

BLACK POLITICS

1 April 1980 — 25 April 1980



Mr M D Arendse

CPC deserves support

ARGAS 1/4/80

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THE Government has decided to close down the CRC and replace it with a temporary, nominated, 30-member Coloured Persons Council.

As could be expected, the new CPC has been condemned and rejected — as, no doubt, will be those who will serve on it.

In assessing the new body, certain facts, unpleasant though they are, must be faced.

The first fact is that when they look at the CRC and now the CPC, most people, white as well as coloured, suffer a serious illusion. This is that the CRC could have been used to change the political situation in South Africa because it had 'legislative powers'. Conversely, they reject the CPC because, they say, this body will not be able to change the political situation since it will have no legislative powers.

The truth is that the CRC had no powers. Laws it made (three in ten years!) were subject to the approval of the Minister. The 'power,' such as it was, thus lay not in the CRC but in the whites-only Parliament.

The CRC, people should by now realise, was an institution established by the Government as part of its policy of separate development — and it was as politically powerless as the new CPC is obviously going to be.

And just as the CRC was merely an institution through which socio-economic changes could have been achieved — if it had been used correctly — so too will the CPC be but an instrument of socio-economic changes. It cannot be anything else for only the politically naive will ignore the fact that the political situation can be changed only in Parliament — *if, when, how and where the caucus of the National Party decides to do so.*

This fact must be acknowledged if there is to be any movement in the 'coloured' aspect of our national problem.

Of course, the people who will serve on the

The hard truth is that the CRC has been closed down — at the request of the CRC itself (one suspects they were caught with their pants down when the Government agreed to do so) and there is nothing anyone can do about it. Nor could the Government be prevented from establishing the CPC.

The question remains: Should people serve on it or should it be boycotted?

There are protagonists for both approaches. My view is that it should not be boycotted, if only for the reason that the Government will go ahead with it regardless.

Men and women of standing, who put the

socio-economic change, its participants 'played parliament.' And in doing so, they spent 10 years scoring political points off each other and trying to change the political situation which, through the CRC, was impossible.

I believe the CPC, on the other hand, will realise they cannot change the political situation. It should achieve much more because its participants will not be diverted by party caucuses. They will simply identify the socio-economic problems, establish the priorities and then proceed to eliminate these as quickly as possible.

The problem areas which can be solved almost immediately are parity in education, pensions and the civil service (with equal promotion prospects), open seats of learning, improved housing, transport, agricultural training, better wages and conditions for farm workers and better wages and conditions for all unskilled workers (including domestic workers).

The success or failure of the CPC will not depend, as many believe, on the support or opposition to it in the coloured community, but on the calibre of the people the Minister will ask to serve on it.

By M D ARENDESE, former national president and leader of the Labour Party of South Africa

CPC can and probably will make it clear to the Government that they — as all disenfranchised people do — demand the right to elect and be elected to parliament. They also will, no doubt, make it clear they expect all racially discriminatory laws to be repealed, and that all laws will apply equally to all South Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed.

But that is as far as they can go in bringing about political change. The same applied to the CRC.

So there is no fundamental difference between the CRC and the new CPC. Both are apartheid institutions and to pretend that the CRC was 'better' because it had 'elected members' and so-called 'legislative powers' is silly.

needs of the people above their personal ambitions and who know what must be done to improve the lot of the coloured people should offer to serve on the CPC. Otherwise people who can be manipulated by the Government may be put there.

That would hamper our socio-economic progress which can be achieved through the CPC. Much can be achieved because, it is my opinion, the Government will want the CPC to succeed. And we should take advantage of the fluidity in the current situation.

Of course, some will say: But what socio-economic changes were achieved by the CRC, which had legislative powers? That is precisely the point. Little or nothing, because instead of recognising the CRC as merely an instrument for

THOUGHT FOR THE DAY
By Pilgrim

'Father forgive them: They do not know what they are doing.'

— Luke 23:34.

We must be grateful that Jesus says this about us too.

Arendse leaves Labour Party

Staff Reporter

THE Labour Party of the Rev Alan Hendrickse has lost another member. He is Mr M D Arendse, a veteran politician, who was leader of the party when it gained a landslide victory in the first CRC elections in 1989.

Mr Arendse's active political career came to an end in 1975, when he stood as an independent in the Tafelberg constituency. He was beaten by the Labour Party candidate. Since then Mr Arendse has taken a back seat in politics, but has retained his membership of the Labour Party.

He said yesterday that he had decided to resign as "the Labour Party leadership is not pragmatic and out of touch with reality in their confronta-

tion with the government".

His resignation follows other recent departures of prominent members from the Labour Party, all of whom have been men-



Mr M D Arendse

tioned in political circles, as possible candidates for the wholly nominated Coloured Persons Council (CPC), the body established by the government to replace the CRC.

The CPC came into being officially yesterday, with the publication of the South African Coloured Persons Act, Act 24 of 1980.

Since December last year the Labour Party — which has forbidden its members to participate in the new CPC — has lost its chief whip, Mr Lorty Adams; a former leader, Mr Sonny Leon; a former CRC "speaker", Mr Les du Preez; CRC member for Haarlem, Mr Eric le Fleur; and Mr Donald Cairncross, chairman of the Eastern Cape region of the La-

bour Party and member for Gelvendale, of the now defunct CRC.

Meanwhile Mr Willie Airica, leader of the Freedom Party



The Rev A Hendrickse

opposition to the ruling Labour Party in the CRC is reported to have indicated his willingness to serve on the new CPC.

On each occasion when a resignation from the Labour Party has been tendered, the party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, has reiterated that he had the support of the majority of coloured people, that members who resigned would find themselves out in the political cold, and that their credibility would be completely lost if their resignations were linked to participation in the new CPC.

The latest to resign, Mr M D Arendse, was asked whether he was available for the CPC. He said: "My position regarding the new CPC is still a matter for conjecture."

Leon may form new political party

Cape Times

3/4/80

11A

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The former leader of the Labour Party, Mr Sonny Leon, may soon spearhead the formation of a new political party — a development certain to cause a major upheaval in coloured politics.

In another disclosure last night it was alleged that the Department of National Security (DONS), had taken a hand in preparing the way for the government's proposed Coloured Persons' Council (CPC).

Mr Leon has emerged as the "link figure" in the spate of resignations from the Labour Party, and he hinted strongly in a telephone interview from his Kimberley home yesterday that more resignations could follow.

He also disclosed for the first time that he may make himself available for nomination to the CPC.

So far, at least one Labour Party member, Mr Morris Lewis, of Durban, has indicated that he will be available for nomination to the CPC, even if it costs him his membership of the Labour Party.

Another Durban member, Mr Charles Tiffin, a school principal, Labourite and chairman of the Durban Local Affairs Committee, said yesterday that he had been approached by the regional representative of the Department of Coloured Relations in Durban to make himself available for nomination to the CPC.

Mr Leon said last night that the formation of a new coloured political party was more than just a possibility.

"I don't see any reason, if people called on me to form a



Mr Sonny Leon... I think you can safely say that it is going to happen

new party, why I shouldn't do so. I think you can safely say that it is going to happen."

He said there was room for a party which would strive to attain the ultimate aim of coloureds — full citizenship — yet be realistic enough to compromise if there were good reasons for compromise.

Mr Leon said that several

Labour Party men had sought his advice before their resignations.

Asked if he would make himself available for nomination to the CPC, he replied: "Isn't it a natural thing for people at times to feel they can serve their communities in a more meaningful way?"

"There are people in the Labour Party who feel they have been left out in the cold. There are a number who, with the abolition of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, do not qualify for pensions."

Mr Fanie Theron, Labour Party member for Upington, said yesterday that he had recently been visited by DONS officers from Kimberley.

They had discussed with him the attitude of the coloured community towards the government with particular reference to their feelings in the wake of the 1976 Soweto riots.

"They at no stage asked me if I was prepared to stand for the CPC, but wanted to know my attitude towards it. I said I did not want to comment."

Mr Theron said he was not prepared to make himself available to the CPC.

Groundwork

Interviews with other leading coloured politicians suggest that DONS has become in

Groundwork

Interviews with other leading coloured politicians suggest that DONS has become involved in laying the groundwork for the creation of the CPC.

DONS officers, they claim, have visited Labour Party men to sound them out about trends in coloured politics and the general attitude of the coloured community, and have asked them their views on the CPC.

Mr Donald Cairncross of Port Elizabeth, who resigned from the Labour Party six days ago, now seems likely to make himself available for nomination to the CPC.

In an interview yesterday, however, he would not commit himself and expressed surprise at the possibility of a new party being formed.

"Political parties have had their chance. I believe that strategy has now failed. As a CRC representative, I was able to help people in concrete ways. They are not able to understand why I can no longer help them and want me to consider standing for the CPC."

Labour may expel nominees for CPC

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The national executive of the Labour Party, which meets in Durban tomorrow, is strongly expected to decide to expel any member who makes himself available for nomination to the government's Coloured Persons' Council.

"The national leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday labelled recent developments in coloured politics as a clear attempt by the government to split the Labour Party and ultimately divide the coloured people.

He accused the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, of engineering the attempt.

Speaking from Uitenhage yesterday, he said everything that had happened in recent weeks made him recall the

"veiled threat" by Mr Botha, after the abortive meeting with the Labour Party leadership on November 9.

"The prime minister said he was aware that we did not represent the views of all Labour Party members. He also told us to remember that he could be ruthless, if necessary, when dealing with certain situations," Mr Hendrickse said.

"That was his immediate reaction when it became apparent that he could not just get his way."

Create a division.

Mr Hendrickse said the unspoken but clear wish of the government — to get Labour Party members to serve on the proposed 30-member CPC — was a transparent attempt to

create division in the party and consequently the coloured population.

Tomorrow the national executive of the Labour Party meets in Durban and it will be asked to ratify a policy directive from the leadership, comprising Mr Hendrickse, Mr David Curry and Mr Norman Middleton, to expel any party member who makes himself available for nomination to the CPC.

Mr Hendrickse said there was "absolutely no doubt" that the decision would be taken.

He added that all members scheduled to attend had confirmed that they would be at the national executive meeting, discounting the hint by the former leader of the party, Mr Sonny Leon, who resigned his membership earlier this year, that the party might have to face more defections.

Colleagues tell Leon to retire

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The former Labour Party leader, Mr Sonny Leon, came under heavy fire yesterday for intimating that he might form a new political party and accept nomination to the new Coloured Persons' Council.



Mr Sonny Leon

Old Labour colleagues urged him to retire "gracefully" from politics and save his credibility from being damaged even further.

Mr Leon was not available for comment yesterday, but there has been considerable speculation for some time that he would start a new party with the expelled Labour Party chief whip, Mr Lofly Adams. Both are unhappy with the present Labour hierarchy's hardline stand against apartheid.

Mr Leon was among a handful of people who resigned recently from the Labour Party. Labour's deputy leader, Mr Norman Middleton, said: "It is a tragedy that after all these years, he has seen to destroy all he has built.

"I again advise him to retire gracefully from politics."

Mr Middleton said Mr Leon had only a few weeks ago given him the assurance that he would not return to politics, even though he had been approached to form a new party.

Mr Middleton challenged his former colleague to call a meeting in his Kimberley constituency to gauge the feelings of the people.

"Mr Leon has little credibility, and if he goes ahead with his plans, that credibility will be destroyed completely," Mr Middleton said.

The Rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, who is a founder of the Labour Party, felt it was still too soon for "people to consider forming new parties".

Attempt to divide

"This whole thing is an attempt to divide us, but it will not succeed," said Mr Hendrickse.

He also scoffed at the possibility that Mr Leon's near legendary image might persuade many Labour Party supporters to desert the party and join him in any new party he might launch.

Mr Hendrickse said any attempt by Mr Leon to rely on his image would fail.

"The party has already proved that it is stronger than personalities. In 1969 a Labour man, Mr Godfrey Jules, standing in Gelvandale, Port Elizabeth, won the second biggest majority in the country during the elections.

"After resigning from the party and standing in 1975 as an independent against Mr Donald Cairncross, then a Labour member, he lost his deposit," said Mr Hendrickse.

Ex-ANC

W/E ARGUS

leader

5/4/80

returns;

joins

Inkatha

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Weekend Argus
Bureau

DURBAN. — A former senior official of the African National Congress, Mr Jordan Ngubane, returned to Durban from an 18-year exile yesterday to join forces with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Mr Ngubane, who worked closely with former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli, fled South Africa to Swaziland in 1962 under threat of being banned.

After nine years, he was employed at Howard University in Washington for a year. He has spent his time since lecturing in the USA and writing three books.

He said yesterday he had been offered a R32 500 job at Howard University, but had not hesitated to come home.

He travels on a British passport, and has been given a South African visa valid for a year.

Chief Buthelezi said last night that Mr Ngubane would work both for Kwa-zulu and Inkatha.

'REAL TALKS'

'He is going to be very valuable in the days ahead, now that we are beginning to see the beginning of real talks in this country.

'It is wonderful to have him back. He will be a concrete demonstration of a link between the founding fathers of the African liberation movements and our own efforts in Inkatha.'

It had taken almost three years to persuade Mr Ngubane, who had been declared a prohibited immigrant, to come back.

The new Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr P J Kooijhof, had been instrumental in the negotiation, Chief Buthelezi said.

Swapo joins Mandela call

S. Post 6/1/90

SUNDAY POST
Reporter

THE president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, was among the thousands of people who this week added their support to the Free Mandela campaign.

Speaking from Lusaka where he attended a summit meeting with leaders of the Front Line states, Mr Nujoma said. "The imprisonment of Mandela is

illegal. I fear that South Africa will continue to detain Mandela until the whole apartheid system is overthrown. It is clear to all peace-loving people that Mandela must be released," Mr Nujoma said.

The one-month-old campaign, started by SUNDAY POST, to free Mandela and other imprisoned leaders from Robben Island, and to allow those in exile to come back, has received massive support from all over the world.

The number of people who have signed the petition has grown in the last week to 30 905.

In the north-western Cape the Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, the Rt Rev Graham Chadwick, said in this week's issue of his church's newsletter that the Free Mandela campaign was a "real attempt to ensure peaceful change for South Africa.

"As such it deserves our genuine support," he said. The Ciskei Minister of

Agriculture and Forestry, Rev W Xaba, who is a former member of the ANC, also came out in support of the campaign this week.

"I joined the ANC through Mr Mandela. If he can be released from jail I will be very happy."

The Editor of SUNDAY POST, Mr Percy Qoboza, has appealed to people who have petitions to send them in as soon as possible.

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Die basiese denkrigtings vir hantering van die situasie

en sosiale opheffing as hoofdoelstelling het. steeds ontvang van internasionale agentskappe wat ekonomiese talryk - n onderwerp wat uitgebreyde aandag geniet het en Literatuurverwysings na hierdie onderwerp is vanselfsprekend

(f) Internasionale voorbeelde van pogings om toenemende stedelike werkloosheid teen te werk

preneurs. langryke rol speel in die opvoeding van toekomstige entrepreneurs. "besigheid" aan huis geskep word wat so n be-sakewêreld en sy verwante kompleksiteitte waardeur n atmos-Binne huishoudings word die belangstelling ook gerig op die

in die formele struktuur. pryse vir goedere en dienste gelewer aan die werknemers dië en distribusie vir die groter maatskappye asook laer beduidend by en vernaamlik deur goedkoper bemarking, kreasgenoemde dra die informele struktuur in elk geval formele ekonomiese struktuur; tot die doeltreffendheid van voornemende ondernemers wat eventueel wil toetree tot die rale bedrywighede n gulle praktiese leerskool is vir Daarby moet in berekening gebring word dat hierdie sekt-

verdeel word.

Two visions of South Africa hung over Lusaka conference

S. Post 6/4/80
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ANC president Oliver Tambo...his presence in Lusaka represents a different view of South Africa's future.

THE SHADOW of "big brother South Africa" loomed large over the economic union talks held in Lusaka this week by nine independent black states.

The delegates, including the presidents of the five frontline states and Prime Minister-designate of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, came to Lusaka seeking "economic liberation" from South Africa.

Instead, they left after laying bare harsh economic realities which will mean continued heavy trade with the white-ruled south for years to come.

Most of the states at the conference see South Africa and the apartheid they abhor as neo-colonialist, but there is little they can do about it without massive international aid running into hundreds of millions of rands.

But the presence of ANC president Oliver Tambo at this week's conference raised, for some at least, the vision of a future sub-continent line-up with South Africa not the villain but the future powerhouse for real development of the area.

After several days of preliminary deliberations by Ministers it was clearly accepted that if South Africa quietly slipped into the sea tomorrow the economies of most of the nations assembled would quickly slide in after it.

For Black Africa the main value of the conference was as a historic declaration of unity.

The five traditional frontline states — Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique and Botswana — saw in the independence of the new Zimbabwe the possibility that their dream now had a chance of working.

SUNDAY POST

April 6, 1980



These stratagems only confirm one thing

CAMPAIGNS for the freedom of Nelson Mandela were for the release of a "terrorist" and not a political leader, and those who support it should realise this.

Such is the view of both the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, expressed after Friday's attack on the Booysens Police Station.

"Those responsible for the attack were trying for the release of Mandela and (Walter) Sisulu," their prepared joint statement said. (The attackers had left behind pamphlets calling for the release of the two men.)

The authorities, employing a devious combination of statement and implication, have attempted to connect the incident with the "Free Mandela" campaign, and in so doing have tried to suggest that the campaign, this newspaper, its editor, and all those who support them are responsible for inciting the attack.

It is true that the statement did not actually SAY it, but its wording left no doubt as to its meaning.

As a propaganda exercise, it is appallingly inept; the motives behind it being so transparent.

Firstly, the police must be feeling somewhat uncomfortable over the fact that two vans filled with smuggled weapons could avoid their security precautions, such as they are, and drive round the streets of the biggest city in the country.

It is to be expected, therefore, that they would want nothing more right now than to pinpoint blame, somewhere, anywhere, so as to try

to avoid the full impact of any possible public censure themselves.

Secondly, white politics being as inbred as it is, in that whites usually ever only talk to the people they agree with, the statement was probably intended primarily for this country's minority of hardliners, which group both the Minister and the General identify with strongly.

This is the group both men wish to impress and maintain full credibility with, so they tell them what they most want to hear.

If this is all the effect the statement will have, it would be easy to dismiss with the lukewarm contempt that it deserves. But we fear that this will not be the case.

The statement, without making any direct accusation, cleverly associates the campaign, and therefore SUNDAY POST, with guerilla activities.

Because it was made by two respected members of the white community, it will be valuable ammunition for critics of the campaign in their enthusiastic attempts to prove that it has incited anti-South African feelings and that action should be taken against it.

The statement on its own is not enough to achieve this. But it adds considerable weight to a growing body of similarly contrived "evidence" against the campaign in particular and the black Press in general.

We look upon these stratagems with mild amusement. They confirm yet again that the political initiative has been taken from whites, that they know it and are now wriggling in their discomfort.

Anniversary of the death of Mahlangu — a son of our land

whole page

S. Post
6/4/80

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11A



EXACTLY a year ago today Solomon Mahlangu stood before the gallows and, with a smile, gave the salute of the African National Congress.

Moments later he was dead — hanged by the neck.

The execution of Mahlangu, convicted of murder for his involvement in the Goch Street shootings of June 1977, aroused a storm of international protest.

But although he died what many regard as a martyr's death, Solomon Mahlangu's story echoes that of thousands of others of his generation — the angry youngsters at the heart of the 1976 uprising.

Mahlangu, born in Sekhukhuniland in July 1956, grew up in Pretoria as the youngest of the six children of divorcee Mrs Martha Mahlangu.

He was the only one of the six to receive an education, and according to his mother was a loving and caring person.

But then in September 1976 he disappeared suddenly, without telling his mother where he was going.

He had in fact been recruited into Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) the military wing of the ANC which was formed in 1961 when the organisation felt that it had exhausted all avenues for non-violent resistance to the Government.

Along with many other young South Africans, Mahlangu received training at ANC camps in Angola and Mozambique.

He re-entered this country in the company of two of his fellow trainees, Mondy Motloung and the group's leader, Lucky Mahlangu.

Their first task was to hide the guns and hand grenades they had brought with them.

Exactly a year ago ANC guerilla Solomon Mahlangu was hanged for his part in the Goch Street shootings, in which two white workers were killed. Here SUNDAY POST looks at the man, the movement he belonged to, and what he believed in.

the organisation sees armed struggle as the only way to freedom in South Africa, the loss of life is to be avoided wherever possible.

The tea-drinking workers were probably no more than the unfortunate victims of Mondy Motloung's fright and confusion.

When the policeman at the taxi rank saw the three guerillas' weapons, he fled, screaming for help.

Mahlangu said later that Lucky disappeared, never to be seen again. Mahlangu and Motloung, however, picked up their weapons and fled down Jeppe Street, looking for a place to hide.

Mahlangu said that he had been injured on the ankle, and that when the pair reached Goch Street, he realised he could run no further.

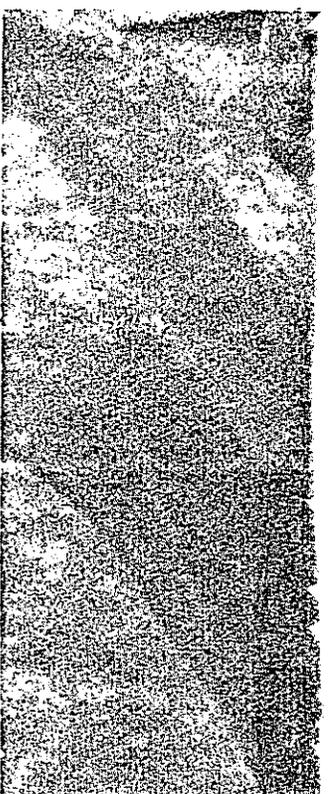
He fired three times into the ground to frighten off the peo-

blood and surrounded by policemen".

When the two men were brought to court in February 1978 Motloung, whose head was badly injured when he was arrested, was found to be mentally unfit to stand trial.

Mahlangu, who had killed no one, and who claimed that he had in fact not even pointed his gun at anyone that day, was sentenced to death as an accomplice in the shootings.

His lawyers immediately began the battle to save his life — a battle that was to



drag on for more than a year as the condemned man sat waiting in the death cell in Pretoria.

Mr Justice Theron, the man who sentenced him to death, refused him leave to appeal, as did the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein.

In July 1978 the

Mourners at Mahlangu's funeral a year ago today. The young are angry, their options harsh.



'Solomon did not kill why must he die?'



A mother sobs for her son.

British Anti-Apartheid Movement launched an urgent campaign to stop the hanging, mounting weekly pickets outside South Africa House in London.

In November 1978, when Mahlangu had already spent more than 250 days in Death Row, his law-

yers applied for a retrial. But the application, heard again by Judge Theron, was refused. The judge said such that granting the appeal would amount to "an abuse of the process of the courts".

Two months later, in January 1979, the campaign received an

other blow when the Chief Justice, Mr Justice F L Rumpff, rejected a petition asking for a retrial.

This left Mahlangu with only one option — a direct appeal to the then State President, Mr John Vorster. The appeal was made by his family that same month.

Said his brother Steven: "All I know is that Solomon did not do the actual shooting of the two whites. Why must he now carry another man's responsibility? I hope the State President will pardon him."

With two days to go before the execution was due to take place, no reply to the petition had been received from Mr Vorster's office.

On April 5, with one

day to go, the British Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen and President Carter of the United States appealed directly to Mr Vorster, and Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger said that any request for clemency would have to be submitted to his department in writing.

That night friends and family kept an all-night vigil as the General Secretary of the SACC, Bishop Tutu, flew to Cape Town in a last minute bid to get the Government to change its mind.

But it was of no avail.

Early on the morning of April 6, Solomon Mahlangu kept his date with the hangman.

"He died like a soldier," said his mother afterwards. "His last words were: 'Do not worry about me but worry about those who are suffering. I have done my bit of contribution'."

Mahlangu's body was buried secretly by the Department of Prisons, but his name lives on — as a symbol not only of the harsh justice of apartheid but of a new mood amongst young South Africans that their own lives might well be the price they must pay in the struggle for the freedom they long so deeply for.

☉ A ceremony for the unveiling of Mahlangu's tombstone will be held in Mamelodi this month.

Mandela's the key to peace in our land

3/11/11A

S. Post 6/4/80

SIR — Kindly allow me space in your dynamic newspaper to express my view concerning the Government's handling of matters affecting our very existence.

It is upsetting how the Nats are unwilling to learn or accept the fact that they cannot go on imposing things on us without proper consultation with us.

Throughout the years, Nats have been passing one piece of legislation after the other on us, despite our strongest protests, and there is little hope that they will deviate from this irresponsible course.

After they were voted into power some 30 years ago, they went about their task ruthlessly.

This is what they did:

- They exploited the South African ethnic diversity, to their own advantage by further dividing us, while they encouraged unity among whites, irrespective of language or cultural differences.

- Imposed the bantustans on us, disregarding our protests, which they silenced by imprisoning all those who dared raise a murmur.

that the black urbanite cannot be wished away, they are now going to play on the fallacy that the urban blacks' aspirations are different from those of his cousin who lives in the rural areas and whose aspirations,

they would argue, can be accommodated in the Bantustans.

My appeal to my people is that we must fight this division with every might at our disposal.

We demand equal rights in our country. There has

been this hint about a new constitution which would include urban blacks against their brothers in the Bantustans.

I can assure the Nats that this tactic won't work. Urban or rural, the people of this country de-

mand a stake in their fatherland, both politically and economically. Any constitution which aims to defuse the explosive situation in our country must take this into account.

The time to do these

things is now. They urged their friend Smith to negotiate and release the patriots of his country. Why can't the Nats do the same?

TRUE AZANIAN
Ga-Rankuwa.

- At the expense of our leaders, most of whom are languishing in jails, they imposed the puppets on us whom they choose to refer to as leaders.

- The people in the rural areas are literally discarded as they are cut off from the main country with its wealth, and have no employment opportunities and no recreation.

- Introduced the most hated system of Bantu Education, which was aimed at maiming the black man's reasoning so as to make good Bantustan "leaders" out of us.

- Imposed their language on our children which was among the causes of 1976 riots which left several hundreds killed.

They proceeded beyond our borders and attempted to impose Bishop Muzorewa on our brothers in Zimbabwe, but to their shock, he was beaten shamefully. I believe he will now resign to take his rightful place — behind the altar.

The only constitution that will guarantee peace and harmony in our troubled fatherland will have to be drawn up by our authentic leaders, not the sell-outs who have been imposed on us. Our people have rejected these imposed leaders.

Our leaders, particularly Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, should either be freed or be granted amnesty so that they can participate in the decision-making of this country, behind the civilised world, are up to a new trick. This time, after realising

BLACK EYE



The Mandela band wagon

I'M GETTING quite confused about the Free Mandela campaign. I was always under the impression that SUNDAY POST had started it, but it appears I'm completely wrong.

Gatsha Buthelezi, who first hailed the campaign and the next week dissociated himself from it (when a politician is confused, he's REALLY confused) now claims that he started it.

But he's got a rival: In the Transkei Legislative Assembly this week George Matanzima got up and said that Transkei had in fact first made the call as far back as 1977.

And because it had made the call three years ago, he saw no reason to support the present campaign.

The Citizen newspaper, which is doing its best to drive the campaign to an early death (a page one headline this week was "Mandela won't be freed" — quoting a senior Government source, and you can take your Pik which source that was) claims that Beeld started the campaign.

Myself, I think that what really started the campaign was just plain commonsense. No country in its right mind would leave its leader in jail for 16 years.

Have a bash

IF YOU'RE one of the country's hundreds of thousands of unemployed and you have a bit of rural experience behind you, here's your chance to cash in on Mlungu's most recent strange undertaking.

There is apparently a plague of dassies (rock rabbits) in the millionaire holiday resort at Plettenberg Bay and the authorities there have just come up with what they consider the best way of dealing with it.

I quote from a newspaper report this week. "A survey found that a young black armed with a knobkerrie is the only effective method to control the dassie plague, Mr Barry Stroebel, a town councillor, said."

I wonder if they'll pay by the scalp.

S. Post
1/18/80
1/18/80

EDITORIAL OPINION

Pro-Mandela challenge

The great debate in South African politics is now taking place outside the precincts of Parliament.

It is between those who want an egalitarian society and one individual state and those who are prepared to accept nationhood on ethnic grounds.

There were reportedly 30 000 Ciskeians loyal to Chief Lennox Sebe at the annual congress of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party who are pressing their leader to go for separate statehood for their people.

Transkei, Bophutatswana and Venda are already independent. It seems unlikely now that they would give up their autonomy voluntarily.

If Ciskei joins them in independence the late Dr Verwoerd's concept of separate development will have advanced considerably.

And Mr P. W. Botha's plan for an eventual constellation of Southern African states will also be a step nearer — at least within the borders of the former Union of South Africa.

But against this drive for ethnic self-identification and self-rule, stand a few million urban blacks, many of the Indian population, most of the Coloured people and also the Zulu people under Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

These groups, although not politically united, have a common purpose — equal citizenship with whites and majority rule, or at least

power sharing through a single Parliament.

They have no established leader acceptable to all elements of the loose amalgam. They tend, therefore, to seek identity with proved opponents of white authority who have suffered the consequences of refusing to compromise with such authority.

Hence, more and more, the name of Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for life on Robben Island, is mentioned at their gatherings.

It happened again at the national executive committee meeting of the Labour Party in Durban at the weekend. The Labour Party, representative of Coloured people, is now also claiming Nelson Mandela as its "natural leader".

This may surprise Mr Mandela himself, who led only the African National Congress before he went to jail. His following must have grown considerably since that time.

So much so that there is now a massive move to persuade the government to set him free.

The motivation is both political and humanitarian. In its political context, however, it represents a challenge not only to white authority but also to Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei and even Kwazulu.

That is the problem.

How the services minister by with the fluctuations of rise



Bishop Lekganyane . . . speaking at ZCC

Dr K pledges friendship

Big ZCC service

*

5051
5/4/80
11A

By MANTHATA TSEDU

IT must have been the biggest gathering ever in South Africa when hundreds of thousands of Zionist Christian Church followers converged on their Moria headquarters during the Easter weekend.

Hundreds of buses and about 1 000 other vehicles caused a 10-kilometre traffic jam winding along the mountainous route, but did not dampen the spirit of the followers.

Many white motorists on their way to holiday resorts at Magoebaskloof were baffled by the congestion.

It was indeed ZCC Easter and their 70th anniversary.

The people started trickling in on Tuesday when 200 Namibians arrived. By Friday afternoon many thousands of people had settled in and a carnival mood hung over the rock headquarters.

A feature of the huge gathering was the lack of violent incidents throughout the four-day ceremony.

Not a single policeman was at hand and there were no fights.

*change in price.
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governed by the amount
the elasticity of demand*

in production causes a fall in the farmer's revenue, and a fall in production causes a rise in revenue. This places the farmer in a vulnerable position and as a result for his product is inelastic his income varies around a low average level. If his income is not stabilized, either by government action or producer's associations, who keep an excess off the market halting a fall in revenue, he will make losses most of the time and it will be uneconomical for him to farm. If government gives grants to the farmer he will have a better head for farming and a better living.

There was also a colourful guard of honour formed by men and women in their gold, green and blue uniforms for the arrival of the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof. The khaki-clad dancers, known as Mkhukhu, in their big white boots were jumping sky high. They fascinated people with their body rhythms and foot stomping. For the first time the Press was allowed in after first being banned. Photographers and reporters were each assigned an escort to show them around and ensure that they did not take pictures of "domestic affairs". Even a German TV station was present. Among the dignitaries present were the Chief Ministers of Lebowa and Gazankulu, Dr Phatudi and Prof Ntsanwisi, Soweto Community Council chairman Mr David Thebehali, who arrived with Dr Koornhof in the R48 000 Mercedes of Bishop Lekganyane, Mr T J

* To Page 2

Koornhof of service
* To Page 2

From Page 1

Mabasa, deputy chairman of the Senate Council, the Commissioner-General of Lebowa, Dr J Mafachlan, and a sprinkling of other whites. Bishop Lekganyane called on his followers to accept homeland governments and assist the police in their duty to "maintain peace".

The bishop said it was not for the individual to judge whether the law was just or unjust.

He said his church fully supported homeland governments, chiefs, local authorities and "our neighbours, South Africa".

He said blacks called him by many names including the Father Christmas of Soweto.

"But they also call me a leopard (tsetse) because a leopard never changes its spots. I am your friend and will always remain so," he said.

Father, Dr Koornhof said it was time promises were matched by deeds. He said South Africa had entered a new era of new initiatives and reconciliations and added that cooperation among races would make South Africa a wonderful country.

Special 111

Mahlangu ^{Post} remembered

11/A
8/4/68
32A

By MALOSE
MATSEMELA

ABOUT 500 people converged on the Ateridgeville cemetery on Sunday morning to commemorate the death of Solomon Mahlangu, an ANC guerilla.

About a year ago Mahlangu was executed after being sentenced to death for his part in the Goch Street shootings in which two whites were killed.

Pamphlets stating that Mahlangu was a "martyr of the ANC" were distributed at the graveyard and in the township.

Freedom songs were sung intermittently after the last statement Mahlangu made before he died and was read.

Speaker after speaker said Mahlangu, in life and in death, was a man who symbolised ANC's aspirations for construction of peaceful existence in South Africa, and the determination to sacrifice women and children — black or white — to achieve the goal.

It was also said that Mahlangu went to the gallows in submission to his fate and that the black man should realise that time had come to follow this spirit.

A speaker said Mahlangu died as he lived, in the dark and shunned by all, the way of the "guerilla". He further said people responded to his testimony with the sure knowledge that life is cheap.

Police progress in terror hunt

JOHANNESBURG — Progress was being made in the search for the gang which attacked Booyens Police Station last week, a spokesman for the SAP Directorate of Public Relations said here yesterday.

He declined to comment on a newspaper report that a "breakthrough" had been made in the search.

Booyens Police Station came under RPG rocket and light automatic arms fire on Friday morning when a group of armed men attacked the station.

The gang fled in a gold-coloured Valiant and a yellow Kombi, and headed towards Soweto.

Pamphlets, demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, both prisoners on Robben Island, had been found on the scene.

Police have denied reports that two youths helped fight off the gang. In this fourth attack on a police station, it was the

first time RPG rockets had been used.

Col Leon Mellet, of the PRO Directorate, said police were confident of capturing the attacks.

In London, the exiled Pan Africanist Congress yesterday denied any responsibility for the terrorist attack.

Sources close to the PAC claim the attack did not have the PAC's "signature." The PAC would not demand the release of two ANC leaders, like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. They would probably demand the release of all political prisoners.

Also, the PAC most likely would seize on a broader issue than the release of political prisoners if it launched a terrorist attack in South Africa.

Most exile sources here believe the ANC carried out the attack on the police station. — DDR-SAPA.

STAR 8/4/80

Academics denounce CPC after party decision

11A
257

By Hugh Robertson

Opposition to the Coloured Persons' Council mounted sharply today with a barrage of denunciation from some of the most widely respected academic leaders in the coloured community.

They made it clear that the council, whose 30 members all will be appointed by the Government, has become the centre of bitter division inside the community and is bound to be resented by many.

Among those who spoke out on the CPC today, in interviews with the PFP mouthpiece Deurbraak, were Professor R E van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, the well-known poet Mr Adam Small, and six other prominent academics, including the president of the Cape Professional Teachers' Union, Mr Franklin Sonn.

Their criticism follows a

weekend decision by the national executive of the Labour Party, which held the overwhelming majority of elected seats in the defunct Coloured Representative Council, to expel members of the party who might serve on the CPC.

At the same time, the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, has claimed that more than 150 members of the Coloured community have made themselves available for appointment to the new body.

In his comment to Deurbraak, Professor van der Ross said that although the coloured people had never taken the CRC seriously, the new council "will have even less impact."

Mr Sonn commented: "It is only through absolute impotence or through disregard and contempt, that the Government could decide on a nominated council — some-

thing which it cannot afford in the case of a community already up on its hind legs."

Mr Small said: "Anyone who is prepared to serve on this council deserves our contempt. The word traitor would not be inappropriate. The old CRC was a joke, the new body is no longer one."

ALTHOUGH the African National Congress of South Africa has been invited to attend this month's independence celebrations of Zimbabwe this does not mean the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, holds any brief for the organisation.

The ANC and Pan Africanist Congress leaders will on April 17 and throughout the two days of celebrations in Salisbury, following the granting of independence, be feted along with other dignitaries and other heads of state from all over the world.

CONSENSUS

The consensus in the ruling Zanu (PF) Party was that the ANC, which fought in this country alongside Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zipra forces, should not have been invited. But the Prime Minister himself felt that although the organisation had not been friendly towards his party, it should nevertheless be invited because it was a liberation movement.

Some Zanu (PF) executive members felt very strongly that only the PAC, which appears from here, anyway, to

Mugabe nurses delicate ANC relations

11/4
Post 9/14/80

POST Correspondent

be a minority party in South Africa, should have been invited.

According to informed sources in Salisbury the Prime Minister felt that the ANC should not be given the same treatment as the South African Government which has not been invited and also choosing one organisation and not the other would have been tantamount to interfering with the politics of South African blacks.

The official view is that the Government of Zimbabwe will not concern itself with the intern-

ecine struggles within the black nationalist movements in South Africa, nor for that matter with the politics of South Africa as a whole.

The ruling party here finds itself easily disposed towards the PAC and diplomatic support would be willingly given, but not so military support which Mr Mugabe has on many occasions stated is out of the question.

The ANC has, over the years, gravitated towards Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu party and in the late 60s when Zipra

opened the north-western front, a number of ANC guerillas crossed into Rhodesia together with Zipra forces which gave South Africa an excuse for sending its policemen to fight alongside Rhodesian security forces.

Also the fact that the ANC operates out of Zambia where Mr Nkomo's forces were based helped forge closer links between the two parties, a thing which incensed Zanu (PF) executives. The Prime Minister's view however is that all this should not be allowed to influence the government's choice of visitors for the celebrations.

TIES

Despite the close ties between the ANC and Zapu, Zanu (PF) officials do not expect black South African nationalists to interfere in any way in Zimbabwe politics.

This would to a certain extent, necessitate a cooling of affections between the ANC and Zapu. If this does not happen, the ANC could find itself, like white South Africa, playing the role of an ugly sister at the ball during the forthcoming independence celebrations.



Bishop Lekganyane

Homeland backing sparks criticism

9/4/80
Post
118

By PHIL MTIMKULU

BISHOP BARNABAS LEKGANYANE, leader of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), has come under strong criticism for calling on his followers to accept homeland governments.

Addressing more than two-million people who had converged on the church headquarters at Moria over the Easter weekend, Bishop Lekganyane said it was not for the individual to judge whether the law was just or unjust.

He also said his church fully supported homeland governments, chiefs, local authorities and "our mother-state, South Africa."

Rev Tebogo Moselane of the Anglican Church said that though the Church is the conscience of the people, it should not hulk their conscience by being irresponsible by supporting an unjust policy, which apartheid is.

Father Moselane said: "The Church must be above politics. If the Church involves itself in politics then the Church gets confused because it will not be able to speak the truth. In the Bible the only time when the Church supported the government was during the time of St Paul when the Roman government was a benevolent government."

"But right throughout the Bible and even during Christ, no church authority supported an unjust government. The resurrection of Jesus was a victory against the state."

He said that if a sect which accepted bishopric as a hereditary position, then the Church became confused — and I pity the Church in such situations."

Dr Motlana said it was very depressing for a man of the cloth to adopt an almost purely party political attitude by saying he supported a policy which was oppressive and divisive. This policy was separate development.

"It behoves a man of his standing not to make a statement that he supports a policy that is abhorrent to the majority of the people," said Dr Motlana.



Rev Tebogo Moselane

C.T. 9/9/80
**Nkondo
for UCT**

Staff Reporter (11A)

THE suspended president of the Azanian Peoples Organization (Azapo), Mr Curtis Nkondo, will speak at the University of Cape Town today on "Resistance at the Crossroads".

Mr Nkondo, who was suspended from Azapo in January this year as national president, will speak in the New Science Lecture Theatre at 1pm today.

Other speakers will be a Durban advocate and former NUSAS president, Mr Paul Pretorius, and the editor of "Varsity", the University of Cape Town student newspaper, Mr Dave Hill.

According to a statement released by Azapo at the time of Mr Nkondo's suspension, he was accused of "tying Azapo to a position of non-negotiation with the authorities, calling other black organizations irrelevant and labelling black trade unions as spineless."

Mr Nkondo was replaced by a University of Cape Town research worker, Ms Nombulelo Melane.

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ent vir Wes-Kaapland,

(b) Die Landbou

(i) Tendense

Die nasionale groeikoers van die landbousektor, wat vergelyk kan word met tendense vir die Wes-Kaap soos weergegee in tabel 3,1, is 3,71% per jaar. Die groottotaal samegestelde verwagte groeikoers vir die Wes-Kaapse landbou is 4,88% wat voortvloei uit die volgende afdelingsgroeikoerse:

Tuinbou	4,44%
Veeteelt	5,12%
Akkerbou	5,58%

Die aanvraag vir intermediêre insette neem, t.g.v. hierdie groeitendense asook die toenemende gewig van die intensiewe produksie-afdelings, toe teen groeikoerse beduidend hoër as die uitbreiding in produksie-volumes self.

(ii) Pluimveeboerdery

Die Dramatiese struktuurverandering het stilweg plaasgevind in die landbousektor in die Wes-Kaap wat voortspruit uit die toenemende vestiging van intensiewe pluimveeboerdery alhier - die aktiwiteit het die besondere voordele dat slegs die swakste landbougrond vir vestiging nodig is en daarby is die afset grootliks gerig op die uitvoermark.

Azapo (11A)
Argus 9/4/80
officials
held in
Soweto

Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.

Three prominent officials of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were today detained by security police in Soweto and driven to Protea police station.

The officials include Mr Sammy Tloubatla, administrative secretary of Azapo and Mr Letsatsi Mosala, a committee member. The third man has been identified as Manfred.

The three were driving into the city today when they were allegedly stopped. The car was searched and certain documents confiscated. They were then ordered to drive to Protea police station.

An officer at Protea told The Star he knew nothing of the detention of the three Azapo officials.

QUESTIONED

Two weeks ago, Mr Tloubatla was questioned at the Azapo offices when security police came to search for a handbag of Miss Thoko Mphahane who, with Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, had been detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Another black consciousness proponent, Mr Ben Langa, a former general secretary of the banned South African Students Organisation (Saso) was last week taken in for questioning by security police in Durban.

Sources in Durban said Mr Langa, an official of the black student society and a member of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), was picked up from the campus of the University of Natal where he is studying.

whf

UCT students give Black Power sign

Argus 9/9/80

(34)

(11A)

MORE than 350 students at the University of Cape Town rose today — many with fists clenched in the Black Power salute — when Mr Curtis Nkondo, former chairman of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) asked them to pledge their solidarity with 'all who demanded the release of Mandela.'

The meeting, held under the auspices of the UCT SRC, heard Mr Nkondo — with his own fist raised

in the Black Power salute — pledge solidarity on their behalf also with all political prisoners, black and white, and the return of those in exile to be with us to plan a new, brighter, future for Azania.'

The meeting was attended by UCT students and many black students.

Mr Nkondo said throughout the years blacks had 'bitterly complained of the unjustifiable odium which has been thrust on them by the white racist regime.'

LIBERATION

Mr Nkondo said there were two kinds of liberation. The first could be likened to the civil rights movement of black Americans — but in the South African context this 'deceives and confuses.'

It called chiefly for the removal of apartheid — but 'I say no — economic, industrial, technological and other factors will

contribute to its removal. Apartheid is a non-issue.'

The other kind of struggle, Mr Nkondo said, was, in fact, 'the fight against capitalism'.

'It seeks the unity of all blacks (blacks, coloured people and Indians) and the acquisition of political power for all blacks in the land of their birth.'

'This does not in any manner threaten the right of whites to live happily in this country. It should be obvious to everyone that whites have as much right as anyone else to live,' Mr Nkondo said.

When eco. is depressed she more if spends etc.

STAC 9/4/80
Rhodesia
to release
ANC men

section, consisting of 5 films and 5 lectures, will be presented by Mr Freddy Ogterop of the Provincial Cinema Centre, one of the most knowledgeable experts in this field. The programme comprises carefully selected films and lectures at up-to-date information available in this exciting

FILM:

... reveals one society to another may be regarded as an... n. Any film which reveals the texture of human life on as possible: the appearance of a people and their surroundings, activities, the quality of their interpersonal relationships, the structure of society and their values, is not only a valuable historical record but also increases society's knowledge of the present. There is a shortage of this kind of film material in South Africa. This series will suggest some of the strategies and problems involved in film-making.

- The need for context. Film: *The Nuer* (70 min.)
- Whole acts. Film: *Rivers of Sand* (88 min.)
- History as it happens. Film: *Chulas Fronteras* (59 min.)
- Backyard Ethnography. Film: *Daguerrotypes* (78 min.)
- The local scene. Film: *Bushmen of the Kalahari* (50 min.)

OR a selection of local films

SALISBURY — Thirteen guerillas of South Africa's ANC movement are to be released from jail in Rhodesia before independence on April 18, a spokesman for the Governor, Lord Soames, has confirmed. The spokesman was, reacting to claims by Mr Archibald Ngcobo, leader of the newly formed Azanian Independence Movement, who said that inquiries were being made with the Rhodesian Ministry of Justice to discover whether the men would be released and possibly returned to South Africa. While he was in Khami jail in Bulawayo two years ago, Mr Ngcobo said, there were 17 ANC guerillas imprisoned with him, but three or four of them had died. Some of them had been arrested by Rhodesian security forces as long as 14 years ago, he said.

CINÉMA-VÉRITÉ

Some people think of cinéma-vérité, or direct cinema, as a modern version of candid camera, that is, recording life as it is lived by means of hand-held cameras and natural sound. It was, interestingly, a film style born out of technological developments and then evolved into a social concept. Largely applicable to documentary film-making, the phrase was coined to describe Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un Été* and has since been applied to many films that employed the techniques without necessarily subscribing to the philosophy. The first 2 lectures in this series will explore the idea of cinéma-vérité as it emerged in France, Canada and the United States and the third will discuss possible applications to a relatively recent development, the committed, local-issue advocate.

- Lecture One The observer: The fly-on-the-wall approach
Film: *Chiefs* (20 min.) or *A happy Mother's Day* (26 min.) *Running fence* (57 min.)
- Lecture Two The catalyst: Acknowledging one's presence
Film: *The moontrap* (84 min.)
- Lecture Three The militant: Fighting the good fight
Film: *It's ours whatever they say* (39 min.)

NOTE: Additional films related to this course will be screened each afternoon at 5.30 p.m. It is advisable to see as many of these as possible. Fee: 50c per session. The programme will be available in the final Summer School programme.

The organisers may change some of the film material listed above, depending on what is available from abroad.

Even moderate coloureds are turning against the Nats now

STAR
10/4/80
~~257~~
11A

The Government's intention wholly to appoint members to what was the Coloured People's "Parliament" has so angered the coloured community that moderates are being driven into the radical camp.

A broad spectrum of the coloured leadership including, significantly, academics who previously removed themselves from purely political questions, have spoken out against the creation of the Coloured Persons Council.

The Government's position — that it scrapped the Coloured Person's Representative Council in response to requests to do so and is creating the CPC as an interim measure — makes no difference.

The denunciations of the CPC, whether as interim or not, by coloured leaders indicates that the Government may have badly misjudged coloured opinion and the mood of the community.

The depth of feeling is

most sharply highlighted by the fact that erstwhile moderates and those branded in the past by coloured militants as "sell-outs" and "collaborators" are among those in the forefront of condemnation of the CPC.

It seems that anti-apartheid, anti-government feelings have solidified to the extent that those who were recognised as being ambivalent to government policy appear to be joining the militants.

A host of University of the Western Cape academics, including the Rector, Professor R E van der Ross, have expressed resentment.

Professor Van der Ross, who formed the Coloured Labour Party in 1967 but who later, through his work for the coloured education department and his acceptance of the top post of an "apartheid" university, the University of the Western Cape, came to be seen as a sell-out, has now "come

all the way" according to one coloured leader.

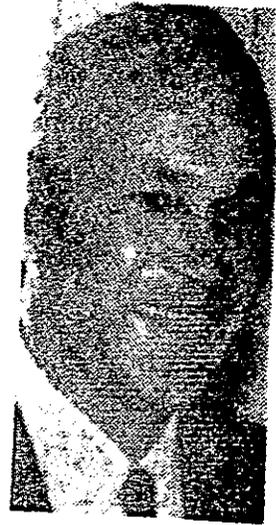
Other academics, such as Mr Franklin Sonn, Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mr Jimmy Ellis, and Mr Henry Bredenkamp, all of the UWC, have been regarded by the coloured establishment people. They, too, appear to have hardened against the Government because of the CPC.

The leader of the majority Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said

The creation of the by-appointment-only CPC has hardened coloured opposition, reports HUGH LEGGATT.

the outspokenness of academics was a symptom of "a change in the coloured community.

"In my recent travels and contact, I have confirmed the view that there is a complete rejection also by moderate people of local standing of the CPC. They say that the only people who serve on the council will be those who do so for their own gain and prestige."



Van der Ross . . . has "come all the way" to opposition.

STAR 10/4/80

Indian leader Dr Moola dies at 72 (119)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Dr A M Moola, chairman of the South African Indian Council and one of the country's leading Indian politicians, died at Durban's St Aidan's Hospital early today aged, 72.

Dr Moola was admitted to the hospital on Friday after suffering a mild

stroke at his Asherville home. His condition improved slightly over the weekend, but he had to be admitted to the intensive-care unit early today after developing respiratory problems.

Well known for his moderate stand in politics, he had led several deputations to South African Prime Minister on mat-

ters affecting the Indian community in the country.

Born in Umzinto in 1909, Dr Moola's career in public life began when he held various positions in the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Organisation, and was president of the South African Indian Organisation for 10 years.

325 (118) Post 10/6/50

ONE of five restricted Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) leaders, Mr Daniel Dumile Qeqe, 51, appeared briefly in the PE magistrate's court on Tuesday on a charge of contravening his banning order.

Outlining his defence, Mr Herbert Fischat, for Mr Qeqe, said he denied visiting Uitenhage on March 3, thereby contravening a banning order restricting him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

No evidence was led and the case was postponed until May 7. He is out on warning.

Mr Qeqe is a prominent sports administrator

Banned Pebco leader in court

and businessman.

The other banned Pebco leaders are Mr Thozamile Botha, Mr Mono Badela, Mr Lizo Pityana and Mr Palo Tshume.

Mr Qeqe and Mr Tshume are reported to be the only ones among them who have been able to continue their work.

ANC men to be freed

THIRTEEN GUERRILLAS of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) are to be released from jail in Zimbabwe before Independence in 10 days time, a spokesman for the Governor Lord Soames, has confirmed.

The spokesman was reacting to claims by Mr Archibald Ngcobo, who leads the newly-formed Azanian Independence Movement, who said that enquiries were being made with the Rhodesian Ministry of Justice to discover whether the men would be released and possibly returned to South Africa.

While he was in prison in Khami Jail in Bulawayo two years ago, Mr Ngcobo said, there had been 17 ANC guerrillas incarcerated with him, where three or four of them had died. Some of them had been picked up by Rhodesian security forces as long as 14 years ago, he said.

The spokesman for the governor said the 13 were still in jail, and it was his intention to have them released "almost certainly" before independence on April 18. — Sapa.

Azapo three quizzed

By KINGDOM
LOLWANE

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has condemned the detention of three leaders yesterday.

The three held for questioning for more than four hours by security police at Protea police sta-

Post 10/6/82 219/11A
tion were Mr Letsatsi Mosala, national organiser, Mr Sammy Thobatha, general secretary, and Mr Manfred Yende, Soweto branch executive member.

They were arrested about 9 am and escorted in their car to Protea.

In a statement, the Azapo publicity secretary, Mr

George Wauchope, said: "This kind of intimidation of Black Consciousness leadership has gone on unabated and unchallenged, so it needs to be condemned in the strongest terms.

"The struggle does not begin nor end with Azapo, but will continue for as long as the people are oppressed.

"Azapo challenges the security police to take whatever action they intend taking against the organisation as quickly as possible.

"But we want to assure them that we have no intention of being intimidated by any government action, especially when we consider the 1980s as the final decade for liberation.

Mr Wauchope said several documents were confiscated after police searched the car of the three leaders yesterday.

The questioning of the three follows the detention under Section 4 of the Terrorism Act of two other Azapo officials, Miss Phaka Mphahlele and Mr Mphahlele, in the Johannesburg area.

Azapo's acting president, Mrs Nomphele Metlana, has also been questioned by security police in Cape Town.

POST could by late last night not obtain the police version on the detention and questioning.

Another Black Con-

Azapo men grilled

* From Page 1

sciousness proponent, Mr Ben Langa, former general secretary of the banned South African Students' Organisation (Saso), was last week taken in for questioning by security police in Durban.

Sources in Durban said Mr Langa, an official of the Black Student Society and a member of the Azanian Students' Organi-

sation (Azaso), was picked up from the campus of the University of Natal where he is studying for a BComm degree.

An executive member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr Tom Manthata, said the harassment of Black Consciousness leaders by the security police must be condemned, Sapa reports.

Page 2

ANC men to be freed

THIRTEEN GUERRILLAS of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) are to be released from jail in Zimbabwe before Independence in 10 days time, a spokesman for the Governor, Lord Soames, has confirmed.

The spokesman was reacting to claims by Mr Archibald Ngcobo, who leads the newly-formed Azanian Independence Movement, who said that enquiries were being made with the Rhodesian Ministry of Justice to discover whether the men would be released and possibly returned to South Africa.

While he was in prison in Khami Jail in Bulawayo two years ago, Mr Ngcobo said, there had been 17 ANC guerrillas incarcerated with him, where three or four of them had died. Some of them had been picked up by Rhodesian security forces as long as 14 years ago, he said.

The spokesman for the governor said the 13 were still in jail, and it was his intention to have them released "almost certainly" before independence on April 18. — Sapa.

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Nkondo calls for 'solidarity with Mandela'

MORE than 350 students at the University of Cape Town yesterday rose — many with fists clenched in the black power salute — when Mr Curtis Nkondo, former chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation (Aza-po), asked them to pledge their solidarity with "all who

demand the release of Mandela'.

The meeting held under the auspices of the UCT SRC, heard Mr Nkondo — with his own fist raised in the black power salute — pledge solidarity on their behalf also with all political prisoners, black and white, and the return of "those in exile to be with us to plan a new, brighter, future for Azania".

The meeting was attended by UCT students and a large number of black students.

Mr Nkondo said throughout the years blacks had "bitterly complained of the unjustifiable odium which has been thrust upon them by the white racist regime".

Mr Nkondo said there were two kinds of liberation.

The first could be likened to the civil rights movement of black Americans — but in the South African context this "deceives and confuses."

It called chiefly for the removal of apartheid — but "I say, no — economic, industrial, technological and other factors will contribute to its removal. Apartheid is a non-issue."

CAPITALISM

The other kind of struggle Mr Nkondo said was, in fact, "the fight against capitalism."

"It seeks the unity of all blacks (Africans, coloureds and Indians) and the acquisition of political power for all blacks in the land of their birth.

"This does not in any manner threaten the right of whites to live happily in this country. It should be obvious to everyone that whites have as much right as anyone else to live," Mr Nkondo said.

Police quiz Azapo officials

11A
2012/1/30

JOHANNESBURG — Three senior officials of the Azanian People's Organisation were questioned and released by the Security Police at the Protea police headquarters near here yesterday.

The publicity secretary of the organisation, Mr George Wauchope, said the officials — Mr Sammy Tloubatla, who is the administrative secretary, Mr

Letsatsi Mosala and Mr Manfred Yende, both committee members, were held by police yesterday morning.

They were driving to the city when they were stopped. Their car was searched and some documents were allegedly confiscated. They were then asked to drive to Protea.

In a statement released

here, Mr Wauchope said: "This kind of intimidation and provocation of black consciousness leadership has gone unchallenged for so long it needs to be condemned in the strongest terms.

"Azapo challenges the Security Police to take whatever action they want to against the organisation, but want to assure them that no form of harassment or intima-

tion will deter us from our goals, especially when we consider the 1980s as the final decade for our liberation."

An executive member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr Tom Manthato, said:

"Black people will continue to protest against action taken by the police in an attempt to deprive them of the right to talk."

— SAPA.

Post 11/4/80 11A

Azapo meeting to hear how Nkondo suspended

THE meeting where Mr Curtis Nkondo was suspended as president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will be recalled at a meeting of the Soweto branch of the organisation this Sunday.

The branch executive reports on the national council meeting that led to Mr Nkondo's suspension at the Swiss Mission

in Chiawelo.

The meeting starts at 2 pm.

The suspension in January led to a split in the black consciousness movement when some organisations working closely

with Azapo insisted on Mr Nkondo's reinstatement.

The national executive of the organisation has been under pressure to bring their annual congress forward so that the

suspension can be reviewed.

At Sunday's meeting a report by a community development sub-committee will also be discussed.

Among the things the sub-committee

will report on are increased rents, the Soweto transit camp, and the increase in railway fares.

A seminar on labour, that Azapo is planning, will also be discussed. There will also be discussion on "informal education."

Azapo officials may face prosecution

THE THREE officials of Azapo who were detained by the Soweto security police on

Wednesday may be charged with possession of banned literature, according to the

organisation's publicity secretary.

But when POST asked the police directorate of public relations, Brigadier B Grobbelaar, he said he would not comment on "normal police investigations."

The directorate, however, told the afternoon newspaper The Star: "Depending on the seriousness of the crime, the Public Prosecutor or the Attorney-General of the Transvaal may decide to prosecute him (Mr Mosala) when investigations have been completed."

POST had earlier sent a telex to the directorate: "We learn that several documents found by police during a search of the car in which three Azapo officials were travelling have been taken by the police."

"Are the three, Mr Letsatsi Mosala, Mr Sammy Tloubatla and Mr Manfred Yende, likely to face charges relating to these documents?"

"Since most Azapo executive members have been questioned by security police, are charges being investigated against Azapo?"

"Mr Tloubatla claims that police told him you report again at Protea next Tuesday. May we know why?"

"For how long were these men held at Protea on Wednesday?"

Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary of Azapo, told POST that the police took some books.

(11A)

~~11A~~

Post 11/6/80

Too much politics?

By Elliot Makhaya

IS THERE too much leaning on political ideology rather than the art of theatre itself by black playwrights?

The question, as delicate as the art of theatre itself, is often raised by white critics viewing black productions. But one thing we know about theatre is that it's got to have a purpose as well as influence.

I talked to a few and pronounced black playwrights about the subject. Matishe Maponya is the writer of Hungry Earth and once had a scholarship

to study theatre abroad. He says: "It's definitely not true that black playwrights lean too much on political ideology."

"White playwrights reflect the kind of life and experience they live in. And what we portray as black playwrights is our daily lives."

"When I write a line like, 'How can I have a sound sleep when I am starving?' it does not mean it's political ideology, but reflects the kind of life I lead."

He adds: "If that's political, then it's affected by our status quo. Our writing should have purpose."

"While white productions can afford to have a bar on stage, we cannot because we don't have that in our lives. If a white man writes about Lower Houghton and you write about Gugulethu, then it is re-

garded as politics. "In other words, whites have a misconception about our theatre and life, as it were."

Matsemela Manaka, playwright and poet, says: "I don't think I have a comment to make on that delicate subject. But whatever anybody has to say about our theatre has to know that our theatre has a different purpose."

"For instance, if anybody says there is no art in Egoli he can go to hell. In fact, there's no appreciation coming from this country on black art. I'll comment later in detail."

Sam Mhangwani has written many plays, including Unfaithful Woman which has been running for over 16 years. And he says: "It all depends on what the writer

has got in mind when he writes a play.

"You see, people are talented differently and each appeals to a certain specific audience. Like I could be bad in attempting to write a political production. The whole exercise depends on what influences you as a writer."

"But I also believe that playwrights should look into theatre as an art form first because it needs flexibility. We should all learn to be versatile and not stereotyped."

John Ledwaba, one of the actors in the powerful two-hander, Egoli, once said: "People should be taught the essence of theatre. Theatre should have a meaning, purpose and direction. Dancing and singing on stage does not necessarily constitute good theatre."



Matsemela Manaka . . . appreciation on bla

Chubby twists aw

CHUBBY CHECKER

is still tops as a rock 'n roll singer and his twist dance remains a landmark of choreography.

The singer was given a standing ovation at the end of his opening show on Tuesday night at the Colosseum Theatre.

The artist rendered mostly old songs which were hits in the sixties. But they were

done energetically to make the show a reasonable night's entertainment.

Songs like Hooka Tooka and Let's Twist Again showed how the singer had maintained the popularity he gained in the early sixties after recording a new version of Twist.

There were not even a few little changes or disco touches added to the items. They were pure rock 'n roll and rhythm and

blues ditties that warmed the heart.

His twist dance was exciting, smoothly executed along the rhythmic beat of the band. He moved gracefully on the stage, at the same time pumping the audience with his music.

Freddie and Dreamers, the supporting act of the Chubby Checker Show, offered little musically. They are more of a cabaret group than performers.

Berndie and The Dreamers, the supporting act of the Chubby Checker Show, offered little musically. They are more of a cabaret group than performers.



Sam Mhangwani . . . "playwrights should look at theatre as an art."

Where to go and when to listen in

- Lobeche: Orlando DOCC (opening), 7.30 pm.
- Hospital Chords Festival: Unisa, 7.30 pm.
- Chubby Checker plus Freddie and The Dreamers: Colosseum Theatre, 8 pm.
- Carnival La District Six: His Majesty's Theatre, 8 pm.
- Abafana Basequidanti: Capital Royal House, Lebowakgomo, 8 pm.
- Never Do It Again: Sebokeng Theatre, 8 pm.
- Mahotella Queens and Walter and The Beggars, DH Williams Hall, 7.30 pm.
- Mphahlele Disco: Ateridgeville, 8 pm.
- The Forest Hub: Eden Park, 7.30 pm.
- Club Elegant: Eden Park, 8 pm.
- Club Grand Piano: Bosmont, 8 pm.
- Leratong Inn Club: Klipsgat, 8 pm.
- Sergeant Peppers Disco: Laudlum, 8 pm.
- Studio 45: Kwathema, 8 pm.
- Studio 1: Rockville, 8 pm.

