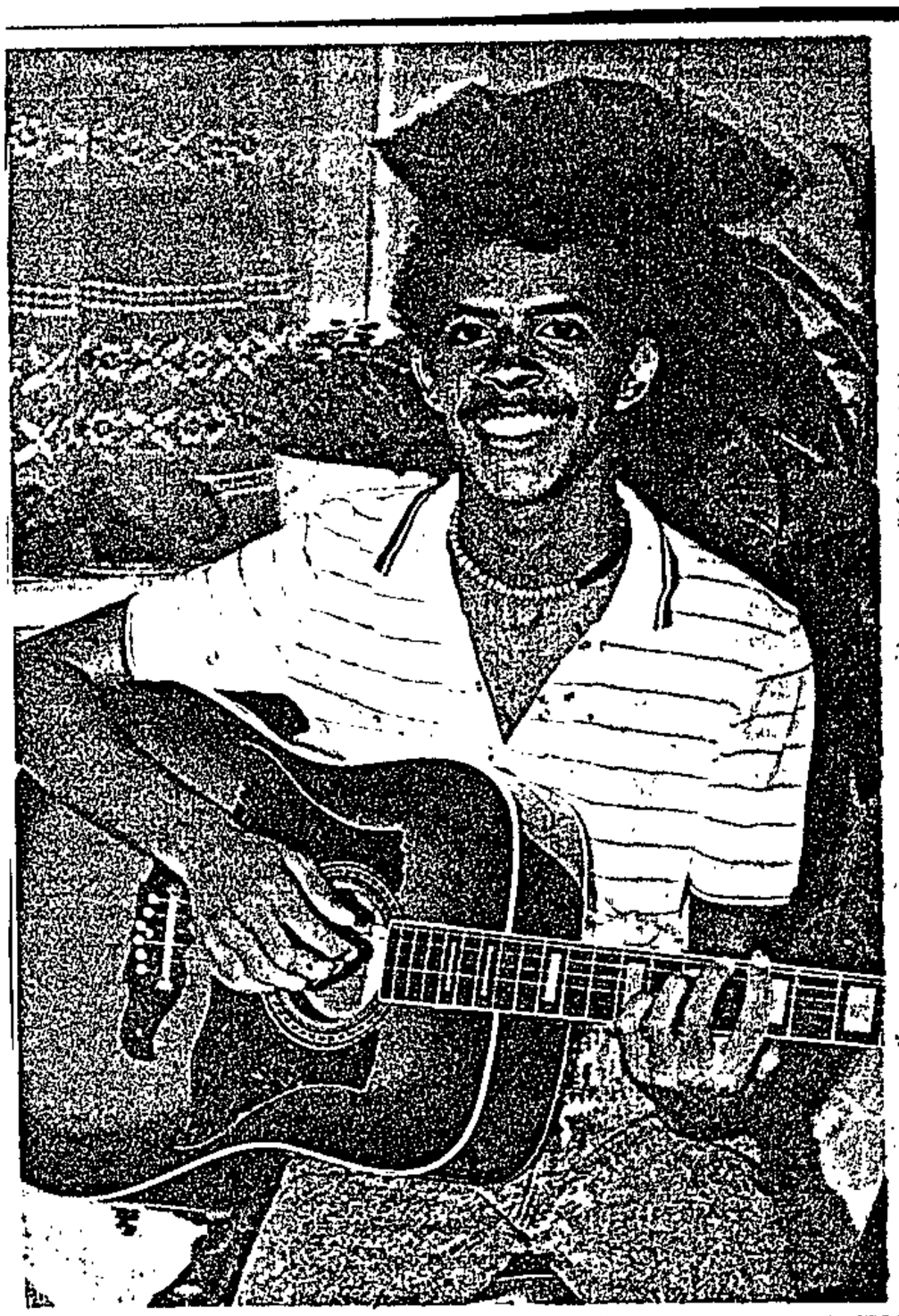
The groups said they were no longer prepared to submit themselves to, or support laws that deprived the majority of of the people of equal and free health services.

Protesters intended to present themselves next Wednesday for "treatment" at the whites-only Johannesburg, Vereeniging, Paardekraal (Krugersdorp) and H F Verwoerd (Pretoria) hospitals.

While the African National Congress denied from Lusaka that it had devised a militant defiance campaign against the elections in conjunction with the mass democratic movement, the latter said at a press conference in Johannesburg their defiance campaign would continue even after the elections.

Though the movement disclosed no further details, it is understood that other action considered included black school children turning up at white schools.

(Report by C de Villiers and C Bateman of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and S Ngcobo of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



'Children of 1985'

(327)

Sowetan 27/7-2/8/89

By CHIARA CARTER

ALWAYS jovial and with a song in his heart.

This is how friends and family knew Robert Waterwitch (left) who died with Bontcheuwel youth leader, Coline Williams, in a bomb blast at the Athlone Magistrate's Court last Sunday night.

Waterwitch, who celebrated his 20th birthday a week before the blast, was a student at the University of the Western Cape.

Well-known in activist circles, he was an executive member of the Cape Youth Congress and the chairperson of the Belgravia Youth Congress.

Waterwitch matriculated at St Columba's High School in Athlone, after which he studied at the University of Cape Town where he was a prominent member of Sansco.

He was described by his un-

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'Children of 1985'

• FROM PAGE 1

cle, Mr Basil Snyers, as a "family person".

"Robbie's mother is divorced and his brother suffers from muscular dystrophy. The family has always been very close," said Snyers.

The other blast victim, Coline, visited the home of her former school friend, Ashley Kriel, two weeks ago to give flowers to his mother.

This week, Williams' badly mutilated body was identified by her mother in the Salt River mortuary as one of two people who were killed in a bomb explosion outside the Athlone magistrates court last weekend.

The explosion was one of a series which rocked the Peninsula last Sunday night.

A founder member of the Bontcheuwel Inter-Students Congress (Bisco), Williams, 22, played a key role in mobilising pupils during the 1985-1986 uprising.

She was held in detention under the state of emergency for 11 months.

After her release, she became active in relief work for families of political prisoners and was currently the co-ordinator of the Relief subcommittee of the Bontcheuwel branch of the Cape Youth Congress.

Both Williams and Waterwitch were devout Catholics and Williams was a member of the Bontcheuwel branch of Inter Church Youth (ICY). She was currently doing an ICY drama course.

Close friends this week emphasised that the couple's strong religious convictions had led to their "deep commitment to fight injustice".

Funeral

"They were, like the Forbes trialists and countless other young South Africans, children of 1985," a friend commented.

"The experiences of that generation of student activists stayed with people like Robbie and Coline. They could not turn their backs on the fight against oppression," he said.

Both the deceased lived with their parents and were last seen by their families on Sunday.

When they had not returned home by Tuesday, their parents contacted lawyers who were advised by police at Athlone police station on Wednesday morning to go to the mortuary.

A funeral for both victims will take place on August 5 at the Bontcheuwel Catholic church and there will be separate vigils in Athlone and Bontcheuwel and a service at UWC next week.

Coline Williams

No wedding cake for Mandla

South 27/7 - 2/8/89

YOUNG Mandla Nyamza, above, has been denied what should have been one of the happiest days of his life.

Mandla's parents, Tony Yengeni and Lumka Nyamza, are both on trial for terrorism in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

They were due to get married on Thursday and had applied for permission from the South African Police for five-year-old Mandla to attend the wedding.

Hour-long reception

But the bouncy youngster was refused permission to attend both the hour-long ceremony and the reception.

The couple's lawyer, Mr Mike Evans, said the police would allow only Yengeni's father and Nyamza's mother to attend the ceremony.

Evans said police had also refused to allow relatives who had travelled to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape to attend the reception.

A lawyer is the only additional person who will be allowed to attend the 40-minute celebration.

Further representations were made to the Prisons Service but at the time of going to press no response had been received.

THE FORCES WHICH ARE PUSHING THE COUNTRY TOWARDS PEACE TALKS ... OR PULLING IT AWAY

Our new Great Divide:

SOUTH AFRICANS have many ways of dividing themselves: by race, class, language, ideology. Now there is a new division: between the optimists and the pessimists.

The optimists — who seem to dominate the media — are telling us that negotiations are in the air, that State President PW Botha's meeting with his prisoner Nelson Mandela was a breakthrough in this process, and there is a real possibility of the government sitting down to talk to the African National Congress in the near future.

The pessimists, like most other South African groups, have already splintered into two camps. The first one is made up of those who say there is nothing happening, there was no significance in the Botha-Mandela tea party, and this country is still ruled by a bunch of white racists who are determined to hold onto power.

The second category of pessimists would argue that a great deal is happening, but all it really adds up to is that Mandela and the ANC are selling out by getting involved in negotiations without any real transfer of power. They are, in this view, contemplating a political half-settlement that will not go all the way to satisfying popular demands.

What all these groups have in common is a belief that substantial negotiations over the country's future are a real possibility in the near future.

They have good reason to believe it, as other stories on this page indicate: growing international pressure, a deteriorating economy, the apparent failure of the securocrat-led attempt at an internal political solution after three years of Emergency, a disintegrating ruling party ... All of these things have combined to put the issue firmly on the political agenda.

The problem, however, is that while it is easy at the moment to see negotiations as a real possibility, there is little sign yet of anything actually happening. All we have so far is a secret tea party at which, according to both tea-drinkers, neither "policy matters" nor Mandela's release were discussed; and leaked hints that president-elect FW de Klerk has told Western leaders that he will be initiating drastic reform

For the CP, a meeting arranged in heaven

PRESSURE ON THE STATE

Own Correspondent

THE glee in the Conservative Party over the recent "courtesy call" discussions between President PW Botha and Nelson Mandela shows that talking to the African National Congress is not regarded as a sellable commodity among conservative white voters.

For the CP, the Mandela-Botha meeting was manna from heaven.

There was also some relief in the Democratic Party that the ANC, the very issue the government exploited so effectively in the May 1987 election against the Progressive Federal Party, had been defused and confused.

There was good reason for the CP and DP reaction: bashing the ANC — whether Mandela in prison or the organisation in exile — has been a major vote-getter in previous elections.

To white voters, the ANC has been portrayed as the symbol of everything they fear — black takeover, communism, one-party state, murderous terrorists who put bombs in supermarkets, nationalisation of assets.

The state has mobilised enormous resources, from the security establishment to its propaganda wings, to perpetuate this image.

This tactic, however short-sighted, was very successful: by unsubtly linking the ANC and the PFP — indeed, during the 1987 election, white voters might have thought they were virtually the same thing — the NP was able to inflict a serious setback on the PFP, capturing a number of their seats and making the CP the official opposition.

Now, suddenly, the very man behind the 1987 strategy to scare white voters into the NP, President PW Botha, is talking to the leader of the ANC — and, *nogal*, in the midst of an election campaign.

The NP will undoubtedly try to exploit the same white fears again before September 6. For instance, a concerted anti-guerrilla attack or a cross-border strike in August would help show voters that the government is not "soft" on security.

But it won't be the same: the "tea party" has changed that for ever. And Mandela has not renounced violence as Botha insisted is necessary to secure his release.

Undenied reports, particularly in Western capitals, that Mandela is to be released after September 6 also complicates the issue for the NP.

The Nationalist dilemma has been demonstrated by the statements made by its chief information officer, Con Botha, MP for Umlazi.

Botha told Canadian Broadcasting Corporation this week that the PW Botha/Mandela meeting could be likened to commanders-in-chief in a war situation "sounding each other out about the possibility of a truce".

His comments implied the government was at least considering a ceasefire with the banned organisation.

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The Botha-Mandela tea party has raised hopes — but can expectations be met ? Picture: Reuter

Stamping hard on our Achilles heel

FINANCIAL PRESSURE

Hilary Joffe

THE line from business, government and anti-apartheid leaders is the same: the debt crisis is South Africa's Achilles heel. Far more than trade sanctions or disinvestment, it's been financial sanctions which have crippled the country.

With negotiations due next year between South Africa's financial authorities and its foreign bankers, and with the country's gold and foreign exchange reserves having fallen to dangerously low levels, the foreign debt situation is providing a powerful pressure for positive political signals, in other words, for negotiation.

Financial sanctions have been crippling because of their blanket effect on economic growth. South Africa's economic growth rates have in the 1980s fallen far short of population growth rates so that the country's ability to provide jobs or infrastructure for its people is severely limited.

For the government, that places a limit on its ability to finance its reform policies. It also means high tax rates, high inflation and high interest rates, all of which make life difficult for electioneers. For business it places a limit on profitable investment opportunities and is a barrier to confidence. For ordinary people, it means high inflation, high unemployment and declining living standards.

Some R25-billion has flowed out of the country in the past four years. Reserve Bank estimates show that if South Africa continues to have capital outflows equivalent to four percent of its total output a year, as it has done since 1985, the economy can grow by only two percent a year. But if instead the situation were reversed and capital flowed in at this rate, the economy could grow by four or five percent a year.

Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly offered his own version of the conflicting pressures on economic resources in his annual statement this week. Stressing South Africa's need for a five to six percent annual economic growth rate (and its inability to achieve this as long as the country remained a capital exporter), he said: "The South African pot is never big enough to feed the claims of a civil service spawned by white nationalism; an army bred to cope with an assumed communist onslaught; the demands for education, health services, housing and infrastructure for a population growing at a self-destructive rate; and not least the expectations, personal as well as political, of those who have been willing to participate in the tricameral parliament."

The financial sanctions issue has come to centre stage for two reasons. One is that the economy was in better shape in 1987/88 than it had been for some time, showing positive growth in contrast to the economic decline of 1985/86. But the result was that it came up against the limits imposed by financial sanctions and started running rapidly out of gold and foreign exchange reserves.

The second looming pressure is the debt negotiations between South Africa and its foreign creditor banks due early next year, which cover some $9-billion owed to the banks. The current agreement between South Africa and the banks expires at the end of June 1990. While it's almost certain the negotiations will happen and the debt will be rescheduled (the foreign banks do, after all, want to get their money back), the question for South Africa's financial authorities is whether the terms of the agreement will be harsh or manageable.

What they are trying to do is to get foreign banks individually to roll over the debts until 1997 and they have had some success in persuading Swiss and United States bankers to do so, relieving some of the pressure.

Such successes have met with protest from anti-apartheid movements abroad. And with the debt negotiations coming up next year, activists here and abroad have taken the opportunity to strike at the "Achilles heel" in an attempt to push for negotiations. So this week in Britain, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and End Loans to Southern Africa announced they planned a "major international campaign" against UK-based National Westminster Bank, aimed at stopping the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt.

The AAM's move follows a campaign initiated last month by South African church leaders, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak, who wrote to foreign creditor banks demanding they refuse to reschedule South Africa's debt next year unless the government committed itself to a series of conditions, including negotiations towards a non-racial democratic society and an end to repressive measures.

The bankers have, in response, shown no signs of refusing to reschedule the debts. But they have been pressured to come out against apartheid and NatWest, for one, said this week it would make rescheduling conditional upon certain changes.

The anti-apartheid movements' and leaders' new strategies arrive against a backdrop of the relative failure of the old ones. They have not managed to achieve comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the government's major trading partners. And while trade sanctions and disinvestment have had an impact on the economy this has been unquantifiable and is far from bringing the country to its knees.

But the effect of financial sanctions has been clear — and the pressure to address them politically will intensify in coming months.

●See Business page

COSATU
CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

NATIONAL ACCOUNTANT

The CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (Cosatu) has a vacancy in its Head Office in Johannesburg, which it urgently needs to fill. Letters of application, including a CV and at least two contactable references should be addressed to: The General Secretary, COSATU, P.O. Box 1019, Johannesburg — Fax (011) 834-6528. These should reach us by Monday 14th August 1989.

The duties will include:
- developing and implementing financial policies and procedures
- budget preparation and control
- maintenance of a proper cashflow
- liaising with other federations, trade unions (including our affiliates) and our lawyers on financial matters
- dealing with staff matters such as salaries etc.
- consolidating head office and regional accounts
- preparing periodical financial statements and presenting these at various meetings
- investigating and reporting on various ad hoc financial issues
- assisting the other accounts staff where and when necessary

Applicants should:
- have the necessary practical skills and experience to take the books up to balance sheet level
- be able to operate a PC computer and have elementary word processing and spreadsheet skills
- be highly motivated and efficient
- be able to operate under pressure and handle crises
- have initiative and be prepared to work long hours when necessary
- be able to work effectively in a democratic environment
- have a strong commitment to the principles of COSATU
- preferably be able to start the first week in September 1989.

optimists and pessimists

steps after the September election.

De Klerk's promises to the likes of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher fall into a similar category. South Africa's white leaders have often told the world that they will soon take drastic political action — and by now the world is not going to get excited until they see real proof that such promises will be kept.

So lurking behind all the optimism about negotiations lies another dreadful scenario: that the government is raising expectations, partly as an election campaign and partly to buy time with the international community.

When it fails to meet what are by now very high expectations, then the country is in for a terrible onslaught: the combined wrath of the world, the possibility of more internal unrest, and all the economic and political implications of this. The government would then have no choice but to fall back on rule by repression, and turn back to the ever-present Emergency regulations to maintain power.

There is one other interpretation being bandied around. Negotiations always start with demands and counter-demands being put on the table — and that has already happened in the sense that we know what both sides are demanding of each other. Once both sides are stating their positions, and responding to each others' statements, then the process has already begun, even if it is only at a very early stage.

The problem is that at this point both sides still mean very different things when they use the word "negotiation". It is one of the many words — like "democracy", "moderate" and "non-racialism" — that have become so cheapened by rhetoric and abuse that they can be used to mean entirely different things by different parties in the South African conflict.

All one really can do at this stage is weigh up the forces pushing the country in one direction against those pushing the government in the other — as the *Weekly Mail* attempts to do on this page.

Anton Harber

For now, the US will let Britain do the batting

PRESSURE FROM ABROAD

Shaun Johnson

IN both Pretoria and Lusaka, political strategists are being subjected to a severe arm-twisting. The pressure is being exerted from a distance, but is acute nevertheless.

It is now conventional wisdom that the foreign policy paths of the West, East and Frontline states have effectively converged — a "negotiated political settlement" in South Africa is suddenly alluring to all.

But how much pressure can the international community invoke? And how tractable are the objects of their attention? In plain language, can they force a settlement of their choosing?

The answers, respectively, are: a lot, quite, and of course not.

Two recent working documents on the issue of negotiations — the product of discussions between ANC and "mass democratic movement" leaders — explicitly address the question of international machinations.

In a "Report on Consultations" dated June 6, it is noted that "as a result of increasing pressures being placed on the regime ... and as a result of initiatives being taken by imperialist forces, the issue of negotiations has arisen again".

Britain's initiatives appear to give cause for most concern: it is feared that Whitehall could be envisaging a negotiated "solution" which falls short of one-person-one-vote in a unitary, non-racial democracy.

The documents refer to Margaret Thatcher's alleged acceptance of Pretoria's concept of "group protection", and her natural affinity (due to his commitment to "free enterprise") with KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is not Britain's intitiatives in isolation that are giving most pause for thought, however. The United States appears content — according to new Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen — to let the British make most of the running for the moment.

The style of British diplomacy has altered markedly since the arrival of activist-ambassador Sir Robin Renwick in 1987. His hands-on approach has placed Britain as the foreign power most integrally interested in this country's future.

Cohen is happy to concede that "the British have a major role to play" in finding solutions. "We welcome British leadership in this problem," he said at the end of last month.

This does not imply US inactivity, however. Cohen foresees "greater efforts at what I call multilateral diplomacy ... You will see greater efforts at consulting with (other industrialised countries, especially the UK and West Germany) ... co-ordinating our policies. I have already been to London and Bonn to begin these consultations."

Resistance groups are convinced that Whitehall is in favour of a revamped "Eminent Persons"-type contact group, which, in the words of the discussion paper, could well include longstanding allies of the ANC, like Zambia.

Margaret Thatcher

British sources say it is far too early to consider such a specific step — and indeed deny that they are playing quite the Machiavellian role ascribed to them — but the fears of the resistance strategists persist.

"Even the chairman of the FLS (Frontline states), President Kaunda, has called for negotiations now," it is remarked somewhat laconically in a "Discussion paper on the issue of negotiations". Kaunda's open-ended invitation to FW de Klerk for a meeting, issued this week, lends weight to the impression.

Further, it is thought that the Soviet Union, China, and Frontline state leaders such as Angola's Jose Eduardo dos Santos, would not be averse to such a "contact group" proposal.

It is accepted that there are potential benefits for all. The Soviet Union is said now to be less concerned with regional influence than regional prosperity, and that prosperity would be most welcomed by South Africa's beleaguered neighbours.

The state has been far less frank to acknowledge diplomatic pressure. Foreign Minister Pik Botha was quick to remark, after the meeting between Nelson Mandela and PW Botha, that it had not been brokered by an outside party.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the government's new (and still little more than rhetorical) commitment to some form of "negotiations" has a lot to do with the messages it is receiving from abroad.

It is clear that neither Thatcher nor US President George Bush will offer Pretoria an indefinite period of grace.

Serving notice that the Bush administration would play "a more activist role on the issue of internal constitutional change in South Africa," Cohen let it be known that "if progress ... is not made, say, over a two-year period after the new government takes office in September, it would be very difficult for the US government to hold back the forces that are looking to increase pressure ...

"I think this would be true not only in the United States, but would be true in western Europe and Japan as well."

Cohen added, quite starkly, that "sanctions have had a very major impact on the development of new thinking in South Africa."

Spectre of the 'hung' parliament

PRESSURE ON THE RIGHT

Ivor Powell

WHEN they comment on the forthcoming elections, there are three people far rightwingers refer to. Oddly, none is a candidate — but all three, they say, contribute to the likelihood that after the elections, there will be a hung parliament.

The first member of the improbable triumvirate is General Jan Christiaan Smuts. Our rightists remark: "Remember how Smuts was talking to the king, touring around Europe, playing the great international statesman during the run-up to the 1948 elections? He was more concerned with his international image than domestic politics — and he got a big fright when he got back home."

FW de Klerk, they predict, though his party is unlikely actually to lose at the ballot box, is going to get a similarly rude awakening when the Conservative Party sweeps the platteland of the Transvaal, most of the Free State, the Northern Cape and the north of Natal.

The second person the ultrarightists talk about is Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche. After allegations made by *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allan that TerreBlanche had been, often drunkenly, pursuing her and had once passed out at her front doorstep for the night, as well as his ignominious withdrawal from the the parliamentary battle, the political future of the former independent Rustenburg candidate is seriously in doubt.

But mostly, the right is talking about jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. The news of his tea party with President PW Botha cost the National Party an estimated four percent of the vote, according to a survey published last week in *Rapport* — a result which will, according to rumour, be confirmed by a different poll scheduled for publication in this week's *Sunday Times*.

"Anything below 45 percent support for the National Party," predicts Professor Sampie Terreblanche of Stellenbosch University, "and we're in for a hung parliament."

But more importantly for many observers, PW's bombshell has led to very significant clashes and disagreements over election policy within the National Party itself.

While, up to this point, the NP has been following the rather surprising strategy of fighting the election to the left, hoping rather to stem the Democratic Party threat than to keep voters from crossing over to the Conservative Party, now the party's approach seems less coherent.

This week NP information officer Con Botha all but publicly repudiated the president by reaffirming his party's oft-repeated refusal to enter negotiations with the ANC until the organisation was prepared to renounce violence. Mandela, meanwhile, was telling the world that he still believed what he believed 28 years ago when he was a driving force in the formation of Umhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

"The earth has moved for the Nationalists since the PW-Mandela meeting," Mark Swilling of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies comments. "The whole context has changed, and to them it looks very scary indeed. They're shedding to the right far faster than they anticipated, and in the general panic the party orthodoxy is starting to reassert itself."

Eugene TerreBlanche

While the NP grows increasingly frantic, the CP can hardly conceal its glee. Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was quick to brand the Mandela tea party as "a breakthrough for the banned organisation" which signalled a "new relationship" with the ANC.

Predicting that the Mandela issue would become a major focus in the coming elections, he added ominously: "The CP will see to it that the NP's new approach to the ANC will be brought to the attention of every voter in the country."

CP foreign affairs spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis predicted that the Mandela affair would "bring far more patriots into the CP fold".

According to Derby-Lewis, the CP is likely to capture a minimum of between 59 and 62 parliamentary seats. Such is the manifest support in the platteland that nobody outside of the NP is predicting that the party will hold many more than 80 seats — raising the possibility of a coalition government.

Derby-Lewis also draws attention to the fact that the CP's strongest support base is in the Transvaal, and that the Nats are likely to be relatively weak in that province.

NP leader De Klerk is also Transvaal leader of the party. His position, especially in view of the threat posed by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — now leader of the strongly NP Cape Province — places him in a very vulnerable position if the battle for leadership is renewed.

But these are not the only reasons that CP supporters are smiling. Finally the millstone that is TerreBlanche has been cast off from around their neck.

When the Jani Allan scandal first broke at the end of last year, a senior CP spokesman compared him to an animal wounded through the lung, not visibly in distress, but bound, sooner or later, to fall.

Now with the withdrawal of his ill-starred Rustenburg candidacy, suggestively followed by the latest round of allegations regarding the AWB leader and the *Sunday Times* colum-

●To PAGE 6

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

PIETERMARITZBURG

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Application forms, details of the salaries package, further particulars of the posts and conditions of service are obtainable from the Personnel Section, University of Natal, P O Box 375, Pietermaritzburg 3200, telephone (0331) 63320, fax 63497

ADMARK THE BEST PEOPLE FOR THE JOB N04615

Police watch on MDM

Big white hospitals face siege next week

Star 27/7/89 (327)

Staff Reporters

The Mass Democratic Movement is facing stiff police surveillance as it plans to get ailing blacks to converge on white hospitals on Wednesday.

The police warned today that they would take action against MDM members if any laws were broken during the protest against segregated hospital facilities.

Colonel Vic Haynes, a spokesman for the SAP directorate of public relations, said police would see whether the emergency regulations were broken.

"We have taken note of these alleged intentions, and will monitor the situation. If any laws or the emergency regulations are transgressed, the SAP will act accordingly."

A strong police presence — at least 90 policemen — was maintained throughout an MDM anti-election rally in the Durban City Hall last night in the wake of Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's threats to take action against the movement if it disrupted the elections.

Two South African Police video teams recorded the meeting which was attended by more than 2 000 people.

Police vehicles were parked in West Street, Smith Street and in the closed-off street between the city hall and the cenotaph.

The MDM has called on ailing blacks to present themselves for treatment at eight white hospitals on Wednesday as part of a non-violent campaign against segregation.

Hospitals selected for the

UTA flight be anything

By Jacqueline Myburgh

More than 200 passengers on a UTA flight

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Hospitals selected for the campaign include Johannesburg Hospital, Paardekraal Hospital on the West Rand and Addington and Grey's in Natal.

Talks with doctors

The MDM is an alliance of anti-apartheid groups. A spokesman said yesterday that it had discussed the campaign with doctors and nursing staff at the eight hospitals — "the majority of whom" were prepared to admit blacks.

He said he did not expect patients to suddenly present themselves in large numbers, and denied claims by Minister of Health Dr Willie van Niekerk that the campaign was planned to disrupt health services.

Dr van Niekerk said he believed that protesters would express resistance to the general election on September 6 by being taken to hospitals and clinics to clog them.

The MDM spokesman said: "Our objective is not to precipitate a crisis, but to do away with segregation.

"We don't believe the campaign will be any burden on health services."

In a statement yesterday, the MDM said: "We are no longer prepared to submit ourselves to, or support, laws that deprive the majority of the people in our country of equal and free health services."

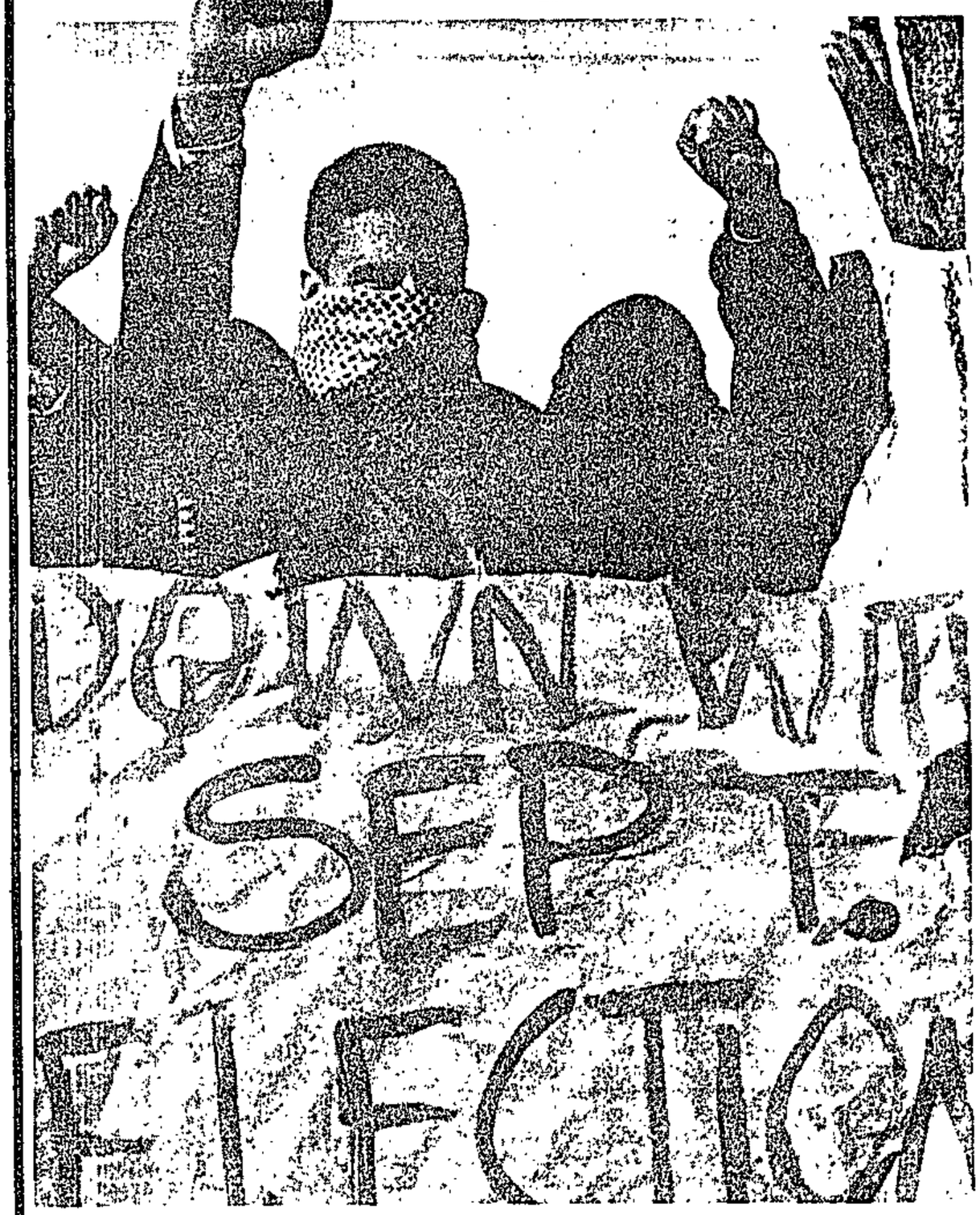
It said it was calling on sickly black people to seek treatment at white hospitals from August 2 onwards, but was not calling on people already being treated in black hospitals to ask for transfers to white institutions.

The MEC for hospital services in the Transvaal, Mr Daan Kirstein, appealed to the MDM.

"I don't know why hospitals have been chosen," he said. "Use anything else except the health service, whether it be for political or other uses." He said the only people who would suffer would be the patients.

Revealed: Vlok's 'terror plot' document

Violence blue-print turns out to be a union report ... in which bloodshed is never mentioned



A 'no' to the elections ... placard in Cape Town's Athlone this week Picture: RASHID LOMBARD

By EDDIE KOCH

THE mystery document which Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok used this week to back his claims of a secret terror campaign against the September polls has been released to the *Weekly Mail*.

The document is a draft of a resolution put before the recent annual congress of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

It bears some similarity to Vlok's description — but makes no mention of terror or violence. And while the document was drafted for presentation at the congress, it was never discussed.

Cosatu officials say that the document has been distorted by Vlok to create the impression that Cosatu has plotted revolutionary violence.

"We challenge the minister to prove his allegations in open court," said Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi. "We are also consulting our legal advisers to determine whether we have the basis for an action against him."

The controversial document, submitted as a draft resolution to Cosatu's congress, but never formally adopted, urged union members to take part in campaigns on the following dates:

- July 20: Mass action to challenge the segregation of health services.
- July 30: Defiance of all forms race discrimination in education, housing, job opportunities, education and recreation.
- August 20: Nation-wide mass rallies, street demonstrations, processions and openly displaying the insignia of all banned organisations.
- Early September: A week of "militant mass action" against the tricameral parliament and elections.
- October: A conference of anti-apartheid organisations that will plan action "to finally smash apartheid".

Says the draft resolution: "We must mobilise a national defiance campaign to all unjust and discriminatory laws. We commit ourselves to mobilising every Cosatu member to take part in this ongoing defiance campaign, that

●To PAGE 2

Students take to streets in week-long protests

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

OILY black smoke from burning-tyre barricades smudged the horizon over Mitchells Plain this week as Cape students took to the streets in a week-long protest geared to dovetail with nationwide protests.

In widespread action at schools in Mitchell's Plain, Bonteheuwel, Bellville South, Belhar, Manenberg and Athlone, students staged protest marches and rallies.

At least nine students were said to have been arrested yesterday after police took action against Mitchells Plain students attempting to hold a rally at one of the township's high schools.

Teargas canisters arced across the skyline and blazing barricades spewed smoke as police and students played what appeared to be a cat-and-mouse game.

In Bonteheuwel yesterday, police

●To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

THE INVISIBLE MAN WHO POWERED SA BOXING BACK INTO THE WORLD p34

P.T.O

Violence blue-print but there's not bloodshed in it

will culminate in a week of militant mass action during the first week of September."

Press reports of Vlok's speech in Fochville on Tuesday night indicate the minister incorrectly claimed the document called for action against hospital segregation on August 2.

The minister also referred to a number of campaigns — a planned march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria, use of petrol bombs against election candidates and a petition to demand the release of political prisoners — which are nowhere to be found in the document.

"A number of claimed actions and dates which the minister alleges the document contains are not even mentioned in the draft," said Mufamadi. "Secondly, some of the proposals, for example, to go to hospitals and demand that 'health facilities are desegregrated and opened to all people' is distorted by Minister Vlok to read 'people must turn up at hospitals ... to disrupt medical services'."

More serious was Vlok's claim that intimidation and a petrol-bomb campaign was planned around the elections, said Mufamadi. "This is a blatant lie. There is nothing in the document which remotely suggests acts of violence."

●From PAGE 1

Mufamadi acknowledged much of the document "accurately reflects the mood of the congress and the people as a whole" but said time constraints had prevented it from being discussed at the congress.

The war of words between the minister and the one-million-strong labour federation could spill over into a major confrontation. Resistance groups have indicated a grim determination to proceed with the peaceful protests despite Vlok's threats, raising prospects that a cycle of escalating resistance and repression is imminent.

A number of rallies against the Labour Relations Act, jointly organised by Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions, were broken up and banned by security police at the weekend and the unions have vowed to take protest action if police action continues.

At a press conference earlier in the week — called by resistance groups to announce "direct and peaceful action" against segregated services — a number of speakers said Vlok had skewed the document to justify a crackdown on leaders of Cosatu and other organisations.

"This is characteristic Natspeak in which truth and distortion have been twisted by Vlok," said prominent anti-apartheid activist Mohammed Valli. "It is designed to prepare whites for another clamp on the opposition movement ... Insofar as any actions have been planned, we would like to make it clear that these are to be organised and non-violent."

The conference, attended by a large contingent of Western diplomats, announced the start of a campaign on August 2 in which sick township residents will begin presenting themselves at whites-only hospitals for treatment.

The protests, and the government's response to them, will be a crucial test of the enlightened image that many Western statesmen have of FW de Klerk's leadership. Observers note it would be incongruous for Pretoria to say it is willing to negotiate a settlement to South Africa's problems and reform apartheid, while it cracks down on peaceful protests against racial segregation.

Sensing the dilemma the government finds itself in, church leader Allan Boesak this week issued a statement saying: "The Minister of Law and Order should not so easily resort to threats and intimidation. Rather he should understand that this presents him with an opportunity to rid himself of a system which he himself says has become an albatross around his neck."

Hospitals targeted in the campaign include the Johannesburg Hospital, the Paardekraal Hospital on the West Rand, the Vereeninging Hospital, the HF Verwoed Hospital in Pretoria, the Addington Hospital in Durban, Grey's Hospital in Pietermaritzburg and hospitals in Dundee and Port Shepstone.

An alliance of more than 30 organisations announced peaceful defiance of segregation in education, recreation, transport and housing would follow the hospitals campaign. These would include protests against the tricameral parliament during election week.

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Mail 28/7 - 3/8/89.

Police search British MP

327

Weekly

By LANCE NAWA

AN eye-witness from the Western Cape Council of Churches insists police stopped and searched British shadow foreign secretary Gerald Kaufman at a roadblock in Cape Town on Friday.

A report published in the *Citizen* newspaper yesterday said "neither the SAP nor the Department of Foreign Affairs could shed light" on the incident.

However, the WCCC organising secretary, Theresa Solomon, who accompanied the Labour Party MP on a trip around Cape Town's townships, told the *Weekly Mail* that police stopped their car on two separate occasions.

"We were first stopped by two plain-clothes policemen on our way from a squatter camp, Brown Farm."

The group were stopped a second time near Khayelitsha. "We were stopped by six uniformed police, who ordered us to produce our identification. Kaufman refused and told them he was a member of the British parliament. They forced him to open his bag to prove his statement, after which they left."

Asked for comment, Captain R Bloomberg, of the police public relations directorate in Pretoria, said that "although inquiries were made as thoroughly as possible in the time allowed, no trace of such incidents could be found".