- Apocalypse Now: Lyric Cinema, 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- Secret: Avalon Cinema, 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- Rocky 1 plus Rocky 2: Tahlid Cinema, 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- Steel plus Elvis The Movie: Hi-Way Drive-in, 8 pm.
- Steel plus Elvis The Movie: Hi-Way Drive-in, 8 pm.
- Kramer v Kramer: Eyethu Cinema, 2 pm and 8 pm.
- North Sea Hijack: Majestic 1, 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- Kramer v Kramer: Majestic 2, 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- Firepower: Baragwanath Drive-in, 8 pm.
- Separate Development: Market Theatre, 8 pm.
- The Bed: Academy Theatre, 8 pm.

- Mothers and Fathers: Barnato Theatre, 8 pm.
- Pyjama Tops: Andre Huguonet Theatre, 8 pm.
- The Torn Child: Market Theatre, 8 pm.
- Uysreem: Market Theatre, 8.30 pm.
- 5 a.m.-6 a.m.: Meshack Mokoena.
- 6 a.m.-9 a.m.: Alan Mann.
- 7 p.m.-10 p.m.: Treasure Tshabalala.
- 10 p.m.-11 p.m.: Kevin Savage.
- North Sea Hijack: Apsara Cine 1; 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- Kramer vs Kramer: Apsara Cine 2; 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- Time After Time: Planet Cinema; 2.30 pm and 8 pm.
- North Dallas Forty plus Final Chapter: Walking Tall: Baragwanath Drive-in; 8 pm.



Chubby Checker

Zimbabwe

S-77K 11/4/80

ANC men

(119)

(372)

(327)

for Zambia

The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY—Members of the African National Congress of South Africa will be sent to Zambia on their release, a Government source said here today.

"Zambia has agreed to have the men. They should be released fairly soon now," the source said.

One source is adamant there are only 12 while a Ministry of Justice source insists there are 13 and the International Red Cross says there are a lot more.

The sources agreed they would be released before Independence Day, April 18.

They were arrested in the late 1960s in western Rhodesia while operating with a Zipra band.

(11A)

Gatsha will speak in Soweto

By PATRICK LAURANCE
 THE President of Inkhata and
 Chief Minister of KwaZulu,
 Chief Gatsha Buthelesi, arrives
 in Johannesburg today for
 weekend rallies in the East
 Rand and Soweto.

Political observers anticipate
 that he may announce Inkhata's
 decision on whether to partici-
 pate in community council
 elections in Durban and its sur-
 roundings in the Rand.
 The issue for the Soweto
 Council was decided last year and
 Inkhata is generally thought to
 support control of the council
 should it decide to put an applica-
 tion. Soweto is widely regard-
 ed as a pivotal area of national
 importance.

As Tembani and KwaMashu,
 near Durban, with a combined
 population of at least 200,000,
 fall within the boundaries of
 KwaZulu, Inkhata already exer-
 cises control over two key
 Rand townships.

Chief Buthelesi will talk at
 Morningside, near Parkburg, at
 10 a.m. on Saturday. He will report
 his annual report back to
 Soweto on Saturday. Another
 rally is planned for Sunday at Hillbrow.

An official Buthelesi usually
 gives a résumé of his activities
 since his last report back, he is
 likely to give an account of his
 meeting with leaders of the
 African National Congress in
 London late last year. He may
 include an account of his dis-
 cussion meeting with the Prime
 Minister, Mr. J. W. Botha.

Chief Buthelesi has been active
 in South Africa, while ex-Minister
 Buthelesi has been active in Inkhata
 meetings with the leadership of the
 African National Congress in
 London in 1976. He will be a
 guest speaker at the Soweto
 Council election last month.

Chief Buthelesi was in
 London to meet Mr. Robert Moya-
 lata.

Given the importance of Mr.
 Buthelesi's history to the South-
 ern African and the interest
 shown by South Africans in
 general in Tembani, which
 formerly has been an independ-
 ent country, it is likely that
 the Inkhata will be invited
 to speak at the 27th anniversary
 of the two meetings.

Buthelezi ready to join PM's committee

STAR
12/14/80
11K

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is prepared to join Mr P W Botha's proposed committee of black leaders with the aim of defining black attitudes for change in South Africa.

Speaking at Boksburg's Vosloorus Stadium today, Chief Buthelezi, president

of the Inkatha movement and chairman of the South African Black Alliance, said he had come to the East Rand for a mandate on whether to accept or reject the Prime Minister's invitation.

Two fundamental questions had to be answered before he could decide: would Mr Botha's move enable blacks to act demo-

cratically within the national interest, and would such a committee hasten the formation of a national convention, which was necessary for a return to democracy in South Africa?

"Those who adopt a total non-co-operative stance towards the Government are living in a fool's paradise," Chief Buthelezi said.

... (Info) X
... Buthelezi

and

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and Government as long as Government
 spending (G) = taxes (T) the economy
 would be in equilibrium as long as
 exports would tend to balance and
 after that and then would be insignificant
 these assumptions are not actually
 sound the most delicate assumption
 being that savings and investment
 are related. Empirical evidence
 tends to suggest that in Keynesian
 theory, savings and investment are
 determined by different people for different
 reasons.
 A consequence of classical theory
 is that the current fiscal policy is
 to have a balanced budget or
 the economy tends to equilibrium
 anyway. One of the reasons for this
 is that the wage rate is subject
 to normal laws of supply and demand
 and falls when the economy is

Natal is ideal, says Buthelezi

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday said that Natal was "ideally placed" for a proposed pilot multiracial commission which would consider the political future of the province within the context of one South Africa.

Speaking at the annual KwaZulu Legislative Assembly prayer breakfast in Durban, he said: "We in Natal are in a sense the most cosmopolitan region of South Africa, which is ideal for a pilot project in good human relationships and also for gearing attitudes towards one common destiny for all South Africans."

"I ask for your prayers as I put to the assembly a proposal this month for the appointment of a commission comprising representatives of the white community of Natal, and selected experts of all races, to consider the political future of Natal within the context of one South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi also asked for prayers for the white community of Natal not to adopt "intransigent stances" if and when such a plan was placed

before them.

Earlier, welcoming Mr P W Botha's initiatives, Chief Buthelezi said the Prime Minister's visits to urban and rural black areas were long overdue.

Chief Buthelezi also reaffirmed black opposition to independent homelands, a stance that he made clear during Mr Botha's visit to Ulundi last year.

"It is clear to me, as I have always maintained, that a just solution to our difficulty will involve nothing less than a full part in the Government and decision-making processes of this country and a full place as citizens of this land, for all its people."

Referring to the political changes in Rhodesia, Chief Buthelezi said his knowledge of the Prime Minister-elect, Mr Robert Mugabe, encouraged him to expect that under his leadership the country would go from strength to strength.

"Take my assurance that there is nothing to fear about the future of Zimbabwe, so long as our brother Robert Mugabe holds the reins in that land." — Sapa.

11A
12/9/80

11A

Banned
Pebco
man now
hawk
to make
a living

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(11A)
12/4/80
Argus



Weekend Argus
Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Banned black civic leader Mr Thozamile Botha has been forced to become a vegetable hawkker to make a living.

This follows official refusal to relax his three-year banning order to allow him to work at his old firm, the Ford Motor Company, as a trainee draughtsman.

Mr Botha, former leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), was banned in February immediately after his release from detention.

TERRORISM

A series of events starting with his becoming chairman of Pebco led to his detention for nearly six weeks under the General Law Amendment Act and later under the

MR Thozamile Botha, hawking vegetables for a living.

Terrorism Act and his subsequent restriction.

At the end of last year his resignation from Ford Motor Company sparked off a spate of strikes at the company.

TURN DOWN

Mr Botha resigned because of a clash between his work at Ford and his involvement in Pebco.

The company wanted to take back Mr Botha. But the Chief Magistrate, Mr C B van Zyl, turned down this application for a relaxation of his banning order.

Mr Botha has taught here before going to Ford.

Mrs Eezeka Botha said her husband had started two weeks ago to sell fresh vegetables on a pavement in Veeplaas.

FOOD

She said so far it had not proved too successful although many people bought because they knew her husband's plight.

Until now they had to rely to a large extent on their in-laws for food, she said.

Her husband had been out of work since October last year. They had a four-year-old child to feed and debts to settle.

Soweto
5-7 AR 11/4/80

election:

107 (11A) 23

Inkatha
may stand

By Derrick Thema

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, whose membership is believed to exceed 300 000, is likely to take part in the Soweto Community Council elections later this year.

Chief Buthelezi said it was necessary to use existing civic organisations to turn the tables against the Government.

"There is no principle involved in participating in such elections and I am for my Soweto branch taking part but then, the final decision will have to come from them," he said.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister also rejected Prime Minister P W Botha's idea of a constellation of states if it were based on a confederal formula.

REJECTED

"If this is the position, I will not touch it with a bargepole because it will mean opting for independence, which I have vehemently rejected because it will entail the fragmentation of the country," he said.

He said that although he was prepared to continue talking with the Government, he would not be party to implementing its sectarian policies of apartheid.

Chief Buthelezi, who arrived in Johannesburg today for rallies in Vosloorus tomorrow and Soweto on Sunday, said that he would be speaking on the challenges of the black liberation struggle and the strategies for liberation, 20 years after Sharpeville and five days before Zimbabwe's independence celebrations.

Lecture Two

Lecture Three

NOTE: Additional films related to this course will be screened each afternoon at 5.30 p.m. It is advisable to see as many of these as possible. Fee: 50c per session. The programme will be available in the final Summer School programme.

The organisers may change some of the film material listed above, depending on what is available from abroad.

section, consisting of 5 films and 5 lectures, will be van Zyl of Witwatersrand University who recently U.S.A. studying ethnographic film. The cinémas presented by Mr Freddy Ogterop of the Provincial of the most knowledgeable experts in this field. comprises carefully selected films and lectures up-to-date information available in this exciting

M:

one society to another may be regarded as an film which reveals the texture of human life on as the appearance of a people and their surroundings, e quality of their interpersonal relationships, the and their values, is not only a valuable historical cases society's knowledge of the present. There is, of this kind of film material in South Africa. some of the strategies and problems involved in

he need for context. Film: *The Nuer* (70 min.)

hole acts. Film: *Rivers of Sand* (88 min.)

istory as it happens. Film: *Chulas Fronteras*

(9 min.)

ackyard Ethnography. Film: *Daguerrotypes*

(8 min.)

ve local scene. Film: *Bushmen of the Kalahari*

(10 min.)

3 a selection of local films

inéma-vérité, or direct cinema, as a modern that is, recording life as it is lived by means of tural sound. It was, interestingly, a film style developments and then evolved into a social e to documentary film-making; the phrase was Rouch and Edgar Morin's *Chronique d'un* plied to many films that employed the tech- subscribing to the philosophy. The first 2 xplore the idea of cinéma-vérité as it emerged United States and the third will discuss possible ecent development, the committed, local-issue

observer: The fly-on-the-wall approach

Film: *Chiefs* (20 min.) or *A happy Mother's*

Day (26 min.) *Running fence* (57 min.)

The catalyst: Acknowledging one's presence

Film: *The moontrap* (84 min.)

The militant: Fighting the good fight

Film: *It's ours whatever they say* (39 min.)

Bid to heal black feud

Tribune Reporter

SAN. TRIB. 13/4/80 -

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DR NTHATO Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten would like to see an end to the exchange of insults between himself and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

"I regret having used the word traitor about Chief Buthelezi. At the time I tried to have my remarks withheld from print but this was impossible."

Dr Motlana said he understood from private sources that the KwaZulu leader was also anxious to "purify the atmosphere between us."

"There are fundamental differences between us but this does not mean it is necessary to use such words."

Relations between the leaders reached perhaps their lowest point in October last year when Dr Motlana called Chief Buthelezi a traitor at a public meeting, provoking a series of angry retorts from the chief and other officials of Inkatha, the Zulu cultural liberation movement.

Dr Motlana was rebuking Chief Buthelezi for a speech in which he said that Inkatha had strengthened its ties with the banned African National Congress.

In turn Dr Motlana was called a "political baby," and opportunist seeking personal prominence on the backs of suffering blacks and over bodies of dead children, and was accused of despising workers and peasants.

Asked if the easing of tension meant the two black leaders might meet, Dr Motlana said no meeting was planned.

"First the atmosphere between us must be purified. This can only be done if we desist from insulting each other. Those who oppose the Government should not be seen to be fighting each other."

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi said in Durban this week that there was nothing to fear about Zimbabwe's future so long as Prime Minister Robert Mugabe held the reins there.

Speaking at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's annual prayer breakfast, the Inkatha leader cautioned his audience against being misled by cynics to whom the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe meant only violence, pillage and suffering.

"True enough, these tragic happenings have been the price paid in Zimbabwe which we in this country can avoid paying, not by intransigence, but by doing what is right in the eyes of God and man at the right time."

some owner's personal profit. and public property for public. ing the boat owner's rights. saga opens with the public party

atch—or maybe the best kind e how to use the boat so as or who thought he knew bet- no was more optimistic about e for sale it would be bought ou can probably conjecture on regardless of the fortunes on h, which they could always ther hand, they are always pectedly bad future. As em- who use the boat avoid being- g short-term rental arrange- r price to take all that into rship, because the new buyer future change—not even by

ing enough (or the boon of catching more than enough) fish to pay for the day's rent and have at least four fish. If the boat owner hires the fishermen, he (the employer) bears the risk for the day on which he has guaranteed the fishermen at least four fish. Why do we emphasize "day"? To see, look again at the rental case: The rent set the following day for use of the boat will be adjusted to match the expected net catch. If the rent is set per day, the fishermen lose only one day's error in estimated catch. But the boat owner will suffer or enjoy the entire future projected changes in catch, as profits or losses in the value of his boat. The boat owner cannot

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In the latter case, he must pay them four plus a
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the situation could be described differ-

ing, yet for the rent?
detail later.
socialist countries and will be examined in more
vate ownership of firms is dominant in most non-
property separate from those conditions. Pri-
to the boat, and (b) I can't see the receipts. A private-
end (b) he is allowed to charge a price for access
is used, that is, how many are allowed on board,

222 19

We smashed the Great Nat Dream — Buthelezi

Tribune Reporter

THE National Party no longer believed in its vision of apartheid, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday.

"It has abandoned that belief.

"Even if it tries to persist in its apartheid ways, the soul of the Afrikaner is having to face the dilemma of change or die.

"That is not our dilemma. We don't envisage dying because of change. We can only die for change."

The Inkatha leader was addressing a rally at Boksburg's Vosloorus Stadium.



BUTHELEZI

He said Pretoria's dream of a constellation of independent homelands being satellites to a powerful whites-only economy was already destroyed.

"It is no longer possible; it is finished."

Inkatha was a living symbol of the fact that blacks could hold each others' hands in solidarity despite harassment and persecution. It was an indestructible element of the South African political scene.

It had defeated the Verwoerdian dreams of independent homelands.

Chief Buthelezi said the people faced the "stark reality" of joining either the

armed struggle or the political struggle.

"If you struggle in this country, your duty is to join the democratic struggle which wages a political war which will ensure victory."

He said he was disgusted with the tendency among some blacks and many white liberals to erode the black man's will to fight a democratic battle by lauding the cause of violence.

The struggle for liberation in South Africa was as much a struggle to liberate blacks.

"Whether whites like it or not, they are going to be saved by us. Our respon-

sibility is to establish the standards of civilisation in South Africa. White political barbarism has failed dismally."

Logistically, the reconstruction of South Africa was impossible without whites.

"Logistics taken a step further dictate that you can just simply forget about overthrowing the white government militarily and driving them into the sea.

"Such attempts can only create a terrible wasteland of human stupidity and bring about a new shame for the rest of mankind."

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have

earned on shore. As long as another crew member would yield a marginal product on the boat in excess of the four he could catch on shore, he would offer to pay the boat owner some part of that excess of the marginal product over his shore catch for the right to fish on board. Competition for the right to fish on board would bid up the offers to transfer essentially all that excess to owners of the boat. When five people are on board, the marginal product on the boat equals the marginal product on shore. The gain, obtained by the owner, is the shaded area out to where the two marginal products are equal. The total payment to the owner is at a maximum when the number of fishermen on board gives a marginal catch on board just equal to the marginal catch on shore.

If six had been on board, the marginal on-board catch would be two, but four fish from shore are sacrificed with a net social loss of two fish. The fee from each would be at most 2 (= 6 - 4), the per capita average on board minus what could be caught on shore). That difference—the fee he could charge—from six people is 12 (= 6 x 2), and is less than the 14 with four (or five) people on board. So the boat owner would refuse six on board. Under the present private-property arrangements, five at most are allowed on board; the community catch of fish is maximized, with all the gain going to the boat owner by people's competitive bidding to get on board. The social total is 40 1/4 fish. (Remember there are 1000 people fishing, either from shore [995] or on board [5].)

What is pertinent in this example is that five fishermen on board is the number that maximizes the social total. That is achievable only if: (a) someone has the right to determine how the boat

Use the COUNCILS, urges

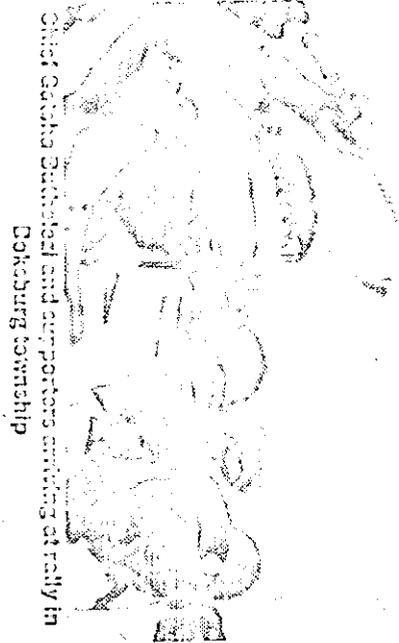
Buthelezi

By EUGENE HUGO

INKATINA president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday called on South African blacks to use the system of community councils to their own advantage in the liberation struggle.

His remarks, and across the views of most urban black leaders, especially in those who have tended to brand those who take part in community councils as "sell-outs".

Speaking last night at an Inkatha meeting at a party into community council elections in various parts of the country, Chief Buthelezi stressed that the black liberation struggle should be conducted by democratic means.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and supporters standing at rally in Doka-burg township

Addressing about 5,000 people at an Inkatha rally in Doka-burg's Madonana township, the KwaZulu leader said people

of our saga opens with the public fiscaling the boat owners' rights. declared public property for public. than some owner's personal profit.

It were for sale it would be bought on who was more optimistic about catch, or who thought he knew best. no also how to use the boat so as not catch—or maybe the best kind at Property

structures of division are required to implement a unit by... He could also see no reason why community councils established by members of the South African Black Alliance.

"I see no reason why we should not evolve national structures linking our cities and our towns and our villages into a coherent disciplined whole..."

"It is imperative that we evolve political patterns and evolve political machinery which gives every black South African a constructive role to play in determining apartheid forever," said Chief Buthelezi. Nonviolent methods at blacks' disposal had not yet been exhausted.

"We as blacks have not yet even begun to use our work or our consumer power..."

ECONOMY

Although he understood that at some time in the future there may be a need for an armed struggle, the black people of South Africa would do everything human, and perhaps even more than human, to avoid it.

Battle lines drawn by whites over the decades were crumbling one at a time. Whites came to treat blacks as barbarians only to find that after 70 years the total economy rested on their shoulders.

The National Party was losing its granite like edifice and

resembling into disarray the same while skulls had been cracked as they bashed their heads against reality... "If we honour democracy we must establish constitutions and if we cannot establish viable constitutions, then we must shut up and let others who can get on with the job..."

"We said blacks had only two choices:
○ To join the armed struggle...
○ To fight a democratic battle at home. Blacks and white liberals who perch pooled everything but the armed struggle had been not the girls to support it ver badly, let alone support it by crossing the borders for training, had to now shut up."

"The time has come to stand up and be counted. We must all be counted either as somebody within the armed struggle or somebody within the democratic struggle..."

Those who gave an "exclusive heroism" to people involved in violence were there than stupid. They were "bunches of crows."

And he posed the question whether Mr P. W. Botha's invitation to black leaders to serve on his committee to draw up a statement of intent was not a step towards such a convention... "Let me say quite bluntly that those who adopt a total noncooperative stance towards the South African Government are living in a fool's paradise."

Report by Eugene Hugo 1/11 Main Street Johannesburg

Promises, promises - but still no action from Govt

By PHIL MTIMKULU

BLACKS do not take seriously the promises made last year by Cabinet Ministers about moving away from discrimination, but nevertheless keenly followed the parliamentary session.

It has always been argued that once an announcement by a Cabinet Minister is not followed by a Bill passed in Parliament, nothing will come of it. This is the reason why blacks who take an interest in Parliament followed the current session which will reconvene this week after adjourning for the Easter holidays.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, was not optimistic that something good would come of the current parliamentary session.

He said the duty of the National Party was to safeguard the interests of the whites and this they were doing faithfully. He said he was not surprised by the Prime Minister in the no-confidence debate.

With the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, showing the way, the Nationalists attacked some aspects of separate development. Dr Koornhof was even bold enough to declare that apartheid was dead, while Mr P W Botha was critical of the



Dr Nthato Motlana

Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act.

These are the cornerstones of separate development.

Speaking in the no-confidence debate, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, the Leader of the Opposition, urged the Government to spell out what it intended to do about the sex-across-the-colour-line clause of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

He said the present session of Parliament was the time for Mr Botha to prove his mettle and political credibility. He urged the Government to set up an anti-discrimination advisory board to advise the Government on how best to do away with apartheid.

Replying to criticism by Dr Slabbert that he had created expectations and had made promises which must now be fulfilled, Mr Botha said he had not created expectations, but had,

in fact, fulfilled a promise.

So far there has been no indication from Parliament that the Government intends to act boldly. The euphoria which followed the announcements has now been overtaken by despair — even by those who are optimistic of the Government's good intentions.

On the other hand, a Squatters Prevention Bill was pushed through. The Bill empowers the Government to force local authorities to demolish squatter shacks outside their areas of jurisdiction and on private ground by arbitrarily extending their areas of jurisdiction.

A parliamentary correspondent, writing about the Prime Minister's speech, said perhaps the lesson was that a Nationalist Prime Minister remained a Nationalist Prime Minister whatever the demands of the situation and whatever he personally felt.

This goes for all Nationalist Party MPs — and particularly for Dr Koornhof who was forced to withdraw the experimental scrapping of the 72-hour influx control regulation.

LEARNING POST

The men
behind the
slave trade



Gatsha says ANC achieved little

SOWETO — Twenty years of armed struggle by the African National Congress had achieved little and had not set the stage for the sudden overthrow of the South African Government in the next decade, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Addressing a huge crowd, the Inkatha president urged blacks to adopt a multi-faceted strategy to bring concerted political pressure to bear to force the authorities to hold a national convention.

He disclosed that an attempt had been made two years ago to dissuade him from getting involved in the "democratic struggle at home" on the grounds it detracted from the ANC's armed struggle.

"I remember refusing aid which Inkatha was promised if it recognised that position . . . when I see the infiltrations of the Security Branch in those very circles, I thank God that I stood firm and refused assistance on those terms."

Political institutions, including homeland legislative assemblies and township community councils, should be used at both regional and local level in the multi-strategy campaign, he said.

Blacks had potential power as workers and consumers. The economy was dependent on black workers and black consumers had the ability to destroy vast companies.

"These are strategies we as blacks have not yet employed. They are viable strategies which will get the liberation struggle off the ground if one gets rid of the infighting within the black leadership."

"Those who give an exclusive heroism to people involved in violence are more than stupid. They are treacherous. What is more, they are moral cowards."

He said he wondered whether those engaged in the campaign to free ANC leader Nelson Mandela were sincere.

As far as he was concerned, Mandela was one of South Africa's many black leaders — but not the only authentic black leader in the country.

"I would be prepared to throw my weight behind Mandela only after the black masses had given him unequalled leadership support and not because some newspapers say so," he said. — DDC-SAPA

opens with the public
boat owners' rights.
public property for public
owner's personal profit.

sale it would be bought
more optimistic about
thought he knew bet-
to use the boat so as
or maybe the best kind

ing enough (or the boon of catching more than
at least four fish. If the boat owner hires the
fishermen, he (the employer) bears the risk for
the day on which he has guaranteed the fisher-
men at least four fish. Why do we emphasize
"day"? To see, look again at the rental case: The
rent set the following day for use of the boat will
be adjusted to match the expected net catch. If
the rent is set per day, the fishermen lose only
one day's error in estimated catch. But the boat
owner will suffer or enjoy the entire future pro-
jected changes in catch, as profits or losses in-
flected changes in catch. The boat owner cannot
the value of his boat. The boat owner cannot
escape projected future change—not even by
selling off his ownership, because the new buyer
will adjust his offer price to take all that into
account. By making short-term rental arrange-
ments, the renter who use the boat avoid being
stuck with an unexpectedly bad future. As em-
ployees, on the other hand, they are always
guaranteed four fish, which they could always
catch from shore, regardless of the fortunes on
... deep. You can probably conjecture

The same situation could be described differ-
ently. Instead of saying fishermen rent the boat,
we could say the boat owner hires the fishermen.
In the latter case, he must pay them four plus a
margin of fish each to fish on his boat while
he keeps the total catch, minus those wages. Of
a total catch of 31 fish with five people, each is
paid four fish, a total wages bill of 20 fish, leav-
ing him 11 fish. There is no difference in this ex-
ample between fishermen renting the boat or the
boat owner hiring fishermen as employees!
Is there, then, no difference between Macy's
hiring clerks as employees or the clerks renting

Employees or Managers?

is used, that is, how many are allowed on board,
and (b) he is allowed to charge a price for access
to the boat, and (c) keep the receipts. A private-
property arrangement permits those conditions. Pri-
vate ownership of firms is dominant in most non-
socialist countries and will be examined in more
detail later.

Macy's building and
(and inventory-use or
the total daily sales—
same income in either
there is certainly ab-
But someone must
mistaken estimates
make a difference.
tant point is the ider
methods, renting ar
about performance.
Uncertainty about
duces a major dil
boat, renters bear

Azapo's Soweto branch endorses Nkondo suspension

11/17
Bost
1/16/80

By LEN KALANE

THE Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has endorsed the suspension of Mr Curtis Nkondo as president of the organisation.

Mr Nkondo was suspended as president of Azapo in January by his national council for allegedly violating policy and protocol.

About 50 members of the organisation heard yesterday at a meeting at the Swiss Mission in Chiawelo of the events that led to Mr Nkondo's suspen-

sion. The meeting unanimously endorsed the suspension. The meeting resolved the suspension was legitimate and constitutional.

A motion was also passed at the meeting to have Azapo start labour committees. These committees will look into the problems of workers.

The committees will hold labour seminars, conduct clinics, study the economic situation, the Rieker and Wiehahn Commission reports. They will also study the Manpower Utilisation Commission results.

Azapo will also involve itself in sport and recognise the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) as a relevant body.

In education, Azapo will forge relations with Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (Tuata). A committee will investigate the pre-

sent education structure.

The Soweto branch introduced membership cards for a fee of R3,00 for adults and R1,00 for scholars. A report on the progress of sub-branches was also detailed at the meeting.

The sub-branches are: Jabulani (chairman, S Mcnano), Chiawelo (chairman, Richard Skele), Mofolo (chairman Mr Thabo Ndabeni), Klipspruit (chairman, Mr Tebogo Mngomezulu), Rockville (chairman S Yende).



Mr Curtis Nkondo . . . suspended president of Azapo.

Mandate on councils

15 000 say No

Post 14/7/80
11/8

By KINGDOM LOLWANE

AN estimated crowd of 15 000 yesterday told the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, not to serve on Premier Botha's committee to draw up a "declaration of intent" on the political future.

The crowd at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto roared its disapproval when he asked if he should serve on the committee or not.

The rally was also attended by representatives of the Labour Party — a member of the Black Alliance — including its new Transvaal leader, Mr Sam Solomon.

It was the end of Chief Buthelezi's two-day visit to the Reef. On Saturday he addressed a

crowd of about 6 000 in Boksburg.

"I have come to you for a mandate," Chief Buthelezi said. "You as a community here have a God-given right to say yes or no to Mr Botha.

"I told Mr Botha that I could not agree to serve on his committee to draw up a statement of intent before I consulted you. Mr Botha wanted to use that statement of intent to author the future in your name," Chief Buthelezi added.

He said he felt it an honour to be rejected by newspapers. There was speculation which received good coverage in newspapers — both locally and internationally — that Mr Robert Mugabe would loose the elections in Zimbabwe. But this speculation was proved incorrect.

Referring to the Writers Association of South Africa he said they were not his enemy.

"If they were my enemy then they would be the enemy of the people. They should not destroy black solidarity.

With him was Inkatha's Publicity Secretary, Mr Gibson Thula, Mrs Rheina Steinweek — a member of one of Holland's political parties — and other Inkatha representatives.

He later visited the Dube Memorial Chapel at the invitation of the caretaker, Mr Frans Kodi who is also a Soweto councillor.

At the Chapel Mr Kodi pledged solidarity with Inkatha and later announced that he was joining the movement.

"Azapo and other black movements are my brothers since we are faced by a common enemy — Pretoria," he said.

On the Free Mandela Campaign, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela should be released on the pronouncement of people and not newspapers.

On his arrival in Soweto yesterday morning, Chief Buthelezi attended a church service at the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West.

With him was Inkatha's Publicity Secretary, Mr Gibson Thula, Mrs Rheina Steinweek — a member of one of Holland's polit-

14/4/80

(11A) Argus

THE ARGUS, MOND

Black power will win, says Buthelezi

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The strength of the South African army did not concern him, because it could not inhibit the growth of black power, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, told more than 16 000 supporters in Soweto yesterday.

He was speaking at the Jabulani amphitheatre, the venue for his annual Inkatha rallies.

He said the Army would never prevail against black power, which in the end would achieve victory.

'It does not ultimately matter what the white man does, because

victory is ours. Ours is the responsibility of exercising power, not groping for it as though we did not have power.

'Black power is in our hands, and all that remains is for us to employ it. We will only employ it if the fratricidal strifes cease forthwith at leadership level.'

NOT THE MASSES

Chief Buthelezi said it was not the masses who traded insults but people bent on positions of eminence among the leadership.

'Those who present white terror as necessitating violent action, and violent action only, insult you

and the crucial role you have to play in reconstructing South Africa.'

The ordinary people carried the yoke and burden that had made the final implementation of apartheid impossible.

'Mr Botha's dream of a constellation of states is a non-starter if he does not start by abandoning apartheid. No black state worth its salt can soil its hands with any relationship with Mr Botha's constellation if apartheid remains South Africa's policy,' Chief Buthelezi said.

'I believe the time will come

when civic action will be joined with labour action and consumer-group action to produce a viable political front which will in the end dictate events and bring South Africa to a point where there is no recourse but to hold a national convention and discuss formulae for power-sharing.'

Chief Buthelezi denied a report in a Sunday newspaper that he would serve on a committee envisaged by the Prime Minister as the basis of a constellation of states.

The crowd roared 'No!' when he asked if he should serve on it.

L.T. 1814/80

Azapo pass worker motion

SOWETO. — The Azania People's Organization yesterday passed a motion that the organization launch a labour committee to take care of all workers' problems.

The Azapo branch meeting was held at the Swiss mission church in Chiawelo here yesterday. The organization elected a five-person committee on labour to study the economic situation and the reports of the Riekert and Wiehahn commissions.

The labour committee would also organize labour seminars and conduct clinics in Soweto.

The Soweto branch chairman, Mr O Molefe, told the meeting that the Azapo council's last meeting noted that immediately after the 1976 disturbances, many Soweto parents registered their children at white schools. — Sapa

oor spesifieke

ondersoek oor

beide in die openbare en privaat sektore; footie vir ad hoc

aan navraers wat nie primêre finansierders is nie d.w.s.

vir voorsiening van data, verwerkte inligting en raadgewing

Bykomende bronne van inkomste sal bestaan uit ontvangste

en instellings wat bevoordeel kan word, sou plaas.

byeen te bring 'n minimale las op die individuele departemente

Dit is egter duidelik dat om die vereiste jaarlikse bedrag

die name stuit voor die probleem van welke om uit te sluit.

S.O.A.K. vir Wes-Kaapland. Die opstelling van 'n lys van

indirek sal baat by die aktiwiteite en bestaan van die

tusies en ondernemings in die privaat sektor wat direk en

departemente, owerheids- en ander instellings, asook insti-

deur 'n klaarblyklik baie breë deursnit van ander staats-

die Departement van Bepanning en die Omgewing, bygestaan

Die finansiering behoort hoofsaaklik gedoen te word deur

(b) Inkomstebronne

ordegroote as besonder redelik voor.

doel wat aldus nagestreef word, kom uitgawes van hierdie

trede van die S.O.A.K. en daarby meer spesifiek die primêre

hede asmede die inhoud van die voorgestelde program van op-
Inagname die omvang van betrokkenheid by streeksaangeleent-

behoefes vir die voorsienbare taak van die S.O.A.K.

R200 000 jaarliks nêg na 'n oorskakting van die fondse

begroting van om en by R100 000 per jaar; daarenteen sou

So 'n S.O.A.K. sou reeds veel kon vermag met 'n uitgawe-

Die totale uitgawe

(11M) CT: 14/4/80

Buthelezi: No survival in Africa with apartheid

SOWETO. — South African whites could not survive in Africa if they continued with their apartheid policies, the Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Speaking at a prayer meeting at Jabulani Amphitheatre, Chief Buthelezi told about 12 000 people that for the white man to safeguard his survival in this part of Africa, he would have to agree to talks with the black population at a national convention.

"The white man is terribly concerned about his survival. The world at large, neighbouring States and Africa are necessary for white South Africa. South Africa cannot have increasing access to Southern Africa and the world if it persists in its apartheid policy."

Chief Buthelezi said the Prime Minister's "dream" of a constellation of States was a "non-starter" if Mr Botha did not start by abandoning apartheid.

Referring to methods of the "liberation struggle" in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said there were two options open. One was to "join the armed struggle" and the other was to remain and fight "a democratic battle". Those who criticized him for "operating within the system" were free to cross the borders and join the armed struggle.

Referring to the campaign to free the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence, Chief Buthelezi said he wondered whether those engaged in the campaign were sincere in their efforts. His doubts stemmed from the "cavalier fashion" in which the campaign was conducted.

He said he was the first person to ask the former Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, that Mandela be released. He would continue to do this through available channels. — Sapa

Buthelezi plan 'capitulation'

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's strategy for the black liberation struggle was described as "capitulation" today by Committee of 10 member Mr Tom Manthata.

Mr Manthata was reacting to the Inkatha president's weekend call on blacks to use homeland assemblies and community councils as part of a multi-faceted strategy in the struggle for liberation.

Chief Buthelezi had said nothing creative and constructive about the need for change or the liberation struggle, said Mr Manthata.

The Inkatha president, who is also Chief Minister of kwaZulu, had not brought about any changes

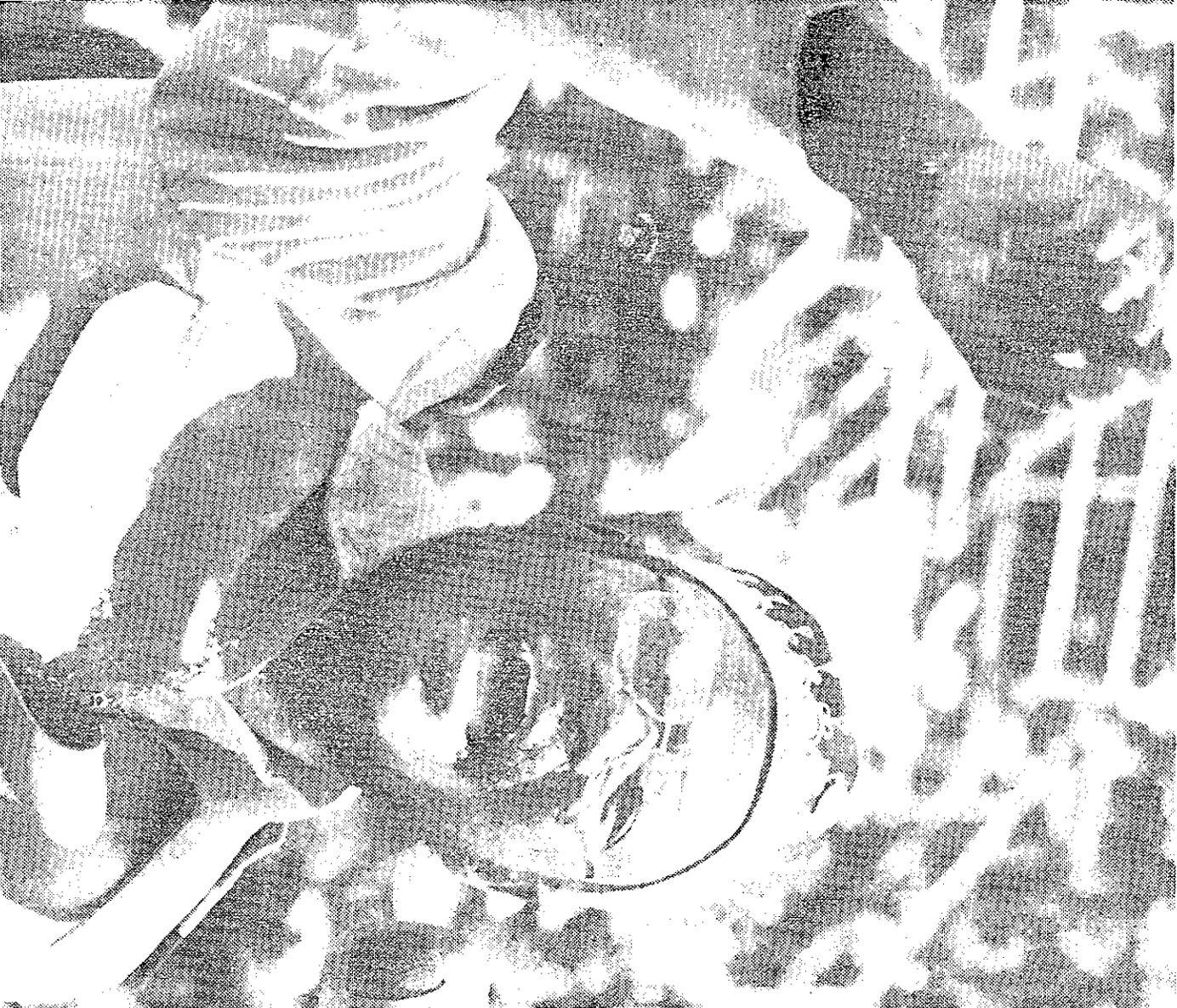
in his homeland, apart from the negative one of getting homeland citizen-certificates issued to people in kwaZulu.

Resettlements and removals were taking place in kwaZulu just as they were elsewhere in the country, said Mr Manthata.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said he agreed with Chief Buthelezi's argument that the strategy should be a multi-faceted one. He said there was no single way in which the necessary fundamental change could be brought about in South Africa.

● Page 7 : Army won't stop black power.

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the leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi speaking to the Inkatha masses at the Jabulani Amphitheatre yesterday. Picture: By Alf Kumalo.

Army won't stop growth of black power — Buthelezi

By Jan Gweleane
and Carol Mathiane

Kwa Zulu's Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi, said yesterday it did not concern him how strong the South African army was because it could not inhibit the growth of black power in the country.

Chief Buthelezi told Jabulani Amphitheatre, which has become the venue for his annual Inkatha rallies, that the army would also not prevail against black power which, in the end, would achieve victory.

"It does not ultimately matter what the white man does, because victory is ours."

"Ours is the responsibility of exercising power, not groping for it as though we did not have power."

"Black power is in our hands. All that remains is for us to employ it. We will only employ it if the fratricidal strifes at leadership level cease forthwith," he said.

"Those who present white terror as necessitating violent action and violent action only, insult you and the crucial role you have to play in reconstructing South Africa."

"It is the ordinary people who provided the sweat labour that made South Africa's economy strong," Chief Buthelezi said. "Mr Botha's dream of a

constellation of states is a non-starter if he does not start by abandoning apartheid.

"No black state worth its salt can soil its hands with any relationship with Mr Botha's constellation if apartheid remains South Africa's policy," Chief Buthelezi said.

Whites knew this and the sheer weight of black numbers would make it increasingly difficult and ultimately impossible for whites to subjugate blacks politically.

"(Whites) cannot run their firms without blacks, and to tell the truth most of them cannot run their homes without blacks. Their wives cannot even cook mihlepap."

"White dependency on blacks is total, and that dependency spells political power to blacks. Black victory in the struggle for liberation is inevitable," Chief Buthelezi said amid loud applause.

Blacks had to grasp the political and democratic struggle in South Africa with their own hands.

"At crucial times there is a tendency for people to organise themselves spontaneously but if there is one thing this country has shown, it is that there is a need for an ongoing and sustained political struggle," Chief Buthelezi said.

"I believe the time will come when civilisation will be joined with labour action and consumer group action to produce a viable political front which will, in the end, divvate events, and bring South Africa to a point where there is no recourse but to hold a national convention and discuss formulae for power sharing," Chief Buthelezi said.

Contrary to reports in a Sunday newspaper, Chief Buthelezi will not serve on the committee envisaged by the Prime Minister to be the basis of a constellation of states.

The crowd unanimously roared back a "No" to his question as to whether they would have him serve on the committee.

He angrily denounced the newspaper for "telling lies."

On Saturday, Chief Buthelezi urged people to join community councils but warned against individual enrichment.

"Community councils must be turned into the chariots which rush us into battle."

"I can see in the short and medium term, blacks pouring their strength into the community council system and so joining one council to another so that the very structure of division is turned into a mechanism of unity," he said.

11A DM 12/9/80

Azapo confirms Nkondo decision

Staff Reporter

THE Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday endorsed its national council's decision in January to suspend national president, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

The report-back meeting was held at the Swiss Mission Church in Chiawelo.

Mr Nkondo was suspended by council in Hammanskraal, four months after his unanimous election as president, for violating its policy and principles and for not respecting protocol.

The shock suspension caused an outcry from leading black consciousness organisations, which had working relations with Azapo, and led to intensive behind-closed-doors meetings and the demand by several organisations for the immediate and unconditional reinstatement of Mr Nkondo.

Some of the alleged "violations" included:

o Violating a resolution he had initiated at an Azapo congress to the effect that statements should only be made to members of the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasa) — which represents most black journalists;

o Meeting a visiting US Senator when Azapo policy was not to talk to officials of the "Western Five" countries because of their involvement in Africa;

o Making statements without reference to at least one other executive member.

The council report by Mr Popo Molefe, chairman was adopted and the branch supported the decision to suspend Mr Nkondo as legitimate and constitutional.

The meeting also supported council decision that the national congress be held in September as scheduled, and not be brought forward, as had been proposed in certain quarters.

Gatsha call for political 'onslaught'

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

TWENTY years of armed struggle by the African National Congress had achieved little and had not set the stage for the sudden overthrow of the Government in the next decade, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said in Soweto yesterday.

Addressing a huge crowd in the Jabulani Amphitheatre, the Inkatha president urged blacks to adopt a multi-faceted strategy to mount concerted political pressure to force the authorities to hold a national convention.

He disclosed that an attempt had been made two years ago to dissuade him from getting involved in the "democratic struggle at home" on the grounds that it detracted from the ANC's armed struggle.

"I remember refusing aid which Inkatha was promised if it recognised that position . . . When I see the infiltrations of the Security Branch in those very circles, I thank God that I stood firm and refused assistance on those terms."

Political institutions, including homeland legislative assemblies and township community councils, should be used in the multi-strategy campaign.

"I believe that local administration and regional administration are political fronts where blacks can participate with profit. Referring to the Soweto Council, Chief Buthelezi said: "Those who are not in favour of involvement have their democratic right to

campaign against it. But once Sowetans have established a representative council, it must be an accepted front in the black struggle for liberation."

At a rally at Vosloorus on Saturday, he said: "We are not afraid of going into battle on fronts chosen by our enemies . . ."

Blacks, he added, already had potential power as workers and consumers; the economy was dependent on black workers, and black consumers had the ability to destroy vast companies.

"These are strategies we as blacks have not yet employed. They are viable strategies which will get the liberation struggle off the ground if one gets rid of the infighting within the black leadership."

On the failure of armed struggle in the 20 years since the Sharpeville shootings and the banning of the ANC, Chief Buthelezi said: "No-one should misread my analysis as condemnation of the ANC as such."

He listed two pre-conditions for the success of armed struggle: "An enemy regime plagued by deep-rooted internal problems" and "a set of logistic and geographical circumstances which allowed armed struggle to operate from bases within the country".

Neither applied in South Africa, said Chief Buthelezi.

But he did not quarrel with those who felt compelled to wage armed struggle — only with those who advocated it to the exclusion of what he termed the "democratic opposition" within South Africa.

Street named after Mahlangu

15/4/80

(11A)

PARIS — A French industrial town, Amiens has named one of its streets after executed South African nationalist

Solomon Mahlangu. Lamps inaugurated amid further calls to the street at the week-end links between France and South Africa. Post 15/4/80 Amiens Mayor Rene

gesture as a way “through Solomon Mahlangu” of honouring the entire South African people.

He said: “The struggle against racism is part of our municipalities’ main preoccupations.”

The christening of the street was welcomed by a former prisoner of South Africa, Alexander Moumbaris, who escaped from Pretoria Central prison last December, after seven years imprisonment.

Mr Moumbaris recalled that after Mahlangu’s execution on April 6, 1979, others had taken up the struggle, such as James Mange, now under sentence of death in South Africa.

Amiens MP Maxime Gremetz used the street-naming ceremony to denounce continued French links with Pretoria, calling for an end to them in all fields, including economics and sport.

Azapo plans links with TAC, not Tuata

IN yesterday's POST it was wrongly reported that the Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) was to forge links with the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association.

Azapo is to seek links with the Teachers' Action Committee, whose chairman is Mr Curtis Nkondo, the suspended Azapo president.

May says he will not quit

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DA
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11A

Indaba Reporter

PORT ELIZABETH — Mr Wilberforce May, the expelled foundation member of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) and general secretary of the Zwide Residents Association, told Indaba he would not resign from Pebco.

He said he had been expelled because he told Pebco officials they were failing to call meetings in that it was the parent body's duty to take over the Zwide rents case instead of promising to offer financial backing if the Zwide Association took the matter to court.

He said he had also clashed with Pebco officials when he heard that they had gone to the Zwide township

superintendent. By doing this they had violated the Pebco policy of non-negotiation, Mr May said.

"I told them the rents issue was out of the hands of township superintendents and was at the level of the chief director of the East Cape Administration Board (ECAB) and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof," he said.

The Pebco president, Mr Wilson Skosana, said Mr May had caused dissension among Pebco and Zwide Residents Association members.

"The decision to expel him was taken at a full Pebco executive meeting in New Brighton last week where he undermined my association's officials", he said.

on shore) could be admitted, but that would not be more profitable for the boat owner. If their total catch is divided equally among all five fishermen, each would get 6.8 fish, which is only 2.8 more than the four each could catch on the shore. So they would each offer at most 2.8 fish for the right to be on board. With five people that again gives the owner exactly 14 fish. If you examine the table, you will see the fifth person has a marginal product of four fish, exactly what he could catch on shore. So there is no social increase by adding him, nor any loss. The rental value of the boat is, still 14 fish per day. That is exactly the maximum gain in fish that can be caught through use of the boat. Essentially, all of it is paid to the boat owner. But, of course, he is part of society.

Review again Figure 9-1, which shows the gains in output on board as more crew members are added. The constant marginal-product line of four fish indicates what each one could have

I am not prepared to open any dialogue with Mr May. As far as I am concerned this matter is closed."

The chairman of Zwide Resident's Association, Mr L. Duze said "Mr May is wrong if he thinks I went

to negotiate with board officials.

"There is a difference between negotiating and demanding to know. How is ECAB going to calculate rent deduction on the old pensioners and the unemployed?"

that excess of the marginal product over his shore catch for the right to fish on board. Competition for the right to fish on board would bid up the offers to transfer essentially all that excess to owners of the boat. When five people are on board, the marginal product on the boat equals the marginal product on shore. The gain, obtained by the owner, is the shaded area out to where the two marginal products are equal. The total payment to the owner is at a maximum when the number of fishermen on board gives a marginal catch on board just equal to the marginal catch on shore.

If six had been on board, the marginal on-board catch would be two, but four fish from shore are sacrificed with a net social loss of two fish. The fee from each would be at most 2 (= 6 - 4, the per capita average on board minus what could be caught on shore). That difference—the fee he could charge—from six people is 12 (= 6 × 2), and is less than the 14 with four (or five) people on board. So the boat owner would refuse six on board. Under the present private-property arrangements, five at most are allowed on board; the community catch of fish is maximized, with all the gain going to the boat owner by people's competitive bidding to get on board. The social total is 4014 fish. (Remember there are 1000 people fishing, either from shore [995] or on board [5].)

What is pertinent in this example is that five fishermen on board is the number that maximizes the social total. That is achievable only if: (a) someone has the right to determine how the boat

~~QUA. NO. 10~~
Silverton: 1/20
9 in court

PRETORIA — Nine self-confessed members of the banned African National Congress appeared briefly in the magistrate's court here yesterday on charges of treason, murder, attempted murder and participation in terrorist activities.

All the men pleaded not guilty.

Two charges of murder and 21 of attempted murder relate to the siege at the Volkskas Bank at Silverton on January 25 where two women were killed and 21 people held hostage. — SAPA.

Full details, page 14.



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Buthelezi's bold gamble

11A 32A

IT IS DOUBTFUL whether many whites realise how bold Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has been in committing his Inkatha movement to participating in the controversial community council system. It is a step whereby he puts himself on the line in terms of black politics — and at the same time challenges the Government more directly than it has ever been before to permit rapid and meaningful change to take place through the established political system.

Chief Buthelezi has touched the core issue of black politics with this action. The division which is cleaving the black community with great emotional intensity these days is between the pragmatists, who believe in trying to work through the existing political system for peaceful change, and the radicals who denounce this.

The radicals argue that such efforts are not only worthless but actually supportive of the Government by lending false credibility to the system. Though they do not say so openly, they presumably believe that violent struggle is the only way. And in this they have received a psychological boost from Mr Robert Mugabe's victory in Rhodesia and the annihilation of Bishop Muzorewa.

Against this Chief Buthelezi presents an argument which is impeccable in its logic. White South Africa is too powerful, he says, for armed struggle to succeed here as it did in Rhodesia: in the 20 years since it adopted a strategy of vio-

lence the ANC has achieved little. Peaceful methods stand a better chance: blacks have not yet exhausted the means at their disposal, such as using their worker and consumer power. In any case, he adds, a multi-faceted strategy makes more sense than a one-dimensional struggle.

But whatever the logic, this is a highly emotional dispute. Inkatha's entry into the community council system, especially in Soweto, is likely to polarise the black community more heatedly than ever. The power struggle for the hearts and minds of the black masses will intensify.

The point about it all is that if Inkatha enters this controversial system and fails to deliver meaningful change — if Government hesitancy and bureaucratic obduracy make that impossible — then the radical argument will gain credibility in black eyes. Chief Buthelezi will be discredited, and the whole cause of black pragmatism with him.

Chief Buthelezi's gamble, of course, is that the Government must realise this. He offers them the opportunity to give real credibility to their system and to their promises of change — with the knowledge that if they fail they will kill the cause of moderation and play into the hands of the extremists.

That becomes a huge new pressure which Chief Buthelezi has shrewdly placed upon Mr P W Botha and his Government.

Cruelty to the aged

ONCE again public attention has been rivetted on a single individual in the that long, shuffling queue of black pensioners.

The particular pensioner, Mrs Eliza Molefe, is queuing to no purpose. Her pay card has been lost, and the Commissioner of Community Development says it will be difficult to find it. Mrs Molefe has now gone unpaid since last July.

The family whose sub-tenant she is, has let her off paying her rent. That is what the township poor are doing about her problem. It is less clear what the authorities are doing. They say there are

88 000 cards to be sorted, so they seem more concerned with the administrative difficulty she poses than with her not being paid.

But then it is the pensioners, old and ill, who must get to the payout points, who must queue from before dawn if they are not to be disappointed. One payout was halted because of heavy rain, leaving the pensioners rain-soaked, empty-handed, and forced to drag their aged bones back the next week.

The Black Sash, who have been investigating the administration of black pensions, will convey their findings to Dr Koorhof. Will he, can he do anything?

ANC's plan to recruit white soldiers

THE ASSEMBLY. — The coming to power of previously unlawful organisations in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola had created an atmosphere in South Africa which strengthened the activities of undermining and revolutionary elements, the Steyn Commission reported.

The moving of key personnel of the banned South African African National Congress to Maputo had heralded increased infiltration into South Africa and action against selected targets in the country such as the bank raid in Silverton.

Terrorist activities sought to achieve the maximum psychological effect.

For that purpose terrorism relied heavily on the deliberate and non-deliberate support of the mass media.

Terrorism aimed at destroying the democratic political process and, to achieve its aim, terrorism misused democratic institutions.

In the South African situation, the media had a heavy responsibility to ensure that through their news coverage of terrorist incidents they did not promote terror and revolution.

Describing the role of the ANC in the South Africa conflict situation the commission said the movement saw itself as the only true "liberation movement" in South Africa. It was supported in that view by several foreign pressure groups.

Mr Joe Slovo, a key figure in the revolutionary council of the ANC and the South African Communist party, had recently sent a number of youths back to South Africa with the instruction that it was not merely enough to die for the revolution: they also had to kill for the revolution.

One of the ANC-SACP's major supporting organisations was the International University Exchange Fund which openly aided terrorist movements in SWA/Namibia and South Africa.

The IUEF also provided financial aid to organisations inside South Africa on the approval of the ANC.

The banned Black Peoples' Convention and the South African Students' Organisation received aid from the IUEF to send people to Nigeria for military training.

Membership of the ANC was not limited to blacks, it also had a number of white members in South Africa.

The ANC recently issued an instruction that fully-trained white National Servicemen should be canvassed for membership of the ANC.

It had also ordered its members to infiltrate the Southern Cross Fund and succeeded in infiltrating the International Red Cross.

Through the IUEF contributions were made to the Committee for South African War Resistance which had as its objective to exhort South African youths to evade military training. — Sapa.

ANC's plan to recruit white soldiers

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Black nationalism 'is underplayed'

(11A) COM 15/4/80.

THE ASSEMBLY. — Black nationalism was often underplayed in South African politics, the commission report said.

Political thinking among non-whites ranged from that which found expression in the existing framework to outspoken black nationalism and the more radical "majorityists."

The radicals canvassed support from young black radical "students" and strove to promote black nationalism and black consciousness for the radical cause.

"Black nationalism is a factor which is often underplayed in South African politics.

This is an essential factor which will have to be taken into account."

It could be expected that the forces of nationalism would seek aid from any foreign source to promote their political aims unless an acceptable political solution was offered.

The commission reported that the policy statements of Rhodesian Prime Minister designate Mr Robert Mugabe about South Africa seemed promising at first glance.

"But a period of consolidation will now follow and his policy directions would crystallise only after that." — Sapa.

'Guilt no reason for chopping off heads'

RDM 16/4/80

11A 331 220



DR FREDRIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT
... we can't ignore black leaders



MR C R SWART
... justified pardon to prisoners

Political Staff
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Nationalist Minister of Justice in 1948 and South Africa's first State President. Mr C R Swart, said a man's head could simply not be chopped off because he was guilty of high treason.

He made this statement on September 9, 1948 when justifying his Government's decision to grant pardon to political prisoners sentenced during the Second World War.

Yesterday his words were recalled in the House by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, when he replied to the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, who had attacked the "Free Mandela" campaign.

Mr Swart, replying to Opposition criticisms about the Government's decision to release Robey Leibrandt, who had been convicted of high treason and who was under sentence of death, said then:

"We have two races in the country and things have happened which stirred up bad blood, and which caused us to take the field against each other.

"Always afterwards, the position was that mercy had to be shown and that things had to be done in order to calm down feelings, and it was done.

"One example which we have always reminded of is that of Dr Jameson and the raid into the Transvaal in 1896. Is there anyone in South Africa who regrets that mercy was shown to him?

"Did President Kruger not put a wonderful example to South Africa that we should not bear any hatred towards each other? Did he not set the example that we should not at the first opportunity chop each other's heads off?

"In the war of 1899-1902 there was a rebellion. No one less than the Hon Leader of the Opposition (then General Jan Smuts) crossed the borders of the Cape Province and induced people to commit high treason. He persuaded them to commit high treason against their Gov-

ernment and their Queen. Does anyone blame him for that today?

"In the war of 1914-1918 there was also high treason in South Africa. Men took the field with arms and there were fights between them.

"After the war and during that war, those men were convicted of high treason and put into jail.

"Subsequently, those men who had been convicted of high treason sat with the present Prime Minister on these benches — sat with him in the same Cabinet. Did he and his government regret that they had shown mercy?

"One of those men who had been found guilty of high treason was appointed by the Hon Leader of the Opposition and his government to act as administrator of the Transvaal.

"I mention these things to show that in our country one cannot so lightly shout that a man's head should be chopped off because he is guilty of high treason," Mr Swart said.

Continuing his speech, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said that today, peace in South Africa depended on negotiation between whites and the true leaders of other population groups.

"The most important thing is for us to find a constitutional dispensation acceptable to all the people in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said it was the Government's responsibility to determine the extent of Mandela's representative leadership.

South Africa faced the dilemma of survival politics and the campaign to release the convicted ANC leader had nothing to do with the Progressive Federal Party. Any member taking part in the campaign did so in a personal capacity, Dr Slabbert said.

Differences of opinion existed within the party on the issue, but those had been discussed openly and the PFP was not maintaining a merely cosmetic unity, as had been alleged, because the matter did not involve any fundamental principles.

"The PFP has never said, nor has any of its members said, that Mandela is the only black leader of importance in South Africa. There are numerous truly representative black leaders and they must be found.

"It is possible that Mandela is one of the most important and we should not close our eyes to that."

The possibility of effecting peaceful change would be diminished if truly representative black leaders were ignored.

Dr Slabbert noted that it was general international practice to review cases of political detainees from time to time and to release political prisoners.

A judicial commission could be appointed to review such cases in South Africa, and he believed that Mandela should not be singled out.

He then turned again to the fact that the National Party

had itself released from prison people convicted of treason in an effort to affect a climate of reconciliation between divided white South Africans.

More recently, the South African Government, through the Administrator-General of SWA, had offered total amnesty to any Swapo terrorists who laid down their arms, and had also encouraged the release of Mr Joshua Nkomo, the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole and Mr Robert Mugabe from detention in Rhodesia to negotiate that country's future with its white Government.

The steps had been taken to try to de-escalate violence in SWA and Rhodesia and while South Africa differed from those countries, it also was fighting terrorism and had political detainees.

"This Government has encouraged the governments of the other two to involve communists in negotiations. I say we must find ways for peaceful negotiation towards a dispensation acceptable to all our people."

South Africa was involved in a struggle for survival and the PFP was committed to holding a national convention of all representative leaders who rejected violence.

If the Government found that Mandela represented a majority of blacks, it should ascertain whether he was prepared to reject violence.

Dr Slabbert rejected "with contempt" a suggestion that his

party supported terrorism. By releasing Mandela or other political prisoners, the Government would not necessarily indicate support of communism, but rather an intention to end violence.

South Africa should not look to the police to solve the problem of terrorism on their own.

"The Defence Force tells us the solution to terrorism is 80% political."

Parliament should enter into a debate of survival. It should take a realistic look at the situation and consider methods to prevent the country from being caught up in violence such as had happened in Rhodesia.

The most outstanding symbol of constitutional bankruptcy was the new Coloured Persons Council.

The disbanded Coloured Persons Representative Council had failed because the Government wanted to negotiate with coloured leaders on its own preconditions. If those conditions proved unacceptable to other leaders, "then we say we will decide to whom we will talk".

Such a recipe led to conflict.

The PFP would not deviate from its standpoint that peaceful constitutional development depended on negotiations between whites and the representative leaders of other groups, Dr Slabbert said

BACHELOR OF BUSINESS

STAR 16/4/80 (11A) (22C) (327)

Test black opinion—PFP

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — It was the responsibility of the Government to determine the nature and extent of the leadership of Nelson Mandela, the former ANC leader, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Dr Slabbert was replying to a speech by the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, during the second reading debate on the Budget in which he criticised Dr Slabbert for his stand on the campaign to release Mandela.

Dr Slabbert's speech was frequently interrupted by a barrage of interjections and he had to resume his seat on several occasions as the Speaker appealed to the House to allow him a hearing.

DIFFERENCES

Mr Le Grange ruled out the possibility of the Government releasing Mandela saying he was a communist who had not changed his views and was still in contact with the ANC and other subversive organisations.

Dr Slabbert said the voice of dull children, and demands will away in your land, or having inst your oilwell going to escape the risks. You not formally insurable.

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campaign to release Mandela was not a PFP campaign and the PFP had not taken a party decision on the matter.

He conceded there were differences of opinion on the issue in his party but denied that these affected fundamental PFP principles.

Those who had spoken out over the issue had done so in their private capacity.

The PFP had never said Mandela was the only black leader of import-

ance in South Africa. But there were very strong indications that he was, and the PFP could not close their eyes to that.

If Mandela was a real leader of the blacks and he was prepared to negotiate at a national convention in an atmosphere of peace, then his release could be crucial in averting bloodshed in South Africa, Dr Slabbert said.

Dr Slabbert said peace in South Africa depended on negotiation between whites and the true

leaders of other population groups.

"The most important thing is for us to find a constitutional dispensation acceptable to all the people in South Africa," he said.

Past actions of the Nationalist Government had shown that to release someone convicted even of high treason did not mean that you associated yourself with his views.

The question was how further conflict and bloodshed could be averted in South Africa, he said.

Govt is adamant over Mandela

STAR 16/4/80

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — The Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, yesterday rejected all pleas for the release of Nelson Mandela from life imprisonment on Robben Island and said he would have to serve his sentence.

Speaking in the Budget debate, the Minister said the Government's attitude to campaigns for Mandela's release was clear and could be stated in a single word — no.

Mr Le Grange said that since Mandela's imprisonment there had been no indication that he had changed his views.

Mandela was still a communist and he was still in contact with the African National Congress and other banned anti-South African organisations.

Mr Le Grange accused members of the Opposition of siding with enemies of South Africa in seeking Mandela's release.