28/7 - 3/8/89

Anti-SRC pamphlets dropped at Flats schools

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Education Reporter

THOUSANDS of "high-quality and sophisticated" pamphlets criticising student representative councils and today's stayaway at Cape Town schools have been distributed on the Cape Flats.

The pamphlets, apparently dropped overnight near high schools, claimed that radical students were being "commanded by SRCs and other problem-making organisations".

Radical students, according to the pamphlets, were not going to school today because "a radical must be stupid and uneducated and throw stones".

Students had to stay away from schools "otherwise we get educated, civilised and wise".

Radicals, claimed the pamphlets, would give pupils jobs in future.

"I will, for instance, become a medical doctor even though I will not know anything about the human body."

In a paragraph in which the words "the truth is" have been underlined, the pamphlets claimed that pupils would one day tell their children that "they threw stones and killed people instead of learning and preparing for a future".

An Athlone principal said the pamphlets were of a high quality and sophisticated.

"The people responsible for this have become very subtle. In the past they used poor language and paper. However, this is a clever pamphlet," he said.

Police liaison officer Captain Hendrik Opperman said he did not know about the pamphlets but would find out more.

Meanwhile, an educationist has warned that the general election will precipitate a school crisis.

The deputy-president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, Mr Randall van der Heever, said the tension at Cape Flats schools did not bode well for education this term.

"It is clear that the government elections of September 6 will again precipitate a major crisis in our schools," he said.

Students at teachers' training colleges also stayed away today in protest against the planned closure of Zonnebloem Teachers' Training College.

Vlok, MDM clash over violent plot

Star 30/7/89 (327)

By CONNIE MOLUSI

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Cosatu have clashed over whether the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) is plotting violent sabotage of the general elections.

Meanwhile, MDM activists are living in fear of their lives following recent petrol bomb attacks on the homes of two SA Youth Congress members in Alexandra.

Earlier this week Vlok warned the MDM against planning violent sabotage of the elections, saying he had documented proof of such plans.

The document – a draft resolution put before Cosatu's recent congress and which was never adopted – urged union members to challenge apartheid laws, defy the banning of organisations and take mass action against the September elections.

Activists say Vlok exaggerated the contents of the document, especially that intimidation and petrol bombing was planned for the elections. They said the document did not suggest acts of violence.

At a Press conference this week, the MDM called for "direct and peaceful action" against apartheid services.

The movement announced that on August 2 sick black patients would go to white hospitals for treatment.

In a statement the MDM said: "The National Party and other parties are presently going door to door to campaign for their candidates. It is our democratic right to call on our people not to vote."

The movement dismissed Vlok's speech as propaganda aimed at instilling panic into white voters and condoning actions taken against the MDM.

"It is also our right to defy illegal apartheid regulations," the statement added.

The MDM's Mohammed Valli Moosa denied Vlok's claim that the movement intended mobilising large numbers of people to disrupt hospital services.

"What will happen is that ill people will present themselves to be treated in

Minister distorted resolution – Cosatu

these hospital as part of a campaign to desegregate these facilities."

Meanwhile, the MDM and Cosatu have expressed concern at "sinister threats and attempts on the lives of its member in the past two weeks".

The flat of Alexandra activists Paul Mashatiule and Jacob Mtshali was firebombed this week and three nurses were injured in a similar attack on the Alexandra Health Centre.

Civil rights lawyer Cathy Satchwell's car was also set alight in Norwood this week.

Cosatu released the following list of recent attacks or threats on unionists:

- Newly-elected Cosatu vice-president and senior shop steward at the Volkswagen plant, John Gomomo, received repeated death threats from "Wit Wolwe".
- The house of a Numsa shop steward at Goodyear, Joe Sapotela, was firebombed and his brother killed.
- The house of another Numsa shop steward in Newcastle was burnt down.
- Ccawusa administrator Elizabeth Letswidi received a death threat last Wednesday.

Cosatu said there had been 37 attacks on unionists between May 1987 and December 1988.

Moosa said increased attacks on MDM members were the same violent actions which Vlok accused the movement of planning.

"These attacks, coming in the wake of the minister's warning, raise very important questions as to who is planning violence against whom."

■ Report by C Molusi of 204 Eloff Street Ext, Selby.

Police, soldiers stand by for MDM defiance

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police and soldiers are on standby countrywide for this week's proposed defiance campaign by the Mass Democratic Movement.

Major-General Herman Stadler, SAP public relations chief, said today the security forces would not be lulled into a false sense of security by the non-start of the defiance campaign.

Activists in the MDM — an alliance of anti-apartheid bodies and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — vowed at the weekend to go ahead with their campaign to defy segregation in health, education, transport, housing, job opportunities and public amenities.

Police said today no incidents or demonstrations linked to the campaign, which was expected to start yesterday, were reported at the weekend.

Major-General Stadler said that police will remain on the alert as long as the MDM continues its stated aim of disrupting the elections.

The government's strategy to combat the campaign will apparently be discussed at tomorrow's weekly meeting of the State Security Council. Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok is expected to attend.

MDM occupation

In Johannesburg and other areas police patrolled parks and bus terminuses regularly yesterday and today for the MDM's national "militant mass action".

Segregated parks and buses were to have been "occupied" by MDM supporters.

The MDM's action against segregated hospitals, including the Johannesburg Hospital and Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital, is due to start on Wednesday.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration said that all hospital premises would be restricted, and only people with permission would be admitted.

According to the MDM, it does not intend to flood hospitals with patients. "We simply told our people to go to the hospitals regardless of race," said a spokesman at the weekend.

At the weekend, MDM leaders were said to be prepared to go into hiding and continue the defiance campaign in spite of Mr Vlok's warning to halt their plans.

● Two far rightwing organisations — the Wit Wolwe and the World Apartheid Movement — have allegedly threatened violent resistance to the MDM's campaign.

Pamphlets, which make racist comments about blacks and Indians, were issued in Randburg.

Law and Order spokesman, Lieutenant Peet Bothma, said the police viewed the pamphlets in "a serious light".

(Reports by A Walker, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg and E Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Cape counts storm damage

(Cont from page 1)

Site B, Site C and Green Point. Some families, he said, had their homes flooded again yesterday, especially in parts of Site C where people were evacuated last week.

Live electrical cables were exposed as powerlines and poles blocked streets in Lansdowne, Guguletu, Tokai, Claremont, Muizenberg, Kenilworth, Parow, Rondebosch, Mowbray, Woodstock, Athlone, Wynberg, Kensington, Nyanga East, Manenberg, Diep River and Kuils River.

Dozens of trees were uprooted in these areas, some of them crashing on to buildings and cars.

Part of the roof of the Masque theatre in Muizenberg was blown on to a railway line.

The roof of a national monument, the Ovenstone house in Newlands, was blown off. This was one of many roofs which were swept away.

A tree fell on a home in Guguletu and a tree fell on a parked car at Rondebosch station. A tree was blown on to a car in Hof Street in the city.

A radio mast was snapped in Brackenfell and the roof blown off the garage of a Bellville old-age home.

Power failures, caused by tree branches damaging overhead cables, hit Durbanville, Bellville, Kuils River, Lynedoch and Eerste River.

The municipal radio mast in Reservoir Road, Brackenfell, was snapped, but council teams repaired it.

In Bellville a recently fitted garage roof was blown off at an old-age home in Durban Road. No one was injured.

Trees were uprooted in the municipal caravan park in Kuils River. A power failure lasting several hours hit the town about 4pm.

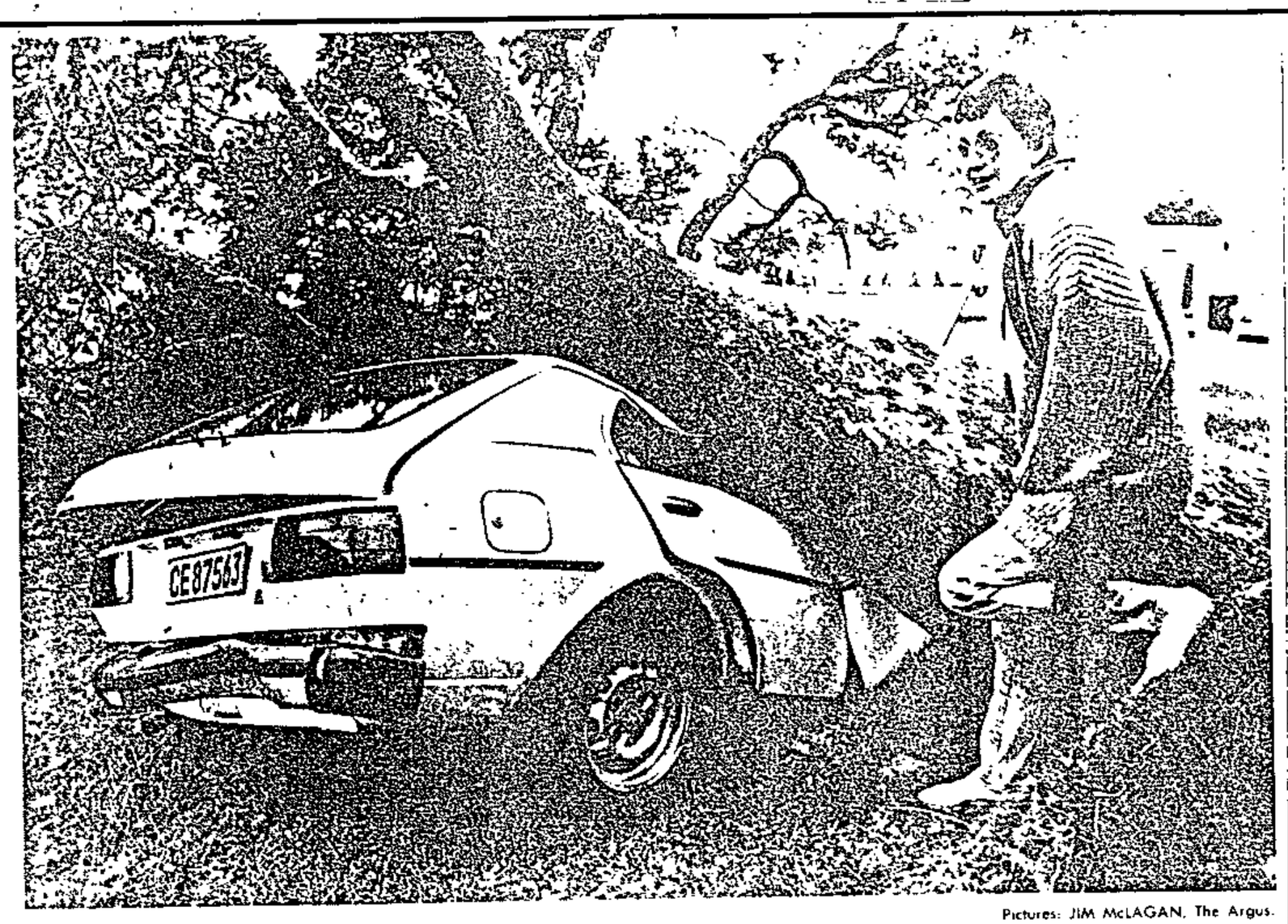
In Cape Town harbour conditions delayed the launch of Springbok sailor Bertie Reed's new yacht and forced port authorities to move a coastal freighter to a safer berth.

Huge concrete blocks lying on the middle of the breakwater were washed off the wall and into the harbour.

The freighter Berg of Unicorn was moved to the landing-wall because she was badly riding up and down at her berth, said a spokesman for the port captain's office.

The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports that the Eastern Cape is bracing itself for a hurricane-force wind and heavy rain.

From tomorrow Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Despatch face severe water restrictions. Households will be limited to 15 kilolitres a month and water will cost 79,05c a kilolitre. A penalty rate of R24 will be charged to anyone exceeding the 15-kilolitre limit.



Pictures: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus.

CRUSHED: Miss Tawnee Hill of Ottery ruefully examines her car which was crushed by a falling tree when she visited friends in Chichester Road, Claremont.

ROAD BLOCKED: This tree brought down powerlines when it was uprooted in the storm, blocking Bisset Road in Kenilworth.

Shells pound Beirut

BEIRUT. — Merciless artillery barrages pounding helpless residents of Beirut for the past four days are now engulfing two-thirds of Lebanon. "Hundreds of rocket launchers are pouring their rockets 40 at a time," a security source said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Coal miners trapped

CURANILAHUE. — Rescue workers virtually abandoned hope for 21 miners they said were caught inside a coal mine that flooded in southern Chile. The coal miners were 175 metres underground when a shaft wall gave way. — Sapa-Reuter.

Poll '89: Parties gear up for special votes

Political Correspondent

VOTING in the general election will start on Thursday when the first special votes will be issued.

Special votes are more easily available this time than in any previous general election. Voters need not prove that they will not be in the constituency where they are registered on polling day.

They can now have a ballot paper issued at a magistrate's court or office of the Department of Home Affairs without giving reasons but they have to give proof of identity.

The easier special vote system is meant to counter intimidation efforts, especially in the coloured and Indian communities. It may produce a higher percentage poll than in the 1984 elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

Meanwhile, the National Party has launched the next phase of its advertising campaign.

This phase is designed to boost the image of its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, as a new leader with new vision. There are also advertisements knocking its Democratic Party and Conservative Party opponents.

The Democratic Party has also launched an advertising campaign introducing its candidates and claiming that its support is growing fast and that it is going for power.

Mr de Klerk will open his party's election campaign with a meeting in the Parow civic centre on Thursday night.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

Boxing champ loses licence

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Douglas Sibiya, Natal light heavyweight champion, has had his licence to box withdrawn.

This follows an incident in Johannesburg last Monday night when Sibiya went down without being hit in the second round of his fight with Howard Mpepesi and refused to box on when ordered by referee Joseph Chaane.

"This is the third time Sibiya has been involved in a incident of this nature and after reviewing the reports submitted by the Transvaal board it was decided to revoke his licence," said Natal chairman Mr David Davis after a meeting of the Natal board.

Besides losing his licence Sibiya will also forfeit his purse money for the fight and the Natal light heavyweight title will be declared vacant.

DP to talk security with Vlok

Cape Times 1/8/89 (327)

Political Staff

AGAINST a background of mounting anger against the extra-parliamentary Mass Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party announced last night that it was sending a delegation to discuss security issues with the government.

The four-man team will include two former defence force generals.

Co-leader Dr Denis Worrall told a meeting for candidates in Maritzburg that the party's team to see the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, would be led by Mr Dawid de Villiers, chairman of the DP's national board, and would include Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, General Bob Rogers, former chief of the air force and DP candidate in Walmer, and General Wally Black, DP candidate in South Coast.

Dr Worrall described the MDM's intervention in the election as "most regrettable" and expressed serious concern about recent bomb attacks.

"We refer to bomb blasts which have gone off in hospital car parks when no people have been around and other similar non-strategic places," he said.

The only purpose was to frighten whites, he said.

"The DP believes this is a matter which, in the interests of all voters, it should take up with Mr Vlok," he said.

And in Camps Bay another senior DP candidate, Mr Tony Leon, last night hit out at the MDM, describing its anti-election defiance campaign as a "self-indulgent" move which would play into the hands of the National Party.

Many organisations under the MDM umbrella had been quite happy to co-operate with the DP and its predecessors in achieving certain practical goals, such as asking for DP assistance with projects such as the Open Cities cam-

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Cape Times 1/8/89

DP to Vlok

(327)

paign and for the victims of the Group Areas Act.

"It is time that the message went out that co-operation is a two-way street," he said.

In Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb of the NP challenged his DP rival, Mr Wynand Malan, to "cut himself loose from the MDM now".

The threat of violent disruption of hospitals, schooling and civic facilities hung over society, Mr Babb said.

● While the planned protest tomorrow against segregated hospitals is apparently going ahead, spokesmen for anti-apartheid organisations which make up the MDM yesterday said they were unaware of any decision to call on white supporters to boycott the election, as reported on Sunday.

The MDM is an alliance of anti-apartheid organisations, constituting the UDF and Cosatu as the core, and any call for a boycott would reflect both organisation's decisions, the spokesmen said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town, and O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban).

ARGUS 7/8/89 (327)

Police seek plans for funeral of two

Staff Reporter

POLICE want to meet the funeral committee organising the funeral of two young people who died in a bomb blast near Athlone Magistrate's Court, a lawyer has said.

Miss Coline Williams, 22, of Boekenhout Street, Bonteheuwel, and Mr Robert Waterwitch, 20, of Gleemoor Road, Athlone, were killed when a limpet mine exploded outside a toilet opposite the court in Klipfontein Road on July 23.

They will be buried on Saturday.

Attorney Mr Essa Moosa said last night that police had visited the homes of the victims looking for information about the funeral.

Later a Brigadier van der Walt had called him to find out funeral arrangements.

"He wanted to know who's arranging the funeral so he could discuss arrangements with them."

Funeral arrangements are being co-ordinated by a funeral committee which is made up of members of the Bonteheuwel Youth Congress, of which Miss Williams was a member, the Belgravia Youth Congress, of which Mr Waterwitch was chairman, family members and community, youth and church organisations.

A vigil for the victims will be held at Bonteheuwel Civic Centre at 7.30 tonight, a similar one in Belgravia tomorrow and a memorial service at the University of the Western Cape on Friday. Mr Waterwitch was a first-year B Comm student at UWC.

The university said in a statement that the increasing acts (bomb blasts) reflected the violent tendencies in a socio-political system based on minority domination.

"Death under these circumstances serves to underline the urgent need for the creation of conditions through which a democratic solution of the underlying problems of our society can be found so that we can build towards a just and peaceful order."

CONFISCATED

Police raided the Wynberg home of Mrs Begum Pandy and confiscated about 1 500 pamphlets on Miss Williams and Mr Waterwitch, booklets on June 16 and Namibia and Western Cape Students' Congress sweaters.

"They came looking for my daughter Rabia about 5am and asked if they could search the house," said Mrs Pandy.

The police gave her receipts for the confiscated items.

CAPE TIMES 21/8/89 337

PRIVATE PROSECUTORS . . . Bringing a private prosecution in the Supreme Court yesterday were Mrs Georgina Williams, Mr Theo Williams, Mr Martin Magmoed and Mrs Williams's sister, Mrs A du Toit.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Trojan Horse trial may be aborted

Supreme Court Reporter

TWELVE policemen and a member of the SADF who are to be charged with murder as a result of their actions in the "Trojan Horse" incident in 1985, have asked that security for costs be increased from R10 000 to almost R1 million.

If the application succeeds, it may lead to the private prosecution against them being aborted, the Supreme Court heard yesterday.

The men were concealed in crates on the back of a SATS truck and opened fire on people who were allegedly stoning passing vehicles. Michael Miranda, 11, Shaun Magmoed, 16, and Mr Jonathan Claasens, 21, were killed.

Last year Wynberg magistrate Mr G Hoffman found that Lieutenant Douw Vermeulen and his nine-man task force were guilty of negligence and had caused the death of the three.

The finding was forwarded to the attorney-general of the Cape, Mr Niel Rossouw, who declined to prosecute. He subsequently issued a "nolle prosequi" (non-prosecution) certificate which enables anyone who thinks the attorney-general has made an incorrect decision to take the case to court.

Mrs Georgina Williams, mother of Michael, and Mr Martin Magmoed, father of Shaun, consequently brought a private prosecution.

Yesterday Mr P de Bruyn SC, for the police officers who planned the operation, said a Wynberg magistrate earlier this year set R10 000 as security for costs. However, the Criminal Procedures Act provided for the amount to be reviewed.

An amount of R10 000 was insufficient and it was "scandalous" to say the application for the amount to be increased was an attempt to frustrate the private prosecution, Mr De Bruyn said.

The trial had been set down for 20 days but could in fact last for as long as three months and all three teams of advocates wanted R105 000 for a month or a total of R945 000 for the three months the trial was expected to run.

Mr J Browde SC, who is leading the prosecution, said the extraordinary thing about the application was that there was no case for security at all.

It was common cause that the accused would under no circumstances incur costs but that the state would. The policemen had also not said in an affidavit that they would pay the costs themselves and admitted under oath that the costs would be borne by the taxpayer. On that ground alone the application was ill-founded, Mr Browde said.

The separate applications made in respect for three groups of accused was a combined effort to stifle the prosecution.

If the application succeeded it would set a precedent where "only the rich would be able to be private prosecutors".

The men who have been subpoenaed are: Colonel P Janse van Rensburg, Major Christiaan Loedolff, Commandant S Pienaar, Lieutenant Douw Vermeulen, Sergeant F van Niekerk, Sergeant J J Burger, Constable W K F Puchert, Constable P M du Toit, Warrant Officer A Swart, Sergeant J Sayer, Constable A J Smit, Constable A J Rossell and Sergeant A M Smit.

Mr Justice D M Williamson was on the Bench.

Mr Browde is assisted by Mr Jeremy Gauntlett SC, Mr Les Rose-Innes and Mr Denzil Potgieter, instructed by Y Ebrahim and Co.

Mr Flip Hattingh SC and Mr Jurie Wessels appeared for Lt Vermeulen and the men on the truck. Mr W Burger SC, assisted by Mr Piet de Jager, appeared for the SADF member. Mr De Bruyn, assisted by Mr Anton Veldhuizen, appeared for the police officers.

Statement by defiance campaign organisers

WE COME IN PEACE

(327)

Sowetan 2/8/89

A group of Cape Town activists plan to defy the State today by breaking their restriction orders and attending a press conference on the Cape Flats.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Cape Town newspapers were informed late yesterday afternoon by an anonymous spokesman that the group would be holding a press conference today.

This is believed to be part of the defiance campaign against apartheid laws.

It is believed that the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, will be one of the speakers at the press conference. It is not known how many people in the Western Cape have

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In a statement released yesterday, the Sash said they would hold a placard demonstration today "in support of a fundamental principle that all races have a right as citizens and taxpayers to seek treatment at their nearest public hospital and it is the duty of all hospitals to offer such treatment."

The protest along Jan Smuts Avenue, Oxford Road and Empire Road will feature posters reading "Drop Apartheid Medicine - Equal Health Care For All".

Maritzburg, Dundee Hospital, Port Shepstone Hospital, the Johannesburg Hospital, Paardekraal Hospital on the West Rand, Vereeniging and HF Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria.

"We have no intention of being confrontational, so we appeal to the police to act with restraint," Coovadia said.

Securiy forces have not come out with a distinct plan of action.

A spokesman for the provincial administration said the police would only be called in if people "caused problems" on hospital premises, or impeded hospital services.

Protest

"No special security measures have been taken," Mr J H Loubser, liaison officer of the provincial admisitration said yesterday.

The Black Sash announced late yesterday that it would stage protests in Johannesburg today in solidarity with the campaign.

Sowetan 2/8/89

We come in peace

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been restricted, but among the known cases are veteran African National Congress member, Mr Zolile Malindi, United Democratic Front members, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Trevor Manuel and Mrs Hilda Mdudi.

Meanwhile, the Mass Democratic Movement yesterday reiterated that today's defiance campaign in which blacks would present themselves for treatment at hosiptals reserved for whites only would be "totally non-violent, controlled and properly marshalled," writes **ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**

The MDM said that only genuinely sick people would present themselves for treatment at targetted hospitals.

"We do not foresee more than 50 people present themselves for treatment at any one hospital," Mr Cas Coovadia of the MDM said.

Hospitals

Hospitals targetted are Addington Hospital in Durban, Grey's in

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Joint funeral

Sowetan 2/8/87

THE two young people who died in a bomb blast near Athlone Magistrate's Court in Cape Town will have a joint funeral on Saturday.

Miss Coline Williams (22), of Boekenhout Street, Bonteheuwel, and Mr Robert Waterwitch (20), of Gleemoor Road, Athlone, were killed when a limpet mine exploded outside a toilet opposite the court in Klipfontein Road on July 23.

Apartheid defiance at hospitals 'a victory'

Argus 3/4/89

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The first phase of the Mass Democratic Movement's peaceful defiance campaign against apartheid has been declared a victory by organisers after scores of black patients were treated at white hospitals.

In spite of a strong police presence at most of the eight hospitals targeted for the start of the campaign yesterday, no clashes were reported.

However, in Johannesburg 12 members of the Black Sash picketing in support of the defiance campaign were arrested. They were later released after being charged with holding an illegal gathering.

Busloads of patients and anti-apartheid supporters descended on Addington Hospital in Durban and more than 400 people attended a mass rally at the University of the Witwatersrand medical school in support of the 50 black patients who were admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital.

ACCIDENT VICTIM

About 700 students of the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) were stopped by police at roadblocks when they tried to march to the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria.

Two patients were admitted to the Paardekraal Hospital in Krugersdorp and none in Vereeniging, according to hospital authorities. At Grey's Hospital in Maritzburg one black accident victim was admitted for treatment.

The hospitals in Dundee and Port Shepstone reported no black admissions to white wards. Spokesmen for these two hospitals said black patients had been admitted to black wards.

MDM spokesman, former United Democratic Front publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe, said at a press conference late yesterday that at Paardekraal Hospital 20 people were treated, at Vereeniging 20 to 25, at Pretoria's H F Verwoerd six, and at Addington 120.

Mr Morobe said the campaign was a "major victory" and that there would more demonstrations.

The dean of the Medical School, Professor Clive Rosendorff, told the meeting: "We will continue to agitate, to shout, to threaten, to demonstrate ... until all people in this country have what is rightfully theirs. The Government has said apartheid is dead. If so, show us in our hospitals."

Campaign organisers said that from now on all hospitals would be considered permanently open to all races.

The Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said he thought it was sad that hospitals should be used for demonstrations.

(Report by E van der Merwe and T Younghusband, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Row over govt's emergency letter

Cape Times 3/8/89 (327)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A STORM has erupted over a letter written by the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, on official notepaper to 5 000 "leading South Africans" outlining the government's reasons for reimposing the state of emergency.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on information, Mr Peter Soal, yesterday accused the government of using the taxpayers' money to promote the National Party in the election.

"This is a typical NP tactic with the lines between government and party becoming thoroughly blurred.

"They think the public's money is their personal fiefdom.

"The government has become so corrupt that they don't know the difference between morality and plundering the public's money," Mr Soal said.

Cape Town attorney Mr Henk Rubidge, who received the letter, said it was patently Nationalist propaganda.

"Dr Van der Merwe's credibility after his showing on TV on Tuesday night and this drivel is an all-time low."

Mr Rubidge said he strongly objected to paying for the letter and added: "A government that can't govern without a state of emergency for three years, can't govern at all."

However, the head of the Bureau for Information, Mr Dave Steward, said the letter was "entirely within the bureau's function of informing the public of important policy developments and had nothing to do with the election campaign.

"Indeed, neither the letter, nor the accompanying brochure, make any reference to the National Party or the election."

The letter was sent to 5 000 leading South Africans to inform them of the circumstances surrounding the declaration of the state of emergency.

Mr Steward said the intention was that the letter should have been sent as soon as possible after the declaration of the state of emergency on June 9.

Delays in the production of brochure and other administrative problems led to the delay in the distribution of the letter.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

Day of defiance

Cape Times 3/8/89 (327)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A threatened confrontation between police and anti-apartheid campaigners failed to materialise yesterday as thousands of blacks converged on eight whites-only hospitals in the first leg of a campaign against segregated facilities.

The treatment of more than 200 black patients at the hospitals set a precedent which will mean an end to segregated hospitals, campaigners claimed.

The spokesman on Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, last night expressed satisfaction that there had been no incidents of violence and said organisers of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) had taken note of appeals and warnings by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The protests were confined to the Transvaal and Natal, and capped by a huge rally at the University of the Witwatersrand's Medical School.

Local banned

"We hope Mr Vlok, other government leaders and their international cohorts take heed that we will live up to our promise to dismantle apartheid ourselves," said Cosatu's secretary-general, Mr Jay Naidoo, to rapturous applause, ululations, chants and singing.

"The protests today show that we will determine the future ourselves. The defiance campaign will be taken to every corner and every section of society until apartheid is unworkable. This is just the beginning of the campaign."

At a press conference in Athlone attended by the top local hierarchy of banned and restricted organisations, Mr Moosa Kaprey, chairman of the National Educational Crisis Committee, announced that a mass meeting would be held at the University of Cape Town today with protest rallies scheduled at high schools.

Plans were announced for marches, sports events on segregated beaches and campaigns against police and defence force participation in university campus sport.

In a joint statement, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak; the vice-chancellor of the University of the Western

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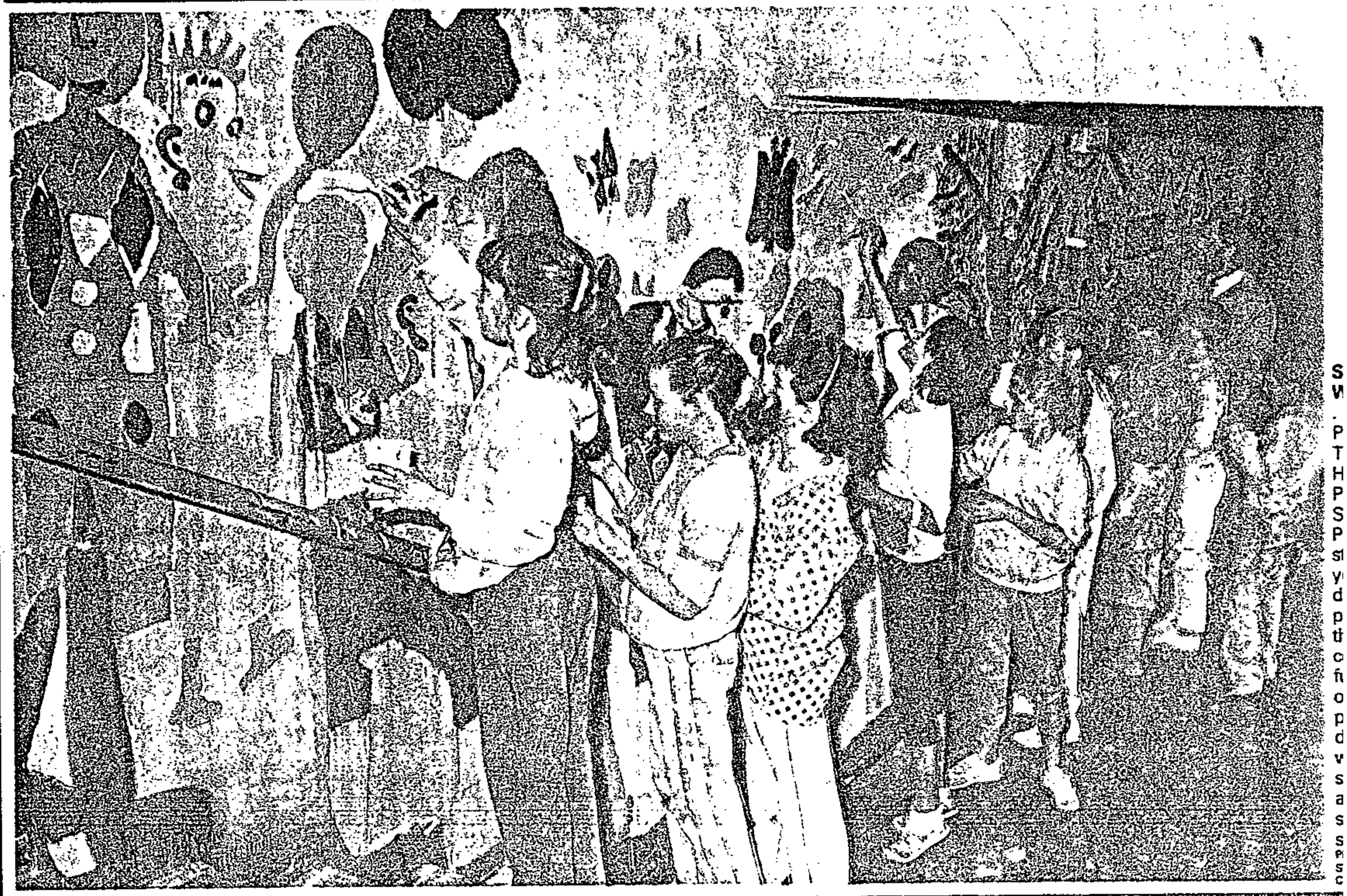

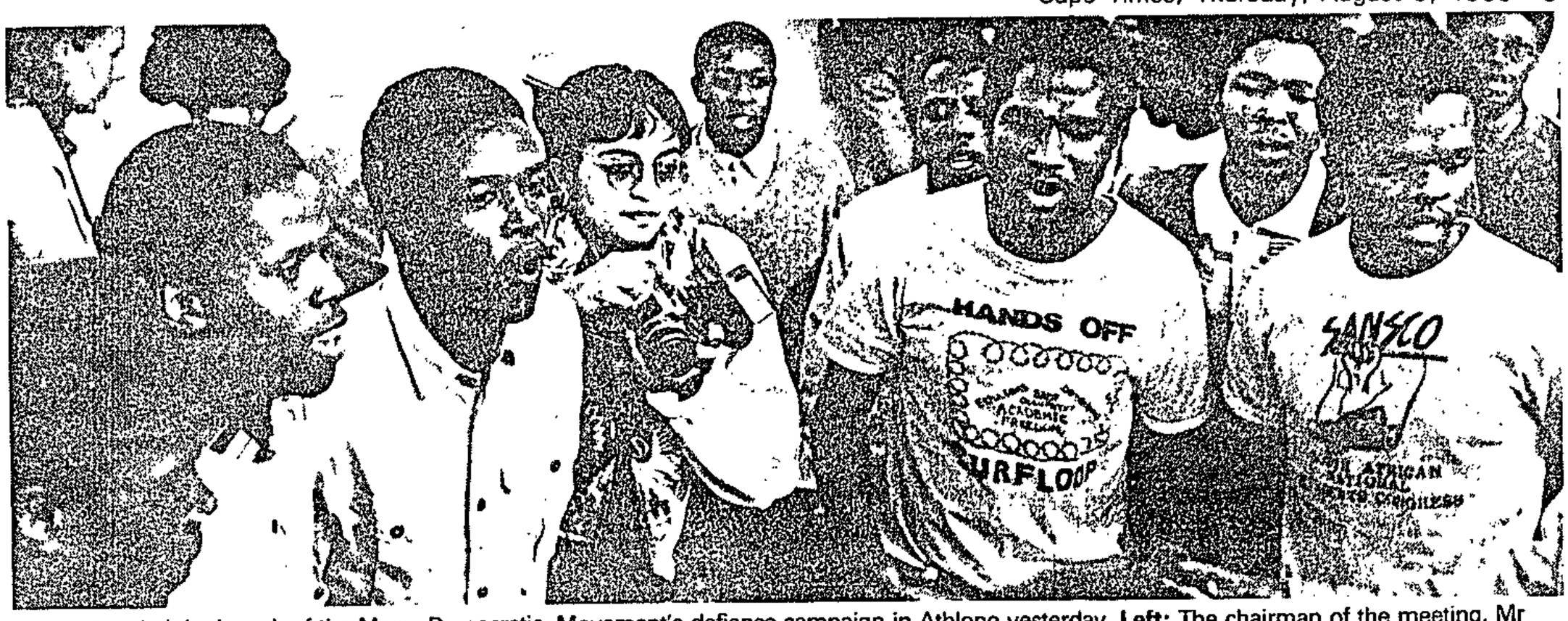

organisations attended the launch of the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign in Athlone yesterday. **Left:** The chairman of the meeting, Mr Ngcuka, Moulana Faried Esack and Mr Essa Moosa **Right:** An impromptu toi toi dance at the launch.

Pictures: GLENN SHERRATT

From page 1

Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel; and the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, described laws which restricted people's freedom of movement, assembly and speech in contravention of the Rule of Law as "evil, worthy neither of respect or obedience".

Police at the hospitals targeted for demonstrations kept a low profile.

At the Paardekraal institution in Krugersdorp, a small group of protesters were met by members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. No clashes ensued, however, as the protesters entered the premises and were seen by doctors.

The apparent accommodating attitude of hospital authorities seems to have caught some MDM leaders off-guard.

Speaking after the protest at Durban's Addington Hospital, Mr Trevor Bomhomme said the movement had expected a "tough-as-nails" attitude from the authorities.

Although superintendents of the eight hospitals said there had been no change in policy yesterday, they conceded that a more flexible approach to treatment of blacks had been adopted.

About 50 black patients were treated at Johannesburg Hospital yesterday, 20 at Paardekraal Hospital in Krugersdorp and 20 at Vereeniging Hospital.

According to MDM spokesmen, about 2 000 people converged on Durban's Addington Hospital. Of these, 120 presented themselves for treatment and were well attended to by the hospital authorities.

Johannesburg superintendent Dr Reg Broekman said no precedent had been set by yesterday's events and the hospital would continue to be administered according to Transvaal Provincial Administration policy.

"Johannesburg is still a white hospital, but in view of the circumstances today, the hospital was more flexible," he said.

All patients regardless of race would be treated, assessed and then referred to "appropriate treatment centres" if they did not need specialised treatment, he said.

● Pupils were dispersed when they tried to march to the Mitchells Plain Town Centre to lodge protests at the Department of Education and Culture offices.

Captain Ruben Bloomberg said from Pretoria that there had been some unrest in Mitchells Plain, but so minor that it would probably not even make today's unrest report.

Tyres were burnt in Merrydale Road. These were later removed by police.

It was also learnt yesterday that since July 19, pupils Gloria Veal, Ronald Jacobs, Estelle Leonard and Siraj Ebrahim of Glendale, Farieda and Waleen Mostert of Mondale and Jakes Baartman of Cedar had all been detained under the emergency regulations.

(Reports by C Bateman, 122 St George's St, Cape Town, and E Bulbring, S Ngcobo and D Simon of 11 Diagonal St, Jhb).

Political comment in this issue by J C Viviers, G O Kling, G E Shaw, J V Scott, A Johnson and B Streek. Headlines and sub-editing by A Henderson and D Moyle, all of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

Funeral planners sought

Cape Times 3/5/89 Staff Reporter (327)

POLICE are "trying to get hold of" the organisers of Saturday's funeral of Mr Robert Waterwitch and Ms Coline Williams, who died in an explosion near Athlone Magistrate's Court.

Police spokesman Captain Gys Boonzaaier said police were not intending to detain the organisers but wanted to speak to them to enable the funeral to go ahead in as orderly a fashion as possible.