He also rejected the idea of a national convention at which black leaders such as Mandela could participate in working out a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Denouncing Mandela, the Minister said the impression was being created that Mandela was a man who stood for peace and order.

But the factual situation was that Mandela was

a proven and sworn communist whose aim was the violent overthrow of the Government.

He had joined the ANC in 1944 and served as vice-president and also as president of the organisation's youth wing.

Mandela and other top communists had propagated a national convention and, along with Joe Slovo, Mandela had helped to form the militant wing of the ANC.

After leaving South Africa, Mandela had visited countries in Africa and countries behind the Iron Curtain. He had undergone military training so that he could lead the offensive or the overthrow of the South African Government.

The Rivonia raid had proved that Mandela stood for the total destruction of the white man.

Mr Le Grange expressed concern that newspapers and organisations had asked for the release of Mandela.

These calls, coupled with demands for a national convention and for the release of all political detainees, had been launched in the emotional climate following the election results in Rhodesia.

The calls had been followed up by "virtually every English-language newspaper in South Africa."

The official Opposition

was now linking itself to international groups, some of which were out-and-out communists, which wanted Mandela released.

Dr A L Boraine (PFP Pinelands) in particular had joined these calls, the Minister said.

There were differences of opinion among members of the official Opposition about this matter.

Mr Le Grange said the leader of an organisation responsible for terrorist attacks such as those at Booyens and Ermelo would not receive any favoured treatment from the Assembly.

The Government too knew of chosen leaders of peoples in every sphere, but would not recognise self-appointed leaders or those seeking attention for themselves.

The whites had a right to self-determination and to citizenship. This right would be exercised and the Government was not prepared to negotiate on this issue.

Anyone trying to remove this right by violence would have to face the full power of the State, Mr Le Grange said.



THE ASSEMBLY — Questions; resumption, Budget debate. — Sapa.

Date set for bank siege trial

(87A)
11A
234
16/4/80
Argo

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Supreme Court trial date has been set for the nine alleged ANC members accused of high treason and murder following the Silverton bank siege and the attack on the Soekmekaar police station.

They will appear in the Supreme Court Pretoria, on June 2 following the Attorney-General's decision, until the trial has been disposed of.

A Pretoria magistrate, Mr B J O van Schalkwyk, today ordered that all men will remain in custody until the trial.

The men have pleaded not guilty to nine charges involving high treason, two murder counts after the death of two women hostages, 21 attempted murder charges, and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

TERROR ACTS

The remaining four are alternative charges dealing with the participation in terrorist activities.

The accused are Mr Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, 28, Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 20, Mr Naphtali Manana, 24, Mr Ikan Yeng Moses Molebatsi, 27, Mr Hlolile Benjamin Tau, 24, Mr Phumulani Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremia Radebe, 26, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogoale, 26, and Mr Thomas Mngadi, 29. No addresses were given.

HIGH TREASON

The State alleged the men committed high treason by conspiring with members and/or active supporters of the ANC by committing certain acts with the intention of furthering aims hostile to the State.

They are further alleged to have been aware

of the treasonable deeds of the organisation and failed to report them to the South African authorities.

The murder charge concerns two hostages, Miss Cynthia Valerie Anderson and Mrs Anna Magrieta de Klerk, who were killed when three terrorists besieged the Silverton Volkskas Bank on January 25. Mr Tau allegedly conspired with the terrorists namely Humphrey Makhubo, Stephen Fanie Mafoko and Wilfred Madela.

Nineteen of the attempted murder charges deal with injuries suffered by hostages and policemen.

POLICE STATION

The remaining two charges concern the attack on Soekmekaar police station in Soutpansberg on January 4 where two men were injured.

Mr Molebatsi and Mr Tau, are also alleged to have made plans of a petrol depot for a future attack and Mr Molebatsi is said to have made plans to attack the Villeria police station.

They all allegedly underwent military training in Angola but they refused to comment on this, when asked in explanation of plea.

They are also alleged to have set up military bases in South Africa to undermine State security.

Mandela: Ask the blacks, says PFP

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~~331~~ RDM

16/4/80

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE Government had a duty to establish the extent of Nelson Mandela's support among blacks, to establish if he was a representative leader, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, said yesterday.

If it was found Mandela had significant support and that he was prepared to negotiate, the Government had a responsibility to negotiate with him, as South Africa was involved in "survival politics", Dr Slabbert said.

He was addressing Parliament on the campaign to free Mandela, shortly after the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said the Government's response to the campaign could be summed up in a single word: No.

Adopting an uncompromising attitude towards the campaign, Mr Le Grange

national Congress and Mr Mandela did not fall within the framework of the Government's total national strategy, which rejected power-sharing.

Mandela was a communist who had plotted to overthrow the Government. He had been sentenced to life imprisonment for high treason.

"He will serve out his sentence," Mr Le Grange said.

In a masterly reply, Dr Slabbert quoted from the speech of a former State President, Mr C R "Blackie" Swart, supporting amnesty for men jailed or sentenced to death for high treason.

Amnesty had been necessary and desirable in the interests of reconciliation and resolving conflict. Mr Swart said in Parliament shortly after the Government came to power in 1948.

Dr Slabbert said the same course had been followed in Rhodesia, where black nationalist leaders had been released in the interests of reconciliation.

This was done with the active encouragement of the South African Government, he pointed out.

And in South West Africa, the Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had extended an amnesty to all Swapo fighters in the interests of reconciliation.

All these steps had been taken to involve people who had turned to violence — and were often regarded as communists — in negotiated political settlements, in order to end the killing.

"Were the lives of the police and security forces in Rhodesia considered more precious than the lives of people inside South Africa?" Dr Slabbert asked.

It was nonsensical to claim the supporters of the campaign to free Mandela were communists or propagators of violence.

It was precisely because such people rejected violence that they sought to involve representative leaders of all population groups in a negotiating process.

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While admitting there were differences in the PFP on the campaign to release Mandela, Dr Slabbert said there was complete agreement on the necessity of establishing the extent of Mandela's support in the black community.

If it was established that Mandela enjoyed significant support, it was the Government's responsibility to South Africa to negotiate with him — and other representative black leaders — to work out a constitutional dispensation to which the majority of South Africans subscribed.

• See Page 6

n. candidate Mr J S Harris.

STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
23010	BACHELOR OF COMMERCE				
STUD NO	SURNAME	FIRST NAMES	COURSE	DESCRIPTION <td>STATUS</td>	STATUS
156504N	STEVENSON	TIMOTHY HUDSON	910101	STATISTICS 1A (HALF CRSE)	UP
158365L	STEWART	ALLEN	003101 105103	SOCIOLOGY I ECONOMICS IA	UP UP
153616Z	STERN	CHRISTIAN LOEWEN	601101	COMMERCIAL LAW A	4
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135575P	THUMSON				1 ABS

Inkatha waits ^{11A} for ^{ROM} answers

16/4/80

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

INKATHA'S West Rand region will wait for Government clarification on the financing of community councils before it makes a final decision about participating in October's Soweto council elections.

The region's publicity secretary, Mr Peter Davidson, said yesterday his colleagues were studying the present financing of the Soweto Community Council.

He said Inkatha has already indirectly requested details on the finance question from the Government.

But the region would formulate its own financial proposals and forward them to the Inkatha leadership. Once the proposals were ratified, the Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, would officially convey them to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof.

Mr Davidson said: "Soweto has no freehold rights, and as a result, has no land-based tax. We want to know how this shortfall is to be made up and from what source."

Mr Davidson made it clear that Inkatha was, in principle, in favour of using community councils for strategic reasons. "But until the financial aspect is cleared up, we will not participate in the Soweto elections," he said.

In his weekend speech in Soweto, Chief Buthelezi also referred to the financial aspect. He said that once "Sowetonians have established a representative council, it must be an accepted front in the black struggle for liberation".

"Discussion should then revolve around how that black platform can best be used for the ends towards which we all strive. I accept the feeling that the question of financing Soweto services needs more clarification from the South African Government," Chief Buthelezi added.

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154466Y	WEDER	MICHAEL FRIEDRICH	106103	ECONOMICS IA	F
160232D	WELSH	DAVID RICHARD HEBURN	910104	STATISTICS 1C (HALF CRSE)	F
131019M	WHITE	MICHAEL ROBERT	106103	ECONOMICS IA	UP
160427C	WILDING	MARK JEREMY	910108	STATISTICS 1C (HALF CRSE)	F
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REGISTRAR

13

More ANC terrorists waiting Le Grange

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17/4/80

Argus

Political Correspondent

ZWELITSHA (Ciskei). — The Minister of Police, Mr L. le Grange, said today that more trained terrorists of the African National Congress were waiting in neighbouring states to infiltrate South Africa.

Opening the new session of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly here, Mr le Grange said many trained terrorists had been arrested since infiltration started and a vast quantity of foreign arms, ammunition and explosives had been confiscated.

Many of ANC recruits had left the Republic and had received military training in East Germany, Angola, Russia and China.

Some of those who had completed their training were in neighbouring states.

THE AIM

The aim of these terror groups was to play a major role in breaking down the morale of the people by acts of intimidation, sabotage and attacks on innocent and defenceless people.

Urban terrorism had become an important aspect of modern total war.

This had developed to such an extent that alliances had been established and operated across international boundaries in what is called a 'liberation struggle'.

The role Moscow and its ANC cohorts played in



Mr Louis le Grange

this regard had become obvious in the total onslaught against Southern Africa.

Terrorists hoped to compel the Government to enforce strict and unpopular security measures which they hoped would antagonise the inhabitants and lead to a decline in the Government's popularity.

The tactical concepts of the terrorist and his technical skills and devices had become more and more sophisticated and difficult to combat.

The security forces of South Africa were acquainted with the techniques and had succeeded in crippling the efforts of the terrorists. Serious losses had been prevented and lives protected by the timeous application of constructive counter-measures, Mr le Grange said.

Buthelezi STAR 17/4/80 may meet Motlana

11A

In a move that might bridge the gap between the powerful Inkatha organisation and the black consciousness movement, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr Nthato Motlana may meet for talks to resolve their differences.

Dr Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten and leader of the growing Soweto Civic Association, rejects some of Chief Buthelezi's ideas, but says he is prepared to have talks with the kwaZulu leader and his Inkatha movement as long as his executive committee agrees.

"We can disagree on basic issues but I do not think there is any need for mud-slinging between us," said Dr Motlana.

Chief Buthelezi said from Ulundi that he was prepared to talk to Dr Motlana. "We are involved in the same struggle in spite of the different strategies we use."

However, he was cautious because Dr Motlana had only made the overtures through the Press. "Let him get in touch with me," he said.

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of 14 fish is divided will be important, as we shall

Mandela

not a leader, says Raw

THE ASSEMBLY. — South Africa had not reached the stage where a proven, convicted Marxist revolutionary such as Nelson Mandela should be taken from prison to try and sue for peace, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr. Vause Raw, said in the House yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Budget, he said that calls for freeing Mandela had now become a political issue.

The very fact that Mandela's release was raised in Parliament was making him a target for the leadership and he said that he had a state's view different from that of a convicted prisoner.

"He is not a leader, even among his own people. We cannot say we will come to terms with revolutionaries."

"Let us get our priorities right. Let us first gain the goodwill and support of our black and brown moderates in South Africa. I cannot say let's never talk to the Mandelas, but let's get our priorities right first."

"The worst arrogance of the whites is in telling the blacks who their leaders are."

Mr. Raw said that in his speech yesterday, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, had called for Mandela's release and had implied a likeness between the situation in the Republic and the situation in Rhodesia.

"This is a serious implication. What he is in effect saying to moderate black and brown leaders is that we will never get a peaceful solution by talking to you. We must take the revolutionaries from jail to be able to achieve this."

"I reject this wholeheartedly. I say we cannot come to terms with revolutionaries."

"We cannot take people like Mandela from jail and sue for peace with them now. We have not reached the level of care x."

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THURSDAY, APRIL 17, 1980

NELSON MANDELA

ONE THING South Africa can certainly do without is a mindless tug-of-war between a strident 'Free Mandela' lobby on one hand and a totally obdurate and inflexible Government on the other.

Yet that is the direction in which we seem to be heading after the uncompromising statement by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, in Parliament that Nelson Mandela will spend the rest of his life in jail.

In justifying his refusal even to consider the release of the former African National Congress leader, Mr le Grange has revealed that the Government is no less guilty of failing to think the matter through than those who have been stampeded by Mr Robert Mugabe's triumph in Zimbabwe into believing that the same is likely to happen here unless Mandela is unconditionally released from Robben Island to take his place messiah-like at the head of his people.

The Minister reminded the House that the Rivonia raid had proved that Mandela stood for the violent overthrow of the Government and the total eradication of the white man, and claimed that Mandela had not changed his views, was still a communist, and was still in touch with the banned ANC and other anti-South African organisations.

Mr le Grange did not explain how this contact was possible in South Africa's maximum-security prison, nor did he venture to discuss whether the views Mandela held at the time of his conviction 16 years ago might conceivably change if he were fully acquainted with the changes that have taken place since then and the new

dispensation of co-operation and constitutional progress that has been proclaimed since Mr P W Botha became Prime Minister.

The question is relevant because the substance of Mandela's plea from the dock was that he had been driven to do what he did because he could see no other way of furthering the legitimate aspirations of his people.

That eloquent address is, of course, banned in South Africa. It in no way excuses Mandela's crimes, but if it were unbanned now we should at least all know what we were talking about in our dramatically changed situation in Africa.

There are many unanswered questions — and glib assumptions — about Nelson Mandela: his current beliefs, his capacity and willingness, if any, to play a constructive political role, the nature and extent of his following, and so on.

The very least the Government should be doing is finding the answers to those questions by means of a judicial tribunal or commission and whatever other inquiries may be necessary.

If Mandela refused to give assurances that he would abide by the law and behave in a politically responsible manner if he were released, then that would be the end of the matter. He would stay in jail and history would take its course.

But the Government should realise that flexibility does not mean weakness or a surrender of values or of control over one's destiny. Rather it is a sign of strength, confidence and the wisdom to seek the correct responses to the challenges of the time.

Mandela 'a powerful, gentle leader' - Bosman

NELSON MANDELA has become a "mythical figure", idealised by "just about every black", and blacks both inside the country and outside recognise him as the black leader, according to Mr Ken Bosman, former ANC youth league member.

At a meeting organised by the Stellenbosch Aangeleentheidskring (Saak) Tuesday night, Mr Bosman, of Langa, said the Mandela he had known in Johannesburg was "a powerful leader, and very gentle".

Referring to the African National Congress in the years before it was banned, Mr Bosman said the organisation had always been willing "to work with people of all races".

The tone was one of negotiation, and once established — in Bloemfontein in 1912 — the ANC had sought consultation with the Government on key issues.

"All along peaceful ways and means were sought to persuade the Government to take notice of the grievances of the black man," he said.

In the mid-1950s "treason trial", Mr Bosman said, it was proved that the charter (of the organisation) was "neither criminal nor communistic, nor seditious, nor treasonable," and all 156 leaders arrested in 1956 were acquitted.

At the time the ANC

was led by Chief Albert Luthuli, and despite pressure from within the organisation Chief Luthuli refused to abandon the principle on non-violence.

"It was not for nothing he was awarded the Noble Peace Prize," Mr Bosman said.

Mr Bosman was asked if it was true that Mande-

la was "a self-confessed communist."

He replied that Mandela had, at least up to the time of "going underground," shown no "communist attachment." Only those who worked closely with him after the March 1961 banning of the ANC could explain what had happened since.



Handwritten notes:
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Mandela: blacks lash Le Grange

17/4/80 DO (117) 327

JOHANNESBURG — The campaign for the release of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, would continue despite the intransigent attitude of the Minister of Police, campaign organisers said yesterday.

And black leaders yesterday severely criticised Mr Louis le Grange's hardline stand and said efforts would continue for the release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners. They questioned the Minister's description of the ANC leader as a communist.

The general-secretary of the SA Council of

Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said: "Politicians ought not to make categorical statements because they are almost always forced to eat their words."

KwaZulu's Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, regretted the Minister's "negative attitude" to the campaign, but said it was not unexpected.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said it was a pity the government "has lost its last opportunity of showing a genuine attempt towards a peaceful solution in this country."

Mr Le Grange told Parliament Mr Mandela and his organisation did not fall within the framework of the government's total national strategy.

Bishop Tutu said: "We are speaking about fundamental changes, not with the structure of government policy — we are demanding change of government policy."

He said Mr Le Grange did not want to learn from history, especially the history of his own people. Referring to the communist tag, the Bishop said: "In terms of the

government's old Suppression of Communism Act, the understanding of communist was anybody who opposed government policy."

Chief Buthelezi said he had pointed out that if the free Mandela campaign was conducted in "such a cavalier fashion" it was unlikely to draw any response from the government, and that was exactly what had happened.

"The campaign has set back efforts by some of us who were quietly negotiating with the government on this issue. I will, of course, never

give up making efforts in this direction in spite of the setback," he said.

Meanwhile, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, said yesterday that South Africa had not reached the stage where a proven, convicted Marxist revolutionary such as Nelson Mandela should be taken from prison to try to sue for peace.

Speaking in the Assembly during the second reading debate of the budget, he said calls for freeing Mandela had now become a political issue.

The fact that Mandela's

release was raised in debate in Parliament was making him a symbol of leadership and giving him a status vastly different from that of a convicted prisoner.

"He is not a leader even among his own people. We cannot say we will come to terms with revolutionaries," he said.

"Let us first gain the goodwill and support of our black and brown moderates in South Africa. I cannot say let's never talk to the Mandelas, but let's get our priorities right first."

— DDC-SAPA-RNS

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On a social maximum output (no-waste) criterion the optimal number of fishermen on the boat is four or five. (There could be five, since the marginal product, four fish, with a fifth crew-member on the boat would exactly offset the lost marginal product of the fish from the shore. For each additional fisherman we should arbitrarily take the lower of the two values; however there is this independent variable possibility.) The no-waste social maximum output rule is to enlarge the boat crew until the marginal product on board decreases to that on shore. (When people aren't fishing, they sleep, eat, rest, and bask in the sun. Only fish are produced and consumed.) In Figure 2.3 the marginal social gains are the areas of the bars in the first four marginal-product bars.

Control, Property Rights, and Incentives

How we come to the point of interest: How many people will be allowed on the boat and who gets the increased output?

Share and Share Alike with Controlled Entry

In our first scene of this fishing saga, assume the boat discoverer is entitled to decide how many persons can be on board, and all those on board will share alike in the total catch. Our discoverer will allow only one or two other people, for then the average catch on board, which he and each other person gets, is at the maximum:

Silverton: date set for trial of accused

17/4/80
 351
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 (1A)

PRETORIA — The Supreme Court trial here of nine alleged ANC members accused of high treason and murder in the Silverton bank siege and the attack on the Soekmeaar Police Station has been set for June 2.

commit certain acts with the intention of furthering aims hostile to the state.

They are also alleged to have been aware of the treasonable deeds of the organisation and failed to report them to the South African authorities.

have made plans of a petrol depot here for a future attack, and Mr Molebatsi is said to have made plans to attack the Villieria Police Station.

Mr J. Radebe is charged with planning to attack the Port Natal Administration Board offices in Durban.

Mr Molebatsi is further alleged to have had control and/or knowledge of an arms cache found in Springs.

Announcing the Attorney-General's decision in the Regional Court here yesterday, the magistrate, Mr B. J. O. van Schalkwyk, also ordered that the men remain in custody.

The murder charge concerns two hostages, Miss Cynthia Anderson and Mrs Anna Magrieta de Klerk, who were killed in the Silverton Volkskas bank siege on January 25.

Sub-machineguns, Bayonets, Makarov pistols, magazines, detonators, explosives, hand-grenades, photographs of President Neto of Angola, copies of the South African Communist No. 78, 3rd quarter 1979, and stickers worded "Unite and fight to liberate new motherland, Amandla" were found at the site.

They have pleaded not guilty to 29 charges involving high treason, two murder counts relating to the death of two women hostages, 21 attempted murder charges, and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

Mr H. B. Tau allegedly conspired with the three terrorists — Mr Huphrey Makhubo, Mr Stephen Fanie Mafoko and Mr Wilfred Madela.

The courtyard in which the truck taking the accused back to Pretoria Central Prison was locked and guarded by armed policemen as the men were led into the truck. — SAPA.

The remaining four are alternative charges dealing with their participation in terrorist activities.

Nineteen of the attempted murder charges deal with injuries suffered by hostages and policemen.

The state alleges the men committed high treason by conspiring with members and/or active supporters of the ANC to

The remaining two charges concern the attack on Soekmeaar Police Station in Soutpansberg on January 4 when two men were injured.

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 total would increase. The fourth would enable six
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 This is a characteristic problem of socialist
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Govt 'stirred up' blacks

Political Staff
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Provocative government actions like the detention and banning of men like Thozamile Botha, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, were acts that stirred up urban blacks, Mrs Helen Suzman (D'FP Houghton) said. Mrs Suzman asked during the Budget debate why the government stirred up urban blacks in Port Elizabeth by detaining and banning men like Botha when the strike at Ford Motor Company had just been settled. She also referred sharply to

the confiscation of the passport of Bishop Desmond Tutu and read an extract of a letter she had received from an official at Harvard University, United States.

In the letter her correspondent said: "You should know that there is substantial community reaction to the revocation of Bishop Tutu's passport."

"In fact, the presence of such actions makes it very difficult to persuade the members of the university community that constructive and moderate actions can be beneficial."

Mrs Suzman said Harvard was one university which had so far resisted pressure to sell its investments in companies that had interests in South Africa.

"Why infuriate blacks throughout South Africa by confiscating the passport of Bishop Tutu?" she asked.

"That was a petty, spiteful action and it did the government no credit with thinking people in South Africa or with democratically minded people overseas."

"Why implement only the punitive measures contained in the Riekert report? What about implementing some of the positive recommendations to ease life in the urban townships?"

South Africa simply could not afford a recurrence of the unrest that swept the townships from June, 1975 to the end of 1977. The Gillie Commission on the riots merely confirmed what most people already knew.

The bitter resentment of blacks against the policy of race discrimination and deep dissatisfaction with the quality of their lives were the basic causes of the riots.

There is an understanding that despite the wages that might be available elsewhere part not to leave the firm for transiently higher these arrangements have tacitly agreed on their transiently high demand, the employees with at various, probably less-useful tasks. And during (the owner hopes), he retains those employees—demand for products of the firm fall temporarily inventories of goods and borrowed funds. When the relatively constant, assured costs of those in- puts. The employer maintains the wages and em- ployment by using fluctuation-smoothing buffer bears more of the risks of the future transient fluctu- tions in the net value of the products, net of the relatively constant, assured costs of those in- less of the firm's fortunes. They agree to more as-

so willingly work to normal conditions, I run costs of getting ploys. Otherwise, tacit agreement with demand for the firm seeking those jobs at wages higher than fore observe many to displace his "ten player would not hire jobs during that tran- would, of course, if maintain their wages. Other unemployed people so quickly lay off those employees and would interval. During short recessions, the firm would not higher-security employees over the longer in- ing a relatively steady income to these "tenured," bearing the risks of those fluctuations and assur- each would stay with the other, with the employer usual transient shocks, misfortunes, and events, There is an understanding that despite the wages that might be available elsewhere part not to leave the firm for transiently higher these arrangements have tacitly agreed on their transiently high demand, the employees with at various, probably less-useful tasks. And during (the owner hopes), he retains those employees—demand for products of the firm fall temporarily inventories of goods and borrowed funds. When the relatively constant, assured costs of those in- puts. The employer maintains the wages and em- ployment by using fluctuation-smoothing buffer bears more of the risks of the future transient fluctu- tions in the net value of the products, net of the relatively constant, assured costs of those in-

A relatively stable business will have less risk in providing such assurance. A firm that makes a larger variety of products with higher probability of offsetting fluctuations in the demand for its various products can give more employment security by transferring employees from one product line to another. Governments and some nonprofit enterprises which respectively derive incomes from taxes or investments rather than from customer sales give greater security of employment for lower wages. Initially government jobs with greater security paid less, as in the post office. But recent legislation requiring pay equal to that of private firms will create an excessive demand for those jobs if that equality of pay is not offset by disadvantages in other features of the more secure job. Other resources employed by the firm, even the initial capital, are hired on a similar variety of terms, though usually with more explicit contracts. Firms hire (that is, borrow) capital funds for investments in plant and equipment. The stated interest rate on longer-term loans is constant over a long period and the firm continues to employ the funds even during recessions when the rate on new loans is lower. The firm also uses short-term loans, usually bank loans, or a few months' duration at interest rates that are more sensitive to short-term business conditions than are the long-term borrowing rates. These short-term loans are paid off ("laid-off" or "unemployed") when the firm reduces output in transient recessions. Every resource used in the firm is available under a variety of risk-bearing, insuring arrangements. Labor seems to make risk sharing arrangements with the employer, probably because of the higher costs (less security) for an em-

Youth body to go countrywide

By PETER SETUKE

THE African Catholic Church in Soweto formed a youth club which will look into the affairs of the youth clubs at countrywide level.

The club was formed at a meeting of the Johannesburg diocese held last weekend.

This was disclosed by the chairlady of the youth club, Miss Joyce Raphiri, who mentioned the following points:

- Some parents prevent their children from attending the sermon because they (the parents) resent some ministers.

- If one is a member of the committee of the youth club belonging to a particular diocese, this does not allow one to have a say in the matters

of another diocese.

Miss Raphiri told Church News: "At least the new committee will allow us to combat this bad influence on the youth by the parents, who ought to be exemplary

to the young generation.

"And since we have gone countrywide, this will be interesting in that it will unite us more than the various local clubs did before."

(9A) (1A) (105) 14/80 DD

Minister spells out ANC threat

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The South African National Congress, through its military wing, Umkhontwe Sizwe (Spear of Nation) was responsible for subversion, acts of sabotage and urban terrorism.

This was said at Zwelitsha yesterday by Mr Le Grange, the Minister of Police, when he opened the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

He also promised the South African Government would take the necessary steps to protect the sovereignty of the Ciskei.

He said the ANC's objective was to disrupt the social order and to intimidate law-abiding citizens, both black and white.

"This objective is applicable to the Ciskei as well. Your country is also a target. My government will take the necessary effective steps in order to protect the sovereignty of your country as well," he said.

Mr Le Grange said the ANC advocated and propagated violence.

"It promotes class consciousness in an endeavour to ignite the class struggle. A socialist form of government, with majority rule, is its aim," he said.

"The terrorists are encouraged and assisted by elements of the communist world, as evidenced by the communist arms found in possession of intercepted terrorists and incontroverted evidence before our courts in terrorism trials," Mr Le Grange said.

But there was still no active terrorism on South African soil, he said, but sporadic acts of sabotage had been committed by externally trained ANC terrorists.

He said a large number of ANC recruits had left South Africa and had received military training in, inter alia, East Germany, Angola, Russia and China.

"Some have now completed their training and have arrived in neighbouring states from where they are to infiltrate the Republic of South Africa.

"A large number of trained terrorists have

been arrested since infiltration started and a vast quantity of foreign arms, ammunition and explosives have been confiscated," Mr Le Grange said.

He said blacks had never regarded the ANC leaders "in exile" as their real leaders.

He said. "The non-white populations have chosen their own representatives and organisations to promote and to protect their interests and welfare.

"My advice to Ciskeians is to respect and honour their own leaders, and to be loyal to their country, traditions and religion."

Addressing himself specially to the Ciskei youth, Mr Le Grange said:

"Learn. Educate yourselves. Listen to your parents, respect your customs, traditions, your forefathers and present leaders who have brought you so far.

"You must build on what they have achieved. There is no time to waste. Your future must be built now and not tomorrow or next year." — DDR.

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six fish. . . more than had been fished from shore like any of the others. The *social total* is two fish larger. But if another person joins him on the boat, the pair can catch a total of 16—10 more, so, with two crew members, the marginal product on board is 10 fish. Marginal products are graphed in Figure 9-1. Since the second person forsakes the four fish he would have caught fishing from shore, the social total increases by six fish with a second person. That is, with two on board the *social marginal* product is six fish; the social total is eight more than without the boat. Who gets the eight fish?

If the two people apportion the fish equally between themselves, each has four more fish than each shore fisherman. No one else is affected. Or the gain of eight fish could be divided among all 1000 people so everyone could have

4,008 fish. But whatever is done, at least a third person could profitably switch to the boat, as is indicated by Figure 9-1. That would increase the boat total by eight fish to 24 fish (the marginal product with three crewmen is eight fish) while forsaking only four more fish from the shore. The social total increases by four—the difference between the marginal product on the boat and the forsaken four-fish shore-marginal-product. A fourth crewman could transfer to the boat, since the marginal product on the boat, six, with four members is greater than the forsaken marginal product on shore, four—a net *social* marginal product of two. With four boatmen the total product on the boat is 30 (= 6 + 10 + 8 + 6), which, subtracting 16 forsaken fish from the shore (four from each person who shifted to the boat) yields a *social* gain of 14 fish. How the net social gain

Buthelezi 'is turning Inkatha into a mafia'

10DM 18/4/80. 11A
Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was turning Inkatha into a "mafia" instead of uplifting his people, the Nationalist MP for Parys, Dr Willie Kotze, said in the House yesterday.

Speaking during the Budget debate, Dr Kotze attacked black leaders for using "excessive" language when whites were being told to promote good race relations.

What gave black leaders the licence to do the opposite, he asked, and said he thought Chief Buthelezi was one such black leader who was exploiting the situation.

Dr Kotze said that he backed the Prime Minister's initiatives and said that there had to be fair and meaningful change in the country, before whites were faced with a situation they had not planned.

The whites had to make allies of the blacks in the country, but while whites were told to promote good race relations some black leaders were doing the opposite.

Chief Buthelezi spoke of a freedom struggle while he

could get his freedom and independence tomorrow if he wanted it.

"But he wants South Africa. That is what his so-called freedom struggle involves," said Dr Kotze.

"He is not satisfied to govern only his own Zulu people. Is he scared that he will not make the grade in a free and independent KwaZulu and that he will expose his inability?"

"I want to tell Chief Buthelezi that he should rather do everything in his power to impress on the Zulu nation that it is not the primary function of men to conceive children, sit around the beer mug and shift around the hut with the sun while the women are working in the fields."

The world of today demanded that a man should work and that laziness could no longer hide behind "tradition". It was not a scandal for a man to work.

Chief Buthelezi should stop making so many trips and well-meant speeches about peace and rather go and see how his people and their land looked. It was bitterly disappointing that some of the country's best agri-

cultural land no longer contributed to the economy.

"It is an absolute scandal that it is being destroyed.

"How does Chief Buthelezi want to govern South Africa if he cannot even see these things, as if he is powerless to do anything about them.

"Instead, he stands with cupped hands asking for more and makes demands about the redistribution of wealth."

Dr Kotze said that nobody should accuse him of disturbing race relations because he did not speak in the same "blatant" language as Chief Buthelezi.

"He talks of uprising, revolution and blood-letting and I talk of uplifting his people," said Dr Kotze.

"He should be doing this instead of continuing to organise Inkatha into nothing other than a real mafia organisation."

Dr Kotze said hoped that Chief Buthelezi would be able to differentiate between these things and then decide who really sought confrontation in the country.

Dr Kotze warned against people only wearing the "mask" of peace.

50 cent fine for 'ANC' graffiti

CT Staff Reporter (P/A)

A RAILWAY WORKER, Modise Mokokwe, 26, was fined 50 cents or four days and sentenced to 90 days imprisonment, suspended for three years, in the Magistrate's Court yesterday — for scratching "ANC" and "Azania" on SAR property.

The court found Mokokwe, of E1143, Nyanga East, had defaced three steel cabinets on April 3 when he scratched the

slogans on them. The magistrate, Mr R H Peckham, fined him 50 cents to pay for the paint used to cover the slogans.

Mokokwe told the court he scratched the slogans on the cabinets in the Salt River workshop with a nail because he was bored.

Mokokwe, who pleaded guilty to the charge, said he was not a member of the ANC, but was interested in black politics.

Mr N Jones prosecuted.

A relatively stable business will have less risk in providing such assurance. A firm that makes a larger variety of products with higher probability of offsetting fluctuations in the demand for its various products can give more employment security by transferring employees from one product line to another.

Governments and some nonprofit enterprises which respectively derive incomes from taxes or investments rather than from customer sales give greater security of employment for lower wages. Initially government jobs with greater security paid less, as in the post office. But recent legislation requiring pay equal to that of private firms will create an excessive demand for those jobs if that equality of pay is not offset by disadvantages in other features of the more secure job.

Other resources employed by the firm, even the initial capital, are hired on a similar variety of terms, though usually with more explicit contracts. Firms hire (that is, borrow) capital funds for investments in plant and equipment. The stated interest rate on longer-term loans is constant over a long period and the firm continues to employ the funds even during recessions when the rate on new loans is lower. The firm also uses short-term loans, usually bank loans, of a few months' duration at interest rates that are more sensitive to short-term business conditions than are the long-term borrowing rates. These short-term loans are paid off ("laid-off" or "unemployed") when the firm reduces output in transient recessions.

Every resource used in the firm is available under a variety of risk-bearing, insuring arrangements. Labor seems to make risk sharing arrangements with the employer, probably because of the higher costs (less security) for an em-

less of the firm's fortunes. They agree to more assured employment at an assured (but slightly lower than otherwise) return. The employer then bears more of the risks of the future transient fluctuations in the net value of the products, net of the relatively constant, assured costs of those inputs. The employer maintains the wages and employment by using fluctuation-smoothing buffer inventories of goods and borrowed funds. When demand for products of the firm fall temporarily (the owner hopes), he retains those employees—at various, probably less-useful tasks. And during transiently high demand, the employees with these arrangements have tacitly agreed on their part not to leave the firm for transiently higher wages that might be available elsewhere.

There is an understanding that despite the usual transient shocks, misfortunes, and events, each would stay with the other, with the employer bearing the risks of those fluctuations and assuring a relatively steady income to these "tenured," higher-security employees over the longer interval. During short recessions, the firm would not so quickly lay off those employees and would maintain their wages. Other unemployed people would, of course, like to get those maintained jobs during that transient recession. But the employer would not hire them, even at lower wages, to displace his "tenured" employees. We therefore observe many employers retaining workers at wages higher than those asked by other people seeking those jobs during transient decreases in demand for the firm's product. He honors his tacit agreement with his "tenured," senior employees. Otherwise, he would increase his long-run costs of getting employees during future normal conditions, because employees would not so willingly work for contract violators.

Nkondo calls off schools meeting

Staff Reporter

A MEETING between the former president of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), Mr Curtis Nkondo, was called off at the last minute yesterday afternoon.

Mr Nkondo said the presence of plainclothes policemen outside the hall, where the meeting was to take place, would have intimidated the pupils.

Mr Nkondo was to meet the pupils to convey a message of "solidarity" from the Congress of Southern African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso).

At least three cars with plainclothes policemen sitting inside were stationed around the hall and some pupils claimed that had been harassed by them on their way to the meeting.

Mr Nkondo said he had decided to cancel the meeting because the children were to be intimidated.

Solidarity

He said Cosas and Azaso, both national student organizations, had "pledged solidarity with all Peninsula pupils involved in the boycott".

"They also said the students should go on with the boycott until all their demands are met. They should not be discouraged by police attempts to intimidate them.

"The Peninsula pupils should be aware that they have a right to a free and compulsory education.

"We hope that in future a united force of all black students will be possibly is the only way we can eliminate the forces of oppression, racialism and economic exploitation," he said.

• Mr Nkondo told a lunchtime meeting of about 800 University of Western Cape students yesterday that the removal of apartheid would make little difference to the oppression of blacks.

He said in a new society education would be free and compulsory "from the creche to university."

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Share and Share Alike with Controlled Entry

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Minister warns black militants

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Political Staff

THE Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, today warned the black consciousness organisations, Cosas, Azaso and Azapo, 'that someone who plays with fire can easily burn his fingers.'

Speaking at the Transvaal congress of the Southern Cross fund, he said although the Communist Party of South Africa, the ANC and the PAC had their headquarters abroad, they were still well represented inside the Republic.

In recent times, various militant organisations had been established and these, under a number of disguises, furthered the activities of the banned organisations.

'I want to name a few of them and at the same time make a warning that someone who plays with fire can easily burn his

fingers,' Mr le Grange said.

He said Cosas (the Congress of South African Students) aimed to incite black scholars.

'It is busy creating a climate of dissatisfaction and unrest among black scholars.'

Grievances

He said real and imaginary grievances were seized upon and blown up out of all proportion in an effort to attract scholars.

Mr le Grange said Azaso (the Azanian Students' Organisation) had the same aims as the banned Black People's Convention (BPC).

There were indications that the organisation was giving attention to the black worker. It shunned negotiations with the central government and supported the organising of strikes.

He said Azapo (the Azanian People's Organisation) also worked with organisations which were established on the instructions of the SA Communist Party and strove to incite black scholars and to promote black consciousness.

Target

Mr le Grange said South Africa was the most important target of about 120 foreign organisations. In South West Africa there was no reduction in the fighting against Swapo: 'Rather there is increasing aggression,' he said.

The activities of the ANC and the PAC in recent times had been marked by a building up of their forces outside the country's borders.

The ANC had moved its most important training centre to Angola and the prominent Communist Party official Joe Slovo, and fellow communist helpers had been stationed in Mozambique.

5-1AR 18/4/80

Le Grange warns black consciousness bodies

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Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, today warned black consciousness organisations "that someone who plays with fire can easily burn his fingers."

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A revised budget (if you think revisions are called for), adhering as far as possible to the same order as that used for the data above, showing which job you (as a director) prefer, with short notes explaining your guiding principles and any calculations. Both jobs would last 12 months; no other jobs are being done or are likely to be offered.

- (f) Office and general expenses amount to about £1,800 every year.
- (d) All the plant needed for Southampton has been owned for some years. £1,600 is the year's depreciation (straight-line) in the financial accounts. If the Hull job is taken, less plant will be required, and the surplus items will be hired out for the year on similar work at a rental of £750. Interest is based on a memorandum entry, at 5% of original cost, in the cost records.
- (b) Manual labour is hired locally from week to week.

'Ten' to meet

THE Committee of Ten will meet this evening and one of the issues expected to be raised will be Dr Nthato's alleged willingness to speak to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Members of the Commit-

tee of Ten who were interviewed yesterday were sceptical about the story. Mr Tom Manthata said the whole reporting on the issue of driving Dr Motlana to a point where his credibility becomes challenged raised questions on the motives and orientation of such reporting.

Skrywersgilde backs call to free Mandela

By Jaap Boekkooi

BLOEMFONTEIN — Afrikaans writers have come out in support of the campaign to free Nelson Mandela.

A resolution at the annual meeting of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde asked the Government, "in the interests of better communication, to consider the release of political prisoners who can contribute to the solution of socio-political problems, through their participation in a permanent public forum."

Professor André Brink, author and chairman of the meeting, said the resolution was connected with the countrywide campaign to release Nelson Mandela.

BREYTENBACH

The Skrywersgilde also adopted a resolution asking the Government to investigate the grievances of coloured pupils and students in the Western Cape after recent unrest among them, and to consider the release of Breyten Breytenbach, the Afrikaans poet jailed for nine years on terrorism charges.

Sapa reports that the motion on Breytenbach read that "in spite of repeated unsuccessful representations the guild will, by means of both individual and collective action, continue to approach the authorities in connection with the release of Breyten Breytenbach each year to the Minister of Prisons."

"In the time of Jimmy Kruger they were always coldly answered, but since then there has been rather more understanding by his successor, which is indicative of an importance difference of approach."

CLASH

Breytenbach has meanwhile been reclassified into a higher category of prisoners, and he may now request any book from the Cape Provincial Administration, according to a letter which Professor Andre Brink received from the Minister.

Professor Brink pleaded for circumspection as he said the matter had reached a delicate stage.

Writers and churchmen clashed at the meeting and a leading Afrikaans theologian, Professor Johan Heyns, was attacked for his "reprehensible contribution" towards the banning of an Afrikaans book, John Miles's novel, "Donderdag of Woensdag."

Claims for indemnity against losses would exceed hazard diminishes the feasibility of insurance. "influence the chances of the loss." This "moral" increased shirking. He could too easily and covertly ing on the insurance to indemnify him for his in- entice a retailer to be less productive while rely- against bad business or loss of customers would cause they are not accidental enough. Insurance Some accidental losses are not insurable be- accident losses.

reduction of anxiety may exceed the increase in avoidance of precautionary resource-use and the insurance than without (as they may well be), the losses. Yet even if total losses are greater with decrease or increase total social accidental to protection than with it. So insurance may either may devote more resources and care and anxiety deduced with insurance; for without insurance, we Otherwise, precautionary incentives might be re- precautions as a condition of getting insurance. sured person is often required to take special the probability of the contingent event. Each in- insurance also may induce people to change insurance premium.

large loss for the certainty of a small loss—the insurance trades each person's small chance of a sufferers of any insured, actual losses. In general, miums are supposed to be large enough to pay insurance premium. These accumulated pre- the form of sure, regular, small fees, called the ing them over the group that bears the losses in people often insure. They share losses by spread- cal damage (such as from fire or flood or theft). Because of risks of losses of wealth from physi-

Insurance: Facing Risks

IT IS APPROPRIATE that the debate about whether or not to release Nelson Mandela should have reached Parliament in the week of Zimbabwe's independence. Because it was Robert Mugabe's dramatic sweep to power in that country which raised the issue.

In so many ways Mr Mandela is the South African counterpart of Mr Mugabe: he, too, is an African leader who turned to violence, who sought help from the communist world, who acquired the image of a committed Marxist bent on dispossessing the whites and establishing a black dominated communist society, and who was duly clapped in jail for his nefarious activities.

As was the case with Mr Mugabe, he is a man whom the white authorities believe does not have any genuine support among the black population, and is simply the puppet of outside enemies of the State.

So inevitably, when Mr Mugabe dumbfounded everyone by showing not only what massive support he had but how pragmatic and reasonable he was, people began asking whether perhaps those assumptions about Mr Mandela might not be equally wrong.

As they began realising that the white Rhodesians could have saved their country a lot of bloodshed and misery if they had done a peaceful deal years ago with this impressive-sounding man, the question arose whether the same did not apply to South Africa.

Do we have to go through all that bloodshed and misery, too, in order to learn the same lesson?

The lesson of Rhodesia, said Die Vaderland, echoing the thoughts of many, is that white South Africa should talk to the real black leaders in this country.

Well, if Robert Mugabe is the real leader of the black Zimbabweans, isn't Nelson Mandela perhaps the real

leader of the black South Africans?

That is the question that started the debate.

It is a difficult debate, but a tremendously important one. I do not find it surprising that the Government should be so resistant to the suggestion that it should release a man who is committed to its own violent overthrow. It would be surprising if it were otherwise.

Nor does it surprise me that opinion should be so emotionally divided on the subject and that many people feel it is outrageous to support such an idea. Violence and treason are emotional matters, to put it mildly. The Rand Daily Mail itself has strongly denounced Mandela's commitment to violence, pointing out that in any communist country — or black African country for that matter — he would have been shot out of hand.

But 16 years on Robben Island is a long time; and as time moves on circumstances change, bringing new requirements and new perceptions.

Zimbabwe and Mugabe have changed our circumstances and our perceptions. As Dr Van Zyl Slabbert put it in his superb speech on Tuesday, South Africa is now involved in "survival politics" — and that requires us to do a lot of re-examining of old assumptions.

Already one sees the Government doing a lot of things it found unthinkable only yesterday.

So we have to start thinking today about what might have to be done tomorrow.

And so, while I fully expected the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, to give that flat "No" to Mandela's release, it is nonetheless extremely important that the public debate on the subject has begun and that it should continue.

It is important, too, that the debate be calmly and rationally conducted. Legitimate fears must not be glossed over; emotional re-

Why Mandela debate is so important



Allister Sparks

sponses must not be allowed to cloud the issue.

Here again I found Dr Slabbert's contribution on Tuesday invaluable. His approach was wholly rational. The only way to arrive at a peaceful solution in South Africa is to negotiate an agreed constitution with the black community; to do that it is obviously essential that the negotiations be with the real black leaders; therefore it is advisable to establish whether blacks regard Mandela as one of their true leaders; and the only way to do that, obviously, is to ask them.

If it is established that he has significant support and that he is prepared to negotiate, then, says Dr Slabbert, the Government has a responsibility to negotiate with him.

As for the principle of releasing such a man, Dr Slabbert points out that we have the tradition firmly established in our own country.

He cites the case of Robey Leibbrandt, sentenced to death for high treason during the last war and released by the Nationalist Government

kaners didn't hold the danger of public disorder that the freeing of Mr Mandela would.

Fair enough — it is a valid point that deserves to be carefully weighed. The threat that Nazi Germany posed to South Africa was over by the time Robey Leibbrandt and company were released, while the threat of African nationalist insurgency is by no means over now.

But the position taken by Dr Slabbert, and by the Rand Daily Mail, is that one would consider releasing Mr Mandela only if he were to end his commitment to seeking change by violence and agree to join in peaceful negotiations at a national convention.

So, far from increasing the danger of black insurgency, it would be the most effective way of removing it.

But, one might ask, could one trust Mr Mandela? Might he not make such a commitment in order to gain release, and then renege on it?

Apart, from the fact that this would be uncharacteristic of the man, there is the fact that a free Mandela would be subject to the law all over again: any illegal action on his part and he would immediately be arrested, charged and jailed once more.

A more realistic misgiving is whether Mr Mandela would ever agree to such conditions in the first place. Perhaps not, in which case he should not be released.

But I believe he would. His friends have always claimed he turned to violence only because he reached the conclusion that change could not

be achieved by peaceful means. So surely he would change back if the prospect of peaceful change became real — as it would at a national convention.

Of course the Transvaler's problem in this debate is that Nationalist policy rejects a national convention on principle, because it amounts to power-sharing. The process of change must remain in white hands: blacks may be "consulted", but they cannot be part of the actual decision-making process.

That is why blacks will always reject Nationalist decisions: they are decisions made for them, not with them. And that is why Nationalist policy, as it stands now, cannot contemplate Mandela's release and cannot achieve a peaceful resolution of South Africa's race problem.

There is one further point which Die Transvaler's reference to the activities of those wartime Afrikaners raises.

Government supporters claim that because black nationalists have turned to the communist countries for aid in their "liberation" struggle, they must themselves be communists.

Yet they forget how Afrikaner Nationalists looked to Nazi Germany for support in what they saw as their "liberation" struggle against British imperialism. How some of them even hoped for a German victory in the war, believing this would bring them their republic.

They forget how they have always vehemently denied this meant they were themselves Nazis; how they argued that some may have picked up a few Nazi ideas from the association, but that they were really just Afrikaner Nationalists seeking help wherever they could get it in the struggle that they believed in with such passionate patriotism.

Exactly the argument one hears from Mr Mugabe and other African nationalists to day.

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not materialised. It was believed that given

Agitators are slammed over pupil boycott

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, said yesterday that coloured children were being encouraged to boycott schools on the basis of untrue propaganda.

He accused opposition politicians of doing nothing to tell coloured people what was being done for their education, and opposition newspapers of aggravating the situation with exaggerated reports.

Mr Steyn was replying during the second reading debate on the Budget to criticism by Mr Colin Eglin (PFP Sea Point), of the "powder-keg" situation in coloured schools and townships.

Citing the amounts spent on coloured education, Mr Steyn said pupils would not boycott classes if they were told the whole truth.

In the last 10 years, R975-million had been spent on coloured education, with a further R125-million being spent on school buildings. In the same period, the number of pupils had increased from 500 000 to 750 000 and the number of properly qualified teachers from 15 000 to 25 000.

"The Government is really serious about giving all communities the best education. This is the key to a peaceful future for South Africa," he said.

"We are destroying the unfortunate situation that obtained in the past and we are giving people a new deal in education. One cannot do it overnight. One cannot build hundreds of schools in a day or educate thousands of teachers in a week."

Mr Steyn promised that damaged school buildings would be repaired, despite repeated vandalism, but said the priority was new schools to meet a dire shortage of classrooms.

"This year alone there have been more than 800 incidents of vandalism causing damage of

R750 000. I cannot keep putting this right and then build fewer new schools and classrooms."

He accused Mr Curtis Nkondo, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and former president of the Azanian Peoples' Organization, of "coming from the Transvaal to incite people here in the Cape".

Agitators were also making use of the propaganda for the release of Nelson Mandela to support riots and unrest. Pamphlets saying strikes continued on an almost daily basis, or that more than 3 000 South African soldiers were absent without leave, were used to encourage dissent among coloured children.

Mr Steyn appealed to newspapers, particularly Cape Town's two English-language papers, not to act as "propaganda agents for these people who are causing unrest and trouble".

"I do not say they do it wittingly, but by the publicity they give in advance to the intentions of these people by giving front-page stories every day, exaggerating the effect of this thing, for example, by talking about general strikes and things which are not true," he said.

A staff reporter writes that the Cape Town poet and playwright, Dr Adam Small, said yesterday he identified himself with the action taken yesterday by coloured pupils in the Cape and in Johannesburg against inferior education.

"I identify myself fully with this visible evidence of the struggle against racism on the part of our children. What they are saying is not new, but it has to be said over and over again," Dr Small said from Cape Town.

Dr Small said for decades blacks had been talking to a "deaf and intransigent" Government. "We have shouted. Still, who hears?"

Blacks and their children hated apartheid in education and in other spheres.

"We hate it because it breeds inferiority. Our children don't want to be 'coloureds'. They want to be South Africans.

"What Mr Marais Steyn seemingly does not understand is that the children are saying 'to hell with coloured education, we want only education'," Dr Small said.

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(b) Manual labour is hired locally from week to week.

Required: A revised budget (1) explaining your guide showing which job you would last 12 months to be offered.

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Marais, Motlana in an open clash

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S. L. L. L.
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By IVOR WILKINS

DR JAN Marais, the Nationalist MP for Pine-town, has come under fire for defending in Parliament the cause of a Soweto leader whose interests are represented by a firm of which Dr Marais is a director.

Dr Marais this week accused newspapers of underplaying a "long and worthwhile address" by Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council.

He accused a "brigade" of whites, including certain media, of choosing Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, as the man to promote.

"He only needs to sneeze and it is splashed all over numerous front pages," Dr Marais said.

Dr Motlana this week responded:

"It is well known that Dr Marais has taken sides with Mr Thebehali. In fact, more than that, he holds a brief for Mr Thebehali."

Dr Motlana was referring to the fact that Dr Marais is a director of Kirkpatrick and Associates, the firm of publicists in Johannesburg handling the Soweto Council account.

Distortion

"I am not an executive of Kirkpatrick and Associates. I am just a director," said Dr Marais.

"I am a director of many other companies.

"And I went out of my way to emphasise that I was not slamming Dr Motlana, or praising Mr Thebehali.

"The last thing I want to do is take sides.

"I am a fanatic for facts. There is too much distortion — accentuating some things and playing down others.

"This does not mean I agree with everything that Mr Thebehali says and does, or that I disagree with everything that Dr Motlana does.

"I just think they should be reported in an unbiased manner."

In his speech to Parliament, Dr Marais emphasised that he was not taking sides, but complained that when Mr Thebehali delivered a "long and worthwhile address", or when Chief Gatsha Buthelezi addressed a crowd of 40 000 in Soweto and spent most of the time "slamming Motlana", it was played down to relative insignificance, or even ignored.

What I want for South Africa

S. Lerner 20/4/80 (117)

by Dr NTHATO MOTLANNA

WHITES accuse us of not wanting to negotiate. In fact we do want to negotiate, and we are entirely prepared to negotiate. But only when there is a basis for negotiation. Let them make the commitment. That is all we ask.

Let them say: "Okay, we've realised that we have to make our way towards majority rule... Then we can negotiate the methods and the pace of actual implementation. I do not think it is helpful for the Government to keep on pretending they can contain the pressures they don't like by force."

Nor is it helpful for them to pretend to their own supporters that they can create a satisfactory society without pain. When I am preparing to give a bright, but ill, four-year-old patient an injection I never bluff him by telling him — as my nurses always do — that it will not be painful. I emphasise that it will be painful, but that it will soon be over.

The Government should be doing the same thing — telling their people openly that real change to assure real health will be painful. Don't prolong the agony. Make it short, sharp, and painful to the racists.

And let it soon be over. In fact, it will not be nearly as painful as whites imagine.

Blacks are not waiting in mass to jump into bed with white women, take over white suburbs, and throw whites into the sea, as so many whites fear. But we do want our fundamental human rights, which include a full and equal share — man for man — in the way our country is governed.

to be a period of reverse discrimination in terms of such things as access to jobs. There will also have to be a very major redistribution of wealth.

The purpose of the kind of mixed economy which I advocate is not to make everybody poor, as socialism is sometimes accused of doing. I do not see the ordinary white man in an ordinary job having to give up his possessions.

But anyone with eyes to see must admit that in South Africa we have ridiculous extremes of both wealth and poverty. If we are going to create any form of just society both of those will have to go.

The State must own land. That is one point where African tradition must come into its own. Land is not susceptible to private ownership. It is held in trust by whoever is working it for the coming generations.

Private houses and small plots should be privately owned. But agricultural land, no. I do not see any reason why farmers to whom the State has leased land should not make private profit out of the effort they put into that land. But we cannot go on with a system where a few people can own huge areas of land which they leave fallow, while others have to eke a living from handkerchief-sized plots. Commerce and industry are more difficult. I have no doubt that the mines should be nationalised, and perhaps some of the other big corporations. But I do not see any need or any benefit in discouraging the small and medium-sized businessman from

● Nationalise the farms

● Secure white jobs and houses

● Partnership with mining houses

owning and building up his own enterprise. I do not suggest a total takeover of existing mines or big businesses, but rather a system of joint ownership — a partnership between the State and the private entrepreneur. The real objective is to ensure that they are run in the public interest, at the same time as retaining the financial incentive to good management. Under wholly private control, the big corporations work purely for their shareholders, with the employees and the State only

getting as much as is absolutely necessary to keep the corporations going. It has often struck me that of all the industrial hostels I have ever been to, Iscor's are the only ones which are really designed for respectable human accommodation — I would like to see the mines in a position where they also had a control system which guaranteed human recognition of employees.

This kind of joint-ownership proposal is not just in the interest of blacks, it is in the interest of everyone, including the white working man. It is not new either. I note for example that some of SA's biggest industrialists make a big case of the fact that in their factories in other countries they work in partnership with the people, usually in the form of a 51 per cent holding by the host state. They take this as a point of pride. Why don't they do the same thing at home?

WHITES do not need to fear that majority rule will mean they get thrown out of their homes or jobs. They do need to recognise that they will no longer be given any special protection whatsoever. For a long long time to come the legacy of white experience and education will assure that whites continue to have a very big and important role. I do not deny that there will be trauma, and difficulty. But once the first step is made, the signal towards the common society is given, the worst of it will be over, and we can start the building and working-out process together.

This article in which the chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten spells out for the first time his vision of a South Africa under majority rule, has been excerpted from Frontline, a lively new magazine concentrating on South African issues and aimed at both black and white readers.

THAT means, in short, majority rule. What does this really do to whites? Whites automatically point to the Amins and the Bokassas, and tell horror stories about starvation in Tanzania and corruption in Zambia. And they assume that majority rule must necessarily involve communist control.

They think that because they have suppressed us for all these centuries we must want to suppress them in turn. They are wrong.

We recognise that whites are citizens of South Africa. We do not want to try to invent "homelands" for them, or send them back to Europe. We also recognise that the skills that keep society going are largely in the hands of whites. Many blacks are committed to socialism. In particular, many of the adherents of Black Consciousness are.



When I am preparing to give a bright but ill four-year-old patient an injection I never bluff him by telling him — as my nurses always do — that it will not be painful. I emphasise that it will be painful, but that it will soon be over.

I'D FREE MANDELA:

GEN



General
Hendrik van den
Bergh — for the
first time his
view on
Mandela's
release.

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Sun EXPRESS
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v d BERGH

Nelson was never communist asserts former chief of BOSS

IT'S ON!
You'll
see the
**Lions
Tests**

PAGE 3

**Another
shock
for SA
rugby**

PAGE 30

GENERAL Hendrik van den Bergh, South Africa's former security chief and the man whose brilliant detective work sent Nelson Mandela to Robben Island for life, believes the time has come to consider releasing Mandela — unconditionally.

In an interview with the Sunday Express this week on his farm at Bapsfontein he called for a review of the ANC leader's situation and said:

"If I were today still the chief of security in South Africa, I would recommend an immediate in-depth investigation into Mandela's present situation with a view to releasing him — if only on humanitarian grounds."

General Van den Bergh repudiated the statement by the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, this week that Mandela was a committed communist and marxist.

He told me: "I know the man's history well, and I challenge anyone to produce one shred of evidence to prove that Mandela was a member of the Communist Party. That is simply not so."

"He stood and still stands for Black nationalism just as Afrikaners — and I am one — still stand for Afrikaner nationalism."

It was General Van den Bergh who hunted down saboteur Mandela and brought him and his co-



conspirators to court in the Rivonia trial. It was widely hailed as a brilliant detective coup, and it was a milestone on the way to the general's becoming one of the most powerful, and feared, people in the country — head of BOSS and security adviser to the then Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster.

The 65-year-old general was credited with breaking the back of the underground ANC and Pogo movements in the turbulent 1960s.

Once his was the final word on all matters relating to the security of the country.

Now he says: "Mandela has served his time."

"He is a broken man and he has paid his debt to society."

Mandela, 61, has been in prison for 16 years.

General Van den Bergh says he understands how he must feel. The general recounted his own experience of "agony and anguish" when he was detained in

Handwritten notes in the right margin, including a vertical list of names and initials.

Release Mandela, says V d Bergh

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➔ From Page 1

Koffiefontein for three years during World War 2. And although it was a "dark and distressing experience" at least he knew that he would be released sooner or later.

"But Mandela — imprisoned for life and with not the faintest hope of gaining his freedom — has gone through that kind of hell a million times over."

It was time to think of releasing him, Gen Van den Bergh said, and possibly even without any conditions or restrictions.

"If I were in a position of power I would go to Robben Island and talk to him. I would look him in the eye and I would ask him if he wanted to be free. I would ask him what he would do if he were free, and I would ask him what he would tell his people.

"We would discuss these issues candidly and seriously, and I would decide for myself whether it would be in the interest of South Africa to release him. I would weigh the risks against the realities of the present-day situation.

"And if I decided that he should be freed — and I probably would — I would probably not attach any conditions to his release or place him under restrictions, for I would have his word of honour that he would rehabilitate and dedicate himself to uplifting his people within the confines of the law."

This, however, is in sharp contrast to the Government's view — as expressed again in Parliament this week by Mr Le Grange.

The Minister said that as far as he was concerned Mandela was still not only a communist but was also in contact with the African National Congress and other banned anti-South African organisations.

General Van den Bergh, who got to know Mandela well before and during his trial, disagrees.

He said that he and his officers had satisfied themselves at the time of the arrest that Mandela had not been a communist and never would be.

He had conspired with communists to overthrow the Government by violence, and he was party to acts of sabotage, yes.

Police had unearthed in the Rivonia raid a document calling on Blacks in South Africa to

convert to communism in Mandela's handwriting, yes.

Mandela was "no angel". His sentence was no miscarriage of justice.

But, said General Van den Bergh, Mandela's violence was not primarily directed at people. It was an expression of frustration which could in retrospect be seen in clearer and more practical and realistic terms.

Mandela, he said, had committed himself to a struggle of upliftment for Blacks and had fought vigorously within that context against White domination.

General Van den Bergh recalled that Mandela had not contested charges that his attitude had changed from non-violence to violence or that he had been the driving force behind the militant Spear of the Nation.

"But Mandela did not, I think, ever intend to endanger human lives in trying to reach his objectives, just as I do not believe that he was motivated by communist influences or beliefs."

The document found in the Rivonia raid, "How to Be a Good Communist", had not been written by Mandela but by someone else who was a communist. Mandela had put it into acceptable English.

Mandela, said General Van den Bergh, had stood for nothing more or less than fostering an ideology of Black nationalism to improve the lot of his people, although his methods in



● Dr Hendrik Verwoerd: ... "didn't want trial to drag"

trying to achieve these objectives, even considering that he was totally opposed to endangering human life, obviously remained questionable.

Nonetheless, his prison sentence should be reviewed against the background of important developments that had transpired and because of present-day pressures and uncertainties now facing South Africa.

The time had arrived for the Whites in South Africa to make up their minds about one crucial issue.

"They must decide whether they really want to continue retaining a seat at the table, or settle instead for the crumbs at a later stage."

Against the clearly emerging backdrop of political changes that would have to come, to accommodate Black aspira-

tions and interrace respect he believed that a decision to release Mandela on humanitarian grounds would be seen as an important token of "compassionate goodwill".

The general made an astonishing revelation that explained something that has puzzled many — and even seemed to puzzle the judge who tried Mandela.

Why was Mandela not charged with high treason, a charge that if pursued would very likely have sent him to the gallows?

At the time — June 1964 — the then Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice De Wet, said that because the Rivonia plotters had not been charged with high treason he had decided not to impose the supreme penalty.

"The crime of which they have been found guilty is essentially high treason," he said, "but the State has seen fit not to charge them with high treason."

According to the general, they had not been charged with high treason on the direct instructions of the then Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd.

Instead, the eight men had been charged with sabotage.

Dr Verwoerd had made it clear, said General Van den Bergh, that he did not want the embarrassment of a "repeat performance" of previous high treason trials which had dragged on for several years and in which the accused were acquitted.

Pityana resigns from post in BC movement

MR BARNEY Pityana has resigned from his post as United Kingdom regional chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCMSA).

Mr Pityana resigned after a procedural disagreement at the "Redefinition and Rededication Conference" held in London from April 8--12. He will remain a member however.

The conference also decided to change the name of the organisation to the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in order "to reflect more truly what the black people feel their country should be called."

The movement is to phase out the post of external director of BCM, presently held by Mr Harry Nongwenkulu, in line with the overall plan to "improve the structure of unity in the movement."

An interim committee has been chosen to represent the various regions of the BCM and they will issue a statement on the conference as a whole "after careful deliberation".

One member of the organisation denied that "major personalities have had a fallout".

The five-day conference was planned to arrange a regrouping of all the BCM people in exile so that "they could contribute more positively to the struggle back home."

The interim committee includes Mr Paul Manning, Mr Andrew Likhole, Mr Gerald Phohoye, Mr Mkhalelwa Mzihuko and Mr Dad Metelch.

No decision on talks with Buthelezi

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

THE Committee of Ten has not yet taken a decision on whether its chairman Dr Nthato Motlana should go ahead with the proposed meeting between himself and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

It was expected that the committee would take a decision on the proposed meeting when it met on Friday night.

However, Dr Motlana said no decision had been taken yet.

"The meeting we had was merely to discuss the programme of action for the civic association. What we discussed will be circularised to branches before making it public," Dr Motlana said.

A report in an after-

noon newspaper this week said Dr Motlana had accepted Chief Buthelezi's multi-faceted strategy for liberation of the black majority. S. Fest 2/4/60

Dr Motlana was quoted as having said: "We can disagree on fundamental and basic issues but I do not think there is any need for mud-slinging."

Members of the Committee of Ten were sceptical about the story. Mr Tom Manthata said reporting on the issue of driving Dr Motlana to a point where his credibility was challenged raised questions on the motives and orientation of such reporting.

Dr Motlana yesterday said he did not want to comment on the report.

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Buthelezi hits back at MP's 'mafia' attack

Tribune Reporters

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi has launched a slashing counter-attack on the National Party's Dr Willie Kotze, who has accused him of turning Inkatha into a mafia.

"It is such white arrogance as displayed by the Willie Kotzes of this world which will cause a bloodbath in South Africa," the Inkatha president and Chief Minister of KwaZulu said yesterday.

In an extraordinary attack on the Chief, Dr Kotze, MP for Parys, said in Parliament, he should "bring home to his people that it is not their primary task to father children, to sit around the beer pot and to follow the sun around the hait while the women till the fields."

Blatant

"No one must say I am busy damaging relations between white and black because I don't use the same blatant language as Chief Minister Buthelezi," Mr Kotze said.

"He talks of uprisings, revolution and bloodshed while I speak of raising people. He should do that instead of organising Inkatha into nothing else but a mafia."

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Kotze could "forget about us co-operating in our own emasculation" if he took change to mean blacks' compliance with stipulations of the apartheid regime.

"He must go and jump into the lake."

"Whites have governed blacks for 70 years and have on the whole made a mess of the country."

Blacks wanted to share power in the government of South Africa.

"What right have whites to govern us without our participation? South Africa's economy is as much a product of the black man's effort as it is of white effort."

Zulus had contributed with their brawn and the sweat of their brows.

Crude joke

"We have conceived children amongst our own people unlike whites who have produced children from black women, the Coloured people whom they have disenfranchised."

Dr Kotze's presentation of blacks as lazy people was a crude joke when our people work on white farms as slaves who are paid in kind to produce food for South Africa."

The white man denied blacks free and compulsory education and the use of land banks and other facilities for overdrafts.

"Who is a mafia — Inkatha or the Nationalist Party?" asked Chief Buthelezi.

Recalling the events in Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 and 1977, he said the Nationalist regime kept blacks in oppression at gunpoint.

"Inkatha does no such thing."

Go jump in a lake, Dr Kotze!

SUN TRIB

20/12/80

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107

1000 call: Release 'true leader' Mandela

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Own Correspondent
DURBAN — More than 1000 people yesterday called for the release of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the banned African National Congress who is imprisoned for life on Robben Island.

The call, made during a rent protest meeting at Phoenix, near Durban, was supported by more than 1000 people — mainly Indians and some Coloured people, in spite of the presence of three security policemen.

Dr Farook Meer, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, told the meeting that the people must not lose heart over the Government's announcement that Mr Mandela would not be released.

"We must fight and struggle until our real leaders are released," he said.

Immediately after he spoke, one of the audience called for Mandela's release.

ANNIVERSARY

In Pretoria, Professor Willem Kleynhans of Unisa's political science faculty has said that a good time to release Nelson Mandela would be next year, the 20th anniversary of the Republic.

Though the free Mandela campaign had been stalled last week by

the hard-line statement by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, it could be renewed with the anniversary celebrations in mind said Professor Kieynhans, one of many legal and political experts urging a rethink on political crimes.

Professor S A Strauss, professor of criminal law at Unisa, said: "The time has come to reconsider the Mandela case. The Government should practise the tradition of leniency towards political prisoners started by the great reformist, President Paul Kruger."

SOFTENED

Professor Jan van Rooyen of the criminal law and procedure department at Unisa, said the question of parole for Mandela rested on the discretion of the particular prison commissioner, who relied on the ruling of the Minister concerned.

But, he said, political crimes related to the times and circumstances in which they were committed and even though the ANC and the PAC accepted violence for political ends they could not be condemned outright.

The case of the political offender should be reconsidered in the light of the social mores of the time, agreed Professor Strauss.

aga opens with the public t the boat owner's rights. public property for public me owner's personal profit.

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ing enough (or the boon of catching more than enough) fish to pay for the day's rent and have at least four fish. If the boat owner hires the fishermen, he (the employer) bears the risk for the day on which he has guaranteed the fishermen at least four fish. Why do we emphasize "day"? To see, look again at the rental case: The rent set the following day for use of the boat will be the expected net catch. If the boat owner enjoys the entire future profit, as profits or losses in at. The boat owner cannot figure change—not even by ship, because the new buyer price to take all that into short-term rental arrangement to use the boat avoid being expectedly bad future. As employer hand, they are always, which they could always regardless of the fortunes on u can probably conjecture for sale it would be bought if was more optimistic about r who thought he knew better how to use the boat so as ch—or maybe the best kind

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is used, that is, how many are allowed on board, and (b) he is allowed to charge a price for access to the boat, and (c) keep the receipts. A private-property society permits those conditions. Private ownership of firms is dominant in most non-socialist countries and will be examined in more detail later.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE Minister of Police, Mr. Louis le Grange, yesterday warned three key black consciousness organisations to desist from their alleged promotion of the aims of banned political movements.

Mr Le Grange was elaborating on weekend reports in Afrikaans newspapers of a speech he delivered to the Transvaal congress of the Southern Cross Fund on Friday.

In it, he accused the Con-

Three black organisations warned

gress of South African Students (Cosas), the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) of furthering the aims of banned movements, including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Black People's Convention (BPC).

Grange said: "Some of these organisations are furthering the aims of banned organisations. They are moving in similar directions to banned organisations. Some are ANC-inspired."

The president of Cosas, Mr Ephraim Mogaale, and a student at the University of the North, Mr Thabo Makuyane, are to appear in court in Pietersburg today on charges under the Terrorism Act. Both have been in detention since last year.

Last month, a number of blacks who are members of black consciousness organisations, including journalist members of the pro-black consciousness Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasas), said they had been quizzed by Security Police.

Those questioned included the acting president of Azapo, Mrs Nornbulelo Malane, and the suspended Azapo president, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

Generally worse than fair) are accepted at Las Vegas and elsewhere? There have
Mr Le Grange was elaborating on weekend reports in Afrikaans newspapers of a speech he delivered to the Transvaal congress of the Southern Cross Fund on Friday.
In it, he accused the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) of furthering the aims of banned movements, including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Black People's Convention (BPC).
He named Cosas as an organiser of the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings, which he connected to the Free Mandela campaign. He also charged Azapo with propagating the ideas of the BPC, and said Azapo was working with organisations established on the instructions of the ANC. Asked for further comment yesterday, Mr Le Grange said: "Some of these organisations are furthering the aims of banned organisations. They are moving in similar directions to banned organisations. Some are ANC-inspired."
He declined to name the ANC-orientated organisations with which Azapo is allegedly co-operating.
The freed detainees include Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, a founder member of Azapo, and 12 members of Cosas.
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Paris explosion aimed at us, says Moumbaris

(11A)

KDM 2/7/80

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — A powerful bomb exploded in the building housing the French Anti-apartheid Committee in the Latin Quarter in Paris on Saturday night, wounding four people, one seriously.

The committee is housed in a four-storey building run by the Association of Protestant Students, which also houses many Leftist movements. So far no particular group has claimed responsibility for the attack. "But we think the bomb was meant for us," a member of the Anti-apartheid Committee, Alexandre Moumbaris, the prisoner who escaped from Pretoria Prison last year, said yesterday.

Moumbaris added: "There have been other attacks. Molotov cocktails were thrown at the committee offices and we have received letter bombs in the mail. They have never been claimed by any group."

Police said that high explosives were detonated at 6.30pm in the staircase well of the four-storey building.

Several years ago bombs exploded outside the Outspan and Satour offices in Paris, and three years ago a Molotov cocktail gutted the South African Airways office in the city. There were no casualties. Nobody ever claimed responsibility for these attacks either.

Meanwhile, diplomatic sources in Paris revealed that

the new republic of Zimbabwe will not open an embassy in Paris or maintain a diplomatic mission in the city, although France is opening an embassy in Salisbury.

This unusual arrangement is officially said to be a result of the new African state's shortage of foreign currency.

A Zimbabwean ambassador will be accredited to Paris, but he will be resident in a neighbouring capital, perhaps London or Brussels, the sources said.

It is believed in Paris that the decision was taken by Mr Robert Mugabe as a sign of his annoyance that Rhodesia's last embassy abroad was in Paris, and reflects his belief that the French were too lax towards the Smith regime.

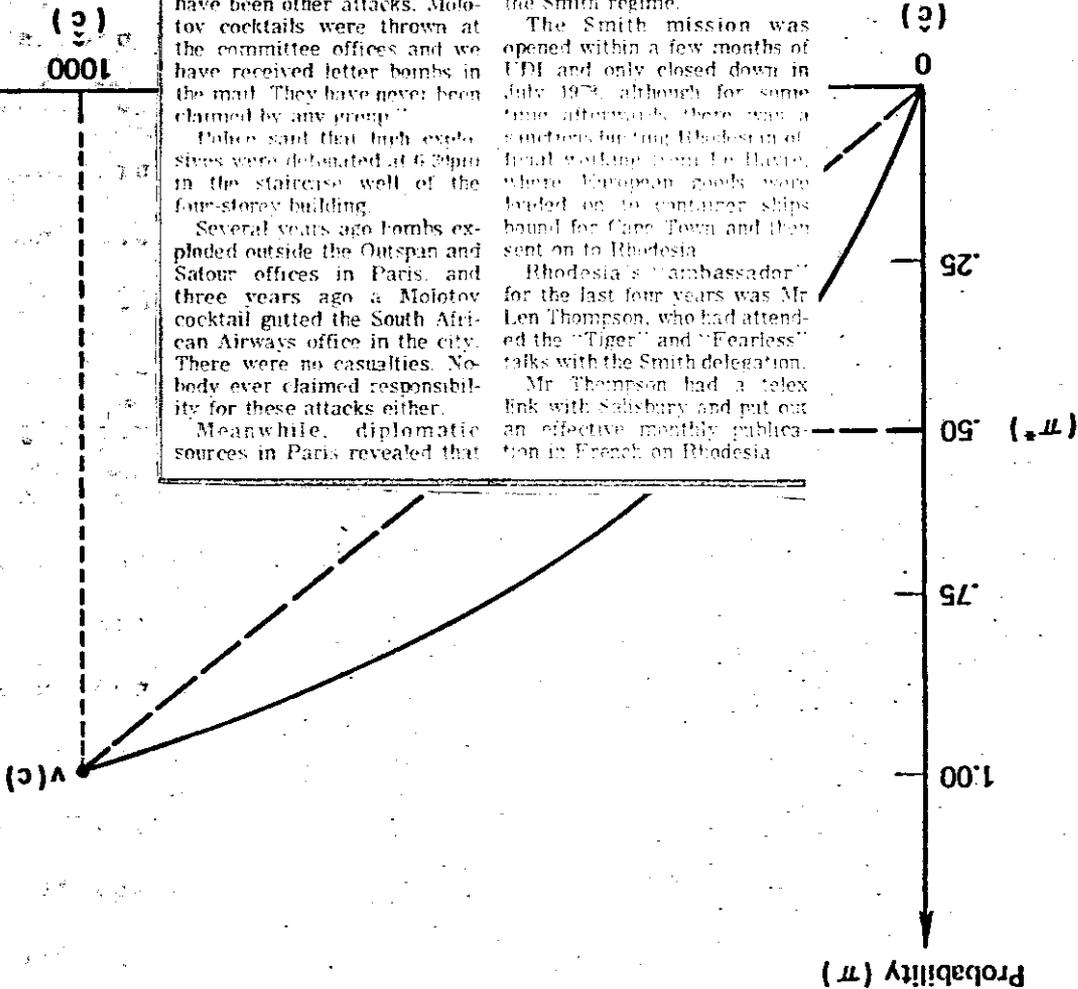
The Smith mission was opened within a few months of UDI and only closed down in July 1979, although for some time afterwards there was a sanctions-busting Blackstar of food working from Le Havre, where European goods were loaded on to container ships bound for Cape Town and then sent on to Rhodesia.

Rhodesia's "ambassador" for the last four years was Mr Len Thompson, who had attended the "Tiger" and "Fearless" talks with the Smith delegation.

Mr Thompson had a telex link with Salisbury and put out an effective monthly publication in French on Rhodesia

by the

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Income



'Arrogant Willie' warned

ULUNDI. — White arrogance, as displayed by the "Willie Kotzes of this world", would cause blood baths in South Africa, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said at the weekend.

He was reacting to a statement made by the Nationalist MP for Parys, Dr Willie Kotze, in Parliament on Thursday. In his statement Dr Kotze attacked Chief Buthelezi, saying he was turning the Inkatha movement into a "mafia".

"I am a South African and South Africa is my 'homeland' — just as much as it is Dr

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Kotze's 'homeland'," the chief said. **(UA)**

He said the people of KwaZulu had rejected the fragmentation of South Africa in order to make KwaZulu into a satellite state of South Africa under the grandiose scheme of apartheid.

Whites had governed blacks for 70 years and had made a mess of the country.

"We want to share power in the government of our country, which is South Africa. What right have whites to govern us without our participation? South Africa's economy is as

much a product of black effort as it is of white effort.

"Zulus have contributed towards the development of the economy of South Africa with their brawn and sweat from their brows.

"We have conceived children among our own people, unlike whites, who have produced children from black women — the coloured people — whom they have disenfranchised although they have the same culture and language as the whites.

"The majority of coloured people are of Afrikaner extraction," he said. — Sapa.

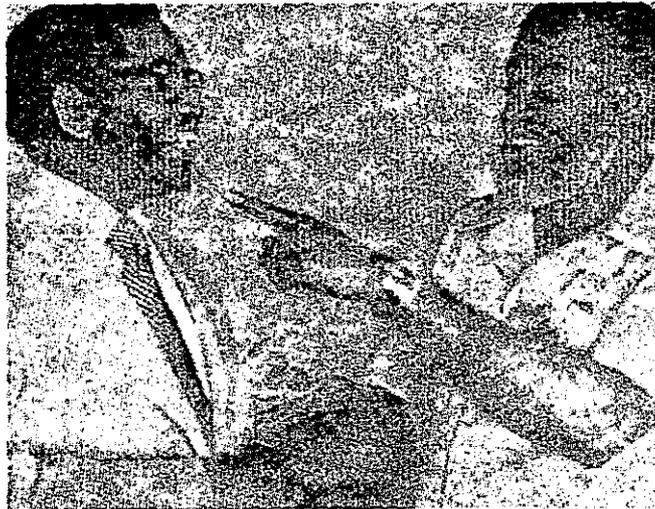
ANC in bad books with Zanu (PF)

THE African National Congress of South Africa cannot expect vigorous support from Zimbabwe unless it makes a real effort to mend relations with its Zanu (PF) government, according to a senior government official in Salisbury.

Over the long term, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the South West African Peoples Organisation could expect material aid, said the same official, who is close to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

The ANC is in Zanu (PF's) bad books because of its history of support for Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu wing of the Patriotic Front alliance. Links between the movements date to the 1960s, when ANC sent insurgents into action alongside Zapu forces, and cold-shouldered Zanu.

Significantly, the ANC was not officially invited to the Zimbabwe independence celebration by the Mugabe Government although its leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, attended anyway.



Oliver Tambo (left) and Sam Nujoma in Harare last week. Tambo is getting an ice-cold reception in Zimbabwe while Nujoma has doors open for him.

The East German government, also close to Zapu and the ANC, was neither invited nor represented.

Zanu (PF's) leadership is highly critical of the top ranks of the ANC, saying that they lack dynamism, according to the senior official quoted above.

He added that so far,

to find the purse-strings loosening, he said. The PAC is a traditional ally of Zanu (PF), and both movements have been supported by Peking, unlike the Moscow-backed ANC and Zapu.

But, wrecked by internal quarrels and fratricidal warfare the PAC has fallen into near-desuetude, and its capacity for a comeback is uncertain.

Swapo is viewed favourably by Zanu (PF) because it had retained good relations with both wings of the Patriotic Front in the past, according to the Zimbabwean official.

MATERIAL AID

In the long run, he said, it could expect material aid if the war in Namibia continued, although the aid would be limited by Zimbabwe's restricted economic capabilities.

Mr Sam Nujoma, the president of Swapo, confirmed that "we expect political and diplomatic support, as well as material assistance at a later stage" from the Mugabe Government.

As the ANC and PAC are banned organisations in South Africa their officials may not be quoted.

Mercury Reporter

Buthelezi

NM 22/4/80 (107) (11A)

hits at ANC

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday he regretted the attitude of the African Nationalist Congress in exile in influencing the international community to recognise only their efforts and to ignore the role of black patriots in the struggle on South African soil.

Delivering the Chief Minister's policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the KwaZulu leader made the point that Inkatha had 'kept the flame of the struggle alive in South Africa'.

Inkatha had engaged the forces of oppression in this struggle, Chief Buthelezi declared, even on the grounds which those forces had chosen.

He continued: 'That is why we have halted KwaZulu being pushed by Pretoria towards so-called independence. We have prevented millions of blacks from being made aliens in their own land.'

He explained that, as a result of this attitude of the ANC in treating the struggle as their own property and not that of millions of black people of South Africa, Inkatha's effort in the struggle on South African soil was often dismissed in most diplomatic circles. These represented the international community in South Africa.



CHIEF Buthelezi ... improve economic plight.

Chief Buthelezi said that, in spite of the failure of his 'brothers in the ANC' to reciprocate the recognition he had always given to their existence, he had no intention of crossing swords with them.

'I have identified with the struggle they are engaged in, in spite of our differences on strategies. If there is no identification between us on ideals, I think the liberation struggle in South Africa will suffer.'

Nusas president under attack for ANC move

NM Mercury Reporter (107) (11A)
ULUNDI—The President of Nusas, Mr Andrew Boraine, came under attack by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi during the Chief Minister's policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday.

He said he was perturbed that a concession to whites to join the banned African National Congress in exile should be taken as licence by white radicals in South Africa and abroad to create divisions among blacks.

In South Africa this breed of politically empty-handed radical, he asserted, operated particularly at the white universities.

'An example of this type of young radical is the present president of Nusas, Andrew Boraine. I

do not want to make him more important by dealing in any depth with some of his pontifications on black organisations and black politics,' he added.

Chief Buthelezi said the activities of the radicals represented a new form of white intellectual colonisation of the black man.

'There is this battle for the black man's mind. The

Nationalists have won some black minds for apartheid to the extent that some of our people have given up the democratic opposition against white domination which the ANC initiated in 1912, and has accepted independence à la Pretoria.

'We now have these so-called young radicals trying to define a destiny for us as blacks in South Africa.'

West's standards sicken me, says chief

Mercury Reporter

ULUNDI—Western countries were determined to be all things to all men, if they were to be judged by the personnel of some of the embassies and consulates in South Africa. And their double standards were sickening.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi made these observations in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday in the course of delivering the Chief

Minister's policy speech.

He continued: 'The West plans that they will not support the armed struggle. At the same time they make something out of empty and meaningless clichés such as that we here in this Assembly are operating "within the system".'

But he pointed out that these countries were heavily involved with South Africa. They had embassies and consulates operating

within the racist system of the country.

'They do business with South Africa in spite of her racist policies. Industrial and commercial empires which we see in South Africa — both local and multinational — were built up on the backs of the black man and on black exploitation.'

There had been development even through the regrettable ex-

ploitation that had taken place. This was grudgingly conceded, he said.

It made sense, therefore, to improve the economic plight of the black man rather than to advocate withdrawal of investments.

He said that hardly any countries in the West supported Inkatha projects or gave humanitarian aid to black people wherever they were, as Britain had pledged herself to do.

NM 22/4/80

Mothers march

11A

in rents rise row

Mercury Reporter

MORE than 100 Indian and coloured women from Phoenix and Newlands East yesterday staged a 'silent protest' against proposed rent increases when they packed the public galleries of the Durban City Council chamber during a meeting.

The women gathered in the gardens near the Cenotaph at 2pm before going to the City Hall.

They then filed into the public galleries on the first and second floors while the council was in session.

Their presence raised a number of eyebrows, and appeared to surprise the Mayor, Councillor Haydn Bradfield. One of the protesters said they had hoped that the Mayor would give them a chance to air their grievances.

'We did not want to be rude by disrupting the meeting,' said a Phoenix mother of three, who asked not to be identified.

She said the protest had been timed 'to remind the council of the hardships higher rentals would cause for families already struggling to make ends meet'.

A deputation from the council is expected to meet the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, in Cape Town today to discuss, among other things, the move to increase rents in council housing schemes.

One representative from each area met Mr Bradfield, and the Deputy Mayor, Mrs Sybil Hotz, after the council meeting, but Mr Bradfield said afterwards nothing new had been discussed.

He said the council was still discussing the issue.

Gatsha hits at radical whites

ULUNDI. — It was extremely perturbing that a concession to whites to join the banned African National Congress should be taken as a licence by white radicals in South Africa and abroad to create divisions among blacks, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, said yesterday.

The chief, who is also president of Inkatha, was delivering his policy speech during the second reading of the 1990 Appropriation Bill in the third session of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi.

"It is fashionable for many people today, both black and white, who would like to be seen as radicals, to masquerade as members or associates of the ANC."

He cited the president of Nussas, Mr Andrew Boraine, as an example of the kind of white radical he was referring to. He said he did not want to make Mr Boraine any more important by dealing with his statement on black organisations and politics.

"This is a new form of white intellectual colonisation of the black man. This is a battle for the black man's mind."

The chief said the Government had won some blacks' minds for apartheid. They had accepted the so-called homelands, "but now we have these so-called young white radicals trying to define a destiny for us blacks in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi reaffirmed that he had met the President of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, in London last year.

He said there was a political fallacy, which some white newspapers wanted to propagate, that his leadership stood on shaky ground.

The newspapers had tried to deny that he had met Mr Tambo and said that he was only using the meeting to heighten his leadership.

"This is being propagated in spite of the fact that the constituency which I lead is larger than the political constituency of the largest political party in South Africa, which is the National Party," said the Chief. — Sapa.

(b) Manual labour is hired locally from week to week.

(d) All the plant needed for Southampton has been owned for some years. £1,600 is the year's depreciation (straight-line) in the financial accounts. Plant will be hired out at a rental of £750. Entry, at 58 of ds.

(f) Office and general £1,800 every year

Required: A revised budget (if you think as far as possible to the same showing which job you (as a principal) explaining your guiding principle would last 12 months; no other to be offered.

Mandela

Argus 23/4/80

campaign

(33) (32) ended (11A)

talks'

From a Staff Reporter

STELLENBOSCH —

The free Mandela campaign had seriously damaged delicate negotiations which could have led to Nelson Mandela being released from Robben Island. Mr Gibson Thula, chairman of publicity for Inkatha, said last night.

Answering a question from the floor during the SAAK congress on the constitution, Mr Thula said he had not mentioned it before but the matter had been the subject of discussion 'as far back when Mr Vorster was Prime Minister'.

IN FEBRUARY

Even as recently as February this year Inkatha had 'eyeball to eyeball' discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

'These discussions had gone far when the free Mandela campaign started,' he said.

'Word then came back to us that the feeling was that to free Mandela now would be bad politics. I feel very bad about it,' Mr Thula said.

● Inkatha has opted for talking' — Page 4

Wobray Maternity Hospital on Sunday. The baby girls, weighing kilograms at birth, will remain in an incubator until they are of the children has been named

'Free prisoners to create goodwill'

FS CT
23/4/80
11A

Staff Reporter

STELLENBOSCH. — Students at the University of Stellenbosch were told by a leading Inkatha official last night that political prisoners should be freed to create goodwill in South Africa.

Mr Gibson Thula, the chairman of Inkatha's publicity and strategy committee, was addressing a conference on the Constitution of South Africa organized by a student association, the Stellenbosse Aktuele Aangeleentheidskring (SAAK).

He said that Inkatha challenged the government to realize that certain steps were necessary to create goodwill before calling for discussion on constitutional proposals.

'Spirit of reconciliation'

These included amnesty for all political prisoners, the return of exiles and the lifting of banning orders.

He said that after the Zimbabwe elections and the coming to power of Mr Robert Mugabe, there existed a spirit of reconciliation in Southern Africa.

Inkatha believed in a national convention at which all would participate — including political prisoners, exiles, all the white parties and blacks.

Progressive Federal Party MP, Professor Nic Olivier said that no constitutional answers could be sought without the participation of accepted leaders meeting and developing a constitution even if it took "a year or ten years."

Looking up no solution

NOTHING was achieved by the imprisonment of black leaders, Mr Brian Goodall, PFP MP for Edenvale, said at a house meeting in Kimberley this week.

There was a pressing need to negotiate with authentic leaders who were representatives of black aspirations and this could not be achieved when white dominated politics were considered sacrosanct, he said on Monday.

"By locking up black leaders nothing is achieved. It is better to know who the leaders are than have an "amorphous body" that one cannot negotiate with, he said.

Mr Goodall said South Africa could learn a number of lessons from the recent developments in Zimbabwe.

Attempts to negotiate exclusively with black moderates had failed dismally, he said, and the resulting negotiations with more radical elements had left little room for compromise.

"The Government's willingness to negotiate with moderate black leaders had little value when the younger generation are turning to those leaders and asking them what they have achieved with their moderation."

He said that there was no doubt Nelson Mandela had the support of a large number of blacks. It was up to the Government to ascertain the depth of this support. If it found he was a representative of black opinion then the Government should negotiate with him.

However, this did not mean the PFP was advocating negotiations with leaders who were attempting to overthrow the state by violence.

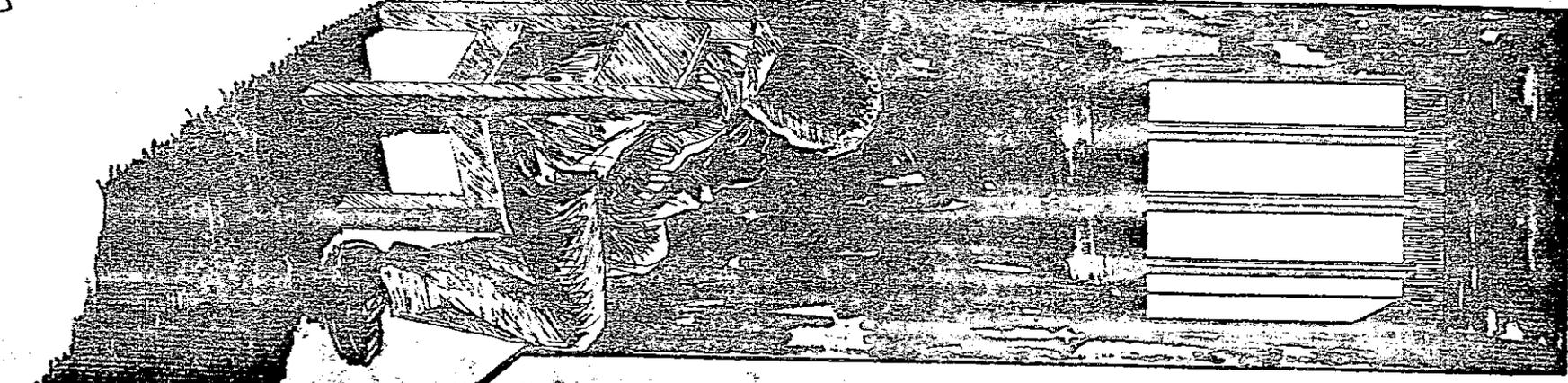
News by J. Sanford, of Hoodley Street, Kimberley.

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What does Mandela think NOW?

A campaign for the release of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela has attracted widespread interest, but few South Africans know what political beliefs he now holds, writes political reporter TOM DUFF.

It is not surprising that South Africans know so little about Nelson Mandela. Widespread provisions of the Prisons Act and the fact that he is banned prevent him from being quoted, his writings from being read in South Africa and his views on current political issues from being known. Unless special permission is obtained, even a photograph of him cannot be published.

His wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, is allowed to see him once a month, but even if the law allowed her to describe his thinking on various topical issues, these could not be published. She is also a banned person.

Resides children and immediate relatives, the authorities have occasionally allowed Mandela other visitors. These have included British barrister, Mr Nelson Mustoe QC, and former British Cabinet Minister Mr Dennis Healey, who described Mandela as "an old friend."

Mrs Irene Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg, used to see him fairly regularly, but the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, stopped these visits about five years ago.

The *Red Cross* is allowed to visit Robben Island once a year. Mandela's biographical details are fairly well known. He was born in Transkei, a member of the Tembu royal house, his imagination was fired by tales of tribal heroes, he was a student activist and, as a forceful, charismatic person, he swiftly rose to a position of leadership in the now-banned African National Congress.

A decision to opt for violence as a means of change finally culminated in his being sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of sabotage. This much is known, but a question which is now increasingly being posed is: where does he stand now? Homage is frequently paid to him by leaders of black groups which are antagonistic towards each other. Relations between Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha Buthelez and the Soweto Committee of Ten chairman Dr Mkhato Mofama are frigid, but both have made repeated calls for Mandela's release.

What are his views on THEIR differing political roles? Questions being asked by opposition MPs and a few Nationalist MPs are: Has Mandela renounced violence as a means of change? What is his vision of South Africa in the future? The Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, has conceded that there are differences of opinion within the PFP over the current campaign for Mandela's release. He has, however, denied that this is a divisive issue in the party and said it is not a matter affecting fundamental party principles. He has urged the Government to consider Mandela's release in the interests of negotiating a peaceful future for South Africa. The qualifica-

tion he sets is that the ANC leader should be freed from Robben Island only if he renounces violence and is willing to take part in peaceful negotiation.

There are, however, some members of Dr Slabbert's party who are not convinced that Mandela would be willing to do this. Members of the New Republic Party and some verligte Nationalists are also sceptical. But they have been impressed by the moderate policies of Zimhawe leader, Mr Robert Mugabe who once had the image of a blood-thirsty marxist revolutionary. As a result, they are curious about what Mandela's political thinking is. Because of the laws which silence him, it is very difficult to determine what this is.

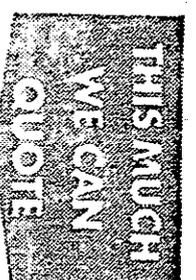
There are, however, some pointers. The Minister of Police, Mr Louis Grange, revealed last week in Parliament that Mandela was still in touch with the banned ANC — even from South Africa's top security prison, Robben Island. Mr Le Grange declined to give details of this when approached later.

The Department of Prisons revealed three years ago that Mandela had been charged in terms of a prison regulation which covers insolent or disrespectful behaviour towards a member or any other person employed in the prison or towards an official or any other visitor to the prison. If he has remained tough-minded and committed to the ANC cause, where does he now stand on violence as a means of change?

It is difficult to tell. But, in a speech before he was sentenced in court, Mandela expressed a belief that government policies had forced blacks to adopt violent methods. A section of this speech was read in Parliament by Progressive Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, and therefore may be quoted. (See accompanying story.)

General Hendrik van den Berg, former head of the Bureau of State Security, has denied that Mandela ever was a communist. General van den Berg said in interviews at the weekend that if he were still in charge of South Africa's security he would recommend an in-depth investigation into Mandela's present situation with a view to releasing him.

"He stood and still stands for black nationalism, just as Afrikaners — and I am one — still stand for Afrikaner Nationalism," he said. The Government has deplored the current campaign for his release. The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, reacted angrily at a recent public meeting to questions by Stellenbosch students about Mandela. "If we release Mandela, we will free an arch-marxist who belongs to an organisation which is working from outside South Africa to overthrow the State," Mr Botha said. In Parliament last week, Mr Le Grange said the Government's answer to the campaign for Mandela's release was one simple word, "No." Some observers — perhaps optimistically — pointed out that he did not say "never."



Part of a speech made by Nelson Mandela before he was sentenced to a term of imprisonment was read out in Parliament in January 1963 by Progressive Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman.

Mr John Vorster, who was Minister of Justice at the time, confirmed that Mrs Suzman's words were protected under parliamentary privilege and can be reported. Mrs Suzman said: I want to conclude by quoting remarks that were made in a court of law by Mandela before he was sentenced. I want to quote from his defence in his own trial. This is what he said: "Always we have been conscious of our obligation as citizens to avoid breaches of the law, where such breaches can be avoided to prevent clashes between the authorities and our people, where such a clash can be prevented, but nevertheless we have been driven to speak up for what we believe is right and work for it and try to bring about changes which will satisfy our human conscience..."

"Government violence can only do one thing and that is to breed counter-violence. We have wanted repeatedly that the government by resorting continually to violence will breed, in this country, counter-violence among the people, till ultimately if there is no drawing of sanity on the part of the government, ultimately the dispute between the government and my people will finish up by being settled in violence and by force."

"Already there are indications in the country that people, my people, Afrikaners, are turning to deliberate acts of violence and of force against the government in order to persuade the government in the only language which this government shows by its own behaviour that it understands."

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23/4/80
114
327

Mahlangu

vigil

UNA Post
24/4/80

THE Alexandra branch of the Congress of South Africa Student (Cosas) will hold a night vigil at the Methodist Church on Friday and attend the unveiling of the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu at Mamelodi Cemetery on Saturday morning.

Buses will leave the Methodist Church in 2nd avenue Alexandra for Mamelodi.

Those who would like to be furnished with further information should contact the Rev Moleleki or any of the Cosas members.

The fees to Mamelodi is R2, adults and R1,50 students.

Talk of change

'a big bluff'

Staff Reporter

STELLENBOSCH. — Blacks believed that talk of change by the prime minister and many whites was a big public relations exercise intended to bluff everybody, the chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthatho Motlana, said last night.

Dr Motlana was well received by about 400 people at a conference on the Constitution of South Africa at the University of Stellenbosch.

The conference was organized by a student organization, the Stellenbosse Aktuele Aangeleentheidskring.

Dr Motlana said that South Africa's history since 1910 had been a fight by the black to "come in from the cold" to a common South Africa and attempts by whites to "kick him out".

With separate development everyone had thought they now had a final solution — "that blacks could be pushed away".

Debate now acknowledged that the ideal had failed. But in spite of the prime minister and white South Africa speaking of a need for change, blacks were aware that the decision to change had not yet been made — "it's all a big public relations exercise intended to bluff everybody".

"The desire is still to keep the white man in power."

There was to be no power sharing. Any "contortions" in trying to draw up a constitution without blacks would fail. South Africa was a mixed country.

A South African constitutional expert, Professor Marinus Wiechers, said South Africa had adopted a classic model to "decolonize" groups in its territory, but this policy had failed.

WHEN Chief Gatsha Buthelezi addressed a crowd of 15 000 people in Soweto on Sunday April 13, he certainly had some encouraging things to say about the black man's role in his prolonged struggle for survival though in the midst of plenty.

He delved into the history of South African politics in relation to the pathetic attempts by the black man to liberate himself from the yoke of white domination which has been motivated by greed, prejudice and fear.

It is a sad thing for us all that even at this very late hour, there are still human beings who think of themselves as different from others regarding their needs, and aspirations, and therefore cling tenaciously to the iniquitous philosophy of nepotism, separatism and sectionalism.

If we agree with Chief Buthelezi's call, that blacks should adopt a multi-faceted strategy in pressuring the authorities to hold a national convention, who, then is the master-mind we are hoping to see emerge mysteriously amongst us, to spell out the most effective super-strategy that will be the ultimate answer to our objectives?

Is it not true that the success or failure of any strategy will depend on its honest and vigorous application?

As a citizen concerned over the disgusting poor administration of Soweto, I think time is now ripe for every resident to put on his thinking cap and seriously evaluate the advice of Chief Buthelezi, who considers the use of the Community Councils by the right people, as a temporary vehicle in order to "turn tables against the Government's policies".

Since there are only two ways open to us blacks, by which we could influence a change — namely violently, or peacefully — we are obliged to opt for a strategy that has limited prospects of success and less bloodshed.

When definite instructions are given to specially selected persons to execute assigned responsibilities for a specific purpose, there is no question of principles being sacrificed or credibility of certain individuals being undermined.

Let us avoid the use of cast-iron phrases such as "Will never negotiate or talk to so and so".

There is no need for us



CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, President of Inkatha, recently urged blacks to consider a multi-faceted strategy to secure freedom. Today, DOUGLAS LOLWANE, a member of the Soweto Committee of 10, says the time has come for blacks to consider the possibility of "turning the tables against the Government" through the Community Council system.

IIA 100M 24/4/80

Black leaders' year of action



Some of the Ten... Lekgau Mathebatho, Douglas Lolwane (obscured), Mashwebade Mayathula and Nthato Motlana

to get at each other's throats over diversity of strategies for a common cause.

When Chief Buthelezi says: "No leader can have the wisdom which surpasses the collective wisdom of our masses in their millions," he is also indirectly asking a question.

The question is: "What is the collective opinion of the masses of Soweto about the Community Councils?"

The answers are:

- The vast majority of Soweto residents totally reject the Community Councils in their present form — and the Government knows it. Unfortunately the Community Councils have mushroomed all over South Africa, and nothing is really happening to dismantle them.

- Residents do not recognise the Six-percenters as their true representatives and detest the manner in which Soweto civic affairs are being conducted in the council chambers. Nevertheless they still make decisions for us.

- Residents dislike all Soweto Councillors who pretended four years ago that they could do something for Soweto under the

provisions of the Community Council Act, but they hate Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Community Council, even more. All the same he is still boss and his word is final.

- They want Mr Thebehali and his henchmen removed from the Community Council and never to appear again on the scene of Soweto civic matters, but nobody seems to have the guts to say how this should be done.

Grievances which are not resolved propitiously can lead to very unpredictable consequences.

It will serve no useful purpose for Inkatha to signal an intention to go it alone in the coming council elections.

My personal view is that the civic affairs of any community must of necessity be the collective function of all its citizens irrespective of their political, religious or professional affiliations.

Inkatha, Azapo, Wasa are national political bodies which in my opinion should operate on a broad national level, but actively encourage their members to join civic bodies and contribute towards the planning of strategies at

branch level with no provisions for separate identities.

We must sort out priorities, and then firmly agree on a collective strategy specifically intended to achieve an objective.

Our goal should not be to substitute the present Community councillors but "turn tables against the present local operation in Soweto to the best of our advantage".

It will be a sad day for me if Inkatha sanctions member-participation in the elections before the pre-conditions asked for by the Committee of Ten are met.

Mr Louis Rive, the Postmaster General who has been appointed co-ordinator of Soweto projects, has decided to resign from the Post Office for one reason only, that is to fulfill the backlog of promises made to the people of Soweto by former Prime Minister John Vorster, and former Minister of Plural Relations, Dr Connie Mulder and others some three years ago.

He cannot succeed without Government funds. We must therefore insist on the following:

- Government to find sources of revenue and

channel R50-million into the empty coffers of Soweto council. The Government has these sources.

- Government to act boldly and repeal the Community Council Act and grant Soweto full autonomy in the name of goodwill, peace and justice.

- If the "99 year leasehold" is as good as the free-hold title deeds, why insist on the former.

- A commission of enquiry to be set up to investigate, (with the minimum of delay) the financial transactions of WRAB since 1974.

- Radical reduction of unproductive personnel and abolition of redundant positions in WRAB hierarchy.

- The rent-increase to apply to persons falling within a classified income bracket and exemptions granted to all old pensioners.

- Dobsonville, Meadowlands and Diepkloof townships should be incorporated into Soweto and enlarge the number of wards to 50. It is ridiculous and uneconomic to administer the Soweto complex under WRAB's present fashion.

I personally agree with Chief Buthelezi that vocal

protests, demonstrations, boycotts in our present situation do not seem to meet the dire needs of our people within the maximum time expected.

We need some form of action to prove a point.

There can be no question of "wait and see" which way the wind will blow at this point in time.

Nothing will please me more than the Government's accession to the above recommendations, which I believe would create a healthy climate for a free and fair election of the true representatives for the disgruntled society of Soweto.

Let us engage ourselves in brain-storming sessions over our Soweto civic affairs for now and the future.

If democracy has any meaning to us, let the branches of our Soweto

City Association show their teeth and flex their muscles to the perpetrators of misery who are frantically organising themselves to squander with impunity R25 000 by inviting you to the celebrations of Soweto's 15th anniversary of bankruptcy.

Buthelezi on commission's role in Natal

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The first task of the proposed Buthelezi commission of inquiry will be to consider the future of all Natal's people, with a view to making proposals that will add a new dimension to the political evolution of South Africa.

This was spelled out in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly by the Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, when he gave details of the proposed commission on Tuesday for the first time.

Chief Buthelezi said one of the reasons for this initiative by his Inkatha movement was a realisation that the present political impasse in South Africa could not be circumvented by protest.

"Inkatha also sees very clearly that the time has come for a formal black initiative in planning the collective political future," he said.

He added: "South Africa stands on the threshold of a new era as the sole remaining

white-ruled territory in Africa, with signs of impending internal change, yet with all formal initiative for change occurring within the white, National Party-dominated political framework.

"That this is inappropriate to the times is more than self-evident."

The Inkatha leader said that while political affairs in South Africa had been dominated by concerns relating to blacks, policy formulation had been narrowly restricted to white perceptions of possibilities and alternatives.

The proposed commission would be a black initiative, taken on behalf of all the people of Natal, as an example to the rest of the country.

Chief Buthelezi announced that the multiracial commission would have 40 members, including representatives of the spheres of economics, politics, agriculture, industry, commerce, education and religion in Natal.

Provision had been made for an overseas representative of the African National Congress to sit on the commission. Press representatives would also be invited to serve.

He suggested the commission deliver an interim report to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly after a year.

"In the interim report, the commission may recommend — if its tasks and circumstances so dictate — that the interim report be regarded as the final report and that its task be seen as complete," he said.

It was envisaged that funds would be voted by the Legislative Assembly to maintain a secretariat to implement the work of the commission.

The services of the Commissioner-General of the territory would be sought in matters relating to high-level communications between the commission and the South African Government.

Nkondo held in SWOOP

MA 24/4/82
11A 327
JOHANNESBURG — Security Police yesterday swooped on black consciousness leaders in Johannesburg and Cape Town, detaining four people, including the suspended president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

The other three were held in Cape Town. They are Mr Trevor Wentzel, secretary of Azapo's Athlone branch, Mr Achmad Cassiem, banned former president of the SA Students' Association, and Mr Michael Sedgwick, of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies.

The acting head of the Security Police, Brigadier Jan du Preez, confirmed last night the four were being detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act which provides for a renewable detention of up to 14 days.

The detentions sparked a wave of condemnation by black leaders and the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman.

Mr Nkondo's detention followed shortly after he had addressed a mass meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand, condemning the South African education system.

"We want good education now, and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon," he told the students.

"If it means I am to be incarcerated, let that come in a few minutes."

Mr Nkondo, who is also chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and a member of the Solidarity Front, had urged white students to join "resistance" against the education system.

Last month, Mr Nkondo was the first of a number of black consciousness supporters to be questioned by Security Police. He said at the time that police had told him to be prepared for a banning order within three weeks.

— DDC.

Argus 24/4/80

8 held



(Continued from Page 1)

held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act. This entitles the police to hold them for periods of up to 14 days without being charged.

He said that it was not known at this stage whether any charges would be laid against the men. Police investigations were continuing.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Opposition spokesman on black affairs, said she hoped the detainees would either be charged or released as soon as possible.

'This is detention without trial, albeit for a shorter period than under Section Six of the Terrorism Act. Any form of detention without trial must be condemned,' she said.

Eight held under security laws

Argus 24/4/80

11A

328

Crime Reporter
SECURITY Police have detained eight people including students and teachers in the past 48 hours. Seven of those being held are from the Western Cape.

The arrests were made in the Transvaal, Peninsula and the Boland and have been confirmed by the acting Security Police chief at Pretoria headquarters, Brigadier Jan du Preez.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organisa-

tion, was detained by security Police yesterday shortly after addressing a student meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Last week he addressed a crowd of 1000 students at the University of the Western Cape. He also spoke at the University of Cape Town. He was forced to postpone another meeting last week after Security Police interviews.

The seven other people in detention, under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, are

Mr Trevor Wentzel, a community worker in Lavistown and a member of Azapo; Mr Achmat Cassiem, a banned former president of the SA Students' Association; Mr Michael Sedgwick, a youth organiser of the Churches Urban Planning Commission; Mr Allan Liebenberg, former president of the UWC Students' Representative Council; Mr Neville Fry, a Schoonspruit teacher; Mr Lloyd Fortuin, and Mr Michael Crail, both students at the

Paulus Joubert High School in Paarl.

Mr Segwick, 22, was detained yesterday after police searched his room and took possession of papers. He was at work when four police arrived.

Mr Cassiem was taken from his home early yesterday and Mr Wentzel was detained at a meeting in Athlone on Tuesday.

The Security Police chief of Cape Town, Colonel H W Kotze today confirmed the detention of Mr Liebenberg.

Mr Liebenberg is a full-time student at UWC.

The two students, Mr Fortuin and Mr Crail were both detained in Paarl today. The teacher, Mr Fry was detained at school.

It is believed that students at his Schoonspruit school are holding a protest opposing Mr Fry's detention. The protest as been described by Security Police as peaceful.

Brigadier du Preez said all the men were being

(Continued on Page 3, col 1)

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Motlana dismisses govt plans

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CAPE TOWN — Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, was enthusiastically applauded by a large Stellenbosch University audience last night when he dismissed the government's constitutional initiative as a public relations exercise designed to fool the world and to keep power in white hands.

In his first address to a mass Afrikaans university audience, Dr Motlana said he hoped fundamental change and the transfer of power would take place peacefully.

He was also the only speaker — apart from a Nationalist Party MP — who dismissed the idea of a national convention to work out a future constitution for South Africa at this stage.

Blacks had not yet done enough to deserve their place at a national convention, Dr Motlana said.

"The Lancaster House conference on Zimbabwe only occurred because the Patriotic Front had done enough to force Smith to negotiate."

Frelimo had also introduced fundamental

change in Mozambique after the Portuguese could no longer continue the old system.

"It seems to me black South Africans will have to do a little more to convince the government that they will have to negotiate and negotiate meaningfully for fundamental change."

Dr Motlana was also the only speaker at the conference so far to call for the retention of the present Westminster system of government.

He told over 400 students who packed the hall that the only necessary change was the removal of all race barriers in the constitution and the introduction of a Bill of Rights to protect individuals, not groups.

Dr Motlana, whose speech was marked by sustained applause, said the government's present policy was another way of saving the concept of separate development.

Blacks were prepared to accept that South Africa was a mixed country, if whites were prepared to accept that there was a black majority, he said.

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Analysis

ITALY

Brussels, May 31, 1978

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Nkondo IIA
held 24/4/80

Staff Reporter

SECURITY POLICE last night detained the suspended president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

A spokesman for the office of Mr Nkondo's attorney said four Security Policemen accompanied him from his place of work in Rosebank, Johannesburg, to his Eldorado Park home, which they searched.

It could not be established, last night under which Act he was being held. No police comment could be obtained.

Nkondo calls for white

(11A) (150)
PDM 24/4/80

role in boycott

Political Staff

MR CURTIS Nkondo, suspended president of Azapo and chairman of the Teachers' Action Committee, yesterday called on students at the University of the Witwatersrand to join "resistance to the education system".

He also urged whites and blacks to "walk hand in hand".

"That is Martin Luther King's dream and it is a wonderful dream. Black and white have the right to live here," he said.

He added that he was prepared to risk a banning order or imprisonment to fight for "good education for our children."

Mr Nkondo is a controversial figure in the black consciousness movement who has been accused by the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, of "inciting" the schools boycott by coloured and Indian pupils.

He was addressing a meeting of more than 1 000 at the university. The meeting was held to express "solidarity" with striking coloured and Indian school pupils.

His speech was regularly punctuated by enthusiastic applause.

The students later voted to boycott classes today and to hold a "sit in" at the university.

Mr Nkondo rejected allegations that he had "instigated the boycott". Referring to those who levelled this accusation, he said: "These people do not understand that South Africa is sick. We are its doctors."

Students, he said, were protesting at "a rotten system of education." Coloured pupils were tired of "gutter education" which "domesticates" them.

Their protest, however, inevitably had political implications. "We have the misfortune that education is identified with politics. What the state is, so the schools are."

He added: "We want to see whites and blacks share, instead of a few people wallowing in wealth."

Government spokesmen had said that the problem could not be solved overnight but, "we no longer have time. We want good education now and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon.

He said pupils had been ac-

Government spokesmen had said that the problem could not be solved overnight but, "we no longer have time. We want good education now and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon.

He said pupils had been accused of "wasting time" by striking, but "more time is wasted when children have to be taught in broken classrooms by ill-equipped teachers."

Mr Nkondo urged white students to join "resistance" against the education system. "White education is not perfect either. If black education problems were solved, we could right the rotten state of white education.

"If black education's purpose is domestication, white education's is indoctrination."

Yesterday's meeting was also addressed by Miss Brenda Liebowitz, a white teacher who was dismissed from a coloured school together with two other teachers. Their dismissal played a part in sparking the Western Cape boycott.

Miss Liebowitz told students that the school she taught at had no electricity, many windows were broken, there was a serious shortage of books and corporal punishment rules were "seriously abused."

Sizwe Sechaba to hold first mass meeting

By MESHACK MOTLOUNG

THE Sizwe Sechaba organisation will hold a mass meeting at the Tsakane Hall in Brakpan on Sunday afternoon.

Mr Sydney Mogudi, the secretary of the organisation said yesterday, the meeting would be the first of its kind in the area. It is likely to attract a large crowd.

Mr Mogudi said that they were going to discuss problems that affect them in that daily lives.

He told POST that their aims were to promote and improve the hygienic situation of the township,

i.e. sanitary installations, sewerage and refuse.

They also want to expedite matters of immediate concern to the community, to look after the educational and recreational needs of the youth, as well as the needs of old age people and pre-school children. They intend to co-operate

with local organisations like social welfare and Santa.

Sizwe-Sechaba could look into the transport system. It aims at unifying all ethnic groups in the community and to elect efficient leaders.

Mr Mogudi is appealing to all residents of Brakpan to attend.

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GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT BY KIND OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY¹ R millions

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1. Income from property by households consists of interest, dividend and rent receipts by households and the profits of non-corporate business enterprises.
2. Income from property by general government consists of interest, dividend and rent receipts by general government and the profits of public business enterprises.

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DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME R millions

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Motlana's path to a bloodless revolution

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24/4/80

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Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—South Africa needed a revolution, but the chances of this occurring without bloodshed are small, Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto-based Committee of Ten said in Stellenbosch last night.

Dr Motlana — possibly the most outspoken black leader to appear on a Stellenbosch platform — was given a cordial reception by more than 500 people.

He said blacks demanded revolutionary change — fundamental structural change — and he too believed change in South Africa must be of a revolutionary magnitude.

There was no example in history of people as oppressed as black South Africans attaining power by means of bloodshed, and he had been accused of "delaying the revolution" by talking to whites.

Many believed they should get out of the country, go to Angola for a few weeks and shoot it out with the whites, Dr Motlana said.

"I'm a peaceful man. I'd like to see the changes come about peacefully and I pray we will be granted that. But it seems to me a bloody revolution is unavoidable. I hope not," he said.

Dr Motlana, in reply to a further question said the role of the Afrikaans churches in the political debate in the country was a worrying factor.

Blacks watched in "horror and disbelief" as ministers "threw blacks out of their churches who had



Dr Nthato Motlana (left), of the Soweto Committee of Ten, told a Stellenbosch meeting last night that South Africa was in a need of revolution. But, he said, chances of it occurring without bloodshed were small.

come to bury their employer."

Blacks, he said, could only shake their heads as they saw the followers of Jesus of Nazareth behave like hooligans.

THANKED

At the beginning of his address Dr Motlana thanked SAAK for inviting him "to this citadel of Afrikanerdom."

At a northern university an invitation to him had resulted in a prolonged "cat-and-mouse game" until he was allowed to address a select group of political science students in a small anteroom.

He said the history of South African politics was the history of the white man's attempts to control the black man, and blacks battle to deny this.

It was a fight by blacks to try to "come in from the cold" — into their common fatherland and white attempts to keep them out.

In the events that led to the Act of Union in 1910 the British liberal government had behaved "as if blacks did not exist.

When separate development was devised, "everybody thought at last South Africa had found the final solution — that blacks would be pushed into the so-called homelands."

"It was now acknowledged that this ideology had, indeed, failed," Dr Motlana said. But even as the Prime Minister spoke of the need for change he kept repeating that the policy of separate development remained sacrosanct.

Even as Dr Piet Koornhof told an American audience that "apartheid is dead," he kept saying the Western Cape remained a white and coloured preference area.

"As Percy Qoboza is fond of saying: "If apartheid is dead we're still looking for the body because we want to bury it." Dr Motlana said to laughter by the audience.

BLUFF

In the same way as the intention in 1910 was to keep whites in power for all time, so was it in 1980 and the talk of change

was "a big public relations exercise to bluff everybody."

South Africans, he said, should build on what they had, and race should be "demythologised."

If the word "race" was removed from the present constitution it would be all that was required. It provided for one man one vote . . . "what more do you want?"

He said it would be necessary to protect human rights: not "group rights" or "minority rights". Once group rights were entrenched one was "looking for trouble."

Blacks believed there was no need to go further than the unitary constitution the country already had, and an independent judiciary enforcing a Bill of Rights, he said.

He said it seemed to him black South Africans had to "do more to convince the PW Bothas to negotiate meaningfully."

And by talking it might be possible to convince whites they were following a suicidal path.

One student questioner told Dr Motlana he had feared socialism until he read Dr Motlana's recent article on the subject in the magazine, *Frontline*. Now he no longer did.

Dr Motlana said blacks favoured a socialist form of economy, it is "not quite true to say socialist, but a mixed economy," where it was the duty of the Government to remove the disbalance of gross wealth in the midst of poverty.

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Handwritten notes:
Motlana's path to a bloodless revolution

Inkatha defends talks with NP

(IA)
25/4/80

ULUNDI. — It was known that Inkatha believed in radical change in South Africa and that such change could be brought about through peaceful means, the KwaZulu Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said at Ulundi yesterday.

Opening a debate on the Chief Minister's policy speech, he said dialogue with various groups was one of the strategies Inkatha employed to facilitate peaceful change.

"Since Inkatha believes in, and pursues, a multi-strategy approach, it is important to mention also that dialogue is the most important of all in the movement's strategies," he said.

Dr Dhlomo, who is also secretary-general of the movement, said Inkatha had been "very consistent in its employment of dialogue as a strategy".

It had made it a point to talk to everybody, regardless of colour or political creed.

He mentioned political parties such as the Progressive Federal Party, the Reform Party of Africa, the coloured Labour Party and the New Republic Party as some with which Inkatha had had talks.

"It is thus amazing, to say the least, that liberals such as Mr W O Schroeder should describe Inkatha's dialogue with the National Party as a form of 'flirtation' or 'new-found love'."

Dr Dhlomo said this attitude clearly exposed the hypocrisy of liberals such as Mr Schroeder, who pretended to be afflicted by the way in which blacks in South Africa were "oppressed" when, in fact, they quietly prayed that National Party rule should last a few more years.

"Mr Schroeder should not think that the National Party is doing us a favour by talking to us. Unlike liberals of Mr Schroeder's ilk, National Party politicians are realistic and they know that if Inkatha and the NP fail to reach consensus, then everybody in this country — including Mr Schroeder — has no secure future." — Sapa.

Parents back children in school boycott

NM 25/4/80

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25

Mercury Reporter

ABOUT 1 000 coloured parents attending a meeting at the St Augustine's School in Centenary Road, Durban, last night voted to support the coloured and Indian pupils' school boycott.

They cheered as speakers listed the pupils' complaints about the inequality of coloured education in South Africa.

According to Mr Eddie Smith of the Coloured Teachers' Association R650 is spent on the education of a white child each year whereas R150 was spent for each coloured pupil.

The parents were told that some of the pupils' grievances were the shortage of schools, leading to drastic overcrowding; lack of books and teaching facilities such as laboratory equipment; unqualified teachers; an unequal share of the budget for education; a lack of travel subsidy for pupils; and an

educational policy promoting the racial supremacy of whites.

A representative of the Beechet Teachers' Training College told parents that pupils rejected Afrikaans as a compulsory language. It was a language alien to them.

He said these grievances were only part of the real abjection coloureds felt towards the destructive social system in South Africa.

Speakers praised the restraint with which the pupils had conducted themselves throughout the week, and parents were warned not to allow the authorities to provoke their children into acts of violence.

Parents commended Indian school children who had come out in support of the coloured pupils. All the speakers appealed to parents to support their children.

© See also Page 11.

BLACK POLITICS

25 April 1980 — 31 May 1980

Tough talk at Regina Mundi

A series of meetings and commemoration services were held in black townships to mark the twentieth anniversary of Sharpeville. The biggest of these was at Regina Mundi in Soweto . . .

THE people at the gate are there for two purposes — to hand out programmes to blacks and direct them to the Free Mandela petitions, and to vet arriving whites.

A Frontline letter of identity doesn't impress the chief gatekeeper. All sorts of other people have claimed to represent Frontline, he says (??) In any case South African whites are not allowed.

A long argument follows, in the course of which assorted foreigners arrive and are readily admitted — some on the strength of passports alone, no press identity required.

The gatekeeper is civil but bristles at every suggestion that he look at the matter from a new tack. 'Don't patronise me', he says repeatedly. Finally, after various other people join in, he reluctantly relents. A lone white South African makes his way into Regina Mundi, feeling almost sorry for the gatekeeper. How often does he get bullied around? How often does he get the opportunity for a little reciprocatory bullying of his own?

The church is full. Maybe 3 000 people, maybe 5 000. (The next day's press estimates vary from 2 000 to 15 000.) Regina Mundi is deceptive. Passing it on the Potchefstroom road it looks like just another church. Only from the inside is its enormous capacity really displayed. That capacity is one of the reasons it has become a kind of national capital of the no-collaboration-with-government-platforms movement.

Another reason is that this group, unlike its main rival, Inkatha, cannot get exemptions from the recurring prohibition on open-air meetings. They claim this proves government collusion with Inkatha. Inkatha claims it is their good luck. If they did have access to Jabulani, Inkatha says, their crowds would be woefully thin in comparison with Buthelezi's, showing up who was really who.

Maybe. Whereas Regina Mundi is full, it is by no means bursting at the seams. Then again, no-one at an Inkatha meeting fears repercussions from his presence. The

Regina Mundi meetings are generally reputed to be packed with informers, and it is only the very dedicated who are prepared to have their presence noted by some anonymous spy.

Certainly, there is a visible difference between the type of people in this crowd, and the type in Buthelezi's meetings. Here, the average age is younger — probably in the 30s. The people are well dressed, largely in casual clothes, both Western and Afro, but with a fair sprinkling of both full-scale striped suits and full-scale West African robes with matching headgear.

Neither boiler-suits nor tribal regalia — common at Inkatha meetings — are seen here. And a klerie would be as out of place as a six-gun at a parish council. Ironically, there are many in the crowd dressed in the same natty, black-and-proud style as Buthelezi himself often dons: but which in one of his own rank-and-file supporters would draw stares of incredulity.

Regina Mundi's proceedings are 95 percent in English. Many of Soweto's best-known names are there. Other one-time pillars of the movement are conspicuously absent. (One such person explains afterwards: 'I've just got tired of listening to the same people saying the same things. We know what's wrong now. What we need is some realistic way of getting it right'.)

The cars outside are mainly late model — Golfs, Mazdas, a few Mercedes and BMWs. No charter buses, few taxis.

Nine speakers are scheduled — opening with Tutu and closing with Motlana, the two top drawcards. Six of them actually take the stage, with one unscheduled speech added, and a fair amount of singing and poetry-reading inbetween.

The singing gives the occasion much of its stamp. It breaks out frequently, and for the most part spontaneously. Various people in the crowd take a lead, and the rest chime in. It's moving, certainly as



TOP: Emma Mashinane.
ABOVE: Speaker, press and people
RIGHT: Godfrey Pitje.

moving as any Scotsman ever finds the massed bands. The songs vary from the traditional, mainly protest, to the updated expressions of total rejection of the system. Many of these are becoming traditional themselves by now — Vorster still features prominently, regardless of his retirement; and the newer songs are distinctly anti-Afrikaner, despite the growing 'economic' concentration of the speakers and the prevailing rational argument that Afrikaners are no guiltier of oppression than English-speakers.

The poetry reading is hardly a reading. Rather an intense chanting, with musical accompaniment, mainly on the Who Am I theme.

The poetry is exclusively to do with liberation. Both it and some of the speeches occasionally charge straight into the minefield, across the point where both speakers and listeners know that the tough talk becomes dangerous. Fighting for liberation . . . the time for revolution has come . . . If the government will not free Mandela then we will go to Robben Island and fetch him . . .

Even there, the tough talk is often tempered with the qualification that it is not anti-white; it is anti-system. Several of the poets and virtually all the speakers specifically affirm that the freedom they seek is freedom for all. The old non-racist phrases '... whether black or white or yellow or whatever...' still feature prominently.

Still, one wonders what the security police are making of it. Both the low level informers in the hall, and the bosses to whom who knows what sort of distorted information may be being transmitted.



Are they seeing it as harmless blowing off of steam, or as whipping up violence? Come to that, how are the audience seeing it? Some of the tough talk sounds like stock material. The sounds of defiance that are expected, rather than any serious call to action. Does anyone really believe that the crowd is about to set off for Robben Island to free Mandela, or does everyone accept this as morale-boosting rhetoric?

The speeches deal with emotions, rather than the practical prospects which may lie ahead. The basic themes are regular: no collaboration with government-created institutions, rejection of the Buthelezi and Thebehalis.

Concern over the government's

attempt to create a black middle-class buffer is a new factor. Various speakers make much of it.

Trade unionist Emma Mashinini launches a broadside at the first level of beneficiaries of this process — the black personnel managers. It is they who are trying to stop blacks from joining trade unions, she says. The unions heard about the personnel managers' activities from the workers. What they were saying to the workers was bad enough. 'We wonder what you are saying to management behind closed doors'. Big salaries and company cars had made those personnel managers forget they were black.