"We are still trying to get hold of them," he said.

According to a statement "issued on behalf of the Funeral Committee" and delivered anonymously to the Cape Times, the organisers are "family members, community, youth and church organisations".

The committee was initiated by the Bonteheuwel Youth Congress, to which Ms Williams belonged, and the Belgravia Youth Congress, to which Mr Waterwitch belonged, according to the statement.

Bomb victims' funeral to proceed as planned

Cape Times 5/8/89 (377)

THE funeral for Coline Williams and Robert Waterwitch, who died in a bomb blast near Athlone Magistrate's Court on July 29, will go ahead today as planned despite police restrictions.

A spokesman for the funeral committee, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, said yesterday that the funeral service would be held in the Roman Catholic Church, Lawrence Road, Athlone, at 9am, with the burial service at Maitland.

The committee called the ban on marches and outside gatherings other than at the graveside "grossly unfair and blatantly provocative".

Mr Ngcuka said he and two other funeral committee members had met Brigadier Gilles van de Wall, the Deputy Regional Commissioner for the Reaction Unit, who said there would be no restrictions on the funeral.

Yesterday police said Brig Van de Wall had said there would be reasonable restrictions.

White hospitals tell blacks in defiance campaign

YOU'RE WELCOME

327

Sowetan 3/8/89

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN: Blacks carrying placards at the Johannesburg General hospital yesterday.

BY PHANGISILE MTSHALI and THEMBA MOLEFE

BLACK patients were welcomed and given treatment at most whites-only hospitals in the country when the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign got underway yesterday.

The MDM, warned however, that the welcome did not mean authorities had decided to desegregate health facilities but that the State wanted to "soften up the campaign."

Observers from several foreign diplomatic missions were present at most hospitals.

The visit to the hospitals ended peacefully in spite of a heavy police presence.

But earlier in the day, 12 members of the Black Sash were arrested in Johannesburg during a placard demonstration.

About 7 000 students of the Medical University of South Africa were turned back at a police roadblock on their way to the H F Verwoerd Hospital, Pretoria, one of the targetted hospitals in the campaign reports ALINAH DUBE.

The Police Directorate for Public Relations in Pretoria yesterday said the Black Sash members were released on their own cognizances.

No reports had been received from the Vaal they said.

The MDM and opposition politicians yesterday said the peaceful start of the campaign negated the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok's earlier suggestions that the campaign was intended to be violent and to disrupt health services.

MDM leaders, led by Mr Moses Mayekiso and Mr Cas Coovadia met Vereeniging Hospital superintendent Dr J J van der Vyver who welcomed them after a long struggle to gain entry to the premises.

This was while about 20 black patients were

● To Page 2

Policy

"A spokesman for the South African Health Workers Congress, Dr Aslam Dasoo, told more than 1 000 people at a rally in Johannesburg: "MDM considers all health facilities as opened to all races from today.

"From now on we will be monitoring the progress of patients treated at white hospitals. If they are transferred, as it is TPA policy, we will intensify our protest. We may also have a legal case."

Black patients welcome

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● From Page 1

being treated after being welcomed by the staff.

Van der vyfer told the MDM leaders that the hospital treated anybody regardless of race. He said black patients were transferred to Sebokeng Hospital once their condition stabilised. The hospital was meant for whites.

Treated

Fifty patients were treated at the Johannesburg General Hospital. The superintendent, Dr Reggie Broekman, said yesterday's action was unnecessary because blacks were being treated there anyway.

"Right now 11 percent of our patients are black. Although we keep an all black ward, we mix them in other wards," he said.

At Durban's Addington Hospital superintendent Dr Patrick Fitzgerald said 120 black patients were treated but that none would be kept overnight. The action in Durban ended in a rally attended by about 2 000 people and addressed by MDM representatives, reports Sapa.

Parkers
AIR SUPPLIER
ARGET
Black Like Me 1, 2, or 3
32.99 each
American Flair (Twin Pack)
7.99 each

Sowetan 3-9/8/89.

Tributes pour in as jailed Mpetha turns 80

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TRIBUTES to veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, who turns 80 this week, are pouring in from organisations both within and outside South Africa.

In a statement released by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), general secretary Jay Naidoo said the government continued to view Mpetha as a threat, despite his illness and age.

It therefore continued with his "criminal incarceration".

"This is because of your proud history as a worker-leader in Sactu and your role in the national liberation movement — a contribution which stands as a shining light to the working class and the entire people of South Africa," said Naidoo.

"In the not-too-distant future you shall take your rightful place in the ranks of our elder statesmen in a free South Africa."

The Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) also condemned Mpetha's imprisonment as "criminal", in a statement released jointly by general secretary Mandla Gxanyana and president Chris Dlamini.

"The story of Comrade Oscar Mpetha, who suffers from ill health, is but one of the innumerable tragedies which apartheid rule has inflicted upon our country," said the statement.

Deteriorated

"The government's refusal to release Comrade Mpetha exposes the fraudulence of its so-called political initiatives.

"We see no signs of any fundamental changes. If anything, the situation has deteriorated.

"Oscar Mpetha, Nelson Mandela and scores of other political prisoners languish in apartheid prisons. The ANC, SACP, UDF and more than 30 other organisations remain banned.

"The few rights workers have are being eroded by the Labour Relations Act. Six million South Africans are jobless and millions are without proper homes.

"The inferior education system is very much intact and is responsible for the deep and ongoing crisis at schools, colleges and universities.

"The Group Areas, Population Registration and Separate Amenities Acts are still entrenched.

"We have stated only a few of the crimes of apartheid.

"Comrade Oscar Mpetha fought these crimes since he was a young man. He remains committed to the establishment of a system based on justice.

"He yearns for a nonracial and democratic South Africa free of oppression and exploitation.

"We believe that it is these ideals which this country's illegitimate government fears most."

Meanwhile, in Britain MPs from all parties issued a challenge to the new foreign secretary, John Major, on his first day in office, urging him to seek the release of Oscar Mpetha.

Campaign

More than 100 MPs tabled an early-day motion calling on the government to intervene with the South African government to release Mpetha.

A spokesperson for the group of MPs, Mr Richard Caborn, said that in view of Mpetha's health and age, there was no reason why he should not be released "immediately".

"It is timely that the British government should issue a fresh call for his release so that he can spend his 80th birthday with his family and colleagues," said Caborn.

At home, a campaign by Fawu for Mpetha's release kicked off this week.

The campaign, which was announced by the 79 000-strong union earlier this year, began with a pamphlet blitz among the union membership.

Gxanyana said the union intended holding meetings throughout the country to demand Mpetha's release.

In the Transvaal, union locals are staging programmes focusing on Mpetha.

In Cape Town, Fawu together with organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front, is holding a meeting in Salt River at 5pm on Saturday.

Happy birthday, Kathy

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Sowetan

3-9/8/89

JOHANNESBURG. — Scores of individuals and representatives of dozens of organisations have signed two huge birthday cards for Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada, the jailed ANC leader who turns 60 on August 21.

The cards, saying "Happy 60th birthday Comrade Ahmed Kathrada" and "Freedom in your lifetime", were signed last Sunday at the consultative conference of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) at the Gandhi Hall in Lenasia.

The cards will be forwarded to Kathrada in Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town. Unless he is released in the next three weeks, it will be Kathrada's 27th successive birthday in jail.

He was arrested with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other members of Umkhonto we Sizwe were arrested on 11 July 1963, when police raided Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, outside Johannesburg.

Kathrada, convicted of sabotage in the Rivonia trial on June 12 1964, was given a life sentence and imprisoned on Robben Island before being transferred to Pollsmoor.

In England, friends and former colleagues are planning to mark his 60th birthday in a big way. His family, friends and former colleagues in Johannesburg will decide soon on how to mark the occasion.

"Kathy is a very modest man," said Mr Laloo (Issu) Chiba, the Lenasia-based TIC leader who spent 18 years with Kathrada on Robben Island.

"I do not think he will want anyone to make a fuss about his birthday.

"But he's a remarkably dedicated man, and we want to show in some way that we still regard him as a leader."

The TIC conference unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the release of Kathrada and all political prisoners, and resolved to convey its best wishes to Kathrada.

The resolution stated that Kathrada "stands among the tried-and-tested leadership of our people and that along with stalwarts of our struggle such as Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo, he has played a vital role in establishing a peaceful future in our country".

REPRESSION DOSSIER

Trials in W Cape

The following is a list of trials in the Western Cape for August:

Aug 1: Buyiswa Jack, Danisile Nokhantywa and Agnes Yoyo, terrorism, Wynberg regional court.

Aug 1: Christopher Toyise, harbouring a fugitive and possession of a firearm, Wynberg regional court.

Aug 1: Amos Dyantyi, Mbuyiselo Kondile, Nation March, P Sobozo and Eunice Hlahla, murder, Supreme Court, Cape Town.

Aug 1: Tony Yengeni and 13 others, terrorism, Supreme Court, Cape Town.

Aug 2: Anthony Madini, public violence, Athlone magistrates court.

Aug 4: M Arendse, public violence, Prince Albert magistrates court.

Aug 4: Mninawe Godongwana, possession of a firearm, Wynberg regional court.

Aug 7: Katherine Savage, Annalise Bosman, contravening emergency media regulations, Cape Town magistrates court.

Aug 7: Christina Tyulu, assisting a terrorist, Wynberg regional court.

Aug 7: Zanethemba Ronoti, Martinus Damons, Paulos Mahlaba, Elias Jack, Stan Smile, William Maphitsa, John Siko and Cedrick Koeberg, illegal gathering, George regional court

Aug 10: Mzonke "Whitey" Jacobs, contravening restriction order, Athlone magistrates court.

Aug 14: Johnny Issel, furthering the aims of the ANC, Goodwood magistrates court.

Aug 14: W Bona, public violence, Athlone magistrates court.

Aug 16: W Lumkwana, assault, Athlone magistrates court.

Aug 20: Derek Jackson, editor of Saamstaan, publishing a photograph of Nelson Mandela, Oudtshoorn magistrates court.

Aug 21: Don de la Harpe, furthering the aims of the ANC, Cape Town regional court.

Aug 22: Ethel Loza, Maureen Loza, Sindiswa Dlavu and Xolile Mini, harbouring a terrorist, Cape Town regional court.

Aug 23: A youth, public violence, Cape Town regional court.

Aug 24: Archibald Mbetshu, Velile Sethela and Noncedo Nyebetha, public violence, Athlone magistrates court.

Aug 24: SK Mathiso, murder, Athlone regional court.

Aug 24: Mangalise Dolosi, public violence, Athlone magistrates court.

Aug 24: Allie Parker, printing subversive literature, Parow regional court.

Aug 25: Maxwell Moss, Manfred van Rooyen, Johannes Strauss and Jonathan Barends, public violence, Vredenberg regional court.

Aug 28: Noel Williams, contravening restriction order, Cape Town regional court.

Aug 28: Rashid Seria, former SOUTH editor, contravening the emergency media regulations, Cape Town magistrates court.

Aug 28: V Helkiso, possession of banned literature, Beaufort West magistrates court.

Aug 28: Vuyo Fetsha, terrorism, Wynberg regional court.

Aug 30: Zamile Hleli, public violence, Athlone magistrates court.

Courts used to hamstring Press

THE spate of prosecutions of editors and publishers in terms of the media curbs in the emergency regulations is seen as a new tactic by the state to bludgeon the Press.

With the draconian and arbitrary banning of publications becoming a political liability, both internationally and locally, the state is now resorting to the courts to tie down editors and publishers in lengthy and costly court hearings.

A security policeman who recently informed SOUTH of an investigation into contraventions of the media curbs and a possible charge, confirmed that the instruction emanated from the media monitoring section of the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria.

In recent weeks the police have visited the offices of Saamstaan in Oudtshoorn, the Natal Witness in Pietermaritzburg and The Star, Sowetan, Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad in Johannesburg.

Many of these publications, including SOUTH, have several investigations and possible prosecutions pending.

The trial of SOUTH's former editor, Rashid Seria, one of the first to appear in court in connection with publishing material which contravened the emergency regulations, will be heard on August 28.

ON TRIAL. Printer Mr Allie Parker, who faces charges under the media curbs

The editors of Varsity have also appeared in court charged under the emergency regulations.

Recent state action against publications and journalists include:

- Last month three Weekly Mail journalists, co-editor Anton Harber, and former writers Jo-Ann Bekker and Franz Kruger, were summonsed to appear in court for publishing material related to emergency detainees.
- The editor of the Sowetan, Aggrey Klaaste, has been charged under the Internal Security Act for quoting a listed person.

Other actions by the state against publications include:

- The organiser of Saamstaan in Oudtshoorn, Mr Derek Jackson, has been summonsed to appear in court on September 20 in connection with a contravention of the Prisons Act by publishing a picture of Nelson Mandela.
- In June, 400 copies of Saamstaan were confiscated by the police in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act.
- Municipal police raided the homes of three members of the Democratic Party's black youth wing in Meloding near Virginia in the Free State on July 18 and confiscated copies of progressive newspapers.
- In a series of raids on publishers on July 4, the police searched the offices of Ravan Press, Work in progress (WIP), The Other Press Service (TOPS), Learn and Teach, AD Jonker, Skotaville Publishers and the Johannesburg office of David Philip. A book, documents, posters and photgraphs were seized.

Families: Stop deathrow torment

FAMILY members of executed political prisoners have rallied in support of people on deathrow by submitting a petition to the State President calling for clemency and an end to capital punishment.

The petition was signed by about 30 family members.

The petition reads:

"We believe that our first-hand exposure to the terrible implications of judicial killing qualifies us to tell you of the horrors associated with it and to plead with you for clemency on behalf of those who are waiting to die.

"We have experienced first-hand the anguish, the torment, the sense of helplessness and the anger experienced while waiting for a loved one to die.

"We have all experienced the deep feelings of futility and anger when our husbands, brothers and sons have been hanged.

"With respect, Mr President, there is no justification for the cold-blooded and purposeless killing of another human being. The killing of our family members has not helped matters nor changed the situation in our country to a peaceful one.

"As numerous statistics have shown, their deaths have not prevented others from continuing with the pursuance of the ideals which they regard as noble.

"The spiral of violence in our society is gaining momentum and the hanging of more people only perpetuates that spiral.

"The killing of our family members has caused us immeasurable suffering and torment. The families of those who are still to die are being punished as brutally."

The petition points out that what seems today to be "just retribution" will be regarded by future generations as grievous crimes.

"More and more countries around the world are abolishing the death penalty and in South Africa it is particularly appropriate that this be done now to make sure of a less violent future for all.

"The solution to the problems that we face can only be found if the parties concerned, and you are one, show compassion for those who are at your mercy.

"We therefore call on you to grant clemency to those persons who are on deathrow and to end capital punishment."

Among those on deathrow for politically-related reasons are Robert McBride, Oupa Josias Mbonane, Sibusiso Senele Masuku, Patrick Manginda, Desmond Majola, Dickson Madikane, Abraham Zeyo, Rodney Boxer Moloi, Stanford Lebepe, Mangena Boesman, Msokoli Willie, Mhlawumbi Desemela, George Skosana, Jabu Masinga, Ting Ting Masango, Neo Potsane, Elliot Nkuna, Joseph Mahlalela, Mthetheleli Mncube, Mzondeleli Nondula, Kenneth P Khumalo, Eric T Gubula, David Lekhanyane, Zuko Zabendlini, Andrew Lekhanyane, Justice Bekebeke, Zonga Mokgatle, Myner G Bovu, Wellington Masiza, Booi Japhta, Evelina de Bruin, Gideon Madlogolwane, Xolile Yona and Albert Twili.

Update on detentions

STATE OF EMERGENCY

THE following is a list of state of emergency detainees in the Western Cape:

Gloria Veale, 19, and Ronald Jacobs, 17, from Glendale Senior Secondary School, were detained on July 18.

Walleen Mostert, 16, and Freda Mostert, 18, from Mondale Senior Secondary School, Estelle Leonard, 18, and Siraaj Ebrahim, 18, from Glendale, and Jacques Baartman, 18, of Cedars Secondary School, were detained in Mitchells Plain on July 28.

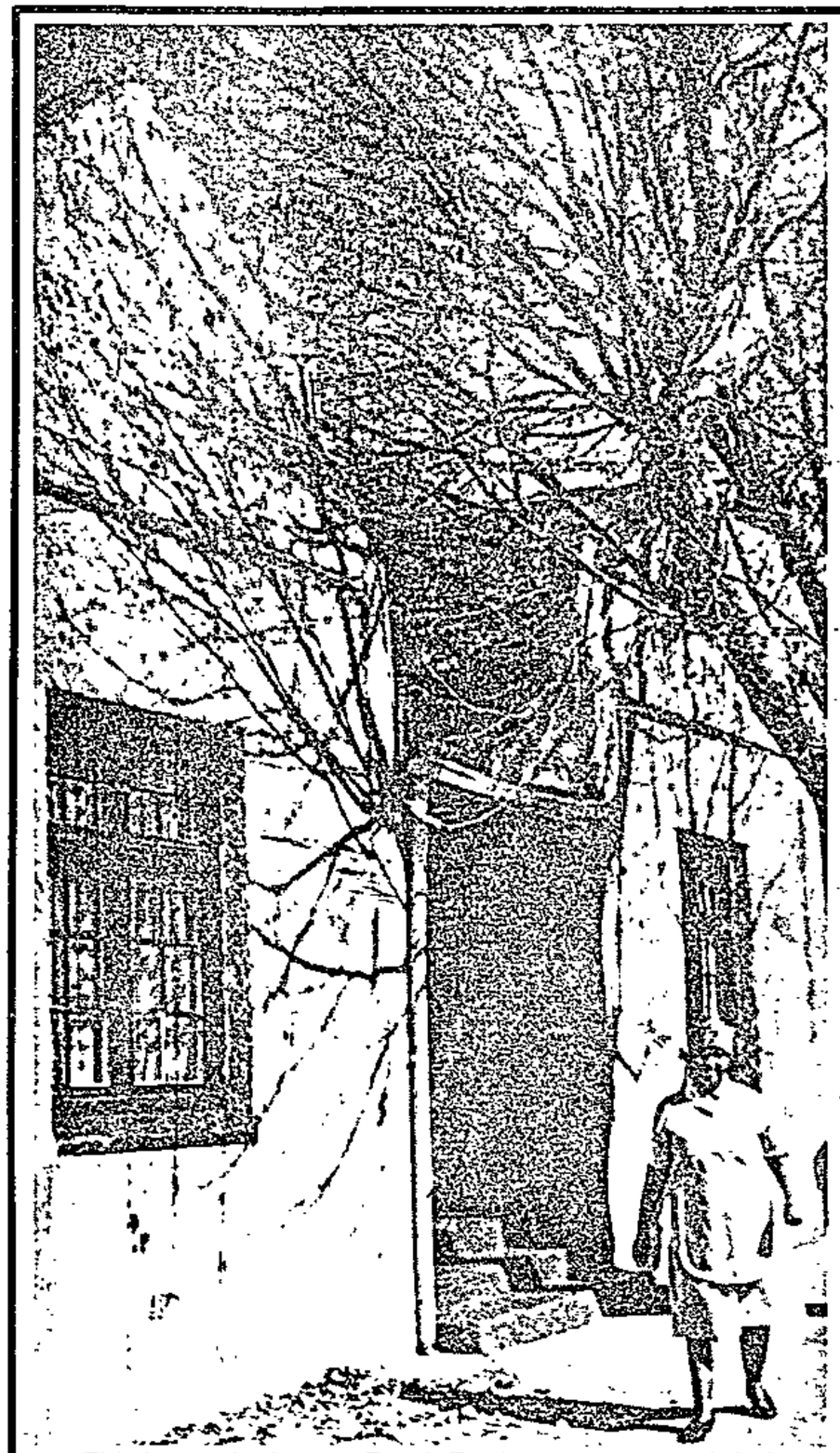
SECTION 29

ONLY three Section 29 detainees are being held in the Western Cape at present.

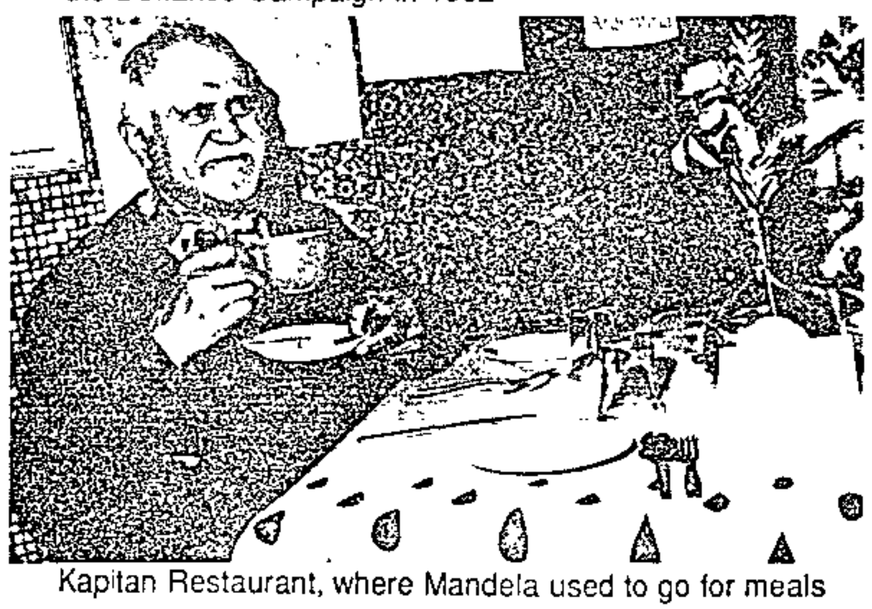
They are: Siphiwo Qila and Miranda Sineli, who have been held since April 14, and Reggie Mzamo, who was detained in May.

Down memory lane with Mandela

Would Nelson Mandela recognise Johannesburg after 28 years in prison? Maybe not, says veteran Congress activist, Amina Cachalia, in this open letter to her close friend:



This house in Arenne Road, Fordsburg, was used during the Defiance Campaign in 1952



Kapitan Restaurant, where Mandela used to go for meals

My dear Nelson,

THERE is an old song that goes something like this, "I'll be seeing you in all the old familiar places".

But after an absence of 28 years I wonder if anything will be familiar to you.

Let's begin with the old African National Congress offices at New Court Chambers in Commissioner Street. You will not recognise the place.

Anglo American has erected a huge building at 40 Commissioner Street on the same site where, on the first floor of the old building, the ANC offices were housed.

And as we walk down Commissioner Street, we turn right into Diagonal Street. You may want to enter Barkley Arcade (next to Adams Arcade where the old Transvaal Indian Congress offices were).

That old building has also vanished and in its place Anglo has erected another huge building call "Life Centre".

You will probably want to walk back up Commissioner Street to Kort Street where the TIC offices were during the Defiance Campaign.

Remember DU Mistry's office downstairs? Well, the building is still there looking very dilapidated, but people are living there.

Moretsele's

And further along Kort Street towards President Street, Kapitans Cafe and Restaurant still caters for the public.

Remember the many Saturday lunches we had there? The Kapitan family, the remaining ones, remember you very well.

Ah! but you will want to go to another eating house we visited very often — Moretsele's, almost on the corner of Diagonal Street but in Pritchard Street.

Chubby old Moretsele died some years ago. Whenever I think of his eating house, a flood of memories rushes through my mind. I think of all our old colleagues, some in exile, others who have died.

There was Thandray and Barney Desai and Walter and Nzo and Dan Tloome and David Bopape and JB. The list can go on and on.

Moretsele's food was cheap but sometimes it was difficult to scrape together the money for a cheap lunch. Those were tough days.

Moretsele was a grand old chap. He would allow us to eat and pay whenever we had money. Those were beautiful days. We worked together, ate together and played together.

Now we have to move on to Fox Street. 25 Chancellor House is still very much in existence.

Your offices with its interleading doors to Oliver's and the other one, is now occupied by a lady who has given most of her life to the liberation struggle — Rita Ndzanga.

Her husband, Lawrence, died in detention at the Old Fort in 1977. He had been held under Section 6 at the time.

Rita, herself, was detained during the same period. She and other ex-detainees run a sewing group established by the now phased-out General and Allied Workers Union.

They sell the garments they make and the funds are used for the dependents of detainees and prisoners.

I went to visit your old offices and met with some of the women. They asked me to convey their good wishes to you.

But before Chancellor House, you had offices at Macosa House. The entire building has been taken over by a Chinese group. It is difficult to pinpoint your office on the first floor.

I am sure you would like to take a walk to Fordsburg. We would stroll down Commissioner Street in a westward direction.

Malay camp lower down from the Magistrates Court has been completely transformed. On the left we still have China Town.

Remember Dougie Lie? He lived in one of the flats along Commissioner Street. On the right you will see the monstrosity of John Vorster Square. I will be able to point out to you the window on the 10th floor where Ahmed Timol "fell" to his death.

Red Square

I am sure you would very much like to see the Red Square. Not a chance. The Group Areas made sure of that.

The people who lived in the homes around the Red Square were and are resettled in the group area known as Lenasia. On the site where the Square was, now stands the Oriental Plaza.

If you are released pretty soon, you may just be in time to see the rickety old building in Avenue Road where the first Passive Resistance Campaign was launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

I am sure the building is about to be pulled down, so hurry and I will take you to see it.

The flat where Yusuf and I were married is just across the road from this old building (Kathy should remember that very well).

On the one side of the Oriental Plaza is Lilian Road and on the corner of Lilian and Bree Streets is a block of flats.

Aggie Patel lived there, but how can you forget: that was where the pigeon meal for my 21st birthday took place. Remember all the friends that were there, among them Arthur Goldreich.

Orient House

But I have to return to Commissioner and Becker Streets, to Orient House where the Pahads lived. Everytime anyone wanted a good free meal they would go to Goolam and Amina Pahad.

She was a great lady, who cooked and fed almost the entire crowd at the ANC and TIC offices for years. Around the corner in Market Street, Kholvad House still stands.

Flat No 13 I am sure will be handed over to its original occupant, Ahmed Kathrada.

I must not forget Jeppe Town where Ayesha and Bob lived. Do you remember the time you, Yusuf, Zaynab and I lived with them for two weeks or more.

We just took over their home and made ourselves comfortable. They are very special people. Ayesha just lost both her parents in a ghastly road accident.

Back to Fordsburg; Molvi's old house in Luttig Street is still there, although none of the family live there. Yusuf and I live on the other side of Luttig Street now.

The house we live in belonged to Vela Pillay's parents. You must remember Vela, he married Patsy Gilbert in the days when mixed marriages were frowned upon. They live in England now.

We will have to go to Vrededorp now. You won't recognise the place. It was bulldozed and the people forced out. It now has rows of low-cost housing for white people.

Amina Cachalia, centre, at the end of the

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Down memory lane with Mandela

Amina Cachalia, centre, at the end of the Treason Trial in Pretoria in March 1961. With her are Esther Basle and Duma Nokwe

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We will have to go to Vrededorp now. You won't recognise the place. It was bulldozed and the people forced out. It now has rows of low-cost housing for white people.

There are still several Indian families living in Vrededorp. They refuse to be moved. Their fate unknown, they exist on a day-to-day basis. Pageview, as it is now called, is a heartbreaking sight.

We will now need a car for we are going to Soweto. We can still take the old road or we can go on the M2 south. You have not seen Johannesburg highways.

They are pretty good. The signs say Vanderbyl Park and Soweto. Further on you will turn where it says Old Potch Road and Soweto.

Bara Hospital

We pass Bara hospital where crowds of people are always about. You will immediately recognise the old monotonous matchbox houses of Diepkloof.

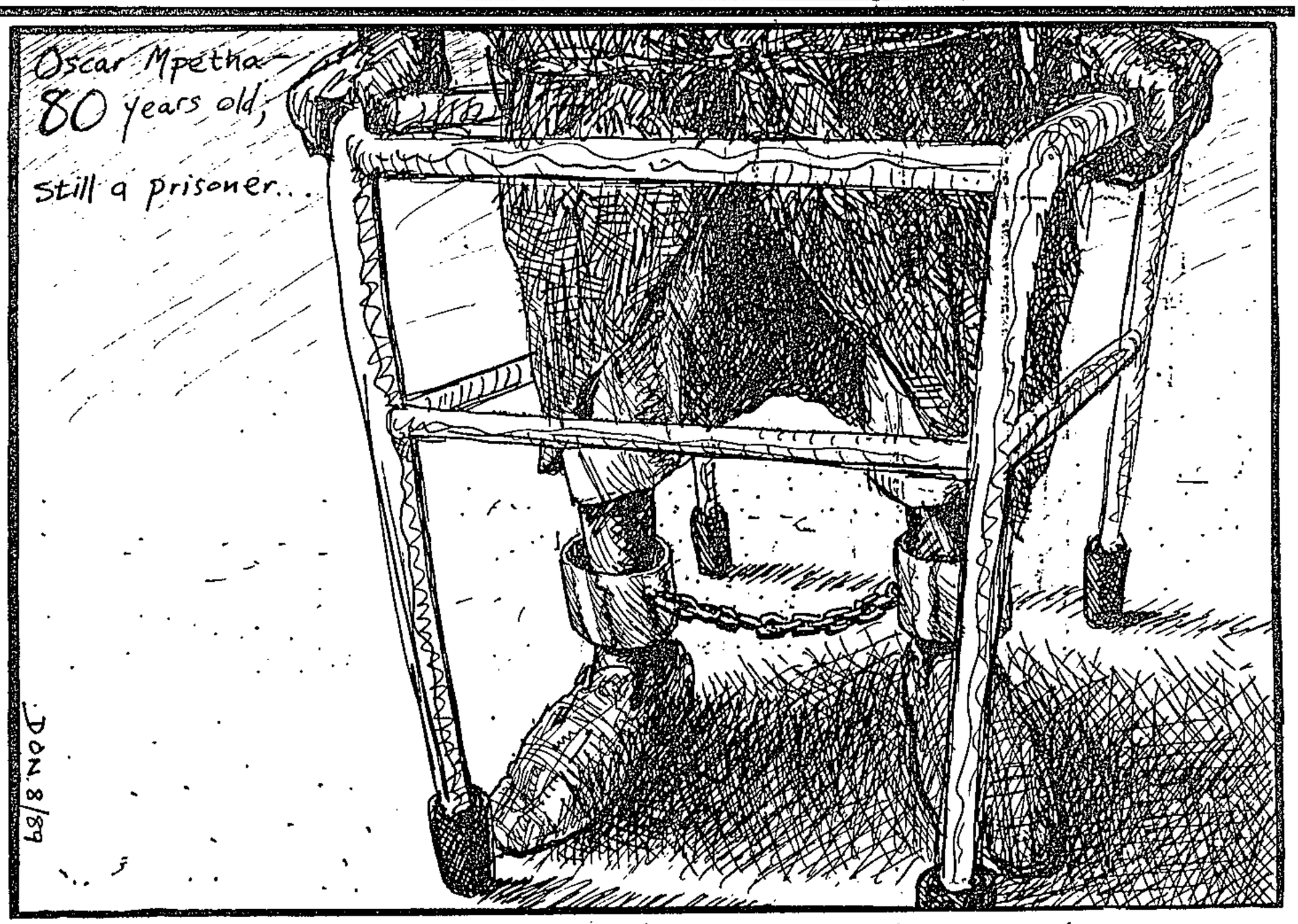
Nothing much has changed. The roads are still untarred and messy. Way down we turn off right to go to Orlando West.

Your home No 8115 at the foot of the Koppie is still waiting for its occupant who left almost 28 years ago but who is sure to come back in the not-too-distant future.

Those were the days my friend (as another song begins). Those were the days my friend.

Amina Cachalia

Mrs Rita Ndzanja, who runs a sewing project at Chancellor House where Nelson Mandela used to have an office



No ordinary Dad

By HENRY LUDSKI

AS a young girl, Esther Mpetha recalls her father always talking about having "other children" besides his own.

It was only when she became aware of her father's trade union activities that she realised the "other children" were the thousands of workers whose interests her father bore close to his heart.

Years later, Oscar Mpetha would come to be known as the "father of trade unionism in South Africa".

For Esther, her father's much-quoted phrase — "I've got a lot of children and I must look after them" — sums up Mpetha's unselfish commitment to his trade union "family".

"He wasn't like many other fathers who worry only about putting food on their own children's plates," said 46-year-old Esther.

"He would say to me: 'You know my child, these people (the workers) have lots of trouble and I have to sort them out'.

"At that stage I didn't know what kind of trouble, but I knew that it was important work he was doing for the people."

For the past four years, Mpetha has been held under armed guard at Groote Schuur Hospital — ironically, the same hospital at which he worked as a general assistant and first organised workers about 40 years ago.

It is where he will spend August 5 — his 80th birthday — in the company of a few family members.

Mpetha was arrested in 1980 on a charge of terrorism. After a marathon trial lasting several years, he was convicted and given a mandatory five-year sentence.

In poor health, Mpetha was granted bail of R1 by Mr Justice Williamson, who said he did not believe Mpetha should go to jail.

"The end of his life is too near for such punishment to be of any benefit either to him or society," said Williamson at the time.

Mpetha's dedication to alleviating the plight of oppressed workers was something Esther grew accustomed to over the years — as she did the empty place at the dinner table, the security police rap on their door, and the long periods her father spent away from home, either in jail or organising workers in remote parts of the country.

All of this, however, is nothing compared to the anguish of waiting for her father to be released from prison — again.

"My father has been jailed before, but this time waiting for him to be released is so very different," said Esther.

"So many things have happened in-between, such as the deaths of my mother and brother. And the other times we didn't have to wait so long for him to be released."

Born in Mt. Fletcher, Transkei, in 1943, and raised by her grandmother until she was five, Esther joined her parents in Laaiplek on the West Coast where they worked at a fish factory.

"By the time I got to Laaiplek my father had already begun organising workers in the fish factories."

Not long after this, Mpetha was appointed full-time organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and the family moved to Cape Town.

In Mpetha's long association with the union, harassment and intimidation became a general feature of family life.

ESTHER MPETHA: "Oscar did not only worry about his own family."

What always baffled Esther as a child was the reasons for her father's arrests.

"Sometimes we didn't see him for long periods and one would hear things such as 'your father's in Johannesburg, your father's in Durban' or 'he's been arrested'. I always used to wonder why.

"It was only later that I realised it was because of his work and that the government didn't understand or like people who fought for their rights and there of [illegible]."

Only then did she appreciate that her father "wasn't a criminal".

She vividly recollects the first time police came searching for her father.

"As a family we always sat down together at supper-time but that day my father wasn't there. I remember asking my mother: Why are we eating without daddy today?

"It wasn't long after this that some security policemen came to our house, saying that they were looking for Oscar. They didn't get my father that time."

Esther was 18 when she saw her father in prison at the old jail in Roeland Street.

About that time, the years of seeing Mpetha detained and arrested finally took their toll on Esther's mother, Rose, and she suffered a nervous breakdown.

"She could't take it when my father was arrested and she used to worry about him all the time."

But Mpetha had a special philosophy about life which always served as an inspiration to Esther.

"When life got complicated, he would tell us: 'Use your willpower to overpower your problems'. This was how he overcame his long periods in jail."

Esther's longing to see her father free again is equalled only by Mpetha's own dream to be reunited with his family.

She visits her father as many as two to three times a week and the time spent together is always precious.

"My mother and brother, Karl, are dead and Themba (Mpetha's youngest son) is overseas, so for me there is nobody else I can turn to.

"In the 30 minutes that I have with him, I forget that he is a prisoner and we talk almost as if we're at home.

"When I have a problem he is always there to give advice. Often there are matters which I can't solve and which I take to him to handle."

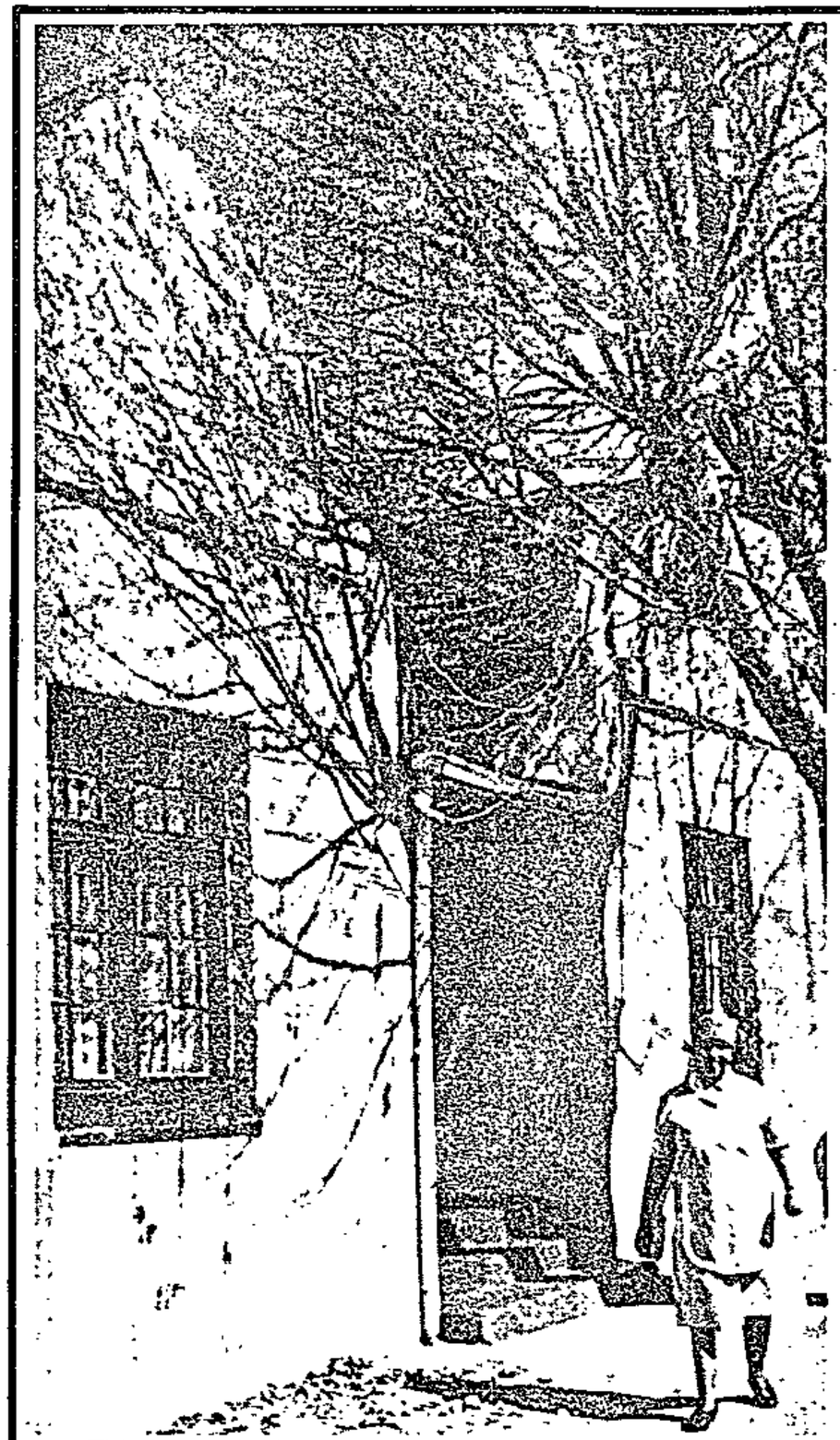
Esther speaks with sadness about the tragedies which have befallen her father in recent years. Mpetha has endured the deaths of his eldest son Harold in 1979, his wife Rose in 1987, and his son, Karl, in a car accident only a few months ago.

"With so much of our family gone, some burdens are now on my shoulders," said Esther.

"I always tell Oscar's grandchildren that if he were at home, he would [illegible]

Down memory lane with Mandela

Would Nelson Mandela recognise Johannesburg after 28 years in prison? Maybe not, says veteran Congress activist, Amina Cachalia, in this open letter to her close friend:



This house in Arenne Road, Fordsburg, was used during the Defiance Campaign in 1952

Kapitan Restaurant, where Mandela used to go for meals

My dear Nelson,

THERE is an old song that goes something like this, "I'll be seeing you in all the old familiar places".

But after an absence of 28 years I wonder if anything will be familiar to you.

Let's begin with the old African National Congress offices at New Court Chambers in Commissioner Street. You will not recognise the place.

Anglo American has erected a huge building at 40 Commissioner Street on the same site where, on the first floor of the old building, the ANC offices were housed.

And as we walk down Commissioner Street, we turn right into Diagonal Street. You may want to enter Barkley Arcade (next to Adams Arcade where the old Transvaal Indian Congress offices were).

That old building has also vanished and in its place Anglo has erected another huge building call "Life Centre".

You will probably want to walk back up Commissioner Street to Kort Street where the TIC offices were during the Defiance Campaign.

Remember DU Mistry's office downstairs? Well, the building is still there looking very dilapidated, but people are living there.

Moretsele's

And further along Kort Street towards President Street, Kapitans Cafe and Restaurant still caters for the public.

Remember the many Saturday lunches we had there? The Kapitan family, the remaining ones, remember you very well.

Ah! but you will want to go to another eating house we visited very often — Moretsele's, almost on the corner of Diagonal Street but in Pritchard Street.

Chubby old Moretsele died some years ago. Whenever I think of his eating house, a flood of memories rushes through my mind. I think of all our old colleagues, some in exile, others who have died.

There was Thandray and Barney Desai and Walter and Nzo and Dan Tloome and David Bopape and JB. The list can go on and on;

Moretsele's food was cheap but sometimes it was difficult to scrape together the money for a cheap lunch. Those were tough days.

Moretsele was a grand old chap. He would allow us to eat and pay whenever we had money. Those were beautiful days. We worked together, ate together and played together.

Now we have to move on to Fox Street. 25 Chancellor House is still very much in existence.

Your offices with its interleading doors to Oliver's and the other one, is now occupied by a lady who has given most of her life to the liberation struggle — Rita Ndzanga.

Her husband, Lawrence, died in detention at the Old Fort in 1977. He had been held under Section 6 at the time.

Rita, herself, was detained during the same period. She and other ex-detainees run a sewing group established by the now phased-out General and Allied Workers Union.

They sell the garments they make and the funds are used for the dependents of detainees and prisoners.

I went to visit your old offices and met with some of the women. They asked me to convey their good wishes to you.

But before Chancellor House, you had offices at Macosa House. The entire building has been taken over by a Chinese group. It is difficult to pinpoint your office on the first floor.

I am sure you would like to take a walk to Fordsburg. We would stroll down Commissioner Street in a westward direction.

Malay camp lower down from the Magistrates Court has been completely transformed. On the left we still have China Town.

Remember Dougie Lie? He lived in one of the flats along Commissioner Street. On the right you will see the monstrosity of John Vorster Square. I will be able to point out to you the window on the 10th floor where Ahmed Timol "fell" to his death.

Red Square

I am sure you would very much like to see the Red Square. Not a chance. The Group Areas made sure of that.

The people who lived in the homes around the Red Square were and are resettled in the group area known as Lenasia. On the site where the Square was, now stands the Oriental Plaza.

If you are released pretty soon, you may just be in time to see the rickety old building in Avenue Road where the first Passive Resistance Campaign was launched by Mahatma Gandhi.

I am sure the building is about to be pulled down, so hurry and I will take you to see it.

The flat where Yusuf and I were married is just across the road from this old building (Kathy should remember that very well).

On the one side of the Oriental Plaza is Lilian Road and on the corner of Lilian and Bree Streets is a block of flats.

Aggie Patel lived there, but how can you forget: that was where the pigeon meal for my 21st birthday took place. Remember all the friends that were there, among them Arthur Goldreich.

Orient House

But I have to return to Commissioner and Becker Streets, to Orient House where the Pahads lived. Everytime anyone wanted a good free meal they would go to Goolam and Amina Pahad.

Amina Cachalia, centre, at the end of the Tr

She was a great lady, who cooked and fed almost the entire crowd at the ANC and TIC offices for years. Around the corner in Market Street, Kholvad House still stands.

Flat No 13 I am sure will be handed over to its original occupant, Ahmed Kathrada.

I must not forget Jeppe Town where Ayesha and Bob lived. Do you remember the time you, Yusuf, Zaynab and I lived with them for two weeks or more.

We just took over their home and made ourselves comfortable. They are very special people. Ayesha just lost both her parents in a ghastly road accident.

Back to Fordsburg; Molvi's old house in Luttig Street is still there, although none of the family live there. Yusuf and I live on the other side of Luttig Street now.

The house we live in belonged to Vela Pillay's parents. You must remember Vela, he married Patsy Gilbert in the days when mixed marriages were frowned upon. They live in England now.

We will have to go to Vrededorp now. You won't recognise the place. It was bulldozed and the people forced out. It now has rows of low-cost housing for white people.

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Down memory lane with Mandela

Amina Cachalia, centre, at the end of the Treason Trial in Pretoria in March 1961. With her are Esther Basle and Duma Nokwe

Would Nelson Mandela recognise Johannesburg after 28 years in prison? Maybe not, says veteran Congress activist, Amina Cachalia, in this open letter to her close friend:

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There are still several Indian families living in Vrededorp. They refuse to be moved. Their fate unknown, they exist on a day-to-day basis. Pageview, as it is now called, is a heartbreaking sight.

We will now need a car for we are going to Soweto. We can still take the old road or we can go on the M2 south. You have not seen Johannesburg highways.

They are pretty good. The signs say Vanderbyl Park and Soweto. Further on you will turn where it says Old Potch Road and Soweto.

Bara Hospital

We pass Bara hospital where crowds of people are always about. You will immediately recognise the old monotonous matchbox houses of Diepkloof.

Nothing much has changed. The roads are still untarred and messy. Way down we turn off right to go to Orlando West.

Your home No 8115 at the foot of the Koppie is still waiting for its occupant who left almost 28 years ago but who is sure to come back in the not-too-distant future.

Those were the days my friend (as another song begins). Those were the days my friend.

Amina Cachalia

Mrs Rita Ndzanja, who runs a sewing project at Chancellor House where Nelson Mandela used to have an office

It wasn't all right on the night

(327)

W/mail 4-10/8/89

THE University of Durban-Westville's "One Nation-One Culture" arts festival, which ends at the weekend, has had to contend with film bannings, police action and poor timing — a launch in the middle of exams.

But the 22-day celebration of music, dance, film and theatre has scored some successes amid the confusion.

And confusing it was. For example, kwaZulu police gave the actors in a Cape Town play on gangsters, *Fight Your Brother No More*, 15 minutes to leave the kwaMashu cinema on the first Saturday afternoon of the festival.

Yet "we performed in Umlazi the Sunday before with no problems," said festival co-ordinator Anice Hassim.

Maybe — but Umlazi is not kwaMashu where, said Lt Gent Ngobese, the kwaMashu police station commander, "everything taking place must be brought to the attention of the township manager and the police".

He said he was stunned that in the current climate of violence the "ridiculous organisers" had not bothered to brief the authorities in advance. "It's easy to get a permit for an indoor meeting," he said. "All they had to do was inform the township manager. I doubt very much if we would have objected if we had been told."

In the festival's first week, the Directorate of Publications withdrew permission to show the films *A World Apart*, *Shot Down* and the documentary *Namibia: No Easy Road to Freedom* — a puzzling move, since *A World Apart*, Shawn Slovo's film about her mother, Ruth First, had been shown recently at a number of festivals, including the Durban Film Festival. A fourth film, *Mapantsula*, was withdrawn on the producer's advice because censors were "still slashing", according to Steve Schmidt, of the Natal Organisation of Video and Allied Workers.

The festival has also been plagued by a certain lack of co-ordination: audiences but no event, stranded and homeless artists, talent

● To PAGE 26

Some mishaps but still a success

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● From PAGE 25

with no theatre to act in, food with no-one to eat it.

"The student boycott and then the adminsitration's closure of school for more than a month naturally took priority in the student representative council over co-ordinating the festival," said the drama department head, Professor Dennis Schaeffer.

"But that's ongoing. No matter how much planning, there will be student unrest and students' entire focus will quite rightly move in that direction."

The confusion is "possibly slightly worse than previous festivals", he said, but stressed his belief in Natal's biggest arts festival despite "things going off the rails".

Four theatrical performances have been cancelled and numerous others postponed or rerouted because of "administrative botch-ups", said Hassim. He blamed the lack of a permanent organiser when dealing with the logistics involved in taking art to the community, as in moving the film festival off-campus to Umlazi, Lamontville and Chesterville townships.

All the same, the festival has had some successes: The plays *Gorée* and *You Strike a Woman, You Strike a Rock* played to full houses — as did concerts by Bayete, Steve Fataar, traditional performers and church choirs.

The need is there. "Community people have been ringing us constantly, saying just give us a venue and we'll perform," said Hassim. "We are learning, we are learning very fast."

● Tomorrow there will be performances of *Side by Side Masisizane* at the Asoka Theatre at 6 and 8.30pm; readings by Siphiwe Ngwenya at 6pm at the UWC education theatre; and a concert at the Central Methodist Church featuring poet Mzwahke Mbuli and the band Zanusi.

Christina Scott

Press faces a new, 'low-profile' attack

WEEKLY MAIL, August 4 to August 10 1989 13

In an apparent campaign to curb the media without drawing too much international flak, the government has moved from suspension to prosecution. PAT SIDLEY reports

IF Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha had decided to invoke the Emergency media regulations and seize issues of the *Sunday Times* — or worse, close it down for three months — the outcry would have been long and loud.

But the fact that the state is taking the *Sunday Times* to court has drawn hardly a murmer.

The *Weekly Mail*, *Sowetan*, *South*, *Saamstaan* and *Vrye Weekblad* also face various charges, from contravening the Emergency regulations to violating the Prisons and Internal Security Acts. Most of these newspapers — and others — are being investigated on several dozen further charges.

Suggestions as to why this is happening range from the inevitable conspiracy theories to *ad hoc* zealotry on the part of local police.

Whatever the motive, several newspapers are in trouble and cannot afford to be.

Both the *Sunday Times* and the *Sowetan* are charged with quoting a banned person, Harry Gwala, the African National Congress leader who was released last year.

Weekly Mail and *South* face charges under the Emergency regulations — for articles which appeared during last year's Emergency. *Saamstaan* has been charged with printing a picture of Nelson Mandela — in the same month when newspapers country wide published pictures of the famous prisoner after his tea party with State President PW Botha.

Vrye Weekblad has been charged and successfully prosecuted for quoting Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party. The newspaper is appealing against the decision but has been warned that more charges are likely.

For those who believe the charges are part of a strategy which excludes seizures and closures, the police have proved them partially wrong. *Saamstaan* was seized in June, as was the Western Cape Council of Churches mouthpiece, *Crisis News*, and books from the publisher, David Philip.

Tertius Myburgh, editor of the *Sunday Times*, is among those who believe the prosecution of his newspaper is not part of a new strategy.

"If indeed there is a wave of pursuits of newspapers, it is out of keeping with the conciliatory spirit which the government seems to be propogating at this time ... with FW de Klerk trying to promote a reasonable image overseas," he said.

However, it is precisely in this area that the editor of *South*, Moegsien Williams, sees the reason for the prosecutions. He believes the political costs of closing a newspaper are too high for the government. However, charges which could cost an editor R20 000 and land him in jail for 10 years are likely to be very effective in making newspapers cautious about what they publish.

"With (Pretoria's) new initiative internationally and the feeling abroad that the South African government must be given a chance, I suspect the government found the application of the regulations (which empowered closures) to be very politically costly," says Williams.

"The option is to drag us into court and tie us down ... they (the government) fear the cost politically of an outright ban."

Williams believes the current spate of prosecutions is being orchestrated from the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria which, he says, is monitoring the newspapers and ordering the prosecutions. He bases his beliefs on a telex he saw from the department to the police instructing them to investigate the alleged infringement of the Emergency regulations.

A lawyer who deals with media law but who cannot be identified for professional reasons believes there is a new shift to prosecutions. She says the government is more sensitive to the allegations of the "arbitrariness" of the closures and believes the machinery which administered the closures has "run out of steam".

Legally, she says, the prosecutions of newspapers under Emergency regulations (including the University of Cape Town student newspaper, *Varsity)* create a worrying phenomenon, as the regulations are acquiring the status of permanent law with legal precedents building up: "The body of precedents indicate the Emergency is here to stay," she says.

The strategy may simply be to clean out the newly constituted Media Defence Trust which helps newspapers and journalists fight such cases and which has had a recent run on its funds for such defences.

From next week several editors will be appearing in court around the country to face various charges. The sentences could be fatal for some of their newspapers they head.

Monitoring repression

A HIGH-POWERED commission to investigate assassinations and other forms of informal repression was launched in Johannesburg this week.

The board — made up of a former supreme court judge, a law professor, prominent church leaders and human rights activists —will investigate sabotage, assassination and other attacks on resistance groups.

The board said it had decided to purchase sophisticated computer equipment to monitor repression throughout South Africa. It will make use of private investigators and is in contact with the FBI over the alleged poisoning of church leader Frank Chikane.

The 10-member board includes Prof Laurie Ackermann, a former supreme court judge who is now professor of human rights law at Stellenbosch University.

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Kobie's months of secret Mandela meetings

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Weekly Mail 4-10/8/89.

By HENNIE SERFONTEIN

NELSON MANDELA, the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress, has been involved in "serious dialogue" with senior members of the government for almost three years.

The discussions, which date back to 1986, involved more than a dozen lengthy meetings with a "team of four" top government representatives led by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

There were also a number of other individual discussions with key figures from the government camp, I have been told by well-informed diplomatic sources.

It is reliably understood that the government's four-man "team" tried in vain for 18 months to persuade Mandela that he, and the ANC, should abandon some of the cornerstones of their strategy. This was presented as a precondition for possible future negotiations with the ANC.

In several separate meetings the "team" sought to persuade Mandela to agree that the

●To PAGE 2

Minister Kobie Coetsee: Sent in a four-man team to try persuade Mandela

NO, THERE WAS NEVER A CALL FOR A WHITE P

Four-man team visited

●From PAGE 1

ANC should abandon the following strategies:

- A one-man-one-vote unitary constitution
- Armed struggle
- Sanctions and disinvestment
- International isolation of Pretoria
- Mass mobilisation campaigns.

It took a number of lengthy discussions before the government "team" had reluctantly to accept that Mandela would under no circumstances abandon these views.

It is understood that in order to prevent the talks from ending in deadlock, or breaking down altogether, discussions then began on the issue of releasing Mandela's jailed ANC colleagues. This led to the release of Govan Mbeki at the end of 1987 and later, some PAC members.

However, because of the controversy surrounding Mbeki's release (involving a major press conference and excited crowds), the government felt forced to restrict him in order to avoid further international embarrassment.

This somehow soured subsequent, tough discussions between the government "team" and Mandela, with him pushing for the release of others, especially the 75-year-old Walter Sisulu.

The government "team" tried to establish ground rules with Mandela about how the Sisulu release should be handled, and wanted guarantees about "behaviour" as well as an undertaking that there would be no rallies or press conferences.

It is not known precisely what transpired, but it is almost certain that Mandela was not prepared to provide the government with such guarantees.

Earlier this year the government apparently agreed in discussions with Mandela to release Sisulu by May this year. The matter of his own release was also bound to have been discussed.

Significantly, this was not long before the De Klerk visit to Europe, and probably formed the basis of subsequent leaks from the Thatcher camp that Sisulu was to be released just before or after the September 6 election.

However, this time the State Security Council — fearing a repeat of the Mbeki release saga — intervened at the last minute and prevented the release.

It will now probably take place, along with those of some other ANC leaders, only in the aftermath of the elections.

This unexpected last-minute change in government plans on Sisulu apparently led to further tough talks between Mandela and the government "team" about what the latter really had in mind on possible negotiations with the ANC.

These apparently paved the way for the subsequent Botha/Mandela meeting, which took place at the insistence of jailed ANC veteran. He had requested it from the outset of the talks.

From the government's handling of the affair, it is obvious that it has no clear-cut strategy yet on how to deal with Mandela and the ANC.

This strengthens security establishment fears — stated in private — that Mandela has taken the initiative, and has in a sense gained the upper hand in the three-year "dialogue".

It is believed that Mandela presented Botha with a 13-page document setting out the reasons why he and the ANC were rejecting the government demand that they should abandon some of their key strategies as a precursor to negotiations.

This failure of the government to shift Mandela's position has apparently led to tension and disagreements between some government figures and senior security officials on the National Security Council.

Security elements are apparently seriously concerned about the course the discussions with Mandela have taken, and in particular his visit to Tuynhuys. They believe it is Mandela, and not the government, who has gained from the encounter — without making any basic concessions.

The alarm has been compounded by the fact that in his carefully-worded, brief statement, Mandela studiously avoided rejecting the "armed struggle", and insisted that real negotiations could only take place with the ANC itself — and not with him individually in prison.

It reaffirmed Mandela's standpoint that he is only involved in a "dialogue" with the government in preparation for possible eventual negotiations with the ANC.

The recent statement by National Party leader FW de Klerk claiming that the "ball was in the ANC's court" — as they had to commit themselves to a peaceful solution as Mandela had done — was thus obviously wrong and misleading, I am told.

The facts about the Mandela-government discussions over the past three years clearly contradict the recent statement.

The De Klerk speech is seen as an effort to cover up confusion and disagreements in government circles about the Botha/Mandela encounter and other talks. It is, in addition, another transparent attempt to drive a wedge between Mandela and the ANC.

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funeral cleared

(327)

THE police have agreed not to restrict the funeral of the two young people who died in the Athlone bomb blast on the eve of nomination day. Sowetan 4/8/89

Miss Coline Williams (22), of Boekenhout Street, Bonteheuwel, and Mr Robert Waterwitch (20), of Gleemore Road, Athlone, were killed when a limpet mine exploded outside a toilet opposite the magistrate's court in Klipfontein Road on July 23.

Three members of the funeral committee met Brigadier G van der Wall, deputy regional commissioner of the South African Police in the Western Cape, the funeral committee said in a statement yesterday.

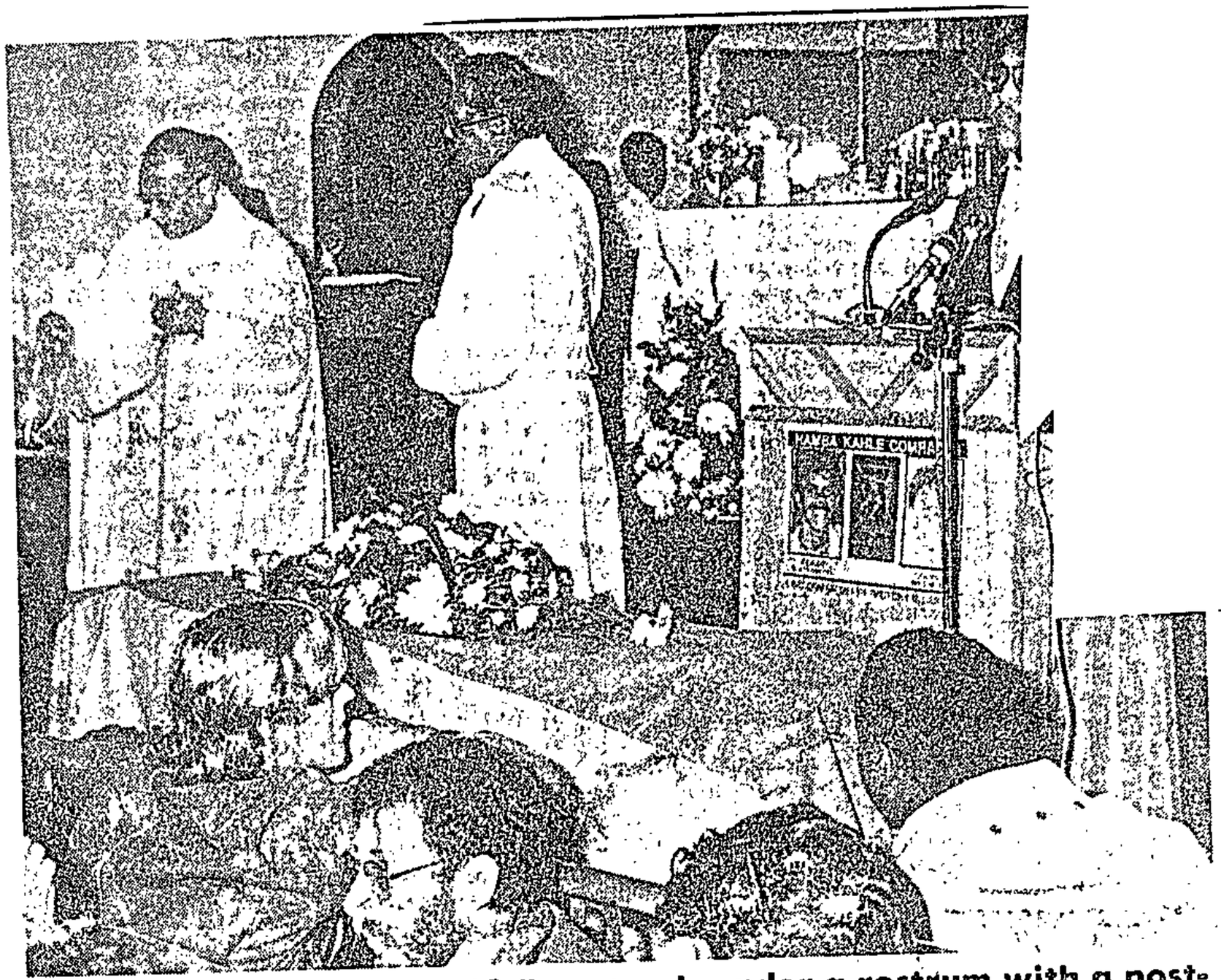
The committee "welcomed" the decision of the police not to restrict the funeral and to keep their distance.

In the statement, the committee said that Van der Wall had asked them to ensure that proceedings would be conducted in an orderly manner.

The committee said they would do their utmost to comply but could not give an undertaking about the length of the proceedings which are expected to take between three and four hours.

The brigadier asked the committee to liaise with him should there be any problems tomorrow when the funeral will take place.

"We intend burying Coline and Robbie with dignity and respect. The funeral proceedings will start promptly at 9am tomorrow. They will be buried from the Roman Catholic Church in Lawrence Road, Athlone," the committee said.



A coffin draped in the ANC flag stands under a rostrum with a poster bearing the names and photographs of Robert Waterwitch and Coline Williams. Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, Weekend Argus.

Big crowd at Athlone funeral

4/ARGUS 5/8/89

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By DON HOLLIDAY, Weekend Argus Reporter

ABOUT 5 000 people attended the funeral of Robert Waterwitch and Coline Williams in Athlone today.

The two died in an explosion near Athlone Magistrate's Court on July 29.

The funeral service, held at St Mary's of the Angels Catholic church, started at 9am and activists appeared at the service in spite of restriction orders.

Although police imposed restrictions on the funeral including the banning of flags, banners, placards, pamphlets, posters and stickers, banners of the military wing of the ANC were displayed.

Police helicopters circled overhead.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, addressed the mourners and said: "Our God is not a neutral God. The Bible is the most subversive book around. The government should have banned it long ago."

Dr Allan Boesak also attended the service.

Police with rifles arrived at the funeral immediately after the singing of Nkosi Sikelela i'Afrika which marked the end of the service.

Until then the service had run without major incident.

Many of the mourners were wearing black, green and gold and bearing black, green and gold pennants.

Many of them could not be accommodated in the church hall and milled about in the parking area.

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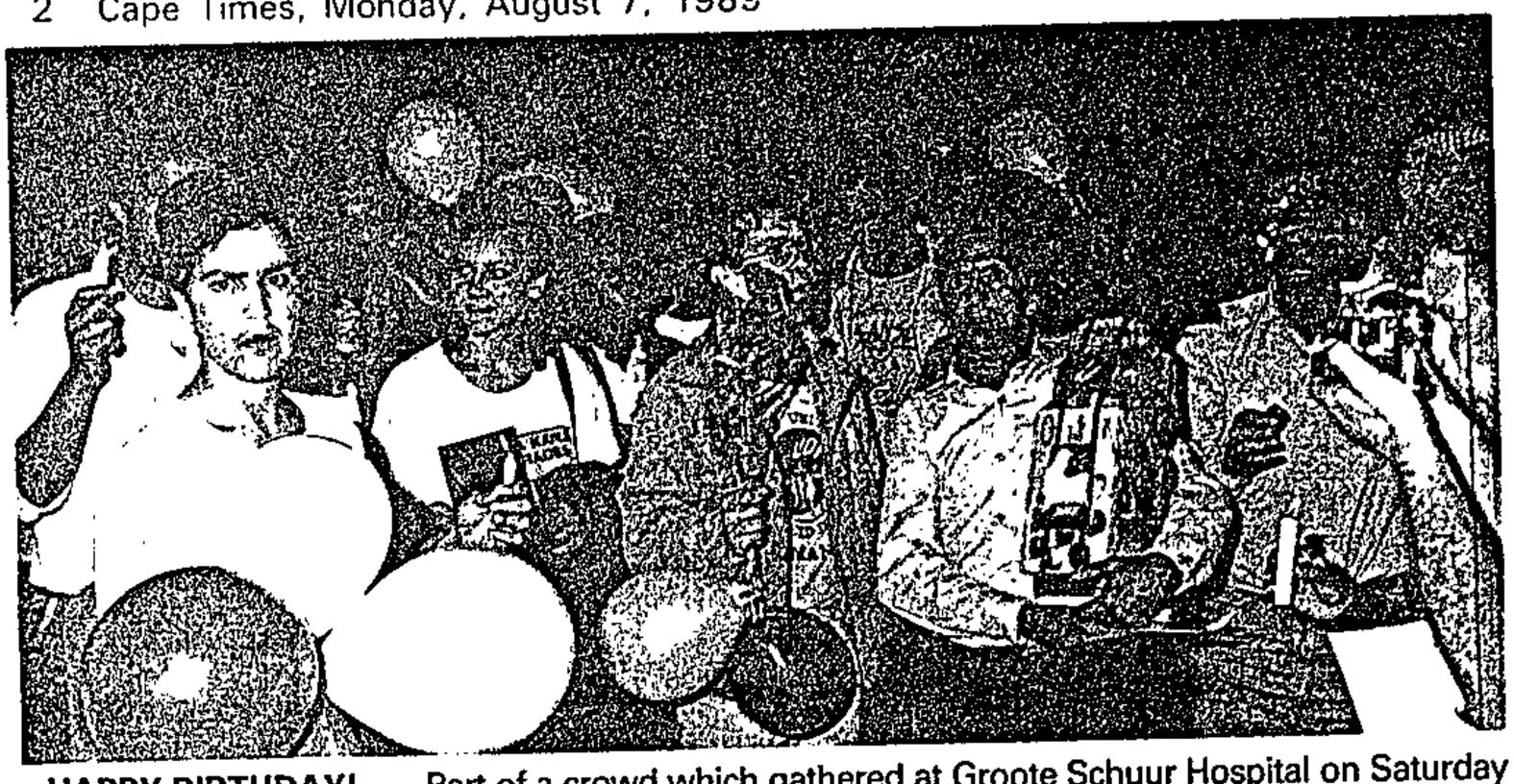

HAPPY BIRTHDAY! . . . Part of a crowd which gathered at Groote Schuur Hospital on Saturday night to take birthday wishes to jailed veteran trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha, who turned 80 that day. Mr Mpetha is serving a five-year sentence for terrorism and is being treated at the hospital for diabetes.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

Large crowd is teargassed at G Schuur

By MARIUS BOSCH

POLICE fired teargas to break up a 300-strong crowd outside Groote Schuur Hospital, and detained a prominent advocate outside the hospital on Saturday night.

The crowd had gathered outside the hospital to convey their best wishes to veteran trade unionist Mr Oscar Mpetha, who celebrated his 80th birthday on Saturday.

Mr Mpetha — who has diabetes and is crippled — is currently serving a five-year jail sentence for terrorism.

Eyewitnesses said police fired at least five teargas canisters in the direction of the crowd gathered at the entrance to the Groote Schuur parking lot, after warning that the gathering was illegal.

The Mass Democratic Movement said the "firm, sober interventions" of Dr Jocelyn Kane-Berman, the hospital's medical superintendent, prevented "further foolish actions" by the police.

Police spokesman Colonel L J Haasbroek yesterday confirmed that teargas had been fired to disperse the crowd, and that advocate Mr Johnny de Lange had been detained under the emergency regulations.

Mr De Lange is part of the defence team in the Yengeni trial — which is proceeding today — and Mr Jan van Eck, DP MP for Claremont, yesterday approached Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok requesting Mr De Lange's release.

Eyewitnesses said Mr De Lange was detained after he had negotiated with police about the firing of teargas at the hospital.

Dr Kane-Berman said yesterday that shortly after the firing of the teargas, it could be smelled in parts of the hospital. No patients or staff had been seriously affected.

Mrs Pam de Lange said the detention of her husband was outrageous.

"He was detained for negotiating with police not to throw teargas outside the hospital," she said.

The Cape Democrats said it was "sinister" that Mr De Lange was detained while negotiating.

Members of the crowd gained admission to the hospital by mingling with visitors, and later they were allowed to sing "Happy Birthday" at the entrance to Mr Mpetha's ward.

There was a strong police presence at the hospital, with several vans and a water cannon on the scene.

"We were outraged at the *kragdadige* response of the SAP," a spokesperson for the MDM said yesterday.

"We are angered at the lack of consideration shown towards not only our peaceful group, but towards the entire hospital population and their visitors."

(Report by M Bosch, 122 St George's Sreet, Cape Town).

COFFINS . . . The coffins of Robert Waterwich and Coline Williams at Saturday's funeral.

Cape Times 7/8/87

Leaders defuse clash at funeral

By RONNIE MORRIS and ANDRE KOOPMAN

LAWYERS, clergymen and community leaders defused a potential clash between mourners and police, who tried to seize ANC and hammer-and-sickle flags at the funeral on Saturday of Mr Robert Waterwich and Ms Coline Williams.

The two died in a bomb explosion in a toilet across the street from Athlone Magistrate's Court on July 23, a night when four separate bomb blasts occurred in the Pensinsula and Somerset West.

Police said the funeral, attended by more than 3 500 people, should be held indoors, that only priests could address the crowd, no marches could take place and that no political material could be displayed.

But a huge banner in the colours of the ANC hung from the steeple and others decked the church walls. Pamphlets circulated at the funeral described the couple as area commanders of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

Youths unfurled the flags before the coffins were brought from the church. Four policemen, armed with shotguns and automatic rifles, walked through the gates to seize the flags.

Pandemonium broke loose and hundreds of people converged on the policemen and shouted at them.

Amid appeals for calm and restraint, lawyer Mr Essa Moosa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Franklin Sonn and Professor Jakes Gerwel mediated with police. The police then left without the flags.

Dr Boesak clearly told mourners they would not be allowed to march and should wait for buses which were then brought to the gates.

At the Maitland cemetery, police ripped two ANC flags from the coffins and also confiscated a Sansco (South African National Students' Congress) flag. A large section of the crowd surged towards police and a half-brick and stone were thrown, the brick narrowly missing a senior policeman. Police then retired while funeral marshals persuaded the crowd to do likewise.

Mr Waterwich and Ms Williams were buried in a single grave.

A pamphlet, issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe, described the couple as trained operatives who were unlikely to have died through their own incompetence.

Mr Waterwich was described as "commander of the Athlone central zone" and Ms Williams the "Athlone area commander". The pamphlet said Ms Williams had taken part in three incidents involving limpet mines, and that she had recruited and trained others.

Police said they could not comment on the allegations made in the pamphlets.

Vlok admits fabrications — Cosatu

Political Staff

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had admitted that he effectively fabricated allegations that Cosatu had distributed a document planning violent disruption of the elections, the trade union body said yesterday.

Mr Vlok's admission confirmed that "the security paranoia and hysteria which the government has been whipping up amongst whites is a smokescreen behind which they have tried to smash all democratic opposition to apartheid rule", it said in a statement issued by its general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo.

"This comes hot on the heels of the successful and peaceful mass defiance of hospital apartheid, despite the dire predictions of the minister."

Cosatu said that last week it instructed its attorneys to write to Mr Vlok, to demand that he retract his allegations and to undertake to desist from making further such statements.

"Within 48 hours the minister responded, admitting that the document circulated at Cosatu Congress made no reference to petrol-bomb attacks on candidates, and undertaking that he would desist from making any further statement that this document did support such attacks, or that it advocated any specific acts of violence.

"In addition, the Minister also expressed his "regret (that) any inconvenience (was) caused to" Cosatu.

"This is clearly an apology, and an admission by the minister that the allegations in question were wrong and without foundation."

Cosatu would proceed through its attorneys to obtain corrections and apologies from the relevant newspapers and state media.

[Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town].

Police teargas crowd at hospital

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POLICE fired teargas to break up a 300-strong crowd outside Groote Schuur Hospital and detained a prominent advocate outside the hospital on Saturday night.

The crowd had gathered outside the hospital to convey their best wishes to veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha who celebrated his 80th birthday on Saturday.

Mpetha - who suffers from diabetes and is a cripple - is currently serving a five-year jail sentence for terrorism.

Police spokesman Colonel L J Haasbroek yesterday confirmed that teargas had been fired to disperse the crowd and that advocate Mr Johnny de Lange had been detained under the emergency regulations.

Eyewitnesses said police fired at least five teargas cannisters in the direction of the crowd gathered at the entrance to the Groote Schuur parking lot after warning that the gathering was illegal.

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) said the "firm sober interventions" of Dr Jocelyn Kane-Berman prevented "further foolish actions" by the police.

De Lange is part of the defence team in the Yengeni trial, which is proceeding today - and Mr Jan van Eck, DP MP for Claremont, yesterday approached Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok requesting De Lange's release.

Eyewitnesses said De Lange was detained after he had negotiated with police about the firing of teargas at the hospital.

Groote Schuur medical superintendent Kane-Berman said yesterday that shortly after the firing of teargas, the gas could be smelled in parts of the hospital.

(Report by Marius Bosch, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town).

Vlok telling untruths, says Tutu

Demo in support of 'ban busters'

Star 9/8/89

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CAPE TOWN — Religious leaders and academics yesterday held a placard demonstration outside St George's Cathedral after a 90-minute service in solidarity with people who have broken their restriction orders.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak stood next to each other with placards which read: "God's truth cannot be restricted".

Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape, and Mr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon, who addressed the meeting of about 300 people, also joined the demonstration, as did Professor John Reid, deputy vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town.

Police watched

The demonstration, which lasted 15 minutes, was monitored by security police in unmarked cars in St George's Street. A police video unit was also at the scene.

The service was led by the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

Community leaders said that on Sunday some local restricted people decided to defy their restriction orders, but that it was only the first step.

A campaign would be launched to make August 20 a national day of defiance by all those who were restricted.

Archbishop Tutu referred to a recent speech by Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok in which he claimed to be reading from a Cosatu document which incited violence.

"I will not call Mr Vlok a liar. But ... as Churchill would have said ... a terminological inexactitude.

"No reference to violence or petrol bombs was made in this draft document which was not even adopted. Mr Vlok repeated these untruths and only apologised after Cosatu threatened court action."

He said South Africans were becoming used to such statements.

Dr Boesak said the message from the clergy and academics gathered in church to those who were under restriction orders was: "We will stand by you when you defy laws that make you a prisoner in your own home."

● Police yesterday arrested two priests in Athlone after an "illegal gathering", said police spokesman Captain Reg Crewe.

Police did not name the priests but they are believed to be the Rev Sydney Lucket and a Mr van Heerden.

In continuing unrest in the Peninsula's coloured townships, the erection of five barricades was reported — three at Mitchell's Plain, one at Belaire and two in Scotsdene, said Captain Crewe.

Illegal gatherings were held at Mitchell's Plain, the University of the Western Cape in Bellville and at Kraaifonten. — Sapa-Crime Reporter.