Catholic Priest Burt Tlagaie, similarly, was bothered that urban blacks were being bought off. 'We are being fooled with section 10 rights, the 99-year lease, inter-city mobility...' He called on urban blacks to identify with the black struggle full-time, not just at occasional meetings, and to make the sacrifices which kept them together with other blacks.

Lawyer Godfrey Pitje, his imposing presence magnified by the effect of his hairless leonine head over a charcoal Mao-suit, says that Moses approached Pharaoh with a simple message. 'Let my people go', roars the crowd, not waiting for it to be spelt out. Pitje says there is a big difference. Blacks want freedom *here*. There was no other place to go. 'We have our own South Africa and we're going nowhere,' Pitje continues, drawing huge response from the audience.

The response fades considerably when he turns to the old lament about 'petty apartheid', ambulances which couldn't pick up dying people of the wrong colour etc. But it picks up again when he returns to the power issue. 'We must establish what is negotiable and what is not. We must support our leaders when they say 'we can only meet you, white man, if the purpose is the total dismantling of apartheid'. Blacks demanded nothing less than full participation in government, he said, and spurned advisory committees.

The final speaker is Motlana, introduced as 'first citizen of Soweto', and welcomed with tumultuous applause. Whether anyone in the crowd actually got to see much of Motlana is doubtful. The insinuating presence of the camera crews had been there all along, with flashlights popping and TV arclights shining, but when Motlana appeared the press activity stepped up to a new league. Up to 15 photographers at a time thronged the sanctuary steps, often wholly encasing the speaker. There's a dramatic picture to be had there — speaker, fist raised, battery of microphones, the massive crucifix looming in the background.

Motlana's speech, including his enthusiastically-received enquiry as to when blacks were going to topple Paul Kruger's

statue in Church Square and replace it with one of Nelson Mandela, duly made the front page of the next day's black circulation papers.

But there in the hall, what the speakers are saying is only one aspect of the overall impact. The interaction between press and public is another aspect. The press presence is more than a medium, it is a factor in its own right.

The press' reception is ambivalent. Right there in the midst of the celebration of blackness, it is the white cameramen who are the privilege. The audience is entirely black (in fact, entirely African — what's happening to the claims of black solidarity — African-Indians-and-coloureds-all-brothers-together?) The pressmen are the ones on the sanctuary steps, wandering through the crowds, penetrating wherever they wish with lights and cameras, wearing their scruffiness as a badge of rank.

It's an invasion, but it's also a salvation. The compensation for the flashbulbs is the promise of recognition, the belief that tomorrow night the TV screens of the world will see the anger and agony of black South Africa portrayed before them. How much TV time the mass of footage actually comes down to, who knows. But the hope is there.

For the isolated whites who do identify with the detachment of the TV crews, the position is sensitive. They dutifully stand when the crowd stands, but mouths stay closed — partly because they don't know the words of the songs in any case — and hands stay at their sides while everyone else's shoot up in black power salutes.

That's a black man's salute, after all, and no white has a role in it. Maybe there's something to be said for the screening-out of SA whites. At least there aren't any chic rads there, to desperately empathise with the black man, and cheer like crazy while the blacks quietly wonder how differently they behave when they go home to sun-downers in Sandton.

Back in the white suburbs, there will be people reading of the exclusion of whites, and conjuring up images of revenge to add to the standard impression of violence in Soweto. Perhaps, there is indeed a certain chill, inside the hall. But perhaps that's just imagination. Certainly, it thaws entirely once Nkosi Sikelele is sung and the crowd files outside.

In any case, at least there is talk — and Dr Motlana made it clear that he would continue to talk to whites — 'although I know that it makes many of you unhappy' — in the hope someone would listen. And if there is a breath of ice in the air, it is mild in comparison with the frost a black voyeur might expect to find at a meeting from the other end of the political spectrum.

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Afrikaners hail Nthato

SOUTH AFRICA needed a revolution, but the chances of this occurring without bloodshed were small, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said in Stellenbosch.

Dr Motlana — possibly the most outspoken black leader to appear on a Stellenbosch platform — was given a cordial reception by more than 500 people.

HE CALLS FOR TOTAL CHANGE

Other meetings at this week's constitutional conference organised by the Stellenboschse Aktuele Aangeleentheidskring (Sak) was attended by between 150 and 200.

At the end of Dr Motlana's address, a woman student asked him about revolutionary change and whether he would contemplate such action if talking failed.

"Don't we need a few more Sowetos to prick the white dream?" she asked.

Dr Motlana was applauded when he said this was a "very dangerous question."

REVOLUTIONARY

He said blacks demanded revolutionary change — fundamental structural change — and he, too, believed change in South Africa must be of a revolutionary magnitude.

solution" — that blacks be pushed into the so-called homelands.

It was now acknowledged that this ideology had indeed failed, Dr Motlana said — but even as the Prime Minister spoke of the need for change, he kept repeating that the policy of separate development remained sacrosanct.

"As Percy Qoboza is fond of saying, if apartheid is dead we're still looking for the body be-

cause we want to bury it", Dr Motlana said to laughter.

In the same way as the intention in 1910 was to keep whites in power for all time, so was it in 1980 and the talk of change was "a big public relations exercise to bluff everybody".

South Africans, he said, should build on what they had, and race should be "demythologised".

If the word "race" was

removed from the present constitution it would be all that was required.

It provided for one man one vote — "What more do you want?"

He said it would be necessary to protect human rights, not group rights or minority rights. Once group rights were entrenched, one was looking for trouble.

He said the former Postmaster General, Mr Louis Rive, now responsible for the development of Soweto, was a "brilliant guy" who was sensitive to the needs of the people.

Dr Motlana was given prolonged applause when the meeting adjourned.

He stayed overnight at the home of a white friend in Stellenbosch.



Dr Nthato Motlana

He had been accused of "delaying the revolution" by talking to whites. Many believed they should get out of the country, go to Angola for a few weeks and shoot it out with the whites.

"I'm a peaceful man. I'd like to see the changes come about peacefully and I pray we will be granted that. But it seems to me a bloody revolution is unavoidable. I hope not," he said.

Dr Motlana, in reply to a further question, said the role of the Afrikaners churches in the political debate in the country was a worrying factor.

Blacks watched in horror and disbelief as ministers "threw blacks out of their churches who had come to bury their employer."

He said the history of South African politics was the history of the white man's attempt to control the black man, and blacks' battle to deny this.

THE FIGHT

It was a fight by blacks to try to "come in from the cold" into their common fatherland and white attempts to keep them out.

As blacks watched whites engaged in this very futile and stupid process — and including the present "constitutional tortions", they could only sympathise — "it just simply cannot be done."

In the events that led to the Act of Union in 1910, the British Liberal Government had behaved "as if blacks did not exist."

When separate development was devised, "everybody thought at last South Africa had found the final

Security
Police
RDM 26/1/50
detain

another
5 blacks

By AMEEN AKHAIYANA
Political Reporter

FIVE more people have been detained by Security Police in Johannesburg and the Cape. Nine people have now been held in the past two days.

Yesterday, a banned former executive member of the banned Black People's Convention, Mr. Vincent Mlaba, was taken from county Police headquarters in Natal's Sereby. He had been detained in 1947 and subsequently banned.

A spokesman for his attorney said he had learned Mr. Mlaba was being held under Section 11 of the General Law Amendment Act. Police have not yet commented.

Sapa reports that the acting chief of the Security Police, Brigadier Jan de Preez, confirmed that the other eight were being held under the General Law Amendment Act.

On Wednesday, four black consciences as follows: Mr. Curtis Mhondy, Mr. Ahmed Cassim, Mr. Egon Kautzel and Mr. Michael Joubert were detained.

The names of the other four detainees in the Western Cape were reported yesterday. They are Mr. Gillian Lichtenberg, former president of the Executive of the Western Cape BPC; Mr. Neville van der Merwe, a fruit teacher, and two Paul High School boys, Mr. Hans Dierckx and Mr. Michael Orell.

Police officers have condemned the case as a gross detention. The Azania publicity secretary, Mr. J. W. Wachepa, said that from Azania has and always will condemn detention without trial.

Argus 25/4/80 (11A)
Detention

(Continued from Page 1)

Convention, has also been detained.

Mr Mdlejeni was taken from his home in Mofolo, Soweto yesterday.

Eight of the 10 people detained this week are from the Western Cape. Police Headquarters in Pretoria have declined to link the detentions to the school boycott.

A spokesman in Pretoria said today: 'There may be different Acts under which they are being held but they are all connected to security.'

The detentions began this week with the holding of Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Others being held are Mr Neville Fry, a Malmesbury teacher; two Paarl matric students, Lloyd Fortuin and Michael Crail; Mr Allan Liebenberg, a UWC student; Mr Trevor Wentzel, a community worker in Lavistown and member of Azapo; Mr Achmat Cassiem, a banned former president of the SA Students' Association and Mr Michael Sedgwick, a youth organiser of the Churches' Urban Planning Commission.

Richard

Stevens

Argus 25/4/80
detained

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by police

A CO-DIRECTOR of the constructive programme of the Centre for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town, Mr Richard Stevens, was detained this morning as he left his farm in the Philadelphia district near Malmesbury.

The detention of Mr Stevens brings the number of people held under security laws this week to 10.

Mr Stevens was leaving the farm Mat-Nor with his family today when security police from Cape Town stopped him. They had been waiting outside the gate.

HIS WIFE

His wife, Freda, an Athlone teacher, said her children, who watched their father being taken away, were 'extremely upset.'

Mr Stevens has four young children, three boys and a girl.

Mr Vuyisile Mdleleni, banned former member of the banned Black People's

(Continued on Page 3, col 6)

consistent and say this applied

to our people too.

'Don't take to road' plea by parents

Staff Reporter

MORE THAN 600 Cape Flats parents gave their support at a meeting in Silvertown, Athlone, last night to the boycott of classes by pupils, but pleaded that pupils should not leave school grounds and expose themselves to danger.

The parents were from Silvertown, Bridgetown, Kewtown, Mitchell's Plain and Rylands.

One, close to tears, appealed to pupils not to "take to the roads."

"As a parent I ask you please not to go outside the school premises. We don't want to carry your coffins to the grave as it happened in '76," the parent said.

Pupils from schools in the area told parents that the mass march on Tuesday was peaceful and that police had had no

need to disperse pupils with tear-smoke.

The pupils last night rejected the claim by the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, that Rylands High School pupils had been "brutally forced to join the march".

They criticized Mr Steyn for saying that agitators were behind the boycotts and emphasized that the strike was initiated and controlled by pupils.

Mr Steyn's ultimatum yesterday that he would consult with pupils only if they returned to classes was not well received by the parents.

"When I was a pupil we made the same demands, but look at us now. After all these years, still nothing has been done to improve conditions at schools and give us a better deal," said one parent.



Moses Tsitsi and Chris Baskiti in a scene from Zakes Mda's *The Hill*.

The ills of migrant labour in *The Hill*

By KAIZER
NGWENYA

ZAKES Mda's *The Hill* draws deeply on the socio-political problems experienced by Lesotho men who travel each year to work on the gold mines in South Africa.

The play opened on Tuesday night at the Market Theatre. It is a portrayal of migrant labour system that causes frustration, corruption, sodomy and broken families.

Zakes has written a powerful piece that illuminates the perpetual flow of Basothos to the gold mines. And most of them don't come back rich and are compelled to go back again.

The veteran Lesotho miner (Joko Scott) explores the migrant worker situation in South Africa with a great zeal. He has seen all the evil on the mines. He tells how the system uses black preachers to make black miners docile.

His mountain sermon becomes a hilarious and yet hard hitting social comment. The message comes out

loud and clear, accompanied by a certain amount of artistry.

Although he has seen all the iniquity on the gold mines, the veteran who is stripped naked and robbed of all his savings by the whores of Maseru is nevertheless prepared to go back to the belly of the earth to dig the white man's gold.

Moses Tsitsi plays a young man who wants to go to the mines. He dreams of wealth and a car. At the same time he is mixed with nightmares of homosexuality and failure to support his family.

The young man stays on top of a hill with an old man (Chris Baskiti) who has run away from Maseru because he owes tax.

The old man has been to the mines. He wants to go back. But he has no money to bribe officials at the recruiting office.

Mda has scripted a deeply touching piece with satirical attacks on the system. The artists in the production are not that good but they have the ability to imbue the production with thought-provoking moments.

other country is at, then it was an analogy between a carpenter each is more effective one or other. When discussing of comparison that, here are England + Scotland early produce use

for the 11/11

seeing

BLACK POLITICS *Fm 23/4/80*
Buthelezi's war 111A

Chief Gatsba Buthelezi of KwaZulu used quite a few military analogies in his recent "mass" meetings on the Witwatersrand. Addressing a crowd of largely Inkatha supporters in Boksburg, he told his 6 000-strong audience: "We are not afraid of going to battle on fronts chosen by our enemies." He then committed his Inkatha movement to "enter the fray at the level of community councils".

For reporting this, see page 111A

his running battles with opponents of government-created structures to his role in homeland administration. Now the cardinal issue of his credibility as a black nationalist will be magnified and tested in the more sensitive and highly politicised urban field.

Say Inkatha sweeps the board in the council elections later this year. It must make Soweto "work," or the Chief will become the Muzorewa of SA.

The rents issue, which plagues the present councils, is the tip of an iceberg of mounting financial problems. Buthelezi's boldness is, therefore, all the more surprising because of his previously stated position. This was that Inkatha would consider participation in the community council only once it had received assurances from Pretoria of extensive material support for, or the broadening of, an income base in the urban black areas.

It can only be speculation as to whether such assurances have been given. However, on Tuesday, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development George Morri-



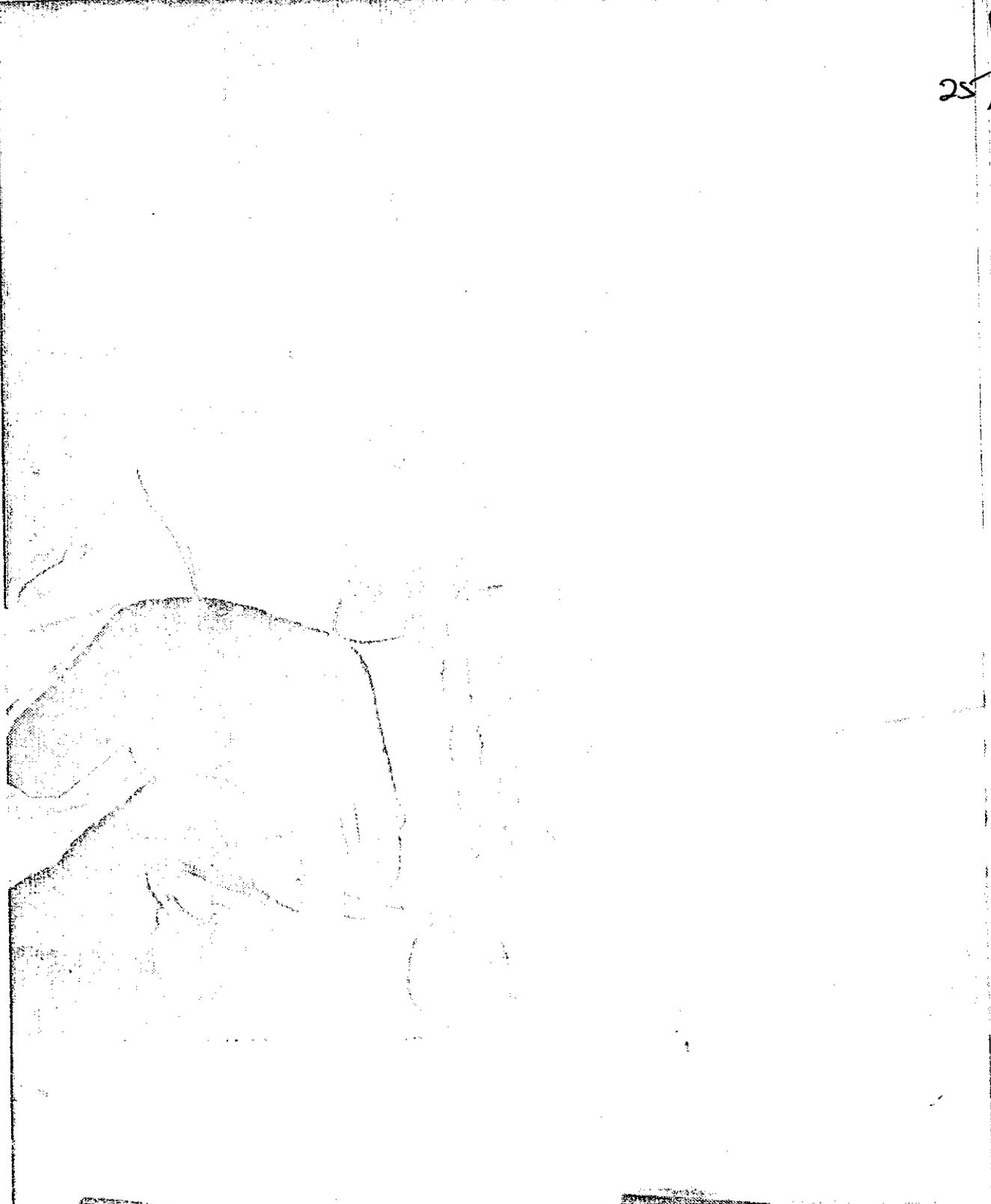
Buthelezi . . . will he become SA's Muzorewa?

son announced that government was considering amending the Community Council Act to make provision for the establishment of municipalities in black urban areas, and that draft legislation might be tabled before the end of the current session.

Though there are still a number of questions over what measures will be introduced to create financial viability, the commitment towards extending local authority might put some substance in the councils. They then could well be the vehicles, in Buthelezi's vision, of a "multi-faceted strategy" to attain an increased power base for his overall national objective.

11A

25/4/80



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi ... now is the time for a workable plan

Chief's plan for Natal

11A

25/4/80

25/4/80

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi has chosen a particularly dramatic way to demonstrate his intention to rise above protest and

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi this week announced a plan to establish a multiracial commission to work out a new constitution for Natal, declaring the same time that

... his work ... had ... discipline ... the 1978 ... strikes ... the ... nevertheless shown that ... in the province was

perhaps even prove to his critics that his use of the Government's apartheid system can generate change.

The KwaZulu leader and President of the Inkatha movement announced this week that he is to establish a multiracial commission to plan a new constitution for Natal — an initiative, he said, blacks were taking on behalf of all the people of that province as an example for the rest of the country.

His announcement in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly came exactly a week after he again challenged his critics' commitment to armed struggle and total withdrawal from Government-created institutions as the most legitimate way to secure freedom.

Twenty years of armed struggle by the African National Congress, he told a meeting in Soweto last Monday, had not set the stage for the sudden overthrow of the Government.

Blacks, he said, should instead adopt a multi-faceted strategy to bring concerted political pressure to bear on the Government and force it to call a national convention.

Believing that mere protest can achieve little to end apartheid, Chief Buthelezi took his first step towards the long frustrated opposition ideal of a national convention with his announcement of a 42-member commission to plan a new constitution for Natal.

"Since the time of Union blacks have had no formal share in the shaping of the constitutional, administrative, and economic structure of South African society," he noted.

"The time has come for a formal black contribution to the political process, not simply to resist or challenge the present order, but to rise above it and provide new concepts and to give whites new perceptions of possibilities which will add to the security and prospects of all South Africa's people."

But Chief Buthelezi made it clear he had no intention to allow his plan to become yet another dust laden blueprint for change. He not only wants to involve the whites of Natal in a joint venture to plan a new future — his real aim, it seems, is to engage the Government.

Already, Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, the largest organised black political movement the country has known, has been holding talks in camera with a group of National Party MPs.

Inkatha has also been one of the few black organisations to give evidence before the Gov-

ernment's all-white Schlebusch commission planning a new constitution for whites, coloureds, Indians and perhaps even blacks.

Chief Buthelezi has even tried to win the confidence of the new Administrator of Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, a youthful and verligte former Nationalist MP who is in charge of the New Republic Party-dominated Natal Provincial Council.

He reminded Mr Botha during their first meeting late last year that he was a relative of the former Prime Minister, General Louis Botha.

"To me and many Zulus," Chief Buthelezi told the new Administrator, "Gen Botha occupies a very special place in our hearts owing to his act of kindness in releasing my grandfather, King Dinizulu, from jail and offering him asylum on a farm in Middelburg in the Transvaal, where he died with at least some dignity."

But having established a family connection, Chief Buthelezi also reminded Mr Botha that the New Republic Party in Natal had for long been trying to involve other groups in the planning of the province's affairs — attempts the Government has so far rejected.

The whites of Natal, said Chief Buthelezi, had been prepared for "political experimentation as a distinct possibility in this part of SA".

"I believe white SA flounders in its confusion over where to go and what to do," he told Mr Botha. "There is no national plan and national politics revolves around fighting by-elections for the sake of winning seats."

The people of Natal, he told Mr Botha, occupied a distinctive area of the country. They had been "thrown together by history and geography".

"We would like to see you being on our side in eliminating discrimination piece by piece (in Natal) until we are left with the bare bones of discrimination which are enshrined in our country's constitution," he said.

"That discrimination we can then attack at the national level. That discrimination will be made untenable by the elimination of local, regional and provincial discriminatory practices."

Finally, Chief Buthelezi has also attempted to engage the white Nationalists by offering them two seats on his commis-

... come for a blacks not... a formal contribution to the political process. Political Editor MARTIN SCHNEIDER reports.

His critics, however, may be tempted to accuse him of inviting his critics to persuade white Nationalists to share power when their clear aim is to secure an agreement to divide power.

Chief Buthelezi, however, sees this clearly indeed.

"The Prime Minister has outlined a broad commitment to the establishment of a constellation of states for Southern Africa, a confederal form of inter-territory linkage with a common, economic content," he told the KwaZulu Assembly this week.

"No indications have been given of any intention to deviate from the central concepts of separate development."

How then, does Chief Buthelezi believe he could achieve his eventual aim of persuading the Government itself to call a national convention which would do away with apartheid?

He gave only a brief — and, for some people, clearly an implausible — answer in his speech to the KwaZulu Assembly.

If the people of Natal could actually work out a new plan for political and economic co-operation, he argued, "then no Government in Cape Town and no administration in Pretoria will be able to deny for too long Natal and KwaZulu the right and the facilities to begin implementing the proposals."

He continued: "In order that the proposals themselves compel acceptance, gradually or otherwise, by the Government, they must be sufficiently representative to be supported and prescribed by all responsible major organised interests in Natal."

Chief Buthelezi gave four reasons why Natal was the most appropriate choice for what one could call a mini-national convention.

o Differing white political interests and party preferences were the most evenly balanced in the province.

o It was the province in which whites were in the smallest minority and in which the dependence on black labour and the need for inter-race co-operation was the greatest.

o The administration of areas controlled by the Natal Provincial Council and the KwaZulu Government had become so interrelated and complex that no single region could be planned or administered without taking dual administration into account.

... the 42 member commission... would be financed by the KwaZulu Assembly.

It would be asked to exercise its imagination and to discuss the most venturesome proposals and come up with practical proposals for co-operation, co-operation and increased prosperity for all.

It would be large in order to encompass the most widespread views, but it would contain a smaller, working group. The chairman would be a person chosen irrespective of race, whose inclinations, capability and public position will lead stature to the body.

The commission would include a Natal historian, a political scientist and consultant, a development economist, a black social scientist, two church representatives, two Inkatha representatives, and representatives from the Inkatha Institute, the KwaZulu Development Corporation, Natal's secondary industry, and its rural, agricultural, mining, industrial and commercial industries.

It would also include two representatives of the Afrikaanse Handesinstituut, two people nominated by Mr Harry Oppenheimer and Dr Anton Rupert, representatives of the English and Afrikaans language Press, the Black labour movement, the Natal Provincial Town and Regional Planning Commission, and the KwaZulu Planning, Co-ordinating and Advisory committee.

Also invited as members would be two representatives of the National Party, one each from the Progressive Federal, New Republic, Labour and Reform Parties, an overseas representative of the African National Congress, a black attorney and representatives from the black teachers Union.

The Commission would be asked to make an interim report to the KwaZulu Assembly within a year of its establishment.

The noted Natal University social scientist, Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, said yesterday he believed Chief Buthelezi's commission would be positively received.

"The Government is of course unlikely to see his plan as an appropriate action at this stage," he said. "But Chief Buthelezi has said he wants to rise above confrontation, and sooner or later the Government will have to consider implementing on a regional scale new alternatives which could be broadened later."

Accelerator is the interplay between CBI... induced, taken out of income... a commonwealth part of I... Accelerator principle... induced investment... (1) MPI... I = I^a + b(Yd)

80 26/4/80
Azapo

man (11A)
detained

CAPE TOWN — The crackdown on black consciousness leaders continued yesterday when Security Police detained a Cape Town executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Richard Stevens.

The detention brings to 10 the number of black consciousness figures held in Johannesburg and the Western Cape in the past two days.

A spokesman for a firm of Johannesburg attorneys said two people in Soweto, Mr Mthibe Patsa and Mr Teddy Pese, were also detained last week.

Mr Stevens is believed to be held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, which provides for renewable detention of up to 14 days. The other nine held this week have been detained under the General Law Amendment Act.

Last month, Mr Stevens, who is also co-director of the Institute for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town, was charged with entering a Cape black township without a permit. He was fined R8. — DDC.

GRAHAMSTOWN — People who claimed it was "unrealistic" to demand Nelson Mandela's release were themselves being unrealistic, a Rhodes University history lecturer, Mr Jeff Peires, told a mass meeting here last night.

Mr Peires was address-

D.D. 26/4/80 (327)

Rhodes protest

ing more than 800 students and black pupils in the university's Great Hall at a meeting called by students in support of the Free Mandela campaign.

The meeting climaxed a

two-day boycott of lectures by university students. The guest speaker was to have been Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of Azapo, who was detained by police in

(11A)
Johannesburg on Wednesday.

Mr Nkondo's speech — the same delivered at Wits shortly before his detention — was read in his absence by a student. — SAPA.

Boycott debate, page 7

Campaign 'damaged talks'

THE "Free Mandela" campaign had seriously damaged delicate negotiations which could have led to Nelson Mandela being released from Robben Island, Mr Gibson Thutha, chairman of publicity for Inkatha, said in Stellenbosch.

Answering a question from the floor during the

SAAK congress Mr Thutha said he had not mentioned it before but the matter had been a subject of discussion "as far back as when Mr Vorster was Prime Minister".

As recently as February this year Inkatha had held "eyeball to eyeball" discussions with the Prime

Minister. These discussions had gone far when the "Free Mandela" campaign started, he said.

"Word then came back to us that the feeling was that to free Mandela now would be bad politics. I feel very bad about it," Mr Thutha said. — Sapa.



Spotlight on black roots

S. Post 27/4/80 (11A)

'Our theatre must be based on the daily experiences of our own people'



Hamilton Selwane and Moalusi Ledwaba in Egoli . . . relevance to what's happening today.

WHAT ROLE should black theatre play in South Africa's changing political situation? And how should it reflect the communal experience of this country's black people?

The argument goes on and on among critics from some corners that there is too much political statement in black theatre.

On the other hand, black playwrights say that their theatre has got relevance to the situation today and it has to have direction and purpose as well as to educate the people.

I talked to Matsemela Manaka, a young Soweto playwright who wrote and produced the powerful two-hander, *Egoli*, which received rave Press notices.

"This is a delicate subject," he says, "and by commenting, I don't hope to accuse or attack other playwrights. We would like to enrich each other and know the creative source of black theatre. In fact, I should call it theatre because some plays hardly fail under the category of black theatre."

Why do you say some plays don't fall under the black theatre category?

"Well, since they are not for change and they are not at all positive to the situation of blacks in the country. They are for gain and not in search of a cultural identity."

What should black playwrights look for when scripting their plays?

"As I said before, black playwrights should not depend on an illusion in their minds. They should devote their time to looking around their daily experiences and they will know which direction to take."

"Our people should not be misled to believe that our theatre is born out of an illusion of the mind of the individual. Our theatre is, and should be rooted in our communal experience."

"Our own society is affected by the political set-up. And in this case your convictions and how you see yourself in this society will determine what you would like to say. Talent does not determine the content of our theatre. But it is rather used as a means to transport whatever we would like to say."

Can you give us an example in this respect?

"For sure, plays like Gibson Kente's *How Long* and Sizwe Banzi Is Dead are productions which show that talent determines the form of theatre and not the content. The two plays have the same content but different talents."

"Both depict the situation of a black man but the form in which this is transmitted is different. Kente uses a musical form of expression while Winston Ntshona

By
**ELLIOT
MAKHAYA**



Matsemela Manaka . . . "our theatre should be rooted in our communal experience."

and John Kani in *Sizwe Banzi* are more experimental. But the content is the same — touched by similar conditions of the life they live."

Are there any serious problems in our theatre?

"Today's problem with our theatre is sincerity and honesty. We are not at all reflecting the truth as seen through our own eyes. And when it comes to appreciation our public and the media are equally to blame."

"Certain people enjoy more publicity which they don't deserve. As it were atten-

tion is shifted towards those people while creative and relevant theatre is shunned."

Is there any production you feel was neglected by the people and the Press?

"Egoli is one of them. When we started, very few people could offer a word of encouragement. Some so-called art organisations failed to give any help. They hardly came forward with critical help."

"Our shows are just another cultural wing which is all out to educate and transform our people into better human beings."

Mahlangu tomb unveiling today

S. Post
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SUNDAY POST

Reporter

HUNDREDS of people are expected to attend the unveiling of the tombstone of hanged ANC guerilla, Solomon Mahlangu, in Pretoria today.

Mahlangu was hanged on April 6 last year in connection with the Goch Street shootings in which two people died.

Speakers in today's service will include Mr Dikgang Moseneke, and representatives of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso).

The suspended president of Azapo, who was detained this week, Mr Curtis Nkondo, was also supposed to speak at the service.

Services will be held at Mahlangu's Mamelodi home and at the Atteridgeville cemetery where he was buried.

OK, Dr Motlana, let's talk turkey

Dr Nthato Motlana is serious about discussing change with the Afrikaners, he might as well stop right there where he says farms should be nationalised. Hell will freeze over before any compromise can be reached on that point, unless I readily misjudge the other members of my cultural group.

I am with him all the way on the subject of nonproductive agricultural land. However, the right way to tackle that issue is to provide the sort of incentives and aid that will encourage and enable farmers of all races to till the soil.

By all means let there be some sort of

pressure exerted — distasteful as I find the thought — on absentee landlords such as those well-heeled Pretorians who indulge in the unjustifiable luxury of "hunting farms" in the Northern Transvaal border area.

There must be hundreds of thousands of willing young men, black and white, who could make use of that land if only this was made possible for them.

But why confiscate (for that is what nationalisation really is)? Dr Motlana's I am unimpressed by Dr Motlana's statement that "(this) is one point where African tradition must come into its own."

As far as I can see the traditional tribal system where land is vested in the local chief is a pretty inefficient concept.

What a man has for his own he tends to look after — and he is not at the mercy of some petty pooh-bah when it comes to obtaining suitable land to farm. Communal land ownership is a tradition we can discard along with the ox-wagon.

This is not to say I am for capitalism and against socialism. Undiluted capitalism and undiluted socialism are equally shady customers in my book. Both were developed in foreign countries and as Africans we should be wary of them. What we need is a policy of pragmatism, with the motto: "If it works, use it."

Participation

By this token mixed state-private ownership of big enterprises is not a bad idea in principle. Neither is significant worker participation on boards of directors. Worker participation in shareholding should be encouraged. But wholesale nationalisation? Surely not!

We are one of the few food-exporting countries in Africa. The reason for this is not that we have the best soil on our continent (we haven't, not by a long shot) or cheap black labour (which is a significant but not decisive factor).

We are Southern Africa's bread-basket because in this country a man can farm his land to the limits of his ambition and resources.

Subject only to acts of God, his bank account and his own foolishness, he can hold the land in trust for his descendants and know that when he dies he will be

buried in the soil to which he has devoted his life, next to those of his family who went before him.

I am not a farmer myself, but in my family there is land which has not come "under new management" in nearly two centuries. It has been and still is being farmed well in a part of the country which is so harsh and unforgiving that you would have to pay any salary official twice the normal rates to persuade him to live there.

But my relatives stay put because they love the land and understand it; and because they understand it the land produces food. To disturb such a fruitful symbiosis would be sheer insanity.

And, lest I be accused of speaking only for the Afrikaners, I suggest Dr Motlana try out his ideas on some black farmers who have abandoned the bad old ways and see how quickly he gets a flea in his ear. Or let him simply look northwards and see what President Nyerere's socialised agriculture has done to Tanzania's food production.

What I want for South Africa

The great debate is on! Last week Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, told on this page what he wanted for South Africa.

This week white readers tell what they DON'T want — and why.



The trouble with Dr Motlana is that like so many other actual or would-be South African reformers he is not interested in real freedom for the individual.

Burden

Scratch the average anti-Government reformer (of whatever shade of skin-colour or political conviction) and you will find he does not envisage easing the burden of interfering laws — all he wants to do is replace them with ones he likes better.

The fact of the matter is that we have too many officials prying into our affairs and telling us what to do. A snooper is a damned snooper, whether the government he represents is white or black.

The best government, generally speaking, is the least government. Let it concentrate on seeing that the street-lamps burn, the roads are metalled and other trains run on time. Otherwise it should leave us alone — farmers and all.

WILLEM STEENKAMP, Cape Town.

Man with a 'disturbing' vision

Even for a person committed to change in South Africa, Dr Motlana's vision on the future of South Africa contains certain aspects which are disturbing.

He may be forgiven for his socialist tendencies because it is a common mistake made by most economically depressed groups, for example the Afrikaners during the 1930s!

What is more disturbing is the racial overtones of his solution for South Africa. To quote: "They (the whites) think that because they have suppressed us for all these centuries we must want to suppress them in turn. They are wrong!"

For some obscure reason Dr Motlana believes the mistakes made by whites in South Africa cannot be repeated by a black government. Why should we believe that the black man will be superior in his decision-making?

A reasonable man will concede that people are basically the same, prone to the same mistakes and sins, and will thus not propose a solution to South Africa's problems which may just change the hand holding the stick. — Dr J F PRINS, Northcliff, Johannesburg.

Solution

You can never improve the lot of the poor by giving them wealth taxed from the rich. The rich will stop generating wealth, or emigrate.

The only solution is to give everyone the same fair chance to grow rich, and deny anyone an unfair chance to grow rich.

But now we come to the crux of the problem. How does one ensure proper land use, or fair treatment of employees? How does one ensure equal opportunities for all?

The answer is political of course. If everyone is to have a fair chance to grow rich, then everyone must have a say in the government that must create and

maintain the necessary conditions for such equal opportunities. This means one-man one-vote, but not necessarily in a unitary government.

In reasonably homogeneous states like Britain, unitary government works. In heterogeneous states it has been shown not to work. It is also as morally indefensible as minority rule.

To say that one group rules another group is to say that the former dominates the latter. Whether the ruling group is a major-

ity or a minority is irrelevant.

Would Dr Motlana espouse the spurious rule of majority with fervour, if by some graphic accident were a minority in Africa? He most certainly would not.

Rejected

It is an utter waste of time to argue about unitary rule or minority rule. White minority rule has been rejected by Black majority rule and vice versa. — SCORGIE, Haenert Transvaal.

A matter of State vs the individual

It is a sad indication of the gulf between white and black to find in Dr Motlana's article advocating majority rule for South Africa all the cogent reasons why majority rule is unacceptable to many whites such as myself.

What will majority rule mean? As Dr Motlana correctly observes, whites point to the "Apartheid and the Boksans".

Having said this, and without attempting to deny the truth of the facts in question, he ignores the issue beyond stating that

whites will be recognised as citizens of South Africa. The issue here is really the old one of the individual against the State. Western civilisation is based implicitly on the protection of individual rights, and not on unlimited majority rule.

The smallest minority in any society is the individual. In the United States, in particular, it is recognised that there are individual rights which are not subject to a general vote — such as the right to life, to property, to privacy, to a fair trial.

These rights are enshrined in a constitution which can only be changed by a very complex procedure — a far cry from unlimited majority rule.

Dr Motlana goes on to advocate "massive State intervention to right the wrongs", "a very major redistribution of wealth", that "land is not subject to private ownership", "the mines should be nationalised", and perhaps some of the other big corporations.

Dr Motlana would have us accept without question that, at

EXCEPT for one point I am sorry to say that I agree with the entire thrust of Dr Motlana's plan for South Africa (Sunday Times April 20).

Where I agree is that whites must surely negotiate with blacks over the future of this country.

I disagree with Dr Motlana's economic ideas. He accepts that men are selfish and work best for themselves.

Then he promptly rejects this fact of life by saying that you must not work too hard and too well.

Otherwise your property or business will be stolen from you through nationalisation, and entrusted to the care of that most notoriously inept of all managers — the State.

A third solution that's acceptable to all is needed

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It is an utter waste of time to argue about unitary rule or minority rule. White minority rule has been rejected by Black majority rule and vice versa. — SCORGIE, Haenert Transvaal.

maintain the necessary conditions for such equal opportunities. This means one-man one-vote, but not necessarily in a unitary government.

In reasonably homogeneous states like Britain, unitary government works. In heterogeneous states it has been shown not to work. It is also as morally indefensible as minority rule.

To say that one group rules another group is to say that the former dominates the latter. Whether the ruling group is a major-

ity or a minority is irrelevant.

Would Dr Motlana espouse the spurious rule of majority with fervour, if by some graphic accident were a minority in Africa? He most certainly would not.

Rejected

It is an utter waste of time to argue about unitary rule or minority rule. White minority rule has been rejected by Black majority rule and vice versa. — SCORGIE, Haenert Transvaal.

THAT BLUEPRINT FOR
POWER
SHARING
IS ACID
TEST FOR
BOTH



Prime Minister
Botha

Work
with us
pleads
Buthelezi

SUN TRIB

27/4/80

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Tribune Reporter

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi's commission to provide a blueprint for power sharing in Natal and KwaZulu — announced in the Legislative Assembly at Ulundi this week — will be the acid test for his moderate policies and for Prime Minister P. W. Botha's declared commitment to change.

Its success, depending on whether Mr Botha and his administration are prepared genuinely to negotiate without window-dressing, will prove to the Chief's critics that he can change a Pretoria-devised system from within and approach his ideal of a national convention.

Its failure will increase the possibility of his move into exile about which he warned Mr Botha during the Assembly's opening last week.

Chief Buthelezi's message to the Prime Minister was: "As each day passes without a clear commitment on his part to bring about fundamental changes, I am filled with gloomy foreboding for our country and all of us.

"As I see each statement the Prime Minister makes to placate verkrampte elements in the National Party, the more I despair about our finding a solution peacefully in South Africa.

"I plead for whites to understand the need for this black initiative and to work with the commissioners who will be appointed in due course in the spirit that must prevail in a liberated, free, democratic and beautiful South Africa," he said.

The Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party will have one representative each on the commission. The National Party, from which two delegates will be invited, is still studying the proposals.

THE NRP's Natal leader, Senator Warwick Webber, welcomed the proposals, undeterred by Chief Buthelezi's



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, with Naomi Jamobson's bust of himself presented to the Zulu nation this week

declaration that the commission was a black initiative and not a joint one between Inkatha and the party.

Mr Webber said: "When the NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Administration launched the Natal Indaba it did not have the powers to negotiate with KwaZulu. The Provincial Council's jurisdiction does not extend to the KwaZulu Government.

"By taking this step Chief Buthelezi has overcome the problems we were experiencing. It's a logical extension of the Natal Indaba."

Mr Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC and leader of the Provincial Council, said: "We welcome the commission announced by Chief Buthelezi. This has been our thinking for a number of years."

The PFP's national leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said: "If we want to ensure a peaceful future for this country and for our children, then the only way to do so is by taking decisions together and not for each other.

"The commission with its wide and comprehensive terms of reference is a step in the right direction.

"Because its members will be experts from all sectors of society the final report should reflect the wishes of as many of the people who will be affected as possible."

Mr Gerrie de Jong, independent MP for Pietermaritzburg South, called on the National Party not to reject the proposals but to join the commission and put its case.

"The terms of reference are excellent and could solve the problems of Natal as well as the rest of the country."

The leader of the Reform Party and vice-chairman of the South African Black Alliance, Mr Y. S. Chinsamy, said he was "very pleased".

"Over the last five years black leaders have called upon the South African Government to hold a national convention . . .

"In view of the Government's failure to do so we strongly support Chief Buthelezi's commission of inquiry."

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at Natal University, said Natal and KwaZulu were territorially and economically interdependent.

It was clear Chief Buthelezi was not seeking confrontation with the Government but rather making a constructive contribution to the idea of a constellation of states.

The Prime Minister's Press secretary, Mr Neville Krige, said Mr Botha would not make a statement about the commission this week.

A mess

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THE STUDENTS who took to the streets in marches across the land this week carrying banners which read "The system stinks" and "Away with Coloured Affairs", were using demonstrations to make the same point as informed academics and organisations have often done in longer terms and bigger words.

The South African Institute of Race Relations, for instance, in its evidence to the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the 1976/77 disturbances, wrote: "There will be no enduring peace unless very real and meaningful changes are brought about in the immediate future. A small concession here and there is no longer acceptable. Young people are no longer prepared to exercise patience and the tolerance shown by their parents."

"... Spontaneous, sporadic outbreaks of mass action cannot be ruled out in the future. They will recur, possibly with greater frequency and wider participation than in the past, until such time as those discriminated against are assured of equality of rights and opportunities."

And the State has reacted in different ways at different times. Take the Cillie Commission itself: "Virtually all legislation regarding relations between races is separatist and seen by blacks and coloureds as unjust and discriminatory." And as such, the commission found this legislation contributed to the 1976/76 disturbances.

However, the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, this week blamed the unrest on "agitators" and "instigators" and said that if the children were left alone by these "outside agitators" the situation would look completely different.

There have also been different ways of looking back at it all. Like the Cillie Commission again: "The officials believed that there were agitators behind all the rebelliousness and also that the scholars were being used as a so-called pressure group. They did not realise that the scholars were, so dissatisfied and inspired that they could easily revolt."

The placard of one of this week's marchers, observers believe, provides the choice for the State's response to the events

BEHIND THE BOYCOTT

A DEEP-SEATED ANGER, A CRY FOR FREEDOM

THE author of this article has used the term "coloured" throughout. As a term created by the Government the word is considered offensive by many people. However, being of mixed (African and European) parentage is not considered offensive. In fact the majority of people referred to as "black" in America, for example, are "coloured".

Because the Government the classification "coloured" people have specific life and educational nature p term has been used to Editor.

that swept the country over the past week and which echo loudly the upheaval of June 1976: "Be realistic not racialistic".

That it should begin this time in "coloured" schools is not surprising. As the Cillie Commission pointed out, "discrimination made him (the "coloured" man) more readily willing to embrace the black man as a fellow sufferer and to join him in the struggle."

The reverse may in fact be true this time as leading black organisations, including the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso)

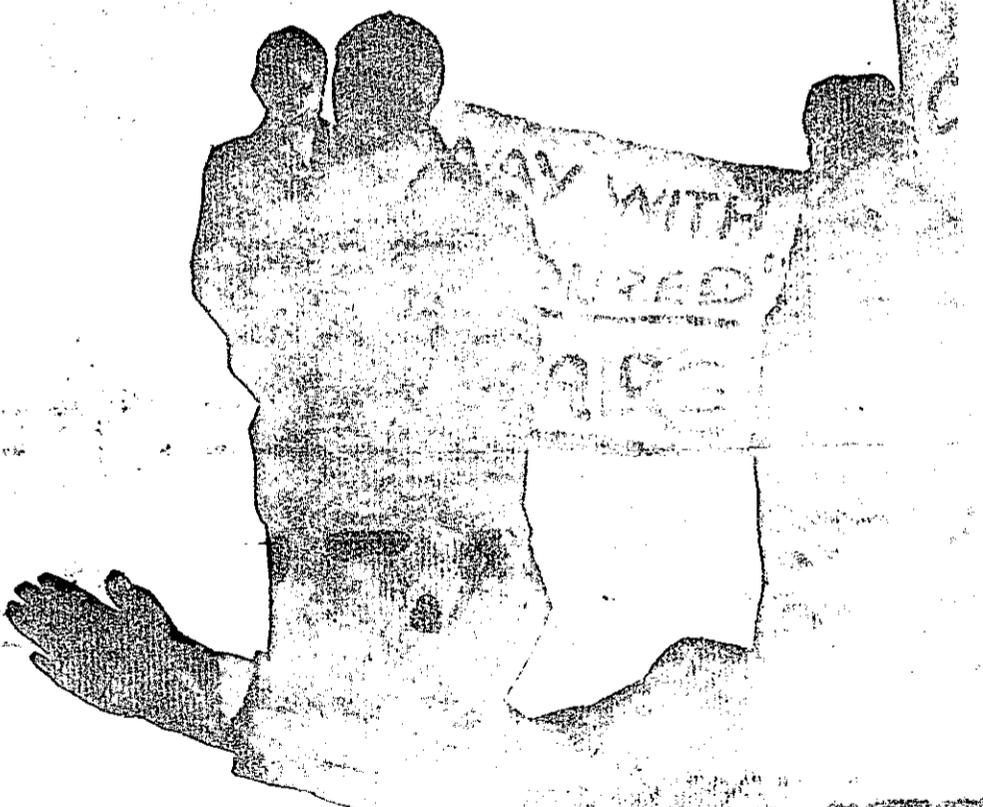
and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), this week expressed solidarity with the boycotting students and warned of another June 16.

As with June '76, like it or not, the boycott is political.

Until the coming to power of the National Party in 1948 the "coloured" population was largely governed by the same laws that applied to white society, except for the vote and education.

Since then there have been massive formal changes in both their rights and status, so that, accord-

ing to the Theron Commission of Inquiry into the Status of the Coloured People, specific laws now affect "their political power, marriage and sexual intercourse, job opportunities and the settlement of disputes, wages and taxes, residential ownership, education, administration of justice, criminal offences and public amenities".



'This education denies the right of all to grow

Page 22/4/18

Age fo

In other words, their entire lives.

But with any community is the education of their children that is of the utmost importance to the "coloured" people.

To the children themselves it is the same. And they feel their education meets very few of their expectations and long-term aspirations and is designed to "supply cheap labour", as one placard said this week.

"No policies are such that 'coloured' means that certain rights of a political, social nature are accorded on them by law, the same as for those people. —

Education for "coloured" people dates right back to the early days of the Cape Colony. In fact one encyclopaedia dates it at 1652 — just six years after the arrival of the Dutch settlers.

However, the education of children at the time was not segregated and only became informally so after the establishment of the Cape Department of Edu-

cation in 1939, which tried to encourage the growth of mission schooling for "coloured" people.

That tended to be the case right up until the coming to power of the National Party under Dr D F Malan. Schooling for "coloured" people was mostly private missionary education and by no means inferior to that given to white children, though it was neither free nor compulsory.

And until that time there was still a vote for "coloured" people despite the restriction of fairly severe educational and property qualifications.

The Nationalist Government did not take long to change that. In 1951 the Government started a Department of Coloured Affairs, for the first time formally defining "coloured" people as a separate "volk" and making them part and parcel of their apartheid plans.

The first Minister of Coloured Affairs was, in fact, no less than the present Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Mr Steyn said this week's problems were "inherited".

From then the State

Continued on Page 3

whether a child will take Standard level or Higher Level syllabuses at high school will be in the hands of school psychologists.

1967: Control of students minds under the National Education Policy Act which lays down three principles which guide the minister in formulating national education policy. They are that education shall have a Christian character and it shall have a "broad national character" and that it shall be mother tongue instruction.

The second of these principles lays down that a broad national character "shall be imprinted

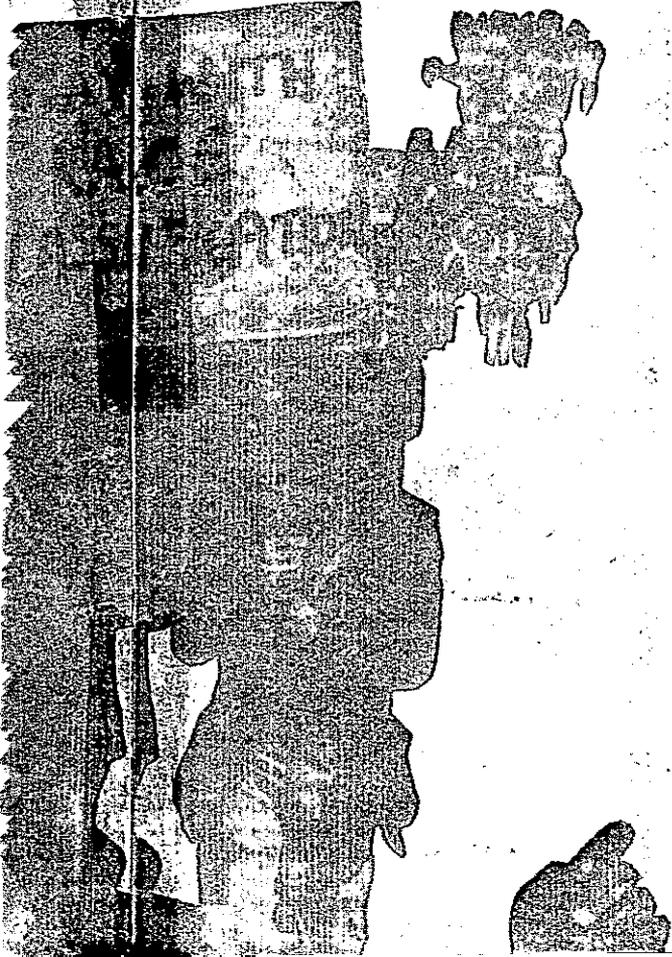
(a) through the conscious expansion of every pupil's knowledge of the fatherland, embracing language and cultural heritage, history and traditions, national symbols, the diversity of the population, social and economic conditions, geographical diversity and national achievements, and

(b) by developing this knowledge in each pupil into understanding and appreciation by presenting it in a meaningful way where appropriate . . . and further through the participation of pupils in national festivals and their regular honouring of the national symbols, so as to

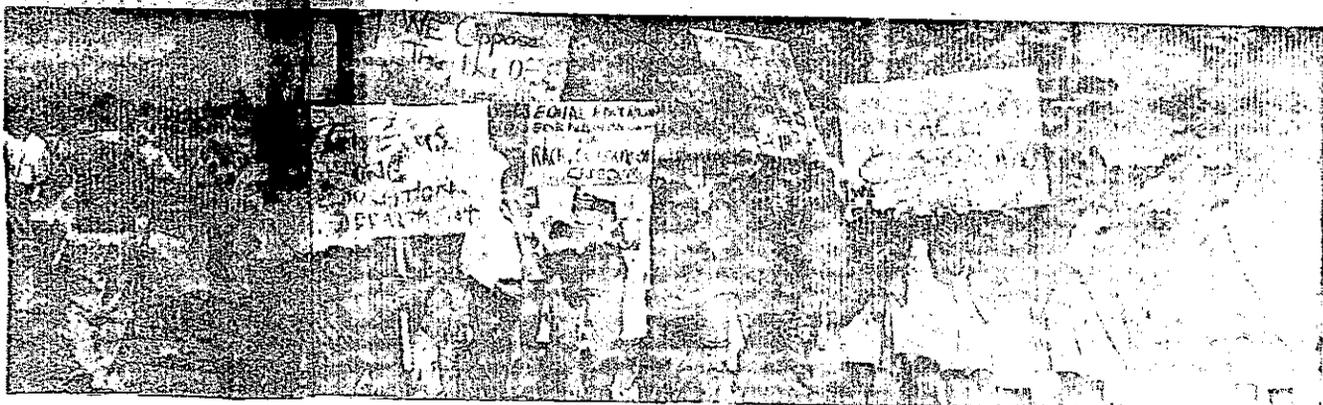
- 1 inculcate a spirit of patriotism, founded on loyalty and responsibility towards the fatherland, its soil and its natural resources;
- 2 enable every pupil to gain a balanced perspective; and
- 3 achieve a sense of unity and a spirit of co-operation."

The meaning of "coloured education" is expressed by the statistics in the box entitled Coloured Education — the facts on this page.

It has become clear that the frustrations of "coloured" people with their educational opportunities and facilities is ultimately reflected in their inability to do anything about it at a political level. For it is there that power to allocate money and resources and to give direction to the content of



rimaster



education qualification introduced, thus robbing the vast majority of "coloured" people of the right to vote.

At the same time the Boer Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal allowed no voting rights for coloured people.

In 1931 white women

of all claims to citizenship". The ANC and APO then agreed to meet at least once a year to discuss matters of common concern.

Despite the serious splits that developed within "coloured" political circles over strategies to deal with their changing franchise conditions, rela-

They reached a high-point in the massive demonstration of non-racialism — the Congress of the People — in Klipfontein, Transvaal on June 26 1955 at which the Freedom Charter was signed, declaring South Africa to belong to all who live in it.

Present were over

cessor to the APO, the Coloured Peoples Organisation, more commonly known as the Coloured Peoples Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Following the banning of the ANC and the imprisonment of many of its leaders and allies, many of the CPO's leaders went into exile and the movement was disbanded.

given rise to the anger of the "coloured" children.

As the SA Institute of Race Relations report to the Cillie Commission maintained: "Both communities (African and 'coloured') are inevitably bound together by being categorized as a common group by a host of officially displayed notices terming them 'non-whites' which determine which counters, entrances, sections of public transport and other facilities they can use.

"In many organisations there is a growing belief that the African and "coloured" population have such a commuality of interests, suffer under such similarity of discriminatory practices and that their future is so bound up together that there is a move not only to speak with one voice but to act together as black people."

And as observers have pointed out this week, the boycott should not be treated lightly or as "agitator politics".

The children are making demands beyond simple reaction to their condition.

As one untidy poster hung roughly on a rusting fence said this week: "SA education stultifies, denies the right of all to grow fully, think freely and develop our potential. Educate for social change". — SUNDAY POST reporter.

Coloured Education — the facts

THE following table shows the difference in educational opportunities and facilities for white and "coloured" school children. The figures are the latest available for each category, referring in most cases to the year 1979, but in some cases to 1978 or 1977 where more recent figures are not available.

	WHITE CHILDREN	COLOURED CHILDREN
Total number in school	933 426	559 262
Amount spent on education	R338 million	R137 million
Money spent on each child in a year	R351	R185.16
Number of pupils per teacher	19.7	23.2
Number of pupils involved in double sessions	none	79 762
Number of teachers involved in double sessions	none	2 509
Percentage of candidates who achieved matric exemption	47.49	15.41
Percentage of teachers with B.C or equivalent education	none	62.16

won the vote and all qualifications on white males were removed, ensuring that an overwhelming majority of the electorate was white and that only a small percentage of "coloured" people in fact had the vote.

Not satisfied with that the Nationalist Government that came to power in 1947 set out to find a constitutional way to remove the "coloured" people from the common voters roll altogether. They succeeded after a lengthy battle involving the Appeal Court when the Senate was packed with National Party senators and the constitution was amended.

The final phase of the total disenfranchisement of the "coloured" people came in 1969 when the Government introduced the Coloured Peoples Representative Council and changed the Department of Coloured Affairs to what it maintained was purely the administrative arm of the CPO, or CPO

relationships between democratic movements remained firm.

3 000 delegates from the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the suc-

Following the banning and shift into exile of the non-racial congress movement, the initiative in "coloured" politics was seized mostly by professional people, and particularly by teachers. Influential among them has been the Teachers League of South Africa.

However it has been more than anything else, the gradual but systematic erosion of political rights and a consequent deterioration in the quality of education that has



Zulu

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unity

appeal

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says he would welcome consultations on major issues between those who see themselves as playing a leadership role in the black struggle.

Opening the central committee meeting of Inkatha in Ulundi at the weekend, he said there was no way in which blacks could hope to win the struggle if they did not sink their differences.

"I want to appeal... with all the sincerity in my heart, that we as blacks who are in quest of our freedom should not allow white people, either on the Right or on the Left, to play us against each other."

Chief Buthelezi said blacks could debate methods they proposed using in the struggle without being as "acrimonious" as they had been in the past.

He said he had seen it as a student when unity movement members were so acrimonious in their attacks of ANC leaders like Professor Z K Mathews, Chief A J Luthuli, Paul Mosaka and others for their participation in the Native Representative Council.

He said there was the same acrimony between the ANC and PAC leaderships and he could not see, while they were in exile, why the leadership of the groups should remain separate.

Mahlangu ceremony

Youths nabbed

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THIRTY-two youths and two journalists were yesterday arrested in Mamelodi, Pretoria, when police intercepted a procession heading towards Atteridgeville cemetery for the unveiling of the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu.

The youths were arrested near Denneboom station where they had intended to board a

By PHIL MTIMKULU

train to Atteridgeville.

Those who were in vehicles were pulled out after police had manned a roadblock at the road leading out of Mamelodi. Others who managed to escape the police were pursued in the township and also arrested.

A spokesman from the Police Directorate of Public Relations said when police arrived on the scene they were stoned by students and one white constable was slightly injured.

Thirty-four people

whose ages range from 18 — 20 were arrested. He said no firearms, teargas or force was used. They may appear in court tomorrow.

About the arrested journalists, Willie Bokala of POST and Willie Nkosi, he said they were part of the procession and they did not have any means of identifying themselves as reporters.

The students, however, said they were just pounced upon by police after they were told at the station that the next train was a 10 am. They say they were also asked to produce their reference books at the station.

Police used dogs to catch students who were scattering throughout the township. Even those who had returned to the Mahlangu home were arrested. Six women who remained behind cooking were also arrested but they are believed to have now been released.

Only a few cars managed to evade the roadblocks and make for the cemetery. One of the cars — a combi — was carrying Mrs Martha Mahlangu and members of the family. There was a slight delay at the cemetery as most of the key people were left behind when evading the police.

There was yet another surprise for the people at the cemetery. There was no tombstone to be unveiled. According to a member of the family and organisers of the unveiling ceremony the company contracted to erect the tombstone failed to do so even though it was paid in full.

Mrs Mahlangu, mother of the executed African National Congress guerilla was bitter. She said she was very upset by what has happened.

"After I have spent so much money this happens. And it is not for the first time that a service for my son has been disrupted. My sympathies are with all those arrested. I plead for their release," she said.

After the ceremony students who had managed to evade the police arrived at the cemetery. They had come by train. Freedom songs were sung at the cemetery. Later they left for the station.

They were followed by a large contingent of police.

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1 000 at vigil for Mahlangu unveiling

By MALOSE MATSEMELA

MORE THAN 1 000 people attended the night vigil for the unveiling of Solomon Mahlangu's tombstone at the Lutheran Church, Mamelodi, on Saturday.

The vigil started at the Mahlangu home, 2445 Section H, Mamelodi, about 7.30 pm.

As more people trickled in, it was decided to move to the church by 10 pm about 1 000 people were in church.

Freedom songs were sung and raised fist salutes were given intermittently during the speeches.

A Mamelodi-based poetry-reading group, the Ancestors of Africa, performed a play portraying the sufferings of blacks in the country.

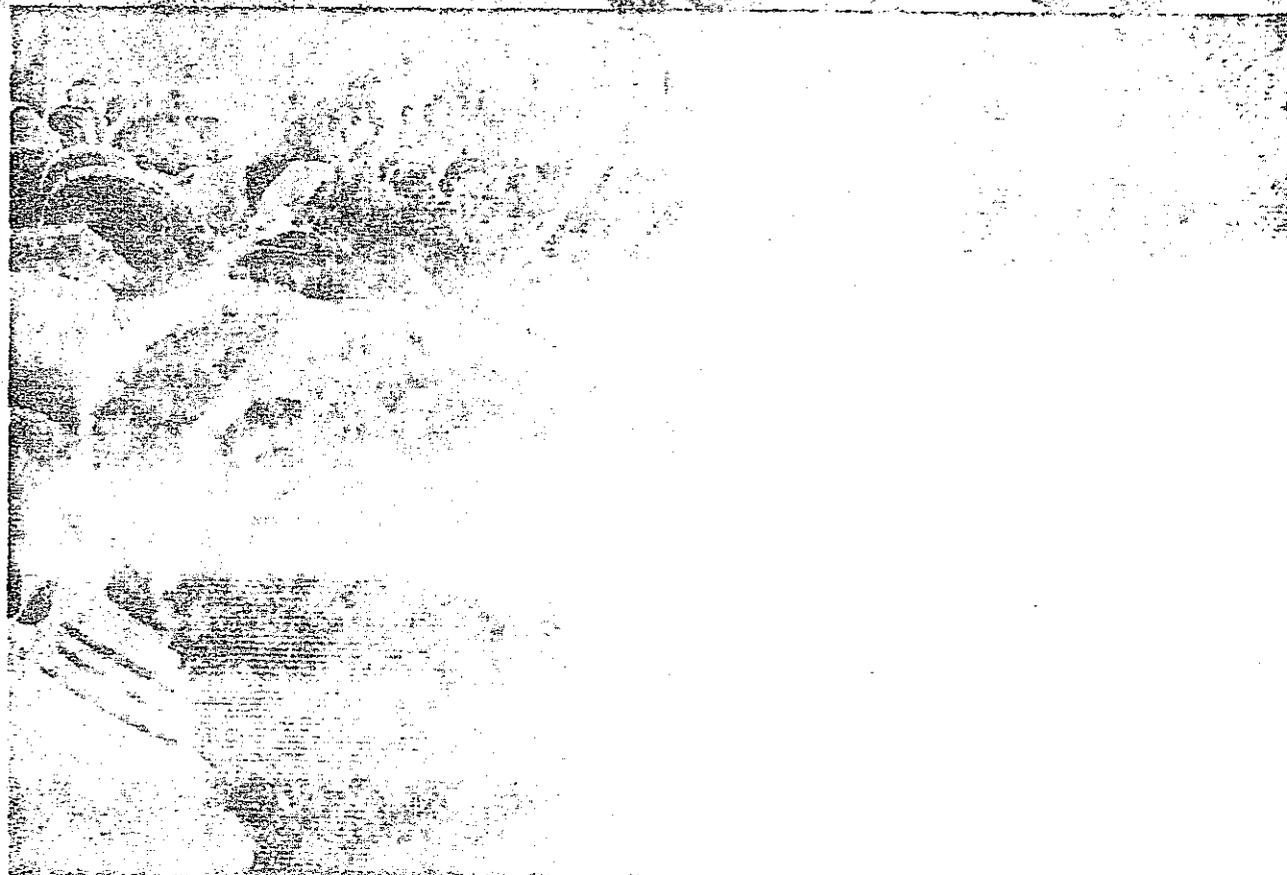
Mr Tom Nkoana, president of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso) said the Government had shown its brutality by executing Mahlangu who was said not to have pulled a trigger during the Goch Street attack.