Toyi-toyi defiance

The toyi-toyi dance

AFFILIATES of the Congress of South African Trade Unions have resolved to urge their members to continue with singing and dancing toyi-toyi on trains in defiance of a police clampdown.

By LEN MASEKO

This decision was taken a meeting of Cosatu's Witwatersrand regional executive committee on Sunday as more arrests of commuters on trains were reported.

Cosatu official Mr Ariel Mabalane said as many as 460 people had been arrested for "disturbing the peace on trains" since June.

He said 89 Cosatu members had already paid spot fines while about 350 others appeared briefly in court this week following the charge.

Forty-seven more workers are expected to appear in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

Describing the arrests as a new form of State repression, Cosatu has called on the authorities to withdraw all charges against its members.

Mabalane said:

"The number of those arrested has risen from 201 in June to more than 450 at the end of July. Twelve more people were arrested (in trains) during the first of week of this month".

The arrests, he said, "violated the freedom of association and freedom of expression."

He said the SA Transport Services had failed to intervene, raising suspicion about its role in the matter.

In an earlier statement, a police spokesman said they did not act against people "because of their affiliation to one or other organisation".

He said these people were arrested on suspicion of having committed an offence.

These detainees would be released if no evidence linking them to the alleged offence was found.

Police have sent dockets to "relevant authorities who will decide whether to prosecute or not."

Vlok issues new threat to Cosatu

(327)

Star 9/8/89

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Government is investigating the possibility that Cosatu has transgressed its restrictions under the emergency regulations, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in Lyttleton last night.

He also warned that the Government would not tolerate people breaking their restriction orders and daring the Government to act against them.

Their aim was to provoke violence which would be blamed on the Government and the police, Mr Vlok said.

"We will not walk into their trap — but at the same time we will not allow them to challenge the Government and to help them make the country ungovernable."

Mr Vlok said that since he had warned on July 25 that the "so-called Mass Democratic Movement" planned to disrupt the election campaign in various ways, he had been personally abused and attacked.

CLAIMS CORRECT

Nonetheless he stood by his original allegations which were based on documents as well as other "sensitive" sources.

(After receiving a letter from Cosatu's lawyers last week about his claims that a Cosatu document outlined plans for violence, Mr Vlok promised not to make further statements to that effect.)

Events and incidents over the last two weeks had illustrated the correctness of his information, Mr Vlok claimed.

A total of 235 unrest incidents, including eight cases of arson and 12 petrol-bomb attacks, had occurred. There had also been 23 incidents of terror in the past two weeks.

The apparent goal of peaceful protest was a "facade" behind which "this bunch of radicals" was hiding. Their real goal was to plunge South Africa into chaos, unrest and violence, he claimed.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.)

Not guilty, say accused in 'Trojan Horse' trial

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Twelve policemen and a South African Defence Force member in the "Trojan Horse" trial pleaded not guilty in the Cape Supreme Court yesterday to two charges of murder.

The men denied in statements that they had acted unlawfully against Shaun Magmoed (16) and Michael Miranda (11) or that they had intended to kill them.

The trial is a private prosecution brought against the men by the parents of the two boys who were killed in the "Trojan Horse" incident in 1985 when policemen hid in crates in the back of a South African Transport Services truck and opened fire on people who were allegedly stoning vehicles.

NEGLIGENT

A Wynberg Inquest Magistrate found last year that Lieutenant Douw Vermeulen and his men were negligent and had caused the youths' deaths.

The attorney-general subsequently refused to prosecute and their parents decided to bring a private prosecution.

The hearing was postponed until today after Mr P De Bruyn, SC, for Colonel P Janse van Rensburg and Major Christiaan Loedolff, said the defence intended making an application in terms of Section 10(3) of the Criminal Procedures Act for the charges to be declared invalid.

Section 10(3) reads: "Two or more persons shall not prosecute in the same charge except where two or more persons have been injured by the same offence.

Mr Jules Browde, SC, for the prosecution, said he was unfamiliar with the scope of the subsection.

ARGUMENT

The postponement was necessary for the teams to prepare argument and because some further particulars of the charges were still outstanding and consultations between the two legal teams concerning formal admissions had to be made, Mr de Bruyn said.

An amendment to the indictment separating the two murder charges was granted by Mr Justice D M Williamson.

The hearing began 90 minutes later than scheduled.

Last week, the court dismissed an application by the defence that R10 000 already paid as security for legal costs that may be incurred by the families, be increased to almost R1 million.

Star 10/8/89

Sowetan 10/8/87

MDM calls off march

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THE Mass Democratic Movement has suspended a march of women on the Union Buildings which was to have taken place yesterday.

The suspension followed a statement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that the MDM was planning a march by women as part of its defiance campaign.

Quoting from a Cosatu document at a meeting

Own Correspondent

at Fochsville on July 25, Vlok said the MDM was planning a march by women either to the Union Buildings or to the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk's house yesterday or today.

A spokesman for the MDM, Mr Cas Coovadia, said the march which was to have comorated National Women's Day and the 35th anniversary of a march of woman on the Union Buildings was suspended.

The MDM is expected to release a statement later this week detailing further action for its defiance campaign.

Meanwhile, the Transvaal Indian Congress is to launch its first rally calling for a boycott of the election of House of Delegates candidates.

The meeting was due to take place in Benoni last night.

Coovadia said the MDM was supporting a boycott of the House of Delegates, including Democratic Party candidates contesting House of Delegates seats and House of Representatives elections.

Coovadia said the MDM was not supporting a boycott of the election in the House of Assembly, but was not supporting white candidates.

Report by: Esther Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.

'SAP had to act'

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THE SAP said police, who fired teargas to break up a 300-strong crowd outside Groote Schuur Hospital and detained a prominent advocate outside the hospital on Saturday night, had a duty to act when the law was contravened.

Sowetan 10/8/89

The incident took place when a crowd gathered at the hospital to wish veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha happy birthday.

Bambo from Pietersburg.

Top cop's Warning

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Sowetan 10/8/89

POLICE could not and would not allow a state of unrest on the scale of that of 1986/87 to redevelop, Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellett, aid yesterday.

Police would also act against the "Mass Democratic Movement" if its actions chrystallised into violence, he said.

Responding to a National Association of Democratic Lawyers statement expressing concern at the recent arrest of Advocate Johnny de Lange outside Groote Schuur Hospital, a police spokesman said:

"People who act defiantly and openly ignore warnings by the police must not expect the police to stand by idly and foresake their duty to act. Any reasonable member of the public will understand this. The SA police are there to protect the public."

Asked whether Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok's strong anti-MDM speech at Verwoerdburg presaged a security clampdown on anti-apartheid organisations, Mellett said police had a duty to maintain law and order.

Sanctions opposed

OTTAWA - The South African Embassy has released a poll that indicated Canadians opppose more economic sanctions against South Africa if they hurt the black majority.

The embassy, which has had the poll since May, only released it as Commonwealth Foreign Ministers met in Canberra to consider further sanctions. Sowetan 10/8/89

'DEATH THREAT'

Benzien

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Argus 10-16/8/89

'Leave her to me. I'll kill her.'

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Well-known security policeman Jeff Benzien, who was involved in the killing of ANC guerilla Ashley Kriel, threatened to kill a detained trade unionist, it was alleged in the Johannesburg Regional Court.

Lucienne Abrahams, former Western Cape organiser for the Media Workers' Association of South Africa, told the court she had been threatened with death by Benzien while being held in solitary confinement.

Abrahams was giving evidence in a terrorism trial in which she and her husband Gerald Nyembe are appearing on charges related to ANC activities.

The state alleged that Abrahams and Nyembe promoted the aims of the banned organisation and that they left the country illegally to undergo military training.

Testifying in a "trial within a trial" to test the validity of a confession she had made, Abrahams told the court it had been made under duress.

She said that during her detention last year she was told by police that they would release her from solitary confinement if she agreed to make a confession.

Abrahams described to the court how Warrant Officer Benzien had burst into a room where she was being interrogated.

In the presence of other policemen, he shook his fist in her face, swore at her and, shaking with rage, said: "Finish with her. Leave her to me. I'll kill her."

After accusing her of planting bombs in Cape Town last year, Benzien left the room.

Abrahams claimed that another officer, a Lieutenant Badenhorst of the Protea Police headquarters in Soweto, then said: "We've been patient with you so far, but Benzien would not be so patient."

Abrahams said she had agreed to sign the confession because she feared for her life.

She had heard of Benzien's "reputation" in the Western Cape.

She was also afraid of remaining in solitary confinement indefinitely.

The police had also promised her she would be allowed to see her husband and have access to the courts, she claimed.

The prosecutor, Mr F van Staden, asked her why she had been willing to make a statement which could incriminate her.

She replied that it was a way to get the protection of the courts.

The trial has been postponed to October 16 when the court will rule on the admissibility of the confession as evidence.

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Graduation party ready to go

BY THANDEKA GQUBULE

NELSON MANDELA'S graduation party will definitely take place, according to the SA Prisons Service, and it's up to the ANC leader and his guests to decide when it's most convenient.

According to the Prisons Service in Pretoria, "After consultation with the principal of the University of South Africa, approval had been granted in principle" for Mandela to hold a small private gathering of close friends. The date is unknown but expected to be in August.

Speculation still surrounds the world's best-known prisoner's guest list. *Weekly Mail* this week talked to one of Mandela's prospective guests — Johannesburg businessman Yusuf Surtee is said to have received an invitation to the Mandela graduation party. He told the *Weekly Mail* he did not know the date on which the party would take place.

Meanwhile Stella Sigcau, former Transkei prime minister now unseated by the military government, visited Mandela in his Victor Verster Prison home on Friday last week.

She told Weekly Mail that during her five-hour visit she had "gained the impression that Mandela was concerned about chieftainship" and that she was told the ANC was not automatically opposed to chiefs.

Next week Mandela will be visited by influential Transkei chiefs including Pat Holomisa, brother of General Bantu Holomisa, leader of the "homeland's" military government, Zanengqele Mtirara, acting chief of all Thembuland, and Zanengqele Dalasile, also a prominent traditional leader.

It's eight in the morning and a singing crowd fills seven coaches on the way to the trial of workers charged with disturbing the peace

WMail 11-17/8/89. Picture: SANTU MOFOKENG, Afrapix

A singing crowd arrives for the trial of the singing workers

By AUDREY BROWN

HUNDREDS of singing workers rode the trains yesterday to attend a trial of 47 colleagues charged with ... disturbing the peace by singing on trains.

On their arrival, the crowd were dispersed with sjamboks by police.

More than 500 workers from Johannesburg boarded the 8am train to Kempton Park, singing and chanting, to attend the trial of the 47 workers, arrested in June.

On their arrival, the huge crowd was dispersed with sjamboks by a combined force of several members of the South African Police, traffic officers who blocked their only escape route, and municipal police. At least 15 were injured.

And the original 47 accused who were to appear were inexplicably reduced to 27 when the trial — minus the trialists — was brought before the magistrate. The case was postponed.

More than 450 people have been arrested since June — plus another 100 yesterday morning on the East Rand, a fact communicated to the workers down the seven coaches they occupied as they sang their way east.

They were joined by at least another 200 workers at Germiston station and proceeded to Kempton Park Station without incident.

The crowd, by now 700-strong, was walking to the court just over a kilometre away when they were confronted by a combined force of several members of the South African Police, traffic officers and municipal

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P.T.O.

NTS' WHOM NO-ONE WILL ADMIT TO Back Page

A rough welcome for singing crowds

WMail 11-17/8/89

●From PAGE 1

police who dispersed them. Those injured were treated at Kempton Park Clinic.

One of the injured people, 43-year-old Veronica Khoza, was on her way to the trial of her son, who was appearing on a charge of theft. Another, Jumaima Mia, 25, from Soweto had come "to show solidarity with my comrades" when she was hit across the back and legs, she said. She also suffered bruises after falling as she ran away from the police. Mia has laid charges of assault.

The train rocked to a beat completely different to the usual clickety-clack as workers sang freedom songs in praise of their unions, the African National Congress, Swapo, the Sandinistas and their own strength.

As the train sped eastward, industrial Johannesburg looked sleepy in comparison to the energy of the people who the coaches. Each coach was led by elected delegates, who saw to it that discipline was maintained.

A delegate from Soweto said: "They can try to harass us, but they will fail because of our unity. That is why we are here."

The rhythm of the train was completely subsumed under the stamping feet as a rousing song rang out through the open windows. Delegates would interrupt the singing by holding up crossed fingers to explain the procedure, or to pass on the latest news.

As the train drew closer to Kempton Park, various calls were made for discipline, even up to the issue of tickets. Those who did not have them were requested to buy them as soon as they could.

The chanting was equally well organised, with people at both ends of the coach being given an opportunity to address the crowd, or to start a song. One of the speakers addressed one of the most burning issues in Soweto now, saying "Phantsi na ma-Jack roll, phantsi!" — (which can be translated roughly as 'down with the gang rapes of schoolgirls').

As one speaker finished, he called "Over to you on the other side, comrades". The cry was then rolled down the length of the coach, like something tangible, till it reached the other end, where another comrade started up again.

The train reached Germiston station, where a large group are waiting to board. They greeted each other with cries of "Qina msebenzi, qina!" (Be strong workers, be strong). The newcomers spread themselves into other coaches and the singing was picked up with renewed vigour.

The usual train-patrollers — the confidence tricksters, fakers and other interesting characters — were absent.

The train pulled into a quiet Kempton Park Station at 8.45 — just over half-an hour after leaving Johannesburg. The workers disembarked and, according to instructions, halted the singing and started moving *en masse* toward the court, taking care to stay off the main road according to plan so as not to disrupt the normal activities of the awakening Kempton Park.

Covered in bruises: A woman who was in the 'singing crowd' dispersed outside the court Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

Hardly two blocks away from the court, between two construction sites on an empty street, the workers were confronted by a contigent of security forces, and dispersed with sjamboks and quirts.

A small group managed to trickle back to the court, where they were denied entrance until their lawyers intervened. Police refused anyone access to the court building, and many of the people milled around outside, fearful of another confrontation.

Several injured people came in, and Yoliswa Pokela, one of those scheduled to appear, cried when she discovered that one of the injured was not even on the train and had nothing to do with the "singing train trial".

When the case appeared before the court, two policemen called out the names of those who would appear in three separate cases later this year. Only 27 names were on the list.

Sam Rikhotso was one who escaped prosection, but he was not too happy about the turn of events.

"Why is the case against me being dropped?" he asked. "Also, I have questions to ask the court. I want to know if I am guilty.

"Now I will carry on singing because I am not proven guilty."

With the "singing train" trial postponed, the workers filtered back to the station, where they boarded a train — and sang all the way back to Johannesburg.

●According to a spokesman for the SA Police, 20 people were arrested at the scene. Further comment was not available at the time of going to press. However an official source was quoted as saying police took action after the crowd had been given three warnings to disperse.

Fmail 11/8/89

CIVIL RIGHTS 327

New vigilance

Civil rights groups warned this week that anonymous violent attacks against extra-parliamentary opposition figures are increasing. This, together with what they claim is an "unhappy" police record of investigation into the attacks has prompted the formation of an Independent Board of Investigation into Informal Repression.

Writer Achmat Dangor, spokesman for the Congress of SA Writers (Cosaw), says the attacks (so far unsolved except for one, according to the board) may be spreading to include literary figures. Last week two grenades exploded in the home of the militant township poet, Mzwakhe Mbuli, narrowly missing injuring his wife and eight-year-old daughter. Dangor says he and fellow writer Don Mattera have also received threats.

He says a "sinister element" in the Mbuli attack is that it followed soon after the publication of his booklet of prose poetry, entitled *Before Dawn*, which Dangor says is "uncompromisingly critical of apartheid." The book sold out an initial 5 000 print run.

The vice-president of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Sheena Duncan, says the aim of the board is to investigate attacks in such a manner as to deter the perpetrators and to ensure that prosecutions are forthcoming.

Earlier this year Wits anthropologist and civil rights activist, David Webster, was assassinated soon after completing a report on "informal repression."

Duncan insists that the board will set out with an "open and honest mind." A lawyer on the board, Peter Harris, says the only successful prosecution to date resulted in six Ciskei police officers, including two generals, being jailed for periods of between two and 12 years for the death of Idasa fieldworker, Eric Mntonga.

Harris says police investigations will also be monitored, and where the board believes it can detect inertia, it will lobby for the police to reveal their methods and results.

Duncan says the board will seek to ascertain the extent and pattern of attacks, and will investigate specific incidents where evidence is available. It has retained a law firm to conduct investigations, and will also hire private investigators. Experts in fields such as ballistics and chemical warfare will also be retained.

Initially the board will investigate the chemical poisoning of SACC secretary-general, Frank Chikane. This is because the board has "definite leads."

The spraying of chemicals on the walls of the Cosatu offices in Rustenburg and at Regina Mundi hall recently will also be investigated.

☐ Members of the board are well-known civil rights figures such as former Transvaal Supreme Court Judge Laurie Ackerman, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Brian Currin, Idasa executive director Alex Boraine, and cleric Allan Boesak. ■

SACC's Duncan ... looking into informal attacks

No jail visit for Helen Joseph

(527)

Star 11/8/87

JOHANNESBURG. — Ailing veteran anti-apartheid activist Mrs Helen Joseph, 84, has one special wish, according to friends — to visit three people she last saw in the early 1960s.

On Wednesday, Mrs Joseph was informed by the authorities that yet another application to visit ANC leaders Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Ahmed Kathrada in jail had been refused.

Mrs Joseph, one of the founders of the Federation of South African Women, is to travel to Cape Town this weekend to attend National Women's Day celebrations on Sunday.

She is listed and may not be quoted but friends said yesterday that she regarded her Cape Town trip as one of the last opportunities to visit the three men, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. — Sapa

Police sjambok Cosatu marchers

Cape Times 11/8/89 (327)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds of Cosatu members, marching on the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court where 27 of them were due to appear for singing freedom songs on a commuter train, were scattered by police using sjamboks yesterday.

Police outside the court gave the crowd three minutes to disperse. As the workers were still pleading, police charged at them and the sjambokking started.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said 20 members of the crowd were arrested.

The 27 accused were scattered with the crowd, many of whom suffered sjambok wounds, and did not appear in court.

Lawyers who showed up at the court without their clients secured a postponement of the case to November 20.

As a result of their failure to appear, warrants of arrest would be issued against the 27, according to a spokesman for the lawyers.

The spokesman, however, said the issuing of warrants was a mere formality as workers would not be arrested. He said the warrants would be issued but held over till November 20.

But if the workers failed again to appear on November 20 they would be arrested.

About 18 of the workers who scattered received serious sjambok injuries and were taken to the whites-only Johannesburg General Hospital for treatment.

have been buried there in
t the 1962.

Cosatu

Sowetan 11/8/89

20 held

TWENTY people were arrested and dozens of others injured when policemen used quirts to disperse a crowd outside the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday, a Cosatu spokesman said.

Cosatu official Mr Ariel Mabalane said those injured were among the scores of people who arrived at the court yesterday morning to attend the trial of 47 men arrested for singing and dancing the *toyi-toyi* on trains.

Those injured were treated at Hillbrow Hospital.

He said, however, only 27 Cosatu members made a brief appearance in court.

The case was postponed and the 27 will appear in court on different dates in November and December.

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A police spokesman told Sapa that 20 people were arrested when 300 people arrived simultaneously at the court to attend the trial the 27 men charged under the Transport Services Act.

rain-singing row looms

(327) Star 12/8/89

Govt stumped by strategy to skirt emergency laws

PAT DEVEREAUX

A MAJOR battle is raging between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the State over the singing of political protest songs on East Rand trains.

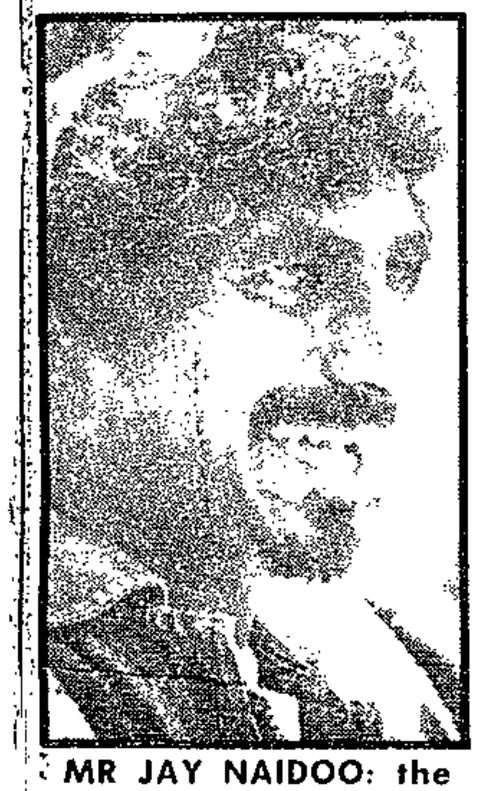
The practice, first put into operation in 1985, has become the mobile solution to the clamp-down on political rallies during the state of emergency.

Each day the packed morning and evening trains transporting factory workers from Soweto to Germiston, Kempton Park and other areas have become "a place of struggle" and are seen as platforms for union and political campaigns.

Political sloganeering, dancing, singing, chanting and even political theatre is being performed on the trains and is specially popular with commuters.

Even train committees have been established to organise meetings and prevent thuggery, say commuters.

And, according to legal experts, the new mobile solution to banned mass meetings has left the Government at a loss as to how to deal with these political rallies.



MR JAY NAIDOO: the police attack was "un-

A lawyer told Saturday Star: "Instead of using State of Emergency legislation to ban the gatherings, police are raiding trains and arresting people on criminal charges for contravening the Transport Services Act — for allegedly disturbing the peace."

Cosatu claims that police have arrested more than 400 people in connection with the singing of freedom songs on trains in recent months.

On Thursday this week the Kempton Park

GOODWILL RIDE: Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels and Transport Department staff on the 4.30 am Soweto-to-Randfontein train question commuters, Mrs Dorothy Mosianoke and Mrs Aletta Maluleke (with baby Charlotte), and others, about crime on trains.

12/8/89

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rested in terms of the Transport Services for allegedly disturbing the peace — was postponed to November after a confrontation between Cosatu members who attended the trial and police.

Yesterday, Cosatu issued a statement condemning what it described as an "unprovoked police attack" on Cosatu members.

"The situation arose from the mass arrest of our members, for doing nothing more than singing about freedom and justice on trains," said Cosatu general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo. "Then, other members were brutally assaulted when they attempted to attend the trial of those arrested."

Used whips

He added: "We have instructed our attorneys to investigate legal proceedings against the police for Thursday's actions and will demand compensation for those who were injured and lost property.

"This senseless and unprovoked attack will not be allowed to go unchallenged," said Mr Naidoo.

In response, police said 20 people were arrested on Thursday after a crowd of about 300 people arrived at the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court at 8.50 am to attend the trial of 27 men on charges under the Transport Services Act.

Police said the people were asked to disperse. When they did not comply with the request, policemen used whips and arrested 10 people.

Later that morning about 100 people returned to the court, according to police.

They were also asked to disperse and policemen then arrested a further 10 people.

Lawyers at a legal firm acting for the accused said they expected their clients would appear in a number of separate trials.

Thursday's case had to be postponed to November.

Police liaison officer, Captain Ruben Bloomberg, confirmed that a number of people had been arrested on charges related to commuters disturbing the peace on the trains.

But he could not give further details of how many people in total had been arrested on similar charges.

White Sats electrician suffering from 'apartheiditis'

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PAT DEVEREAUX

Afrikaner railways employee, Mr Johan Beaurain, has an acute illness called "apartheiditis" which has caused him to be away from work for the past 11 months. Star 12/8/89

Employed by the South African Transport Services for eight years, the white electrician explained that he was suffering from a severe reaction to too much apartheid. He said that he could not go to work because his co-workers' racism had sickened him.

"Because I have challenged white co-workers' racial abuse of fellow black workers and have joined the Cosatu-affiliated South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarwhu), I have been called a 'kaffirboetie' and have even had death threats," he said.

"Senior staff at Sats seemed to condone racist behaviour. I wrote letters to Sats management which were ignored and, instead of getting sympathy, I was reprimanded by senior staff.

"Finally in September last year I was forced to leave work because of intimidation," he said.

"I was visited twice by Sats officials who asked me if I was still sick. They told me if I wanted to be paid I would have to produce a doctor's certificate. On each occasion I explained to them why I was staying at home."

Mr Beaurain's stand has led to a lengthy legal wrangle between himself and the Sats disciplinary committee which does not recognise Sarwhu as the official union.

After a disciplinary enquiry into his absence from work, the 30-year-old electrician was apparently fired. But on appeal his case was referred back to the disciplinary committee.

Acting deputy chairman of the Sats Disciplinary Board, Mr Danie Hartman, said he could not comment on Mr Beaurain's case as it was "sub judice".

Mr Hartman added that Sats had a policy which meant equal opportunity for all and there were internal channels for complaints.

Mr Beaurain said: "I hope I will be able to go back to work but I cannot unless Sats agrees to discipline white workers for racist behaviour and to guarantee my safety.

"If the new enquiry fails I will try again to take Sats to the Supreme Court for allowing racism in the workplace."

Mr Beaurain, who was raised in the Free State, said apartheid had "always bothered me because it is against my moral principles and is unfair."

SICK AT HEART: Mr Johan Beaurain says he is sickened by the racism allegedly allowed by Sats in the workplace. ● Photograph: Karen Fletcher.

We'll defy them on the beaches!

S/Times 13/8/89 (327)

Mass action planned against apartheid at seashore resorts

By SHAUN HARRIS

THE Mass Democratic Movement is set to focus the second phase of its "defiance campaign" on beach apartheid — by flooding "whites only" beaches with non-whites.

And the campaign is likely to kick off with a mass rally on one of Durban's remaining "whites only" beaches, probably next Sunday.

Two weeks ago, the MDM and its affiliates headed a campaign to defy segregation of health facilities, which saw hundreds of black patients arriving at white provincial hospitals across the country for treatment. The campaign went off peacefully.

Now beaches and other segregated recreational facilities are the target of the mass campaign, which is likely to focus on Durban following a looming confrontation between the city council and nearly half of its workforce over bylaws which enforce beach apartheid.

Ratepayers' protest meetings and mass meetings at the Durban City Hall are also planned.

The Durban council's response to the proposed campaign has been mixed.

Management committee chairman Mr Jan Venter says he expects municipal beach wardens, most of whom are black, to enforce the bylaws.

And he says there is a "possibility" he will call in the SAP to enforce law and order if the campaign goes ahead.

But Durban's mayor, Mr Derek Watterson, says he hopes council employees, especially beach wardens, will "use their common sense" if a confrontation arises, and "keep out of the way".

"Quite obviously, when people are out for a confrontation, the best thing to do is ignore them. If a large crowd arrives at the beach looking for a confrontation I hope our beach wardens will not try to stop them — we don't expect people to risk life and limb in these cases."

Mr Watterson was referring to a decision taken by the Durban Integrated Municipal Employees' Society last Saturday that members would no longer enforce bylaws which provided for beach segregation.

Dimes members have also indicated they will not carry out any instruction which requires them to enforce segregation bylaws.

It has long been a sore point that the municipal employees forced to evict black people from Durban's two remaining "whites only" beaches are themselves black, and are not allowed to frequent, the beaches they patrol.

Earlier this week, Mr Venter said municipal employees' conditions of service provided penalties — including dismissal — for those who disobeyed a lawful order.

But Dimes's president Mr Nad Murugan said of the veiled threat: "He doesn't frighten us. We are aware of the conditions of service — but we also don't believe our members can be forced to uphold laws passed by the council which are not reasonable."

Dangerous

As the stand-off between the city council and the municipal employees' union continued, organisations affiliated to the MDM sent messages of support for the stand taken by Dimes.

By Friday this week, plans had been made for a weekend meeting to formulate a "plan of action" to defy beach apartheid.

Mr Watterson — who used his casting vote to maintain the status quo in June, when council votes were split on whether to open Durban's beaches — is in the firing line.

Late this week he again defended his decision, saying he had virtually been forced into a statutory situation when he voted against opening all the beaches.

Meanwhile, students defied police and took to the streets across the Cape Peninsula this week in the biggest protests since the introduction of the state of emergency.

Thousands of people gathered at rallies in Cape Flats schools and on the streets of black townships in support of the MDM campaign. Police used teargas to break up some meetings.

2 000 women attend MDM defiance rally

Star 14/8/89 (327)

CAPE TOWN — More than 2 000 women yesterday joined the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign at a rally in Hanover Park, also attended by about 15 people who openly disobeyed their state of emergency restriction orders.

They included United Democratic Front leaders Mr Trevor Manuel, Mr Willie Hofmeyer, Mr Joseph Marks and Mr Zoli Malindi, Ms Amy Thornton of the Cape Democrats, and Ms Hilda Ndude, of the United Women's Congress, who all sat on the stage at the Federation of South African Women's rally at the Civic Centre.

Among the speakers was veteran anti-apartheid activist Mrs Helen Joseph. — Sapa.

● See Page 6.

Sixth birthday for restricted UDF

(327) By Paula Fray

The restricted United Democratic Front's sixth birthday will be marked throughout the country this weekend.

The organisation was launched in Mitchell's Plain on August 20 1983 but was severely restricted last February.

In Johannesburg at least one UDF affiliate is expected to distribute literature in a shopping centre on Saturday. Events are also planned in Cape Town.

● About 15 people, including former UDF executive members, defied their restrictions on Sunday by attending a rally in Hanover Park in the Cape.

Sapa reports three were arrested on Monday and appeared in court yesterday. No charges were put to them.

Star 16/8/89.

Clerics to hold public demos

Star 16/8/89

CAPE TOWN — South African church leaders, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said yesterday that they will stage illegal demonstrations from tomorrow and will help to defy the segregation of public facilities, including whites-only beaches.

Leaders of the Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic and Reformed churches said they supported the two-week-old defiance campaign called by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). Former political detainees in Cape Town have said publicly that they are violating police restrictions on their movements.

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CLASHES

Three of the 21 former detainees known to be defying their restrictions appeared briefly in a Cape Town court on Monday.

A police report issued yesterday said school pupils in Mitchell's Plain had set up roadblocks and stoned police and private vehicles.

Similar clashes have occurred almost daily for two weeks in Cape Town's townships. — Sapa-Reuter.

Reporter barred from FW meeting

Star 16/8/89 By Thabo Leshilo (327)

A reporter on the *Sowetan*, Mathatha Tsedu, said yesterday he was refused permission to attend the NP meeting addressed by Mr F W de Klerk in Pietersburg.

Tsedu said a Mr Schalk van Schalkwyk at the NP's Pietersburg office told him to get security police clearance to attend.

A police officer referred him back to the NP, which said his attendance needed to be cleared since Mr de Klerk was now acting State President. The police officer then said he would not be allowed in because he did not have a police press card.

Tsedu asked: "Am I not part of this new South Africa Mr de Klerk is talking about?"

Mr van Schalkwyk and a police spokesman were not available for comment.

(Report by T Leshilo, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Magistrate postpones Sunday Times case

STAR 16/8/89

The court case in which *Sunday Times* editor Tertius Myburgh was alleged to have contravened the Internal Security Act by quoting a listed person was provisionally postponed to August 28 by a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday.

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Times Media Limited, as represented by Myburgh and a *Sunday Times* journalist, Mandla Tyala, allegedly published a speech by ANC activist Mr Harry Gwala in December last year.

Mr Gwala (68) was released from Robben Island last year after serving a term of 26 years in prison for his involvement with ANC activities.

According to the charge sheet Mr Gwala was quoted without the necessary consent. — Staff Reporter.

More move against MDM campaign

CRACKDOWN

Staff Reporters

FOUR Cape Town political activists have been arrested and the head girl of a Stellenbosch high school detained in an apparent crackdown on the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign.

Crackdown on 'defiance campaign'

(Cont from page 1)

Pupils at the school voted to boycott last week following a clash with the headmaster over a "political awareness campaign" and allegations concerning staff.

The boycott was not linked to the nationwide defiance campaign, said the Rev Simon Adams, a Stellenbosch minister.

Mrs Elizabeth George confirmed that her daughter Hanneleen was taken from her Ida's Valley home yesterday morning.

Last night's arrests came after police disclosed that at least 25 restricted people, who had defied their restriction orders in terms of the emergency regulations, had been arrested.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, warned that further arrests were expected and police would not hesitate to act against those who violated their restriction orders.

He said the emergency regulations would remain in force as long as it was necessary to ensure public safety and order.

Yesterday a memorandum was handed to Brigadier Mellet on behalf of the families and parents of restricted former detainees.

The document, handed in at police headquarters in Pretoria, called on Mr Vlok to immediately scrap restrictions and detention without trial.

Brigadier Mellet said: "Any steps taken in terms of the emergency regulations are solely to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of law and order.

"This has enabled the government to reverse the situation of violence and bloodshed, which has plagued especially black South Africans, to one of where law-abiding citizens can live in relative peace without the constant fear of losing their lives or belongings.

"In an effort to re-unite detained persons with their families, Mr Vlok has ordered the release of the bulk of those held. This is an on-going process.

"However, to ensure that the public safety, law and order and the ending of the state of emergency would not be jeopardised, certain restrictions were imposed on some of those released."

He claimed that a concerted campaign had been launched to openly defy restriction orders.

"The minister is not unsympathetic towards restricted persons facing problems in terms of the emergency regulations. Appeals in this regard are constantly reviewed by him and, in some cases, restrictions were either lifted or amended."

This week the Restrictees' Support Committee invited Mr Vlok to meet the 21 activists, but Brigadier Mellet announced yesterday that Mr Vlok had declined the invitation.

He said the invitation had been extended through the media and Mr Vlok had not received "an official invitation".

(Report by D Cruywagen, C Sawyer and M Doman, all of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Last night police arrested Mrs Dorothy Zihlangu, president of the Federation of South African Women, and Mrs Hilda Ndude, Mr Mountain Qumbela and Mr Willie Hofmeyr, all executive members of the United Democratic Front (Western Cape).

All four were taken into custody at their homes — Mr Hofmeyr in Mowbray and his colleagues in Guguletu.

Mrs Zihlangu was released on warning at 12.25am, but Mrs Ndude, who was arrested on Monday night for also defying her restriction orders, and Mr Qumbela spent the night in cells.

The three will appear in Athlone Magistrate's Court today.

Police, who visited the homes of several restricted people, were waiting to arrest Mr Hofmeyer when he arrived home about 11pm.

He will appear in Cape Town Magistrate's Court today.

29 pupils arrested

In the intensifying defiance campaign in the Western Cape at least 29 Mitchell's Plain high school pupils have been arrested and charged with public violence.

More than 15 pupils and two teachers have been detained under the emergency regulations.

The Mass Democratic Movement today called on police to handle its "defiance campaign" sensitively and vowed that detentions and arrests would not stop it from continuing the campaign.

MDM spokesman Ms Cheryl Carolus said activists were being intimidated.

"We are making it quite clear that restrictions, detentions and arrest of our people will not deter us from seeing through the defiance campaign in a disciplined manner."

The MDM, she said, was asking police to handle the matter sensitively.

Meanwhile, three men wearing balaclavas and coats have "visited" the New Crossroads home of Mr Roseberry Sonto, former leader of the Cape Youth Congress, and one of 21 Western Cape restricted people who have decided to defy their restrictions.

Last Friday shots were fired at Mr Sonto's home.

A burning barricade in Eisleben Road, Mitchell's Plain, outside Rocklands High School, was extinguished at 8.15am today by the fire brigade.

At Mondale High School in Portlands, pupils yesterday staged a peaceful placard protest demanding the release from detention of two fellow pupils, sisters Freda and Walleen Mostert.

Posters in green, yellow and black paint and fixed to the school's perimeter fence in Merrydale Road, read: "Free detainees," "Free our leaders" and "Freedom is near".

Similar posters were displayed at Cedars High on the corner of Spine and Weltevreden Roads. Both schools were dismissed by 11am.

Tyre barricades burned near Westridge High and Glendale High.

In Stellenbosch the head girl of Luckhoff High School in Cloetesville, Hannelien Simmers, 18, was detained following week-long disturbances at the school.

Another pupil at the school, Lorenza Cornelius, was held briefly on Tuesday but was back at home, a lawyer for the two pupils said.

Schools in Cloetesville and Ida's Valley closed early yesterday after pupils refused to return to classes.

Miss Simmers's lawyer said it was understood that she was being held under the emergency regulations, but the police had not confirmed this.

The detentions followed a week of disturbances at schools outside Stellenbosch.

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Argus 17/8/87

Defiance: De Klerk calls for restraint

From PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Acting-President F W de Klerk said last night he hoped the MDM's defiance campaign would not make it necessary to place "great numbers of people in custody".

He was speaking at a National Party meeting in Houghton attended by about 500 people.

Asked if the detention of children was necessary, Mr De Klerk said the number of people in detention had dropped to a "minimal" level.

"Hopefully, what the radicals are now starting again with their defiance campaign will — if wisdom prevails — not result in a violent situation which necessitates that great numbers of people are taken into custody because of a threat to the security of the State."

REAL SOLUTIONS

Real political solutions could be founded only on the basis of law and order.

The emergency was "not ideal," he said, and he would like to lift it.

He said Mr P W Botha had said when reinstating the emergency in June that it would be constantly reviewed with a view to lifting it or lightening some of the restrictions.

"If possible I will continue with that process. The state of emergency was imposed because it was necessary at the time.

"It will be lifted the moment we think it is possible."

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

(327) Star 17/8/89

Foreign govts briefed about October indaba

Mass anti-apartheid conference planned

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Anti-apartheid organisations yesterday announced plans for a major "Conference for a Democratic Future" to be held in Johannesburg on October 7.

At a Johannesburg press conference, the conveners said the conference would aim to "map out the most effective, shortest path to the ending of oppression and exploitation and the creation of a democratic country".

The conveners, representing several organisations under the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) umbrella as well as Black Consciousness organisations, warned that any Government attempts to ban the conference would be defied.

In a joint statement read by Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, the conveners said the conference, which would be attended by "thousands of delegates from all walks of life representing millions of people", would address three main issues:

- A programme of united mass action to end apartheid.
- The attitude of South Africans to the question of negotiations.
- Anti-apartheid forces' call to the international community about its role in ending apartheid.

"While the racist elections (in September) will be mapping out the minority's plans to cling to minority rule and privilege, the conference will be an assembly of the people of our country truly democratic in its character and objectives.

"We expect that the conference will capture our people's current mood of defiance and determination to make apartheid unworkable. Furthermore, we hope the conference will harness this mood in a programme which will help to make our vision of a democratic future a reality."

The conveners said they had briefed a range of foreign governments, including those in western Europe, Scandinavia, the Soviet Union, the US and the Frontline states, as well as the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the United Nations, to put pressure on the South African Government to allow the conference to take place.

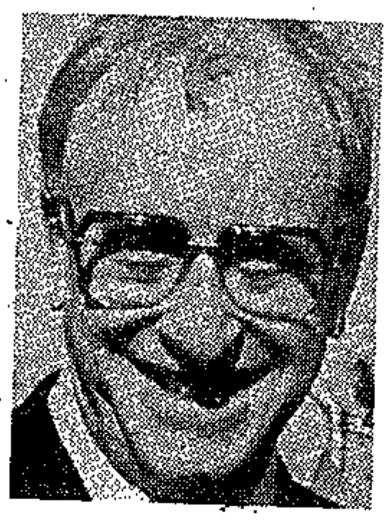
The decision to convene the conference resulted from discussions between the MDM, Black Conciousness organisations and some churches over the past two months.

It follows Cosatu's special national congress this year where the idea was taken forward from the UDF's national working committee conference of 1987.

The conveners are the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, UDF patron Dr Alan Boesak, Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa of the Institute for Contextual Theology, Dr Beyers Naude, former general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Chris Dlamini of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mr Khehla Mtembu, a Black Consciousness representative, Mr Mbulelo Rakwena of National Council of Trade Unions, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the UDF and UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

Restricted 25 arrested

Sowetan 17/8/89



Mr Adriaan Vlok.

POLICE have arrested at least 25 restricted people who defied their restriction orders in terms of the emergency regulations, a Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said yesterday.

Further arrests are expected and police would not hesitate to act against those who violated their restrictions, said Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press Secretary to the Minister of Law and Order.

He also added that the emergency regulations would remain in force as long as it was necessary to ensure public safety and order.

The arrests were made against a of background increasing tension and of open defiance by restricted members of organisations belonging to or supporting the Mass Democratic Movement.

Of those already arrested, 25 have appeared in court. 327

"In some cases, stiff sentences have been imposed," said Brigadier Mellet.

He added that those defying restrictions were being charged in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act and not in terms of the emergency regulations. They therefore faced criminal charges.

Campaign

A concerted campaign had been launched to openly defy restriction orders, said Brigadier Mellet, and to cast suspicion on Mr Vlok's actions.

"The Minister is not unsympathetic towards restricted persons facing problems in terms of the emergency regulations. Appeals in this regard are constantly reviewed by him and in some cases restrictions were either lifted or amended," Brigadier Mellet said.

south NL

Court to see 'Trojan Horse' screening

(327) South 17-23/8/89.

TELEVISION equipment has been set up in a courtroom of the Supreme Court, Cape Town, for the screening of the horrific "Trojan Horse" shooting in Athlone in 1985.

And CBS cameraman Chris Everson, who was on the spot when 11-year-old Michael Miranda, 16-year-old Shaun Magmoed and Mr Jonathan Claasens were killed, will be called to give evidence.

The video footage will show security policemen emerging from crates on top of an SATS truck and opening fire on a crowd in Thorton Road, Athlone.

Shown to television viewers across the world, the incident sparked off a wave of international protest against the activities of the South African security police in townships.

In March last year, Wynberg inquest magistrate Mr G Hoffman blamed the police for the death of the three people.

The inquest finding was forwarded to Attorney-General Neil Rossouw who, in November last year, decided not to prosecute the policemen.

This led to parents Mr Martin Magmoed and Mrs Georgina Williams bringing the first private murder prosecution in the history of South Africa.

It has taken four years for the parents of the victims of the "Trojan Horse" shooting to bring to court the 12 policemen and SADF members involved in the shooting incident.

For them, it hasn't been an easy path to justice.

The trial began with an application by the policemen's advocates for the court to raise the security paid by the family from R10 000 to R945 000 — but this was rejected by the court.

This week Mr Justice D M Williamson dismissed an application by the accused, who have all pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, that the case against them be declared nul and void.

They had argued that the indictment was in conflict with a provision of the Criminal Procedures Act which states that "two or more persons shall not prosecute in the same charge except where two or more persons have been injured by the same offence".

The trial continues on Friday.

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The Star Thursday August 17 1989

Harassment 'intended to force newspapers to toe official line'

Govt is muzzling press without fuss

An increasing number of newspapers face prosecution in what could be the Government's new strategy of muzzling the press with minimum public outcry. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

A number of newspapers are facing prosecution on several charges ranging from defying the emergency regulations governing the media to contravening the Police Act and the Internal Security Act, and this, some newspaper editors believe, is an attempt by the Government to further harass the press and induce newspapers to impose self-censorship without causing international protests

So far this year at least nine newspapers face prosecution, with some newspapers facing more than one charge.

Acting in terms of the media regulations, Home Affairs and Communications Minister Mr Stoffel Botha has in the past used his powers to warn and later suspend newspapers which, in his opinion, contravened the media regulations.

The first three publications to fall foul of the media emergency regulations and to be consequently suspended were the Catholic Church-owned weekly the *New Nation*, the independent *Weekly Mail* and the Cape Town-based *South*, which were banned for a period ranging from one month to a maximum of three months last year.

Two more publications, *Grass Roots* and *New Era*, were also suspended for three months in February this year, bringing to five the total number of publications suspended under the emergency regulations.

On March 2 this year *Work In Progress* received a telex from Mr Stoffel Botha, saying the publication was no longer being investigated under the emergency regulations. No reasons were given for the decision. On the same day Mr Botha issued a warning to *Al-Qalam* in terms of the emergency regulations.

In April Mr Botha announced in Parliament that R1 238 500 was budgeted for the Department of Home Affairs programme to promote public relations and control the media in terms of the emergency regulations.

Outrageous

For the first time, however, a number of newspapers face a spate of prosecutions, and already the editor of one weekly, *Vrye Weekblad*, has been found guilty and given a six-month suspended sentence for quoting a banned person.

Only hours after Mr Max du Preez was sentenced for contravening the Internal Security Act he was informed by the Security Police that several other charges were being investigated against his paper in terms of the emergency regulations. Mr du Preez said he was told the charges concerned alleged subversive statements regarding national service.

"It's really outrageous. We don't regard it as a coincidence that I should walk out of court into new charges. The security police say the newspaper 'undermined' national service. But the stories involved, all older than four months, contain mostly reports of a conscientious objector's court case.

"Since *Vrye Weekblad* was published for the first time on November 4 last year the State has tried on several fronts to make us suspect, to damage us financially and to brand us as a security risk. Why is the Government so scared of *Vrye Weekblad*?" Mr du Preez said in a front page statement.

At least nine publications and their editors are presently being prosecuted or face possible prosecution The following publications are presently being prosecuted, have been prosecuted, or are about to be prosecuted:

- Two former editors of *Varsity*, the official University of Cape Town student newspaper, Miss Lise Bosman and Miss Kate Savage, have been charged under the emergency regulations for publishing reports about class boycotts in the Western Cape.
- The former editor of *South*, Mr Rashid Seria, faces similar charges. In July his application for the charges to be dropped was refused and the case was adjourned to August 28.
- The Pietermaritzburg-based *Natal Witness* faces a number of investigations for possible contraventions of the emergency regulations, according to deputy editor Mr Martin Williams.
- Early this year the editor of the *Pretoria News* was found guilty of contempt of court as a result of an article published on the Sharpeville trial.

Internal Security Act

- The editor of the *Sunday Times*, Mr Tertius Myburgh, appeared at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Tuesday, charged under the Internal Security Act for allegedly quoting activist Mr Harry Gwala, who was released from Robben Island last year after serving a 26-year sentence for his involvement with the African National Congress.
- On August 9 *Sowetan editor* Mr Aggrey Klaaste appeared briefly at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court for allegedly quoting Mr Gwala The case was provisionally postponed to September 5.
- *New Nation* acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana faces the same charge, and will appear at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on August 30.
- *Saamstaan* editor Mr Derek Jackson is charged under the Prisons Act for publishing a picture of Mr Nelson Mandela without permission last December, and will appear at the Oudtshoorn Magistrate's Court on September 20. Several other charges related to contravening the emergency regulations and the Internal Security Act are pending against the Oudtshoorn community paper.
- *Weekly Mail* co-editor Mr Anton Harber and two of his former reporters, Ms Jo-Ann Bekker and Mr Franz Kruger, appeared at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday for contravening the emergency regulations in reports which appeared in 1987. Co-editor Mr Irwin Manoim said the police told them to expect a summons soon on another, unrelated charge.
- *Business Day* editor Mr Ken Owen was this year subpoenaed under Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act "for daring to call into question the competence of the police in solving ordinary crime — in this case murder," according to Mr David Hoffe, a partner of Bell Dewar and Hall and one of the co-authors of "The Newspaperman's Guide to the Law."
- By February 10 this year The Star was facing three prosecutions in terms of the Prisons Act, the Police Act and the emergency regulations respectively.

A new way to gag the press

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Government has embarked on a new "and probably more serious" strategy to silence the press, some editors believe.

A number of publications are facing prosecution in terms of the emergency regulations and other laws.

Weekly Mail co-editor Mr Irwin Manoim said the Government had now decided to prosecute the press in the hope that this new strategy would draw less public condemnation compared to the outright closure of publications.

"We think the warnings and suspension procedures they used last year failed. There was always a deafening public and international outcry, which caused them a lot of embarrassment, and they have now decided on the more low-key strategy of taking us to court instead.

"The effects (of the prosecutions) will be more serious because whereas suspension lasted for a certain period, a court case drags on indefinitely," Mr Manoim said.

The new strategy was linked to Home Affairs and Communications Minister Mr Stoffel Botha's imminent retirement, "and the matter (of policing the media) was now probably being moved to someone else like Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee or Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok".

New Nation acting editor Mr Gabu Tugwana said the spate of media prosecutions was aimed at "pushing us into self-censorship" and was therefore not different from suspending publications.

"This is a glorified method of imposing self-censorship on the media, because the outside world will look at it differently since we are now taken to court and not suspended arbitrarily," Mr Tugwana said.

The editor of the *Sowetan*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, did not think this was a new strategy. What had happened, Mr Klaaste said, was that some policemen had been given the duty of closely monitoring the press for any possible contraventions of the law, "and they have to deliver to justify their salaries".

Said Mr Klaaste: "It's not a very shrewd move but there's no way they are going to stop harassing the press."

A spokesman for the Anti-Censorship Action Group, Ms Pat Sidley, said the present prosecution of the media set "a very dangerous precedent".

"It's some kind of strategy they are using — they have definitely not left the media alone. From the Government's point of view the new strategy will prove to be as effective as before and will be much less costly. No foreign protests will have to be contended with," Ms Sidley said

FW warns of possible arrests

By Peter Fabricius, 327 STAR 17/8/89
Political Correspondent

The Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night he hoped the MDM's defiance campaign would not make it necessary to place "great numbers of people in custody".

He also indicated that the state of emergency would be lifted "the moment we think it is possible".

Mr de Klerk was speaking at a National Party meeting in Houghton attended by about 500 people.

Asked if the detention of children was really necessary Mr de Klerk said the numbers of people in detention had dropped to a "minimal" level.

"Hopefully, what the radicals are now starting again with their defiance campaign will, if wisdom prevails, not result in a violent situation which necessitates that great numbers of people be taken into custody."

The state of emergency was "not ideal", he said, and he would like to lift it.

His predecessor, Mr P W Botha, had said when re-instating the emergency in June that it would be constantly reviewed with a view to lifting it or lightening some of the restrictive provisions.

"If possible I will continue with that process. The state of emergency was imposed because it was necessary at the time."

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Sowetan 18/6/89

Cosatu plea to Vlok

COSATU has challenged Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and acting State President Mr F W de Klerk to put an immediate stop to the alleged harrassment of legitimate opponents of apartheid.

The challenge comes in the wake of a number of events reported to Cosatu headquarters within the last 48 hours; among them:

* The distribution of a hit list of student activists which has been circulating in the eastern Transvaal.

* The death of restricted activist, Eric Gumede, who was shot by unkown killers in Durban on Tuesday night.

* The raid on Cosatu's northern Transvaal office by security police on Wednesday morning.

The hit list is comprised of names of eleven student leaders in the region. It warns that "we know who you are, even where you stay. You and your homes will be targets."

Although the pamphlet claims to be issued by a "Students Action Committee", Cosatu believes that it emanates from the security forces.

A Cosatu spokesman said a letter has also been sent to Vlok, urging him to accept the fact that it is common knowledge that workers sing about their struggle and their life while commuting to and from work.

This was in response to the alleged harassment of commuters by police while singing freedom songs and dancing toyi toyi on the trains.

Cosatu warns that the actions of Vlok's security forces "in the present political climate,are bound to intensify conflict".

SOWETAN Friday August 18 1989

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Gwala - another editor is charged

Sowetan 18/8/89

WEEKLY Mail co - editor Anton Harber was this week served with summonses under the Internal Security Act at the Johannesburg Regional Court moments before he was to appear in connection with charges under the emergency media regulations.

Harber, *Weekly Mail Publications* represented by himself, and reporter Thami Mkhwanazi, were ordered to appear in court on August 30 to face charges of contravening the Internal Security Act by quoting activist Harry Gwala without permission on December 9 last year - eight months ago.

Gwala is listed in terms of the Act and may not be quoted. Two other newspapers, the *Sunday Times* and *Sowetan*, also face charges in terms of the Internal Security Act for quoting Gwala.

Harber in court with former *Weekly Mail* reporter Jo - Ann Bekker to face charges of contravening the emergency media regulations by publishing articles about 30 months ago conerning the treatment of detainees.

Harber told Sapa he thought the delay in charging newspapers with contraventions had been caused by a switch in government tactics.

"Until last year the attack on newspapers was directed through Mr Stoffel Botha's Ministry of Home Affairs.

"Now it appears as if the the courts are doing the Government's dirty work," he said.

Teatime talk of troopies was bugged

Cape Times 18/8/87

Supreme Court Reporter

WHEN three national servicemen stationed at the Castle displayed an interest in extra-parliamentary politics, a corporal who took tea with them reported this interest to his colonel, who ordered him to secretly tape-record discussions.

This emerged from the judgment originally delivered in camera by a full bench of the Supreme Court — Mr Justice J H Conradie, Mr Justice G Friedman and Mr Justice C T Howie — in the review of the conviction of three men sentenced to military detention for conspiring to pass on "military secrets" to the End Conscription Campaign.

Intellectual debate

The soldiers — Mr Hein Mönnig, Mr Peter Plüddeman and Mr Desmond Thompson — were convicted by court martial on February 4 last year and were each sentenced to 18 months' detention.

The sentences were confirmed at the Castle but later reduced by a military tribunal. The officer commanding, Western Province Command, Brigadier A K de Jager, later succeeded in an application to have the Supreme Court review hearing held in camera for "security reasons".

The full judgment became available yesterday when neither of the parties had objected by 10am to it being made public.

Mr Mönnig was a journalist employed to write for SADF magazine "Kontak" and Mr Plüddeman and Mr Thompson were employed as clerks at the Castle.

It became habitual for the three and a Corporal Swart to gather at teatime and "almost every day engage in intellectual discussions and debate of a theological and political nature".

The corporal reported the trio's interest in extra-parliamentary politics to his colonel. The three men and the corporal continued discussions — secretly tape-recorded by Corporal Swart — about what information could be collected by them for disclosure to outside persons.

It was then arranged that the four would go out of the Castle on December 14, 1987, and meet in a vehicle in an adjacent parking area.

Corporal Swart was again fitted with recording apparatus to monitor their conversation and, armed with documents provided by his superiors, he met the three soldiers. He gave them the documents and then uttered a password, upon which the vehicle was surrounded and the men were arrested.

The judgment noted that an issue which Mr Plüddeman said entitled him to demand the recusal of Colonel M Dempers, court martial president, was the one of private defence, because the SADF was waging a campaign of harassment and vilification against the ECC, using illegal methods.

When an interdict was sought against the SADF, it had sought to justify its conduct by contending that a state of war existed in South Africa.

Mr Plüddeman's case had sufficient substance to merit serious consideration by an impartial tribunal.

However, the tribunal which heard the men's case — composed of high-ranking senior SADF officers — was asked to pronounce on a highly sensitive project which had been initiated and directed by top SADF officers.

The contention by the SADF that because of a state of war civil courts did not have jurisdiction over the military could hardly have been raised without the approval of the Chief of Defence and probably the Minister of Defence.

"It involved the commitment of the Defence Force to a perception of the facts which would, if it were held to be correct, have had a dramatic, if not devastating, impact on the rule of law in this country," the judges said.

Mr Jeremy Gauntlett SC, with Mr R G Goodman and instructed by Mr Reid Corin of Reillys, appeared for Mr Mönnig. Mr J van der Berg, instructed by Enver Daniels and Co, appeared for Mr Plüddeman and Mr Thompson. Mr W Burger SC, with Mr W G Louw and instructed by the state attorney, appeared for Brigadier De Jager.

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

FRIDAY AUGUST 18 1989 LATE FINAL PWV 40c (35c + 5c GST) OUTSIDE PWV 50c (44c + 6c GST)

Chicken
Chicken

Big defiance rally planned for Sunday at Wits

BCM JOINS CAMPAIGN

Sowetan 18/8/89 - 327

THE Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), yesterday invited the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) to join the defiance campaign which goes into another phase this weekend.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

This call comes a day after the announcement of a massive "anti-apartheid campaign" scheduled for October 7 by an alliance of the MDM, churches and the BCM.

A spokesman for the BCM yesterday said the organisation welcomed the invitation and saw the defiance campaign as part of its programme of resistance.

"However the defiance must be a challenge aimed at change towards a socialist Azania."

Mr Cas Coovadia, an MDM spokesman, yesterday said on Sunday (August 20) all restricted

● To page 2

TOP

Sowetan 18/8/89

Big rally

● From page

organisations will rally at the Flower Hall, University of Witwatersrand, to celebrate the 6th anniversary of the UDF.

The BCM was then invited to join the campaign as it is also affected organisation.

"We further call on all organisations precluded from organising freely within their constituencies, as a result of unjust restrictions on their activities, to exercise the mandate of our people," he said.

Coovadia said that from this day all restricted organisations will consider themselves free to operate and organise within their constituencies.

"Even if the rally is stopped by the State."

The rally will start at 11am and speakers will include people from all restricted organisations

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

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Vol. 290 — PRETORIA, 18 AUGUST / AUGUSTUS 1989 — No. 12067

PROCLAMATION

by the Acting

State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 153, 1989

COMMENCEMENT OF THE DISCLOSURE OF FOREIGN FUNDING ACT, 1989 (ACT No. 26 OF 1989)

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by section 11 of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act, 1989 (Act No. 26 of 1989), I hereby fix 18 August 1989 as the date on which the said Act shall come into operation.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Sixteenth day of August, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Acting State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister of the Cabinet.

PROKLAMASIE

van die Waarnemende

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 153, 1989

INWERKINGTREDING VAN DIE WET OP DIE OPENBAARMAKING VAN BUITELANDSE BEFONDSING, 1989 (WET No. 26 VAN 1989)

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 11 van die Wet op die Openbaarmaking van Buitelandse Befondsing, 1989 (Wet No. 26 van 1989), bepaal ek hierby 18 Augustus 1989 as die datum waarop genoemde Wet in werking tree.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Sestiende dag van Augustus Eenduisend Negehonderd Nege-en-tagtig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Waarnemende Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

H. J. COETSEE,
Minister van die Kabinet.

'Unbanning' move on Sunday

327 By Esmaré van der Merwe 12/8/89
Political Reporter

All restricted organisations will "unrestrict themselves" on Sunday, the sixth anniversary of the birth of the restricted United Democratic Front, the Mass Democratic Movement announced yesterday.

At a press conference at Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church, spokesmen said the action would enable organisations to work and organise peacefully among their people.

Most restricted organisations are prohibited from carrying out any activities, including holding meetings and making statements.

The press conference was monitored by several plainclothes policemen, who afterwards confiscated a tape recording of the press conference made by a journalist from the *Sowetan*.

Addressing scores of local and foreign pressmen were Mr Ephraim Nkoe, education secretary of the restricted South African Youth Congress; Mr Titus Mofolo of the UDF; Mr Wilhelm Liebenberg of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee; and MDM and Actstop spokesman, Mr Cas Coovadia. They wore UDF T-shirts which they took off after the meeting.

In a statement read out by Mr Mofolo, the MDM said that, after Sunday, the restricted organisations would consider themselves free to operate within their constituencies.

It said any State action against the organisations would "belie Mr F W de Klerk's assertion that he is moving away from apartheid towards a South Africa free from racial oppression".

The MDM said the action would be responsible and non-confrontational.

● Anti-apartheid organisations this week announced plans for a "Conference for a Democratic Future" to be held in Johannesburg on October 7. The conference would address mass action to end apartheid, the attitude of South Africans to the negotiations and the role of the international community.

Star 18/8/89. (327)

Tutu's protest march stopped by policewomen

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday defied laws against public protest, leading about 120 demonstrators on an anti-apartheid march that was stopped by a squad of unarmed policewomen.

Police handling of Bishop Tutu's challenge contrasted strongly with a crackdown on supporters of the Mass Democratic Movement's nationwide campaign of apartheid defiance.

Lawyers said four people were charged in Cape Town yesterday with violating restriction orders.

Bishop Tutu linked arms with University of Cape Town theology Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio and the dean of his cathedral, Mr Colin Jones, to lead the march in support of those under state of emergency restrictions.

He said he planned to walk through the city and back to his church, adjoining Parliament.

The march was stopped less than 200 m from the church by a squad of policewomen under Lieutenant Denise Basson.

A young officer, her hands shaking, read out a statement declaring the march illegal and urging the crowd to disperse.

"Disperse?" responded Bishop Tutu. "No, we will not."

After about 20 minutes, he agreed to lead the marchers away on condition no one was arrested. — Sapa-Reuter.

Laying her gloved hand on his chest, a policewoman stops Archbishop Desmond Tutu during a march through Cape Town yesterday.

The *Mail* in court ... but we can't tell you why

Two Weekly Mail journalists appeared in court this week in what will be a test case for the Emergency regulations. But details of the case may not be divulged. IRWIN MANOIM reports

ON Wednesday this week, two *Weekly Mail* journalists appeared in a Johannesburg court. We regret that we are not permitted to tell you why.

The same State of Emergency regulations which have brought the two to court prevent us from divulging full details of the charges against them.

Only this much can be revealed: Anton Harber, co-editor of the paper, and reporter Jo-Anne Bekker are charged under the Emergency regulations for articles published more than two years ago.

The articles deal with certain Emergency detentions and make certain allegations about matters which may perhaps have arisen in certain prisons in the Eastern Cape.

Many of the allegations were raised in parliament at the time by Progressive Federal Party MP Andrew Savage. Savage, however, was fortunate: he had the privileges of parliament behind him.

There was a time when our courts had similar privileges. But under the State of Emergency, major inroads have been made into the traditional indemnity enjoyed by court proceedings.

Emergency regulation 3 states that no evidence presented to a court concerning the treatment or circumstances or manner of arrest of an Emergency detainee may be divulged until final judgement is given.

In the *Weekly Mail* case, this means that both the specific nature of the charges and much of the evidence presented to the court may be withheld from the public until after the trial has ended.

Thus the charges represent a form of multiple censorship: they not only gag the journalists involved, they also gag the detainees of whom the journalists have written and they even gag the court which hears the case.

The *Weekly Mail* case is likely to be a watershed trial, one which will closely resemble the famous *Rand Daily Mail* prisons case of the late 1960s. In that trial — which the *Rand Daily Mail* eventually lost after some 14 months of argument — a precedent was set which deprived the media of the right to probe into prison conditions.

It is likely that the *Weekly Mail* will, like the *Rand Daily Mail*, call upon a large number of witnesses, particularly ex-detainees, to present evidence to corroborate our claims.

In the *Rand Daily Mail* case, the evidence of the various ex-prisoners and warders was extensively reported upon in that paper.

The difference, this time round, is that whatever evidence the ex-detainees present will be out-of-bounds to the press until a final verdict has been delivered.

Another difference is that the *Rand Daily Mail* case was unique. It was based on research over a long period, an "exclusive" investigation of a kind which rarely appears in newspapers.

The *Weekly Mail* case, instead, revolves around the kinds of allegations which many newspapers have made about detainees, in particular during recent months when the hunger strike was at its height.

The case therefore sets a grim precedent for the entire media. If we lose, the way is open for the state to pursue prosecutions across the board against almost every major paper in the country.

It is known, for example, that investigations have been opened on similar counts against a number of major newspapers. Presumably, if this case is lost, many of those investigations could turn into actual charges. And the potential penalties are severe: a fine of up to R20 000 or a sentence of 10 years in prison. Even an editor who wins faces the prospects of long weeks in court and heavy legal costs.

One of the questions which the state may answer during the case will be this: Why have more than two years been allowed to pass before prosecution? If the damage to state security was as great as the charge sheet alleges, why was swifter action not taken?

The answer to that question may resolve this mystery: whether the target of the current state attacks is the press, or whether it is the detainees; or whether these charges are just a part of a new wave of clampdowns against opposition of all kinds.

● Although the Emergency has been in force for over three years, only one other case has been brought against the media, against Rashid Seria, former editor of *South*. The case is now proceeding in Cape Town.

From one charge to another

AS *Weekly Mail* co-editor Anton Harber stepped out of court on Wednesday this week, security police were waiting to hand him another set of charges.

The latest summons was for quoting African National Congress leader Harry Gwala, whom the state says is a "listed" person, not to be quoted without ministerial consent.

Also summonsed was reporter Thami Mkhwanazi. The two must appear in court on August 30.

The alleged offence, under the Internal Security Act, carries a compulsory jail sentence without option of a fine.

In June, *Vrye Weekblad* editor Max du Preez was found guilty of a similar offence and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, suspended for five years.

Charges against Harber and Mkhwanazi are the latest in a string of related prosecutions this month. *Sowetan* editor Aggrey Klaaste made a court appearance on August 9 for quoting Gwala, and *Sunday Times* editor Tertius Myburgh appeared this week. *New Nation's* acting editor Gabu Tugwana is to appear on August 30. The *Sowetan* and *Sunday Times* cases were remanded until next month.

Demos meet soft arm of the law

Star 19/8/89

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

327

THE SOUTH African Police hid its feared law-and-order fist in a "soft glove" on Thursday when unarmed policewomen stopped a protest march by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, and about 150 others in Cape Town.

The march followed a lunchtime service held at St George's Cathedral in Wale Street to show solidarity with the Mass Democratic Movement's election defiance campaign.

Archbishop Tutu's media secretary, Mr John Allan, said a "peaceful march was stopped, although in a less heavily handed way than in the past".

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday: "The churchmen are soft people and so we decided to use a softer glove ... we would rather use our men elsewhere for harder tasks."

He agreed the idea had been to present a more acceptable image of the police, and said the SAP would use the policewomen again in similar circumstances, if appropriate.

However, Brigadier Mellet warned that police had various strategies to cope with the MDM's proposed defiance campaign.

DEFIANCE GATHERS MOMENTUM: Singing supporters gathered outside the Johannesburg building where Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa was being held by members of the security police. Police later ordered the crowd to disperse. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

Restrictions defied at Soweto feast

(327)

JANET HEARD

MORE than 120 whites living in Johannesburg, including a number of foreign diplomats, were transported in taxi minibuses this week to the sprawling Soweto township to tuck into a finger lickin' good supper at the homes of restricted ex-detainees.

Most of the 252 Soweto former detainees who took part in the encounter openly defied their orders by leaving their homes after 6 pm to attend the suppers, which were hosted at the homes of about 50 of them.

Thursday night's encounter came in the wake of the growing resistance to restriction orders by individuals which has spontaneously and unofficially formed part of the Mass Democratic Movement's Defiance Campaign.

The encounter served to expose white people to the suffering which Soweto ex-detainees — most of them schoolgoers — are forced to endure under harsh restriction orders of Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The orders, which are an alternative to banning or detention, turn homes into prisons.

The guests were invited to the dinner by various detainees support groups, the Five Freedoms Forum and the Black Sash.

The Saturday Star visited the Naledi home of Sophie Mahlaela, (19), a strikingly beautiful young woman who was released from detention in March this year after spending 10 months at Diepkloof Prison.

Order served

She was immediately served with an order which includes reporting to the Jabulani police station once daily, not attending any meeting which criticise the Government or local authorities, not leaving her home between 6 pm and 5 am, and not leaving the Johannesburg magisterial district.

Among the guests were four restricted ex-detainees who said although they risked being arrested, they were prepared to defy their restriction orders that evening because they wished to highlight their plight to the international world.

Sophie's mother, Mrs Norma Mahlaela, who took a back-seat in the discussions, said she was proud of her daughter's courage and determination, although she worried constantly about her safety. Star 19/8/89

Sophie admits that she gets depressed at times at being a prisoner in her own home.

"I cannot visit my relatives in Hammandskraal without obtaining permission from the SAP.

"I have not been able to go back to school because I was too late to register this year. I cannot go to the shop after 6 pm, nor visit my friends, nor go to the cinema.

I get depressed because I cannot go where I want to and I am a prisoner in my own home".

"What have we done to deserve this? When we were in detention we were never found guilty of any crime. Now we are restricted, and still we have committed no crime and yet we are treated worse than criminals. How much longer can we go on living like this?", Sophie asked.

The meeting ended with rushed exchanges of addresses as the taxis arrived to collect the group, and transported us back to the Ipelegeng centre for a press conference attended by more than 300 people.

Emotional spontaneous speeches were made by various guests, including Professor June Sinclair, the dean of the Wits University's faculty of Law, who relayed their experiences and expressed their determination to support the ex-detainees.

Mr Jackson Mthembu, of the South African Council of Churches said: "Tonight we crossed that barrier and you have seen our (Soweto's) bleeding eyes".

He said that ex-detainees had exhausted all peaceful means to pressurise Mr Vlok to ease their restrictions, but to no avail.

CPT Times 19/4/89 (327)

UDF man held, city rally banned

PRETORIA. — In an apparent major crackdown on the MDM anti-apartheid campaign, police yesterday detained one of South Africa's most prominent political activists, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, acting general secretary of the UDF. He was arrested during a raid on his Johannesburg office.

● In a statement yesterday the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, said the police were "fully aware" of proposed plans by some people and organisations to disrupt public order this weekend by "so-called resistance actions".

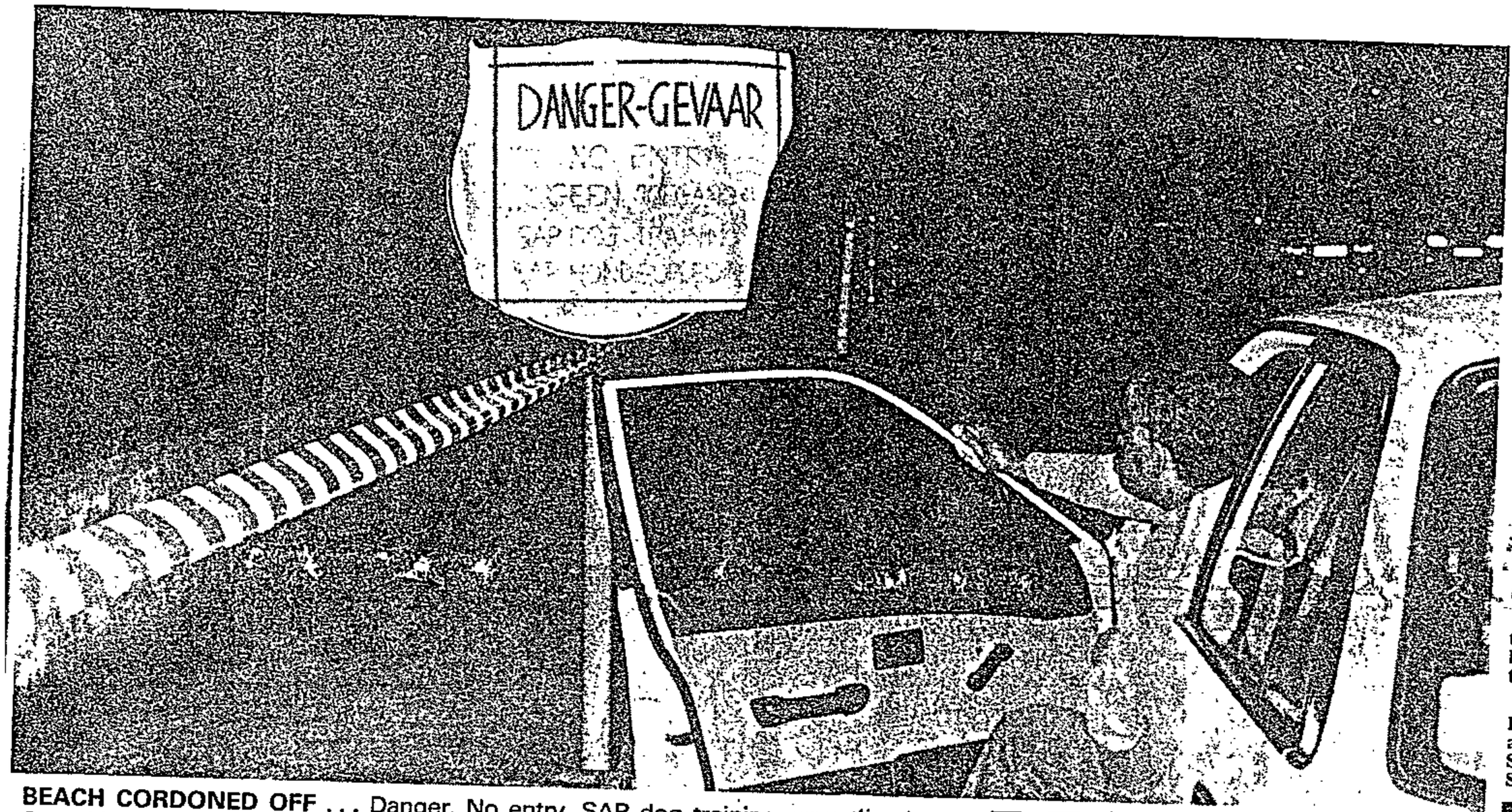
"Recent events point conclusively to the fact that certain people and organisations want to create a situation forcing the police to use violence to maintain public order."

He said incidents of violence were again breaking out in various parts of the country, especially the Western Cape where large-scale disruption, intimidation and damage to property were occurring.

● A Western Province Council of Churches rally to "unban banned organisations", scheduled to have been held at the University of the Western Cape tomorrow, has been banned by police.

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, has condemned the banning and announced a church service to be held in its place at St George's Cathedral on Sunday at 3pm. — Sapa, Staff Reporter and UPI

CAPE TIMES 19/4/89 (327)



BEACH CORDONED OFF ... Danger. No entry. SAP dog training, says the sign at Strand beach. Last night the beach was sealed off by police in an attempt to pre-empt a mass protest against beach segregation today.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

UDF man held, city rally banned

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crack of dawn

Scope ban puzzle will appeal

(327)

Star 19/8/89

CAPE TOWN — Another issue of *Scope* magazine has been banned for distribution — this time the August 25 edition (Vol 29 No 16), the Directorate of Publications announced in Cape Town yesterday.

A spokesman for Republican Press said they would appeal — up to now they had no idea why the issue was banned.

Fatima Meer's "The Trial of Andrew Zondo" was conditionally declared not undesirable on appeal provided it was not knowingly sold, hired or lent out by libraries to persons under 18. A further condition was that it may only be distributed in bookshops, libraries and book distributors.

Naomi Mitchison's "A Life for Africa" was conditionally declared not undesirable on review but restricted to "legal deposit and university libraries only".

During the past week 40 films were submitted for examination of which 13 were unconditionally and 25 conditionally approved. Two films, "Moving Fast" and "Melody in Love" were rejected. — Sapa.

50 arrested in demos

S/Times 20/8/89.

By HAMISH McINDOE and CHARIS PERKINS

POLICE and 2 000 anti-apartheid activists clashed on Cape beaches yesterday in a nationwide defiance campaign which saw over 50 people arrested and at least four injured.

Among those arrested were 20 journalists held in Cape Town under the emergency laws.

And in a special Government Gazette yesterday, a rally planned by the Mass Democratic Movement at Wits today has been banned by Witwatersrand Divisional Commissioner of Police Brigadier Gerrit Erasmus.

In the Cape coastal town The Strand, plans for a multiracial "bathe-in" at a segregated beach were thwarted by a strong police contingent. So protesters travelled by bus to the whites-only beach of Bloubergstrand.

The action was organised by the MDM as part of its Drown Beach Apartheid campaign.

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Weals

Police carried out their warning that they would "enforce applicable legislation" by twice charging demonstrators at Bloubergstrand.

The president of the University of Cape Town's Students' Representative Council, pint-sized Miss Geordie Ratcliffe, sustained weals on her shoulder and legs.

In an effort to defuse a volatile situation, Archbishop Desmond Tutu urged the crowd to leave the beach and board waiting buses.

And, in a rare moment of levity, one MDM activist carrying the ANC tricolour yelled to a solitary white girl sitting on a sand dune: "Can't we swim together?" The girl gave a thumbs-down sign.

At The Strand, police cordoned off the one-kilometre no-dogs-allowed beach on the pretext that an SAP dog training exercise was taking place.

Nobody was allowed on the beach for most of the day.

Said one protester: "It is incredible that Mr F W de

☐ To Page 2

Police break up anti-apartheid demos

S/Times 20/8/89

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☐ From Page 1

Klerk's so-called reformist Government would go to such absurd lengths to keep my coloured feet off this whites-only beach."

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that groups of up to 1 000 demonstrators were dispersed on four separate occasions in the Western Cape.