He said the execution proved that the Government was fiddling around with the freedom of the black man.

A representative of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) said it was high time that the black man found his position in the struggle faced by blacks.

"We have reached a point where we can no longer be prepared to swallow without chewing by the true black leaders. This has been rejected for many years. So we are not going to sit back hoping that there will be a second Jesus who will come for our liberation," he said.

The vigil ended at 5.30 am. Then a procession towards Atteridgeville started.



Part of the large crowd at the vigil for Solomon Mahlangu. See also Page 5.

Some people who had come from Pietersburg, Sebokeng, Soweto and Alexandra used trains from Mamelodi to Atteridgeville where the tombstone was to be unveiled.

During the procession, a crowd of about 200 people singing freedom songs, displaying placards and shouting "Amandla" were confronted by police near the Denham station, Mamelodi.

Police in land vehicles maintained a roadblock near the station where a number of people, including POST reporter Willie Bokala and Willie Nkosi (Star) were arrested.

Only a few people reached the graveyard but their numbers were swelled by the Atteridgeville residents.

POETRY

Police were stationed near the cemetery and

black students were aware of the unjust laws aimed at emasculating the black man.

He also said that the students were fully aware of the inferior education they were being fed and the Government seemed content to do nothing about it.

"There should be unity

between parents and children and the most important fact is that it is a students' duty to introduce their parents in the struggle," he said.

The Rev Mashwabada Malyathula, who conducted the service, said it was important to realize that the present system by the Government would discredit

people wherever they were.

It was an unfortunate situation for the Government to wish that its acts would deter the struggle of the black man.

"We have reached a time where we can not consider pulling back from what we believe in," he said.

Mahlangu ceremony . . .



Students singing freedom songs at the graveyard during the unveiling of the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu yesterday.



Police on guard at the unveiling of the tombstone for the executed Solomon Mahlangu.



A composed Mrs Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon listens with concentration to one of the speakers at the graveyard.

Post 28/4/80

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Could Natal become a South African experiment in multiracial government? GRAHAM LINSOTT talks to Gerrie de Jong, MP for Pietermaritzburg South, in the first of a two-part series.

Uhuru for Natal

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28/4/80



As an Inkatha-inspired commission takes shape to investigate the future constitutional position of Natal in relation to a greater South Africa, Mr Gerrie de Jong, Independent MP for Pietermaritzburg South, has enlarged on why he sees further consolidation of kwaZulu as a dead duck.

Mr de Jong caused a stir in Parliament recently with a speech in which he called for Natal to become a confederate state of South Africa, jointly ruled by white, Zulu, Indian and coloured, with representation of the non-white groups at central level as well.

This corresponds closely with what Chief Gatsha Buthelezi now appears to be advocating.

Mr de Jong has now issued an analysis of the situation, the nub of which is that further consolidation is pointless because the Zulus have explicitly and quite rightly, rejected taking independence while consolidation would also dislocate the region's economy, including the vital sugar industry.

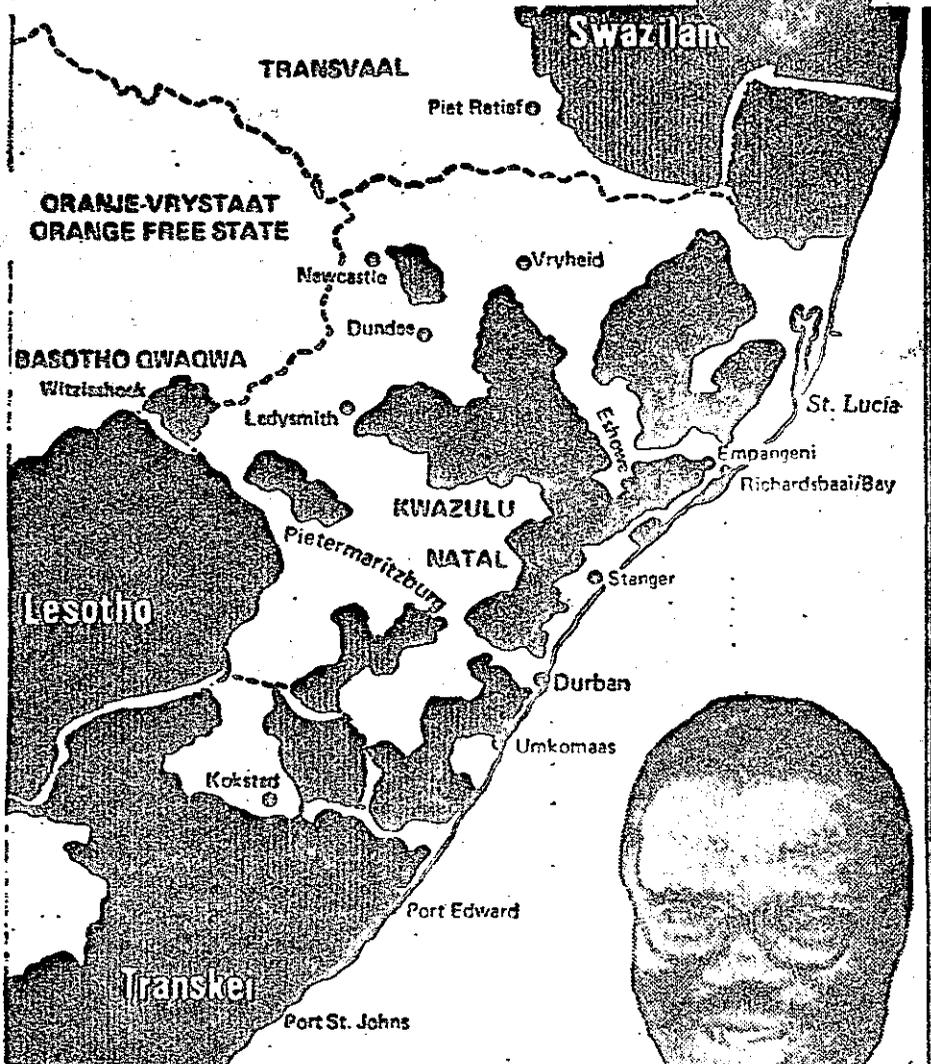
He also warns that unless the Government comes to terms with this and negotiates, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, "a fine man with a big heart, and a Christian," could either lose his leadership position or be forced to leave the country and conduct the liberation struggle from outside, a la Mugabe.

"And if that happened it would be a calamity of the greatest magnitude. Natal at present has more racial goodwill than elsewhere, but it is also a potential powderkeg."

Mr de Jong makes the points that:

- Natal / kwaZulu is not just a localised, regional problem. It is the Achilles heel of South Africa. No national settlement could stick without Natal's problems being solved first.

- Natal has the country's major port, commun-



TOMORROW: Gerrie de Jong spells out why he believes a constitutional settlement for South Africa must be achieved on a regional basis.

ications and an oil pipeline. It is absolutely vital that it remain stable.

- Natal has a unique population make-up of 4.2 million Zulus, 660 000 Indians, 520 000 whites and 87 000 coloured people.

- White/Indian capital and expertise is as vital to the region's prosperity as Zulu labour — though Zulus should be encouraged to enter the management capital field as well.

- At least 96 percent of the total population of Natal supports a power sharing arrangement which would be acceptable to all groups but would safeguard them from domination.

- The Mugabe victory in Zimbabwe has hardened the attitude of blacks significantly since a

few months ago and there is increasing political pressure on moderate leaders.

- The best the Van der Walt commission could achieve would be to produce a kwaZulu in three fragments. This would be unacceptable to the Zulus and the cost to South Africa would be prohibitive.

- A hostile, fragmented and independent kwaZulu would border on at least three independent black states, and this would pose a military and strategic nightmare, along with a loss of common loyalty in the defence of South Africa.

- At least 80 percent of the Zulu workforce would still be working in "white" Natal.

- Natal and kwaZulu already share so many com-

mon services that it would be impracticable to attempt to separate them.

"If you just look at the map it is obvious that Natal with its Zulu majority intermingled throughout and hemmed in as it is by Transkei, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique, cannot logically, practically or morally be divided into an independent Zulu state and a white area.

"But I believe the Zulus don't want that, neither do the whites, Indians and coloureds.

"The only alternative is the sort of joint control of Natal as a whole I have suggested. In the interests of peace I can only implore the Government to abandon old theories, that have so obviously failed and take a fresh look and take into account what the people of Natal themselves want."

Security arrests: 12 held, 7 freed

Arrests 29/4/80
117
378

Crime Reporter

SECURITY police now hold only 12 of the 19 people detained since last week under the security laws. Eight are from the Western Cape.

Since yesterday they have released seven people who were being held under the Criminal Procedures Act.

A spokesman for headquarters in Pretoria said the 12 were being held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

Security police chiefs in Cape Town and the Boland have confirmed that all those detained in the Western Cape are still being held. Under the Act they can be held for periods up to 14 days.

Still in detention are Mr Lloyd Fortuin and a 17-year-old youth, both students; Mr Neville Fry, a schoolteacher; Mr Trevor Wentzel, a community worker in Lavistown and member of Azapo; Mr Achmat Cassiem, a banned former president of the SA Students' Association; Mr Michael Sedgwick, a youth organiser of the Churches' Urban Planning Commission; Mr Allan Liebenberg, former president of the UWC Students' Representative Council, and Mr Richard Stevens, co-director of the Constructive for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town.

MEETING

Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of Azapo, who was detained by security police last week, is still in detention. He was held after addressing a student meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Two journalists, Mr Willie Nkosi of the Star and Mr Willie Bokala of Post are being held, together with 32 other people on charges of public violence.

Their arrest arises from a service at the graveside of the executed Goch Street terrorist, Solomon Mahlangu.

Security police have stressed that only 12 are being held in terms of security legislation. This comes in the wake of further reports of detentions.

It is possible that many others are being held for criminal offences, but it is impossible to keep track of all the arrests around the country. Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet of the police Directorate of Public Relations said.

DO 29/4/80 (11A)
New bid to oust
(129) (140) (327)
PE union leaders

PORT ELIZABETH — Workers at the Ford factory here are pressing ahead with attempts to remove their local union leadership from office. They have demanded a general meeting of union members to discuss ousting office-bearers.

The union is the black United Automobile Workers, which is affiliated to Fosatu. One of the targets of the campaign is Mr John Mike, president of Fosatu, which is regarded as a "militant" organisation by employers.

The chief cause of the dissent is the recent strike at Ford. Dissenters, most of whom belong to the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, claim that local union leadership was "pro-management" during the strike.

At a meeting at the weekend, the dissidents decided to send a letter to the union, demanding a general meeting of members to discuss removing the union's Port Elizabeth branch executive.

Earlier this month, workers adopted a no-confidence motion in the executive and demanded its resignation. But the executive refused to resign.

saying its dismissal was unconstitutional.

At the weekend meeting, Mr Durnile Makhanda, who heads an action committee which is attempting to remove the union leadership, said his committee had decided "to adopt a more constitutional approach".

They had decided to write to the branch executive demanding a general meeting within 80 days. If this was not complied with, workers would elect their own executive.

If the present executive refused to hand over the branch's property to the committee, legal action would be taken, Mr Makhanda said.

The chief reason given for the move was dissatisfaction with the handling of the Ford dispute. But other claims made at the meeting were that six members of the branch committee had been "unconstitutionally" sacked and that workers were dissatisfied with the executive's last financial report.

Dissatisfaction with the running of the union was also expressed.

Union officials were unavailable for comment yesterday. — DDC.

By PHIL MTIMKULU

THE tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu could not be erected on Saturday as this day at the Atteridgeville Cemetery is for burials only.

This was one of the reasons given by Mr Ezrom Mangena, an attendant at the cemetery, for the refusal to allow the erection of the tombstone.

Mr Mangena, however, said he was not

Mahlangu tombstone: family upset

the attendant who was on duty on Saturday.

Mr Mangena also said any company coming to erect a tombstone has to fill forms at the offices of the superintendent. A

sketch of the tombstone to be unveiled also has to be provided.

Mr H P J Klopper the manager of the company which should have erected the tomb-

stone, assured POST yesterday that the tombstone is going to be erected.

He said his workers left in the morning for the cemetery where they will get the necessary permission to erect it. He said he was not aware that tombstones were not erected on Saturdays at Atteridgeville.

The Mahlangu family was terribly upset about the incident. Another ceremony which will be for the family only will be arranged within the next few weeks.

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KwaZulu plan gets blessing

DURBAN. — Mr Ray Swart, MP and deputy-chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, has welcomed the KwaZulu initiative in setting up an all-party commission to examine the structure of political relationships between the people of Natal.

He told a meeting in Durban that the initiative offered an "exciting new option" for people committed to peaceful change. It was exciting because it came from the largest single ethnic group in South Africa — and the majority in Natal.

Also, in the growing atmosphere of frustration and militancy, it was a calculated manifestation by the majority to seek accommodation for all and bring about change through peaceful means. — Sapa.

Mahlangu: 34 in court

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POST
11/11

THE 34 people who were arrested at Mamelodi, Pretoria, including two journalists, may appear in court today.

POST reporter Willie Bokala, Willie Nkosi of The Star, and the others were

arrested at Mamelodi during the tombstone unveiling ceremony of Solomon Mahlangu on Sunday.

They had been expected to appear in court yesterday.

They are now expected to appear today.

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304 Post 304/80

Mandela first black PM?

SOUTH AFRICA would have a black Prime Minister within five to 10 years, the general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing students of the University of Natal, he said the white community could not stop South Africa from having a black prime minister.

"What the white community still has in its power to do is to decide whether that Prime Minister is going to end up there through a process of reasoned negotiation and discussion at a conference table or whether he will have to do so after bitter fighting and bloodshed.

"I think we have a very good chance of pulling off the first alternative. And we need

Nelson Mandela because he is almost certainly going to be that first black prime minister.

"He represents all our genuine leaders, in prison and exile. So to call for his release is really to say, please let us sit down, black and white, each with our acknowledged leaders and work out our common future, so that we can move into this new

South Africa which will be filled with justice, peace, love, righteousness, compassion and caring.

"One would like to say some politicians learned a lesson from Zimbabwe — don't make such categorical statements. You will have to eat your words — look at Mr Ian Smith and his no black majority in a 1000 years or over my dead body?

"It is possible that some politicians may end up being totally irrelevant. Retirement might do some of them good. Look at what it's done for Gen van der Bergh.

Bishop Tutu thought South Africa would have a new non-racial society and that meant we must negotiate and bargain at the conference table and this can be done only by ge-

nune and acknowledge leaders. Hence our call, free Mandela, and start talking.

There could be no real freedom for anyone in South Africa while one section was unfree, because freedom was indivisible. Instead of enjoying her freedom, white South Africa invested untold resources into trying to defend it and prevent any black from participating in it as well, he said.

Row looms as Nats snub Natal plan

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Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Serious confrontation is looming between the Government and kwaZulu over the National Party's refusal to serve on Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Commission about the future of Natal and kwaZulu.

Breaking point could come if the Government attempts to block the commission.

The Government yesterday used a junior backbencher, in what appeared to be a snub for Chief Buthelezi, to announce that the National Party would not take up the two seats he offered it on the commission.

Horwood

The MP also strongly criticised its terms of reference.

The back bencher, Mr Mias van der Westhuizen, was at the centre of a major race controversy last year when he said germ counts in a South Coast hospital operating theatre were higher because they were used for operations on blacks.

Senator Owen Horwood, National Party Natal leader, today condemned the party's refusal to



Chief Buthelezi

serve but did not want to say whether the Government would.

It is expected that the Prime Minister, Mr P-W Botha, will give the Government's definitive view on the issue when he winds up the debate on his vote in Parliament this afternoon.

Senator Horwood said that the Schlebusch Commission and the Consolidation Commission should first be given a chance to see what answers they could find.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said that if this was to be the prevailing attitude to dialogue and negotiation "the Government itself will become the most single important source of racial polarisation in the country."

Breaking

point

may

be near

Government going to regret this step but it is also unfortunately going to be regretted by the people of Natal.

"Why is it that the Government must first receive a hiding before it will do anything?"

In his speech in Parliament yesterday Mr van der Westhuizen said South Africa was an independent country and could not have other countries telling her what to do.

Debate

In Maritzburg Mr Derrick Watterson, MEC, has set the scene for a heated debate between the NRP and opposition National Party in the provincial council on Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's commission.

He gave notice yesterday that he is to move that Council support the initiative.

While the NRP has already come out in support of Chief Buthelezi's initiatives, the NP has still to commit itself.

The leader of the NP in the provincial council, Mr Thys van Lingen, MPC for Newcastle, has already said that he and his colleagues are awaiting a directive from the party's leaders in Natal.

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able. Red or green ink may be used for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.

- Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- Do not write in the left hand margin.

- No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

CT 30/4/80

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Parents call for equal education

RESOLUTIONS of parental support for the school boycott and rejection of the system of separate education were passed unanimously at well-attended meetings in Ida's Valley and Cloetesville near Stellenbosch this week.

Motions passed at the meetings attended by parents and schoolchildren from Cloetesville and Lackhoff senior secondary schools were:

• We, the parents of Stellenbosch, take note of the griev-

ances of students as put forward during the boycott. We fully identify ourselves with the struggle for equal education and support the students wholeheartedly in all activities.

• We reject the political system which is the direct cause of the present situation. We reject with contempt the Coloured Persons' Council as put forward by the government to represent the so-called coloured and regard it as an insult to our community.

PM replies
to telegram

CT 30/4/80
Staff Reporter

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday advised the Mitchell's Plain Parent Action Committee to make representations about the current school unrest to the minister concerned.

He was responding to a telegram sent by the committee, which sought to bring the pupils' problems to the attention of the Prime Minister.

He said although he was always open to receive representations from interested parties, such representations had to be channelled correctly.

Besides sending a telegram to the Prime Minister, the committee sent a similar one to the Minister of Finance, Senator Owen Horwood, which expressed opposition to the budget's allocation for education of the various race groups.

No reply to the second telegram had been received. The telegrams were sent after a mass meeting of more than 1500 parents and pupils last week pledged full support for the action of pupils and students in the country.

PM threat to curtail Buthelezi 'deplored'

Political Staff

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has threatened to curtail Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's commission which is to investigate the future of Natal and Kwazulu.

While warning there could be serious consequences to the stance taken by Mr Botha, opposition spokesmen however feel there is very little Mr Botha could do to prevent Chief Buthelezi going ahead with the commission with its present terms of reference.

Meanwhile Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, would not comment on an appeal from Chief Buthelezi to him to act as intermediary and to get Government assistance on the issue.

In a brief telephone interview today Dr Koornhof said: 'We are dealing with the matter,' after being asked if and when he would be meeting Chief Buthelezi. He then put down the receiver.

ATTENTION

It is however understood a message was relayed to Chief Buthelezi through the Commissioner General of Kwazulu saying the appeal was receiving attention.

Mr Botha told Parliament yesterday that if Chief Buthelezi was planning to deal with matters under the control or jurisdiction of the central Government 'I say no'.

However Chief Buthelezi was discussing the issue with Dr Koornhof and a final decision would have to await the outcome of these discussions.

In reply to a question by Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Botha said he would not allow negotiations between the Natal Provincial Administration and Kwazulu.

After another question Mr Botha said he would have no objection but 'only with the full knowledge and control of the Government.

Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on homelands, who



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

After another question Mr Botha said he would have no objection but 'only with the full knowledge and control of the Government.

Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on homelands, who has been maintaining close links with Chief Buthelezi on the issue, warned in an interview: 'There could be very serious consequences as a result of his (Mr Botha's) attitude.

ARROGANT RESPONSE

'His arrogant response to Kwazulu is to be deplored. He has claimed the monopoly of knowing what is good for Natal and Kwazulu and he has shut down yet another option for reasonable consultation and another avenue for peaceful change.

'The handling by the Government of this matter is reprehensible. Before any formal response was made to Chief Buthelezi at top level the Prime Minister let loose his backbenchers in Parliament to renudiate the initiative in the most unreasonable and discourteous terms.'

Mr Raw said the Government could not prevent any person or party co-operating or discussing 'any matter at all' as the New Republic Party and Chief Buthelezi had last month.

'We agreed to continue our talks and we intend to do so.'

Gerwel refuses to talk to Matie students

AKGub 115/80 (114) 311



Professor Jakes Gerwel

PROFESSOR Jakes Gerwel today withdrew from a meeting in Stellenbosch because, he said in a telegram this morning, he could 'in all honesty no longer appear before an Afrikaans student audience.'

Professor Gerwel — head of the Department of Afrikaans-Nederlands at the University of the Western Cape — was due to address the Stellenbosche Aktuele Aangeleentheidskring (SAAK) tonight on the crisis in coloured education.

The full text of the telegram (in Afrikaans) — released to The Argus by SAAK — read:

'In the present circumstances I can in all honesty no longer appear before an Afrikaans student audience.'

'Your Government does not feel itself democratically responsible towards us and our students, and can thus be roughly uncompromising in its dealings with us.'

'You possess the democratic means to repair the injustice, and the access to the Government to

bring about a meaningful discussion.

'I wait for you.'

A spokesman for SAAK, Mr David Bosch, today declined to comment on the telegram.

Professor Gerwel told The Argus the Government's attitude in the past few days towards the boycott of classes by coloured children and their demands had again brought him to the 'very painful realisation' that coloured people were 'dispensable' in the eyes of the Govern-

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)

Gerwel

(Continued from Page 1)

ment, and that there were no serious intentions behind the talk of change.

After accepting the SAAK invitation at the weekend, he had again witnessed the Government's refusal to regard the pupil unrest with any sense of urgency.

The boycott was another illustration of the lack of access blacks had to the democratic process.

Professor Gerwel said he did not dispute SAAK's bona fides, but they — as Afrikaans students — had the power to begin the real changes required by South Africans.

So far, he said, there had been no demonstration of solidarity with the coloured students and pupils from the Stellenbosch campus. Had this occurred it might have been possible to appear before a Stellenbosch audience.

SAAK — a current affair body — last week organised a conference on the constitution, and black and white spokesman for widely divergent political movements appeared.

Tonight's meeting, it was learnt today, continues in spite of Professor Gerwel's withdrawal.



Mr Tom Manthata

NOW WE KNOW — LEADERS

SEVERAL black leaders this week said they were quite "happy" that Mr P W Botha, the Prime Minister, had now come out clearly on his policy and had dashed the hopes that he created.

In Parliament this week, Mr P W Botha explained the 12-point plan which he announced in August last year. He said it was merely a reformulation and not a movement away from separate development as there was

no alternative for South Africa. "No-one can expect me to throw the principles of the Nationalist Party overboard," he said.

Black Consciousness exponent, Mr Tom Manthata said Mr Botha has made fools of his disciples whom he has know left in the lurch. He said Mr Botha was beginning to create confusion among blacks and was gaining disciples. He said he was even obscuring the basic aspirations of blacks.

"The people were even giving consideration to

system-created bodies. The concept that there were no changes was beginning to lose ground. Within the past six months Mr Botha has delayed the essence of the struggle. His utterances in Parliament are, however, a vindication of what we have always been telling the people," Mr Manthata said.

Father Lebamang Sebidi of the Committee of Ten said what Mr Botha said is what they have been telling the people all along.

"The ambit of consultation was already prescribed by policies of apartheid. What he has been saying about change is just cosmetic and is intended for overseas consumption and those people in South Africa who want concessions," he said.

Mr R A J Saloojee, an executive member of the Lenasia People's Candidates said he never believed in Mr Botha's slogans and statements. "I never accepted it that he was genuine in terms of

moving away from apartheid. But because of frustration people were trying to see more into what he was saying. Blacks, however, will not accept being accommodated within separate development. They want fundamental change," he said.

Mr J Mzobe, a member of the Moroka Civic Association said no matter how verlig a Nationalist can be, he still remains a Nat and has to stick to policies of the party.

'Hit song' is banned

Staff Reporter

YESTERDAY'S banning of the hit recording "Another Brick in the Wall" comes four months and 90 000 copies after it became a top selling disc in South Africa.

The single and the double-LP, "The Wall", by British pop group Pink Floyd, was banned by the Publications Control Board.

The song's lyrics have been chanted by boycotting coloured pupils at demonstrations.

Because Transkei has not banned the LP or the single South Africans will still hear them on Capitol Radio, a spokesman said.

© See Page 3

Don't join boycott, Buthelezi urges

Political Staff

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday identified his Inkatha movement with the grievances of coloured students *boycotting their schools, but urged black pupils to discipline themselves and stay at school.*

The appeal by the KwaZulu leader came as about 50 pupils were arrested in the black township of Kwa-Mashu and the Indian area

of Chatsworth, near Durban, after renewed clashes between police and students.

And in other developments as the boycott by coloured and Indian students threatened to enter its third week in many parts of the country:

© Twenty-nine ministers of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk came

out in full support of the boycotts in an open letter to the Prime Minister:

© A spokesman for the attorneys of Dr Yousuf Var-iawa of Johannesburg — an executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation — said he had been detained by Security Police. Police headquarters were unable to confirm this last night.

According to Dr Var-iawa's family, he was detained after addressing a meeting of the Lenasia Parents Action Committee at a school in the township yesterday morning.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said the Zulu people should be careful not to play into the hands of "trigger happy types" in the current explosive situation.

The Inkatha leader said his movement identified itself completely with the grievances of coloured students, but warned that Zulu students should not fall into the same pitfalls as they had at KwaMashu this week, when they rioted and demonstrated.

"That kind of indiscipline is exactly what will allow us to fall into the hands of 'trigger happy types' who will use us as 'cannon fodder'," he said.

Chief Buthelezi observed that some people had tried to use the current situation in South Africa to ignite the same sort of situation in KwaZulu. This had not succeeded because of the discipline which Inkatha had maintained.

"No organisation in South Africa has the machinery which Inkatha has to inculcate discipline and patriotism," he said.

in To Page 2

11A

CT 315/80

Call to reinstate 800 strikers

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Staff Reporter

to return to them.

A MEETING on Thursday night of over 2000 schoolchildren and members of the Grabouw community called on the management of the Kromrivier Apple Co-op (Kromco) to reinstate 800 workers striking for higher pay.

The meeting, held in Pineview township, Grabouw, was organized by the Labour Party in response to a call for help from the 800 Kromco workers who began striking for higher pay last Friday.

They also called on Kromco management to accede to the workers' request for higher pay and allow workers who had been turned out of their hostels,

One black worker told the meeting he was paid only R15 a week after working for Kromco for 25 years. Other speakers warned if the workers were not reinstated a boycott of Kromco products would be organized.

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Times 4/5/80
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Gatsha

By WYNTER MURDOCH

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, has revealed why he proposes to appoint a commission to plan the political future of Natal — and he has disclosed that he will invite the banned African National Congress to take part.

Chief Buthelezi has also told the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, that he is "deeply concerned" about the absence of conciliatory political moves in South Africa.

The message was contained in an urgent telex sent to Dr Koornhof the day before the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, announced in Parliament that he would not permit KwaZulu or Natal to deliberate on matters "which this Government will not allow them to decide on".

At issue was Chief Buthelezi's proposed commission to investigate the political future of the two territories.

In his telex to Dr Koornhof, Chief Buthelezi set out his reasons for proposing the commission.

He said he believed that South Africa had reached a point where conciliatory politics might just be possible, and he regarded his moves to establish the commission as diplomatically proper and correct.

The commission is in fact an extension of the thoughts I expressed in my recent speeches in Boksburg and Soweto, where I called for black involvement in community councils.

"The South African Government has faced the reality that urban blacks cannot be repatriated to homeland areas and that homeland politics must necessarily spill over into urban areas.

Role

"I believe I have a constructive role to play in achieving a working solution to South Africa's problems and the same judgment which led me to call for the support of community councils leads me to establish a commission.

"I must see my political role as a whole and I therefore seek your assistance in conveying to the South African Government that it is just not politically possible for me to adopt the stand I did in Soweto and Boksburg if I do not successfully take such initiatives as establishing the commission.

Chief Buthelezi said that homeland areas and urban black areas had become constituted political regions which had to be related to each other within a national framework.

Mr Botha previously has seen fit to call for a constellation of states.

"But it is my belief that a constellation of states will become a millstone around the Government's neck if it is conceived in terms of the central economy's benefits being surrounded by dependent satellite units.

"It is now fully accepted by all international bodies concerned with development and international relations that the economic dependence of poorer regions on richer, more developed regions, distorts the development of the poorer region and leads to growing inequality between them.

"No matter how it is phrased, the idea of a constellation of states will be seen internationally as representing this kind of unequal interdependence.

Unhealthy

"It will come to be seen as neo-imperialism and as such will be as severely criticised as separate development.

"Unless the unhealthy aspects of interdependence between regions are counteracted by positive steps to combat inequality in the constellation of states, this policy will become as large a millstone round the neck of South Africa as apartheid.

"The commission is one way in which these problems can be considered and steps proposed to avoid them."

Chief Buthelezi asked Dr

'There might still be time'

the commission to score points off the National Party.

He said he would "deeply appreciate" the NP's full involvement in the commission, so that wherever it was possible, two may share a common vision and search for a common solution.

He said the political principles underlying the appointment of the commission would be nullified if he had made arbitrary choices as to who should serve on it.

"I have therefore adopted an inclusive approach and, among others, I will be inviting the African National Congress to participate in the work of the commission.

"I made this decision without any discussion whatsoever with the ANC and I have absolutely no idea what their response will be.

"Even the possibility of establishing such a commission has never been mentioned to the African National Congress. I do feel however, that it is politically correct and proper that the commission itself be left to decide whether the ANC has anything to offer.

He urged Dr Koornhof to undertake the "very important responsibility" of being the person through whom the commission would liaise with the Government.

Dr Koornhof this week declined to comment on the appeal, but it is understood that a message was relayed to the Zulu leader saying that the matter was receiving attention.

Mr Botha, meanwhile, told Parliament that if Chief Buthelezi was planning to deal with matters under the auspices of the commission.

I will invite

SUNDAY TIMES, May 4 1980

Edward Roux's story...
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Island in the early 19th century; about Nenenian Nile and the Ethiopian Movement; about all the Xhosa, Sotho and Zulu chiefs and tribes that resisted the white invaders in a series of wars 'which ended in the loss of the country and the reduction of the Bantu to the status of an internal proletariat'? (Time Longer than Rope, p. 87).

not also
Is our history the story of the subsequent struggle for democratic rights and national liberation: the Bambata Poll Tax Rebellion of 1906 / the passive resistance campaign of Ghandi / the Bulhoek massacre of 163 'Israelites' and that of the Bondelswarts (over 100 men killed) / Clements Kadalie's famous Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union with almost a quarter million members in the 1920's / the Africanisation of the South African Communist Party long before the churches saw the need for this, ^{in their own institutions} / the African National Congress (ANC), with its slogan 'Mayibuy' i Afrika - Let Africa return' / the series of mass passive resistance campaigns against the pass laws /

Basil Manning named as new leader of BCM

BASIL MANNING, a former general secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, has been named as the new chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM).

Manning, who works as a community relations officer in the London borough of Lewisham, replaces Barney Pitjana who resigned from the post last month.

His appointment was decided at the BCM's annual general meeting in London this week, which also elected the other office bearers.

Vincent Segwai is the movement's secretary, and Molefe Pheto was elected organising secretary.

The BCM's policy, decided at their rededication congress last month, is currently being formulated by a committee led by Manning.

Their brief includes deciding on relations with other South African organisations like the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Con-

gress of Azania and the Unity Movement.

Meanwhile, the changes — or lack of them — that have occurred in South Africa since P W Botha became Prime Minister will be put under a microscope in London this month.

"The changing face of apartheid: appearance or reality?" is the name given by the Extra-Mural Studies Department of London University to its conference on May 17.

Inkatha and the Black Consciousness Movement have agreed to take part, but the BCM have qualified their acceptance.

They have told the organisers: "We would like it understood that participation in the conference with Inkatha should not be interpreted as accepting the concept of Bantustans, and neither should Inkatha claim a working relationship with the BCM."

The African National Congress were also invited but refused, without giving reasons. — SUN-
DAY POST Correspondent.

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Black consciousness is not
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THE chairman of the
Sharpeville branch of the
Congress of South African
Students (Cosas),
Ishmael Moeketsi, was de-
tained by security police
on Friday.

Mr Moeketsi was de-
tained after security po-
lice had searched the
house at 4 am on Friday.
According to members
of the family, police took
copies of the Free Man-
dela petition and a book,
and said they were detain-

The drummers of racism are b
people are asserting themself
drums and dancing to their ow
we look way back to the early
from the traditional churches
white domination but also foun
experience and context, like K
first separate black church -
This was the natural black reac

ing him.
The family was later al-
lowed to take him cloth-
ing. The Police Directo-
rate of Information could
not confirm his detention.
An executive member
of the Azanian People's
Organisation (Azapo),
Dr Joe Mafara, was also
detained on Friday morn-
ing after addressing a
meeting in Lenasia.

Four more detentions.
Two of them of University
of Western Cape stud-
were reported from
Cape Town on Friday.
The four detained are:
Cecil Esau and Mr Cor-
nelius Arries both of
UWC. Mr Abdurazak
Achmat, a community
worker from Hanover
Park, and Mr Errol Yon,
a school teacher at Bridge-
town High School.

To conclude, black consciousness
black man in his community. T
mentally in order to develop new
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In this way the black man also places a moral corrective on those
people and institutions which oppress him. Because black conscious-
ness has emerged out of this oppression - out of having no say in
the affairs of state, no choice of who, what and where to love, learn,
live and labour !

80 5/5/80

Barney Pityana quits dying BCM

NA

LONDON — The Black Consciousness Movement (of Azania) in exile is broke and close to its death throes following serious doctrinal and personality splits.

It was confirmed last night that a secret conference in London in April ended in the resignation of Mr Barney Pityana, who was Secretary-General and the BCM's leading personality.

Mr Pityana resigned voluntarily and in exasperation at the BCM's ineffectiveness. The movement's most senior exile official, former Turfloop student Harry Nengwenkhulu, was sacked, according to involved sources.

Mr Nengwenkhulu, whose doctrinaire Maoism caused violent clashes within the movement was the key exile figure in Botswana, where he oversteered contact with refugees from South Africa.

Mr Nengwenkhulu had

been in exile since 1976 and is now a lecturer at the University of Botswana.

Mr Pityana's replacement Mr Basil Manning is regarded as mediocre and as potentially fatal as the mess over policy and finances.

The BCM in exile depended to a massive extent on Pityana but now that he has left they have little to fall back on and their desperate financial position is, it is claimed, threatening to slide into bankruptcy.

Mr Pityana, who is now studying theology at Kings College, London, could not be contacted yesterday. He has apparently not yet aligned himself with any other political organisation.

The new BCM leadership's ambitions of working more closely with bodies like the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress and the Unity Movement have been ridiculed here.

These bodies would, if anything, welcome the collapse of the BCM in exile. If it proved at all successful it would only prove a drain on cash grant to liberation movements that are already in short supply.

More attention is being paid to the development of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrco) under former Soweto student Khotze Seathlolo, which has formed a military wing in Nigeria and receives Nigerian cash aid.

The BCM in exile, in its attempt to function as an umbrella organisation, has promoted the Sayrco here but actual contact between the two bodies is minimal.

Observers predict that the Sayrco could rapidly grow in stature and gain international recognition. Their London spokesman is Ratsiraka Nzondo, a particularly articulate former townships student. — DDC.

Two Cosas members detained again

By WILLIE BOKALA

MR TITI MTHENJANE and Mr Wantu Zenzile, an executive member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), have been detained again.

The two were taken by security police from Mthenjane's Central Western Jabavu home on Wednesday morning.

The Mthenjane family also reported that another family member, Monica Mthenjane, was called to Protea police station on Thursday last week and questioned for more than five hours.

And on that Thursday afternoon security police camped at their home from 2 pm until about 9 pm.

One black policeman stayed in the house until

5 pm and later went away but, when he came back he was with three others.

The three played cards in the dining room until 9 pm.

Monica Mthenjane, Titi's sister, said police woke them up in the early hours of Wednesday morning. They took Titi and Wantu.

Wantu was on a visit in Johannesburg and was due to return to Port Elizabeth the next day.

"A Lieutenant Trollip who was with the policemen said they were taking Titi for questioning

and they would bring him back.

They then left a message for me to report to Protea police station on Thursday," Monica said.

Mr Ishmael Moeketsi, chairman of the Sharpeville branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), who was detained on Friday morning, has been released.

He said yesterday that he was told to report at the Security Headquarters in Vereeniging last night. Police on Friday said they had no record as yet of the above detentions.

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STAK
Students 5/15/80
back to
classes

Northern Transvaal
Bureau

Students at the University of the North arrived for classes today, and there have been no further incidents since the stone-throwing which marred the opening on Saturday of the university's sports complex.

The stone-throwing began soon after the gates to the new complex were opened by the Rector, Professor William Kware. The proceedings were immediately cancelled and Lebowa policemen scattered the students.

University officials have not made any announcement of further inauguration proceedings this year, Turfloop's 21st anniversary.

The opening of the university's sports complex was the first of several functions planned for the year. An experimental farm is to be opened later this month, while functions are planned for a new education centre and a student centre.

The reason for Saturday's demonstration by several hundred students is not clear, but students threatened earlier this year to boycott all anniversary celebrations.

Boycott: (11A) RDM

211 5/5/80

Students

slam report

Staff Reporters

THE two strongest black student bodies, the Azanian African Students' Organisation (AASO) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), have issued a statement that they did not intend to participate in the campaign against school closures.

This follows a similar position in a report that AASO and COSAS understood the government's proposal with regard to the campaign for the reopening of schools.

Spokesmen of the two organizations yesterday vehemently stated that their organizations had issued the statement. They said they had with the decision of the government.

In a joint statement, AASO and COSAS said that they were not in favour of the school closures and that they would not participate.

The totally disorganised manner in which the government is trying to force the school closures is a disgrace to the African people and the African people's struggle for freedom and independence. The government is trying to force the school closures in order to prevent the African people from participating in the struggle for freedom and independence.

The government concluded that AASO and COSAS were prepared to fight the school closures and that the government may have to reconsider its decision.

Meanwhile, the "Mail" has reported that, according to a

resolution taken by Inkatha and Parents yesterday, the school closures will be implemented. The resolution stated that the school closures will be implemented in order to prevent the African people from participating in the struggle for freedom and independence.

A petition circulating in the school closures campaign is being signed by thousands of school children.

The petition is being signed by thousands of school children and is being presented to the government.

Yesterday, the Commission of Enquiry into the school closures has issued a report. The report stated that the school closures will be implemented in order to prevent the African people from participating in the struggle for freedom and independence.

I hope this decision to close schools will not lead to more school closures in our country.

One of the benefits of the school closures will be that it will prevent the African people from participating in the struggle for freedom and independence.

The school closures will be implemented in order to prevent the African people from participating in the struggle for freedom and independence.

The school closures will be implemented in order to prevent the African people from participating in the struggle for freedom and independence.

The school closures will be implemented in order to prevent the African people from participating in the struggle for freedom and independence.

DD 6/5/80

Banned Botha is missing

(11A)
(328)

PORT ELIZABETH — The former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), Mr Thozamile Botha, has been missing from his Zwide home since Sunday.

Mr Botha, who was served with a banning order after spending six weeks in detention, was one of the kingpins in settling the unrest at Ford's assembly plant here recently.

His wife, Mrs Fezeka Botha, said she had returned from a beer party at 5 pm on Sunday to find her husband gone.

She said this seemed strange as he was not allowed to leave the house between 6 pm on Friday and 6 am on Monday, so she reported the matter to the police.

Mr Botha, a former high school teacher, reverted to selling fruit after he was banned. His wife is concerned about her future as she does not know how she will survive.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said he could not comment before contacting the Security Branch today. —
DDR



MR BOTHA

DD 7/6/80

Botha

in

(IIA)



Lesotho?

PORT ELIZABETH — The former Port Elizabeth detainee, Mr Thozamile Botha, was safely out of the country, the divisional commander of the Security Police in the Eastern Cape, Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, said last night.

Col Erasmus said he believed Mr Botha was in Lesotho. "I know how he got there but at this stage I cannot comment further because investigations are still being carried out," he said.

The Minister of the Interior for Lesotho, Mr Sekhonyane Maseribane, said last night that as far as he knew Mr Botha was not in his country.

Mr Botha, banned former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, was reported missing by his wife, Fezeke, on Sunday.

His banning order stipulates that he must be at home between 6 pm and 6 am on weekdays and at weekends.

Several people, including Mrs Botha have been questioned by the police.

Police were trying to establish how Mr Botha had managed to leave and arrests might follow, said Col Erasmus.

Mrs Botha said she was picked up from her home by six security policemen on Sunday at about 8.30 pm, taking to Security Police headquarters and questioned on the disappearance of her husband. She was returned home at 5 am the next day.

Her brother, Mr Vumile Makinana, who was staying with the Bothas, was also taken away by the security police. — DDC-SAPA-DDR.

No police facts on four detainees

BY AMER AHMED
Political Reporter

THE POLICE Directorate of Public Detention yesterday (11) pressed the police to live in deterring the commission of the crime of four detainees arrested by the police.

The four detainees are: the leader of the Arab League, the former secretary of the Arab League.

The Police Directorate yesterday (11) pressed the police to live in deterring the commission of the crime of four detainees arrested by the police.

A spokesman for the Directorate yesterday (11) pressed the police to live in deterring the commission of the crime of four detainees arrested by the police.

As the detainees are being detained in the Directorate of Public Detention, the police are being pressed to live in deterring the commission of the crime of four detainees arrested by the police.

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A spokesman for the Directorate yesterday (11) pressed the police to live in deterring the commission of the crime of four detainees arrested by the police.

He was detained in Levasia last Friday. A spokesman for his attorney said in Mevaya was also being held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

Doctors and nurses protest

MORE THAN 150 doctors and nurses at Coronation Hospital yesterday gathered to protest against the detention of Dr Yusuf Variava, a senior member of the hospital staff and an official of the Azanian People's Organisation.

Dr Variava was detained by security police last Friday.

It is not known under which law he is being held.

Yesterday more than 150 staff members gathered on a lawn outside one of the dining-rooms where they sang hymns, prayed and chanted, "We want Joe (Dr Variava). We want justice."

After an hour they were addressed by a matron who asked them to return to work, saying that was what Dr Variava would have done had he been in their position.

GATHERING

After moving once around the hospital, the gathering dispersed.

One sister said they had made sure all the wards had sufficient staff before proceeding with the "extended prayer meeting" and none of the services had been disrupted.

Last Thursday, Dr Variava shared a platform with Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary

of the SA Council of Churches, when they addressed about 2 000 people — the largest crowd to attend a gathering in Lenasia.

⊙ A total of 34 Chatsworth primary and high school children appeared in the magistrate's court this week following incidents on Friday at Chatsworth school at Durban.

WARNING

Eight of the 34 pupils appeared before Mr Krishna Maharaj on charges of trespassing. They were not asked to plead and the magistrate adjourned the case to June 10 after warning the children to be in court on that date or face arrest.

Their parents were also told to be present.

The 26 other pupils appeared before Mr F W Heuer on charges of public violence.

Appearing for the children, whose ages range from 14 to 17, Mr Rabi Bugwandeen, leader of an 11-man defence team, made a request for the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Marais Steyn, the Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, and an executive member of the Indian Council, Mr A Rajbansi, to appear as witnesses.

The accused were not asked to plead.

The trial has been provisionally postponed to May 21. — Sapa.

Arrests likely in wake of Botha's flight

Post 7/5/80
~~7/5/80~~
11/1A



Mr Mono Badela

MR THOZAMILE Botha, the banned former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), who went missing at the weekend, has definitely left the country, police have confirmed.

They are trying to establish how Mr Botha had managed to leave and arrests might follow, said Col Gerrit Erasmus, head of the security police in Port Elizabeth.

Col Erasmus said in an interview that he had evidence that Mr Botha left the country but he was not sure where he was. He suspected him to be in a bordering country.

Meanwhile, several people, including Mr Botha's wife, had been questioned by police.

Col Erasmus said Mr Botha had been reported missing by his wife on Sunday, and police were unable to trace him. However, police had information that Mr Botha had fled the country on Saturday night.

He said according to his informer the other former Pebco leaders who were detained and later restricted with Mr Botha were still all in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

They are Mr Dan Qeqe, a businessman and sports administrator, Mr Mono Badela, a journalist and Mr Phalo Tshume, a per-

sonnel officer at a Uitenhage plant.

Mr Botha, a key figure in the recent Ford Motor Company labour dispute, spent six weeks in detention and received a banning order immediately after his release.

Formerly a high school teacher and later a trainee draughtsman at Ford Motor Company, he took to fruit vending when his banning order prevented him from doing other work.

He recently heard from the local Chief Magistrate that an application to have his banning order relaxed to enable him to work at Ford, had been refused.

Meanwhile, it has been learnt authoritatively that a top representative of Ford was now attempting to get the banning order relaxed for him to return to work there.

His three-year banning order stipulates that he must be at home between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. on weekdays and at weekends.

Mrs Fezeka Botha said she had found her husband missing from their home on Sunday after returning from a visit to relatives.

She reported him as missing to the Kwazakhele police station on Sunday evening — the police immediately launched a search for Mr Botha which until yesterday had proved fruitless.

"I know that he was terrible frustrated by his banning order but he did not mention anything to me about leaving. It has been a terrible shock," said Mrs Botha.

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relative 8/5/80
freed (110) (329)

PORT ELIZABETH — Mr Vukile Makinana, brother-in-law of the banned Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation chairman, Mr Thozamile Botha, was released by Security Police here yesterday.

Mr Makinana was detained on Sunday after Mr Botha had disappeared from his home.

Mr Botha's wife, Fezeka, who was also held for questioning, said last night she had still not heard from him.

She did not want to comment on Security Police speculation that he had gone to Lesotho. — DDR-DDC.

8/5/80

Banned black leader 11A seeks asylum in Lesotho

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Lesotho Government confirmed today that Mr Thozamile Botha, the banned leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), who fled South Africa last weekend, is in Maseru.

Mr T Ntsane, director of Lesotho Broadcasting, said that Mr Botha was in the process of applying for political asylum through the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior.

Mr Botha fled the country on Sunday when he disappeared from his Zwide home in Port Elizabeth.

He was under a three-year banning order which restricted him entering a factory, rendering him jobless.

He could not take up his job with the Ford Motor Company, and an application to have his banning order amended so that he could work was turned down by the Government.

Last year, Mr Botha led the labour strike at Ford which involved 700 workers.

Azanian movement is 'gaining momentum'

11A

Post 5/5/60

By JOE THOLOE
THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) says that it has not expelled the external director of the banned Black People's Convention, Mr Harry

Nengwekulu.

In a statement issued from Gaborone yesterday, BCMA also says Mr Barney Pityana has not resigned as a member, but only as chairman of the United Kingdom region.

The denials follow Press statements that the movement is in its "death throes."

"Contrary to the charges of 'death throes', the movement is flourishing and gaining momentum daily," the statement says.

"It is also myth and rumour to suggest that any individual whose commitment to the work of the movement is recognised and valued has been sacked.

"The interim committee, as far as it is aware, understands that Barney

Pityana has tendered his resignation as chairman of the BCMA United Kingdom region only.

"Recognising the valuable contribution he has made to the movement, especially recently in strengthening the work of the regions, the interim committee highly regrets his decision, but wholeheartedly welcomes his offer to be of continued service to the movement as a whole."

The statement points to BCMA moving ideologically nearer the two older organisations, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The statement says the recent conference of BCMA in London "reaffirmed black consciousness as a liberatory ideology basing it on the principles of scientific socialism."

It "therefore unanimously recognised the role of the oppressed black worker as a major factor in the struggle for liberation and the creation of the democratic socialist state of Azania."

The interim committee that was elected is to draw up a constitution and "work towards principled unity with all patriotic forces."

The conference "recognised the logical necessity of embracing mass-based armed struggle against colonialist and imperialist oppression."

(11/11) Post 8/6/80

Launching Azapo in Tembisa

A NEW branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will be launched in Tembisa on May 25.

A spokesman for Azapo, said yesterday that an executive committee will also be elected.

The new branch will be formed at a

public meeting which will be held at the Lutheran Church in Thiteng section. The meeting will be held in the afternoon.

The spokesman said Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary of Azapo will be the main speaker. All those interested in joining the organisation are invited to attend.

Ex-Pebco
leader is
in Maseru

'Mail' Africa Bureau

MASERU. — Banned black consciousness leader Mr Thozamile Botha arrived in Maseru on Tuesday night to an enthusiastic welcome from other South African political refugees in the Lesotho capital.

Mr Botha left Port Elizabeth on Sunday and was driven to Sterkspruit in Transkei, from where he crossed the river into Lesotho and took a bus to Maseru.

He reported to the Lesotho authorities yesterday and a spokesman for the Minister of the Interior said his application for political asylum was being considered by the Lesotho Government.

Mr Botha was a leading figure in the recent strike at the Port Elizabeth Ford plant and was chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) until February when he was served with a banning order.

He subsequently earned a living selling food and vegetables.

Blacks slam Schlebusch proposals

22c

11A

RDM 9/5/80

By PATRICK LAURENCE

BLACK leaders were sharply critical yesterday of the constitutional changes proposed by the interim Schlebusch Report, the most favourable reaction being that of Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, of Gazankulu, to postpone comment until he considered the report in detail.

The most pertinent aspect of the report for blacks was its decision to exclude blacks from the proposed State President's Advisory Council, which the report recommended should be drawn from the white, coloured, Indian and Chinese communities.

None of the black spokesmen consulted apparently saw the proposed "Council of Black South African Citizens", with which the Advisory Council will liaise, as sufficient compensation for the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, yesterday warned that the present political climate was unfavourable for "constitutional experimentation" and that, instead of solving problems, it might lead to confrontation.

Recalling his request to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in February to "declare a moratorium on all constitutional experimentation", Chief Buthelezi said: "I think it is better for the people of South Africa to work toward a (political) consensus before indulging in constitutional experimentation."

Chief Buthelezi, who is scheduled to have talks with the Minister of Co-operation

and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, on his own proposals for wide-ranging discussions on the future of Natal, added: "I am not prepared to deviate from the Inkatha evidence to the Schlebusch Commission."

Two key points in Inkatha's evidence were its insistence that South Africa was one country and "should remain as such", and its declaration that blacks should be "included in the process of making laws and administering them within the context of the existing political situation".

Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said of the interim report: "It is irrelevant. It excludes the most important segment of the population. It does not address itself to the central problem of power-sharing on the basis of one man, one vote in a unitary constitution."

South Africans, he said, should use their undoubted talents for constitution-making, to devise a constitution which both provided for universal adulthood suffrage, and safeguarded the rights of all people.

Mr George Wauchope, of the Azanian People's Organisation, said: "We have always said we are opposed to participation in Government-created institutions. The new arrangement will still be a Government-created institution, and as such we will have nothing to do with it."

Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu and convener of intra-black

constitutional discussions which led to the submission of a joint declaration of intent to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said: "We were thinking along other lines."

He declined to comment further until he had studied the interim report in detail.

Mr Mpiyakhe Kumafo, chairman of the Katsheho Community Council and of the East Rand Liaison Committee, said: "The proposals are terribly inadequate. . . . The Council of Black South African Citizens is the weakest link of all. It will submit proposals to a purely advisory body. It will have no say at all."

"If blacks were represented on the State President's Council that would have been a starting point at least."

Mr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party, said the Labour Party rejected the report for two main reasons: it excluded blacks from an advisory council, which would itself be a nominated body.

"It is a repetition of the old Cabinet Council of Mr Vorster's. There is nothing new in it. They are just closing down the Senate and strengthening the National Party."

Professor David Welsh, author of the book *South Africa's Options*, said: "It is a holding operation reflecting the sharp divisions in the National Party caucus. . . . Most blacks will not accept being kraaled off into a separate advisory council, however much provision is made for liaison between it and the State President's Advisory Council."

DO 9/5/80

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Botha seeks Lesotho asylum

MASERU — The banned former president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Thozamile Botha, who fled South Africa is seeking political asylum here.

Mr Botha left his wife and four-year-old son at his home in Zwide on Sunday morning and travelled

across South African territory by car. He entered Lesotho in the southern district of Quthing and took a bus to Maseru, where he arrived on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr Botha is planning to study law at the National University of Lesotho. — SAPA.

Nehru prize for Mandela

NEW DELHI — Nelson Mandela, the jailed South African black ANC leader, has been invited to India to receive the Jawaharlal Nehru award for international understanding for 1979.

The Press Trust of India said the award was conferred on Mr Mandela in recognition of his staunch support for freedom, individual liberty, justice and peace.

PTI said that as Mr Mandela was in jail, an invitation had also been extended to his wife, Mrs N Mandela, to receive the award on his behalf.

Mr Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 on charges of plotting violent revolution. — Sapa-Reuter.

102.5 + 49 = 151.5 = 76%



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
EXAMINATION ANSWER BOOK

EVERY CANDIDATE MUST enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.

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Examiners' Initials		

Surnar ANY community action is a barometer of the feeling of that community, but failure to heed signals of the thunderstorm is courting disaster, Mr Rommel Roberts told students at the University of Cape Town today.

Date. Mr Roberts said no community could develop in isolation.

Degr you a 'We are all bound together by a cord of mutuality making my suffering yours, and my well-being yours.'

Subj 'Whatever affects me affects you and if you try to enjoy life without me you are doomed to a life of constant harassment and insecurity,' he said.

Par **FRUSTRATED**
Mr Roberts said that to talk of community action and development was to embrace a number of aspects complementing the growth of individuals and community.

This movement at the moment was frustrated through human inadequacies, weaknesses, fears, selfishness and greed.

INTERNATIONAL
Students at the University of Cape Town are holding a day-long boycott.

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1. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
2. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
3. Do not write in the left hand margin.

- WARNING**
1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
 2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
 3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
 4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Start talking, urges Crook

THE SENATE. — The Government had to start negotiating the future of South Africa immediately with black leaders, Senator Monty Crook (NRP) said yesterday.

Speaking to a motion that the Senate go into committee on the Budget, he said if a one man, one vote election had to be held now, masses of blacks would vote for the most radical and Marxist leader available.

This was clear from what had happened in Zimbabwe, where Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who had contaminated himself through negotiation with whites, had lost at the polls.

The same would apply to Swapo in South West Africa.

"I believe that Nelson Mandela would have a runaway victory in South Africa in the event of such an election. That is why he should not be freed and should remain a prisoner on Robben Island."

He also believed that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had heeded the lessons that were to be learnt from Zimbabwe. He had pleaded with the Prime Minister for the opportunity to negotiate.

He was the undisputed nationalist leader of about 5-million Zulus, a champion of free enterprise and opposed to communism. But he went through hell and high water in South Africa and overseas because he was regarded as a sell-out.

It was a choice between negotiation with moderate black leaders like Chief Buthelezi now, or negotiation with the Mandelas of the future.

The Prime Minister had to negotiate now while he was still in a position of strength. It would have the added benefit of giving moderate black leaders credibility.

But the Prime Minister was not prepared to do so. He had spurned Chief Buthelezi and had refused equal education up to now. This had only resulted in the furthering of the case of radicals and the reducing of the stature of moderate black leaders.

The weakness of the National Party was that it had answered black people with confrontation and pressure.

The main obstacle was the Prime Minister's insistence that negotiation could only take place within the framework of the 12-point plan, which was basically a reformulation of apartheid. — Sapa.

DD 10/5/80 (11A)

Schlebusch plan rejected

JOHANNESBURG — Black leaders were sharply critical yesterday of the constitutional changes proposed by the interim Schlebusch report.

The most pertinent aspect of the report for blacks was its decision to exclude them from the proposed State President's Advisory Council, which the report recommended should be drawn from the white, Coloured, Indian and Chinese communities.

None of the black spokesmen consulted ap-

parently saw the proposed "council of black South African citizens," with which the advisory council will liaise, as sufficient compensation for the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu warned that the present political climate was unfavourable for "constitutional experimentation" and that, instead of solving problems, it might lead to constitution."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto

Civic Association, said: "The report is irrelevant. It excludes the most important segment of the population. It does not address itself to the central problem of power-sharing on the basis of one man, one vote in a unitary constitution."

Mr George Wauchope, of the Azanian People's Organisation, said: "We have always said we are opposed to participation in government - created institutions. The new arrangement will still be a government - created in-

stitution, and as such we will have nothing to do with it."

It was reported from Windhoek that the Administrator - General of SWA, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was not aware he was "a strong candidate" for the position of chairman of the proposed President's Council in South Africa.

A report in the SuidWester newspaper had said Dr Viljoen was regarded in parliamentary circles in South Africa as a likely appointment. — DDC-SAPA.

AN EMINENT NED-GEREF
CHURCHMAN WARNS ...

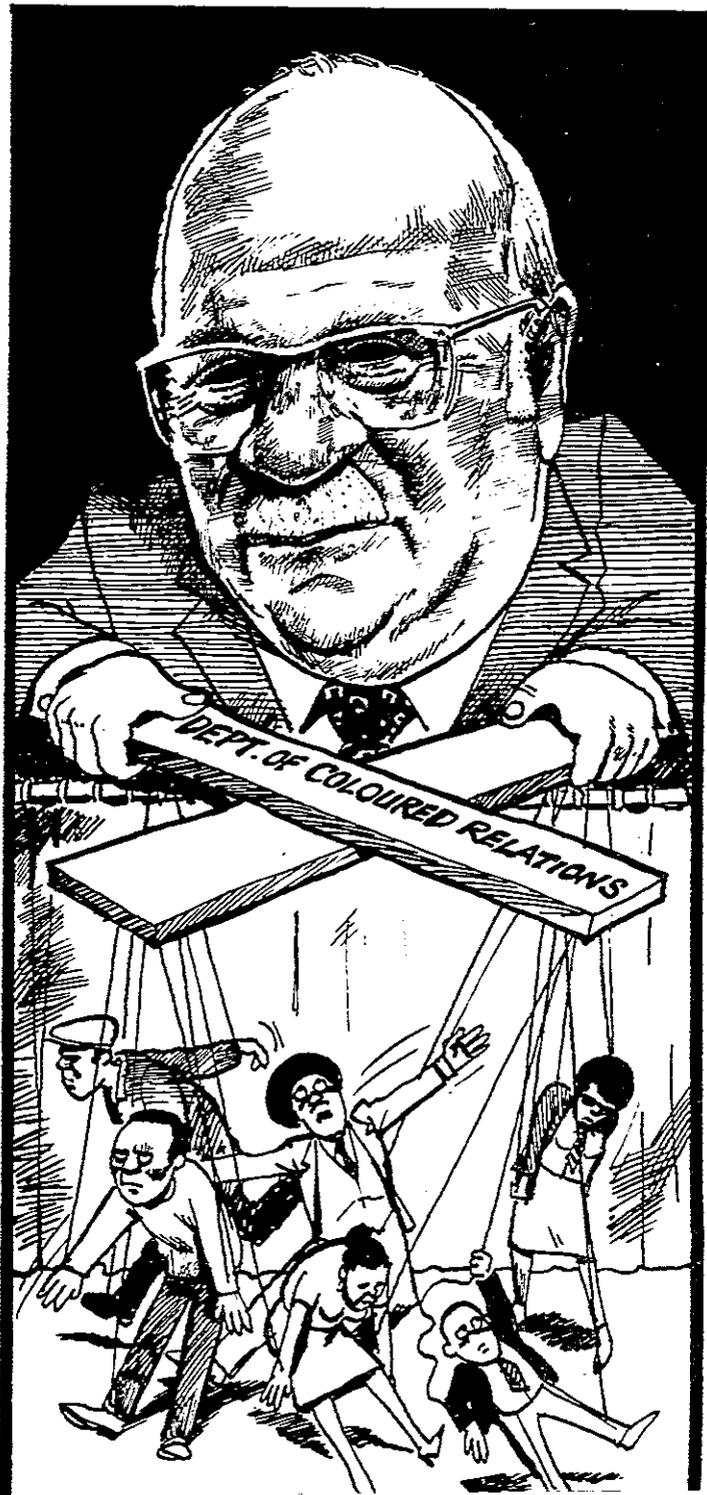
11/5/80
SUN TIM
11A

We will not be puppets on a string of gold

SO it was once again a school issue which sparked off a crisis that assumed national proportions.

But physical conditions at schools, appalling though these may be, lack of facilities, text books and school books, underqualified and underpaid teachers, are not of themselves factors that "naturally" lead to revolt.

It is only when these factors are understood within a specific political framework and interpreted politically, that they become the "spark that lights the fuse".



needed the pupils and students, a young, politicised, if not radicalised generation, to put them into their right perspective: the perspective of white political power and control and black powerlessness; the perspective of an on-going and total struggle for human dignity.

From the very beginning, the students related the conditions at the schools to the issue of education and the political dispensation in South Africa.

The logic is simple, forthright and devastating: conditions are the way they are, because we have inferior education.

We have inferior education because we are regarded as second and third-class citizens in the country of our birth.

And on all of these issues they found the wholehearted support of the community.

For important as the issue of education is, this is really the heart of the matter: the recognition of our basic human rights.

It would not do for the Government and its spokesmen to ignore this issue, and it will most certainly not do to divorce education from the political rights of the people.

Solidarity

Ultimately they will have to face the truth that parents responded with such astonishing solidarity not only because they agreed with their children that we should have decent schools or equal education, but in the final analysis because the students articulated so well their anger at a policy that has robbed them of their dignity and their desire for justice.

For the whole community the boycott is a ringing protest against the policies of the present Government, and the articulation of the aspirations for a dispensation in which they will have full participation in the decision-making processes at the highest level of government.

By ALLAN BOESAK

Student chaplain at the University of the Western Cape and a leading spokesman for the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, which is mainly coloured



This brings us to a highly significant point with regard to this boycott. These are "coloured" children.

By all counts, they can be considered "better off" than African pupils and students.

Even if the R189 the Government allocates a "coloured" child for education is not anywhere near the R720 his white counterpart receives, it is certainly much more than the R59 the African child has to be satisfied with.

Moreover, being "coloured" in South Africa does not only have an ethnic connotation, it also denotes a specific social, economic and political category, a place on the ladder as it were.