He said about 200 "illegal gatherers" and about 150 onlookers were dispersed at The Strand. Similar action was taken against groups at Bloubergstrand.

Swoops

Police also cracked down on mass demonstrations at other points around the country, arresting over 27 people.

In Johannesburg, police swooped on two demonstrations in the city centre, arresting 11 men, including a journalist from the black magazine Pace and a freelancer working for an international TV crew.

And in Durban, police arrested 16 of about 20 people who had gathered outside the posh Elangeni beachfront hotel to protest against the touring rugby players.

Johannesburg's demonstrations were sparked off by the arrest on Friday of the United Democratic Front's acting general secretary, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Mr Moosa — one of the organisers of the anti-apartheid conference planned for October 7 — was being interviewed by a BBC TV crew in his downtown Johannesburg office when he was arrested.

He is one of the three men who fled from detention in September last year and took refuge in the Johannesburg US consulate.

About 150 demonstrators gathered outside the US consulate chanting slogans and calling for Mr Moosa's release. Police dispersed the crowd with batons.

Police liaison officer Colonel Frans Malherbe said nine people were arrested.

A crowd of 300 later regrouped just blocks from the scene of the first demonstration, but was again dispersed by police using batons.

Meanwhile, a number of extra-parliamentary groups have expressed condemnation of Mr Moosa's arrest.

Destroy

"It is clear that the racist regime is terrified by the possibility of heightened unity," said a fellow organiser of the October conference, Mr Haroon Patel.

"The Government will do everything in its power to destabilise and destroy the MDM, but we will not be deterred by repressive measures."

The Five Freedoms Forum also condemned Mr Moosa's arrest.

In Durban, the anti-apartheid protest outside the Elangeni Hotel focused on the international rugby tour.

National Council on Sport president Krish Mackerdhuj handed a letter to the hotel management addressed to team manager Willie John McBride.

The letter, signed by Nacos and the MDM, said SA sport should be isolated and that the touring players were naive if they thought they would bring about change by coming to SA.

Cops rush in to stop matrics' set-work!

By TERRY van der WALT

A GROUP of matric pupils had a brush with the law when police swooped and confiscated the script for their play, Detention Without Trial, minutes before they were to perform for their drama examination.

Instead of finding a sinister political production in progress, police were left holding the script of an innocent play based on a school set-work, To Kill a Mockingbird.

Startled pupils at Amanzimtoti High School near Durban apparently had to wait two hours in the school hall while police in Pretoria made a decision on the script which had been hurriedly faxed to them.

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Innocent

S/Times 20/8/89

Eventually the play, based largely on an extract from To Kill a Mockingbird by Harper Lee, was allowed to continue before an audience of school pupils and examination adjudicators.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Bala Naidoo said security police received a tip-off that the play was being staged at the school.

The headmaster, Mr Don Lamont, told reporters the play was innocent and bore no relation to the title.

He presumed someone had complained to the security branch.

Memory of Ruth revived

(327)

21/8/89

MAPUTO - Friends and colleagues of the murdered South African academic and ANC militant, Ruth First, gathered at her graveside at Maputo's cemetery last week on the seventh anniversary of her assassination.

Ruth First, wife of South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, was killed when she opened a letter bomb sent to her office at Maputo's university on October 18 1982.

At the time of her death she was director of research at the university's Centre of African Studies.

At the time her murder was blamed by the ANC on South Africa.

Cops raid Nactu rally

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Sowetan 21/8/87

A LARGE contingent of police yesterday temporarily stopped a Nactu preparatory workshop on the Workers Summit and briefly detained Sowetan journalist Mathatha Tsedu in Johannesburg.

According to Nactu officials police stormed into Lekton House and told about 400 workers that the meeting had been banned in terms of the emergency regulations.

But after Nactu's first assistant general secretary, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, confronted them, they backed off and allowed the meeting to continue.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Johannesburg, Brigadier Gerrit Erasmus said he would not hesitate stopping the meeting again if he heard any noise from the building.

Erasmus said Tsedu was mistakenly detained "as we thought he was covering the meeting."

Nactu condemned the disruption of its bona fide trade union workshop and the manner in which the police entered its premises.

Cash from abroad - govt acts

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, has announced that the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act (Act 26 of 1989) came into operation as from Friday.

The Act provides for measures aimed at ensuring the disclosure of particulars of funds received by certain organisations and people from abroad.

Supply

The legislation is intended to disclose the supply of funds, especially those provided under the cloak of humanitarian aid, but which are eventually used for for purposes "inimicable to the interests of South Africa."

Coetzee said that, as he had said before, it was not the intention to cut off the supply of funds from abroad which "are made available for positive and constructive purposes."

The Act will facilitate the monitoring of foreign funding of organisations or people, in that the Registrar may declare an organisation or a person a "reporting" organisation or person.

Answer

Coetzee said the measure was Parliament's answer to "those abroad who make funds available which are utilised for purposes detrimental to the orderly development of our country."

He pointed out that it had been supported by all parties in all three Houses of Parliament.

(Report by Dirk van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

Sjamboks on the beach 'an ugly show of force'

Argus 21/8/89

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Pictures: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

MARCH: Members of restricted organisations march outside St George's Cathedral carrying banners symbolising their "unbanning".

Staff Reporters

WIDESPREAD police action on Blouberg and Strand beaches, where a number of people were injured at the weekend, has been harshly criticised by politicians and extra-parliamentary groups.

While the MDM hailed the beach campaign a "victory despite a huge military operation," spokesmen said at a Press conference that the "new world" people were looking for in Mr F W de Klerk's presidency had been "killed".

The DP candidate for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the clear implication of the massive turnout of policemen, dogs and army personnel was that the Nationalist government was prepared to use violence to defend beach apartheid.

This was further underlined by the use of sjamboks to beat protesters and by at least one small child being injured by a teargas canister, he said.

To complete the picture of viciousness the films from cameras of all those who photographed the events were confiscated.

"Government propagandists are now trying to project the protests themselves as so-called unrest incidents and are obviously succeeding, judging by some newpaper headlines," he said.

Mr Van der Merwe said the government would have to accept responsibiliy for the injuries and for the death of a special constable.

He expressed the hope that the media would draw a clear distinction between peaceful protest and violent action.

"It was ironic that Mr Pik Botha last night, in an almost unbelievable show of hypocrisy, attacked the CP for having put a Chinese family out of their house in the Transvaal, conveniently keeping completely silent on the action of his own party and his own government at Strand."

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said he was "depressed and dismayed" that such a concentration of police power was used on people going to use a facility that should be open to them all.

It was unbelievable that all this had been done in the defence of apartheid and in order to perpetuate it. This did not augur well for the future.

Mr David Gant, the Democratic Party's candidate in Helderberg, said events in the Strand on Saturday were nothing but a massive exercise in futility and simply highlighted the dead-end road the NP was offering.

Beach apartheid was the coarsest and most selfish form of apartheid.

People should ask themselves what they would have to pay for the continuation of new-style Nationalist apartheid, Mr Gant said.

Black sash

The Cape Western branch of the Black Sash said the non-racial picnic on Blouberg became a "violent, ugly show of force by the SAP".

"But for the disciplined response of the picnickers who were there to demonstrate that beaches should be open to all, the scene could have become indescribably ugly," the said.

(Report by T Wentzel, L Galloway, A Weiss, of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

'Free our pupils' plea by Gerwel and parents

Argus 21/8/89

Archbishop Desmond Tutu addresses the church service.

Staff Reporter

UNIVERSITY of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and a group of other educationists and parents are to hand a petition to police asking them to release detained pupils, stop their actions at school and to permit pupils to meet.

The delegation plan to hand the document to the Major General Philippus Fourie, regional commissioner of police, tomorrow. Members of the delegation will report back to parents at a meeting to be held Westridge Anglican Church, Park Road, Mitchell's Plain, on Wednesday.

Meanwhile, Mr Awie Muller, executive director of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, has urgently appealed to parents to give "our children the best advice regarding their participation in stayaways, vandalism or any related activities you may not approve of".

He made his appeal in an advertisment which was published in Weekend Argus.

"Every child has a right to a good education. They must make full use of the educational opportunities offered to them to ensure progress. We cannot afford to place obstacles in the path to a better future. Without a sound education, we shall never be free."

Mr Muller alleged that pupils sometimes involved themselves in activities of their own accord, but "more often as a result of pressure from persons who do not seem to have the best interest of the children at heart".

The communtity had worked hard to attain certain ideals and had been able to open doors that "apartheid had closed for us in all spheres of life".

He appealed to parents in the interest of children and the community at large "whose well-being and progress lie close to my heart, to stand together in trying to prevent a repetition of the traumatic events of the past".

(Report by D Cruywagen, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town).

Court order halts police

Times 31/8/89

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Supreme Court Reporter

POLICE were yesterday interdicted and restrained in the Supreme Court from stopping, diverting or taking any action against buses or taxis bringing people to last night's service in St George's Cathedral.

In an urgent application yesterday afternoon, the Rev Colin Jones, Dean of the cathedral, applied for an urgent interdict against the regional commissioner of police after police stopped buses bringing people to the service.

Mr Justice P H Tebbutt interdicted and restrained police from stopping, diverting or taking "any other form of action" against buses, taxis and other vehicles arranged to take people to the service.

The police and/or any other member of the security forces were further interdicted and restrained from harassing, threatening, intimidating, stopping or taking any action against people wishing to board, remain on and get off buses.

The commisioner must show on August 30 why the interdict should not be made final and why he should not pay the costs of the action.

Mr Johnny de Lange, instructed by Wilkinson, Joshua, Giwhala and Abercrombie, appeared for Mr Jones. The commissioner was not represented.

MDM HITS BACK

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Sowetan 21/8/89

'Organisations unbanned'

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Mass Democratic Movement has declared that it considered all restricted organisations unbanned today.

This decision was taken inspite of concerted security force action which resulted in the detention of key MDM figures and the banning of meetings throughout the country.

The movement said in a statement yesterday it had information that there was a hunt for more of its members by the security police after its key spokesman and acting general secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Mohammed Moosa Vali was detained under state of emergency regulations last Friday.

In a weekend of high drama as the defiance campaign and State might met head-on:

Armed police surr-

● To page 2

PTO

'Merciless crackdown' by police pledged by Law

Law and Order spokesman

MDM in hiding

ARGUS 21/8/89 (327)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — High-ranking Mass Democratic Movement leaders are today in hiding, with police saying a "merciless crackdown" against the MDM could be expected after restricted organisations declared themselves unbanned yesterday.

MDM spokesman Mr Cas Coovadia said a number of high-ranking members, including himself, were in hiding after they had received information the security police were looking for them.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said those who defied the law had to face the consequences.

"At the end of the day, when these people sit alone in a police cell, they must blame those faceless people who irresponsibly urged them to defy the law.

"Stiff sentences"

"We will crack down mercilessly on those who defy their restriction orders. People have already been arrested in this regard and have received stiff sentences," Brigadier Mellet said.

In a statement issued on behalf of the MDM, Mr Coovadia said: "The past few days have been marked by a systematic pattern of repression by the State against the defiance campaign launched by the MDM.

"The acting-general secretary of the UDF and scores of other democratic leaders have been detained nationally. We have information that other people are being sought by security police.

"This action by the State confirms the MDM's assertion that the South African government is not interested in bringing about genuine change in a peaceful way."

Drama and conflict

In a weekend of drama and conflict surrounding the MDM's defiance campaign and the police response to it:

- Police broke up an MDM meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg after an earlier meeting had been banned.
- A special constable was stabbed to death in Nyanga in violence surrounding beach apartheid protests.
- Police arrested demonstrators and beat protesters at whites-only beaches near Cape Town.
- Yesterday more than 10 buses and several taxis on the N1 and N2 were prevented from getting to a meeting in St George's Cathedral arranged to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the banned UDF.

Organisers of the cathedral gathering obtained a late-afternoon Supreme Court interdict preventing police from stopping people attending, following reports of roadblocks near Paarl and Stellenbosch.

About 1 500 people at the cathedral heard MDM spokesmen unilaterally declare the banned UDF and its affiliate organisations unbanned.

- Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, prominent MDM organiser and acting-general secretary of the UDF, was arrested on Friday.
- Police warned today that the "unsatisfactorily high" number of unrest incidents in the Western Cape at the weekend would lead to whatever action is necessary to curb them.

At Wits a diplomat said he had seen police beat students and arrest about 20. He did not want to be named. "One was hit on the head and started bleeding heavily," he said.

Police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe denied that police baton-charged or beat up protesters.

Police turned out in force at Wits to enforce the banning order.

Activists were prevented from entering the west campus and cars and buses carrying people to the meeting were turned away.

During the indoor campus meeting student leaders called on activists and students to organise themselves to challenge the government directly.

Colonel Malherbe said students dispersed after police marched on to campus.

Yesterday police patrolled extensively on the Reef to prevent incidents linked to the MDM's defiance campaign, Colonel Malherbe said.

(Compiled by A Walker, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

● See page 4.

'Merciless crackdown' promised

MDM leaders in hiding as police pounce

Star 21/8/89.

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Staff Reporters

High-ranking Mass Democratic Movement leaders are today in hiding, with police saying a "merciless crackdown" against the MDM could be expected after restricted organisations declared themselves unbanned yesterday.

MDM spokesman Mr Cas Coovadia told The Star a number of high-ranking members, including himself, were in hiding after they had received information the Security Police were looking for them.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, said those who defied the law had to face the consequences.

"At the end of the day, when these people sit alone in a police cell, they must blame those faceless people who irresponsibly urged them to defy the law."

He added that the whole police action had been based on "one concept, crime prevention. I don't think anyone can point a finger at us for trying to prevent crime and conflict."

In a statement issued on behalf of the MDM, Mr Coovadia said: "The past few days have been marked by a systematic pattern of repression by the State against the defiance campaign launched by the MDM.

"The acting general secretary of the UDF and scores of other democratic leaders have been detained nationally. We have information that other people are being sought by Security Police.

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Police arrested demonstrators and beat protesters at the whites-only beaches near Cape Town.

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About 1 500 people at the cathedral heard MDM spokesmen unilaterally declare the banned UDF and its affiliate organisations unbanned.

- The action against beach-apartheid protestors has been condemned by both the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said it was an "outrage" that the Government had used police to defend white beaches.

CP information chief Mr Koos van der Merwe also slammed the "hypocrisy" of the Government for defending white beaches after attacking the CP council in Boksburg for reserving amenities.

Protestors win bail battle — Page 3

DD

Police probe Cosatu

ARGUS 22/8/89

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Political Staff

THE trade union federation, Cosatu, is under investigation for allegedly violating its restriction orders.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said today the investigation was "at an advanced stage," and the docket would be handed to the Attorney-General soon.

He also warned that all former detainees who had breached their restriction orders would be charged.

This included several leaders of the MDM who are reported to have gone underground.

Brigadier Mellett emphasised that only those who had broken their restriction orders would be charged.

Strikes at Tutu

"This is not directed against the leaders of the MDM as such," he said.

Brigadier Mellet also struck back at Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu who was quoted as saying that in his experience, it was the police who had been creating unrest.

Archbishop Tutu said he took the strongest exception to Brigadier Mellett's suggestion that there were an "unsatisfactorily high" number of unrest incidents in Cape Town at the weekend and that police will continue "tough action" to curb it.

In a statement issued by the Church of the Province today he said: "In my experience, it is the police who have been creating unrest. Whenever they keep away from an event, it goes off peacefully. Whenever they arrive with their quirts, teargas and firearms and try to prevent people from peacefully expressing their dissent, they precipitate confrontation and violence.

The following examples demonstrate the point:

● On August 5, the funeral of two ANC members was proceeding peacefully when a posse of armed policemen rushed into the churchyard in an attempt to seize ANC flags.

● On August 19, heavily-armed police sealed off the Strand and its beaches.

When I arrived there, the small crowd that was gathered was exceptionally quiet and restrained, despite having been chased from the beach earlier. After I left, the police set their dogs on people. One of my priests, the Rev Frank Manley, was among those badly bitten when he tried to help someone being attacked.

● On the same day, at Bloubergstrand, it was the police who brought violence into the situation when they beat people off the beach. Another of my priests, Archdeacon John Freeth, was badly beaten up, he said.

I learn that a special constable was killed by demonstrators in Nyanga on Saturday. I deplore this violence as strongly as any other.

● On August 20, we held a service attended by thousands of people, mainly young people, in St George's Cathedral. During that service the UDF and other organisations declared themselves unrestricted. It was a deeply moving service. Police kept away and it ended peacefully.

Against this background, Brigadier Mellett's reported statements are scandalous," the Archbishop's statement concluded.

Brigadier Mellet asked today: "Who erects barricades, who stones passing cars?

"We're not even there when these things happen. Ask him who is responsible for the number of unrest murders taking place all over the country over the past three weeks."

"These things only stop when we are there."

● Shotgun-wielding police today arrested nine people outside the Durban City Hall where they were protesting against military conscription and tying yellow anti-war ribbons to lamp-posts.

The protest was part of the ECC's re-launch after it declared itself "unbanned" on Sunday.

In terms of the government's emergency regulations the ECC is still banned.

Seven people began attaching ECC stickers and yellow ribbons and distributing ECC literature when several vanloads of police arrived.

More than 15 police armed with shotguns walked off after the seven. They were arrested in Smith Street.

At that point two cyclists rode past with placards on their backs declaring "conscripts need a choice". Police vehicles roared off after them and they were also arrested.

The ECC supporters tried to hand out their pamphlets while inside the police vehicle.

● A restricted South African lecturer, Mr Raymond Suttner, broke his banning order to be in Zimbabwe in a show of solidarity with the ANC peace proposal.

Mr Suttner was one of five members of the MDM who arrived unexpectedly in Zimbabwe yesterday.

The others are Mr Murphy Morobe, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Moses Mufadi and Mr Moses Mayekiso.

(Turn to page 3,col 4)

ARGUS 22/8/89

Cosatu under investigation

(Cont from page 1)

They expect to see certain African presidents and delegation heads who are in Harare for this week's meeting of the OAU and frontline states.

Mr Suttner told a Press conference late last night that he planned to return to South Africa in spite of the fact that he had broken his restrictions and realised that the government would probably act against him.

"I intend to go back — not immediately but definitely — probably after the elections," he said.

(Reports by P Goosen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town; P Fabricius and J Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg; M Challenor, 35 Field Street, Durban)

● See page 7.

Kathy wished 'happy 60th'

Star 23/8/89

HUNDREDS of people packed the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg on Monday night to celebrate the 60th birthday of imprisoned African National Congress member Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada.

Kathrada, who has served the past 26 years of his life in Robben Island and Pollsmoor prisons, was 34 when, together other Rivonia trialists, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963.

Messages of support were read amid freedom songs and chants, from the ailing ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Joe Slovo, leader of the South African Communist Party.

Among the people who addressed the meeting was veteran government opponent and poli-tician, Mrs Helen Joseph, who was wheeled into the hall in a wheelchair.

She is a listed person and may not be quoted.

Cape Flats protests planned — police warn again

Cape Times 23/8/89 (327)

Staff Reporter

PROTEST actions are planned throughout the Cape Flats today to mark the "unbanning" of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Western Cape Congress of Students (Wesco).

Police yesterday again warned that any breaking of the law would result in summary arrest and police action.

The protest actions include a rally at the University of the Western Cape.

Some lecturers at UWC have this week been attending classes wearing T-shirts of banned organisations.

The End Conscription Campaign — on the first anniversary of its banning — yesterday announced it would defy its restriction orders.

Under an ECC banner, the announcement was made at a press conference by Mr Laurie Nathan, national organiser of the ECC in 1985/86 and current vice-chairman of the Cape Democrats.

Similar announcements were made in Durban and Johannesburg.

Yesterday's meeting was chaired by former vice-chancellor of UCT Sir Richard Luyt, who said he was proud to be associated with the ECC.

There was a strong show of support from representatives of affiliated organisations, including Nusas, Conscientious Objectors' Support Group, Young Democrats, Women's Movement for Peace, Black Sash, Cape Democrats and Quakers.

In a statement of support read to the meeting, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it was "unchristian, unjust and totally wrong" for citizens to be compelled to take up arms to enforce unjust laws against fellow citizens.

Churches in the Border region of the Eastern Cape have decided to implement a programme of action in support of the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign.

(Report by D Caelers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Cosatu broke order - cop

Sowetan 23/8/89

327

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He also warned that former detainees who had breached their restriction orders would be charged.

This included several leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement who are reported to have gone underground.

Mellet stressed that only those who had broken their restriction orders would be charged.

"This is not directed against the leaders of the MDM as such," he said.

Mellet also struck back at Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu who was quoted as saying that in his experience, it was the police who have been creating unrest.

He is being deported after 20 years in SA

SHOCK FOR DAD

Sowetan 23/8/1989 (327)

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

A FATHER of two, Mr Andries Manyeke (36) is to be deported to Mozambique today after living and working in South Africa for more than 20 years.

Manyeke is presently held in jail at Welkom where he is waiting for officials of the Department of Home Affairs to take him to the border.

Married to a South African woman, one of his children is four years old and the other is six months old.

According to his family he is a successful businessman running a tuck shop at a Welkom gold mine and belongs to the Gold Fields Tuck Owners Association which is pleading for a stay of his deportation.

Trouble

Trouble for Manyake started when he wanted to swop his old reference book for a new identity document. Authorities said he was a Mozambican and refused to issue him with South African identity papers.

A close relative said Manyake was warned that all his belongings such as the car, his tuck shop, would be sold and he would be given the money realised from the sales.

On Monday he was ordered to cancel his fixed deposits saving and withdraw all his other savings to be ready to be taken to his homeland.

Home Affairs officials in Welkom, among them the director, Mr Mike Meiring, said they could

● From page 1

Pitter patter of little feet

Sipho Skhosana and Princess Magakwe, both seven-year-old, are among more than 100 dancers taking part at the annual Lesotho Sun Ballroom and Latin American Dance Festival which started yesterday and will end tomorrow.

Father deported (327)

● From page 1

not comment on Manyeke's situation "over the telephone."

A close friend of Manyeke, Mr David Mthethwa, was yesterday battling to save his friend from deportation.

Mthethwa said Manyeke was charged for living illegally in South Africa at the Welkom Magistrate's Court in February last year.

Home Affairs allegedly officials promised that they would fix his papers as required but when he applied for the new identity document they queried his passbook and was later arrested.

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

Inkatha youth's warm wishes for Tambo - See Page 7

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EN "A"
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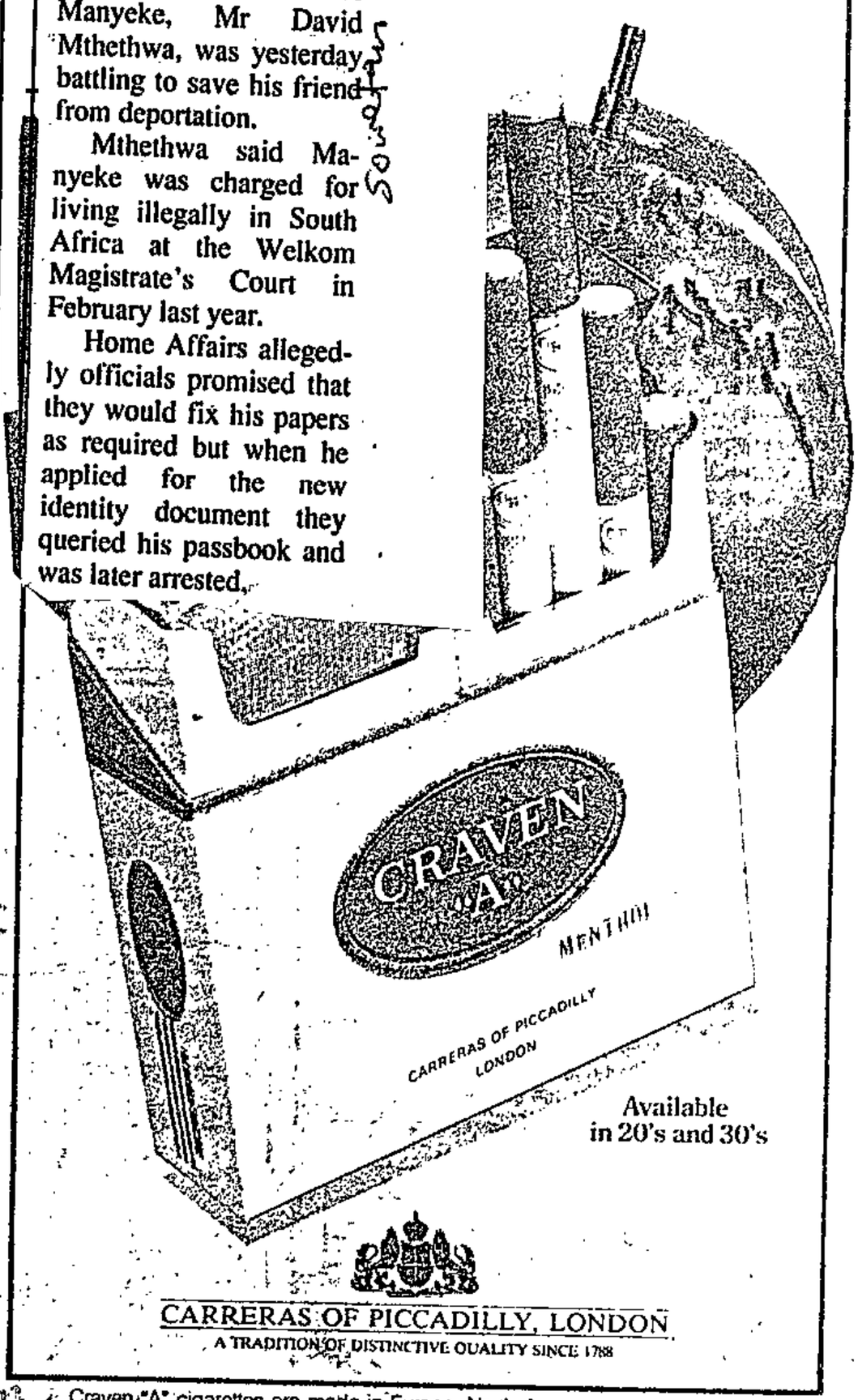

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CAG18/EU

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 2

Cape protest action today

Sowetan 23/8/89 (327)

DEFIANCE protest actions have been planned throughout the Cape Flats today tro mark the unilateral self-unbanning of the Congress of South African students, and the Western Cape Congress of students.

Police yesterday warned that any breaking of the law would result in summary arrest and police action.

The planned protest actions include a march from high schools in Gugulethu to the Gugulethu police station, rallies at Athlone, Mitchell's Plain and at the University of the Western Cape.

The UWC rally is expected to be followed by a picket protest by academics and students, a spokesman for the university's public relations department said yesterday.

Many lecturers at UWC have this week been attending classes wearing T-shirts of banned organisations as a mark of protest and support for the defiance campaign.

Police

Colonel Vic Haynes said yesterday arrests in Cape Town were proof that police intended acting to fully uphold the law.

"Police are duty bound to act," he said.

Meanwhile, in the Border region of the Eastern Cape churches have decided to implement a programme of action in support of the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign against apartheid and racism, a multi-denominational delegation said yesterday.

Delegates from the churches and members of the MDM met to discuss and co-ordinate defiance action in the region and adopted a programme for the "National Standing for the Truth" campaign.

In a joint statement delegates said this was to be a peaceful, orderly and disciplined campaign aimed at challenging and bringing down apartheid structures and racist attitudes. - Sapa.

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23/8/89

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Among the people who addressed the meeting was veteran government opponent and poli-tician, Mrs Helen Joseph, who was wheeled into the hall in a wheelchair.

She is a listed person and may not be quoted.

Defiance

Sowetan 23/8/89

THE defiance campaign by the MDM has begun to surface in factories with workers coming out against alleged disciplinary policies practised by managements.

327

The Cosatu-affiliated Chemical Workers Industrial Union (Cwiu) said yesterday hundreds of black workers at a Janssen Pharmaceuticals plant in Johannesburg have begun to defy a company ruling that they clock in when they begin their work shift.

"All workers who are obliged to clock in are black. The majority who work without clocking in are white. Our membership considers this to be a discriminatory practice and, therefore, is defying it," the union said in a statement to Sapa.

Sowetan 24/8/89

HRC lists police action

(327)

THE Human Rights Commission has issued a list of what it says are the latest detentions of people and bannings of meetings.

A statement issued by the HRC yesterday gave the following list:

- Mohammed Valli Moosa, acting general-secretary of the UDF was detained from his office in Braamfontein under emergency regulations on August 18.

- Also on August 18, a small group of people singing outside the building in protest against Valli's detention were ordered to disperse by police.

- On August 19 ten people were arrested and demonstrators sjambokked by security forces in Johannesburg as the Mass Democratic Movement demonstrated against Valli's detention.

- In Durban 16 people were arrested on August 19 while protesting against the World XV's rugby tour.

- The SAP and SADF used quirts and batons to disperse demonstrators at the Strand and at the Bloubergstad "whites only" beaches in the Western Cape on August 19.

- MDM rallies at Wits and Rhodes universities, where restricted organisations intended to unban themselves, were banned.

- Police enforcing the banning at Wits University beat students and arrested 20.

- Police prevented 10 buses and several taxis from getting to a meeting at St George's Cathedral in Cape Town to celebrate the UDF's 6th birthday, until an urgent interdict against the police could be obtained.

"The violence that we have been seeing in the last few weeks has been on the part of the security forces. They have interfered in peaceful and legitimate protests by using undue and unreasonable force.

"Mr F W de Klerk recently said that the time is ripe for reconciliation and negotiation with the black leaders in South Africa and has also appealed to black leaders to come forward to discuss obstacles to negotiation.

"If De Klerk is sincere in his desire for reconciliation and for negotiation, then he should be talking to Mr Valli Moosa and other recognised leaders rather than detaining them," the commission said. - Sapa.

Webster - cops draw a blank

(327)

Sowetan 24/08/89

Appeal to his associates

INVESTIGATIONS into the assassination of anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster have run into a "cul-de-sac" and police have appealed for the co-operation of his friends, colleagues and associates in an attempt to gain new information on the killing.

The appeal was made yesterday by the SAP's deputy CID chief, Major-General Jaap Joubert, who is in overall charge of the investigation.

He said investigations would have made progress had Webster's friends, colleagues and associates been more forthcoming with information and had co-operated fully with the police.

Webster was gunned down outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1.

"We find there is a lack of trust in this matter and it would be of great help if they had the frankness (vrymoedigheid) to come and talk to me," Joubert said.

He said detectives needed as much information as possible from associates of Webster to establish a pattern which could provide clues.

"In any murder case one can do more if a motive has been established or if a pattern has been established. Webster's friends can tell us whether he was followed or if they had noticed anything funny or whether he had told them something.

"There could also be a concealed motive behind his killing," said Joubert.

No motive had yet been established for Webster's murder, Joubert said. It could also not necessarily be said that Webster had been murdered for political reasons as he was not a high-profile political personality.

Joubert said investigations were still continuing and information already at the disposal of the police was being looked at again.

"Attention is being given to what information we have already received, but this has lead to a cul-de-sac. No arrests have been made and no arrests are in the offing for the immediate future.

"Webster's colleagues, friends and associates must feel free to contact me and the information given will be treated with the necessary confidentiality.

Dr Webster

"There is no need for suspicion, I can give the assurance that this murder investigation will be conducted as openly as any other," said Joubert.

The girlfriend of assassinated anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster has denied not co-operating with police to find his killer, but says there is "skeptic-ism" about whether the crime will be solved at all.

Ms Maggie Friedman said: "There is skepticism but not lack of co-operation. We feel we have been kept in the dark about the investigation.

Friends

"Me and David's friends are fully prepared to co-operate with the police and we have made it clear to them. But, given the lack of success in solving the case, there is skepticism that this case will be solved," Ms Friedman said.

"It is surprising that they should issue statements to the Press without discussing the matter with us," Ms Friedman said.

She added that she had not seen deputy CID Chief, Major-General Jaap Joubert, who is in overall command of the investigation, since the weekend of the murder.

"The police allegations about non-cooperation is very vague. They should say who is not co-operating and how," Ms Friedman said.

Anyone with information can contact General Joubert at (011) 310-1911.

'You'll be detained,' activist told

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

leading activist in Kroon-ad claims that police raided his home and business yesterday and threatened to detain him soon.

Mr Dennis Bloom (37), an executive member of the Maokeng Civic Association, said 25 police and members of the Security Branch raided and searched his premises at noon.

After the raid, which lasted more than an hour, police told him he would be detained in the near future.

An SAP spokesman at headquarters in Pretoria said they did not comment on their routine duties under the emergency regulations.

24/8/89

1

Unrest: DP call to Vlok

Cape Times 25/8/89

COLOURFUL SYMBOLISM ... Deputy Mayor Mr Gordon Oliver and balladeer David Kramer released balloons outside the Civic Centre yesterday in sympathy with children in detention or otherwise suffering under apartheid. Balloons are used by the Free the Children Alliance as a symbol. ● Report — Page 2.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

Staff Reporters

AS protests and unrest again swept the Peninsula yesterday, the Democratic Party called on Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to visit Cape Town to "make a personal evaluation of the tension building up in the city".

In an open letter to Mr Vlok, the DP spokesman on Law and Order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the minister should visit Cape Town "without delay".

The letter was made public yesterday as protests were staged in the city centre, at UCT and on the Cape Flats. Several private vehicles were stoned and a bus was set alight.

A number of schools on the Flats closed early and in Elsie's River teachers staged a march to demand the right of pupils to protest peacefully.

Police acted in several suburbs yesterday where burning barricades had been erected and groups had gathered.

Created tension

Mr Van der Merwe recommended "in the strongest possible terms" that Mr Vlok receive information from independent observers about the reaction of his department to black political activities in the area. He said tension had been created in black neighbourhoods as a result of the actions of certain police elements against protest campaigns.

The impression was being created by elements of Mr Vlok's department that "peaceful protest will not be tolerated" and this played into the hands of more militant and violent elements.

Meanwhile, speaking in Pretoria, Mr Vlok said the police would not hesitate to act against people or "instances" trying to disrupt the general election through violent means.

Opening the 25th annual conference of the Security Association of South Africa, Mr Vlok said police had a social responsibility towards all South Africans, the safety of whom they regarded as precious.

● At a lunchtime protest at Greenmarket Square, 22 Black Sash picketers lined up three-deep beneath a banner saying "Defiance is the right to peaceful protest". They stood impassively as a police colonel ordered them to disperse in 10 minutes.

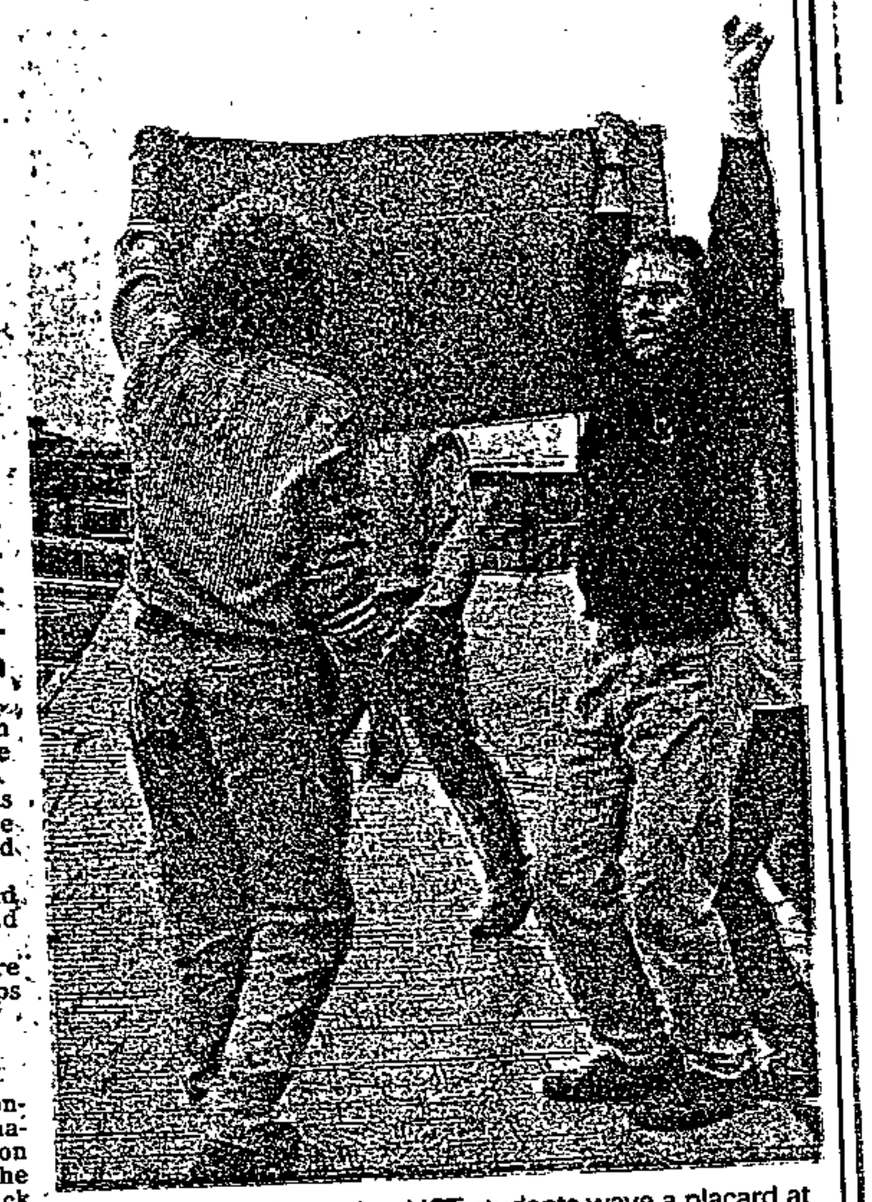
Citing emergency regulations, the officer used a loadhailer to declare the gathering illegal.

About 400 bystanders clapped rhythmically as policemen confiscated the banner and placards, and led the women away to an armour-meshed police bus.

Members of the crowd shouted "Viva Black Sash" as the organisation's national president, Mrs Mary Burton, was arrested.