Because you are classified "coloured", you are allowed to own a house, you have a better salary than your African counterpart in almost every job one can think of.

You don't have to carry a *dompas*, you get slightly better treatment from whites, and you may even have your very own "preferential area"! Etcetera, ad nuseam.

But we know that these so-called privileges cannot obscure the reality of the oppression of our humanity.

No wonder so many white people find it extremely dif-

ficult to understand what is happening with "coloured" people. Frustration they can understand. But anger? Tear-jerker stories about whites' "rejection of coloureds" they can understand; but this coldblooded rejection of whites? Even fiery speeches they can take; but *boycotts*? Are the "coloureds" not "our people"?

It must be made palpably clear: the "bruin-mense-ons-mense" myth was shattered in 1976. In 1980 we are burying it for good. And it is not so much that this myth is being kept alive by real "coloureds" who are paid to do so, or by whites who cling to this nostalgic, but nonetheless a-historical notion. It is simply that whites are loathe to understand what the funeral is all about.

Human dignity

They must understand that human dignity cannot be bought. Not a single "privilege" this Government is willing to give, nay, not all of a thousand together, will substitute for all of those rights which are rightly ours in the country of our birth.

It is this Government which has taken away those rights; this Government must restore them. And this must be clear: We

are really not talking about "coloured" education, or even "coloured" rights.

There is no such thing as "coloured" rights. What we are talking about is full and meaningful co-responsibility for government, full and meaningful power-sharing for all the people of this land.

The Government will be well advised to take cognisance of the ramifications of all of this.

It means, for instance, that it will not be so easy to implement the plan for the creation of a "black middle-class" for which the "coloureds" were a natural starting point.

The political climate in our community is such that even those people who were susceptible to this line of thinking, will now have to think twice before allowing themselves to be tempted to become puppets on a string of gold.

By the same token the Government should be forewarned that its constitutional plans will not be acceptable.

This news should be old hat, but I have a sneaking suspicion that people in power are still thinking along the line of Nationalist solutions for the constitutional problems of this country.

It is good to remind them that right through these

past weeks, whenever the CPC or the Government's constitutional proposals were mentioned, the people's NO echoed through the hall.

The boycott is not over yet, but already a few sobering lessons can be drawn from it all:

- You cannot buy allegiance, or friendship or trust when dignity has been denied.

Initiative

- Black student participation has become a permanent factor in the politics of change in South Africa, and the initiative for change firmly in young, black hands.

- The fundamental issue for white people in general and the Government in particular will have to face is of power sharing.

- What we are witnessing is not merely your students on strike. We are witnessing nonviolent action on trial. More than seem to understand on the political res. the Government to demands of the black community.

- To the question on earth has the 'coloured' people answer is simple: people have mad mind.

Oliver GASKILL

11/5/80

ANC blamed for axing of panel

11/19 SUN 11M

ORGANISERS of a London University conference to be held next Saturday on changes in South Africa have been accused of submitting to pressure by the banned African National Congress regarding a panel on internal black politics.

As a result, delegates of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement are now expected to boycott the conference to which they had been

By SUZANNE VCS
London

originally invited as platform speakers.

The conference, arranged by the university's department of extra-mural studies, will be chaired by MP Mr Frank Hooley.

Speakers and delegates will include many leading English academics and South African specialists.

The topics to be covered at the conference, called "The changing face of apartheid: Appearance or reality", are wide-ranging and deal with most aspects of South Africa's political spectrum.

Late this week, however, the format was changed drastically when university authorities decided to axe the black panel and only include the delegates from Inkatha and the Black Consciousness Movement in general discussion as speakers from the audience.

The reason given was that because the ANC had declined to attend, the panel would not be balanced and the university could be accused of political bias.

Now the university has invited Mr Baruch Hirson to outline black politics and current events in South Africa, including the issue of coloured education.

Mr Hirson left South Africa on an exit permit in 1973 after spending nine years in prison for sabotage.

Informed sources at the university told me that the decision to cut the black panel from the programme is being questioned by some academics who allege that some of their pro-ANC colleagues had put pressure to bear on the conference organisers.

This was denied by the deputy director of the department of extra-mural studies, Mr David Armstrong.

Two top blacks to visit UK

ADM London Eufesh 12/5/80

LONDON. — Two key leaders of Southern African black nationalist movements have accepted invitations from the British Anti-Apartheid Movement to visit Britain.

They are Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the banned African National Congress.

Mr Nujoma will be the main speaker at a conference in London in May to "create a basis for a major new campaign on Namibia (South West Africa) and South Africa".

The conference is sponsored in part by the Labour Party, the British trade union movement and student organisations.

Mr Tambo will address a "freedom day" rally in London on June 26.

The meeting will focus on the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela.

The AAM has also announced a renewed campaign to boycott South African products in Britain. Wine and oranges will be among the main targets.

Another leader lost

11A 328 RDM 12/5/80.

GOOD riddance to bad rubbish.
That will be the feeling of some people about the flight of the black consciousness leader, Thozamile Botha, to Lesotho.

They are those for whom his detention, without trial, under the Terrorism Act, and the banning order imposed on his release, was proof enough that he was up to no good.

Such people of course regarded Mr Botha, like so many emergent black leaders before him, as an "agitator". And detention, banning, exile has become the black agitator's inevitable lot.

We for our part wonder whether South Africa can afford the loss of this young man. Certainly we see no gain in the fact that an internal leader, a potential negotiator, has been turned into a potential external enemy — an enemy of negotiations and non-violent solutions.

He could have been a valuable community leader. His civic organisation, Pebco, attracted largescale support in Port Elizabeth's volatile black township. Yet Mr Botha, only 30 years old, exercised a remarkable control and discipline over their mass meetings. And publicly, at least, he condemned the violence that accompanied the labour unrest in the city.

Significantly, Ford Motor Company wanted to take him back, but his banning order prevented this. The man who was already being described as the "Dr Motlana" of Port Elizabeth, was reduced to selling produce on a township pavement to make a living. No wonder he fled.

But he will want to return and we can guess in what tragic capacity that might be.

Black (11A) (11A)
consumer
12/05/80
confident

THE urban black market will be worth R60-million a day by the year 2000 but the black consumer is already confident of his spending power, says Mr M Mphahlele, account director, Lintas Advertising Agency.

He told the UCT Graduate School of Business Association: 'You cannot pander to him just because he is black. He is aware that it is the colour of his money that matters,' he said.

The acceptance of blacks as permanent residents in urban areas would also have far-reaching implications. It would give a sense of normality to their lives and result in a change of pattern.

At present sophisticated blacks lived cheek-by-jowl with poor blacks, each group influencing the other.

SOUTH AFRICA is no longer at peace, but not yet at war. Guerilla activity has started, tentatively. But the black revolution has already occurred.

For a new generation of young blacks, 'the revolution that has taken place is a revolution of self... for these young people are the reflection of a new, angry, and curiously confident black revolutionary class.'

Thus reflects journalist and author David Halberstam, whose 14-page account in The Atlantic Monthly profiles a country that is militarily awesome and economically dominating, its Afrikaner leaders apparently committed to preserving white power and rule and unlikely to want to change the system, the unrepresentative Afrikaner verligtes and probably irrelevant liberals.

But primarily he presents the new black generation, and their determination to escape from a future imposed by the State and which they reject.

'The black revolution has already taken place,' he writes. 'The black fathers do not know the sons, and the sons of Soweto have taken power.'

Although poor and in fact semi-powerless, the young blacks 'have an almost palpable belief in their own destiny, that they will rule South Africa in their own lifetime.'

'They are more politicised and less Christian than their parents, impatient for a better life in this world rather than in the next one.'

Halberstam attended the sedition trial in Kempston Park of the 'Soweto Eleven' which he notes as 'a break with the past.'

'For these youths, however desperate their condition, however great their anger and their awareness of the risk they were taking, were trying to reach their Government through legitimate means of protest. Their protests were based on the assumption that the rulers of South Africa

12/05/80 ARGUS
Soweto
sons'
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power

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could hear, and hearing, could care, and caring, could act.'

He recalls the end of the trial, the judgment and sentences — light 'by South African standards' — and defence attorney Shun Chetty's prediction that they 'will not be good children any more.'

Noting that 'a pattern has begun to emerge' in guerrilla activity in the country, Halberstam

violence of its own sort, to Johannesburg.

'Perhaps then Pretoria will want to think about negotiating — and the time for negotiating will have passed.'

Halberstam sees Afrikaners as 'single-minded, resilient people... separated from most of the main currents of the Western world in this century,' confident of perpetuating white rule because

In a major article for the magazine The Atlantic Monthly, David Halberstam, noted American journalist and author, painted a sombre picture of black-white relations in South Africa. KEVIN JACOBS reports from New York.

writes: 'Now both sides arm, the whites publicly, boastfully, the blacks awkwardly, covertly.'

Although the State for the moment holds all the power and has the will to use it, and although Afrikaners 'think they are different from the Rhodesians,' Halberstam predicts — perhaps over 10 or 20 years — that black guerrillas will prosecute their cause with increasing efficiency.

... Slowly, quietly, the blacks will become skilful, and tough, and effective, and life in South Africa will be different. As Johannesburg causes pain in Soweto, Soweto will bring pain, systematic

they are convinced of black weakness.

'Since the Afrikaner cannot see the black as a real person with real feelings and real human potential, he cannot see him as a true military adversary.'

Afrikaner verligtes, 'for all their attractions and good intentions,' are not representative of white society. 'Their influence and strength depend upon the blacks remaining static, but the blacks are no longer static.'

The white liberals, mostly English-speaking and always the butt of Afrikaner contempt, now find blacks contemptuous of them too. 'Their hearts

are in the right place, but they cannot deliver.'

Halberstam records the anger of South African blacks at whites who profess to speak on their behalf on the growing issue (in the U.S. at least) of disinvestment, claiming blacks' jobs.

He quotes one black person: 'Let there be no more investment, since we are already suffering; let them suffer too. How dare they say they know what we want when they do not know us, when they do not talk to us, have never been in our homes and we have never been in theirs and they do not know the schools our children go to.'

Black bitterness towards anything that strengthens any aspect of the South African economy, says Halberstam, is fairly complete. 'They believe that any investment strengthens the State, strengthens apartheid... and that the State will give blacks only a pittance of the benefits.'

Quoting what he believes is 'the true voice of the Afrikaner,' Halberstam records some comments made to him by an unnamed young lawyer: 'We have no acceptable alternative to what exists today. No halfway point we can work. So we are going to stay white. We will do it our way, in our time.' Blacks, he says have no choice 'because we will give them no choice.'

Minister to be asked to call Biko meeting

CAPE TOWN. — The Minister of Health, Dr L A P A Munnik, will be asked this week to convene a special meeting of the South African Medical and Dental Council to investigate the conduct of the three doctors who treated black leader Mr Steve Biko shortly before he died.

The New Republic Party spokesman on health and MP for Berea, Mr Nigel Wood, said last night he would ask Dr Munnik tomorrow to convene an extraordinary SAMDC meeting.

Mr Wood said the subcommittee's decision clearing the three doctors of blame had tarnished the image of the SAMDC and the South African medical profession in general.

"I would not like to see an issue like this harm the profession. Justice must be done and it must be seen to be done," he said.

"Of course, if the full council ratifies the decision, we will have to accept its decision as final.

"While I do not want to prejudge the issue, I do not think the full council will

ratify the subcommittee's decision," Mr Wood said.

The man who has led the campaign for the issue to be raised before the SAMDC, SA Council of Churches ombudsman, Mr Eugene Roelofse, said: "It is the best news I have heard in a long time.

"At least society is going to do something."

Mr Roelofse said Dr Munnik should have convened a special meeting of the SAMDC immediately after the subcommittee's decision and should not have waited for other parties to raise the issue.

Mr Roelofse said he did not want to destroy anyone, but he felt the Biko case affected the prestige of the medical profession in South Africa, because two of the three doctors were district surgeons.

"South Africa has one of the biggest prison populations in the world and prisoners are dependent on the quality of medical service given by district surgeons and the way they interpret the Hippocratic Oath," Mr Roelofse said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP Member of Parliament for Houghton said she fully supported the idea of "bringing the issue to the attention of Dr Munnik". — Sapa.

Coloureds will negotiate, Govt won't, says Rabie

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By Sieg Hannig

Coloured leaders are prepared to negotiate, but the Government is not, says Mr Jac Rabie, Transvaal vice-chairman of the Labour Party.

"We are sick and tired of being consulted. We want to negotiate," Mr Rabie said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He spoke to Rand Afrikaans University students after warning them that coloured people found it increasingly difficult to address whites.

As a past member of the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) and the Cabinet Council, he had thought coloured people were negotiating.

Now he knew they had never negotiated. The boss had merely told the servant (ho/note) what was good enough for him.

Not one of the matters raised on the Cabinet

Council had been implemented and the CRC had been scrapped on March 31 to be replaced by a fully nominated body.

This body had not been appointed yet because no body of any repute would serve on it "because we reject this body entirely," Mr Rabie said.

"HOPELESS"

Shortly after the scrapping of the CRC, coloured pupils and students had demonstrated because of a situation of "absolute hopelessness and helplessness."

And the Government had not learnt from the 1976 riots.

In its clumsiness, it had bedevilled matters further by blaming agitators and making meaningless promises.

The biggest agitator was the Minister of Coloured

Relations, who had claimed that the pupils' grievances were receiving constant attention, Mr Rabie said.

This was not true because the coloured pupils received only 33.5 percent of the money allotted to whites in 1977/78, and the next year they received only 30 percent.

The Government's acceptance of the proposed President's Council (including coloured people) indicated that it realised the gravity of the situation.

Yet it still put the unity of the National Party first.

"Rather let the National Party split, but let South Africa remain standing," Mr Rabie said.

If something worthwhile was not being done, more trouble (similar to the school boycotts) lay ahead, Mr Rabie warned.

Smith's SA
STAR 13/5/80
prisoners

released

The Star's African News Service

SALISBURY—The 13 guerrillas from the African National Congress of South Africa who were imprisoned by Mr Ian Smith's Government in 1968 have been released, according to knowledgeable Zanu (PF) sources here.

Two of the guerrillas left for Zambia as soon as they were released; the other 11 are still in Bulawayo.

"There is no question of the Government keeping them here. They have been given 30 days to get out of the country. Where they go is their business but we don't want them here," the source said.

The ANC guerrillas are believed to have been released some time last week after 12 years in Khami Prison, near Bulawayo.

The men were arrested in north-western Zimbabwe when they came into the country with Mr Joshua Nkomo's Ziprae forces.

The ruling Zanu (PF) Party has had uneven relations with the ANC. The organisation was snubbed by the Government during the recent independence celebrations. The rival Pan African Congress was accorded VIP treatment.

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1061:0	REVISED BY G.P. LESTER, 1957/1963 230-1 ; A PLEASING
1062:	THE GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICAL TREATMENT OF THE WORDS
1063:	OF THE MOST MODERN LINES OF APPROACH TO BANTU GR
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1068:1	A SHONA DICTIONARY, WITH AN OUTLINE SHONA GRAMMAR, RE
1069:P	SALISBURY, JESUIT FATHERS, A1, 337P.
1070:L	SHONA
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1072:7	AMYO. 3412-3 DIE
1073:A	CHILL, G.T.
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1075:1	THE PREFIX OF BANTU 100+ CLASS 10.
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13/05/80. ALGUS (11A)

Lone fighter Roberts 'dismayed'

MR Rommel Roberts, a community worker who fought a lone battle against the bus fare increases, said today he was 'absolutely dismayed' by the National Transport Commission's approval of fare increases.

Mr Roberts has decided, in the light of the increase, to stop collecting funds to pay City Tramways' legal costs.

'While I would like to convey my gratitude to those who have supported me, I don't want people

who are using the buses and who have to pay the increases to also have to pay City Tramways' costs,' he said.

'I would rather the people use their money more productively.'

He said he was not surprised at the commission's decision, although he had hoped the members would see the situation in its serious light.

'People have so many financial demands with every commodity increasing in price and with

every aspect of community life where finance is involved becoming burdensome.'

It was difficult for him to take the matter further as he was still saddled with a huge debt.

'I would in any case hesitate to do so without a clear mandate from the community. I would prefer that the community took it up in the best way they see fit.'



Mr Rommel Roberts

Mrs Molale killed

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Post
19/5/80

GABORONE — A leading member of the banned African National Congress, Mrs Kheti Molale (50), died in a car accident in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, last Friday, her sister-in-law, Mrs Joyce Molale, said at the weekend.

Mrs Molale, whose hus-

band, the Very Rev Michael Molale, is the Anglican Dean of Gaborone, said no funeral arrangements had been made as yet.

Mrs Molale left South Africa in 1965 and went into exile in Tanzania. Her elderly mother is in Tladi, Soweto. — Sapa.

D. DSP 13/5/80

Skosana ousted

PORT ELIZABETH — A vote of no confidence was passed on the chairman of Kwaford township branch of Pebco, Mr W. Z. Skosana, for having failed to convene meetings of the association.

Mr Bedser Ntsele was elected as the new chairman with Mr S. M. Orie vice-chairman. Mr F. M. Mti is the new secretary, Mr V. Tube assistant secretary, Mr P. Roji treasurer and Mr S. Dlula and Mr G. Vena committee members.

Mr Ntsele said the new

executive would concern itself chiefly with civic matters and steer clear from political issues.

The Kwaford Township Residents Association is a branch of the umbrella organisation Pebco whose first chairman Mr Thozamile Botha recently left the Republic and sought asylum in Lesotho.

Mr Skosana, who succeeded Mr Botha as chairman of Pebco after the latter's banning retains this position despite the Kwaford decision. — DDR.

Zimbabwe releases ~~27~~ 11A 13 ANC prisoners ^{RDM} 14/5/80

'Mail' Africa Bureau

BULAWAYO. — Thirteen guerrillas of the banned African National Congress have been released from Khami maximum prison in Bulawayo as part of the independence amnesty declared by the Zimbabwe Government soon after assuming office.

Two of the guerrillas immediately went to Zambia, eight opted to remain in Zimbabwe temporarily, and the whereabouts of the other three are unknown.

Mr Peter Claypole, the Secretary for Home Affairs, which absorbed the functions of the now defunct Ministry of Law and Order, said yesterday that some ANC guerrillas in prison might not be covered by the amnesty.

He said guerrillas had to decide where they wanted to settle. Those who wanted permanent residence in Zimbabwe would have to apply for a permit in the normal way.

ANC guerrillas were captured in Zimbabwe while fighting alongside their counterparts in Joshua Nkomo's Zapu now the Patriotic Front Party in the mid-sixties.

The ANC and Zapu signed a military pact. They fought together in the southern part of Zimbabwe with the ultimate goal of enabling guerrillas to cross the Limpopo into the Republic.

The joint military adventures which were concentrated in the Wankie area, proved disastrous.

Most of the Zapu and ANC men were either captured or killed in battle.

Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe said before his election to power that his government would not countenance the continued detention of South African "freedom fighters" in Zimbabwe.

However, Mr Mugabe has repeatedly said that although his country was opposed to apartheid it would not be used as a base for military incursions into South Africa by black nationalist guerrillas.

He said Zimbabwe would support all diplomatic moves, and where feasible, economic sanctions, to bring the necessary pressures to bear on the Pretoria regime.

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14/05/50 ARYUS
Bus fare

fighter

still

in debt

HAVING decided to stop all collections of funds to pay a R20 000 bill, community worker Rommel Roberts is now going to 'wait to see what happens'.

'Mr own lawyers' costs have been settled,' he said today. 'I still owe City Tramways R11 000 after their bill was taxed from R20 000.'

He has not received the bill from the Deputy State Attorney which he also has to pay, but estimates it to be R9 000.

'Although I do intend to pay the debt when I can, I'm going to forget about it for now and try to live a normal life,' Mr Roberts said. 'I'm not very worried about it.'

In January, he lost an application to the Supreme Court asking that the National Transport Commission be prevented from hearing the bus company's fresh application for a fare increase. He was ordered to pay the costs of two counsel who represented City Tramways and the Commission.

After the approval of fare increases by the National Transport Commission yesterday, Mr Roberts decided to stop the fund as he felt he could not ask people who had to pay higher fares to also pay City Tramways' legal costs.

Beer hall burnt down

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P 31
14/5/80

Mob hold

cops

captive

FOUR Cradock security policemen, trapped in their houses by an unruly mob threatening to set the houses alight on Monday night, opened fire on the crowd seriously injuring one man.

The crowd had earlier burnt down a beer hall, causing an estimated R80 000 damage, and fought with local community council members at a meeting.

The Divisional Inspector for the Eastern Cape, Brigadier A F B Verwey, said yesterday that the injured man was admitted to hospital with bullet wounds.

Brigadier Verwey said other people were probably injured when the crowd, believed to all be members of the Masakane Organisation, the Cradock counterpart of Port Elizabeth's Black Civic Organisation, fought with Cradock Community Council members.

trapped inside with their families eventually opened fire, injuring one man.

A constable was also injured when a gang of youths stoned policemen who tried to restore order at the meeting, the Police Directorate of Public Relations, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Constable A Louw was injured when he and other policemen

were stoned by youths who were threatening to "kill" the board chairman, the Rev T Njozela.

The youths, said to belong to Masakane, disrupted the meeting.

Four employees at the beer hall managed to escape unhurt but the building was gutted. Damage is estimated at R80 000.

From there the youths

advanced to the nearby homes of some black members of the police force and began stoning the houses.

Police opened fire and a 23-year-old man was injured. His condition was said to be serious.

Six people have been arrested and more arrests are expected, the Directorate, said according to Sapa.

Unrest

The unrest had its birth at a meeting of the Masakane Organisation in Cradock on May 5 when members decided that:

- ⊙ The community council be abolished;
- ⊙ House rentals in black townships be reduced from R13 to R6
- ⊙ Bus fares be reduced from 12 cents to five cents, and:
- ⊙ Public transport be boycotted.

The boycott continued under intimidation until on Monday when a meeting of the Cradock Community Council was held in a township hall. A large group of men, believed to be from the rival Masakane Group, started a brawl at the meeting.

The community council members locked themselves in the hall to escape. The group which had tried to break up the meeting then moved off to join a larger group which then set the beer hall alight.

After setting the beer hall alight the crowd then surrounded the homes of four black security policemen and threatened to burn them down. The policemen.

MASERU — Mr Zinjiva Nkondo, the alleged ANC member arrested by Security Police after bad weather forced his aircraft to divert from Maseru to Bloemfontein, has been released by the South African authorities, according to a Lesotho Government spokesman.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman in Maseru said Mr Nkondo was expected to arrive in Lesotho today.

Alleged ANC man is released by SA

STAR 14/5/80

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Lesotho has repeatedly demanded the release of Mr Nkondo since he was detained by members of the SAP at the Maseru border post in December last year.

He was aboard a flight from Swaziland to Lesotho which diverted to Bloemfontein leaving the passengers to continue their trip by bus.

Mr Nkondo, who was

travelling under the name Victor Matlou, was arrested at the border and detained on allegations that he participated in the activities of the banned ANC.

He was subsequently charged under the Terrorism Act.

His brother, Mr Curtis Nkondo brought an urgent application before the Supreme Court, Bloemfontein, for his release.

The application was unsuccessful.

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By AMEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

FIVE months of imprisonment in South Africa ended dramatically yesterday morning for the self-exiled ANC member, Mr Zinjiva Winston Nkondo, when he was unexpectedly handed over to the Lesotho authorities by the police.

A wrangle unprecedented in South African legal history ended with Mr Nkondo being escorted to freedom after the State unexpectedly dropped charges against him in the Bloemfontein Supreme Court yesterday.

Police escort Winston Nkondo to freedom

Mr Nkondo, who was arrested on the South African side of the border with Lesotho last December after the plane on which he was a passenger was diverted to Bloemfontein while on a flight between Swaziland and Maseru, was to have appeared in court next month on charges under the Terrorism Act.

The State gave no reasons for the move, but the Lesotho Government, which

had protested strongly against his arrest, credited the release to protracted negotiations with the South African Government.

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, said last night: "We don't carry on relations through the Press. A spokesman for the Department of Justice referred inquiries to the Attorney-General's office in Bloemfontein."

Lesotho had claimed that Mr Nkondo's arrest violated its aircraft's right to fly over South African airspace on scheduled international flights. Mr Nkondo's flight had been diverted because of bad weather in Maseru.

Mr Nkondo worked as a journalist for the banned African National Congress in Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam. At the time of his arrest, he was travelling

under the name "Victor Matlou", apparently on an Organisation of African Unity passport.

A spokesman for Priscilla Jana and Associates, Mr Nkondo's attorneys, said Mr Clifford Mailer, who appeared for him in the Supreme Court, travelled to the border to ensure he was handed over to the Lesotho authorities.

Mr Nkondo was escorted

by two policemen. Three weeks after his arrest, his elder brother, Mr Curtis Nkondo — who is currently in Security Police detention — brought an urgent application in the Bloemfontein Supreme Court for his release.

The application asked that the arrest and detention be declared unlawful on the grounds that they were

an infringement of the territorial sovereignty of Lesotho.

Mr Justice F. S. Smuts upheld the State's submission, which rejected the admission of supporting documents as affidavits.

When the application was brought again, Mr Justice Smuts dismissed it with costs. Lawyers acting for Mr Nkondo noted an appeal to the Appellate Division.

The State announced that he would be tried in court on two counts under the Terrorism Act.

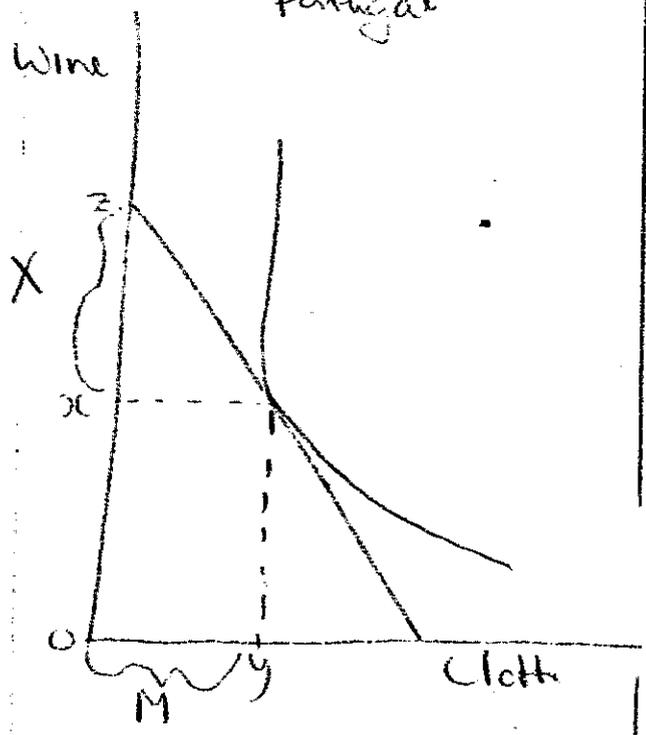
The spokesman for Mr Nkondo's attorneys said they had been notified on Tuesday that the charges would be dropped.

Yesterday, in a hearing before the Judge President, Mr Justice Klopper, Mr A Theron, for the State, announced that the charges were being dropped. No reasons were given.

MIKE PITSO of the "Mail" Africa Bureau reported from Maseru that the Lesotho Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr C D Molepo, told the National Assembly yesterday that their protracted negotiations — often in danger of possible collapse — had finally been successful.

By this action, he said, South Africa had recognised the fact that Lesotho, as a landlocked state, had a well-established right to overfly South African airspace on scheduled international flights.

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grapping, stock theft and the migrant labour system to disputes over love affairs. Each case leads to a new outbreak of violence in which death squads ruthlessly hunt their "hit-list" targets and gun them down.

The latest flare-up, two weeks ago, was over a useless piece of land and the fighting between the warring Esidakeni and Esampofu clans left 17 people dead. SUNDAY POST this week spoke to Msinga people... See Pages 2 and 3.

7 PAC MEN CHARGED WITH SIBEKO MURDER

SEVEN members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa (PAC) will be tried for murdering PAC leader David Sibeko in Dar es Salaam last June, the Tanzanian government newspaper reported yesterday.

A trial date has not been fixed.

The Daily News said that the Director of Public Prosecutions said that 12 other PAC members, also detained since the killing, be released.

on grounds of lack of evidence. A judge endorsed the order this week.

Sibeko, a member of the PAC's three-man Presidential Council and its director for foreign affairs, was shot in the head in his apartment on June 11, 1979.

To be tried are Titus Soni (24), Daniel Nhlalane (24), Reuben Zwane (21), James Hlongwane (21), Ingram Mankwe (25), Shindo Mahangu and Abraham Tatu. — AFP

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Today it is still the pastime of psychologists and sociologists to make a case against apartheid in South Africa by pointing to the effects and the damage it has inflicted on blacks. There are deep feelings of inferiority, which to a large extent are still evident in many a black person. The rulers of this land consciously intend to damage the person of doubt, to impair general ineffectiveness which reinforce this and mutilate his mind

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Black political bodies out of apartheid meeting

STAR
16/5/80
11A

The Star Bureau
LONDON — London University's conference here on Saturday about the changes — or lack of them — in apartheid has lost its star appeal.

None of the three political organisations invited to form the panel — the African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and Inkatha — will attend.

The ANC started the rot by declining the invitation to what they felt was a pointless intellectual exercise. The organisers, afraid of being accused of bias, scrapped the whole panel.

Inkatha felt that under the circumstances it wasn't worth the expense to send a team and the

BCM said they would never have sat down with Inkatha anyway.

The information department at the South African Embassy has also decided to miss the event.

The conference, which held the potential for a dramatic confrontation between the official South African representatives and the voices of black dissent, looks like becoming an academic exercise for the converted.

South African historian, Colun Bundy, will now deliver an opening address.

A second plenary speech will be made by former South African political prisoner, Baruck Hirson who has replaced the "black panel."

SAP rejects Nkondo claims about torture

11A 17/5/80

Political Reporter

POLICE have rejected serious allegations by Mr Zinjiva Winston Nkondo about his treatment while in custody for five months in South Africa.

Mr Nkondo, self-exiled ANC member, who was arrested last December after his plane flying from Swaziland to Maseru was diverted to Bloemfontein, made his charges at a Press conference in Maseru shortly after he was handed over to the Lesotho authorities.

He said that since his detention, he had been interrogated at gunpoint at Ladybrand and Bloemfontein police stations, where he alleged he was tortured during the questioning, which he said centred around the activities of the ANC.

A spokesman for the SA Police Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday: "It has become common for certain people to make wild allegations against the police after they had been detained or questioned.

"These claims are more often made from foreign soil and not only directed against the South African Police but against police forces throughout the world."

The spokesman said that if Mr Nkondo had had any legitimate complaints, he should have directed these through the correct channels and the necessary steps would have been taken.

"During his term of detention he was frequently visited by magistrates and district surgeons and everything possible was being done to make his term of detention as comfortable as possible.

"This office is unaware of any complaints he had while he was in detention," the police spokesman said.

Mr Nkondo told the Press conference he had previously been detained in South Africa, and after he left the country in 1977, he worked for the banned ANC as a journalist on "Freedom Radio" in Lusaka, Dar es Salaam and Maputo.

Meanwhile, despite the international implications of his arrest, various South African Government departments are refusing to comment on the reasons for his release.

Mr Nkondo, younger brother of detained former president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo, was to have appeared in court on June 2 on two counts under the Terrorism Act.

No explanation was given for dropping the charges unexpectedly this week, nor for his subsequent handing over to Lesotho.

The Lesotho Government has credited the release to protracted negotiations with the South African Government.

Yesterday, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said he could not comment. Nor could the Secretary of the Interior, Mr T J Booysens.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice referred the matter to the Free State Attorney-General, Mr M E Tucker, who had "filed the charges and dropped the charges".

Mr Tucker said through a spokesman that he had no comment to make.



Dr Nthato Mollana

The Secretary
Chamber of

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Dear Sir

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Yours faithfully

Mrs Shiraz
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'Grab that freedom...'

DR NTHATO Mollana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, has said blacks were refusing to flex their muscles and grab at freedom which has not only dawned but has risen in the east.

Dr Mollana said this at the inauguration of the 14th branch of the Soweto Civic Association at the Bridgeman Memorial Chapel, Jabulani at the weekend.

This branch consists of residents from Jabulani and Zola townships.

The people of Soweto were compared to Rip Van Winkle who slept throughout a revolution. "The people of Soweto don't seem to be aware of freedom which must be grabbed. You who are converted have a job to do to teach these people.

People up north whom we taught politics at Fort Hare and Adams College are now leaders while we have not yet reached that stage because we refuse to flex our muscles. Wake up, and flex your muscle," he said.

Dr Mollana said personally he would not support the idea of a national convention which

is what many people are calling for. He said blacks were not yet ready for it. He said they were not ready for freedom. "In Harare, when Muzorewa called a rally 100 000 people attended, but when Mugabe, their real leader, arrived over 200 000 people attended," he said.

Dr Mollana's severest criticism was against parents of Fort Hare students and members of the community who failed to attend a meeting at St Francis to hear a report from the students and to discuss what could be done to help them.

"What are we doing about Fort Hare?" he asked. "Last year when the same students were expelled from school only two parents attended a meeting. This year again only two came. Children call us to give them a lead or direction, we go to a football game instead," he said.

Dr Mollana said an announcement was going to be made tomorrow and he predicted that the parents will be told to re-apply. Others will not be re-admitted. He said the Biko's and Rachidi's will not be accepted.

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SP is ordered not to assault exile's wife

13/5/80

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Justice C T Howie granted an urgent application in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday preventing Security Police from assaulting the wife of the black civic leader, Mr Thozamile Botha, who fled to Lesotho a week ago.

Mrs Fezeka Francis Botha's interdict also served as an interim order pending her civil claim against the Security Police and the Minister of Police for damages arising from alleged assault.

The respondents were Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, Head of the Security Police in the Eastern Cape, and a Captain Du Plessis and a Lieutenant Moolman, both local Security Police officers.

Mrs Botha and her brother, Mr Wukile Makanina, said in sworn statements that they were questioned by Security Police on May 5, the day Mr Botha disappeared.

Mrs Botha alleged she was made to stand during interrogation from the early evening to the following morning. During the questioning she was assaulted and kicked by Capt

Du Plessis and Lieut Moolman, she said.

At one stage Col Erasmus threw a brick at her while she was being insulted by another officer, and at another time during the interrogation Mr Makanina was brought to the office with a bloodied mouth.

Mr Justice Howie found it was not possible, on grounds of the sworn statements before the court, to determine whether Mrs Botha had been assaulted or threatened or not.

However, it was possible she would try to get in touch with her husband, and that the Security Police would then question her again.

He ordered Col Erasmus, Capt Du Plessis and Lt Moolman not to assault Mrs Botha.

Col Erasmus also had to ensure that, as far as it was in his power, no other Security Police under his command assaulted Mrs Botha.

The judge held over the costs of the interdict until the civil action came to court. He ruled Mrs Botha had to present her civil action within two months. — Sapa.

What a lot of tripe. Is he one of the black leaders you are shouting about perhaps? If that is the case you should be brought back to mother earth, for Buthelezi is the best spokesman for Pretoria in KwaZulu, and your narrow mind will make you realise this after that homeland has accepted South African independence.

To me, as to Mr Khumalo, and others, anybody who acts as a leader within any South African homeland was not only manufactured and prepared in Pretoria — he was also processed, analysed, labelled and dispatched from there.

This is not an insult dear brother, as your short sightedness is apt to tell you — it is a very ironical criticism and you should learn to distinguish between the two.

Refrain from saying people are insulting whilst you can freely sit back and say they are stupid and ignorant, because you could be insulting as well by so saying.

Since your knowledge of South African history is scattered into confusion, be aware that the homelands, their policy and independence have long been designed and concluded, and that only hours are ticking by to decide which will be the next homeland to swallow this Pretoria style ideology.

Since Gatsha is so unpredictable, it could be KwaZulu within the next few months.

As for mentioning that Inkatha has 300 000 supporters, you are certainly not including Lebowa and Gazankulu, for my bet is that those South African blacks are not supporters of this movement.

Don't even talk about the other homelands. What about saying that Inkatha represents a few 3000 000 blacks of the Zulu origin who have been misled by the fallacy of Inkatha?

Of the 20-million black South Africans, your figure represents only 1,5 percent, which is next to nothing.

Finally, it will remain in the ability of people with insight to know who their true black leaders are, and because history has a long course and a sharp turning point, you are likely to know also — but certainly not now.

J M TSHIFONA SAMBO
Adahanguve.

Inkatha's supported by a few misled Zulus

SIR — The continuous and untimely attacks on SUNDAY POST and other people by some members of Inkatha cannot go on unscrutinised.

This is my reaction towards B J Masango of Ulundi — SUNDAY POST March 9. First of all I would like to advise Mr Masango that if he does not have enough evidence that readers like Samkelo Khumalo of Botswana exist, he must stop accusing SUNDAY POST of using fictitious names.

Since you believe in fiction, Mr Masango, many readers will certainly never support you on the fact that Samkelo Khumalo does not exist, including me.

For your information, "fictitious" names as you call them are used in some of the letters addressed to SUNDAY POST in such a manner that one does not need to think of fiction to note that it is a nom de plume.

Fortunately, on the editor's note you have been told to believe that Mr Khumalo is a real person as you would like us to believe that you are a real person too.

Excellent comment from the editor isn't it? If you are still not satisfied, I would suggest that you go to Industria and

satisfy yourself there.

You, like the Inkathas, react forcefully after statements like Mr Khumalo's have been issued. We are not surprised, for we know that Inkatha is well known for its belief that it is always correct.

However, we are not going to keep quiet if your organisation tries to mislead the public.

In your letter you have accused Mr Khumalo of displaying ignorance and stupidity by not knowing, by 1980, who the black leaders in South Africa are.

We won't say you are either stupid or ignorant — we will simply say you are so confused that we don't believe your co-Inkatha members are similarly confused and short sighted. Maybe you should all disband.

Remember Chief Luthuli, among others, who chose to relinquish his chieftainship in favour of struggling with his fellow blacks. You don't seem to know what I am talking about.

Well, that is an example of a true black leader.

In your letter, you talk of black leaders whom you do not name because they are non-existent. You only pipe out that colloquial and boring "loud sounding nothing" about Gatsha, whom you claim to be internationally recognised.

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By MARION SPARG

TWO executive members of the banned Black Community Programme (BCP) have challenged the South African Police to release details of their claim that dead black leader, Steve Biko, received large sums of money from overseas to further "terrorism" in South Africa.

According to the latest police magazine, Servamus, Mr Biko and two other members of the BCP received R750 000 from overseas sources in one year and deposited this money in their personal bank accounts.

However, Dr Nthato Motlana, a founder member of the BCP, and Mr Bill Bhengu, national chairman at the time of its banning, have both denied either Mr Biko or the BCP received an amount "anywhere near" R750 000.

The largest single amount ever received from an overseas donor, they said, was between R200 000 and R400 000.

"I would be pleasantly surprised to hear that we ever had R750 000," Mr Bhengu said from Durban this week.

The article, written by Lieutenant-Colonel Leon Mellet of the SAP Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, claims the money was intended for terrorists in Southern Africa.

Lieut-Col Mellet told the Sunday Times this week:

"They know our facts are true. Let's leave it at that."

Dr Motlana said he was "offended" by this attack on Biko and would "do my damndest to defend Steve's honour".

SUN EXPRESS 18/5/80 11A

Death in exile

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (South Africa), already battling to survive the problems of exile, is on its last legs following the resignations of three senior members, the expulsion of a fourth and the pending resignation of another member.

The movement — formed as an umbrella organisation for the Black organisations banned by the then Minister of Justice Mr Jimmy Kruger in 1977 — is also struggling to find cash.

The resignations follow last month's secret BCMA conference in London, which was held as a desperate attempt to resuscitate the organisation.

But the conference has left BCMA at its lowest ebb ever.

The three members who quit and the one who was pushed out were close associates of Steve Biko, "the father of Black consciousness", who died in detention in 1977. His death gave the organisation a prominence far in excess of its size.

The four were:

- Barney Pityana, banned co-founder, with Biko, of Black consciousness ideology in South Africa in the late 1960s. He was secretary-general of BCMA's UK committee. He has retained his membership of the movement, but will take little part in its activities.

- Tenjiwe Mthintso, banned ex-Daily Dispatch journalist who fled to Lesotho in 1978. She has joined the banned African National Congress.

- Ben Khoapa, ex-Editor of the now-banned Black Review, mouthpiece of the movement before it was banned in October, 1977. He was treasurer of BCMA's North American branch.

- Harry Nengwekhulu, whose position as Black People's Convention external affairs director was voted out of existence at the conference. He held the senior

NO KISS OF LIFE FOR SA BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

By DAVID NIDDRIE



● Barney Pityana
... resigned

... elected post in the BPC — which is the most powerful organisation under the BCMA umbrella. He was the movement's leading office-bearer, but fought bitterly with the London branch since its formation, and was accused at the conference of adopting Maoist policies contrary to the movement's policies. Mr Nengwekhulu was known to be strongly opposed to any links between BCMA and other exiled movements, particularly the ANC. He was the movement's "oldest" exile, having fled in 1973, and had established a strong power-base in Botswana where he worked as a university lecturer.

- Mr Thami Zani, last publicity director of the BPC before it was banned in 1977, and like Miss Mthintso banned and living in

exile in Lesotho, is also on the verge of resigning, say sources in London.

The moves leave the BCMA almost completely devoid of any of the prominent Blacks who were linked to the organisations banned in 1977.

Mr Drake Khoka, banned London-based trade unionist, is a possible exception, and the organisation's British section, by far the most powerful, is now effectively being run by him and Mr Pityana's replacement, Mr Basil Manning.

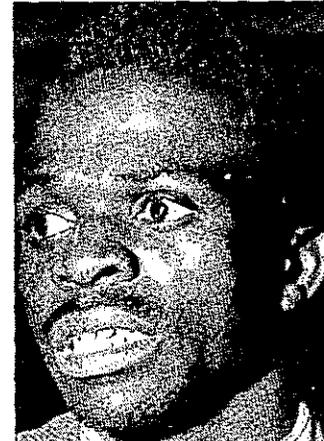
But Mr Khoka is not popular among South African exiles, and Mr Manning is virtually unknown. "I'd never heard of him before the conference," a London source with links to BCMA told the Sunday Express.

BCMA's policy is still not clear and, according to the London source, exiles who have linked themselves to the movement are disillusioned. "BCMA offers us nothing," they are reported as saying.

The conference also failed to resolve its attitude to proposals to set up a proposed "third force" guerrilla army, in opposition to the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC guerrillas.

But the success or failure of the "third force" is not where the significance of BCMA's imminent death lies.

It did not challenge the ANC's position as South Africa's major revolutionary force, but did challenge ANC claims to the loyalty of legal anti-Government groups



● Harry Nengwekhulu
... voted out

in the country, particularly among the Black students who came of age during the 1976 student uprisings.

Many of these youths had emotional ties to the then legal BPC and South African Students' Organisation, as the joint inspiration for the '76 unrest, and BCMA in exile was able to maintain some of this prestige.

But the organisation has been fast losing this prestige because of its apparent impotence, inactivity and lack of unity and leadership, the London sources said.

Its complete collapse would have major significance for "non-system" Black politics in South Africa and in exile. It would leave the ANC a clear field to lobby for support.

The only alternatives are the

PAC, which is in a state of decay almost as bad as that of BCMA and, internally, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, which is still fighting the stigma of "homeland politics".

"Black Consciousness was not designed for exile, and is breaking up. There is nothing to keep it together," the source said.

The expulsion of Mr Nengwekhulu will probably mean the collapse or at least the withdrawal of the Botswana branch from the organisation, and the resignation of Miss Mthintso will cause major problems in the already-ailing Lesotho branch.

BCMA was formed last year to unite the ANC, PAC and other exiled organisations, but internal squabbles kept it inactive. Its resulting low profile made African countries hesitant to host its inaugural conference.

The result was hardly the unification hoped for.

Unable to launch a fully-fledged organisation, delegates removed Mr Nengwekhulu and set up a second "interim committee" to shepherd the organisation through the coming 12 months. They did, however, reorganise the movement under a single executive — the second interim committee — in place of the regional control of the previous year.

- In a statement in the Rand Daily Mail on Friday, the new interim committee denied it was broke or on the verge of collapse. The movement was flourishing and gaining momentum daily, the statement added, and rejected contrary reports as "mischievous, negative and divisive". It said that BCMA was trying to bring the Nigeria-based South African Youth Revolutionary Council, headed by Mr Khotso Seathlolo, former head of the banned Soveto Students' Representative Council, into its orbit.

PAC-lede

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PAC
18/5/83

DAR-ES-SALAAM —

Twaalf lede van die verbode Suid-Afrikaanse PAC is hier vrygelaat, berig die regeringskoerant, die Daily News, weens gebrek aan getuienis teen hulle.

Volgens die koerant is hulle elf maande lank aangehou in verband met die moord op mnr. David Sibeko, een van die drie lede van die presidensiële raad van die PAC en direkteur vir buitelandse sake. Hy is verlede Junie in die kop geskiet.

Sewe ander PAC-lede word nog aangehou.
(Sapa—Reuter).

Thozamile Botha under ANC wing

28/11/78
15/11/78
11/11/78

**SUNDAY POST
Reporters**

THOZAMILE BOTHA, the banned former leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), has been taken under the wing of the African National Congress.

The 32-year-old former teacher, who led the Ford workers' strike at the company's Port Elizabeth plant last year, went into exile two weeks ago.

Mr Botha's connection with the ANC was confirmed yesterday by reliable sources in Maseru.



Mr Botha

The sources said that even though Mr Botha could not formally join the ANC in Lesotho as it has no established office there, the movement has taken him under its close protection.

Mr Botha was banned earlier this year after six weeks in security police detention following the Ford workers' strike.

Reports earlier this week speculated that Mr Botha was to register at the University of Lesotho at Roma for a law course, but SUNDAY POST's sources declined to confirm this, or say what his future plans would be.

clear if they have resigned as BCMA members.

From its beginnings BCMA has seen itself as an organisation trying to unite the ANC and PAC, the two South African exile groups recognised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Recent in-fighting within the PAC has brought it close to collapse and the movement could well lose its OAU recognition.

And the ANC, from its position of strength and diplomatic recognition, has apparently answered the BCMA with a join-us-or-forget-it reply.

Another man to skip the country is Mr Enoch Duma, a senior reporter with the Sunday Times and vice-president of the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA). He is presently in London.

Mr Duma left South Africa for Lesotho, where he spent a few days before flying out to London.

Mr Duma, a former detainee under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, has been missing from his Dobsonville home for about three weeks. He left behind his wife, Kitty, and their three children.

In 1975 Mr Duma was awarded a World Press Institute grant and studied at the University of Indiana in America. On



support during his 1960s days — he was reportedly able to attract up to 10 000 people at some of his meetings — his alliance with the ANC is seen as a politically significant move.

According to reports, Mr Botha spent a year visiting black homes in the Port Elizabeth area before establishing Pebco to find out about the community's problems.

His move towards the ANC comes at the same time as a series of dramatic shifts in exile politics.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) has recently lost the services of Steve Biko's right hand man, Barney Pityana and Black Review editor Ben Khoapa.

Mr Pityana has resigned as BCMA secretary-general and Mr Khoapa as treasurer of the New York committee of BCMA. It is not

Enoch Duma

two occasions last year, the Government refused to renew Mr Duma's passport to allow him to honour an invitation to visit the United States.

After his nine months' detention in 1977, Mr Duma was charged under the Terrorism Act. He was acquitted.

A Soweto social worker attached to Baragwanath Hospital, Mrs Masepeke Tshabalala, who was held under the General Law Amendment Act and later under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, was also released on Friday afternoon.

She had been held at Jabulani Police Station and said yesterday on her release that she was told she would not be charged.

19/05/80 ARGUS

Boycott planners 'may get skulls cracked'

IIA

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday he would eradicate the 'stupidity of school boycotting' in Natal and warned those behind the boycotts that they risked 'having their skulls cracked.'

He was speaking at a rally attended by about 10 000 people, who listened to speakers from the Inkatha leadership for more than seven hours in an intermittent drizzle.

Intense anger was displayed by big sections of the crowd throughout the meeting and large numbers of parents made public appeals for action to be taken against people organising children to stay away from school.

Chief Buthelezi again said that the boycotts had nothing to do with the education system, but was the work of 'evil political forces who thought in their stupidity that they could attack Inkatha by mobilising children. There is a total onslaught against Inkatha.'

Chief Buthelezi spoke of these allegedly behind the boycotts as 'political witches that stumble around

the streets of Kwamashu at night.

'These nocturnal operators have started nefarious activities that are nothing more or less than sheer political witchcraft,' he said.

Inkatha's plans did not include the burning of schools or doing anything that would prejudice the education of youth.

'We are a people who know how to deal with witchcraft. We will decory this evil among us, and I am here today to stand with you and to eradicate this stupidity of school boycotting from our midst,' Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi said the forces of the so-called Black

Consciousness movement, which disrupted Soweto and many other parts of South Africa, accomplished nothing and are smarting under the achievements of Inkatha.'

A Kwamashu minister of religion, the Rev W B Mbambo, was hurt after he had been set upon by an impi for allegedly being one of those behind the black schools' boycott in the township.

The assault came after the crowd had listened to Chief Buthelezi.

Mr Mbambo's life was saved by Inkatha secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, and the movement's administrative secretary, Mr Zakhwele Khumalo, who fended off a group of men who had felled him with stick blows to the head and were mercilessly beating him on the stage.

It became clear that an impi numbering about 200 men were determined to get at Mr Mbambo shortly after Chief Buthelezi had left the stage.

Kwazulu's Minister of Justice, Mr C J Mthethwa, was on the stage soon afterwards and order was restored while Inkatha officials attended to Mr Mbambo.

No answers found at UK apartheid debate

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Their conference posed the question: Is apartheid really changing or does it only look that way?

But even before it started at London University on Saturday, its organisers admitted that they were not expecting any answers.

They were proved entirely correct by the 50 participants.

The key groups — the African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Inkatha and the South African Government — all stayed away.

The ANC was, however, strongly albeit unofficially represented in all the discussion groups.

Oxford University foreign affairs specialist

Mr Colin Bundy kicked off with a solid analysis of what changes were taking place and why.

There was much talk on whether the working classes in South Africa should allow anyone else in on their revolution. No decision was made.

The ANC members said apartheid was not racism. It was an exploitative system that uses racism.

One unsuspecting trade unionist who asked about the real Cuban role in SWA/Namibia was abruptly pulled up. Where was his question leading, the group leader demanded.

The questioner recovered smartly by saying he merely wanted some reassurance that the Western imperialist, capitalist Press was distorting this as well.

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Inkatha

DM 19/5/80
clash

averted

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Riot squad police intervened to avert a clash in KwaMashu yesterday between about 500 boycotting schoolchildren and 200-strong Inkatha Impi, armed with knobkerries, spears and knives.

The children gathered outside the KwaMashu cinema while scores of policemen with shields, batons, helmets and teargas canisters, prevented them from meeting inside.

Chanting and brandishing weapons, the Impi marched to the cinema to confront the children who had boycotted schools in defiance of the KwaZulu Government.

The police, led by Brigadier H Mouton, Port Natal's Divisional Inspector, moved between the two groups to avoid a clash.

Brig Mouton spoke to the children and they dispersed. Police followed the Impi back to the nearby stadium where they ensured Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's meeting was not disrupted.

Police later had to use teargas to disperse a large group of pupils in the township.

• A KwaMashu town councillor, Mrs Albertina Mnguni, and a priest were manhandled at the Chief Buthelezi's meeting yesterday, because members of Inkatha "were convinced" they were behind the schools boycotting.

20/05/80 Argus

After Soweto — 11A achievements lacking value

By John Richards

LAST NIGHT'S look at the lot of coloureds and blacks four years after the disastrous riots of 1976 was an anomalous mixture of State achievement in attempts to do away with grievances, and the abysmal failure of these achievements to realise any real goal.

Senior public servants were allowed to enumerate Government achievements — and there were moments of frankness when black and coloured leaders were allowed to say why these achievements were lacking in any value.

HUMAN DIGNITY

As Professor Richard van der Ross said, removal of grievances was not to be equated with expenditure of millions, or measured in terms of money.

What people of a skin colour other than white seek is their acceptance as human beings and the recognition of their human dignity.

* * *

Their Frontier the Sea was no better or worse than last week's 24 Hours on the Border, but it was certainly more interesting.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect was the method used to accustom serving seamen to the



conditions they may meet on active service.

Simulated submarine control rooms, fires, and sinkings — the men are artificially battle hardened without the presence of a declared enemy.

Most non-naval people do not know the South African Navy is only 50 years old or that it has the colossal task of patrolling 4 000 km of coast and hundreds of thousands of kilometres of open sea.

* * *

Although South Africa does not have the legends of gunfire and violence associated with the old west of North America, the country's early history was not without its moments.

However, the second episode of The Diggers did nothing to dispel the first impression that it is no more than a pap-en-wors western with none of the panache of Dodge City.

21/05/80
IIA
Argus

Blacks will not accept division — estate agent

Property Editor

BLACKS will not accept any plan which has its base in the fragmentation of races, Mr B J van der Ross, a member of the Estate Agents Board, told the South African Property Owners' Association congress today.

In a slashing attack on the Prime Minister's 12-point plan and on the Group Areas Act, Mr van

der Ross said the homeland policy was 'a simple extension of the divide-and-rule policy grounded on a fraud'.

History had proved there had never been a government strong enough to enforce any law which was not acceptable to the people.

'The more the Government tried to fragment black groups, the more

these groups will be bound together through discrimination and oppression, and they will always outnumber the whites.

BEGGARS

'As long as blacks cannot aspire to effective participation in a truly free enterprise system, because they have been reduced to a nation of beggars, the white man will be denied the right to sleep peace-

fully and the property investor peace of mind in his investment.'

Mr van der Ross asked why it was necessary for Mitchell's Plain and Atlantis to be entirely coloured cities. They were not viable economically. He believed the Government's policy for these two areas was that they would eventually form a coloured homeland.



LONDON — In a move likely to appease Members of Parliament but anger Britain's allies, the government of Margaret Thatcher has decided to enforce sanctions against Iran retroactive only to last Saturday, not to November 4 as European Economic Community (EEM) Foreign Ministers decided.

Talks vital

SAXON-SION (France) — President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, a dinner guest on Monday in this tiny village, described his meeting earlier in Warsaw with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev as necessary because of the "gravity of the international situation."

He said Mr Brezhnev listened closely to his expression of the West's concern over recent events, particularly the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

Justice mission

WASHINGTON — President Jimmy Carter on Monday ordered Attorney-General Benjamin Civiletti to go to Miami, Florida, where, according to unofficial figures, 19 persons have been killed and 371 injured in racial violence since Saturday.

The disorder began after an all-white jury acquitted four white policemen of beating a black insurance agent to death.

Mr Civiletti was instructed to "see that justice is done."

5 feared dead

VANCOUVER — At least five people were known dead and 21 were missing following the violent eruption of Mount St. Helens volcano in this west coast state on Sunday. The eruption sheared some 400 metres off the top of the 2900-metre peak.

The city of Walla Walla, more than 250 kms eastward, was covered by 30 centimetres of cinders.

Earthquake

BELGRADE — At least 155 people were injured, some 20 seriously, in the earthquake that rocked eastern Yugoslavia Sunday night, Belgrade newspapers reported yesterday.

Press reports said hundreds of houses were left uninhabitable.

Nod to aid

WASHINGTON — Congress on Monday approved about \$68-million worth of economic aid to Nicaragua after a three-month debate. The Senate voted by 44 — 35 for a bill already approved by the House of Representatives. The aid programme earmarked funds for small businesses and farms, public works and housing and reconstruction.

Line drawn

UNITED NATIONS — The emissary that UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim plans to send to Iran to renew attempts to free the American hostages there will not be allowed to discuss the matter with Iranian officials, Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeh Ghotbzadeh has indicated.

Mr Ghotbzadeh said Syrian diplomat Abib Daoudy, a member of the UN Commission of Inquiry into the US-Iranian crisis, could visit Teheran to complete the commission's investigation, but would not be able to discuss the inquiry with Iranian officials.

Nixon cleared

WASHINGTON — The United States Supreme Court on Monday rejected a lawsuit seeking to nullify the pardon granted to President Richard Nixon in 1974 by his successor, President Gerald Ford.

Two Colorado residents had been attempting to obtain a court ruling to allow criminal charges to be filed against Mr Nixon for his role in the Watergate affair.

Sepa indaba

GABORONE — Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Secretary-General Edem Kodjo and Unesco director-general Amadou Mahtar M'bow attended the opening here yesterday of a week-long conference aimed at promoting the teaching of science in Africa. The conference is being staged by the 15-nation African Organisation Science Education Program for Africa (SEPA).

The hate that hangs in Miami air

MIAMI — Hate hangs like a poisoned cloud over riot-torn Miami.

But as this Deep South, racially intolerant city counts the cost of a terrifying weekend of murder and torture, there seems a slender hope of salvation — an almost imperceptible hint of shame.

You could detect it in the eyes of some blacks who, hours earlier had been on the rampage screaming "an eye for an

eye" and "death to whites."

And it could be seen in safer, more affluent areas, more noticeably in the faces of privileged whites, who for years have turned a blind eye to injustice.

The city began slowly to acknowledge its shame as the bodies of 13 victims — black and white — were laid out in the city mortuaries. Some were riddled with bullets, others burned almost beyond recognition, and several had limbs hanging off.

This was the sickening harvest of war that, if unchecked, could explode time bombs of racial hate in other parts of America.

In an attempt to cool the violence, federal officials are hurriedly trying to bring indictments against four white former policemen acquitted of beating black insurance man Arthur McDuffie to death — an act that led to Miami becoming a war zone.

MOTHER

And the victim's anguished mother, a confused old lady now beyond the limit of grief, went on television to implore those who had taken to the streets with guns, knives and petrol bombs to think "for God's sake about the future."

Her son, she said, would never wish to be remembered as the man whose death started it all.

But in Liberty and other no-go areas, where to be white is a crime and almost certain death, ringleaders scorned all talk of peace.

"We know all about white justice here," said one man, as day broke over a divided city still ablaze with scores of fires. "No, the white man must taste our justice."

Even as he spoke a Miami newspaper was on sale in the looted, debris-filled streets, and, without condoning the slaughter on either side, showed some understanding.

Grim report on Zaire

LONDON — Hundreds of people in Zaire have been arbitrarily arrested and confined indefinitely to remote camps in the jungle and bush where death, torture or starvation is common, Amnesty International said here yesterday.

Launching a campaign to draw attention to human rights abuses in the country, the Nobel Peace prize winning or-by summery executive 23-page report including details of mass executions in which prisoners were said to have been killed without having been charged or tried.

It also cited reports of interrogation centres, prisons and camps where prisoners had allegedly been beaten, burned and mutilated or simply starved to death.

The report said that of the hundreds of Zaires arrested each year, many had been held without charge or trial in isolated detention camps.

The most notorious of these was Ekafera, in the Equatorial Region, which normally held between 400 and 500 detainees, the report added.

"Prisoners sleep on the ground in cells infested with insects, rats and parasites," it said. "Others are left to die in the intense heat in unventilated punishment cells. Malnutrition, malaria and dysentery are common but no medical care is provided."

The Amnesty International report said most of the prisoners at Ekafera had no way of knowing how long they would be held or, given the high mortality rate in the camp, whether they would leave alive.

"Many people have been arrested because political suspicion fell on them or for belonging to unauthorised religious groups," it said. "Students, politicians and intellectuals are particularly vulnerable, as are members of ethnic groups from Southern and Eastern Zaire."

"Is it any wonder that the blacks have felt that the white establishment and its system of justice was stacked against them?" asked an editorial.

Before the riots there had been so many warnings: from black community leaders and from pulpits in many parts. Heads nodded in agreement, but amazingly, nobody presumed the worst.

Indeed, after the first shots were fired, one group of residents was still optimistically going ahead with an annual Good Neighbour festival.

Ironically, 3000 people were still celebrating it

all as nine more people were killed, bringing the death toll to 18, with up to 500 injured and as many arrests.

One elderly white woman was brought in to whisper her story. She was driving home along the fringe of a riot area when a group of children approached. They were in a frenzy and attacked her car with stones.

Then she was dragged out and petrol poured over her. A match was thrown and she went up in flames. But she was saved by a group of black people who heard her cries



Prof Walter Williams

Top economist on lecture tour

PROFESSOR Walter Williams, a top US black economist, has arrived in South Africa for a two-month lecture tour.

His visit has been sponsored by the Free Market Foundation, with Rand Afrikaans University as host university administering his tour arrangements.

Prof Williams will lecture at most of South Africa's universities, consulting with many dignitaries in the private and Government sectors, and make various public appearances throughout South Africa and Namibia.

Prof Williams has had an illustrious academic career and is consulted by US presidents, and congressional committee on national policy towards minorities.

AN AUTHORITY

Although he is best known for his controversial free market views on racial discrimination and the counter-productivity of affirmative action laws, his is an authority on many issues that are crucial to Southern Africa, such as conservation, poverty, inflation and unemployment.

He has been brought to South Africa following the extraordinary success of his brief first visit to South Africa last year — at the time of the Prime Minister's historic Carlton Centre meeting in November — to address the 1820 Settlers' Monument Foundation conference on "free enterprise and the individual". According to the conference organiser, Andre Spier of Syncom Walter Williams' participation was so important that it made the conference.

BIGGER CABINET

KAMPALA — Uganda's military rulers named more officials and junior ministers, increasing the total size of the new government formed last Sunday to 51.

Some of the appointments increased the impression that the ruling six-member military commission headed by Paul Muwanga is becoming a parallel cabinet.

Agriculture Minister Mathias Ngobi was named Minister for Presidential Affairs, and replaced at Agriculture by Sam Mugwisa.

Kgokong applies for asylum in Botswana

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21/5/80
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BLACK Consciousness leader, Mr Jairus Kgokong, yesterday applied for political asylum in Botswana, according to sources there.

Mr Kgokong, former Transvaal regional secretary of the banned South African Students' Organisation (Saso), is said to have arrived in Botswana on Saturday — two days before he was to have handed himself over to prison authorities in Johannesburg to start a two year jail sentence.

Mr Kgokong was banned and restricted to the magisterial district of Johannesburg.

STATEMENT

The two year sentence he was to serve is a sequel to a Supreme Court trial in which Mr J Mofokeng and six others were charged under the Terrorism Act. Mr Kgokong was State witness in the case.