A Black Sash spokeswoman, Mrs Beva Runciman, said those arrested were released in the afternoon.

To page 2



DEFIANCE ... Protesting UCT students wave a placard at a police helicopter buzzing the middle campus yesterday.

Picture: KEITH WISEMAN

On Page 2

- US urges restraint
- Young Tory heckled at Wits
- Rugby sponsors meet anti-tour groups
- Tutu to demand apology from police
- Council 'against detaining peaceful'
- Constable's death: 12 in court

Unita at war again: Pik pleads for peace

Cape Times 25/8/89

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Angolan peace initiative appeared on the verge of breakdown last night, adding urgency to President F W de Klerk's meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko today.

Salvaging the fragile peace process is the key item on the meeting agenda.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who is accompanying Mr De Klerk, last night appealed to all parties in Angola to act with restraint and pursue negotiations in terms of the Gbadolite peace accord brokered by Mr Mobutu.

Mr Botha said he had been in touch with Unita after it was reported that their forces were back at war, ending the tentative two-month-old truce.

Sapa-Reuter reported Unita spokesmen as saying a government military offensive had violated the truce and forced it to take up arms again. They also accused other African states of meddling in the fragile peace process.

Mr Botha said he had been in contact with a representative of Unita who had denied that Unita had adopted an offensive position.

The breakdown in the Angolan peace process is not just linked to the numerous violations of the ceasefire. Unita is insisting it be given an opportunity to test its support by popular opinion, while the MPLA says that as its government is recognised throughout the world, Unita members should merely be absorbed into existing structures.

● De Klerk on trial — Page 3

Birdbrain blaze

NEW YORK. — A bird that carried a burning cigarette butt back to its nest has been blamed for a fire that caused $2 500 (R6 750) damage to a house in Pennsylvania. The butt ignited the nest in the eaves of a house and the flames spread. Firemen found the butt.

Unrest in Cape hits rugby visitors

Cape Times 25/8/89

By MIKE McGRATH

SECURITY arrangements for the touring international rugby side were thrown into disarray yesterday afternoon when stone-throwing and an overturned bus in Manenberg forced the cancellation of a coaching clinic outside Cape Town.

Tour coach Bob Templeton was fuming after being forced to return to the hotel and claimed "the security should have checked out that way before we left the hotel".

P.T.O.

Unrest: call to

Cape Times 25/8/89 (327)

COLOURFUL SYMBOLISM . . . Deputy Mayor Mr Gordon Oliver and balladeer David Kramer released balloons outside the Civic Centre yesterday in sympathy with children in detention or otherwise suffering under apartheid. Balloons are used by the Free the Children Alliance as a symbol. ● **Report — Page 2.**

Picture: RICHARD BELL

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

Government Gazette
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Vol. 290 PRETORIA, 25 AUGUST AUGUSTUS 1989 No. 12078

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

No. 1917 **25 August 1989**

ORDER UNDER THE SECURITY EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1989

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 10 of the Security Emergency Regulations, 1989, I, Hendrik Gideon de Witt, Commissioner of the South African Police, hereby prohibit the holding of the gathering specified in Schedule A otherwise than in accordance with the conditions specified in Schedule B.

H. G. DE WITT,
Commissioner: South African Police.

SCHEDULE A

The gathering organized and advertised by the CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS to be held at the Shareworld Complex, Johannesburg, under the banner of a "Workers Summit" on 26 and 27 August 1989.

SCHEDULE B

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, any word or expression to which a meaning has been assigned in the Security Emergency Regulations, 1989, has a corresponding meaning, and—

"trade union" means a trade union as described in the Labour Relations Act, 1956 (Act No. 28 of 1956), as amended.

Conditions

2. (1) No person who is not a member of a trade union shall attend or stay present at the gathering specified in Schedule A.

(2) No person acting as a speaker at the gathering specified in Schedule A, shall deal with a subject not dealt with under the Labour Relations Act, 1956 (Act No. 28 of 1956), as amended or section 25 of the Railways and Harbours Service Act, 1925 (Act No. 23 of 1925), as amended.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

No. 1917 **25 Augustus 1989**

BEVEL KRAGTENS DIE VEILIGHEIDS-NOODREGULASIES, 1989

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 10 van die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, verbied ek, Hendrik Gideon de Witt, Kommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie, dat die byeenkoms in Bylae A vermeld, gehou word anders as ooreenkomstig die voorwaardes vermeld in Bylae B.

H. G. DE WITT,
Kommissaris: Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie.

BYLAE A

Die byeenkoms wat deur die CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS en die NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS gereël en geadverteer is om gehou te word by die "Shareworld" kompleks, Johannesburg, onder die vaandel van 'n "Workers Summit" op 26 en 27 Augustus 1989.

BYLAE B

Woordomskrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord of uitdrukking waaraan in die Veiligheidsnoodregulasies, 1989, 'n betekenis geheg is 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"vakvereniging" 'n Vakvereniging soos omskryf in die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956 (Wet No. 28 van 1956), soos gewysig.

Voorwaardes

2. (1) Geen persoon wat nie 'n lid van 'n vakvereniging is, mag die byeenkoms in Bylae A omskryf bywoon of daar aanwesig bly nie.

(2) Geen persoon wat as 'n spreker by die byeenkoms omskryf in Bylae A optree, mag met onderwerpe handel wat nie onder die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956 (Wet No. 28 van 1956), soos gewysig, of artikel 25 van die Spoorwegen en Havens Dienst Wet, 1925 (Wet No. 23 van 1925), soos gewysig, behandel word nie.

(2) The statistics shall be collected in respect of stocks of primary steel products of firms as at 30 September 1989.

Furnishing of statistics

3. (1) Any person in charge of a firm shall on or before 15 October 1989 or on or before such later date as may be determined by the Head of the Central Statistical Service furnish the said Head with the statistics as prescribed by the questionnaire in connection with the Stocks of Primary Steel Products, 30 September 1989.

(2) The said questionnaire can be obtained from the Head of the Central Statistical Service, Private Bag X44, Pretoria, 0001.

Offences and penalties

4. Any person in charge of a firm who, without reasonable cause, fails to comply with a provision of regulation 3 (1) shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R1 000 and, in the case of a continuing failure to comply therewith, to a fine not exceeding R50 for every day on which the failure continues.

Withdrawal of regulations

5. The regulations published under Government Notice No. R. 2315 of 29 October 1982 are hereby withdrawn.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

No. R. 1838 **25 August 1989**

PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, 1953

ORDERS UNDER THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, 1989

Under the powers vested in me by regulation 2 of the regulations published under the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act No. 3 of 1953), by Proclamation No. R. 89 of 1989, I, Johannes Bernhard Zulch Louw, Director-General: Education and Training, hereby issue the orders set out in the Schedule.

J. B. Z. LOUW,
Director-General: Education and Training.

SCHEDULE

Definitions

1. In this Schedule, unless the context otherwise indicates, a word to which a meaning has been assigned in the Educational Institutions Emergency Regulations, 1989, shall have a corresponding meaning, and—

"inspector" means any officer authorised in terms of section 33 (1) of the Education Act to hold an inspection or an inquiry in regard to a matter referred to in that section;

"officer" means an officer as defined in section 1 of the Public Service Act, 1984 (Act No. 111 of 1984), who is in the service of the Department of Education and Training, but excluding a teacher;

"regional officer" means an officer in charge of education (within the meaning of the Education Act) in a region referred to in section 2 (2) of the Education Act;

(2) Die statistieke moet versamel word ten opsigte van firmas se voorrade van primêre staalprodukte soos op 30 September 1989.

Verstrekking van statistieke

3. (1) 'n Persoon in beheer van 'n firma moet voor of op 15 Oktober 1989 of voor of op sodanige later datum wat deur die Hoof van die Sentrale Statistiekdiens bepaal mag word, die statistieke soos voorgeskryf in die vraelys in verband met die Voorrade van Primêre Staalprodukte, 30 September 1989, aan genoemde Hoof verstrek.

(2) Bedoelde vraelys is by die Hoof van die Sentrale Statistiekdiens, Privaatsak X44, Pretoria, 0001, verkrygbaar.

Misdrywe en strawwe

4. 'n Persoon in beheer van 'n firma wat sonder redelike oorsaak versuim om aan 'n bepaling van regulasie 3 (1) te voldoen, is aan 'n misdryf skuldig en by skuldigbevinding strafbaar met 'n boete van hoogstens R1 000 en, in die geval van 'n voortdurende versuim om daaraan te voldoen, met 'n boete van hoogstens R50 vir elke dag waarop die versuim voortduur.

Herroeping van regulasies

5. Die regulasies afgekondig by Goewermentskennisgewing No. R. 2315 van 29 Oktober 1982 word hierby herroep.

DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS EN OPLEIDING

No. R. 1838 **25 Augustus 1989**

WET OP OPENBARE VEILIGHEID, 1953

BEVELE KRAGTENS DIE NOODREGULASIES OP OPVOEDKUNDIGE INRIGTINGS, 1989

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by regulasie 2 van die regulasies uitgevaardig kragtens die Wet op Openbare Veiligheid, 1953 (Wet No. 3 van 1953), by Proklamasie No. R. 89 van 1989, reik ek, Johannes Bernhard Zulch Louw, Direkteur-generaal: Onderwys en Opleiding, hierby die bevele in die Bylae uiteengesit uit.

J. B. Z. LOUW,
Direkteur-generaal: Onderwys en Opleiding.

BYLAE

Woordomksrywing

1. In hierdie Bylae, tensy uit die samehang anders blyk, het 'n woord waaraan in die Noodregulasies op Opvoedkundige Inrigtings, 1989, 'n betekenis geheg is, 'n ooreenstemmende betekenis, en beteken—

"beampte" 'n beampte soos omskryf in artikel 1 van die Staatsdienswet, 1984 (Wet No. 111 van 1984), wat in diens by die Departement van Onderwys en Opleiding is, maar nie ook 'n onderwyser nie;

"inspekteur" enige beampte wat ingevolge artikel 33 (1) van die Onderwyswet gemagtig is om 'n inspeksie te hou of 'n ondersoek te doen met betrekking tot 'n aangeleentheid in daardie artikel bedoel;

"onderwyser" 'n onderwyser soos omskryf in die Onderwyswet;

"selfregerende gebied" 'n gebied wat kragtens artikel 26 van die Grondwet van die Nasionale State, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971), tot 'n selfregerende gebied binne die Republiek verklaar is;

Kagiso funds in the open

By MZI MALUNGA

KAGISO Trust is to be declared a "reporting organisation" in terms of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill.

The Bill requires these organisations to reveal the amount of money they receive from overseas and how it is to be used.

Yesterday the trust received a letter from the registrar of reporting organisation, PH Kleynhans: "It was in the interest of the donor, the persons or institutions who were supposed to benefit from the foreign donations as well as in the national interest that funds are not misappropriated or utilised for purposes other than that stipulated by the donor."

Executive director of the trust, Achmat Dangor, said they were consulting lawyers and that the matter would be discussed at the national meeting today.

"The trust has stated in the past that it will not allow the information at its disposal to be used as the intelligence by the state's security services in order to act against organisations engaged in peaceful and legitimate activity," Dangor said.

(327)

Mail 25-31/8/89.

Suttner leaves SA and defies restriction

By GAVIN EVANS

HEAVILY restricted United Democratic Front leader Raymond Suttner used his passport to leave South Africa — and may not return for several months.

Suttner, 44, defied his Emergency restriction order to join the "mass democratic movement's" delegation to the Organisation of African Unity conference in Harare.

"He left the country legally on Sunday and will remain abroad for a while to focus on issues relating to the OAU's declaration on negotiations," UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said yesterday.

His last attempt at travelling to Harare legally was blocked when he was detained under the Emergency regulations at Jan Smuts airport on June 12 1986. After 816 days in solitary confinement he was released with a restriction order which required him to report every morning and afternoon to a police station.

It also banned him from leaving the Johannesburg magisterial district and prevented him from carrying out his job as a lecturer or from meeting with more than three people.

"Ray had to make the choice between rotting away in his flat or developing his expertise and using it for the benefit of South Africa's people by advancing our positions on negotiations. He courageously chose the latter option," Morobe said.

He said Suttner would be travelling abroad where he would focus his attention on the issue of negotiations.

"The basic issue is that he sees himself as developing an affirmative approach to this question. If the government has any sincerity on the issue of negotiations it will not charge him when he returns."

Suttner, who served as the UDF's Transvaal education secretary before his last detention, is an advocate and senior law lecturer at Wits University. He co-authored the book *Thirty Years of the Freedom Charter* with Jeremy Cronin.

"Mr Suttner's restriction order is of doubtful legal validity. Nor can I think of any persuasive moral argument why Mr Suttner should consider himself bound to comply with it," said Etienne Mureinik, acting dean of the law department at Wits.

WMail 25 31/8/89

Truck driver dies in petrol-bomb attack

Cape Times 26/8/89

Staff Reporters

A MAN died yesterday when a petrol bomb was thrown into the truck he was driving in Lansdowne Road, Philippi.

He was one of two unrest victims on the Cape Flats over the past two days.

Police said that the man — who had not been identified by late last night — was crushed under the truck's wheels after he had jumped from the burning cab.

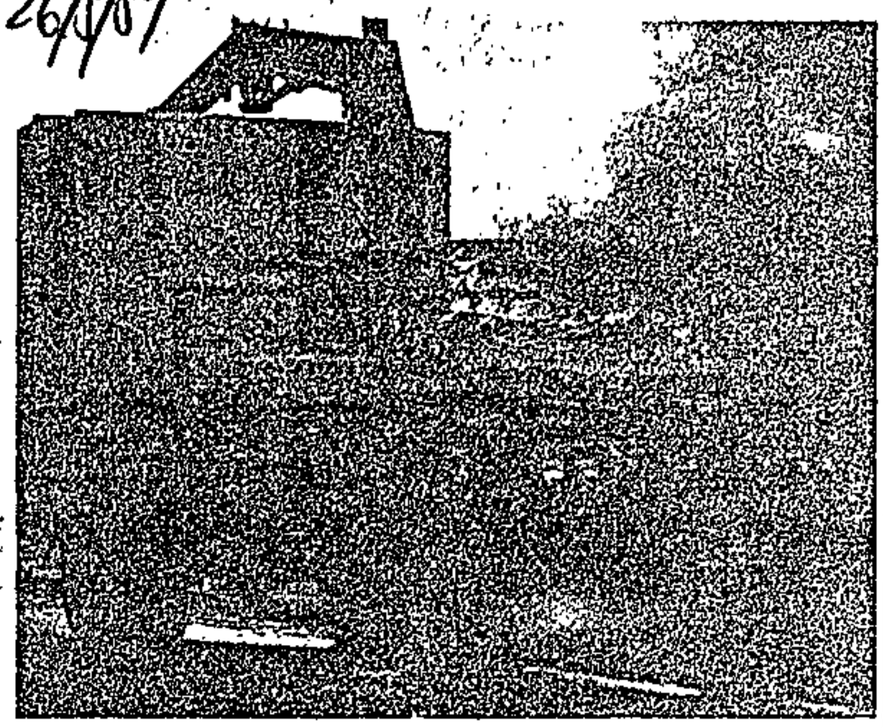
In a similiar incident on Wednesday evening, another unidentified man was stoned and hacked to death in Guguletu after he fell from a truck that had been stoned.

At the University of the Western Cape, police action followed a rally of the Association of Christian Students (ACS), which was attended by more than 2 500 students yesterday.

After the rally about 1 000 students marched to the main gate, carrying placards with slogans opposing the exclusion of blacks from the September election.

According to Mr Pat Govender, UWC's senior media officer, two students received facial wounds, and another received stitches for a laceration after being hit by a teargas canister.

Police said in a report that two youths were injured in Elsie's River during numerous stone-throwing incidents. It was not stated whether this was due to police actions.



BURNING TRUCK . . . The driver of this truck managed to escape before the cab burnt out in Crossroads yesterday. Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

At Guguletu, police arrested 15 men after petrol bombs were hurled at police vehicles in two separate incidents.

Police, commercial and private vehicles were stoned and damaged in Mitchells Plain, Bellville South and Ravensmead.

SOWETAN Tuesday August 29 1989

327

Threats of murder

MDM official gets 12 calls

MASS Democratic Movement spokesman Dr Farouk Meer of Durban received 12 death threats over the weekend from a man claiming to be a member of the right-wing terror group, the Wit Wolwe.

Meer said yesterday he had received two calls on Friday night and 10 on Saturday from a man who claimed to be a member of the Wit Wolwe, to the effect that Meer would be shot and if this failed, his home would be blown up.

"The caller also threatened to harm my children," said Meer who said he was taking the threats seriously.

A report has been made to a top security police officer in Durban and a telex message was sent to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Meer said the caller had demanded that Saturday's defiance campaign meeting at the Justice Hall in Durban be cancelled.

But the meeting went ahead and according to Meer, close to 1000 people attended.

He said the rally was a peaceful, non-violent protest meeting and that it went ahead even though there was a strong police presence outside the Ecumenical Centre, St Andrews Street, where supporters gathered to hear a number of speakers.

The rally was part of a countrywide campaign to ignore restrictions imposed on a number of United Democratic Front leaders since the imposing of the state of emergency.

CPT Times 29/8/83 327

Defiance meeting banned

Staff Reporter

A "DEFIANCE Mass Meeting" which was apparently due to have been held last night in Bellville South was banned late yesterday.

Western Cape Regional Commissioner of Police Major-General Flip Fourie used the powers vested in him under the emergency regulations to ban "any gathering held under the banner 'Defiance Mass Meeting', including the gathering advertised and organised to be held at the Dorothy Boesak Centre in Dramat Street, Bellville South, on the 28th of September".

The ban applied to the magisterial districts of the Cape, Wynberg, Goodwood, Bellville, Kuils River and Simon's Town.

Political comment in this issue by J C Viviers, G Q Kling, G E Shaw, J V Scott, A Johnson and B Streek. Headlines and sub-editing by A Henderson and D Moyle, all of Newspaper House, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

Cape leaders in education 'dismayed'

Cape Times 30/8/89

Staff Reporter

EDUCATION leaders yesterday expressed their "dismay" and "disappointment" at the last-minute decision by the Regional Commissioner of Police to cancel yesterday's "urgent" meeting on the education crisis.

Addressing a press conference at St George's Cathedral at 1.40pm, the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, said he was informed at midday that the meeting had been cancelled by the commissioner, Major-General Philippus Fourie.

Police said in a statement that General Fourie had called off the meeting "in view of discussions between Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, and the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives" and "the minister's proposed discussions with principals of various schools in the Cape Peninsula".

General Fourie was to have met a delegation of education leaders, including Prof Gerwel, the principal of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders, and the rector of the Peninsula Tecknikon, Mr Franklin Sonn, at 2pm.

The delegates said they wanted to discuss certain things with the general, including "provocation on the side of the police" when dealing with students.

Mr Sonn said the police also did not seem to recognise the authority of the education leaders nor allow them time to speak to students and defuse potential confrontations with police.

"This cancellation is not the way to solve the problems," Prof Gerwel said.

(Report by P Collings, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

MEETING OFF ... The rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel (centre), discloses that the Regional Commissioner of Police had cancelled a meeting with education leaders to discuss the education crisis. On the left is the rector of Peninsula Tecknikon, Mr Franklin Sonn, and on the right is the principal of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders.

Youths, aged 15, on violence charges

AT LEAST seven youths aged 15 and four aged 16 have been charged with public violence in the Western Cape in recent weeks.

Five 17-year-olds have been charged, according to information compiled by the Repression Monitoring Group (RMG).

The youths, who may not be named because of their age, are mainly from schools in Mitchells Plain.

Others facing similar charges include two 18-year-olds — Warren Hartley, a Std 9 pupil at Mondale High School, and Albert Pillay, also of Mondale — and Antonio Vilette, 21, a Std 9 pupil at Mondale High.

Schools affected include Rocklands High, Glendale High, Tafelsig High, Mondale High, Portlands High, Spine Road High, Manenberg High, Lavender Hill and Diazville Senior Secondary, Saldanha.

And as the defiance campaign and spiral of unrest spread to rural areas in the Western Cape, Paarl's Mbekweni and coloured townships are again hardest hit by detentions.

By the middle of this week, 19 detentions had been confirmed in Mbekweni and the coloured areas in terms of the state of emergency.

The focal point of tension in Mbekweni is the Simon Hebe High School, where several teachers and pupils have been detained.

They include prominent community leader and acting principal of Simon Hebe, Timothy Ndzuzo.

Ndzuzo was full-time principal until earlier this year when he was replaced by a white principal, Mr Gerrit Visser.

Visser's appointment has since been a source of tension and unrest at the school.

Other confirmed detainees in Paarl are teachers Attie Edmund Rens of New Orleans Senior Secondary School and Ntsikelelo Julius Allah, of Simon Hebe; students Jakobus Cornelius, Peter January, Lloyd Wessley Fortuin, Allan Anthony Paulse, Deon Heyns, Daniel Pikinini, chairperson of the Paarl Youth Congress, and pupils Melvin Godffrey Martin, Iris Dekoko 17, Skhumbuzo Mgato, a memeber of the SRC at Simon Hebe, Thobile jacobs, Linda Saki, a SRC memmber at Simon Hebe, Vuyo Grootboom, SRC president; Tamsanqa Tiny Jacobs and Keith Jacobs, chairperson of the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union.

The detention of two others had not been confirmed by the time of going to press.

Reverend Abe Maart of the Congregational Church in Paarl East said repression in Paarl had united the coloured and African communities "as never before".

"Over the years we have warned about the danger signals building up in the community and of the consequences."

The outspoken Maart, a former detainee and the target of rightwing terror activities. A smear campaign has been conducted against him and his property was attacked.

In the most recent incident, a false letter typed on an old letterhead of the Congregational Church was sent to the local newspaper, the Paarl Post.

It claimed he was "repenting" and disassociating himself from politics to concentrate on his work as a minister. He has also received several abusive letters and phone calls.

Nduzo's wife, Nondyeo Sheila 28, a local higher primary school teacher and part-time UWC students, said she was annoyed by the detention of her husband and others.

At least 40 pupils have been detained in the Western and Southern Cape.

Drama

FROM PAGE 1

tives, Allan Hendrickse, who requested Vlok to meet with the principals of schools affected by the protest action.

Several student rallies are due to take place next week and Peninsula high school students intend holding mock elections on September 4.

People have been asked to light candles in their homes between 8pm and 9pm every night next week, according to spokespersons for the MDM.

A spokesperson for Cape Democrats confirmed that an anti-elections rally will be held in the Cape Town City Hall on Monday night.

A rally organised by the Call of Islam, which was due to take place in Hanover Park on Wednesday night, was banned hours before it was due to begin.

At the University of the Western Cape, the scene of several confrontations between students and police over the past few weeks, all classes have been suspended until September 18 by the university's senate.

The senate's decision was condemned by the UWC Students Representative Council.

(Report by C Carter and M Williams, both of 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock.)

VAIN WAIT: These protesters waiting to board 'white' buses in Pretoria were ignored by busdrivers who were re-routed by transport officials

Defiance campaign spreads across SA

PROTEST meetings and marches took place nationwide this week as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) intensified its defiance campaign.

In Pretoria, several campaign organisers have been threatened by right-wing vigilantes and 11 people face charges in connection with a week-long bus and taxi defiance campaign.

Drivers of buses refused to stop when they saw campaigners at bus-stops at Silverton, Unisa, Rosslyn and Koodoespoort.

In an incident in Sunnyside, two bus inspectors stopped a black man from boarding a whites-only council bus.

On Wednesday, police cordoned off a section of Church Street in central Pretoria at lunchtime on Wednesday when a large crowd refused to disperse.

A scuffle took place when members of the crowd attempted to board a Queenswood bus.

A municipal transport inspector ordered the driver to close the automatic doors and lunchtime shoppers scattered as policemen grappled with three men about to step aboard the bus.

Several people were arrested in the incident.

Meanwhile, shots have been fired at the Pretoria homes of campaign

DEFIANCE DOSSIER

leaders, a campaigner's car was petrol-bombed and other campaigners have received death threats.

The right-wing "Wit Wolve" organisation has accepted responsibility for the bombing and threats against campaigners.

The defiance campaign has revived many community structures in the Border region, which has been hard-hit by the state of emergency.

The border campaign began just over a week ago with a successful march to the whites-only Dutch Reformed Church in King Williams town.

Last Friday, a challenge to hospital apartheid saw more than 120 black patients being treated at East London's Frere Hospital.

On Monday, thousands of pupils from schools throughout the region issued a challenge to segregated education by attempting to march to selected white schools in the area.

In Fort Beaufort, about 3 000 students waited for more than three hours at the township's outskirts after police refused to let them pass.

Pupils from Zwelitsha township in King Williams Town were teargassed but managed to send a delegation to Dale College.

In Queenstown, teargas was fired at about 2 000 students after they sent representatives to Queens College.

There were violent confrontations involving students from several East London high schools.

A schoolgirl was hospitalised after she was allegedly hit by a tearges cannister in the "coloured" township of Buffalo Flats.

After the disruption of Monday's marches, students held meetings at which they "unbanned" the Congress of South African Students.

A similar rally took place at a secret venue in Chatsworth, Durban, last Saturday.

One of the speakers, advice office worker Myrtle Bonhomme, was detained on Wednesday morning.

Also detained in the same swoop were Trevor Bonhomme, chairperson of the Durban Housing Action Committee, and Keith Joseph of the Wentworth Advice office.

Cosatu's regional secretary, Sipho Cele, was detained at midnight on Tuesday.

The University of Zululand was closed on Wednesday after unrest on the campus.

Students at the University of Turfloop in Pietersburg disrupted classes this week.

The defiance campaign kicked off in the Southern Cape with a mass rally attended by about 2 000 people in the township of Brighton last weekend.

At the rally, MDM speaker Wilfred Rhodes called on the youth and civic organisations in the area to embark on the defiance campaign in a peaceful manner.

Residents were asked to fast and light candles in their houses for 48 hours in solidarity with prisoners on deathrow.

Three Oudshoorn men — Dickson Madikane, Patrick Manginda and Desmond Majola — are currently on death row.

Members of the South Cape Student Society have launched a "Save the Patriots" campaign for the Bongolethu Three and a petition is being circulated in Oudtshoorn.

Oudtshoorn students have said they intend marching to court where two students from the township of Morester are due to appear on charges of attending an illegal gathering.

The charges stem from a placard demonstration by students in the area last week.

(Reports by Christina Scott, 901 Tower B, Salisbury Centre, West Street, Durban; Makhaya Mani, Springbok Street, People's Corner, Oudtshoorn; and Thumida Maistry, 110 Oxford Street, East London.)

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The Burg Street protest

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24 HOURS

NEWS WATCH

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, LINDA GALLOWAY and JOHN YELD, Staff Reporters

MRS LEAH TUTU, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, Mrs Mary Burton, national president of the Black Sash, and an Anglican priest, Willemina Terry Jacobson, were among a group of 23 people released after appearing in a special sitting of the Cape Town Magistrate's Court early today.

Mrs Tutu left the building at 12.30am today arm-in-arm with her husband, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Mrs Boesak, wife of World Alliance of Reformed Churches president, Dr Allan Boesak, went home with friends.

The group was part of a bigger group of more than 170 women arrested in Burg Street yesterday.

The women started appearing from 6pm, and the batch of 23, who filed into the court at 12.10am, were the last one to appear, and were greeted by chants of *Viva Mrs Tutu* and *Viva Mrs Boesak* by a strong band of supporters who had earlier sung freedom songs and shouted *Viva UDF, Viva ANC, Viva Cape Youth Congress, Viva Western Cape Civic Association.*

The 23, like the others who had appeared before them, were not asked to plead and released on warning, and are due to appear for a plea on October 27.

Prosecutor Mr D Moriarty told the magistrate, Mr V Gibson, that he had no objection to the 23 being released, but warned that the State would oppose bail if they were arrested on similar charges again.

Earlier, attorney Mr E Moosa, who with Mr Huxley Joshua appeared for the 23, expressed his concern and dismay that police had denied lawyers access to the accused.

"This is, as far as the accused are concerned, not only a travesty of justice, but delayed the case."

Many of the accused did not want to co-operate with police because they did not know their rights.

"Had we been given access to them, we would not have been sitting here in the early hours of the morning."

It was not the first time that this had occurred, Mr Moosa said.

By 12.30am at laast 176 people, including seven men, had appeared in two courts in front of Mr Gibson and Mr J Odendaal. Mr Moriarty and Mr J M Mcewan prosecuted.

Mr B Wagley, Mr S Hockey and Mr E Moosa, of E Moosa and Associates, Mr H Joshua, Wilkinson, Jushua and Gihwala, and Mr Alan Dodson of Mallinick, Ress, Richman and Closenburg appeared for the accused.

Yesterday, police took action against more than 100 singing and chanting women who had gathered in the city centre to protest against capital punishment.

The women were piled into vans and driven away as a crowd of several hundred people gathered in Burg Street and cheered.

The protesters, members of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) and dressed in the black and green Fedsaw colours, gathered in the Metropolitan Hall at about 12.30pm.

Police sealed off Burg and Church streets and issued a warning to the crowd in terms of the emergency regulations.

Earlier, the women had issued a a statement saying they intended marching to the British Embassy opposite Parliament in an appeal to British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to intercede on behalf of the "Upington 14", the "Bongulethu Three" and other condemned prisoners.

They also intended asking Mrs Thatcher to put pressure on the South African government to curb harsh police action against protesters.

There was a strong police presence outside the hall and Burg Street was sealed off to through-traffic.

A big crowd of lunch-time workers gathered to watch.

At the Central Methodist Church, a few metres away at the corner of Burg and Longmarket Streets, a 48-hour fast by students in solidarity with those on death row came to an end with a service.

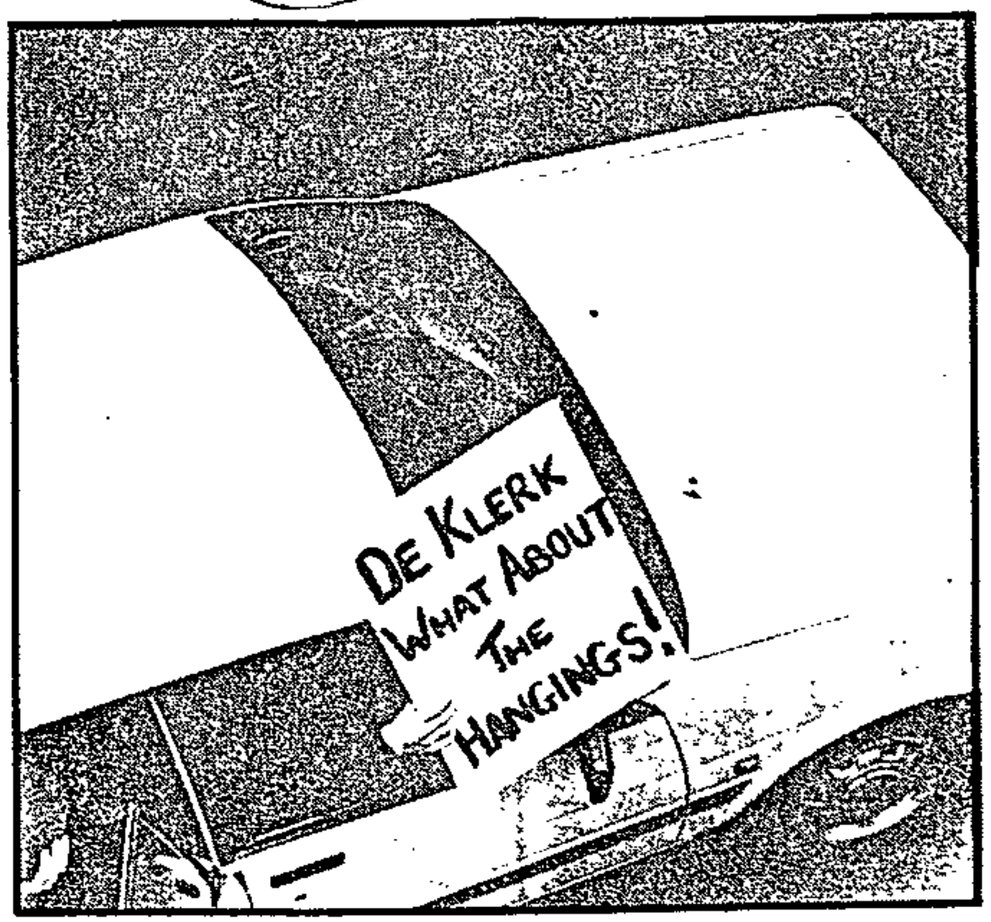
Yesterday afternoon, Police confirmed that about 200 women were arrested in the centre of Cape Town at 1.23pm when they failed to disperse after being given a warning.

A Black Sash spokesman said yesterday the women held a short prayer service in a hall next to the Metropolitan Methodist Church.

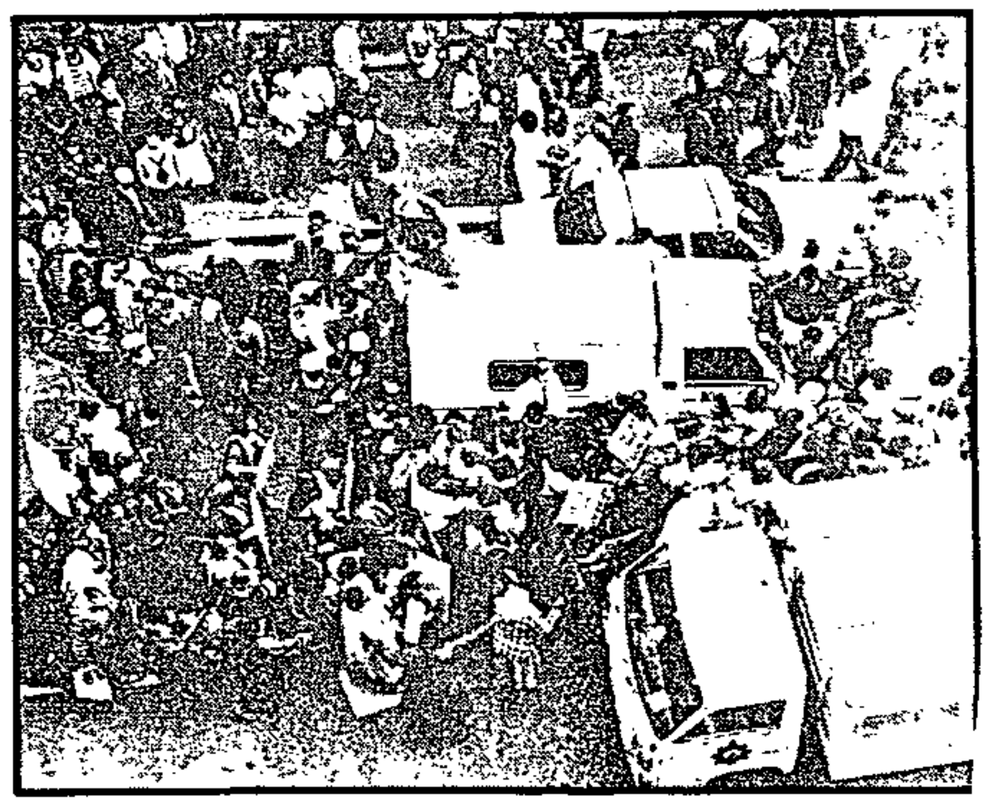
The Black Sash spokesman said the police were "Very restrained."

Report by Dennis Cruywagen, Linda Galloway and John Yeld, all of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

·PROUD OF YOU!': Mrs Leah Tutu, one of those arrested, gets a warm welcome from her ıand, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, after her late-night court appearance which followed an ıpted march to the British Embassy from Burg Street yesterday in support of prisoners on Death Row.



STOP THE HANGINGS: This determined protester got her message across to the bitter end.



STREET CHAOS: Burg Street was sealed to traffic but scores of onlookers crowded the pavements as protesters were escorted to police vehicles.

The Argus 31/08/89

The Burg Street

24 HOURS

NEWS WATCH

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'I'M PROUD OF YOU!': Mrs Leah Tutu, one of those arrested, gets a warm welcome from her husband, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, after her late-night court appearance which followed an attempted march to the British Embassy from Burg Street yesterday in support of prisoners on Death Row.

WE PROTEST! Police surround some of the more than 170 women who were arrested.

Educationists deplore police cancellation of meeting

ARGUS 31/8/89

By JOHN YELD, Staff Reporter

THE last-minute decision by the divisional commissioner of police, Major-General Phillipus Fourie, to call off a meeting with leading academics and parents has been slammed as "unilateral", "astounding" and "alarming".

General Fourie had been scheduled to meet University of Cape Town vice-chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders, University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, the rector of the Peninsula Technikon, Mr Franklin Sonn, and other academics, teachers and parents earlier this week to discuss recent police action at educational institutions.

The meeting was called off by General Fourie at the 11th hour — ostensibly because of an earlier meeting between Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and the Rev Allan Hendrickse, Minister of Education in the House of Representatives, and because of a proposed meeting between Mr Vlok and local principals next week.

At a Press conference at St George's Cathedral hall, Professor Gerwel said police actions were often provocative and inflamed tempers.

"Frightening regularity"

He had had first-hand experience of this, and he "unhesitatingly" backed Archbishop Desmond Tutu's claim that teargas had been deliberately fired at them in Guguletu last week.

"These scenarios are repeated at numerous schools with frightening regularity. In contrast, where police have kept their distance, there were no problems.

"If students are allowed to protest peacefully, there is no need for violence or casualties."

Dr Saunders said there was a "great deal of disorder and violence".

"People are being hurt. It seems to me there is a spiral of violence which simply has to be broken."

General Fourie's "unilateral" decision to cancel the meeting was "quite astounding and quite alarming, at a time when there was an urgent need to talk and discuss what is clearly a very, very serious matter", Dr Saunders said.

Police spokesman Bridagier León Mellett said yesterday Mr Vlok would meet "some of the principals and parents" fairly soon. He said a date had been set but declined to reveal it.

He referred The Argus to the emergency media regulations regarding allegations of police action, and said in addition that police could not be expected to comment on "wild allegations" which gave no definite details.