His evidence in the case allegedly conflicted with a statement he had made under oath before Captain A B Cronwright on November 3, 1975. He had told the court that the statement was not made freely and voluntarily.

Mr Kgokong has played a major role in the black consciousness movement of South Africa. He has spent about 23 months in detention under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and Section 19 of the Internal Security Act.

Black leaders slam closing of Fort Hare



Post 21/5/80.

THE closing down of the University of Fort Hare by the Rector, Prof J M de Wet, on Monday, was condemned by black educationists and black consciousness movements in Johannesburg yesterday.

The students were given until 1 pm on Monday to leave the campus following a two-week boycott of lectures and other academic activities at the university.

In a statement the publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr George Wauchope, said: "The closing of Fort Hare is indicative of the attitudes and intransigence of the South African authorities.

AZAPO

"By closing the varsity the authorities hope to break students solidarity.

"Azapo still repeats that the educational crisis in this country is but a tip of the iceberg because the core of the problem is apartheid itself.

"For as long as apartheid is in force, there shall always be valid and genuine ground for dissent," he said.



Mr Tom Manthata . . . students took mature political step.



Mr George Wauchope . . . indicative of intransigence.

An executive member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr Tom Manthata, said: "The recent activities at Fort Hare have a clear cut national content. This is a national expression of a need for change.

"It is time that individuals and organisations come together to resolve the situation. The boycotting students took a mature and bold political step which is a challenge to every black.

"Prof de Wet's reported utterances are a challenge to the Government. What is significant about

the Fort Hare activities, is that the boycott was not based on 'issue exploitation', like dismissal of students or killing of a student," he said.

A mathematics lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr T W Kambule, said: "Inferior education is education for a revolution. It is a terrible setback for the students and parents involved.

"The Government better start doing some serious thinking about the immediate dismantling of separate education system." — Sapa.



TO

Relief
Memorandum
News
Memorandum
Congress

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, continues his question-and-answer interview with Joe Thloloc begun yesterday. He elaborates on his position and the committee in the political state of Soweto and the people generally . . .

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I would never go into an election

Q: THE whole argument, to take it further, is that the people just ratify what has been agreed upon by the leadership. In other words they don't contribute to the creation of whatever organisation you are creating. Here you had these people coming together to form the Committee of Ten. The Committee of Ten works out a blueprint and then they go out to the people to ratify.

The people did not contribute to the creation of the blueprint?

A: But surely in your ratification, in a mass meeting as we had planned, you would have, first of all, the blueprint as it was cyclostyled, published, even in newspapers, so people would read it and know what is involved.

When they come to this mass meeting to approve of this thing, they come with their suggestions, their amendments. They could even reject it. Surely that is how organisations work.

If we were to wait for the so-called grassroots to come up with an idea, how long are we going to wait? I am not sure that, in fact, the grassroots is going to produce that kind of thing.

In that grassroots, in that mass of people — ordinary people, and I repeat ordinary people — there must come some sort of leadership at that level which will say: We need to be seen to be doing so and so.

And at that grassroots — if the grassroots themselves have to meet — somebody's got to call the meeting. Otherwise it may never get together.

Q: The same goes for the

putation. Somebody calls a mass meeting. It is accepted.

To my way of thinking this is how communities develop. But somebody's got to come up with the idea. Not the mass. Somebody like Gatsha Buthelezi coming up with Inkatha.

Q: The problem I still have is with you as an alternative to the Urban Bantu Councils or the community councils.

A: Alternative?

Q: Yes.

A: I think alternative is an unfortunate word. We have never regarded ourselves as an alternative. We, the people who met that evening at the offices of The World, asked ourselves: "In this hiatus that has occurred because of the resignation of the UBC, what kind of body can be substituted?"

This was in June 1977. I think at the same time the Government was debating in Parliament the Community Council Bill, which was passed the same year.

When this Bill was passed, we were still outside — not detained yet — we looked at it and saw this was crap, this was nonsense. It was ill-conceived, ill-considered, rushed through Parliament without due consideration. We could not have that kind of thing. We opposed it.

I don't suppose one could say for that reason that we saw ourselves as an alternative.

Most of us in the Committee of Ten don't see ourselves ever serving on a so-called committee of Soweto. Oh no. I'll never stand for election. That

idea of makgotla, they abandoned the idea of urban representation of the homeland chiefs, they abandoned ethnic grouping, they abandoned quite a number of things. And we continue to push even to this day.

We don't see ourselves as improving a council so that we can serve there. I don't care who serves in that council — even if it is Thebehalo.

Let them benefit from my detention. Let them benefit from the pushing we are doing.

I can tell you now that I'll never become a member of any of these nonsensical bodies here, because fundamentally I have objections.

A local authority is a third tier of government. Any given town council in the country derives its power under the local ordinance of the provincial council.

It is an extension, an arm of the province, which in turn derives all its authority and power from the central government.

In a normal society, the whites who run the city council of Johannesburg — many of them are provincial councillors. And from the provincial councils, they are represented in the central government.

Their own people debate what powers may be delegated to the provincial councils. Same people, same power.

It is an interaction of people who exercise power at the level of the central government, at the level of the province and at the level of the local authority.

Until and only when the day comes that we blacks have representation

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Civic Association (SCA), for instance. Again it is a question of the people ratifying what has already been decided by the leadership.

A: But then I am going to say to you, how else could the constitution of any body, anything at all, ever come about? How else?

Somebody, two or three people, will decide that if we do so and so maybe we can acquire so and so. And those three call on their friends, acquaintances or some people they know.

Then the idea grows, germinates, takes hold, somebody concretises it in writing, somebody publishes a part, it gets hold of the whole damn po-

guys. Perhaps there are some guys who would stand.

We could suggest that whatever body comes into being here will be influenced by our thinking. We would hope that our thinking, our proposals would influence the thinking as indeed it has.

I mean the Government has abandoned a lot of the ideas that they had included in the Community Council Bill.

One of the greatest satisfactions we had in detention was to watch, as we were sitting at Modderbee, the Government changing one clause after another in their silly little Bill because of the pressure we had exerted

They abandoned the

would people like myself agree to serve.

Q: But that is the crux of the argument: that instead of fighting for power in the central government, you are concerning yourself with the minor issues of Soweto.

A: I've heard that kind of argument. For somebody who spent almost all his adult life in opposition to the Afrikaner Government, to hear a 15-year-old child say to me, "You concern yourself with minor irritants," makes me think the child is so presumptuous that I refuse to answer.

It is to assume that I haven't got the brain, the perception or the understanding of political imperatives.

This interview continued tomorrow

THE Government is failing in its efforts to win support from the black middle-class in South Africa, says Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce. In an interview with our Johannesburg correspondent, the black business leader rejects the Government's offer of a 'broader South African identity' for blacks and says black rule is inevitable.

23/05/80 ARULUS

'Aspirations (IA) of majority must be satisfied'

Mr Motsuenyane: White South Africa must accept the inevitable — that black people will form the predominant voice in the governing of this country.

We have to change to enhance our acceptability to the outside world and to satisfy the aspirations of the majority in this country. If we fail to do so we will be hamstrung by the conflict that exists between South Africa and the rest of the world.

I look at Zimbabwe, which a few months ago was unacceptable to the world. Because they have changed, investment is pouring in. I believe black rule is not as bad as many whites believe.

IDENTITY

Question: Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, has said separate sovereignties in South Africa are non-negotiable. He has offered blacks a broader South African identity — a confederal



Mr Motsuenyane

identity. Do you find this acceptable?

Mr Motsuenyane: What has been said about a broader South African identity is irrelevant to black aspirations today. We want a common society in a unitary state, that is what most people are calling for, in the same way as they did in Zimbabwe.

Question: What does Zimbabwe symbolise for you?

Mr Motsuenyane: Zimbabweans have fought the same battle, they have asked for the same things: Equality of opportunity, recognition of their worth and a unitary state. This is what the African National Congress has been calling for and is still fighting for.

ANC

Robert Mugabe's victory has a special relevance for the black people of South Africa because they are in the same situation.

Ever since its birth the ANC has stood for equality of opportunity for black and white.

Question: What are your views on the 'Release Mandela' campaign?

Mr Motsuenyane: I have been quoted as favouring the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela from Robben Island and all other political prisoners. It must be recognised that for a long time Mandela's strategy was one of peacefully resolving our problems. He resorted to supporting violence only because of the Government's intransigence. He cannot be blamed for having thought the way he thought.

The violent struggle for liberation has gained credibility because in so many African countries the end of liberation have been achieved the violent way.

GREAT

The longer Mandela is kept in jail, therefore, the more credibility he will gain. The Government achieves nothing by keeping him behind bars, because the longer they keep him there the greater he is going to be.

Azapo wants unitary state

BLACK consciousness takes into cognisance the fact that black people are denied the fundamental human rights to participate in contributing towards a future of a peaceful, open and equal egalitarian society, based on an equal distribution of land, wealth and power.

It takes into account historical and national peculiarities of the blacks in Azania and thus seeks to disseminate ideas that will liberate people from bondage and give them their rightful liberty and freedom. It is for this reason that Azania acknowledges the philosophy of black consciousness as the fruition (culmination) of the liberatory efforts on the part of different black organisations throughout the history of

resistance against white domination. The philosophy of black consciousness should be seen to be:

● Framework whose internal dynamics give form to the entire nature of black aspirations.

● Irreversible process of self-understanding and self

democratic government.

● A philosophy that relatively translates itself into our active opposition to government policies bent on estranging the black people from themselves; an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out to the black people.

sure a united effort towards changing the status quo.

● A philosophy that understands the position of the black people who are de facto a race of workers and therefore an inevitable agent of change within the present political system.

talkanization of the country stems from the myth that black people are different and separate "nations" that can enjoy full political rights in their so-called homelands. Azapo vehemently rejects and condemns Bantustans because they:

● Deprive blacks of their valuable right of citizenship in the land of their birth.

● Destroy the unity and solidarity of the black people.

● Foster the apartheid policy of divide and rule.

● Facilitate a continued economic exploitation of the black people and perpetuate white domination.

It is this economic and political exploitation that has reduced the black people into a class. The concentration of power in white hands enables them to accumulate capital and to exploit black labour thereby greedily

maintaining themselves in a position of privilege. This inequitable distribution of power and wealth enables the whites to promote a rigid class structure.

Azapo envisages a state where all persons shall have the right to the ownership of property and complete participation in the political machinery of the country where capital and profits occurring from labour shall be equitably distributed.

It is for this reason that Azapo lays emphasis on the work and acknowledges trade unionism as an agent that can play a supportive role in bringing the redistribution of power. Trade unions should not only be confined to the problems of management and labour, but should also challenge the discriminatory laws of the white government, thereby bringing change.

THE national executive of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) has released a statement on its political stance. The organisation was inaugurated last year at a meeting attended by delegates from several parts of the country. This week, Azapo released this article relating to their political standpoint and motivation.

assertiveness of the black people of Azania in the face of oppressive socio-political structure imposed by the white government.

● A firm expression of the will of black people to participate fully in the power structure of a

● A philosophy that gives direction to the black people in an attempt to re-orientate their entire value system.

● A philosophy that grasps black solidarity as an imperative element that militates any form of sectionalisation and en-

● A philosophy that seeks to create a just society where the value of persons shall be held supreme.

From the above, it should be clear why Azapo views Azania as a unitary state.

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Moumbaris features on French radio

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Own Correspondent 23/1/80
PARIS. — Alexandre Moumbaris, the convicted terrorist who escaped from Pretoria Prison last December, will feature in an hour-long French radio programme today.

hour-long programmes over three days to South Africa — the first was on Sharpeville, yesterday's was on the assassination of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and today's will be devoted to the Moumbaris trial and his subsequent jail experiences and escape.

details of his escape in the broadcast.
The radio station has been using him as an "adviser" in the whole South African series which he described yesterday as "excellent — in other words unfavourable to South Africa".
Moumbaris is an active anti-apartheid militant and on

Wednesday was in Strasbourg where he met, as a member of a delegation, Mrs Simone Weil, president of the European Parliament.
"We told her the importance of breaking off relations between the common market countries and Pretoria," Moumbaris said.

The Europe Number One radio station is devoting three

It is likely he will give new

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Black leaders condemn desecration of 'hero's' grave

11A
23/5/80

Pretoria Bureau

ACTION by vandals in toppling the tombstone of Goch Street terrorist Solomon Mahlangu and placing the bloody head of a warthog on the grave in the Atteridgeville cemetery last Tuesday night, has been widely condemned by black spokesmen.

Police went to the cemetery yesterday to remove the head of the dead animal, but the tombstone was left lying on the ground where it had fallen during the vandals' raid.

A spokesman for the Direc-

torate of Police in Pretoria said yesterday that the scene had been photographed by a police photographer before the animal's head was disposed of.

The chairman of the Committee of 10, Dr Nthatho Motlana, yesterday said: "We condemn unreservedly such unspeakable behaviour."

"It must be a sick mind that would stoop to such a low level," Dr Motlana said.

He added that the trouble with such action was that it could lead to counter reaction and "let us hope blacks will not

resort to such behaviour".

The president of the Writers Association of South Africa (Wasa), Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, also condemned the action.

"We feel particularly aggrieved that whatever the people try to do to a fallen hero like Solomon should always be attended by violence, harassment and sheer vandalism," Mr Sesulu said.

Solomon Mahlangu was executed last year for taking part in the 1977 Goch Street shooting in which two people died.

I still see hope in talking

Q: Two questions come from that. First, your urban bantu councillor will claim that his primary concern is with bread and butter issues — like a house for a widow. In fact Thebehali has gone on record several times saying that he is concerned about food for the people, work for the people, housing for the people. You also stress these basic things. Where do you differ from him?

This question is related to the second: how do you relate these issues to the bigger issues. A person gets a house and then whatever other issues you want to raise are not of interest to him.

A: There are two schools of thought, Joe. There are people who say that if you really want to achieve freedom in South Africa, don't improve the material conditions of the people. Don't give them jobs, don't give them homes, don't give them better schools — they will revolt.

Then there are those who say that a revolution occurs when rising expectations are frustrated, who say that in fact all revolutions throughout history have been led by the middle class, that no revolution has been led by a man whose every thought is about where the next meal is coming from.

trades, industries, Parliament — power — that is

What we have is no middle class in any sense because they don't then enter and become part of the ruling elite. The can't be co-opted.

I like it that way because the frustration is extreme, is bitter. And our leadership is going to come from that despised group.

Q: Can we go back to the question: At what point do you differ with the urban bantu councillors and the community councillors?

A: But Joe I went into such a long explanation about why I could never serve in an urban bantu council. Do you want me to repeat all that?

Q: What I am trying to say is that you are putting certain pressures to get some changes and some basic necessities. The com-

munity councils are also engaged in trying to get those basic things. They might not have spelled out what they have in mind after providing those basic necessities, but would you not say your ideas and theirs coincide to a point?

A: They coincide in the sense that for all men the basic desire is for a better home, a better environment, a free society. We all wish for that, the UBC or the Committee of Ten, any other man.

But I got farther. I've explained that basically you are not going to get much change until the whole superstructure has been overturned.

Q: What is the membership of your Soweto Civic Association?

A: I don't know really. We have established branches, but I don't know what numbers there

are in each branch. Our secretary has just skipped, unfortunately.

Q: When is the constitution of the SCA coming up for discussion?

A: Oh, we've got a constitution. A draft constitution, really, which is to

Buthelezi? He has come up with the idea that even if you differ ideologically, at least on certain basic issues you should work as a black community.

A: By the way, I want to say something about

ly, fundamentally, but there is no need to insult each other.

But obviously, blacks can co-operate over certain issues — like when Inkatha agreed not to take part in the community council elections in 1978. If he says in certain areas there can be co-operation among people who disagree, obviously I agree.

But essentially we've got differences which at the moment appear irreconcilable. Maybe we can reconcile them in the future . . .

Q: What would you say are your critics among blacks — the more radical groups or . . .

A: I've never had critics really. The Committee of Ten and its initiative were

This is the last part of an interview by senior reporter, Joe Thloloe, with Committee of Ten chairman, Dr Nthato Motlana.

be approved. We hope to have our annual conference in September. We hope to have the constitution debated there and approved or amended.

Q: And elections?

A: Yes, and elections. We've been in power for too long and we must introduce new blood.

Q: Do you see any hope of reconciliation between yourself and Chief Gatsha

that: I used a phrase in a public meeting about Gatsha which I would like to withdraw. I think it was unfortunate that I used the word traitor.

I want to say it publicly that I am sorry that I did use that word. I could have expressed my views without using a word that so obviously is interpreted as a personal insult. We differ political-

* To Page 9

I know of no revolution, except one, which was led by a man from the labouring, starving classes. Only Citizen Toussant actually succeeded in freeing Haiti from French control.

Even the Silvertown siege three came from comparatively middle class homes: the first, son of a school teacher; the second, son of a contractor; the third, I forget. Middle class.

It has been said by writers that the revolt of '76 came from the young, the Mashinis, who could read. Who did they read? Mao Tse Tung — guerilla warfare.

The only time that the American negro finally revolted was a result of the civil rights legislation when we had these cadres, upper crust negroes.

I know there are those who will say that is a bourgeois revolution. And I'd say yes. I admit most of these revolutions have been bourgeois or bourgeois-led, that the real people's revolution very often follows afterwards.

I don't believe the common fear among blacks that the so-called middle class, once satisfied with material benefits, will simply sink under and do nothing.

Q: Is the term not "get co-opted into the oppressing classes"?

A: I don't believe that co-option is possible. It does not matter how rich a Maponya gets or a Tshabalala gets, he will never live in Houghton or enter that middle class.

In other words, because of South Africa's racist structure, a black middle class is not possible. The few chaps you find building houses in Selection Park are not middle class. That class must enter the

26/05/80 KRM/MS

Black rule inevitable, Zulus are told

(11A)

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Black majority rule was inevitable in South Africa and should be welcomed by the ruling white community, the president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Mr S M Motsenyane, said at the University of Zululand on Saturday.

Speaking at the university's graduation ceremony, he said black majority rule was the only way South Africa would be welcomed and gain acceptance in black Africa and the rest of the world.

To those of us who have been keenly observing the history of Africa for over 20 years, beginning with the independence of Ghana and culminating with the independence of Zimbabwe about a month ago, there is no longer any doubt that eventually South Africa will, like all African countries, become a state with a preponderantly black Central Government.

What the ruling white community in South Africa should be advised to do is not to stand deliberately in the way of this transition, for it is inevitable.

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Blacks to boycott buses

Argus

26/5/80

11A

REPRESENTATIVES from about 40 civic and residents' associations, representing the bulk of the African and coloured communities of Cape Town, decided at a meeting in Athlone yesterday to boycott City Tramways buses as from next Monday.

It was decided that this week would be used by the organisations and the co-ordinating committee they formed to rally people in the Peninsula to boycott the buses and also to work out how it could be effectively implemented.

Yesterday's decision by the organisations, including representatives from the Guguletu Residents' Association and community

bodies from the other black townships, is a protest against fare increases.

The decision to launch the boycott from next week is to give people who have already bought clip-cards a chance to sell them.

City Tramways declined to comment.

A report from Claremont says that at Crossroads Bus Terminus, commuters wanting to board buses were asked not to and told to boycott the service.

One man caught a taxi to get to work on time.

The report also confirmed an Argus employee's observation that black and coloured workers were walking from the railway station rather than catch the bus.

'Press fails
STAR 26.11.80
 to reflect
(11A)
 black issues'

Press freedom was being threatened by the failure of newspapers to report the relevant issues to their predominantly white readership, Professor Jakes Gerwel of the University of the Western Cape, said at the weekend.

Delivering the Fairbairn Memorial lecture at a banquet of the Southern African Society of Journalists at the weekend, Professor Gerwel said Press freedom in South Africa was threatened by government action and the inability of the Press to reflect relevant issues.

Developments and events in the black community which would be discomfiting to the white community were not receiving news coverage in the mainstream Press, he said.

● Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, was chosen as the Newsmaker of the Year by the SASJ.

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SITION

Azapo branch

11A
Post: 27/5/80

THE road to liberation has a lot of pitfalls and there are no short cuts. This was said at the launching of the Azapo branch at the Lutheran Church in Tembisa at the weekend.

Mr Letsatsi Mosala, a member of the Azapo national executive, outlined the aims and objects of the movement to all in the church. He further asked the new committee to work harmoniously in the process of making the community aware of themselves as people, not as subhumans or foreigners in the country of their birth.



TO ALL:

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Nkondo ban a measure 'against the grain' - Azaso

Post 28/5/90
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11A

BANNING & DETENTION

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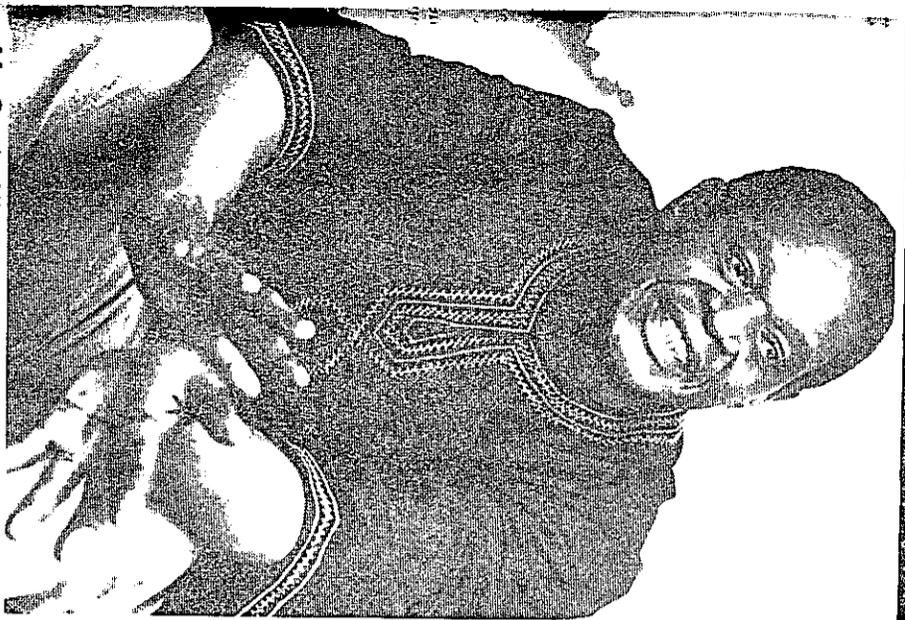
Those who believe that officials cannot make example: the interference with parliamentary and Mr. Biko's death.

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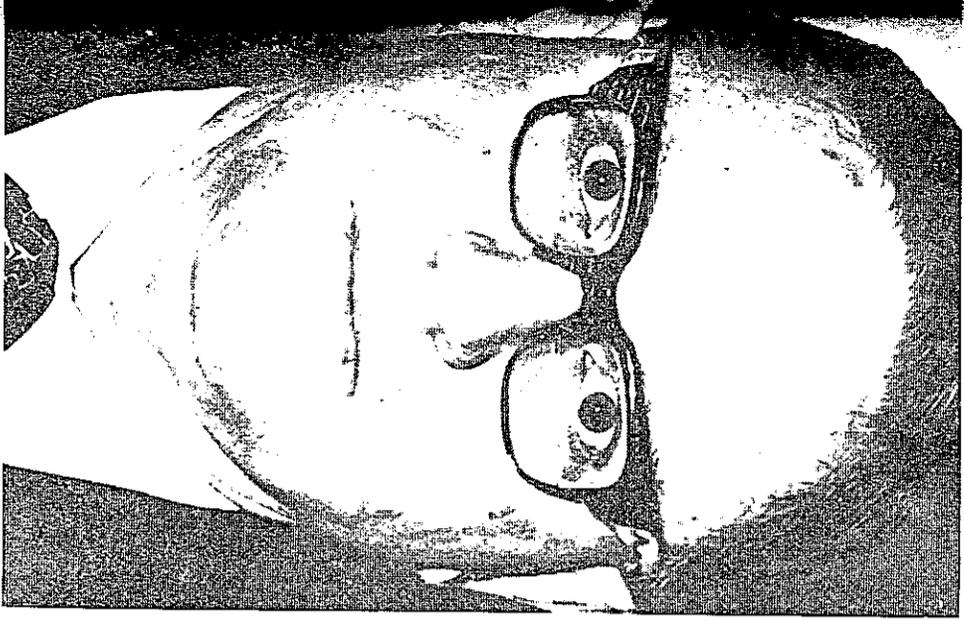
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Far from bannings being merited, these rest of goodwill who have the influence to bring our people together in peace - when there is a desperate need for voices of reconciliation to be heard.

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Mr. Curtis Nkondo... banned last Friday



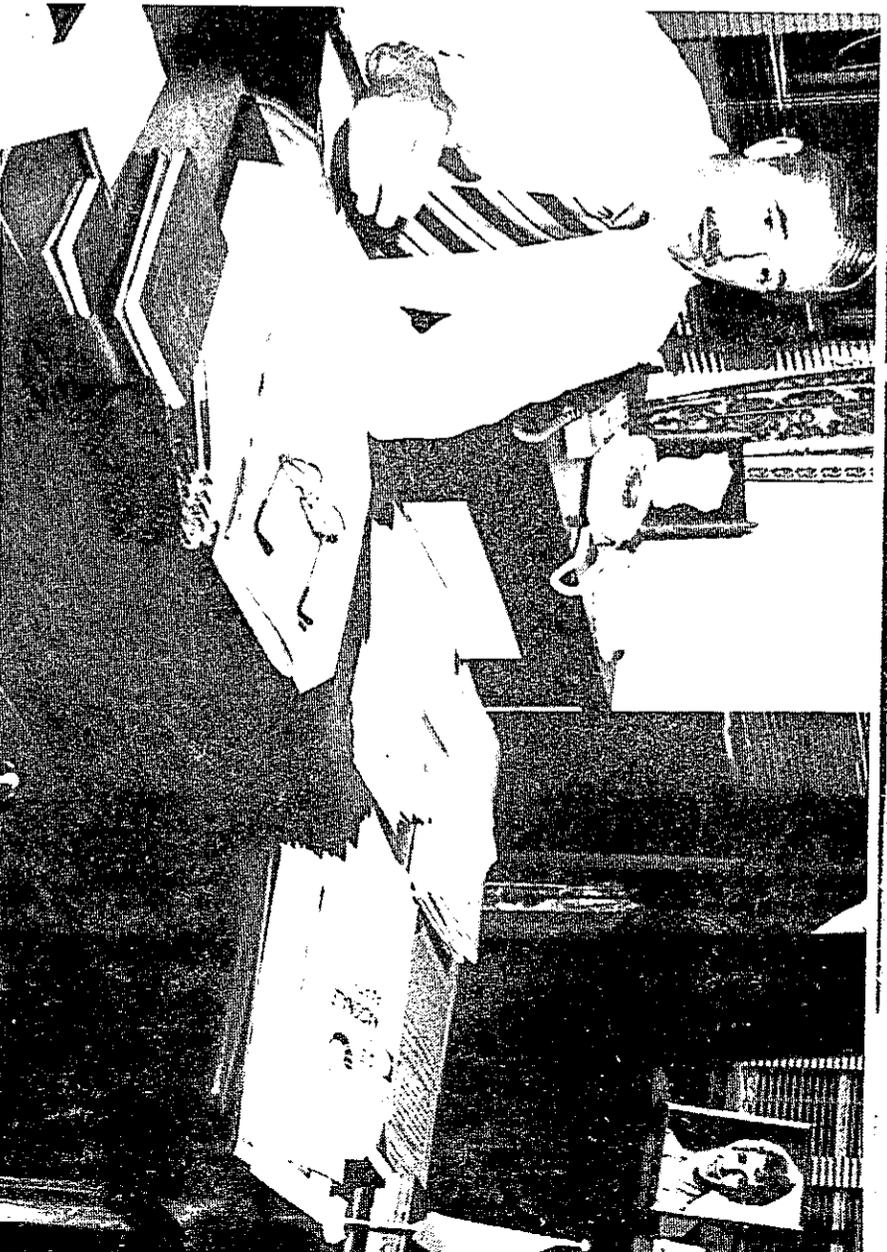
Mr. Alwyn Schleichusch... signed the order

The War on black dissent

hots up

WDM 27/5/80
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Yet another black leader has been banned without being charged in a court of law. Those black leaders who have not been cut off from the public argue that the move against Mr Curtis Nkondo is part of a "total onslaught" on the voices of dissent. Political Reporter AMEEN AKHALWAYA analyses the background.



Minister of Police Louis le Grange... warnings from the Potchetstroom "pulpit"

ADD one more name to the long list of black consciousness leaders cut off from the public. Curtis Nkondo, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, executive member of the Solidarity Front, first president of the Azanian People's Organisation.

He was banned last Friday. The three-year order, signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schleichusch, was served on him immediately after his release from a month's detention. No charges were put to him in an open court of law. What Mr Nkondo did — or did not do — is anybody's guess. Just as it is anybody's guess what at least 155 South Africans still banned did to deserve such punishment.

Not that Mr Nkondo would be at all surprised to be banned. He was expecting action against him ever since he became Azapo's president last year.

In 1978, Azapo was launched as the political vehicle of black consciousness. Immediately, members of its interim executive were detained under Security laws.

The chairman, Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, and the secretary, Mr Lybon Mabasa, were banned. Again, no charges were put to them in court.

Since then, action has continued to be taken against other Azapo officials and black consciousness supporters.

It is part of a pattern which emerged during Mr J P Kruger's reign as Minister of Justice when he declared open war on black consciousness. It is in line with warnings issued recently by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Kobie Coetzee.

He was still able to communicate with the public — have described as the "total onslaught" on the voices of dissent.

Addressing a National Party meeting in Potchetstroom at the end of February, Mr Le Grange said forces were at work in Soweto inspired by the SA Communist Party, the African National Congress and other organisations, aimed at stirring up unrest.

"We are aware of what they are doing. Members of these organisations will burn their fingers very quickly," he said. "If they get hurt, they must not ask for any sympathy and I want to assure you that some of them are going to get hurt."

He did not specify to whom, or which organisations, he was referring.

Two weeks later, Mr Nkondo became the first of a number of prominent blacks to be questioned or detained by Security Police.

At the time, fears were raised that the Government might be preparing for another

crackdown on black organisations and individuals.

Mr Nkondo later addressed black and white students in different parts of the country when the black schools boycott started in April. A Cabinet Minister condemned him, and a few hours after he had spoken at the University of the Witwatersrand, he was detained by Security Police.

The same day, three other black consciousness figures in the Western Cape were detained. They were held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, providing for up to 14 days renewable detention.

Whether Mr Nkondo's detention had anything to do with the schools boycott, only the authorities know. Reasons for his detention and subsequent ban have not been made public.

Mr Nkondo's banning order is for three years. Orders served on other people vary, on, for example, the length and other restrictive provisions.

Some banned people have not been able to continue with careers for which they have been trained. Others, like Dr Mampela Ramphole, cannot continue with additional studies.

Dr Ramphole, a close associate of late black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko, is banished to a small Northern Transvaal village.

Last month, she failed in a final attempt to have her ban-

ning order relaxed to enable her to study at the University of the Witwatersrand in a branch of medicine relevant to the area to which she is restricted.

The Medical Association of South Africa of which she is a member, received the following reply from the Secretary for Justice, Mr J P J Coetzee: "...the Minister of Justice has on two occasions personally considered Dr Ramphole's request for permission to attend a diploma course in tropical medicine and hygiene at the medical school of the University of the Witwatersrand."

"But after careful consideration of all the relevant information decided not to accede to her request."

Dr Ramphole, one of only a handful of black women doctors in the country, was superintendent of the Zamephlo Clinic in King William's Town. She was detained for 139 days in 1976 and a year later, banished to Lengenye township near Tzaneen.

She was among the Biko associates to be silenced. Mr Biko died in police custody, as did Mr Mampela Mohlapi. Mr Barney Pitsoana and Mr Thami Zani went into exile. Other leading figures of the banned Black People's Convention and the SA Students' Organisation were jailed after a lengthy trial in 1976. Mr Stephen Jones, who was arrested with Mr Biko at a

road block, was also banned after being released from a lengthy period in detention. He, too, was not charged.

In recent months, those banned included people who had served prison terms on Robben Island, as well as four Port Elizabeth black leaders, Mr Thozamile Botha, Mr Dan Qeque, Mr Phalo Tshame and Mr Momo Babela.

Mr Botha, leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), recently also joined the exiles.

Among the prominent blacks still in detention is Dr Joe Veriava, an executive member of Azapo and chairman of the Solidarity Front, the anti-SA Indian Council body.

He too was held under the General Law Amendment Act, and is now being detained under the "preventative" Section 10 of the Internal Security Act.

Dr Veriava, Mr Nkondo, and others are among an ever-increasing number of people detained under various Security laws.

Yet, in terms of amendments to the Police Act proposed recently by Mr Le Grange, it would have been an offence to publish detainees' names without official authorisation.

The amendments led to a public outcry, with black leaders saying the country would become a Police State and that the provisions sounded like something out of Solzhenitsyn's

Gulag Archipelago where people disappeared without trace.

Mr Le Grange then withdrew the provisions, referring to them to the Rabie Commission probing security laws.

But two security law experts, Professor John Dugard and Professor A S Matthews, have expressed strong misgivings about the amended Bill. They agree that on the face of it, the Bill would still prevent newspapers from publishing the names of Terrorism Act detainees, enabling the police to arrest people under the Act and the public would not know about it.

Police seldom volunteer to disclose the names of people detained under the Security laws. Names are usually brought to the attention of the Press by family members, associates or lawyers. Police also seldom, even on inquiry from the Press, give details about where detainees are being held, or sometimes, even under which Act.

The Police Act, the Prisons Act and the various security laws cast such a wide dragnet on the publication of information that ordinary members of the public often accuse the Press of "hiding" things.

In present circumstances, unless the Press is satisfied beyond doubt about the veracity of its informants, it will not publish the names of detainees.

Now Mr Nkondo's silencing means that he will no longer be able to take part in the special weekend classes for students in Soweto.

Mr Nkondo resigned as a teacher after the 1976 unrest in protest against Bantu Education. Although he worked for a computer firm, he continued assisting scholars in Soweto.

His banning order specifically precludes him from giving any tuition to people other than his own children. He cannot enter a university, school, college or any other educational institution.

He cannot attend any social and political gatherings. He cannot enter any black, coloured or Indian area except Klipfontein and Eldorado Park, where he lives with his wife, Rose. This means he cannot enter neighbouring Soweto or Lenasia.

He also cannot enter a hostel, a black village, factory or any premises where publishing takes place — and he cannot communicate with other banned people.

Mr Nkondo's name now goes on the list of the twilight people. The "total onslaught" continues on black leaders who are condemned to a restricted existence without being charged under the already formidable range of South African security legislation.

Zinzi Mandela

Like many girls, Zinzi Mandela is obviously in love with her dad.

But he was arrested when she was 18 months, and she did not see him again until she was 16, the youngest age where visits to Robben Island are permitted.

"I never knew him as a father," she said. "He was just an image to me.

"The first time I saw daddy I almost fainted," she laughs. "It was so funny. Zeni, my older sister, who had been before, introduced us.

"Suddenly there was daddy sitting and looking at us. Had we not been brought up with the philosophy of never showing our emotions I would have broken down, or something. But we just spoke as though it was a normal home situation and I was sitting on his lap.

"Daddy is a remarkable guy. Tall and fair. His shoulders are big — remember, he was a boxer. He walks with his arms like this," and she stands up and demonstrates with her own big frame.

"He is a very analytical person. He listens carefully when one talks, and when he speaks he lec-

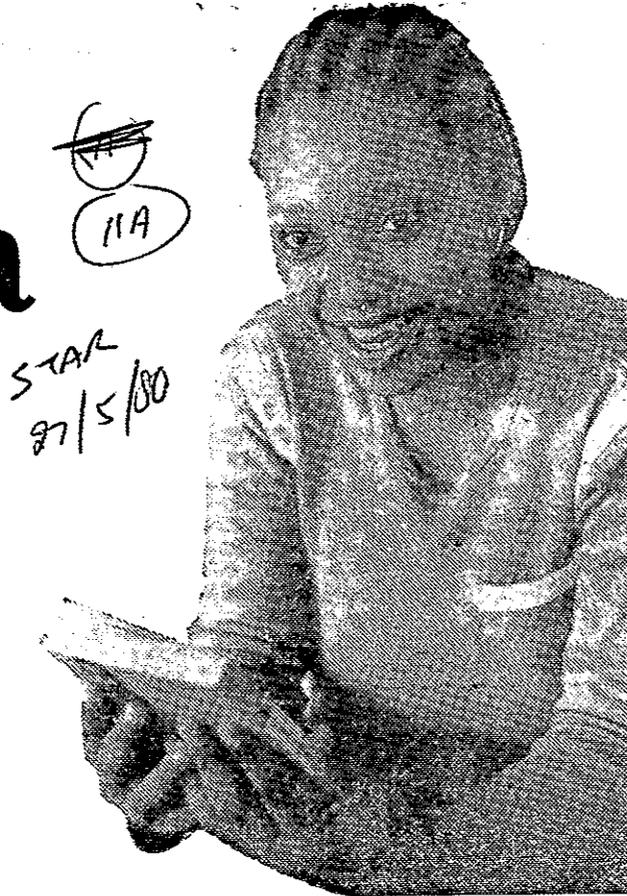
Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, has come into prominence through her role in the campaign for her father's release.

CAROL MATHIANE and CRAIG CHARNEY spoke to her about her parents — and herself.

hind us all. She has raised us with the belief that whatever happens we should never show our emotions.

"I am sure the only time that I'd break is if I saw her cry. There have been occasions when she should have cried but she didn't.

"When she was moved to Brandfort it was a difficult moment for us. You



Zinzi Mandela . . . writing a play now.

every time she leaves Phenix for Brandfort.

"You must understand that this house and the furniture is what she and daddy bought. She refused to move any of the items to Brandfort because she said daddy must find everything as it was when he left.

"We always make a joke of the house one day being a state museum. How nice!"

When Zinzi was a little girl, her mother had to struggle to get her accept-

makers" such as the Mandelas.

She finally got her two daughters admitted to Our Lady of Sorrows convent school in Swaziland.

"Life at the convent was awful. Nobody cared for anyone. One had to be especially good to be noticed. That is where I started my writing," said Zinzi.

"I used to scribble anything that came into my mind. Writing was escapism."

Academically, Zinzi blos-

Her writings give an insight into a complex girl

Tata
I can imagine
what you would be
if I was not
what you would say
if I kept quiet
I can imagine
where you would go
if I remained
where you would end
if I started

I need a neighbour who will live
a teardrop away,
who will open up when I knock
late at night
I need a child who will play
a smile away
who will always whisper I love you
be my mummy

often beginning with "let me say . . ."

The strict discipline of her family has held. But all her ups and downs, along with the absence of her father, have taken their toll on her.

It is in writing that she slips the leash.

The poems give some insight into a complex girl, alternately strong-willed and brooding, sometimes defiant and other times tearful of rejection. Her imagery is dark, troubled, and often painful. "I never write when I'm happy," she said.

When she is writing, she pours the words out, not stopping to ponder or punctuate. "This is what I believe poetry is," Zinzi said. "If it comes into your mind, that's the word."

But she hasn't written

cases the few that make it academically lose touch with the people."

As for herself, she's not sure just what she wants to do next.

NCD 27/5/80. (11A)

Student groups slam Nkondo ban

Political Reporter

TWO black students' organisations yesterday pledged solidarity with Mr Curtis Nkondo and lashed out at the Government for banning him.

In a strongly-worded joint statement, the executives of the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) said they stood squarely behind Mr Nkondo and others

who found themselves in similar circumstances.

Mr Nkondo, suspended president of the Azanian People's Organisation, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and executive member of the Solidarity Front, was banned last Friday, immediately after being released from a month's detention.

The students pointed to a countrywide call for the release

of Mr Nelson Mandela and other jailed political leaders, for the return of exiled people, and the lifting of restrictions on banned and banished people.

In the wake of this "worthy and reasonable" call, the Government had gone against the grain by banning Mr Nkondo. "This is a sad state of affairs and we are left with the impression that the present regime will begin to listen only

after millions of lives have been lost.

"There was a time when such actions sowed fear in the hearts of many, but today we sympathise with the regime for their intransigence and their myopia," the students said, and added that the black people's thirst for liberation would not be quenched.

● See Page 12

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Nkondo off to Maputo

(POST Africa News Service)

MR Zinjiva Nkondo, the alleged ANC member released earlier this month by South African Security Police, has left Lesotho for the Mozambican capital Maputo.

Nkondo was released in Bloemfontein after being in detention for five months. He was arrested when the

Lesotho Airways plane in which he was travelling to Lesotho from Manzini in Swaziland was diverted to Bloemfontein.

Before leaving Maseru, Mr Nkondo called on the Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, to thank him for the negotiations which the Lesotho government undertook to obtain his release.

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cial area of another race group, or any premises where state policy is being discussed.

- * You may not teach any group or individual.
- * You may not prepare any document for publication.
- * You may not belong to any organisation or attend its meetings.
- * From 6 p.m. on Friday 30th May to 6 a.m. on Monday 2nd June you are under house arrest and may not leave your home.

BEAR IN MIND THAT YOU HAVE BROKEN NO LAW ...

Please remember that the Banned live under these conditions year in and year out. Many of them are people who used to play a full and valuable role in their communities, which they are now prevented from doing.

Remember too the families of the innocent Banned and Detained who share their suffering.

NO PUNISHMENT EXCEPT THROUGH THE COURTS - JUST LAWS JUSTLY APPLIED

Issued on behalf of the Civil Rights League, 527 CTC Building, Plein St., Cape Town 8001 by Dr. K. Hughes (Chairman).

STAR 28/5/80
11A

SA blacks quit 'apartheid' talks as demos picket

BOSTON — Two black members of a South African delegation quit a meeting here last night sponsored by the World Peace Foundation of Boston following protests from black demonstrators, the Boston Globe reported.

Mr Aggrey Klaaste, news editor of Post, and Father John Sebidi, a Roman Catholic priest, left the meeting which, according to a Globe spokesman, was to "establish a dialogue between local leaders and delegation members."

The meeting, held at the offices of the Boston Globe, was picketed by seven members of a group called the "Boston Coali-

tion for the Liberation of Southern Africa."

One of the demonstrators, Mr Chris Nteta, a black South African living in Boston, said Father Sebidi had decided "it would be inimical to the political interests of the black consciousness movement in South Africa for him to be involved."

Demonstrators complained that the meeting was designed to "legitimise the apartheid system and promote trade between South Africa and the United States."

OCCUPATIONS

The delegation consisted of 11 whites and five blacks in business, journalism, and religious occupations.

The Globe spokesman said the delegation was to appear at similar meetings sponsored by newspapers in New York and Washington.

Earlier in the week, the director of the World Peace Foundation of Boston, Mr Alfred Hero, and the publisher of the Boston Globe, Mr William Taylor, said the South Africans were barking up the wrong tree on apartheid.
— Sapa-AP.

Quin's death

Own Correspondent
LEIDEN — One of the quintuplets born here 18 days ago has died after an operation. The baby failed to recover from an operation on a faulty connection between the aorta and the lung artery.

Van der Ross: 'Man in middle'

Cape Times
28/5/80
(114)
(117)
(118)

By **ROGER WILLIAMS**
Chief Reporter

PROFESSOR R E van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, who on his own admission summoned the police to the university campus on Monday to deal with restive students, has become a symbolic "man in the middle" in the current deadlocked situation in coloured education in the Cape.

A distinguished intellectual leader with an undoubted loyalty to his own people, whose fears and frustrations he has articulated in sometimes forceful terms from public platforms and in his writings, he has also demonstrated a strong respect for responsible conduct and for the maintenance of order.

His critics have on the one hand accused "Dick" van der Ross of selling out to Afrikaner nationalism by becoming part of its ideological machine; on the other of not exerting enough muscle in taking disciplinary action against activist students.

The dilemma in which Professor Van der Ross finds himself was reflected in the pages of the Cillie Commission report, on the wave of violence that rocked South Africa in 1976.

The commission said one of the difficulties encountered by the UWC rector was that he found himself with a divided staff, some of whom openly supported the students and others who

accused him of not acting strongly enough against the trouble-makers among them.

For perspective, in the agonized situation in which Professor Van der Ross finds himself, one needs to look at the track-record of this extraordinarily gifted man who is said to remain an enigma — even to those closest to him.

Dick van der Ross, now 58, can be recalled by many as one of the firebrands of the 1950s and the 60s — as one who denounced the apartheid system in the strongest terms. He was particularly incensed by the Group Areas Act and all it

rade to incite people to go on strike".

About the same time it was being concluded that it was Professor Van der Ross's "active interest in politics" that was behind the Provincial Administration's refusal to appoint him as head of the Hewat Training College, Athlone, on the recommendation of the Cape School Board.

This was also seen as the reason for a statement by the then Minister of the Interior, Senator Jan de Klerk, that Professor Van der Ross would be refused a passport if he succeeded in obtaining a post as a lecturer in Basutoland (now

PROFILE

stood for, and in 1961 he told a meeting called by the Coloured National Convention that it was "a damned shame" that people were being pushed about at will in the implementation of this measure.

Such was the extent of this respected educationist's commitment to the fight against apartheid that he began drawing the interest of the security police, and he became a subject of discussion in the Provincial Council.

In May 1961 Mr E J Conradie, the Nationalist MPC for Gordonia, said he wanted to draw the attention of the then Administrator, Dr Nico Malan, to "certain coloured teachers such as Dr Van der Ross who goes along to the Pa-

Lesotho).

Although Professor Van der Ross held — and still holds — firm and decided political views, his tone has never been partisan, propagandistic or sectional. A man of universality and of deep insight into his fellowman, he has always shown himself capable of taking the broader view, and of rising above group feelings.

He has also shown a deep awareness of the interdependence and of the common humanity of the various communities that make up the South African nation, and in his utterances and his writings he has shown himself able to feel real sympathy for Afrikaner and English-speaker, black and Asian in the South African milieu.

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U E A

Zimbabwe urged to support ANC

By DAVID FORRET
"Mail" Africa Bureau

28/5/80

SALISBURY. — Zimbabwe should give material aid to the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress so the two movements could "confront" South Africa, a Zimbabwean MP told Parliament yesterday.

Mr Frederick Shava — chief whip of the ruling Zanu-PF Party — gave his maiden speech, one of the toughest yet directed against South Africa.

He said Zimbabwe had a duty to give moral, political and diplomatic support for the "liberation movements".

Mr Shava's hardline speech follows a statement by the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, earlier this week that his country's independence had "turned the growing tide of liberation sharply against South Africa".

Mr Mugabe said the former

buffer states were now "frontiers of freedom", but he stopped short of saying Zimbabwe would be used as a base for attacks against South Africa.

Mr Shava, Zanu-PF's former representative in Western Europe, said that future military action on the part of the ANC and PAC would rule out the possibility of peaceful co-existence between Salisbury and Pretoria.

He predicted South Africa would panic into military action against Zimbabwe, and said his nation should be prepared for this eventuality.

Zimbabweans should be prepared and politicised so that they realised the struggle in South Africa was also their own.

They would also have to be geared to heighten their vigilance in Zimbabwe against infiltration by South African agents, he said.

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(11A) Column 20/5/80

Pupils to boycott Betty

Staff Reporter

BETTY WRIGHT, visiting American soul-singer, flew into Cape Town yesterday with a message of "love and peace to all her brothers and sisters".

Ms Wright, who arrived from Port Elizabeth with her entourage, said she did not deal with hate but only with love.

High school pupils in the townships yesterday called for a boycott of her shows. They decided at a meeting at Fezeka High School, Guguletu, to also boycott Hartleyvale stadium and the Lions tour.

Ms Wright said in an interview: "I do not understand their action because we came to South Africa to see them. If they boycott my concerts no American artist will come to South Africa. They should consider the stand I took at the canteen at the SABC studios."

In Johannesburg she and her band were ordered out of the SABC canteen because they were black. They were to have filmed a show for Pop Shop but they then refused to.





The shooting starts

As the FM has pointed out (May 16), SA's racial and economic divisions make the country sufficiently volatile for almost any localised conflict to become a national crisis. And, now the country is further down that path — despite Police Minister Louis le Grange's press statement this week that "no general unrest prevails."

That statement, of course, came before the police shot and killed "coloured youths" in Elsie's River, Cape Town. The youths were said to have been involved in a stone-throwing incident. Le Grange "extended his condolences" — a marked change from the stance of his predecessor James Kruger.

The coloured schools boycott in the Cape became a national boycott by coloured and Indian scholars, then resulted in the closure of Fort Hare University and the University of Durban Westville. And indications are that the same could yet happen on other black campuses.

Government has reacted toughly, detaining many community leaders — the total was increasing when the FM went to press. Police would not say how many had been detained nationwide, and said it was unlikely they would be providing the press with a total.

In the long term, these detentions could prove counterproductive. Frequent warnings that government is increasingly driving black opposition underground by seeking security, not political, solutions to crises now appear close to fruition.

Black opposition is already a different animal from what it was in 1976. On an overt level, regional groups have emerged, with stronger grassroots community backing. Their reliance is less on the polemic of the past than on practical organisation. The limited local issues around which they mobilise — education, rents, transport fares, and labour disputes, etc — are tangible.

A security police spokesman told the FM early this week that police had received no indication of any national strategy behind the unrest, a view supported by the FM's own investigations. However, that no overt national political organisation has emerged to articulate the motivation and grievances that lie behind the present unrest is no cause for comfort.

The black talkers are being silenced, both by police action and their own communities. Indeed, black politics is increasingly taking on the appearance of a clouded, rising tide whose currents are all but indistinguishable to white eyes.

As the FM went to press, the regional situation was as follows:

Western Cape. All Cape Town coloured, Indian and African high school pupils plus college and university students were boycotting classes, with many Boland scholars doing the same. Some 160 coloured and Asian butchers had decided not to stock red meat from Monday unless Cape Town meat employers re-instated 750 locked-out black meat workers by Friday this week. A community red-meat boycott is gathering momentum. A boycott of white shops in Parow is scheduled for this weekend, and there is much talk among

coloured high schools. Attendance at KwaMashu's African high schools was 16% - 100%. The University of Zululand was reported back to normal following the weekend clash between students and Inkatha members. It remains unclear if Chief Gatsha Buthelezi will easily regain his authority over boycotting students following his threat that they could be expelled.

The Free State. Bloemfontein's Batho township was reported quiet. But Saturday sees the funeral of the man who died in a clash with police last week and observers fear an overflow of emotions. Attendance at Bloemfontein black high schools varied from poor to nil.

The Reef and Pretoria. Differences in aims and strategy seem to exist among coloured and Indian high school pupils. Attendance was as low as 30% - 40% in some Johannesburg high schools. A minority was boycotting in Laudium, near Pretoria, and on the West Rand. Apart from one high school in Springs, most coloured and Indian scholars were attending classes on the East Rand.

The FM understands from discussions with a number of African leaders that Soweto and the Pretoria African townships should remain quiet. However, there are fears that June 16 commemorations of the 1976 Soweto tragedy could be a flash-point.

Those in authority are no doubt aware, too, of the need to keep in mind that coloured and Indian students have set a June 6 deadline for their short-term demands. And after the ensuing weekend Monday is June 16. It is a time for skilful defusing of grievances, rather than knee-jerk *kragdadigheid*.



Kid and cop . . . squaring up?

the Peninsula's black community of more widespread boycotts of white shops and businesses.

Buses were stoned in black townships this week. A black bus boycott is scheduled to begin on Monday to protest bus fare hikes, some as high as 115%; taxis have been informed and lift clubs formed. A Cape Flats rent issue is on the boil.

The Eastern Cape. Reports of scores of detentions continued to reach the FM amid assessments that the situation in the area was "hotting up" following sporadic school boycotts and the closure of Fort Hare University.

The Northern Cape. A 100% boycott of coloured high schools was in force in Kimberley, according to reports.

Natal/KwaZulu. The University of Durban-Westville has been closed down for two weeks. Partial boycotts prevailed at the black medical school in Wentworth, the Umlazi Technikon, and Indian and

'Govt must speak to Mandela'

STAR 30/1/60
114
By Sieg Hannig

The Government should speak to "our leaders" such as Nelson Mandela — before it was too late, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in Johannesburg last night.

"There is no question but that we are going to be free," he told a mixed audience of about 100 at the Institute of Race Relations.

"Please let it happen reasonably peacefully. Please let it happen now. Otherwise it is going to happen with unnecessary bloodshed," he said at the meeting called by the "Free Mandela" campaign organisers.

● Page 6 — Church solidarity a feature of march.

Boycott pupils get expulsion warning

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

PARENTS of boycotting Indian pupils were officially warned yesterday that their children could face expulsion if their "unsatisfactory conduct" continued.

The warning, contained in a circular sent to parents, is certain to cause another furore in the community over the school crisis.

A spokesman for the Lenasia Parents' Action Committee said an emergency meeting would be called before the weekend to discuss the latest move.

The circular, on Department of Indian Affairs notepaper, was signed by principals and countersigned by teachers.

However, some teachers and

principals expressed concern, saying they were unhappy about signing the circulars. "We are reluctantly carrying out instructions from higher up," one said.

"The Department of Indian Affairs has shifted the onus on us when we are not happy about carrying out such instructions."

School authorities said they expected the South African Indian Council, which is meeting in Durban this week, to persuade the department to withdraw the circular.

The circular says: "By virtue of the fact that your child-ward has conducted himself-herself unsatisfactorily at school, I consider his/her continued attendance to be detrimental to the welfare of the

school and the pupils . . . Parents were told that in terms of regulations governing admissions to Indian schools, "on a reoccurrence of such or similar conduct your child-ward will be liable to be expelled".

Hundreds of pupils at all four Lenasia high schools resumed their boycotts this week.

Meanwhile, Dr Joe Variawa, whose release from detention is being demanded by pupils, was this week allowed to attend his father's funeral on Wednesday.

Dr Variawa, who is being detained under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act, was escorted by Security Police to his family's Lenasia home for the funeral of Mr Mohamed Variawa, 62.

Security Police kept watch

outside as hundreds of students, political and community leaders, medical personnel, relatives and friends gathered for one of the biggest funerals seen in Lenasia.

Mr Variawa died in the Johannesburg Hospital after a short illness. He was the father of three prominent black consciousness personalities — Dr Variawa, executive member of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, Mr Saderque Variawa, banned former executive member of the banned South African Students' Organisation (Saso), and Mr Haroon Variawa, a leading official in the London office of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Dr Variawa was taken away by Security Police immediately after the funeral.

WM. 30/5/80. (11A) (52)

C. T. 30/5/80 (28)
Call for (11A)
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Mandela (287)

Own Correspondent (275)

JOHANNESBURG. -- Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) yesterday said South Africans had to obey a God who carried out political acts -- such as "leading slaves from bondage". Addressing a packed meeting in Johannesburg organized by the Transvaal 'Free Mandela' campaign, he said South Africa was on the edge of a precipice and urged the government to talk to jailed leaders like Nelson Mandela before it was too late.

"We urge those in power to move back from this precipice, or else we will all go down in destruction," Bishop Tutu said.

Referring to the shooting by police of two coloured residents of Elsie's River, near Cape Town, he said it was like a "nightmarish replay of 1976".

His was a God of freedom and liberation who was on the side of the oppressed and voiceless.

"If you are on the other side, then you are against God."

"While there is still time, please talk to jailed leaders like Nelson Mandela because if we leave it too late, a ghastly alternative will be on us," he urged the government.

31/05/80 HANUS

ALEXANDER IN TEARS AT BONN

11A

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

BONN. — Dr Neville Alexander, arrested at D F Malan airport a week ago, reached Bonn yesterday only 90 minutes be-

fore the end of the international cultural symposium to which he had been invited.

'We want you to know how many thoughts, perhaps also prayers, were sent in your direction,' Foreign Ministry State Minister Hildegard Hamm-Bruecher said as she introduced him to the closing session of Bridges over Borders conference.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the conference's 450 members from 54 countries had protested against his arrest, urging his release.

The South African Embassy in Bonn reported

late on Wednesday that he had been allowed to continue his trip.

Dr Alexander walked slowly to the raised speaker's podium, brushing away tears.

He stood for a minute trying to gain control of his emotions. After making a brief address he walked back to his seat, eyes still brimming.

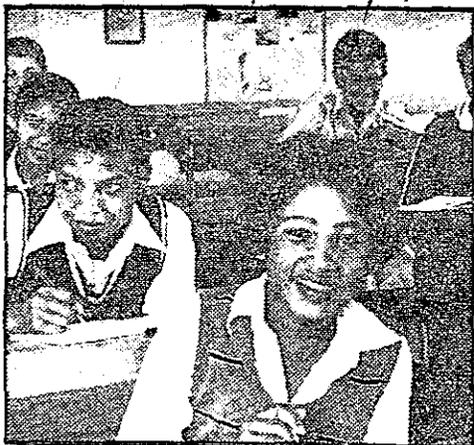
The crowd, gathered in the Stadthalle in the suburb of Bad Godesberg, applauded at length.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt arrived a few minutes later and shook hands with Dr Alexander before taking a seat.

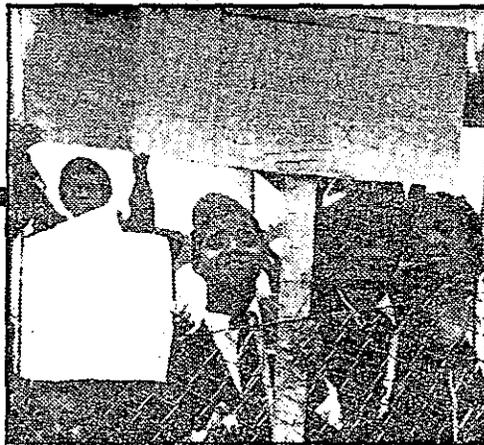


Dr Neville Alexander

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WHAT NOW?

By ADAM SMALL

THE news was 'too bad to be true.' I could scarcely believe it. Jakes Gerwel detained. Edna van Harte detained. The others whom I know. And a feeling of helplessness washed over me. Helplessness, because these are the reasonable people. People, indeed, who may be said to have been unrealistically reasonable, for years.

Is there any good sense left in a situation in which people such as these are arrested and detained?

Worse news was in store. Some weeks ago I wrote it would be a small miracle if the schools crisis stayed non-violent. The miracle, as suspected, has not happened. The schools crisis has become visibly what (to start with) it was essentially: The crisis of South Africa.

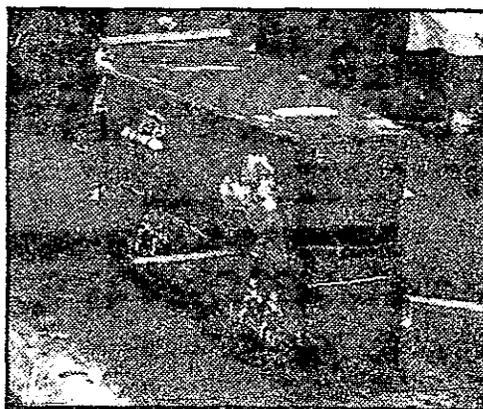
And the tragedy of it has (once again) been manifested in blood.

The news of two young people shot dead by police on Halt Road angered me. Deeper down, one went cold, and silent.

After all, children shout, they must — their voices are still forming. But adult men and women who receive such news, pause for a moment. The gravity of it is so large.

Is this Government just not competent to handle the crisis of the country with insight? It is impossible for it to know what is required?

What is needed is statesmanlike behaviour,



which means a dramatic reaching into the situation. Drama is the category of statesmanlike action at a time such as this.

Bishop Desmond Tutu (among others) has urged the Government once again: 'While there is still time, please talk to jailed leaders like Nelson Mandela, because if we leave it too late, a ghastly alternative will be on us.'

Such talking is what I mean by dramatic intervention by the Government at this time. There is no drama in the spate of detentions and arrests, no drama in shooting dead young people on Halt Road.

There is insensitivity in that, there is sadness in that, but not drama.

We know that what we witness is apartheid catching up with its makers — for all these years, they have been living very far distant from black people in the country; so far distant that they have never been able to 'receive the message' of our unhappiness and bitterness and frustration.

Let alone the dimension of the message. But until this Government understands the simple fact, and understands it well, that we do not want apartheid — that apartheid as such is the problem — all the bannings



and detentions in the world won't help.

Shooting two young people dead on Halt Road won't help. (Why did they do it? Why did they have to do it?)

Is it really not possible for this Government to understand that it can arrest whom it may and as many as it may — the facts of the situation re-

main, and will not be changed.

And these unsophisticated and brutal actions reinforce the facts — they do not even suppress them, let alone cause them to disappear.

And reinforcement means only that the eruption of our bitterness will be more and more encompassing.

Lawyer denies^{31/5/80} he egged on pupil boycott

N. MERUAT
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Mercury Reporter

PINETOWN lawyer Archie Gumede yesterday angrily denied that he encouraged Kwa Mashu pupils to boycott classes during an address.

Mr Gumede was reacting to an allegation by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, made in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this week.

Chief Buthelezi claimed Mr Gumede had encouraged the children at a meeting in Kwa Mashu to continue with the boycott.

'Lawyers are supposed to be officers of the Court and it does not become an officer of the Court to condone intimidation and the smashing of buildings,' he said.

Strange

Mr Gumede said he found it strange that Chief Buthelezi had made statements without consulting him.

He denied encouraging the children to boycott school.

He said he had merely acted as an interpreter for one of the speakers at a recent meeting between parents and children.

'There was no one else to interpret at the meeting, so I did,' he said.

He said he felt that parents should listen to the students and try to eliminate their grievances.

The children should not be dismissed without a hearing.

'Chief Buthelezi would not have difficulty in ascertaining my position if he wanted to so,' he said.

ANC plot to kill leaders alleged

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Mercury Reporter

ULUNDI—An alleged plot by the African National Congress to assassinate both Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Minister of Interior, Dr Frank Mdlalose, in 1975 was revealed in a hushed Legislative Assembly yesterday.

Dr Mdlalose revealed how he had been approached by a Mr Albert Dhlomo, a member of the ANC, in a bar in Manzini, Swaziland, in 1975.

'He said both the chief minister and myself should never have helped people to sort out the bus boycott problems in Newcastle that year,' Dr Mdlalose said.

Mr Dhlomo had then said: 'Your chief minister is worthy to be eliminated. We shall eliminate him, together with you.'

Chief Buthelezi said the common talk in the Vryheid area, where two black men had been arrested and suitcases of ammunition, guns and bombs confiscated, was that he should be eliminated.